

THE RAILWAY TIMES.

VOL. II.

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NO. 1.

INDICTMENTS.

IN THE INTEREST OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Technicality, and Torture of Law, to Placate Railway Managers.

The Federal Grand Jury's indictment of the Palo Alto railroad strikers makes, in substance, the following charges against John Cassidy, Fred Clark and James Wright:

They did "willfully, corruptly and wickedly conspire and combine" with others whose names are unknown, to obstruct the mails and their carriers and "to unlawfully engage in a conspiracy and combination in restraint of freight and commerce in the several States of the United States and with foreign nations," contrary to the provisions of "An Act to Protect Trade and Commerce Against Unlawful Restraint and Monopolies," approved July 24, 1890. [Interstate Commerce Law.]

The indictment then defines the status of the S. P. R. as a corporation carrying over specified routes. It next charges that the accused and others, "by a conspiracy, confederation and an agreement aforesaid," conspired to effect its object by "forcibly taking and keeping possession and control of all yards, depots, tracks and trains of cars" upon the S. P. lines; and by "forcibly holding and detaining" the trains by "causing to be assembled and assembling with large crowds of persons in the said depots and yards of the said S. P. Company at various points and places upon the said line of railway in said State and Northern District of California, to-wit: at the city of Sacramento," etc., specifying Oakland, San Jose, Lathrop, Red Bluff, Dunsmuir, Vallejo, Palo Alto "and divers points and places in the vicinity of the foregoing places," the object of the said crowds being to prevent the passage of trains, etc., and by intimidation, threats, assaults and other violence to prevent the employes from moving the trains, which object they also conspired to accomplish by disconnecting air-brakes, putting out fires, throwing switches, opening draw-bridges, etc.

[The specific date mentioned in the foregoing is June 20, 1894, but includes all the acts thereinafter mentioned by the use of the words "at all and several of the times herein mentioned."]

The indictment by its terms holds that the four men named are responsible for any and all the acts of every striker at any place or point on its lines, and, if that position is legally correct, it follows that each and every individual member of any labor union is responsible for any and all the acts committed by any and every member of that union, wherever located, when committed in pursuance of a common purpose. In other words, as Attorney-General Olney is said to have put it, strikes can thus be crushed out at their very inception, and that through a law enacted for a purpose not only wholly different but nearly opposite, that purpose being obviously to restrict railroad extortions, while the purpose of this construction of it is obviously to extend railroad despotism. This is one among many other proofs of the worse than impotency of legislation to correct the evil inevitably arising from permitting private corporations to perform public functions, especially railroad transportation. And if the principle of construction is correct, then President Cleveland would be responsible for the murder, by hired butchers acting under his orders, of two fleeing men (not strikers) in Sacramento, and of several men and women in Chicago and Hammond, who were not in the way of the troops and in no wise concerned in any unlawful acts.

The indictment further specifically charges that from July 25 to 10th, 1894, the defendants obstructed the mail and interstate commerce, by forcible means specified.

The second count is substantially a repetition of the preceding, the object of which repetition is not apparent to common people, law practice being purposely mystified to enable "the dangerous classes," especially railroad magistrates, to continue, systematize and extend their robberies without the risks that must be incurred by burglars, highwaymen and pirates.

The whole proceeding implies that the Federal government, as now owned, organized and operated, despite all "representative" rot, is itself a huge organized conspiracy against the rights of labor and of honestly earned property, and is completely at the behests of powerful corporations; that courts, congress and president are not "ours" but theirs, though we pay for them. That it has dared to usurp such a position and such powers—worse than those of George III & Co., on the revolt against which this nation is based—is due to the crazy fudge that "the people rule" in the enactment and administration of the laws, when in fact they have little or nothing to do with either, and when the Federal troops are as much aliens to our working classes as were King George's Hessians to the sturdy patriots of the Revolution. How many voters of California, for instance,

would, on a direct vote, sustain the S. P. and its agent at the White House in these matters? It is time for the people of this Coast to consider whether or not they have any rights which the multimillionaire, railroad-owned despots of the corruption centre on the Potomac cannot and do not trample under foot.—*San Francisco Star.*

RICKS.

The Central Labor Union, of Cleveland, Ohio, have had A. J. Ricks, United States Judge, on a hot gridiron where he has been required to answer before a Congressional committee to several charges of gross rascalities, as follows:

The first is that Judge Ricks "did unlawfully, wilfully, fraudulently, and corruptly on various dates between Sept. 19, 1889, and Dec. 27, 1891, cheat and defraud the United States out of various sums of money ranging from \$12 to \$43 in each instance and aggregating \$1,558.75, which had been paid into the Circuit Court."

Charge No. 2 is that Judge Ricks on Nov. 10, 1890, wilfully and corruptly counseled, advised, persuaded, and induced Martin W. Sanders (his successor as Circuit Court Clerk) to omit from his report to the Attorney-General of his fees and emoluments said sum of \$1,558.75.

The third charge is that Judge Ricks, on January 10, 1890, "did wilfully and corruptly certify to the correctness of said report of Martin W. Sanders, he at the time knowing that there was omitted therefrom said sum of \$1,558.75," and it is also set forth that "by reason of the above facts said Augustus J. Ricks had shown himself to be a person wholly unfit to properly perform the duties and maintain the dignity and character of said judicial office."

The testimony showed that Ricks had finally made some sort of a settlement with the government, but it was said the settlement was brought about by fear of exposure. Ricks did not deny that his accounts showed a "discrepancy," but that he had fixed it up. It will be interesting to see what the Congressional committee, Messrs. Baily, Broderick and Lane, have to say about Ricks in their report to Congress. If he is whitewashed he will make a sorry show on the bench, and if he is not whitewashed he will get off the bench p. d. q.

THE MACHINE.

God made man, and man makes the machine. The machine and the man, in all of the great industrial enterprises of the age are hitched together—the purpose being to carry forward our Christian civilization. The machine has come to stay: the same is true of the man. A machine, we will assume, costs \$5,000 cash, and wears out in ten years, so that a new machine would have to be purchased. This machine we will say does the work of ten men, but as one man is required to operate it it displaces only nine men.

In the first place it is important, as an economic question, to ascertain the amount the proprietor is out of pocket in operating such a machine for ten years—that we may determine the profits to the proprietor.

A glance at the figures will indicate to any one, not exceptionally obtuse, one of the factors in operation to increase the army of idle men. The machine has displaced them—made them poor while it has enriched its owner and operator. What is the remedy, or at least one of the remedies? We answer, reduce the hours of labor.

At Hiawatha, Kansas, a co-operative car and manufacturing company has been organized with a capital stock of \$50,000, all of which has been paid up and operations begun. In the organization of the company, five of the directors are chosen from the stockholders and four from the men employed in the shop. Recently 123 persons, men women and children, formerly connected with the Pullman Palace Car Company at Pullman, left Chicago for Hiawatha—in all about twenty-five families. These people were among those who escaped death by starvation at Pullman; men, women and children, who in Hiawatha will, to their latest day, have only kindly words for the American Railway Union, and only execrations for the bloated, detestable wretch who was willing that they should die the victims of famine.

The RAILWAY TIMES devoutly wishes the emigrants from Pullman to Hiawatha health, happiness and prosperity. May their homes be bright and happy. Co-operation is full of promise, and it is to be hoped that the Hiawatha enterprise will be so exceptionally successful that co-operation will receive an impetus which will lead to other similar enterprises throughout the country.

Those workmen who voted the plutocratic ticket at the late election ought not to kick when the plutocrats rob them. The schedule and program are just what they voted for.

ILL-GOTTEN WEALTH.

WHAT LEGISLATOR HAS DONE TO BUILD FORTUNES.

And Promote Poverty and Its Multitude of Woes.

Nothing accentuates the evils of the great era of class legislation more forcibly than the conditions that have grown up under such legislation.

The tendency of class legislation is to enable the few crafty, unscrupulous money getters to absorb unnatural volumes of wealth. Under a just condition of law, wealth would be more evenly distributed. No avenues would be open for the crafty and unscrupulous to amass vast fortunes, and thereby rob others of what justly belongs to them. The condition at the present time is frightful. It is not only unjust, but it is dangerous to the peace of the country and the liberties of the people. If these conditions continue it will not be long until the masses, who possess little or nothing, will begin to inquire into the system that thus enables the wrong doer to carry on a system of public robbery. With this inquiry will come interest feeling and with feeling determination.

It will then be too late to change the evil for the better by law, as the money power will have control of legislation

the ratio of increase is less than 4 per cent. per annum. Stocks and bonds are bought below par; loans are negotiated with commissions added, and the borrowing class pay an average of 10 per cent. per annum, or more than two and one-half times more than the increase of national wealth. This process has been and is still going on, and unless an equity is established by legislation between the borrower and lender, will continue to grow until the borrowing class is reduced to serfdom.

These evils are not only evils *per se*, but they are conditions that threaten the peace and stability of government. America was not designed for such conditions. It was consecrated to the people, free to not only serve God in the manner that seemed best, but free to every man to enjoy the blessings of liberty and property. This latter right has already been denied the people, and the former may be if we do not soon get back to first principles.

There are many issues that are being tortured into a condition of significance, but the most important issue is that which concerns the personal liberty of the people. This system of class legislation strikes at the root of the tree of liberty, and it must be removed or the proclamation of Mr. Wilson at the London dinner, that republics are short lived, will become verified by the rapid decline and fall of the American republic.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The General Offices of the American Railway Union and the Railway Times have been removed to Terre Haute, Ind. The directors having been sentenced to prison, the change was made so that the work of the order could be efficiently and economically done during their confinement. The work of organizing and equipping the A. R. U. will be pushed with unabated vigor. Insurance and secret work will be adopted as soon as it can be done under temporarily trying circumstances.

All correspondence should be addressed to Eugene T. Debs, Terre Haute, Ind., Jan. 1, 1895.

and will not permit these reforms to be made. The wise policy would seem to be to stop this injustice before the evil day comes when neither side will listen to reason and thereby avert calamity by the action of the legally constituted law making bodies.

The following figures are startling: 70 persons control an aggregate wealth of \$2,700,000,000 50 persons control an aggregate wealth of 500,000,000 60 persons control an aggregate wealth of 500,000,000 63 persons control an aggregate wealth of 300,000,000

A total of 243 persons control an aggregate wealth of \$4,060,000,000 or about one-sixteenth of the entire wealth of the nation.

We have become accustomed to hear of the fabulous wealth of the aristocracy of the old world, but some of our money getters have even outstripped the lords of monarchies who inherit the earth.

There is Baron Rothschild and Lord Overstone, each left about \$17,500,000. The late Lord Dudley left about \$20,000,000. The late Duke of Buccleugh, the richest Scotchman, left \$30,000,000. Two living English dukes are estimated as worth \$50,000,000 and \$40,000,000 respectively, and in all the united kingdom there are only 104 persons whose incomes from business profits reached or exceeded \$250,000 yearly—while in one American city there are fifty families who pay taxes on annual incomes of \$1,000,000 each.

The conditions which enable the Rothschilds and others to amass such immense fortunes are wrong, and radically so, but what can be said of the condition in this country that enables men to even outstrip the Rothschilds, and do so in a few years. The Rothschilds have been generations accumulating their fortunes, but Americans become millionaires almost in a day. These conditions must be changed, and it is but reasonable to suppose that as soon as the masses of the people realize the injustice of our system they will with one voice demand that right be established.

Our national wealth, 1860 was \$16,000,000,000. In 1890 it was \$65,000,000,000. The shrinkage of value as the result of financial and industrial depression is variously estimated from 30 to 50 per cent. but it is believed that a reduction of 20 per cent. from the estimate of 1890 would represent the national wealth of 1894, or \$52,000,000. Money doubles at 4 per cent. per annum in seventeen years. With a national wealth of \$16,000,000,000 in 1860, if the increase was 4 per cent. per annum, the present national wealth ought to be \$64,000,000,000 or 12,000,000,000 more than it actually is to day; so that

INGERSOLL.

HAS COMPASSION FOR THE POOR FLED THE WORLD?

Millions Without Work, the Victims of Appalling Conditions.

Invention has filled the world with competitors not only of laborers, but of mechanics—mechanics of highest skill. To-day the ordinary laborer is, for the most part, a peg in the wheel. He works with the tireless—he feeds the insatiable. When the monster stops, the man is out of employment—out of bread. He has not saved anything. The machine that he fed was not feeding him—the invention was not for his benefit.

The other day I heard a man say that it was almost impossible for thousands of good mechanics to get employment, and that in his judgment the government ought to furnish work for the people. A few minutes later I heard another say that he was selling a patent for cutting out cloth, that one of the machines could do the work of twenty tailors, and that only the week before he had sold two to a great house in New York and that over forty cutters had been discharged.

On every side men are being discharged and machines are being invented to take their places. When the great factory shuts down the workers who inhabited it and gave it life, as thoughts to the brain, go away, and it stands there like an empty skull. A few workmen by the force of habits, gather about the closed doors and broken windows and talk about distress, the price of food and the coming winter. They are convinced that they have not had their share of what their labor created. They feel certain that the machines inside were not their friends. They look at the mansion of the employer—but have nothing themselves. The employer seems to have enough. Even when employers fail, when they become bankrupt, they are far better off than the laborers, ever were. Their worst is better than the toiler's best.

The capitalist comes forward with this specific. He tells the workman that he must be economical—and yet, under the present system, economy would only lessen wages. Under the great law of supply and demand every saving, frugal, self-denying workman is unconsciously doing what little he can do to reduce the compensation of himself and his fellows. The slaves who did not wish to run away helped fasten chains on those who did. So the saving mechanic is a certificate that wages are high enough. Does the great law demand that every worker should live on the least possible amount of bread? Is it his fate to work one day that he may get enough food to be able to work another? Is that to be his only hope—that and death?

Capital has always claimed, and still claims, the right to combine. Manufacturers meet and determine prices, even in spite of the great law of supply and demand. Have the laborers the same right to consult and combine? The rich meet in the bank, club house or parlor. Workingmen when they combine gather in the street. All the organized forces of society are against them. Capital has the army and the navy, the legislature, the judicial and executive departments. When the rich combine it is for the purpose of "exchanging ideas." When the poor combine it is a "conspiracy." If they act in concert, if they really do something, it is a "mob." If they defend themselves it is treason. How is it the rich can control the departments of government? In this country the political power is equally divided among men. There are certainly more poor than rich. Why should the rich control? Why should not the laborers combine for the purpose of controlling the executive, the legislative and judicial departments? Will they ever find how powerful they are? A cry comes from the oppressed, the hungry, from the downtrodden, from the unfortunate, from the despised, from men who despair and from women who weep. There are times when mendicants become revolutionists—when a rag becomes a banner, under which the noblest and the bravest battle for right.

How are we to settle the unequal contest between man and machine? Will the machine finally go into partnership with the laborer? Can those forces of nature be controlled for the benefit of her suffering children? Will extravagance keep pace with ingenuity? Will the workingmen become intelligent and strong enough to become owners of machines? Will these giants, these Titans, shorten or lengthen the hours of labor? Will they make leisure for the industrious, or will they make the rich richer and the poor poorer? Is man involved in the "general scheme" of things. Is there no pity, no mercy? Can man be

come intelligent enough to be generous, to be just, or does the same law of facts control him as controls the animals or vegetable world? The great oak steals the sunlight from the smaller trees. The strong animal devours the weak—everything at the mercy of beak, and claw, and hoof, and tooth—of hand, and club, and brain, and greed—inequality, injustice everywhere. The poor horse standing in the street with his dray, overworked, overwhipped and underfed, when he sees other horses groomed to mirror, glistening with gold and silver, scorning with proud feet the very earth, probably indulges in the usual socialistic reflections; and this same horse, worn out and old, deserted by his master, turned into the dusty road, leans his head on the topmost rail, looks at the donkeys in the field of clover, and feels like a nihilist.

In the days of cannibalism the strong devoured the weak—actually ate their flesh. In spite of all laws that man has made, in spite of all advances in science, the strong, the heartless still live on the weak, the unfortunate, the foolish. True, they do not eat their flesh or drink their blood, but they live on their labor, on their self-denial, their weariness and want. The poor man who deforms himself by toil, who labors for his wife and children through all his anxious barren, wasted life—who goes to the grave without ever having a luxury—has been the food of others. He has been devoured by his fellow men. The poor woman living in the bare and lonely room, cheerless and fireless, sewing night and day to keep starvation from her child, is slowly being eaten by her fellow men. When I take into consideration the agony of civilized life—the failures, the anxiety, the tears, the withered hopes, the bitter realities, the hunger, the crime, the humiliation, the shame—I am almost forced to say that cannibalism, after all, is the most merciful form in which man has ever lived upon his fellow man.

It is impossible for a man with a good heart to be satisfied with this world as it is now. No man can truly enjoy even what he earns—what he knows to be his own—knowing that millions of his fellow men are, in misery and want. When we think of the famished, we feel that it is almost heartless to eat. To meet the ragged and shivering makes one almost ashamed to be well dressed and warm—one feels as though his heart was as cold as their bodies.

In a world filled with millions and millions of acres of land waiting to be tilled, where one man can raise the food for hundreds, yet millions are on the edge of famine. Who can comprehend the stupidity at the bottom of this truth?

Is there to be no change? Are the laws of "supply and demand," invention and science, monopoly and competition, capital and legislation, always to be enemies of those who toil? Will the workers always be ignorant enough and stupid enough to give their earnings to the useless. Will they support millions of soldiers to kill the sons of other workingmen? Will they allow parasites and vampires to live on upon their blood? Will they remain the slaves of the beggars they support? Will honest men stop taking off their hats to successful "frauds"? Will industry, in the presence of crowned idleness, forever fall upon its knees—and will the lips unstained by lies forever kiss the robber's and impostor's hands? Will they understand that beggars can not be generous, and that every healthy man must earn the right to live? Will they finally say that the man who has had equal privileges with all others has no right to complain or will they follow the example that has been set by their oppressors? Will they learn that force, to succeed, must have thought behind it and that anything done, in order that it may succeed, must rest on justice?

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE, in an article published in the December Forum, says:

"There is a disposition to rob socialism of the credit of such good as it is doing, by dwelling too much on the harm which its so-called offshoot Anarchism, occasionally does; but the fact remains that socialism, despite its rather disputatious congresses, is only the natural protest of the many to the arrogant rule of the few, and that it is, on the whole, gradually accomplishing the good which our republic set out to do—to help the people govern themselves."

Socialism contemplates the good of society, by conferring upon the people, for instance in Germany, larger liberty and a more potential voice in government. In the United States, socialism deals chiefly with economic questions, necessarily so—since individual liberty reaches its *ultima thule* when the ballot is placed in the hands of every citizen. In a land where the individual enjoys this supreme right, anarchists and nihilists become dangers which demand ceaseless surveillance.

The populist party in 1894 polled more than 2,000,000 votes.

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TERRE HAUTE, JANUARY 1, 1895.

COXEY, of Coxe army fame, received 9,000 votes as a candidate for congress.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA has gallantly emancipated women, who may now vote all same Melican man.

WITH 2,000,000 children in the factories the United States may expect future generations of Congo dwarfs.

THE New York tailors appeal to all friends of organized labor, to patronize only such tailoring establishments as can show the union label.

BRUCE, the Ohio Senator from New York, wants to be President of the United States. Satan, once upon a time, wanted to reign in heaven.

THE great steel establishments of Pennsylvania are reducing the wages of their employes, believing there are greater profits in steal than in steel.

RUSSIANS in America are required to take the oath of allegiance to the new Czar, Nicholas No. 2. We have a dozen czars in this country, any one of whom is as heartless as Russia's Nic or the old Nic himself.

GEN. BEN HARRISON who marched gallantly at the head of his company, anxiously to get at the unarmed boys on a strike A. D. 1877, expects to be the next president. Will he receive the labor vote of the country?

THOMAS JEFFERSON said: "The dead have no use for the earth, only the living." If one will just notice the pagan tombs in any of our aristocratic cemeteries, they will conclude that the author of the Declaration of Independence, for once at least, made a mistake.

THE Western Laborer hears that "Indiana is getting ready to increase her militia. No member of organized labor will be permitted in the ranks." No member of organized labor should desire such a position. Let plutocrats and the sons of plutocrats shoot working men if it must be done in the interest of the enemies of labor.

THE present is the age of the machine—horse power vs. man power. What are you going to do about it? Destroy the machines? No, not that. What then? Reduce the hours of labor. It is the way out, and the only way out. If workingmen do not see it they are blind. If they do not already hear the clanking of the chains the machine is forging for them they are deaf.

THE Cleveland Citizen remarks that "the human animal is the most enduring of all, and his bodily equipment, merely in matters of strength, skill, and prolonged exertion, is the best known in the whole animate world." That is doubtless true. An army mule subjected to the treatment which Geo. M. Pullman inflicted upon his employes would have died—would probably have committed suicide by kicking himself to death.

L. S. COFFIN, distinguished in railroad affairs, chiefly for having introduced the temperance "white button," is reported as saying in the Chicago Conciliation and Arbitration Congress that he "thought railroad employes were in every sense public servants," and that "as such they should not cripple the public service." Railroad employes are not public servants in any legal sense. Public affairs are controlled by the Federal or State governments, neither of which controls railroad employes. And, quite recently, Judge Dallas decided that the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen had no standing in his court. Railway employes are private gentlemen, working for whom they choose, and for such wages as they agree to accept for their services.

CHICAGO labor statistics show "that in 140 establishments the number of hands employed October 1 of this year was 53,455. Before the panic of last year, or during the month of May, the same concerns employed 69,024 hands, while during the months of July and August, 1893, considered as the time when the panic was at its worst, they employed only 38,905." In this it is seen that between May and August, 1893, 30,119 hands were discharged, and that on the first day of October, 1894, 15,569 of the idle hands had secured employment, and that 14,550 were still idle. The panic, between May and August, swept 43 per cent of the employes in 140 establishments into the ranks of idlers. What was true of Chicago was equally true of every other industrial center of the country, and a glance at the figures brings the horror of the situation into prominence. These disasters, says Mr. Cleveland, were chiefly owing to "Congressional legislation."

JUDGE WILLIAM A. WOODS.

The supreme power of governments over individuals, relates to depriving them (1) of life, (2) of liberty, (3) of property—hang them, imprison them, and confiscate their property. The Autocrat and despot of Russia—the Sultan of Turkey, the Shah of Persia, as also the kings and chiefs of negro tribes in Africa and perhaps some other despots of savage and barbarous nations, may kill, imprison and rob their subjects without consulting any one. Their will is supreme. They possess the "divine right" to slaughter, torture, imprison and appropriate the property of those who happen to be within their jurisdiction. These infamous monsters are permitted by an inscrutable God, to play the role of tigers and horrors the world by their inhuman sway. They have no liking for constitutions, statutes, or laws—juries—their will is sufficient.

It has been held that in the United States of America Christian civilization had triumphed over savagery—that under constitution and statute the rights of the humblest individual were sacred; that he could be neither killed, imprisoned nor be deprived of his property, except by "due process of law"—a trial by a jury of his peers. If this state of things ever existed in the United States, it exists no longer, if a corporation demands of a United States judge that the rights of workingmen shall be cloven down in their interest.

There are exceptions, thank God. Here and there, may be found a United States judge, who is honest and incorruptible—who, as far as can be seen by mortal scrutiny, are not the tools of corporations, and who have no price for perjury. The exceptions only bring the rule into the more repulsive prominence, and those whom the rule includes are the judges, who

"Dressed in a little brief authority,
 Play such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
 As make the angels weep."

And if Judge Wm. A. Woods is not one of those eminent United States judicial clowns, tricked out in court spangles, whose legal tricks, high jumping, and lofty tumbling make angels weep, it is because "high heaven" will not longer tolerate exhibitions of strolling mountebanks of United States courts. Of all the performances of Judge Woods, his latest, relating to the Pullman strike and the imprisonment of innocent men, tattoos him, as God marked Cain, as a judicial catiff, base, mean and tyrannical beyond the powers of exaggeration.

Governor John P. Altgeld, of Illinois, himself a lawyer of high attainments, of honest convictions and the courage required to speak and act, in a late interview, photographs Woods in a way that brings to the surface his degenerate heart and soul, and makes them appear like the corporation fly specks upon his forehead. Governor Altgeld said:

"Nobody who knew anything about the history of Judge Woods could be surprised. You remember there was opposition to his confirmation in the senate because he was then under a cloud. He attracted the attention of the American people as a judge by rescuing Dudley and some others of 'blocks-of-five' fame from the penitentiary. They had been indicted for debauching the voters of Indiana in order to carry the election for Harrison and were about to be sent to the penitentiary."

Harrison attributed his victory to the Lord, and Judge Woods evidently felt that to permit Dudley to go to the penitentiary under these circumstances would be a reflection on the Lord, so he went out of his way and, in violation of the law, saved him. He has been engaged in various enterprises since, as a judge, that look very queer to an every-day man. This thing of shielding big criminals and big corporations from the sword of justice and then delivering a homily of 27,000 words in length on the majesty of the law simply shows the extraordinary ability and versatility of the man. In the Debs matter the corporations wanted Debs sent to jail, and it did not make any difference what the facts were, or what the law was, everybody who knew Woods' history was satisfied they would get what they wanted."

Such is the infamous position occupied by Wm. A. Woods before the country. We can conceive of nothing in the way of character more detestable. His opinion couched in 27,000 words, legal slush, an interminable maze of technicalities, drawn from English law, common law, and no law, human or divine, are paraded before the world, the better to obscure the perfidious purpose of obeying the behest of corporations, deny the accused the right of a jury trial, and send men, against whom there was not a scintilla of evidence in support of the charges against them to prison—and this monstrous act of tyranny is perpetrated in a land of constitutions, of bills of rights, of laws supposed to protect the innocent against the attacks of the rich and influential, the innocent against the perjured minions of corporations, their hired thugs and thieves, and Wm. A. Woods does their bidding, as an automaton responds to the secret string, which makes it perform its antics for the gratification of the audience.

This mentally deformed tool of corporations, whose judicial robes, as Gov. Altgeld points out, have long been smirched by infamous acts, was forced to admit by his own juggling of law, that he was in doubt as to the scope of the law he was administering; the miserable tool of corporations became "entangled in doubt," but he was clear, that he had the power to rob innocent men of their liberty, and as that was what the corporations demanded he obeyed their order, regardless of the eternal damnation of his reputation, as an honest, upright judge. The men his decision sends to prison, are as superior

to him as an archangel is superior to a toad, and will live in grateful remembrance when the name of Wm. A. Woods, burdened with infamy, will sink to soulless depths of oblivion.

ENVY AND ITS REWARD.

As an instance of malice, the offshoot of envy run mad, the story of Haman's plan to destroy old Mordecai, the Jew, stands unsurpassed in history. Haman hated Mordecai and Mordecai despised Haman. Haman, though a wretch, a murderous monster, had inveigled the king and secured royal favors. Mordecai was a noble specimen of humanity. Honor, truth and fidelity glorified all his acts and knowing Haman to be a bad egg generally, would not recognize him. As a result Haman, banking on his influence with the king, concluded to hang Mordecai on a gallows fifteen cubits high, which he had erected with all the appliances of speedy and effective work. Haman, as he contemplated his neck stretching and neck breaking machine, chuckled gleefully and his family were equally elated. Now for the outcome.

The king one night found himself quite unable to sleep, and to while away the weary hours directed his private secretary to produce the "record of the chronicles" and read it to him. The record was forth coming, and as the reading proceeded it was found that on one occasion Mordecai had discovered a plot to assassinate the king, the information was promptly transmitted to the king and his life was saved. The king had forgotten the incident and he immediately asked what honor and dignity had been done Mordecai for this act of loyalty? The answer was "Nothing has been done." The king then asked, "Who is in the court?" It so happened that Haman had just entered the palace and the fact was announced to the king who immediately ordered him into his presence. The king then asked Haman what honors and dignities should be bestowed upon a subject who had performed such acts of loyalty as the record of the chronicles disclosed. Haman could think of no one worthy of honors but himself and promptly told the king that the right thing to do was to "let the royal apparel be brought which the king useth to wear, and the horse that the king rideth upon, and the crown royal which is set upon his head, and let this apparel and horse be delivered to the hand of one of the kings most noble princes, that they may array the man withal whom the king delighteth to honor."

The king took Haman at his word and said, "Make haste, and take the apparel and the horse, as thou hast said and do even so to Mordecai the Jew that sitteth at the king's gate; let nothing fail of all that thou hast spoken."

That was a spoiler, for Haman had to get the apparel and the horse, array the old Jew, and bring him on horseback through the streets of the city and proclaim before him, "Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honor."

This made Haman tired and disgusted and he went to his home mourning. The anticipated hanging bee had not come off, and from all indications the old Jew was on top and Haman's goose was liable to be cooked at any minute exceedingly brown, and so it happened. In a few hours the magnificent gallows, fifty cubits (about 76 feet) high, was occupied by Haman by order of the king and he was hanged till he was dead while Mordecai, as composedly as ever, sat at the king's gate.

The record of the chronicles, since the days of Ahasuerus, has been similarly demanded, kings and peoples have wanted to hear them read and a Haman, full of envy and hatred, as malignant as a cobra or a rattlesnake, has usually been disclosed; some creature or corporation who had determined to wreak their hate upon innocence. These Haman hangmen, bloated with power have been able to draw around them sycophants and parasites, as mean and often meaner than themselves, who, as they saw the gallows built and ready for execution, experienced all the pleasures of hate which ignoble creatures enjoy.

The records of the chronicles recite how the American Railway Union espoused the cause of the famine cursed Pullman employes; how it sought to save them from death a thousand times more terrible than death by assassinating. That is as true as Holy Writ. This record of the chronicles excited the ire of all the purse-proud Hamans in the land, they plotted together to slay the A. R. U. They built gallowses, dug pits, set dead falls, and with hates burning as fiercely as the fires of hell, pursued the victim of their intense animosity, and chuckled as they contemplated the overthrow and death of our order, which from the day of its birth, was guilty of no greater wrong than championing the cause of oppressed wage workers, men and women.

But, so far the Hamans have not been able to hang, entrap, or burn the American Railway Union, and now, more than ever before, the wage earners of America are asking for the record of the chronicles and as they read, ask what honor and dignity have been done the order that staked its all to succor the oppressed; and as the answer is given, "persecution

and prosecution have been its reward," the king, for the people are king, is coming to its rescue, with rewards better than robes or crowns. They are saying, "Well done good and faithful servants, friends of the oppressed, haters of robbers and tyrants, defenders of the right, champions of Justice. You will live in the grateful memories of men when the Hamans and their lickspittles are dead and damned and forgotten." Better still the members of the A. R. U. are returning to the field by thousands. The lodge fires are being relighted, the old banners are waving and all along the line the old battle shout is heard "United we stand." The furnace of persecution through which the order has passed has been fiercely hot, hot as the Hamans could make it, but the A. R. U. has passed through it unscathed, for the genus of labor, the genus of justice and the genus of truth have walked with it amidst the flames.

WORKINGMEN OF AMERICA.

The Pullman strike has passed into history. In this great upheaval, the American Railway Union, officers and men were involved. It attracted national attention, and was of such consequence in arousing public interest, that the President of the United States deemed it his duty to appoint a commission to investigate all matters pertaining to its cause and progress. That commission was composed of three eminent men, viz.: Carroll D. Wright, John D. Kernan, and Nicholas B. Worthington. This commission was clothed with all required authority to call witnesses, probe to foundations, investigate and find all the facts. This duty they performed under oath and reported to the President of the United States, that "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 that 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."

It is not possible for innocence to have a higher or a more absolute vindication. Who were the officers of the American Railway Union, the Investigating Commission justified before the world, and upon their oath said that they neither "participated in, or advised intimidation, violence nor destruction of property." They are the men who, by the autocratic decree of Wm. A. Woods, U. S. Judge, are to occupy felon cells in U. S. bastiles to gratify the malice of plutocratic corporations, the sworn and implacable enemies of labor. Call the roll of the men whose rights and liberties have been cloven down by the catiff Woods, and hear the response from behind the prison bars. Eugene V. Debs, President of the American Railway Union, George W. Howard, Vice President, Secretary Kelliher, Treasurer Rogers, and Directors Burns, Elliot, McVean, Hogan and Goodwin.

These are the men the U. S. investigation commission, upon their oaths, said were innocent, and these are the men the judicial tyrant, Woods, a thousand times more infamous than his prototype, Jeffreys, the lickspittle of royalty, whose cruelties made his name eternally nefarious—I say, more infamous than Jeffreys, because Woods lives in a more enlightened age, and in a land where the people, and not a despot, is supposed to rule.

What was the motive that inspired Woods to respond to the demand of corporations and send innocent men to prison? I can tell you, workingmen of America, the incentive, the ground and consideration of the monstrous outrage. It was to crush the free, independent spirit of American workingmen, to reduce them to starvation wages and to slaves, as Pullman reduced the victims of his power. Can they accomplish their devilish purpose with, or without the aid of U. S. judges? I answer for the men doomed to prison by the American Jeffreys, and proclaim, trumpet tongued, No, never! Manacled, haltered, stripped of liberty and of every right guaranteed to American citizens, we go to prison, not joyously, not with words of bravado, but defiantly, courageously and with such serenity as conscious innocence vouchsafes to the victims of the damnable despotism of a U. S. judge—as inhuman, as cruel, as ever sent a victim of autocratic power in Russia to the Siberian mines, to perish for demanding the liberty supposed to belong to American citizens.

Our cause is the cause of American workingmen. Our trials, our imprisonment, our sufferings, are forced upon us because corporations, wealth, the money power, have determined that the woes of labor shall find no redress in appealing to U. S. Courts, and like J. Gould, they give the world to understand that when they want a judge, they can buy one—and Woods is an illustration that they can do it. Workingmen of America, to you we appeal in this darkest day that labor ever witnessed in America. The United States by its representatives proclaim men innocent, while one man, law maker, jury and judge, brushes aside the testimony of the U. S. commission as of no value, and responding to the demand

of soulless corporations, declares innocent men guilty, and dooms them to prison.

If workingmen submit to such acts of despotic tyranny, it were folly to longer talk of liberty or law, constitution, or the guarantees of constitution; all are swept away, and corporations, entrenched in the power that wealth confers, backed by the decrees of degenerate judges, will be satisfied only when labor is utterly powerless and prostrate and their iron shod hoofs are upon its neck. The time has surely come when American workingmen must protest, when their souls must be aroused from lethargy, when their sympathies must go out to those who suffer for their cause, or all are doomed to tyrannies for which there is no redress except in those fierce struggles for liberty, in which, sounding above the clash of arms, will be heard the shibboleth of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty, or give me death!"

It appears that certain railroads represented by the "General Managers' Association," desired to help the Pullman Palace Car Company rob and starve its employes. It was an infamous piece of business. Even to this day reports have it that the devil himself regards the combination altogether too damnable for his endorsement. The devil is not a lovable character, he seldom blushes or makes apologies for his agents, but when they resolved to starve several thousands of Pullman employes, men, women and children, the devil did not hesitate to say the "proceedings beat hell." It now appears that certain railroads, which demanded troops to aid them in starving the Pullman employes, want to charge the government for transporting the troops to Chicago, but a government official, whom the *Railroad Gazette* seeks to belittle, by referring to him as "the seventeenth assistant auditor of the War Department, or some other petty officer there," opposes the payment of the bill, "on the ground that as the railroads were the beneficiaries of the service performed by the troops, they ought not to ask pay for transporting them to and from the scene of action." The official is absolutely right. He does not deal in "twaddle." He is not a "small boy." He comprehends the subject fully. The General Managers' Association, if it can call out the standing army when it wishes to do so for the purpose of crushing labor organizations, and of subjecting working men and women to the cruelties practiced by the Pullman Palace Car Company, and other plutocratic employers of labor without bearing any of the expenses of the military machine, the standing army could be forever on duty, shooting down and trampling down American workingmen. If, however, they are compelled to pay out some of the money designed to pay dividends on watered stock and bonds, their mercenary souls, if they have souls of any description, will be a little cautious about asking for troops to aid them in their piracies. The *Railroad Gazette* kicks, because that is its mission when the pockets of corporations are touched. If the standing army exists for the purpose of subjecting workingmen to the despotisms practiced by millionaire monstrosities, the fact ought to be known. It looks that way just now, but the action of the "seventeenth assistant auditor" is a gleam of light in the darkness, which ought to be hailed as an indication that the country is not yet entirely Russianized.

CHATTEL AND BOND SLAVERY.

Hon. John Davis, M. C., contributes to the *Arena* for November an article captioned "The New Slavery." The article is opportune, and forcefully-written. The term "new slavery" presupposes an old or a previous slavery. The writer asks "Have we abolished slavery?" and then defines the term slavery. He says "Slavery is a means by which the master enjoyed the earnings of the man." In this country the "old slavery" was the African, or chattel slavery. That has been abolished. Block, whip and bloodhound disappeared. The new slavery, to which Mr. Davis devotes special attention, is what he terms: "bond slavery, or bondage." He says "it is far safer, far better, and more comprehensive for the masters" than chattel slavery, "but less merciful to the slaves." This "bond slavery"—money-power slavery, mortgage, trust, syndicate, monopoly, corporation and watered stock slavery, is far more heartless, Christless, piratical and cruel than the old chattel slavery. The writer says:

The great fund-holding millionaires have their hands on the throats of the people through various forms of national, state, municipal, telegraph and railroad debts, many millions of which are water, costing the holders only the printing and signing of the papers. The interest and dividends on these bonds and stocks are met by high national and municipal taxation and by high telegraph and transportation rates, forming a constantly flowing river of hard-earned cash from the fingers of labor and business into the coffers of the millionaires, who are thus our new slave masters. They are the masters of tax payers, masters of congress, masters of the legislatures, masters of the courts, masters of finance, masters of transportation and masters of the public means of communication and intelligence. In the pride of their power they snap their fingers in the face of the people and say "The public be damned!" and "What are you going to do about it?"

Such is the character of the new slavery, and such is the character of the new masters of the slaves. The old system of chattel slavery disappeared amidst the smoke and fire and thunder of a hundred battles, as if a thousand Vesuviuses were engaged—battles in which blood and carnage made the rivers run red to the sea. How will the new slavery disappear?

THE SENTENCE.
 The conviction of the directors of the American Railway Union has aroused the universal condemnation of the labor press. Not only this, but we are flooded with letters from business men, lawyers, doctors, ministers, politicians, and, in fact, from men and women in almost every walk of life, expressing sympathy and kindness, and denouncing the tyranny of the decision. Our space permits us to publish only a few of the numerous resolutions and comments.

The Central Labor Union of Cleveland adopted the following:

Once more Eugene V. Debs, representing the hopes and aspirations of many thousands of working people, becomes the victim of corporate hate and truculent courts. The sentence of six months to jail for contempt of the order of a court which had long since made itself contemptible in the eyes of the masses by its political subservience in the past, and by becoming the tool of soulless corporations and the politician Dudley in Indiana, will only add to Debs' strength among the work people, and make him a martyr where he was only a courageous leader. Of course the case will be taken to the Supreme Court on appeal, though Debs will not appeal, believing it is no use to expect justice from the courts as at present organized.

It is hardly worth while to discuss the decision of Judge Woods. He required about 20,000 words for his fallacious reasoning and to cover the orders which Olney and the General Managers' Association had issued.

In view of the fact that the Presidential Commission, in its report, had vindicated Debs and the American Railway Union in its contest against Pullman and the General Managers' conspiracy, it seems useless to tire our readers with a long account of how Judge Woods (Blocks-of-Five-Woods) put up a case against the American Railway Union and then found the twenty-six officers of that body guilty of violating the law. Of course Olney, President Cleveland's Trust Attorney-General, is delighted at the verdict. He says so. We doubt not that a few cold-blooded labor leaders are equally delighted with the verdict. They can point to their own escape from the law as an evidence of their wisdom in refusing to endorse the strike. But the people—the masses—will lose a little more of the little respect they have left for our courts, which so readily find in the Sherman anti-trust and interstate commerce laws such ample ground for prosecuting the striking workman, and nothing whatever to warrant prosecuting such arch-conspirators and law-breakers as the Sugar Trust or the General Managers' Blacklisting Association.

Avant! ye hypocritical judges and sycophantic trust officials.—*Knights of Labor Journal.*

Woods, the alleged judge who rendered the infamous decision in the "blocks-of-five" cases, for which he was condemned by his own party members, has declared Eugene V. Debs and his associate officers in the American Railway Union guilty of contempt of himself, and acting both as judge, accuser and offender paid, sentenced Debs to six months imprisonment in jail, and his associates to three months each. After consultation the condemned, who first proposed to appeal, have concluded to submit to imprisonment. An appeal would have required the expenditure of large sums of money and left them in uncertainty for many months. By this decision their agony is over.

They will properly and consistently be considered in the light of martyrs, and as the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, their unjust and tyrannical punishment by a notoriously corrupt "judge" will help the cause of right and justice.

Time at last makes all things even, and when the Woods, Ricks and others have been remanded to deserved ignominy with the Taneys of black slavery days, the people a dozen years from now will render justice to the martyrs.—*Milwaukee Advance.*

Because Debs "is a man of marked ability" and "of power over men," Judge Woods gave him three more months in prison than he gave the strike leader's colleagues. If a man is to be judged and punished according to the extent of his influence over men is the means of invading the peace of society, how many months' imprisonment had Sherman and Cleveland ought to have more than men like Woods?

The decision of Judge Woods, sentencing Debs and other leaders of the late A. R. U. strike to imprisonment, is not a surprise to anyone posted on labor affairs in this country. It was the program to imprison these men in order to teach labor leaders submission to the powers that be. But incidentally it will teach them the necessity of going into politics and being the powers that be themselves, and thus, like the Dread Scott decision, good will come out of even Nazareth.—*Western Laborer.*

The Portland (Oregon) Central Labor Council adopted the following:

WHEREAS, The said Eugene V. Debs was exonerated from said charges by a commission appointed to investigate said charges by our nation's executive; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Portland Central Labor Council, that we unqualifiedly denounce such procedure as inimical to the sacred rights of American citizens and a violation of the spirit of the constitution of the United States, and call upon all good citizens everywhere to, with us, protest, by voice and vote, against such action.

WHEREAS, It is with regret that the Central Labor Union of Cleveland, O., learns that Eugene V. Debs and his colleagues of the A. R. U. have been denied to serve the unjust sentences imposed upon them by Judge Woods, of the United States Circuit Court, without warrant of law or trial by their peers; and we, the members of this organization, hereby emphatically condemn this high-handed travesty upon justice by a corporation tool clothed in the already badly besmirched ermine of the bench, and also pledge the A. R. U. officials all the aid in our power whenever called upon.

Hurrah for Debs! Hurrah for the corporations! Hurrah for a free country, where a tool of corporations can adjudge "guilty" and confine in prison a citizen without trial by jury of his fellow men! And hurrah for laboring men who will, by their ballots, elevate corporations into power! Let the American eagle scream and let Liberty rejoice while the Declaration of Independence trails in the dust and Plutocracy reigns! Great is America—"The land of the rich and the home of the slave."—*The Leader.*

On December 14, Judge Woods sentenced Eugene V. Debs to six months in prison, and his associates, Kelliher, Rogers, Howard, McVean, Elliott, Burns, Hogan and Goodwin, three months each. Have you read the report of the strike commission? If not, do so, and keep your eye open to see what will be done with members of the Managers' Association. Fair minds will have to admit justice (?) is a queer bird. "Lay on, McDuff!"—*The Toller.*

Eugene Debs has been sentenced to serve six months in jail at Chicago for contempt of court. The other defendants were given three months each. This decision will lend new vigor to and make many converts for the Populist party. That's the main result that will ensue, in the present temper of the protection-impooverished workers.—*Interne News.*

A View of the Industrial Situation

By E. P. STELLWAGEN. (Delegate to the late convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Harrisburg, Pa.)

Doubtless there are many here who have given the labor problem much investigation, careful and profound study, and those present who have written able articles upon the economic condition of the country. I cannot refrain from expressing my sympathy with the views of such writers as Messrs. Borland, Stuart, and Gros, and other contributors whose pens have served to educate the millions of wealth producers of this country through the pages of our well known Magazine, whose influence for good extends far beyond the limits of our brotherhood. I feel confident that I express the views of all present in acknowledging the great debt that we owe to the indefatigable energy of that able champion of labor, Eugene V. Debs, who could well be called the modern Bayard in this struggle for human rights, as it can also be said of him that he is a man sans peur et sans reproche. The old proverb that "a man is known by the company he keeps" may be modernized to "those who praise a man are the ones he has served." In what we may well call the plutocratic press have appeared many biographical sketches and favorable notices of many of the labor leaders of this country, but in none of these sheets have we noticed a word of commendation or praise for Eugene V. Debs. It is only in the most outspoken of the labor journals that we find fitting words acknowledging the sincerity and integrity of Mr. Debs. From this you can judge whom he has served and whom also he has benefited.

No one can doubt but that the failure of the recent strike was caused by the various brotherhoods arraying themselves on the side of the corporations. Had they acted in unison with the American Railway Union in their conflict with corporate greed, the cause of labor must have been victorious. Labor will always fail in using a weapon of this kind unless wielded in the hand of every unit that goes to make up the whole of the producing element. Had there been unanimity of action, labor would have gained the greatest victory ever known or heard of in the history of strikes. Is it not more than probable that the eminent success of Mr. Debs in forming the American Railway Union had already excited the jealousy of the leaders of the various brotherhoods, and when the crisis came, they fought the universal brotherhood that should bind all labor together, and allowed the fear of losing their position, with its financial support, to overcome their sense of justice and duty to their fellow laborers? While I regard the boycott and the strike as weapons almost obsolete, and as useless in the stage of the struggle upon which we are now entering as a bow and arrow would be in the hands of a modern soldier, yet it is but common sense, if we do strike, to strike hard and strike all together; the efficacy of a strike depends not upon its being used by a regiment or brigade, but by the whole army. In this connection, I may well quote the language of our Grand Master, delivered in San Francisco, Sept. 15, 1890: "We do not advocate strikes; in our entire history we have tried to avoid them, but we wish all to know we have striking machinery, and we keep it well oiled." And he further adds: "The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen is striving to be a pioneer in every movement that will benefit the countless toilers; neither selfish in its make-up nor aristocratic in its views, it recognizes every effort on the part of organized labor." I am afraid the Grand Master has either changed his views or forgotten this beautiful sentiment during the recent great strike. Had he and the other grand chiefs remembered it and carried it into effect by coming to the aid of organized labor, we would probably be wearing to-day the laurels of victory instead of the myrtle leaves of defeat. The capitalistic press refers to the late strike as a disastrous defeat to organized labor, when in reality it was but the retiring of the picket lines to prepare for the inevitable conflict that shall forever decide which is the higher in the scale of human rights, a man or a bank vault.

The battle of Bunker Hill was nominally a defeat for the American forces. Yet that defeat is a record of glory instead of shame, for it united all America in opposition to the injustice of paying taxes to support the British throne and the rule of a foreign despot. And the late conflict will also serve to unite the laboring masses against the injustice of a ruling without adequate compensation, for the benefit of monopolies and parasites of society, who live upon the labor of others. Bunker Hill came before Yorktown, Bull Run came before Appomatox, and history will give the late strike the position of the former battles while we wait for a Yorktown and Appomatox that will be won at the ballot box.

Both of the old political parties are not only ruled by Wall street, but their leaders are taken from the plutocratic class. This being true, they can no more solve the question of wage slavery than the Whig or Democratic parties could solve the question of chattel slavery. It required a new party, organized for that purpose, to free the black slave, and a new party must break the chains that corporate wealth has bound to the wage slave.

In classic Rome, those condemned in the arena filed before the emperor, saying "Hail, Cesar! We who are condemned to die salute you!" And when the laboring masses march in the processions of the old parties and follow them blindly to the polls, they only repeat the old cry in a modern form and by their actions say "Hail, Cesar! We whom you have condemned to starvation wages salute you." When we have united in a party of our own, with the direct object of striking for the cause of labor, through the only means that is left us—the ballot box, then, and not till then, can we change the cry, and lifting our hands, say boldly, "Stop, Cesar! We whom you have condemned to starvation have at last come to fight you." And our battle cry will be: Human life is more sacred than stolen property, and a man is worth more than a bank note.

Everyone will admit that, under the hard times which we are now passing through, it is monthly and daily becoming more difficult for the laborer to live, and the millions now out of employment are being added to almost daily by improvements in machinery. Machinery has already displaced over two million men, and society no longer needs their services as wealth producers. Doubtless, in a year from now, this number will be doubled, and the process will increase

yearly until two-thirds of the able-bodied men of the country will be compelled to live off charity, starve, or resort to violence. The voters must soon solve this problem. What shall they do? I do not believe they will starve; as wealth producers they have no right to beg, and as the only alternative is violence, let us hope for a peaceable solution before this point is reached.

The causes ordinarily given for the hard times that afflict us are more frequently effects than causes. One blames it entirely upon the contraction of the currency, the consequent scarcity of money, with the high rate of interest. A second claims it is entirely due to the formation of corporations and trusts that absorb all the wealth of the country. A third lays all the blame on the class legislation for the last thirty years, that, he claims, has been entirely in the interests of monopoly and the capitalistic class. Let me refer here to one effect that is sometimes given as a cause. From the late census we find that the total wealth produced in this country for one year was in round numbers \$10,000,000,000; the producers received from this amount \$4,000,000,000 in the shape of wages—that is, those who produced the wealth of the country received two-fifths, and the non-producing class received the remainder. Thus we see that labor, the sole element in producing wealth, was only able to utilize or purchase two-fifths of its total product.

Another fact from the same source shows that our present system of production must inevitably lead the country into bankruptcy, and concentrate the entire wealth in the hands of a few, and leave the many destitute. In round numbers the entire wealth of the country is estimated at \$70,000,000,000; it is also shown that the bonded indebtedness of the country, national, state, county and municipal, amounts to three-fourths of this sum. On this indebtedness is an average interest of six per cent. per annum, which we are paying to the holders of these bonds in gold coin. And a large proportion of these bonds are held by foreign capitalists. It has also been shown that the annual increase of wealth is about 2 1/2 per cent. Six per cent. interest on three-fourths would almost equal five per cent. on the whole. Thus we see that we are paying in the shape of interest almost double the value of what we are producing. How long would a business man remain solvent who would pay five per cent. on capital invested, when the profits of his business only pay 2 1/2 per cent? There must come a time, sooner or later, depending upon the amount of his capital, when he must become bankrupt and his business a failure. And under the same conditions, in the history of this nation, the time must come when the producing classes become bankrupt and the business of the country a complete failure.

Are we not almost there now? Do not the millions of unemployed, the cries that come from starving families, and the thousand ills that are borne to our ears from every breeze from over the country show that this end is almost at hand? And the empty larders of the people show that national bankruptcy is already staring us in the face.

These are but the effects of the one underlying cause, which is the commercial and social competitive system. Under this system, the one who accumulates wealth takes to himself the produce of the toil of others, and is compelled to cut the throat of his neighbor in order to save his own. Without free competition, the wage system with all its attending evils would be impossible, nor could interest and profit enable one man to live off the labor of others.

As an illustration, let us suppose that the entire wealth of the country was equally divided among all its citizens. Then give competition free range, simply saying: hands off, let the most cunning and skillful win, and take from others all the wealth they can absorb; is there one present who would deny that in less than two generations we would have the same condition of affairs that exist to-day, the few with unbounded wealth, the many with nothing? Let us even suppose that not a single dishonest man was elected to any legislature; that bribery or special legislation were unknown; let them all strive to do their duty, simply keeping to the maxim: free competition, hands off; it certainly would not prevent or even retard the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few. Anti-trust laws are simply farces. We might as well endeavor to legislate the farmer back to the hand-sickle or the student back to the tallow-dip, as to force the production of wealth back to the hand-loom or the individual producer. The formation of trusts and combines is but the natural outcome of the competitive system. Society irresistibly demands that wealth shall be produced at the least cost of labor. And when it is proven, as it has been, that certain forms of wealth can be produced cheaper under one management, wealth will continue to be produced in that way in spite of all legislative opposition. And when the bonanza farmer can, with the aid of machinery, produce grain at thirty cents a bushel, while it costs the small farmer one dollar a bushel, the latter must go to the wall, as society will buy in the cheapest market. Over thirty of the necessities of life are produced by trusts, ranging from matches up to sugar, and the bonanza farmers have only to unite, which they will do soon, to eliminate the small farmer as a producer. What, then, is the remedy? There is but one—but one way out of this great slough of despond, and that is common ownership of land and machinery of production. It is a great mistake to say there is a conflict between labor and capital; labor has produced all capital, and needs it to produce more wealth. But if we say there is an inevitable conflict between the laborer and the capitalist—between the one who produces wealth and the one who absorbs all above a bare living to the producer—then, indeed, it is true; and the conflict must continue as long as the competitive system endures. There is no doubt that sugar can be produced with less labor under the operation of the trust; but why should we pay Havemeyer \$50,000,000 a year for his management of that concern? Crude oil can be refined cheaper with large refineries and under one management, such as the Standard Oil Company, than if it were produced by a thousand individual producers; but why should society pay Rockefeller \$20,000,000 a year as his profit in the business, and allow him to dictate the price of that commodity?

No, no. The combine and trust are here to stay. Production must move along the line of least resistance, and civilization cannot be forced backward. There is but one thing necessary—a change in the ownership; take it from

the hands of the individual and give it to the community. Let us simply water the stock of the Standard Oil Company, the sugar trust, the railroads and all other corporations, and give to each citizen of the country one share, making it impossible for him to own more or less than this amount; then the profit of all production will remain in the hands of the producer. In other words, we must replace competition by co-operation, and then we will have the co-operative commonwealth, which will abolish not only the wage system but involuntary poverty and destitution. Any other measure is but simply palliative. The temple that competition has reared is already tumbling to pieces, and many of the remedies proposed are simply props, used in a vain endeavor to prolong its unsightly existence. In Heaven's name, let it fall. From its dark vaults have issued the cries of starving children, the shrieks of despairing widows, and the lower floors have been filled with the victims of destitution and gaunt hunger, whose miseries have been aggravated by the sound of merriment that comes from the banquet hall of the fortunate few who have obtained a foothold in the chambers above. Let it fall; we will rear in its place a temple that will have justice for its cornerstone, the golden rule for its foundation, and universal brotherhood covering the whole as an enduring roof.

The reform of most immediate and imperative importance is the employment of the poor, tenement house reform, and sound finance. These are needed at once to relieve suffering. When I say sound finance, I mean a currency based upon the credit of the nation instead of its indebtedness, issued by the general government to all the people at cost, or about two per cent. per annum, in volume adequate to the demands of trade, and full legal tender.

Next in point of time, and quite their equal in point of intrinsic moment, must come the initiative and referendum, or direct legislation by the citizenship—prohibition of immigration; graduated income tax; public ownership of monopolies—and should first commence with national ownership of railroads, express and telegraph systems; municipal ownership of gas and electric plants and street railways. There is already a strong public sentiment in favor of postal telegraph and national railways, and every reason urges the change, and there is no reason why this should not take place. But I am sometimes inclined to think that it will be utterly impossible to bring about these reforms until we have all officers elected by direct vote of the people, and all laws ratified by the voters. The appointive and veto power should be taken from the president, and no power be delegated that cannot be revoked. I believe that it is the imperative duty of this convention to endorse these principles, and as individuals to do all in our power to put them into force.

Let me briefly quote from an able writer some of the effects of the competitive system: First—The wealth producers receive in return for their labor only two-fifths of what they produce; the other three-fifths go to capitalists who are not entitled to it, and does not enable labor to buy back what it produces; this naturally has a tendency to under-consumption and results in what is commonly called over-production. Look at it: want, poverty, misery, degradation, starvation, stalking over this great land in the midst of plenty and over-production. Second—It neutralizes industrial forces by bringing them into opposition, instead of harnessing them all to industry's car in parallel lines.

Third—It creates a feverish force in some men, not for the sake of useful labor but for victory over their fellows, and it leaves the great mass of men wholly inert to be driven by their necessities to reluctant labor.

Fourth—Competition puts a million in the pockets of an ignorant, idle loafer, and loads his splendid, industrious neighbor with misfortune and debt.

Fifth—It sets a delicate man to handling heavy bars of iron, or quarrying stone from early morn to dusk, while a big, lazy six-footer sits by in the shade on the sidewalk selling a handful of shoe-strings or a few papers of pins as his day's contribution to the world's work.

Sixth—It makes despots and liars of many successful business men, and slaves of their betters.

Seventh—It ruins the lives of millions with misery and want, and mars the lives of others with pride and luxury.

Eighth—It builds the slums of the cities and the hate-engendering palaces of the rich.

Ninth—It rewards injurious activities, and gives some of the highest prizes as a premium for some of the greatest wrongs, dishonesties, oppressions and injustices.

Tenth—It is destructive to liberty and individuality, as well as to virtue and contentment.

Eleventh—It causes dissensions that break out into Buffalo, Coeur d'Alaine, Homestead and Pullman strikes, which cost the public treasury millions to quell, and the strikers and employers millions more in damage and loss.

Twelfth—It periodically disturbs the nation's industries with furies and panics.

Thirteenth—It gives the key of the world's wealth to Lombard and Wall street gamblers.

Fourteenth—It has given us four thousand millionaires and multi-millionaires, one hundred thousand anarchists, two million prostitutes, four hundred thousand gamblers and whiskey dealers, one hundred thousand engaged in the opium and tobacco trade, three hundred thousand more criminals, who are recognized by law as such, and over one million idlers and tramps—one-ninth of the nation's industrial force utterly worse than useless.

Fifteenth—It has created monopoly, and aids and abets its robberies.

Sixteenth—It has given us a distribution of wealth and an organized antagonism of labor and capital that threaten the life of the republic.

These are some of the charges that justice and beneficence are preferring at the bar of human progress against the architects of our time. It is the most terrific charge brought against any institution in any age or country. Competition is the insanity of the past, the colossal crime of the present. Our fathers threw off the yoke of tyranny and political slavery, our generation has wiped out chattel slavery; let us with our ballots break the fetters of industrial slavery.

The "Baltimore banking plan," about which so much is said, is the banker's banking plan. The plan of the wolves to increase the supply of their mutton. It is the song of the spider to the fly.

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SIX MONTHS IN JAIL.
The furore is ended, and the judge True to his masters, could not fail to satisfy Lord Pullman's grudge. By giving Debs six months in jail. Each railroad king cries out, "Well done! The strike can never more prevail! Dictator proud, your race is run— We've trapped you there at last in jail." And all the servile press applaud. Bidding this Jeffrey's word, all hail! The shout prolong, ye hosts of fraud, "Down with this anarchist to jail!" O fools and blind, ye mock in vain— Your shafts of hate will not avail. The People's Court shall soon arraign These dogs that hounded Debs to jail! This Samson, shorn of strength awhile, When once within the "House of Baal," His strength restored, shall crush the pile— Triumph well worth six months in jail!
C. A. SHEPHERD.

SOMEONE sagely remarks that our great ship of state is in the hands of as gallant a crew of wreckers as ever sailed the seas.

THE Lexow Committee has pretty effectually wiped out Tammany, and the courts will soon begin to sing over the remains.

It now transpires that the Bankers' Baltimore financial plan, and Secretary Carlisle's plan, have been set down upon and another plan has been concocted, in which, like the other plans, the national banks will be taken care of.

JUDGE WOODS, of Indiana, who protected "Blocks of Five Dudley," found Debs guilty of contempt of court and sentenced him to jail for six months. An appeal will be taken. No sentence that Woods can impose on Debs will disgrace the great labor reformer.—The Representative.

COL. CARROLL D. WRIGHT, in his late Forum article, says: "It is society that gives value to the production of labor; without society there is no value; without industry there is no society. Labor makes things; society, competitive desire, gives them value. Historical facts and revolutionary principles coincide with the proposition that the laborer is the member of society in and through whom that society survives, and the wages of workers are to society what food is to the body—they enrich, strengthen and make healthy the life blood of the social organism." There will not be found written anywhere a more just, or a higher eulogy upon labor than the words of Col. Wright, and yet, it is a fact, that while labor merits the high estimate placed upon it, legislation and the employers of labor have made it, here in the United States, an abject thing, robbed and starved, having no standing in a court of equity, as Judge Dallas declares; every where treated with contempt and in multiplied thousands of instances driven from the haunts of men to perish, or to subsist by mendacity or crime.

Labor made the town of Pullman fair to the eye. Labor enriched Geo. M. Pullman and Geo. M. Pullman reduced labor to famine, men, women and children to skeletons, and yet there are creatures made in the likeness of men, who are so destitute of soul, so inhuman and vile, that they applaud Geo. M. Pullman and heap their puerile anathemas upon the American Railway Union for espousing the cause of the starved victims of Pullman's Christless greed.

THE man, or men as a class, who advocate reforms, are, as a general proposition, unpopular in their own generation—all history demonstrates the truth of the declaration. A reformation means that wrong shall give place to right—that truth shall triumph over error. It is not required that the advocates of reform should ransack history to prove that reformers have always trodden a thorny pathway. It is only necessary for them to note what is going on around them in the United States.

Fortunately for the world, reformers are made of the stuff, that, though often defeated, are never vanquished. Beaten down, their valor only takes deeper root. Defiance is their battle cry. They know they are right and they go ahead. It is an exhibition of the divinest characteristic of human nature.

The American Railway Union is a REFORMER. It started out to show railway employes a better way. It advocates truth, justice and the right. It set the world to thinking. It arrayed against it every enemy of the rights of labor in the country. Monopolists, trusts, syndicates, governments and their armies, the courts and the money power. In this, like the angel, it stirred, to the profoundest depths, the pools of salvation and made it possible for labor's unfortunates to see, in battle array the entire force of the enemies of labor.

In the discomfiture of the American Railway Union, there were those who shouted themselves hoarse, that the A. R. U. was dead—and among the number were men pretending to be the friends of labor, who having received their "thirty pieces of silver," played Judas Iscariot to the satisfaction of those whose lickspittles they were.

But the American Railway Union is not dead. It was never more vital than now. Reformers may die, but they never desert their cause. Truth lives on, for "the eternal years of God" are pledged to its triumph. Our lodge fires are being relighted—our grand army is being re-equipped—our shibboleth is the unification of wage workers and ultimate victory is assured.

REWARD OF THE ENGINEERS.

Under the above caption the San Francisco Examiner of December 16th has the following:
The engineers of the Southern Pacific road are receiving the reward of loyalty. They saved the corporation in last summer's strike. Had they thrown in their lot with the A. R. U. there would have been no occasion for troops at Sacramento, for the operation of the road, even in the absence of violence, would have been impossible. But the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers rather looked down on such an upstart organization as the American Railway Union. Representing the highest class of skilled labor, it felt fully competent to protect itself, and was disinclined to make common cause with the ruck of poorly paid common workmen. It stood by the company and received profuse assurances in return that the favor would never be forgotten. Eternal gratitude, so the word was passed, would be the portion of those faithful men who risked their lives in the service of the corporation when loyal service was hard to get.

Doubtless the gratitude is as profuse as ever, but the Southern Pacific is conducted primarily as a business enterprise. Gratitude will not pay dividends on watered stock or float new issues of inflated bonds, and in looking about for opportunities to improve the financial condition of the company Mr. Huntington can see no opening more inviting than a reduction in the wages of the engineers. The Brotherhood is now just where the company would like to have it. It was strong in former years because its members could command the sympathy and support of organized labor in all departments, and if they chose to strike their places could not be filled. Now if the few hundred engineers in the employ of the Southern Pacific should go out the company could take its choice among 5,000 A. R. U. firemen, here and elsewhere, who are fully competent to run engines, and who would be glad to displace Brotherhood men, for the sake of the jobs in the first place, and in the next for the sake of revenge. Last summer Mr. Towne and Mr. Fillmore took off their hats when they met an engineer. Now they treat him merely as one of their hired men, and a very ordinary one at that. The men who have been getting extra pay on the mountain grades will have to work at valley rates, and the valley men will have to do more work for the old pay or less.

However, the engineers can console themselves for their pecuniary inconvenience by the reflection that they still enjoy the respect of their consciences. It is said that virtue fits its own reward, and doubtless loyalty enjoys the same agreeable distinction.
The foregoing is extremely suggestive as an object lesson. The engineers on the Southern Pacific were "loyal" to the company during the great strike, as they generally are when any but themselves have grievances, and the company rewarded them with a sweeping reduction of wages. The Richmond & Danville railway has done the same and other roads will follow in regular order. The question is what are the engineers going to do about it? All the old brotherhoods were "loyal" to the corporations. As one of the general managers said at a meeting of the General Managers' Association on the eve of the strike: "We can rely on the old brotherhoods, they will stand by us."

The general managers are very strongly in favor of the old brotherhoods. They have no use for the A. R. U. What sensible man doesn't know the reason why? The old brotherhoods in their eagerness to destroy the A. R. U. rushed to the rescue of the general managers. They were foolish enough to suppose that their "loyalty" would advance them several degrees nearer the throne. And they will reap precisely what they have sown. The general managers now they were actuated by malevolent motives and while outwardly they profess to greatly admire them, in their hearts they despise them for their treachery to their fellow-workers. Suppose the railroad companies start in to cut the wages of engineers and trainmen 10, 15, 25, or even 50 per cent., what are the old brotherhoods going to do about it? That's the question. They have got to take it and the railroad companies know it. They need not fear that the A. R. U. will follow their repulsive example of "loyalty" to the companies and take their places, but there are thousands of their own former members who are laying for an opening. Whatever may be said of the A. R. U. its members will not scab, nor will they make a corporation annex of their order to defeat another labor organization no matter what its name or shortcomings. As protective organizations the old brotherhoods are dead and buried beyond the hope of resurrection. And the verdict of the coroner is—Suicide.

CHEERING.

Since the publication of the report made by the commissioners, appointed to investigate the "Pullman strike," discussions of subjects relating to "labor and capital" indicate a purpose on the part of writers and talkers to get out of old ruts, and map out new pathways of thought and action. This is a cheering sign of the times, notwithstanding the fact, that in the discussions it is easy to detect a disposition to deal in vague theorizing, when the supreme demand is something practical. In saying this, we could refer to any number of writers in support of our conclusion, but here and now, we confine our remarks to two articles which appear in the December Forum, one by Col. Carroll D. Wright, who chooses for his text, "May a man conduct his business as he please?" and the other, by Louis R. Ehrich, who discusses "Stock-sharing as a preventive of labor troubles."

Mr. Wright having won a national reputation as a statistician, particularly in the field of labor, commands attention when he speaks. He is credited with being eminently practical—and yet, in the article before us, he is only theoretical. He concludes that a man may not conduct his business as he please—and furnishes a number of reasons why he may not have his own way. He refers to the old Vineyard parable, in

which, when the proprietor paid one man a penny for working one hour, and others only a penny for working twelve hours, there was trouble growing out of the injustice of payment and the proprietor asked, "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with my own?"

Mr. Wright says, "there seems then to have been no logical answer to the inquiry. The reasoning of the employer in asking this question was purely ethical, and the question itself apparently satisfied the turbulent workmen." In this, Mr. Wright mistakes the facts—or omits them which is a greater error. The fact was, that the proprietor of the vineyard was in no sense swayed by ethical considerations. It appears by the record, as St. Matthew states the case, that the proprietor of the vineyard, in the morning made a contract with a number of laborers to work all day for a penny. As the day wore on, he contracted with other laborers to go into the vineyard and work. When the time for settlement came those who went in early, and had "borne the heat and burden of the day," kicked, because those who went to work at the third, sixth, and eleventh hours of the day, received as much as themselves. It is just here that the proprietor of the vineyard achieved a victory over the laborers who were murmuring, and when a "small strike was imminent" by saying "Friend, I do thee no wrong; didst not thou agree with me for a penny?" There was nothing ethical in the transaction. It was a matter of contract. The men who kicked had agreed to work all day for a penny—they received their wages according to contract.

The question which the proprietor of the vineyard asked, "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?" manifestly meant, may I not make as many contracts with laborers to work in my vineyard as I please? and on the other hand, may not laborers make such contracts as they please with employers for hours and wages? In the far away days of the vineyard trouble to which Mr. Wright refers, there were no labor organizations; but even then, laborers had the right to make contracts, which employers were bound to respect. The old vineyard proprietor could not conduct his business as he pleased, he was dependent upon labor, and such contracts as laborers chose to make with him. But for labor his grapes would have rotted and he would have no wine. From that time to the present, there has been no change in the rights of parties to make contracts. It is an inalienable right, but now comes in the labor organization and says to employers the wage shall be so much and the number of hours so many. The wage shall suffice to give the worker a respectable living; the hours of labor shall be regulated so that the physical man shall not be wrecked at his meridian. Upon this basis let contracts be made—and upon this basis contracts could and would be made and labor troubles cease as if by a decree of Jehovah—if labor would unify. The American Railway Union has set the example—and surely, however slowly, the problem is being solved.

Mr. Ehrich's article, to which we have referred, contains much that is worthy of reading and winds up with the declaration, that "when railroads and other great corporations take employes into quasi-partnership by making them stockholders, and encourage their dignity and manhood by giving them representation on their directors' board, great strikes will be a thing of the past."
Such conclusions are to the last degree utopian. Working men are not asking for quasi-partnership with railroad corporations. What they demand is fair wages, and that laws shall not be made to aid corporations to plunder them, all of which is practical, and without a touch of the fanciful. When railroad employes conclude to unite in a way that concert of action can be had upon any and every question involving the rights of labor, and therefore the rights of man, strikes will cease, and problems will be solved and stay solved.

THE Minneapolis Journal very pertinently says:
Now that Debs has been sent to jail for violating the anti-trust law of 1890, it will be well for Attorney General Olney to bring under conviction and condemnation and judicial sentence the other individuals who are also violating that law which declares "every contract, combination, in form of trust or otherwise," as well as conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce, illegal. This statute should be applied without discrimination to all offenders. "Get a move on yourself," Mr. Olney.

As a matter of course Olney, the corporation attorney (general), will do nothing of the kind. He is the unblinking defender of monopolies and trusts, and the relentless prosecutor and persecutor of labor. He will pass into history as the most repulsive creature that ever debauched a public office for a private consideration.

In Philadelphia, street car employes concluded to organize, whereupon the millionaire owners of the road concluded to discharge the employes, and hire men who have no more regard for independence than so many paving stones.

Three representatives of organized labor in the British parliament, Messrs. John Burns, David Holmes and John Williams Benn, are in the United States taking notes and were the guests of the American Federation of Labor at Denver.

SINGLE TAX.

The landlords of the world, get more income from the soil. Than was ever contemplated by Almighty God. They are getting there grandly, and will soon grab it all. All the fields and farms, and forests on this terrestrial ball. A little single taxing is just the thing they need. It would check them in their prairies, and modify their greed. It would relieve the renters and promote the commonweal. Usher in an age of justice and exile the age of steal.

THE Railroad Telegrapher, in its December issue, devotes several pages to the discussion of what it designates as "The Question of the Day," which turns out to be the American Railway Union. The editor of the Telegrapher makes no mistake when he refers to the A. R. U. as the "Question of the Day." It is an order, which in its splendid youth has accomplished more for labor, organized and unorganized, than all of the old orders of railroad employes have accomplished in all of the years of their existence, or will accomplish, though their years should be numbered as the sands upon the sea shore. The trouble with them is, as the Telegrapher points out, "that each order wants to run the machine," hence "harmony can not prevail." Notwithstanding this honest confession, the old orders are ceaselessly talking about "harmony," and "unity," and federation," but envies and jealousies and selfishness and other imperfections so abound that the Telegrapher says that "railroad labor cannot afford to place its future in the hands of one organization." But this it does, in placing the welfare of the membership of the orders in the control of some sort of a council, and still more, clothes one man with autocratic power to defeat the men in the interests of corporation. The corporation is always delighted with such a policy. It does not have to deal with the rank and file. Grievance committees can grieve and grin and suffer, and then vote to strike, but the one man power in such contingencies is the hope of the corporation. They know how to deal with that sort of power. One man, with his legs under the mahogany of the corporation grand chief, and the veto is issued with all the pomp and circumstance of an injunction. If the men squeal, they may squeal on—or quit. It matters not. The strike has been averted and the magnates of the corporation and the federated magnates chuckle, shake hands and raise their ebenezers in glorifying the peace which cometh by the exercise of the veto power.

Under the czar labor system one labor magnate has expanded to a millionaire, and no good reason can be assigned why other grands may not in due time, between the tribute money eked out by toilers and the contributions of general manager's associations, controlling billions of corporation cash, wear velvet. Let it be understood that THE TIMES, in making these statements, casts no reflection upon the integrity or character of J. R. T. Austen. He simply advocates a policy of czarism in labor affairs. He is simply loyal to the old "machine," of protection that can not protect; that in the "division of power" rather than in its unity "lies the safety of railroad labor," and yet Brother Austen would like to be regarded as sane.

Didn't Like Onions.
Minks—There is one great objection to onions.
Winks—What's that!
"They are wholesome."
"Do you consider that an objection?"
"Certainly. People who are fond of them don't die half so soon as you'd like them to."

Husband—Do you know that every time a woman gets angry she adds a new wrinkle to her face?
Wife—No, I did not; but if it is so, I presume it is a wise provision of nature to let the world know what sort of a husband a woman has.

THE Chicago Watch Co., whose advertisement appears in this number is one of the largest dealers in American watches for railroad men. Their catalogue upwards of 10,000 American watches which they sell at wholesale prices. They have worked up an immense business by straightforward business methods, and we bespeak for them in this their second year of advertising with us an increased demand for their goods.

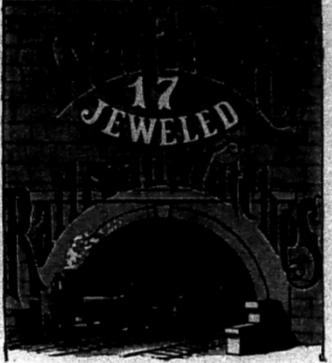
ATTENTION is called to the advertisement of the American Waltham Watch Co., Waltham, Mass., appearing in this issue for the first time. We think the merits of their watches, and especially their adaptability to railway service, are too well known to require further comment here.

RUPTURE

A POSITIVE RADICAL CURE at home. (Sealed) Book, giving full particulars, sent free. Address DR. W. A. RICE, Box 2, Smithville, Jefferson County, New York.

WALTHAM WATCHES

Are the BEST AMERICAN MADE WATCHES. Their Superiority Over all Other Watches, Both Foreign and Domestic, Has Been Attested by the Highest Awards in Horology at International Expositions.



VANGUARD, NICKEL. CRESCENT STREET, NICKEL. APPLETON, TRACY & CO., NICKEL. APPLETON, TRACY & CO., GILT. NO. 35, NICKEL. NO. 25., GILT.

The above movements being of exceptional strength and accuracy, are especially adapted for railroad service.

MANUFACTURED AND WARRANTED BY THE American Waltham Watch Co., WALTHAM, MASS.

ARTIFICIAL - LIMBS

With Improved Rubber Feet and Hands. It is not unusual to see an engineer with hand on the throttle, or a conductor, fireman, brakeman, farmer, carpenter, mason, miner, in fact men of every vocation, wearing one or two artificial legs with rubber feet. Of MARKS' Patents, performing as much labor as men in possession of all their natural members, earning the same wages; in fact, experiencing little or no inconvenience.

Over 15,000 artificial limbs of Marks' Patents in daily use. Purchased by the United States and many foreign governments. One-half the limbs furnished by us are made from measure ments and profiles without our seeing the wearers. Fit guaranteed. A treatise of 430 pages, with 300 illustrations and a formula for measuring sent free. Received the Highest Award at World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. Address A. A. MARKS, 701 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

YOU'RE ON THE RIGHT TRACK



SEAL OF NORTH CAROLINA PLUG CUT. The undisputed leader of plug cut smoking tobacco throughout the world. MARBURG BROS. The American Tobacco Co. Successors, Baltimore, Md.

Of Interest to RAILROAD MEN and Their Families

U. S. CENSUS, 1886, REPORTS 35,000 DEATHS FROM CANCER. The IOLA SANITARIUM is an institution thoroughly equipped for the treatment of Cancer. Tumors and all malignant growths without the use of the knife, and effects a permanent cure where the circumstances are at all favorable for treatment on application. Address DR. GEO. DALE, Iola, Wisconsin.

RAILWAY OFFICIALS & EMPLOYEES ACCIDENT ASSOCIATION WMK BELLIS SECY

WAT FOLKS REDUCED from 15 to 25 per month by a THOUSANDS CURED. For particulars call on, or address O. W. F. SNYDER, M. D., Chicago, Ill. 245 McVicker's Theater Bldg.

To the Opponents of the Knights of Labor.

You judge our organization without complete understanding of our principles or our position on current questions. There is ONLY ONE authorized organ of the General Order of the Knights of Labor and that is the Journal of the Knights of Labor. The best reform weekly paper in America. Subscribe for it, read it, then criticize us. Price, \$1 per year. 814 North Broad St., PHILADELPHIA, PA.

ELECTRIC TELEPHONE Sold outright, no rent, no royalty. Adapted to City, Village or Country. Needed in every home, shop, store and office. Greatest convenience and best seller on earth. Agents make from \$5 to \$50 per day. One in a residence means a sale to all the neighbors. Fine instruments, no tops, works anywhere, any distance. Complete ready for use when shipped. Can be put up by any one. Never out of order, no repairing, lasts a life time. Write for catalogue. Money refunded. Wm. F. F. Harrison & Co., Clerk 10, Columbus, O.

MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP FOR CHILDREN TEETHING. For sale by all Druggists. 25 Cents a bottle.

Let me introduce you to "The President" Watch Movement. Just finished by the UNITED STATES WATCH CO., Waltham, Mass. This is the only 18-size, 17 jeweled double roller, lever setting movement on the market. It is most highly and accurately finished throughout, and is especially adapted to men in railroad train service. Each movement is accompanied by a time rate certificate, and the price is within reach of all. Purchase no other until you have seen it. If your jeweler does not handle it ask him to send for it. JOHN J. McGRANE, Jobber in American Watches, 187 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY.

FREE Examination FOR 60 DAYS. WATCHES FROM \$2.50 TO \$25. AN EXTRAORDINARY OFFER! NO MONEY REQUIRED IN ADVANCE. BOX OF 50 CHAINS AND WATCH FOR \$2.75. 100,000 TESTIMONIALS RECEIVED. THE CHICAGO WATCH CO., 281 Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.