

THE RAILWAY TIMES.

LABOR.

IS ITS SOLIDARITY IMPOSSIBLE OF REALIZATION?

And ought Men to Further Advocate Fellowship and Fraternity in the Ranks of Workingmen?

In mere physical enterprises the age in which we live laughs at impossibilities. The ancient alchemists sought to transmute base metals into gold. In this they were not successful but their labors and discoveries laid the foundation of scientific chemistry, the value of which it were impossible to overestimate. Living today they would suffer all the odium that attaches to cranks, visionaries, vagabonds. They were dreamers and with patience and sincerity wrought to realize their visions. Did they work in vain? By no means. Chemistry is their monument and the old alchemists are immortal and all nations are their beneficiaries.

We talk of the fatherhood of God. Is that a vagary? A mere freak of the fancy? If so, it were better to dismiss it. It is fashionable to refer eloquently to the brotherhood of men. Is that another hallucination unworthy of consideration by men of brains? If so, let it also be remanded to the limbo of forgotten myths. Galileo, several centuries ago, became satisfied that the earth moved. It was a fact, but the monks of the Inquisition said it was a lie and made the old mathematician and astronomer recant to save himself from torture. Thus it is seen that along the track of the centuries, verities and vagaries have intermingled until in their separation it is found that in a vagary there is an element of fact, and in a fact, an element of vagary, and about the best that can be done under the circumstances is to find whether truth or error preponderates.

In discussing the solidarity of labor, I am not without certain data that serves as a foundation for those who believe that its consummation is within the boundaries of the possible. There is such a thing as human fellowship, and solidarity means fellowship, fraternity, mutual sympathy, interest in each other's welfare, and in seeking to bring about solidarity in the ranks of workingmen it must be apparent that only their highest good is sought.

Is solidarity practical? Every labor organization in the country demonstrates that it is not a mere theory, that it is not speculative, that it exists and is accomplishing good results. These organizations seek to cultivate fellowship and to establish fraternal obligations; to bring their members into active sympathy with each other, creating bonds of union promotive of their welfare; hence, solidarity is not a hallucination. We see it in operation on every hand. This being true, I make the point that it is possible to bring all organizations of workingmen into one household of faith. What obstacles are there in the way that may not be overcome by the enlightening influences of education? I know of none, not one. I see science and invention have encircled the earth with electric wires and made the orient and the occident neighbors; I have seen science and invention issue their mandates and in obedience to their command, rivers and chasms are spanned; mountains are tunneled to make straight the pathway of transportation upon which the iron horse of civilization travels, and I conjecture, however herculean the task may be, that it is possible for the divinities of education, common sense and self-protection to so shape events that workingmen will ultimately see that their interests demand solidarity.

It should be understood that solidarity is the enemy of faction and the champion of unity. There is one supreme demand of labor and that is unification. Labor factionized is labor impotent. The enemies of labor appreciate this imbecility and profit by it. They unify for victory and achieve it. Labor sails in a hundred small crafts in seas where plutocratic devil-fish abound and there is not an instance on record where one of these labor crafts challenged resistance that the plutocratic devil-fish with their prehensile arms have not dragged them down to defeat, and being equipped with the means of obscuring their motives if not their acts, have managed to make labor pay all the penalties and endure all the odium consequent upon defeat. I assume that common sense will ultimately overcome these prevailing errors and that labor, by the invincible power of solidarity, will be prepared to successfully resist plutocracy.

I have repeatedly declared that in the absence of solidarity it were folly for men to strike against the wrongs inflicted upon them by their employers, and if labor had the solidarity of its enemies, everything bearing the stamp of righteousness would be secured, be-

cause the exhibition of power would be so overmastering that resistance would be madness.

I am profoundly impressed with the conviction that solidarity is the last and only hope of labor. There must be of necessity, an *Ultima Thule*, the farthest limit of labor's endurance of wrong. There must come a time when labor will make a final effort to resist encroachments upon its rights. My forte is not bombast. I formulate no rhetorical periods to captivate the populace, but I do evoke the genius of American citizenship to bear witness that the work of degradation now going forward will not be permitted to proceed forever nor until labor, deprived of its eyes and shorn of its Sampson locks, becomes the sport of its enemies.

What is it that today menaces the tranquility of society and the stability of the government? To name the contingency of a foreign war is idiocy. The imprisonment of an ex-consul at Madagascar, the shots fired by a Spanish gunboat at an American ship in Cuban waters or England's novel method of collecting debts of Central and South American republics, are simply contemptible. Indian wars are all of the past—what then? The one thing that affrights is the condition of labor. The corporation, trust and capitalist Shylocks, by processes more infamous than Shakespeare's Jew adopted to glut his vengeance, pursue a policy of starvation, degradation and death. I speak by the card—neither sickness, starvation nor death could curb the "cruel devil" that dominated Geo. M. Pullman. Carnegie, the "blow hole" thief and hypocrite, who first robbed his employes and then to kill them, provided electricity, scalding water and Pinkertons; and the General Managers' Association, pursuing workingmen with a blacklist as deadly as a cobra's fang, have brought about, with the aid of infamous legislation, a condition which is everywhere arousing alarm.

Lincoln said this government could not exist "half free and half slave." Can it exist half starved and half well fed? Can it exist half degraded and half exalted?

I propose the solidarity of labor; that by peaceful methods labor problems may be solved for the peace, glory and perpetuity of the government as founded by the patriotic fathers. I would have labor vote one way to emancipate labor and save the Union, as Union soldiers shot one way to save the Union and emancipate the slaves. And over all and above all, I would write, as old Job wanted to write, "with an iron pen and lead in the rock forever," this motto: With solidarity, the rights of labor can be secured.

Eugene P. Delt

TRAINING A JUDAS.

"Shylock," by Gordon Clark, contains a reference to the Chicago slaughter pens and pronounces them the largest in the world, special reference being made to the killing of cattle, hogs and sheep. The sweat-shops, where human slaughtering pens are proceeding seven days in a week, and sixteen hours a day, are not mentioned, nor does Mr. Clark refer to the great Pullman slaughtering pens at Pullman where killing by starvation is conducted by labor saving machinery in the most approved style. Mr. Clark remarks that "In the Chicago slaughtering pens, arrangements for carrying on business are as complete and perfect as human ingenuity can make them, and yet great difficulty was experienced in getting cattle from the stock yard into the slaughter pen. At last one, with an understanding of the natural disposition of cattle to follow a leader, hit upon a plan of training a steer to the performance of that duty. A large, fat ox, intelligent, docile and kindly in appearance, was selected for the purpose. A halter was placed upon him and a man led him to a position where, when the gate opened, he would be standing at the head of a bunch of cattle. Following his lead the moving steers were quickly and quietly conducted to the slaughter pen, where the fat ox, appropriately named Judas, stepped aside and then returned to the point of starting, and thus day by day and year by year led his fellows to their certain death. In the same way the subsidized newspapers of the old political parties, day by day and year by year, have induced an innocent, confiding and patriotic people to follow a leadership that ends in the death of national prosperity and possibly of popular liberty."

The training of the ox "Judas," and the treason of "Judas" to his fellow cattle is a happy illustration of the policy of the old parties as set forth by Mr. Clark. The picture is immensely graphic. It is a *chef d'œuvre* of art. Mules will blindly follow a white horse, sheep a bell wether and United States courts a corporation. *Sic transit, Selah.*

ALIEN LAND-OWNERS.

THEY HAVE SECURED 27,000,000 ACRES OF LAND IN THE UNITED STATES.

Equal in Area to Five of The States of The Union.—A Official Approaching.

Alien landlordism in the United States is becoming a serious question, which will ultimately and inevitably lead to trouble. This land is owned chiefly by Englishmen, 20,000,000 being set down to their credit. This, with the 7,000,000 acres owned by German and Dutch syndicates, gives an area equal to the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and Maryland. Commenting upon the subject, the *Washington Post* says: That English aristocrats should own large domains in the United States and rule them from London is at first a difficult thing to grasp. Not until it is borne in mind that peers and peeresses of Great Britain are large landed proprietors in our country—Viscount Scully alone owns 3,000,000 acres in Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska—does the significance of absenteeism in landlords become apparent. But now the matter will be brought home to Americans more directly than it has ever been brought home yet, for there is shortly to be a union in London of American land-owning interests, and a series of drastic measures are scheduled, which, it is believed, will not only increase the annual rentals of the vast domain involved, but which will greatly affect the destiny of the hundreds of thousands who dwell upon it.

First of all, a list of the members of the aristocracy who own the lands in question will not be without interest. Such a list has never before been given in full. The greatest of the English holdings, and the persons interested, are these:

The Texas Land Union (syndicate No. 3), 3,000,000 acres. Interested peers, Baroness Burdett-Coutts, Earl Cadogan, H. C. Fitzroy Somerset (this is the Duke of Beaufort), William Alexander Lochiel, Stephen Douglas-Hamilton, Duke of Beaudon; the Duke of Rutland, Ughtaed J. Kay Shuttleworth, and Ethel Cadogan, maid-in-waiting to the Queen. This syndicate owns whole counties in Texas and tens of thousands of persons pay it rentals.

Sir Edward Reid, 2,000,000 acres. This is a syndicate which owns lands in Florida only. It includes the present Duchess of Marlborough, Lady Randolph Churchill, and Lady Lister-Kaye.

Viscount Scully, 3,000,000 acres. His lordship maintains an elaborate system of bailiffs.

Syndicate No. 4, 1,800,000 acres. This syndicate has all its holdings in Mississippi. It includes the Marquis of Dalhousie, George Henry Howard Cholmondeley (Viscount Cholmondeley), Georgianna, Viscountess Cross, Hon. Lady Hamilton Gordon, and Hon. Lady Biddulph.

Marquis of Tweedale, 1,750,000 acres. The Marquis is William Montagu Hay, famed all over Scotland as the rack rent landlord.

Phillips, Marshall & Co., London, 1,300,000 acres. This firm has the whole peerage for its clients.

The Anglo-American syndicate, London, 750,000 acres. The funds of widowed peeresses are largely invested here. The lands are in the South and West.

Bryan H. Evans, 700,000 acres. Mr. Evans resides in London. His lands are in Mississippi.

The Duke of Sutherland, 125,000 acres. This is the actress loving, champagne bibbing, and rack-rent nobleman of police court fame.

The British Land Company, 320,000 acres. This land is all in Kansas.

William Whalley, 310,000 acres. Mr. Whalley is the squire of Peterboro, England.

The Missouri Land Company, 300,000 acres. This operates a Missouri domain and has headquarters in Edinburg.

Robert Tennant, 230,000 acres. This is all farming land. Mr. Tennant lives in London.

TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND ACRES.

Dundee Land Company—247,000 acres. Lord Dunmore—120,000 acres.

Benjamin Newgas, Liverpool—100,000 acres.

Lord Houghton (in Florida)—60,000 acres.

Lord Dunraven (in Colorado)—60,000 acres.

English Land Company (in California)—50,000 acres.

English Land Company (in Arkansas)—50,000 acres.

Alexander Grant, London (in Kansas)—35,000 acres.

Syndicate No. 6—110,000 acres. This syndicate includes the Earl of Vanlan and the Earl of Lankeville. The land is in Wisconsin.

M. Ellenhauser, of Halifax—800,000

acres. The land is in West Virginia. Syndicate No. 1—50,000 acres. This is a Scotch concern, and the land is in Florida.

It is claimed that fully 20,000,000 acres of American land are thus owned by great land owners in England and Scotland. This does not include the great Holland syndicate, which owns 5,000,000 acres of grazing land in Western States, nor the German syndicate, owning 2,000,000 acres in various States.

For some time past it has been evident to the foreign land owners that concerted action on their part was essential to their interests. It is well known to those who have ever casually looked into the matter that foreign land owning has much impeded the development of the Western commonwealths. These great land owners positively refuse to sell. They prefer to establish a system of agencies and bailiffs with the result that very serious complications have resulted. The State legislatures have done their best to deal with the question, but heretofore with only indifferent success. Viscount Scully is rightly or wrongly, made the scapegoat of this whole business. He has for years been a thorn in the path of one State administration after another, and his shrewdness in evading every provision of law directed against him has extorted the unrivalling admiration of thousands. Thus Scully practically owns in Illinois the best part of the counties of Logan, Livingston and Tagewell. The State in 1887 passed an alien land law, directed solely against Scully. To evade it he insisted beforehand upon a clause in all his leases stipulating that the lessee should pay all taxes accruing against the property leased. The result was the creation of a large and solid body of voters in the Scully counties, as they are called, opposed to propositions of public improvement by taxation.

TROUBLE WITH THE TENANTS.

The war against Scully in Illinois threw the other British land owners into a panic, and as fast as leases have fallen in they have been renewed under heavier and heavier conditions. Alien land laws have occupied the attention of legislatures, and in Kansas and Nebraska the struggle for a time had a serious effect upon land securities of all kinds.

Finally matters came to such a deplorable stage that a committee of the American tenantry was appointed to present a memorial to the London owners of land, setting forth the ruin that stared the Western farmers in the face as a result of the rack-renting system that had been evolved out of the chaos. This memorial had a marked effect upon the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, who insisted upon no more evictions of American farmers. It only aggravated the Duke of Sutherland, who was then in sore need of funds, and he cabled his agents to collect the rents and send them over at all hazards.

Finding that mild measures availed nothing, the tenantry resorted to a more radical expedient. An association has been formed in Illinois, Nebraska, Iowa and Kansas to resist to the utmost the demands of the English landlords. The organization is a secret one and is the first really agrarian agitation in American history. The association works more secretly than the Holy Vehm Gerichte, but it has already influenced legislation in a marked manner.

This is the development in the situation which more than anything else, caused the English land owners to form an alliance among themselves. The movement was first proposed in the interest of the Scully estate. It is intended to have an agent in attendance at the meetings of legislatures of all the states involved this winter. The matter was brought to the attention of Sir Julian Pauncefote this autumn when he visited the London Foreign office, but what he is to do in the matter no one cares to say. The English owners feel that they have not been fairly dealt with by their American tenantry, and it is likely that this winter will witness a crisis in the entire Western agrarian movement. The Duke of Beaufort and the Duke of Sutherland both assert that the meetings of the land owners now periodically held at the Bank of England are meant entirely to affect economy in the collection of rents. At present each land owner has his own set of agents who work independently. By consolidating the collection systems the landlords hope to expedite business.

A lady, evidently, writing in *Kate Field's Washington* tells how she obtained a "wholesome delicious and abundant lunch" for three cents. Mr. Edward Atkinson, the Boston Baked Bean Economist, would shudder at such extravagance. He would have told the lady that a square meal could be made off of one long necked clam, five beans, one Boston cracker and a pinch of salt; all for one cent.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

THE BOSTON BAKED BEAN ECONOMIST, STATISTICIAN AND INVENTOR

Gives a One Hundred and Fifty Dollar Banquet in Washington for One Dollar and Fifty Cents.

Mr. Edward Atkinson is one of those Yankee philosophers of whom it can scarcely be said that he lives to eat, or eats to live, but he does live and eat. A student of nature, he early in life turned his attention to economics in eating, and studied the habits of the long necked clam. He found the clam to be well developed and contented, and ascertained that he lived exclusively upon water. Taking his cue from the great economy of the clam, he urged upon the operatives in New England mills that if they would become millionaires they should, in some measure, emulate the clam in their diet. He recognized, however, that there was some difference between a workingman and a clam—but not much—how much need not be stated. This, however, may be said, he found the New England operatives eating too much. The idea of five round cents for a square meal startled him, and he felt satisfied he could reduce the cost 40 per cent. While in Washington, says the *Chicago Times-Herald*, he has been giving a banquet to divers notabilities. That which is extraordinary about this banquet is that it cost only \$1.50 instead of \$150, which comes nearer the Washington average in these days of Jeffersonian simplicity. The cheapness of this feast, it seems, is due to Mr. Atkinson's inventive genius. His talent for invention has long been shown in the remarkable statistics with which he successfully proves any proposition in political economy he may wish to demonstrate. This talent he has now turned to domestic economy, with the result that he has invented an oven, heated with tuppence worth of oil, which cooks all sorts of things with neatness, dispatch and cheapness. Out of one of these ovens Mr. Atkinson drew his \$1.50 banquet, which has been pronounced by those who partook of it a Lucullan feast. Either the oven has magical qualities or Washington people are exceedingly polite.

This oven Mr. Atkinson desires shall be his gift to humanity, his monument and chiefest glory. In comparison with it he would have his statistics forgotten—happily, perhaps, is the best thing could happen to them. Upon this contribution to the art of living cheaply he rests his claim to fame. The man who made two sprigs of grass grow where but one grew before does not compare with Atkinson, for he has shown how families may be fed upon a quarter a day, and he asserts that thereby the comfort and prosperity of the workingmen will be vastly enhanced.

In the course of his economic studies Mr. Atkinson does not seem to have heard of Ricardo's iron law of wages, or else—unlike more authoritative economists—he denies its force. Ricardo's theory was that wages tend irresistibly to that figure which just provides for the maintenance of the laborer and the perpetuation of his race. There is too much corroborative evidence in support of this theory to make its substantial accuracy doubtful. Wages of such laborers as do not enjoy any artificial or natural monopoly of their calling always hover about the point of bare subsistence. If the standard of living in the country be high wages will be high; if low, wages, too, will be low.

Now, if Mr. Atkinson succeeds in reducing the necessary table expenses of a family of five from \$1 to 25 cents daily there will be temporary profit to the workingmen who buy his "Aladdin" oven and enjoy the fruit of its economies. But before long the fellow enjoying this aid to cheap living will discover that he can work more cheaply than his neighbor, and if out of employment, will underbid that neighbor. Slowly but surely the average rate of wages will readjust itself to the new and cheapened cost of living. Advantage may accrue to the great body of citizens, but the distinctively working class will not long enjoy the profit which the inventor promises. However, Mr. Atkinson has doubtless accomplished much in proving that the current methods of cooking are unscientific and uneconomical. It is but just, too, that publicity be given the fact that he has so disposed of his patents that no extortion will be possible if his oven should ever become a necessity to those who are compelled to live on a pittance.

Flour is advancing in price, and a loaf of bread for the toiler will require more sweat than formerly.

At the Coal Creek strike, Tenn., in which one man was killed and a number wounded, women took a hand, using pistols like the masculines.

THE IMPORTANCE OF WAGES.

Employers profess to be exceedingly weary of the subject of wages. They do not like to discuss the subject with wage earners. The ambition of employers is to reduce wages. There are doubtless exceptions. We refer to the rule. The ambition of wage earners has been and is now, fair wages. There are exceptions, as for instance, experts in iron and glass manufactures, and in some other departments of labor, and yet it may be said that these experts are paid more for their knowledge and skill than for their labor. "Low wages," says the *Granite Cutter's Journal*, "break down the self respect of the laborer, they extinguish the fires of his hope and ambition, causing him to be indifferent to his mental, social and moral development, and reduce him to the low level of making merely a struggle to keep himself alive. Poverty is an insurmountable obstruction to progress. In this country where the governing power is in the hands of the laboring classes, such compensation for labor as will cause the man with the ballot in his hands to realize the importance and responsibility of his position and enable him to qualify himself to meet its requirements is an absolute necessity. A blow struck at the wages of labor is a menace against the nation's life. Deepots, with the aid of great standing armies, may maintain and keep solid their oppressive government, where poverty has extinguished the manhood from the oppressed. But here in our country the common man is the highest authority. He should be a manly and intelligent ruler. He must have a chance to earn and receive the wages that will bring him the necessary culture." It does not matter, in the least, what cause is assigned for reducing wages, the effect is, from every point of view, disastrous to the well-being of communities and states and every effort on the part of wage earners to secure such pay for their labor as will enable them to maintain the standard of American respectability, ought to receive the unqualified commendation of all the people.

The pride, the glory, the welfare of a nation should be based upon the prosperity and contentment of those who derive their incomes from their labor. If this is not the accepted theory, if this is not the goal of a nation's aspirations, then it may be said, and truthfully, too, that the nation which measures its progress and perpetuity by some other standard, has begun its downward career, and no amount of boasting, no parade of statistical wealth and power will change its inevitable decay.

The question arises, have we reached the point in our national history, when the wage standard indicates a downward, rather than an ascending movement? Mere croaking should not be tolerated. We have no desire to deal in delusions, but rather to look facts square in the face, subject them to the severest analysis and find their meaning.

The American nation is, to day, filled with unrest, growing out of the wage question. Evidently, it excites alarm. The American standard of living in the ranks of wage earners is everywhere being lowered. In no one locality in the broad republic is it being advanced. While on the other hand, the rich, at no period in the world's authentic history, ever indulged in such luxurious displays of wealth. And it is true, beyond controversy, that the numerically small element of wealthy, as compared with the wage earners, are forever conspiring to reduce wages. They avail themselves of the poverty thus created to carry forward their heartless policy, and as wealth is strong, and poverty weak, they are successful all along the line of industries.

The policy we have outlined is a mistake, and a criminal mistake, at that. Workingmen, by organization, are trying to correct it. Occasionally a mere local success crowns their efforts, but it is without effect in solving the problem, which daily becomes more formidable.

Those who steadily pursue the policy of reducing wages, relentlessly oppose organization because, under present conditions, organization is the one hope workingmen have left to cling to, in their desperate struggle for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Wrest this hope from them, and despair follows, as a ship's crew are seized with despair when a storm drives their ship onto a rock bound coast.

This policy, on the part of the rich and soulless employer, to reduce wages to the lowest limit of squalid existence, is something more than a blow aimed at the welfare of individual wage workers—it is a blow aimed at the life of the nation, and in this fact is seen the peril so often referred to by members of Congress and others, who reflect seriously upon conditions. Manifestly, organization is the hope of wage workers to secure just wages, and if they can be induced by the cogeny of truth to unite in a national organization to obtain and maintain just wages, the problem is solved. Otherwise the steady descent to degradation is inevitable.

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FOOD, CLOTHING AND SHELTER.

In the discussion forever and everywhere going forward relating to the three prime necessities of human happiness, food, clothing and shelter, it is deemed of the first importance that men shall not only day by day provide such indispensable necessities for themselves and those dependent upon them, but that they shall emulate the ant and the bee, and lay up stores for the immediate and remote future.

Over such propositions there is no controversy, nor room for controversy, they are self-evident propositions. If, however, there are discovered men who disregard such vital requirements, it is eminently prudent to investigate for the reasons why.

There are men, the few as compared with the total number, who do not provide for anticipated wants; who, regarding only to-day, utterly disregard the wants of tomorrow. Indeed, they hold that there is no such thing as tomorrow, that tomorrow is a fiction, a chimera; that we live only in the present, and that we live by moments. At least their disregard for the future leads to the conclusion that their reasoning powers are below the plane of the instincts of the ant and the bee, the insects which do provide for their future necessities.

It is held by many persons whose opinions are entitled to consideration, that that element of our population which ignore the necessities of guarding against want, have inherited their infirmities, and that the world will never be rid of their progeny; that in spite of destitution the pauper element multiplies everywhere, and that our highest and best civilization instead of eradicating pauperism promotes its increase, and that in all civilized lands this degenerate class increases.

Such statements and statistics constitute some of the serious problems of civilization. They involve questions relating to government and law and touch national honor and integrity at vital points. It must be understood that while paupers are poor people, all poor people are not paupers, though the tendency of poverty is always toward pauperism. There is nothing more common than the expression "pauper labor," and nothing in language that does greater violence to fact. Paupers do not labor. They are supported by the labor of others. Pauperism is a tax upon industry. There is nowhere in the wide world a "pauper laborer." A poor man may work for wages barely sufficient to keep life in his body, but while he does that he is no more a pauper than a millionaire. He makes his income support him. He adjusts expenses to income, and while he does this he is a man for all that. How often do we see in print, when reference is made to a dead poor man, "He was poor but honest." How much more astonishing it would be now-a-days, in referring to a dead millionaire, to say "He was rich but honest?" It is said of few rich men, and the number is growing smaller as the years go by.

We have said that to a large degree those elements of character which are productive of pauperism are inherited, and statistics demonstrate conclusively that what is true of paupers is quite as true of criminals, and both classes are steadily increasing. In speaking of the increase of criminals we must not be understood as referring exclusively to what is known as the "criminal class," characters whose photographs are hung up in rogues' galleries. Indeed, the lamentable fact appears that crime, in various and startling forms, has invaded what is called the "better element" and criminals of education, refinement and wealth are almost daily dragged forth, not from the dens of the criminal class, but from the palatial residences of the rich.

Who is to blame for such conditions? Is it possible to specify who or what is responsible? Christ said "The poor ye have always with you," but He did not say nor intimate that poverty and crime, under a dispensation He came to inaugurate, should increase. He knew the rich robbed the poor, ate up their substance and reduced them to tramps and outcasts, and His mission was to change the order of things. Has it been done?

In looking abroad over Christian lands we answer yes, and with equal emphasis, no. We see asylums for the poor, the insane, the blind, the deaf and dumb, orphans, widows and men and women tottering with age, and answer yes. But in our survey of the field we behold multiplied thousands in the grasp of poverty, men, women and children vainly seeking to stem the tide, but constantly

borne nearer the engulfing vortex of pauperism, and then we answer no. And again we inquire the reason why?

Answers come thick and fast. Heredity accounts for a certain per cent.; immigration is made to play a conspicuous part in the drama. Alcohol is made to bear its share for the general demoralization, but these causes combined account for only a fraction of the sum total of wretchedness presented to those who are earnestly investigating for the reason why. And as investigation proceeds, the conclusion is arrived at that government and law are chiefly responsible for the ills complained of, and which have at last become so firmly entrenched, that nothing less than a revolution will avail for their dislodgment. And yet, when one is asked "What are you going to do about it?" the ramifications of wrong and injustice are so numerous and labyrinthian, as seemingly to defy remedy. Laws are piled upon laws, and decisions upon decisions that right and justice and truth are buried so deeply that only those who have money are able to win disputed prizes. The trust, the monopoly, the syndicate, the combine with cash, perpetrate their high handed wrongs and receive the endorsement of courts and legislatures, and the dance of devility and duplicity, bribery and baseness goes on. Every year thousands of the poor are stranded. Some go to the poor houses, some commit suicide, some join the army of tramps, while others join the criminal class and go to prison, leaving others to fight on in the hope of winning the fight. They strive for better wages, for a better share of the wealth they create, that they may maintain the prestige of American citizenship and provide respectable food, clothing and shelter, and live as becomes American citizens.

They inaugurate organizations to resist oppression and degradation, but in spite of their efforts wages are reduced; home, life, happiness and respectability are imperiled, and when, in the desperation of despair they strike for health and home, wife and children, some judge issues an injunction and some governor calls out the troops, and between clubs and shot guns, troops and traitors, they are given to understand that the thing, and the only thing, for them to do is to submit and take their medicine without grimace, kick or protest.

At this juncture the cry goes forth, "To the ballot box!" It is well. There is revolutionary power in the ballot box. It can say to one, "Go," and he goeth; to another, "Come," and he cometh. It has onoclastic power. The idols of the gold worshippers it can break in pieces. It can squeeze the fraud out of stocks and bonds. It can make the creation of a trust a high crime, and send railroad wreckers to the penitentiary, and it can inaugurate a reign of justice. Let the cry be "The ballot!"

SWEAT SHOPS CONSTITUTIONAL.

The Supreme Court of Illinois has decided that sweat shops are constitutional, because a woman may contract to work in them 8, 10, 16 or 20 hours, as she may choose. Hence, an 8 hour day is unconstitutional. The law declared unconstitutional provided, says the Chicago Times-Herald, that "no woman be employed in a factory or workshop for more than eight hours daily. Persons who find profit in working women ten to fourteen hours daily for an eight-hour wage urged that this law conflicted with the clause in the State constitution prohibiting the deprivation of citizens of 'life, liberty or property without due process of law.' In some mysterious way the Supreme Court discerns in the law which prohibits women from working more than eight hours a day in factories an attempt to deprive them of liberty or property. Their ability to labor is their property, argues the Supreme Court; their right to sell this labor upon any terms is one of their liberties, therefore if the State attempts to limit their right to sell their labor it deprives them of both liberty and property. To the layman it would seem that this deprivation—if it be a deprivation—was made by due process of law, as the constitution prescribes, the Legislature and Governor having joined in it. The court in its supreme wisdom, however, does not seem to have taken this view. Now, accepting as good law this decision of the Illinois Supreme Court, let us consider to what it may lead. Of course, further regulation of the sweat shop evil is made wholly impossible, for if a woman may not be restrained from agreeing to work ten hours she cannot be stopped from contracting to work in fetid and pestilential places. Nor does the question of sex materially enter into the problem. This sacred right of contract applies equally to men and women. The Illinois court has already declared that a man may agree to work and take in payment 'truck store' orders. It is questionable whether under the same construction of the law a man would not be upheld by the Supreme Court if he should desire to sell himself into absolute slavery for the period of his life." It is bad enough to know that great moneyed corporations can control courts, but it becomes supremely odious to be forced to the conclusion that the degenerate vagabonds who run sweat shops have a pull. Chicago, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, will promptly make a further move hellward and the spectacular character of her slums will become more attractive.

THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF WORKINGMEN.

It is quite probable, indeed, we regard it as indisputable, that workingmen have not studied the question of their interdependence—that one trade is dependent upon other trades, running back to the first, or initial work of production—and this fundamental truth does, whether recognized, or avowed, constitute on a broad scale the brotherhood of labor.

The term brotherhood, is universally used in a restricted sense, narrow and selfish in its aims. There is a vast number of labor brotherhoods—not one of which recognizes the interdependence of labor—not one of which, in constitution or by-laws, grasps the truth of labor's interdependence, or mutual dependence, and though the existence of such interdependence is almost daily brought to their attention, it is studiously ignored, except in so far as certain trades and callings have attempted federation, but in no article of any federated compact, so far as we are advised, has the broad and primal truth of interdependence of labor been asserted.

In the Declaration of Independence, of which we boast, the great truth was asserted that "all men are created equal"—and with equal loyalty to truth, it could be declared, all labor is equally dignified—equally essential to production—and the denial and the degrading of this self-evident truth has been fruitful of the defeats and the degradation of labor, for which labor is itself largely responsible. In demonstration of the truth of the proposition, illustrations crowd upon each other, every trade demands a hearing—the building trade, workers in iron, factories of every description, as also railroading, not one is to be omitted—the only difficulty being to select one or more in which the aristocracy of labor vaults into the greatest conspicuousness, and therefore becomes the most odious.

Suppose the building trade is selected and analyzed, what would be the result? Suppose the chief material is wood? At the mention of wood, the mind at once goes to the forest, and we have the axman, the teamster, the raftman. We reach the mill to find the sawyer and other laborers—then comes the railroad transportation, with employes too numerous to mention, then to the planing mill with its corps of workmen and finally the carpenter. The carpenter has to have tools, and away goes the mind to the various shops with their workmen fashioning the required tools, the iron and steel workers—and soon the nail is in demand, said to be the "avant courier of civilization." But before the carpenter can strike a blow, some one must dig the cellar; the pick and spade is brought into requisition, and the digger is called the common laborer—why, no one has ever satisfactorily determined. After the digger comes the foundation maker, with stone or brick and away goes the mind again to the kiln or quarry where there are more skilled and common laborers. Finally the house, in all of its architectural beauty stands revealed, but it must have chimneys and must be plastered which brings into notice still other laborers. In addition it must not be overlooked, that mortar must be supplied, and we go to the lime kilns to find still other laborers—and now the hod carriers appear, to say nothing of plumbers.

In this presentation of the trades involved in building a house, it is scarcely to be surmised that all the various trades are named, the reader may introduce others, but enough is said to establish the interdependence of labor—and this interdependence has almost endless ramifications, as for instance, all workingmen must be clothed and fed, without which the building of which we have spoken, would not be erected at all.

Is it possible for workingmen in the United States to comprehend the great truths of their interdependence and make it the indestructible foundation of the brotherhood of labor? We think it possible. We think educational forces are working in that direction. If consummated, labor's millennium will dawn. During its absence hope will be deferred and heart failure will be the universal complaint.

POLITICAL PARTIES.

Just now one of the vexed but important questions before the American people relates to the free coinage of gold.

We have the free coinage of gold. We have the gold standard, to maintain which, we are constantly borrowing gold of the Rothschilds and other gold bugs, the principal and interest to be paid by labor.

Since the gold standard was established and silver degraded by demonetization, industrial affairs have been going from bad to worse until labor has reached a deplorable condition. The free coinage of silver—its free and unlimited coinage, is now the question before the American people, and upon this question the American people are ranging themselves into parties. It is needless to attempt any subtleties; the battle is on.

The "gold standard" party contends that Americans, on the question of standards, cannot "go it alone." They must wait to see what certain European nations will do.

The "free coinage party," having faith in Americans, believe the United States

ought to have an American policy in currency, as in everything else, independent of Europe.

It is held, and a thousand times has been shown to be true, that the silver dollar was demonetized in the interest of the rich, and the demand now is that it shall be remonetized in the interest of the whole people.

The single, or gold standard party points out, if silver is remonetized, there will be widespread business disorders, and that workingmen will suffer more than any other class, and the president of the United States, a confirmed gold standard advocate, whose ignorance of finance is only equalled by his audacity, in leading the cause of the Rothschilds, bemoans with crocodile tears the fate of workingmen if the people succeed in placing silver where it rightfully belongs in the money of the country. He says in his letter to the gold bugs of Chicago, that

"I thought not to be difficult to convince the wage-earner that if there were benefits arising from a degenerated currency they would reach him least of all and last of all. In an unhealthy stimulation of prices an increased cost of all the needs of his home must belong to his portion while he is at the same time vexed with vanishing visions of increased wages and an easier lot. The pages of history and experience are full of this lesson."

Here it is seen that the wage-earner is directly appealed to. The attempt is made, with true demagogic jugglery, to impress upon them the importance of sustaining the gold bug party if they would secure prosperity for themselves.

It does not matter in the least by what name the parties in power during the past twenty-four years are called, Republican or Democratic, the gold or silver standard has been upheld and silver has been degraded, and this wretched business has proceeded until the Democratic party has secured a president who is the most pronounced gold bug in the nation.

In this struggle for the free coinage of silver, which makes it money upon the same basis as gold, the question arises: How will the workingmen of America vote?

If it is asserted that the gold standard secures national prosperity, and is therefore good for the wage-earner, how does it happen that the country has been for two years, and is still in the grasp of widespread business depression?

Is it to be believed that the free coinage of silver could make matters more deplorable?

Under the operation of the gold standard, workingmen have had their wages reduced to a starvation level, while millions of them have been forced into idleness.

A political party has been organized which advocates the free coinage of silver as one means of relief from our present industrial environments.

Workingmen must choose the party with which they will cooperate. If the gold bug, millionaire, corporation and trust party is their choice, they will vote and hustle for an organized plutocracy. If, however, they vote for the free coinage of silver, they vote for more money and for sound money, which never in any land produced a panic or forced an individual or a nation into bankruptcy.

We hear much—not too much—about educating the masses. Men at work can't go to school to be taught, as in their youth. Organized labor has its lodge rooms, its council chambers, where the work of education by reading and discussion may and ought to go forward.

But the cry is heard, "No politics in the lodge room." If that decree is maintained—and it is what plutocracy indorses and applauds—then the votes of the wage-earners will be cast in the future as in the past for their degradation.

Political parties exist, and will exist when there is free speech. Workingmen enjoy free speech and they command their ballots. To make their ballots effective for their own welfare, they must be cast for the party which proposes a policy best calculated to emancipate the wage-earner from curses brought upon them by legislation.

PLUTOCRATIC MARRIAGES.

The cattle market is not scanned closer by butchers than is the American matrimonial market by European counts and dukes, lords and a' that, to find a woman, maid or widow who has money, or a rich daddy. New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington and other cities maintain matrimonial exchanges and clearing houses, bucket shops and other matrimonial gambling dens.

The dukes and lords and counts come over and examine the marriageable stock on the market, and when a heifer or an old cow suits, negotiations begin, and as soon as the papers are all signed the wires begin working. We are treated to an account of the pedigree of the European animal, but usually little is said of the genealogy of the American stock that is offered for sale. We were told all about Count de Castellane who gave his title for Miss Anna Gould and her \$2,000,000 cash down, with a lien on her residuary \$15,000,000, but not a word was ever said about Miss Gould's pedigree, her breed, her line of ancestors. Her father was, however, Lord Mounsetrap, Baron Erie and Duke Waterstock. But Count de Castellane didn't care a frog's hind leg about such things; he just took his stock, goods and chattels out of the country. Such things degrade marriage, and there is a view to be taken of it of which prudent people speak only in whispers, if at all, because it is regarded as an exhibition of degeneracy which makes marriage unclean.

Rats and mice will soon be in demand, when, quite likely, Phil Armour will start a trust to advance prices. This is a great country.

SUICIDES.

Some lamentable cases of suicide are being recorded. They tell stories of despair which defy exaggeration. Tramped, worn and weary, ragged and starved, resisting temptation to steal; out upon the highways, where they have no rights—seeking rest in a fence corner, or under a hay stack, hounded by dogs, and human tigers, give up the struggle at last, and seek rest in death. This, in a land of Christian civilization—churches and bibles—preaching and praying, where millions are annually collected to Christianize heathen lands. But, not all suicides are tramps. Cases are recorded in cities where women starving and tempted, prefer death of the body rather than live with a dead soul within them, and every heart throbs a pang. Some of these victims of poverty, in their attempts to terminate a wretched life, fall and there are those who would inflict penalties upon them—the state claiming the high prerogative of killing obnoxious people.

It is usually claimed that a suicide, at the time the attempt is made to commit self-murder, is insane. That is doubtless a mistake. Take an average scoundrel in high life who deliberately embezzles funds committed to his care. Take a bank president or cashier who steals the money of depositors and wrecks homes—discovered and caught, what more rational than that he should end his miserable existence with a bodkin, or by some other means?

There are organizations in the land like the General Managers' Association, which blacklist men and force them to commit suicide. This is known, but the inhuman wretches escape punishment in this world, and that is why a good many people believe in hell. They know that the money of these monsters of depravity enables them to go scott free here, but seem to be satisfied that the devil cannot be bribed, and that he will administer justice to them by applying fire and brimstone cataplasms.

EDUCATION.

If an American born workingman hasn't the instinct of freedom, that natural, inward impulse to be free, he will never be taught by any process of education to appreciate freedom.

The American Indian was born with the instinct of freedom, and they were the freest, the most independent race of human beings on the face of the earth. They could not be enslaved. They understood their status, their rights. Diminish their food supplies, interfere with their means of obtaining clothing or shelter, and war became inevitable. In their appreciation of liberty and independence, though savages, they were the peers of the most advanced nations in all christendom.

We are now exhorted to educate workingmen as to their status, as to their duty, clothing and shelter, as to their food to themselves and their families.

If an American has grown up to manhood and is deficient in these grand essentials, what is to be the process of education?

To reason with men as to the best methods of maintaining their freedom and independence is another thing. To devise plans to thwart the schemes of men who contemplate the degradation of labor, is to put in operation the self reliance, the will power and the mind power of men.

There are natural born scabs, and all the teachers from Plato down to the present could make nothing else out of them but scabs. There is nothing to build on; weak and irresolute, they will crawl and lick at the bidding of their masters. They are not in it, when the hope of labor is the theme that is up for discussion.

The hope of labor centers in the men who know their rights and dare maintain them; who, if defeated come again.

BEEF.

In Europe, only a limited number of working people ever taste beef. Thousands of them seldom have meat of any kind, except horse meat. In German cities horse meat is largely consumed by working people, because it has been cheap, an old horse being sold at from \$5.00 to \$10.00 a head. Lately, the consumption of horse meat having reached a large demand, old horses have advanced in price to \$20.00 and as high as \$50.00 a head for slaughtering purposes.

Just why horse meat is not proper food for human beings, we shall not stop to inquire, though, probably, the old Levitical law has something to do with it, as a horse is not cloven footed and does not chew a cud, and is therefore "unclean" to the Jews. But under the advancing shadows of Christian civilization, horses, whether clean or unclean, are butchered for their meat, and mules and asses will, doubtless, soon be slaughtered for the same purpose.

In Chicago, the greatest slaughtering city in the world, workingmen can no longer purchase beef, and meat markets that formerly supplied workingmen with meat, have closed. Under such circumstances it is easy to see the drift of affairs. We are getting down to the Dago and Hun level in a way and with a speed that must be delightful to the plutocracy and the proprietors of sweat shops.

Rats and mice will soon be in demand, when, quite likely, Phil Armour will start a trust to advance prices. This is a great country.

CHURCH INFLUENCE.

The church is one thing and Christianity is another and a different thing. It would be difficult to say just what the church now a-days represents, and he is a daring man who enters this particular field of controversy. The Rev. Stephen Merritt of New York City, is quoted as saying that "the church is all honey-combed through and through. People have no confidence in the ministers; not one in 50 of the ministers vote for prohibition. They seem to be for pelf, position and power, and are losing their hold on the people. Culture, education and erudition have taken the place of the Holy Ghost. The church is failing. It says it will open at a quarter of 11 and keep you as little a time as possible. That is one of its inducements now."

This is a fearful arraignment. It speaks of decay, and were it a standard by which the spirit of Christianity could be justly measured, things would look dolefully blue in the United States.

It appears that some one suggested that the church would eventually dominate the government. To this the Chicago Inter-Ocean refers as follows:

Those who have feared that church influence might become a power in our government have but to consider the church statistics of the last census to be reassured. There is no danger from any such influence, and there is no need for any organization to guard against such a danger.

Certainly, if Mr. Merritt is to be believed, church power in our government would be a calamity, but there is little danger of such a contingency, and yet enough, perhaps, to set men to thinking. In commenting upon what the Inter-Ocean says, the Springfield, Mass., Republican remarks that, "the reassuring fact is, that about 63 per cent. of the voters are not allied to any church whatever." But it should be remembered that the 37 per cent. is an aggressive element, and regards with superciliousness the 63 per cent., and is often able to carry a point in defiance of the 63 per cent. The original idea of the government was all the Christianity possible, and as little church as possible in the government. Hence, free speech, free press, free schools, free Bible and absolutely free religion. There could be no "established church," no alliance between the government and religion of any description, and now we are told that 63 per cent. of all the votes in the United States are not members of any church. They do not subscribe to any religion, creed or dogma, but it does not follow that they are not animated by a Christian spirit. They voluntarily tax themselves to support free schools and free libraries. They voluntarily tax themselves to support asylums for the insane, schools for the blind, the deaf and dumb, and homes for orphans. Such institutions are the standard by which the Christianity of the nation is to be measured, and not the church.

GOLD NOT FIGHTING MONEY.
 Gold as money in time of war, is a traitor. "If it were the best, most reliable material for money, is it not strange," asks the Atwood Patriot, that no country has ever yet been able to use it in time of war? Is it not equally strange that men can only fight with the worst of money? What would the world think and say of a nation that provided its army with the worst of everything essential in warfare? In the greatest crisis of our republic, we had no gold. In the greatest crisis of every nation, when money was needed most, they had no gold. With the first sign of a battle, with a first call to arms, this sacred gold has always disappeared, and has never appeared again until it appeared in the hands of usurers. This may be the kind of money our people want, but we don't think so. It is an indisputable fact, proved to us by history, that the best, most reliable money is not an international but a national money. In every critical time in the history of this or any other country, gold has never stepped forward and offered its services. A money that hides itself at the slightest note of danger is not a money which a nation should make a standard. The time is coming, and it will soon come, when gold will necessarily take a back seat, and our great friends, paper and silver, will step forward and receive the homage justly due them." The demand is to have money that has fight in it—that will never desert the flag—money that talks like a patriot, with a mighty nation under it to hold it up, and behind it, with the nation's wealth. If any other nation thinks it will not stand trial, let them pitch in.

Sal A. Ree is a beautiful maid, fat and fascinating. She has cash, diamonds and rubies and all the Grands are in love with her up to their chins. They sing to her their undying devotion and she sings back, *a la Patti*, her heart throbbings:

SONG OF THE GRANDS.
 O! Sal A. Ree, dear Sal A. Ree,
 You are my flower and I'm your bee,
 'Tis honey and money you give to me,
 And my heart is yours, dear Sal A. Ree.

SAL SINGS BACK:
 O! gallant Grands, your love for me
 Tickle the heart of Sal A. Ree.
 How oft I've seen you bend a knee
 As you have shuffled up to me,
 Swearing you love dear Sal A. Ree.

The decrease in the number of farm animals of the United States, for the years 1893-94, amounted to 653,000,000, the larger part of the decrease being in horses. Electricity does the work of the street railway horse and mule.

VITALITY OF THE A. R. U.

There were, after the troubles of 1894, thousands who believed that the American Railway Union was practically dead. The votaries of the Railroad Managers' Association, the vermin incapable of speaking a generous word or of doing a noble deed, leered and chuckled, as they saw members of the A. R. U. exiled from work and followed everywhere by blacklisting hounds, determined to murder them by the slow torture of starvation.

They measured A. R. U. men by themselves. They knew themselves to be sneaks, cowards, debased and degenerate creatures, and they judged the members of the A. R. U. to be the same. Destitute of manhood and independence themselves, lickspittles, boot lickers and rod kissers, scamps of the scavenger breed, they had no conception of men whose fealty to truth would bear them up when defeat should overtake them.

They may now from their holes and lairs enjoy the splendid spectacle of the resurrected order of the A. R. U.

It is grand and peculiar.

The banners of the A. R. U. never waved more triumphantly.

Every man is a veteran. The battle has made him strong.

Every heart beat is a drum beat of victory, and every step is on the pathward towards higher elevations.

Men of the A. R. U., *The Times* salutes you. The night is past. The day dawns and the sun of your prosperity is rising grandly to its meridian glory.

You heard the cry of our starving brothers and sisters in the Pullman prison, worse than Andersonville or Libby.

You heard the wail of children—their cry for food. You sprang to the rescue. You aroused a slumbering continent. You branded Geo. M. Pullman with a mark as ineffaceable as was the mark God stamped upon the brow of Cain.

For this you have suffered, but you have been strong.

Your compensations are coming.

THE CONSPIRACY TRIALS.

According to the program the trials of the officers and directors of the American Railway Union, et al, should have been continued commencing Monday, May 6th. This was the day fixed by Judge Grosscup when the previous trial was terminated in February last on account of the illness of Juror Coe. Now comes an order from Attorney-General Olney to "postpone the trial indefinitely," and thus the cases are again off, much to the disappointment of the defendants who, from the very beginning, were eager and anxious to be tried upon the charge of conspiracy upon which they were indicted at the instigation of the General Managers' Association.

It will be remembered that we stated in *The Railway Times* of March 15th, when the previous jury had been dismissed, that the cases would never be tried, that the General Managers had all the trial they wanted, and that all those who had been so active in the prosecution, after seeing what the trial had developed and would inevitably bring to light, were exceedingly anxious to "let go" and allow the matter to sink into "innocuous desuetude."

We stand where we did at the start—we have not changed our attitude in the slightest. If we are guilty of conspiracy to obstruct the mails, why are we not placed upon trial? Ten months have elapsed since the alleged crimes were committed. Why these interminable postponements and delays? There can be but one answer. The prosecution does not want to prosecute and there are influences in operation to prevent the cases being tried.

How is it with all the plutocratic press that howled itself into a frenzy in the clamor for our prosecution? They pretended to believe that we were criminals and that the safety of society demanded that we be sent to the penitentiary. Why is it they are so silent on the subject? Are we less guilty than we were ten months ago? Why do they no longer insist upon our prosecution? Why do they not arraign the prosecution and the courts for their inactivity, their dilly-dallying tactics? If the defendants had been responsible for just one postponement, the subsidized press would have raged and foamed about it, but the responsibility being with the other side, like Riley's old man, they have "nothing to say." In the whole proceedings it can be seen how harmoniously plutocratic influences cooperate with one another. When the railroad companies cried, "Prosecute them!" the papers emphasized the demand and kept it up; but when the quiet command to "let go" was given, the papers were silenced and now they are keeping that up with painful profoundness.

As a matter of course and of fact we were never guilty of conspiracy or anything tending to show such an intent, and those creatures of the railroad corporations who caused us to be arrested and indicted knew we were not guilty and only committed the outrages to break up the strike, defeat the employees in the interest of their masters, the corporations, and this accomplished the rest is unimportant and a trial is not necessary, nor even prudent, since it might bring to light some shady transactions that for the good names as well as the liberty of certain gentlemen accredited with high social and business standing would better remain in darkness.

We are waiting to toe the mark and when the case is called (unlike Pullman, who skipped the town,) we will be there.

THE CONTEMPT CASES.

For some days past a decision in the contempt proceedings pending before the United States Supreme Court has been expected, but for some reason it has not yet been handed down. There has been a great deal of speculation as to the nature and effect of the decision but among Washington lawyers the opinion is practically unanimous that Judge Woods will be reversed and that the eight directors of the American Railway Union will not have to serve the sentences imposed by the lower court.

The following forecast was telegraphed from Washington on April 23d:

Monday next the supreme court is expected to hand down its decision in the Debs contempt case. The decision of the lower court, made by Judge Woods, will be reversed and the writ of habeas corpus asked for by Debs and his associates, relieving them of imprisonment for contempt for disobeying the orders of the court, will be granted. At least, this is the expectation of the lawyers who have carefully watched the case, and of gentlemen who are in a position to know something of the progress which the supreme court has made in its consideration of the case. It is understood that the court stands either six to two or five to three in favor of Debs.

It is the strongest argument used by the attorneys of Debs that a man cannot be twice punished for the same offense and not without trial by jury. In this instance Debs and his associates were enjoined by the court from interference with the mails, and on complaint that they had failed to obey this injunction they were not only arrested and indicted under the statutes, but hauled into court for contempt and sentenced to imprisonment on that ground. Judge Trumbull and Mr. Darrow, their attorneys, argued that this was a sort of double-barreled shotgun justice—punishing a man for crime for which he had been indicted, but before he was tried.

Among these public men who have carefully watched the progress of the case is Senator Voorhees, a townsman of Debs at Terre Haute. Senator Voorhees says he is in possession of information which leads him to the conclusion that the supreme court will reverse the decision of Judge Woods. "I can't tell you all that I have heard, nor where I have heard it," said Senator Voorhees to-night, "but I feel sure that the court will reverse Woods's ruling and grant Debs habeas corpus. The decision of the court will not be unanimous."

It is absurd to suppose that this great tribunal can endorse any such doctrine as this—that a man can be punished by contempt proceedings for the very offense against the statutes for which he is under indictment and must soon stand trial. Punishment by contempt is justifiable only in such cases as those in which the act is committed within the precincts of the court, or in some extreme cases, under other circumstances.

It can never be justified, where a judge presumes to take the law into his own hands and anticipate grand jury, trial jury, witnesses, every proper stage of the process of depriving a man of his liberty, and thrust him into prison on a pretext of contempt of court. This decision will be an important one and will be hailed by lovers of liberty everywhere as just and right.

Although Senator Voorhees does not claim to have positive information concerning the nature of the supreme court's decision it is obvious that he has received information from the inside. His information agrees with that to be obtained in other quarters, especially among some of the officers of the department of justice, where there has never been much confidence that Judge Woods's decision would pass muster before the searching eyes of the supreme court justices. It was from the first intimated by some of these officials that they believed they had a very weak case. They did the best they could to refute the arguments of Judge Trumbull and Mr. Darrow, that the circuit court lacked jurisdiction in contempt proceedings where the accused was under indictment for the same offense as that complained of in the contempt proceedings, but have not been satisfied that the law and the facts were with them.

One thing is certain, and that is that the side of the defendants was ably presented to the Supreme Bench by their lawyers. An abler combination of legal talent has rarely appeared before that august tribunal. Judge Lyman Trumbull, the venerable jurist whose fame has long since filled the country, S. S. Gregory admitted to be one of the best constitutional lawyers in the great state of Illinois, and Clarence S. Darrow, whose brilliant attainments have won for him recognition in legal circles rarely accorded a man of his years, constituted the triumvirate, and with consummate skill and admirable fidelity did they discharge the high duty that rested upon them.

The decision is of vital importance to not only every workingman and woman in the land but to every citizen who has any conception of free institutions and places any value upon his constitutional rights. Few men realize the gravity of the issue or have given the matter thought enough to comprehend the significance and effect of the decision.

If the decision is adverse the President of the A. R. U. goes to jail for one year, and seven of the remaining directors for six months, and the status of "Government by Injunction" will then have been determined by the highest tribunal in the land and it will be understood that every Federal Judge can, if he will, constitute himself a Czar, disregard the constitution, defy statute, and fine and imprison men at will.

If, on the other hand, the decision is favorable to the A. R. U., the infamous doctrine enunciated by Judge Woods will be demolished, constitutional liberty will be vindicated, the officers and directors of the order will be restored to freedom and the reign of the Injunction as a ruling power will be brought to an ignominious termination.

We have not the slightest doubt as to what the decision will be.

MAMMON WORSHIP.

Mammon is defined as wealth, riches, capital. Mammon worshippers are those who deify wealth—make it their god—permit it to absorb their thoughts, glory in its power.

This mammon worship, like all idolatry, degrades those who engage in it. It dehumanizes men, ossifies their hearts, dwarfs the soul, deranges and debases their intellectual faculties—and upon general principles, as Josh Billings would say, makes "damphools of them." No Hottentot was ever more devoted to his fetish than are a majority of millionaires to their gold god. They believe in its power and are seldom disappointed. It does not exactly work miracles, but it does startle people by its debasing achievements. From the beginning, this gold god has been engaged in enslaving humanity—and today, has more slaves in the world than Jehovah has worshippers.

This gold god has become immeasurably powerful in the United States. Every national bank in the land is a temple dedicated to this gold god—and the President and his cabinet and all his officers down to swash bucklers, fall down with pagan abasement to do it honor. This gold god is the "single standard" of worship that the old Shylock Rothschild has ordered set up in the United States. He's got the bonds, and labor is mortgaged to him to pay principal and interest.

Ordinarily, men in the United States are entirely indifferent as to what men worship, or whether they worship anything in heaven, earth or sea—but these mammon worshippers have established a species of despotism in the United States—an autocracy—organized diabolism—not bold and above board as that of old Nebuchadnezzar, when he set up his golden image and commanded his slaves to fall down and worship it—and threatened them with death if they disobeyed. This mammon autocracy, this gold god despotism, pursues a different policy. It is a monumental sneak. It is machiavelism. Its weapons are duplicity, intrigue and all the vulgar arts of dissimulation. It saps and mines; its wires are underground—and it moves with the desolating power of an earthquake.

It has produced present industrial conditions. It makes laws. It debauches Congresses and legislatures. It buys judges and corrupts courts. It is a traitor to truth, and a howling derisive devotee of wrong.

This mammon worship, this gold god ascendancy in the United States has made every factory in the land a prison, with one right remaining to the convicts to quit and starve or work and starve. What is true of the factory is true of every other industrial enterprise.

Employees see it, know it, realize their degradation, and yet vote to keep the gold god on its pedestal and its worshippers in power. It has filled the land with tramps and created a wide sentiment of cruelty, and to maintain its ascendancy demands that its victims shall be shot down by a military machine, the recognized weapon of despots, if they strike for their hearths and homes—and today, the mammon worshippers, the gold god idolators are scheming to find what further degradation the workingmen of America can be made to endure.

In the temples of their god, and their number is legion—the banks, the trusts, the corporation palaces, the gold god is enthroned and consulted. Decrees are issued. Wages go down, 5, 10, 15 and 20 per cent. to feed this ravenous moloch, with the head of a hog and the arms of a devil-fish.

The time has come for the people to choose. If gold be their god, let them worship with Cleveland and Rothschild and the rest of the idolatrous gang. But if they prefer truth, justice, liberty and independence, let them evince their fealty and by their fiat declare the reign of the gold god ended.

TOLD YOU SO.

Seeing that present conditions in industrial affairs are the result of legislation by political parties, it is singular that workingmen will continue to adhere to the parties which are responsible for them. *The Coming Nation*, addressing workingmen who don't read, says: So you think politics has nothing to do with your wages or chance of getting employment, or your debts or poverty, eh?

The banker tells you so. The politician tells you so. The monopolist tells you so. The people who live well and do nothing tell you so.

Isn't it funny that all of these people are all of one mind? All these people live off of somebody. Do you know who that somebody is? All these people are very anxious about the elections.

Do you ever ask yourself why? If politics has nothing to do with you why are they so interested?

Do you think they are fools to spend their time and money on something there is nothing in for them?

And if there is something in it for them who pays that something?

Why can't you see a little bit under the surface?

Have they trained you like a soldier so you can't think but obey orders? Why are they so anxious that you don't vote with the cranks?

Why all this solicitude?

Politics has everything to do with your wages and employment.

It can render millions of you idle so you will have to work cheap, or it can have all of you busy getting big wages.

They don't want you to find this out.

They want you for a voting machine to help them live in luxury and power.

And you've been doing it.

Don't read up on the money problem you might learn something and not be as docile as a slave.

INGERSOLLISMS.

The tenement house is the enemy of modesty, the enemy of virtue, the enemy of patriotism.

So far as I am concerned, I have made up my mind that no organization, secular or religious, shall be my master.

I shall do what little I can to hasten the day when this earth shall be covered with homes, and when by countless firesides shall sit the happy and loving families of the world.

The strike is no remedy. Boycotting is no remedy. Brute force is no remedy. These questions have to be settled by reason, by candor, by intelligence, by kindness; and nothing is permanently settled in this world that has not its cornerstone justice, and is not protected by the profound conviction of the human mind.

A member of the Illinois Legislature has introduced a bill to tax gifts, legacies and inheritances. The purpose of the measure is to limit the piling up of immense private wealth without a reasonable compensation to the state.

"The growth of colossal fortunes," remarks the *Chicago Record* by inheritance is one of the chief causes of the centralization of wealth which is now becoming a serious problem for the economists. The slight tax imposed by the proposed law would do little to check that process, but it would establish the principle that the money piled up by one generation cannot pass into hands which did not earn it without some portion being paid back to the people. Certain exceptions are made but in "all other cases the tax is to be \$3 for all estates of \$10,000 and less, \$4 for all estates between \$10,000 and \$20,000, \$5 on estates between \$20,000 and \$50,000, and \$6 for all property exceeding that value, estates of less than \$500 being exempt.

A private letter from a soldier in the Hawaiian army reads: It is well understood here by every one that the natives are the best-hearted people in the world. If any one comes about their houses, either native or white, he is welcome to half they have to eat and welcome to stay as long as he pleases. If the hosts have nothing in the house, they will go and borrow for their guests. Through this disposition the natives have allowed the white missionaries to take all their lands and everything else from them, and as there is nothing more left, the foreigners have taken the government from the natives, and the right of the ballot in legal form, as very few of them have the required income to entitle them to a vote.

The foregoing is doubtless as true a picture of Hawaiian affairs as has been painted. The missionaries have taken all the lands of the natives and "everything else"—conferred upon them the blessings of poverty and leprosy—reduced their number from 250,000 to 40,000—and finally their government is gone. The Hawaiians are in a condition to sing— "Hark from the tombs, a Dole-ful sound."

The Twentieth Century remarks that we have now a new use for religion. Bishop Potter has advised young men who would succeed in business to be regular at church. In that way, according to this New York ecclesiastic, they can win the favor of their employers and expect to outstrip in the race for wealth those who are irregular at church or regular in absenting themselves. This is a very lofty motive indeed for going to church. We know of a banker, now wearing stripes, who was always "regular at church," and two other scoundrels who helped him to wreck the bank and rob its depositors, who were distinguished for their regularity at church.

The *Co operative Age* remarks that "the railroads have no blacklist! Oh, no; not a bit of it. The Great Northern, it is true, requires applicants for positions on its line to fill out a history of their past lives and a minute personal description. They have to state when and where they have worked for several years previous, and why they left their positions. They must also state their height, weight, color, age, color of hair, eyes and eyebrows, distinctive marks, etc., etc., etc. The "Soo" road goes the G. N. a few points better. In addition to all the above the "Soo" requires proof of non-membership in unions. Free country, you know."

The *San Francisco Chronicle* refers to a man at Grand Rapids, Mich., who can talk though he has lost the greater part of his brain. "His case," says the *Chronicle*, "may lead to the revision of some theories about the importance of the brain, but no observer of public affairs in this country will be surprised to learn that a man may go through all the motions and yet have a very small allowance of gray matter in his brain." That's so. For instance, Judge Woods shot off 27,000 words, in giving an opinion—just that many witnesses of the total absence of gray matter, or if any at all, not enough, if it were ink, to dot an i.

SNAP SHOTS.

BY REV. MYRON REED.

There is no economy in inhumanity.

Burning a good book helps it—diffuses it.

A soldier can fight on sorghum cane and roasted acorns, but not long.

I do not suppose that any master of oxen or men depends much on a whip.

A stomach works seven days in the week, and rent keeps no holy day or holiday.

We are not asked whether we shall be born into the world or not. We are drafted into life.

I will not say the world owes a man a living. I will say it owes him an opportunity to earn a living.

The world will do one of two things—give a man an opportunity to earn a living, or, failing in that, give him a living.

In some respects the republic shows signs of debility. If it falls it is a world failure. There is no need of any further experiment.

I can remember when people were asked to join in singing a song beginning with "My thoughts on dreadful subjects roll, damnation and the dead."

Brook trout are very good four times in succession, but if you are going a fishing and intend to camp out, I advise you to lay in plenty of bacon, and especially plenty of vulgar salt pork.

I bear in mind the saying of St. Paul: "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." Probably the people he was acquainted with could find work. I am acquainted with some people who can find none.

A "living" may have several definitions. Doubtless an ox that has been well sheltered and well rested will thrash more and eat less than one who has sharpened his appetite on a blizzard. There is no economy in any inhumanity.

A king up to the days of Cromwell did as he pleased, but insisted that the people should not do as they pleased. The laws were for them; he sat above laws. According to this model God was fashioned—a kind of an infinite George M. Pullman.

Charles Dickens notes the indifference of the unfortunate. They drove furiously and recklessly through the street; ran over people. One duke or something having run over a child, flung the father some silver. I have not time to tell the story; sufficient to say that the duke did not run over any more children nor drive fast any more. The next ride he took was at a walk in a hearse.

Camped in the Yosemite, I heard a crash in the night. In the morning I saw that a big rock had peeled off from the side of the mountain and rolled into the valley. Very sudden it seemed, but there had been a preparation. The air and sun and rain and frost had been at work on that divorce for some time. They had cut and pried for years. What I heard in the night was the crash of conclusion.

In theory this is a government by the people. But it is slow getting rid of the old phrases. The sermons of Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton, Massachusetts, are fit to have been written under the reign of a Tycoon. They are adapted to Siberia. His pictures of God made people faint. A man who would do to his creatures what Dr. Edwards said God would do to His creatures would be swiftly dealt with by the humane society.

St. Paul also says that the husbandman that laboreth must be first partaker of the fruits. I commend that text to the careful and prayerful consideration of the car-builder and church-builder, Mr. Geo. M. Pullman. It is plain that he is first to pay his workmen "fair day's wages for a fair day's work." He is to attend to that and then, if there is anything over, he may declare a dividend. The living of the laborer is the first thing to be considered.

I have been reading of the slaughter in the Red Canon mine in Wyoming. Sixty one men killed—fifty-one of them men with families. I have not heard yet of any sneaking behind the overworked phrase "dispensation of God." This is a dispensation of a corporation. Modern science is able to make a mine reasonably safe. The only objection is that it is expensive. This is No. 5 of the Central Pacific mines. This is the third explosion in the vicinity. A while ago No. 2 killed 40 men, and soon after No. 4 killed 13 men. That means only three more to go off. Here are 114 men blown or buried to death in one neighborhood of this republic—114 of "the dangerous class" gone. It seems to me that this kind of massacre is happening somewhere in this country every week.

The San Diego Pacific and Eastern R. R. is a project that should interest railway employes especially, since it is to be built and owned by the people and the employes themselves are to be the stockholders. At the head of the enterprise are some of San Diego's best citizens, and it is hoped that the road may be built and in operation at an early day.



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BUILDING.

BY J. O. MARSHALL. "The men who rounded Pate's Dome, And groin'd the aisles of Christian Rome, It is said—

"Built better than they knew." Quite probable. But—The men who went to Pullman town, And gained the curse and gained the frown, From Pullman to the meanest clown

That pollutes Chicago's slum, Kicked up the dustiest bobbery, In the Pullman den of robbery, And in the ranks of snobbery, Known, since the world begun.

It may be that the A. R. U. Built better than it knew, When it built for all and not the few— Built for all eternity— Built to free the Pullman slave, Built to crush the Pullman knave, To save from famine and the grave The great toiling fraternity.

All hail, boys, we'll be content With Pullman for our monument— Though costing cruel banishment— For home, we have set sail. The working world will all us when Our lodge-fires burn and blaze again, And with grand acclaim pronounce us men— Men who never quail.

THE THEOLOGY OF LABOR.

BY J. B. MAYNARD.

"The spacious world by Adam trod, Was the first temple built by God, His fiat laid the corner stone, And reared its pillars one by one."

There is what is called natural theology, in the study of which man seeks to find out God by contemplating His works. As a fact, as well as by figure of speech, God is known as the Omnipotent Architect.

The story of creation begins by reference to God as a working God. He built the heavens and the earth in six days— "And on the seventh day God ended His work which He had made: and He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had made."

Included in this work was man—and woman, also, and it is not to be inferred that God made man to be an idler; on the contrary, it is shown that so anxious was the Creator upon the subject of employment that He Himself "planted a garden eastward in Eden and took the man and put him into the garden to dress it and to keep it."

It is not difficult to conceive, if God had intended that man should live in idleness, that he should be a grand monarch, He would have built him a throne and given him a crown and scepter instead of commanding him to dress and to keep a garden. The fact that God worked six days—perfected all the machinery of the universe, regulated the course of the planets of all the systems that revolve in space, sent them forth on their shining circuits—demonstrates beyond all cavil that God worked, and when His work was complete He "rested."

Having rested, we do no violence to theory by surmising that God asked Himself: What could the man do? On all sides was raw material; not a machine had been invented. It requires no far fetched fancy to suggest that the first man was predisposed to idleness. The climate was genial, nature prolific; clothes were not required, the trees gave shelter; man was in Eden, and Eden looms up in the imagination as Paradise. But it so happens that idleness was not to be the order; work was the demand and command, and as Adam had no faculty for starting an enterprise to set himself to work, God came down and "planted a garden eastward in Eden" and put the man Adam in it to "dress" and to "keep" it.

We infer that God believed in the dignity of work, that he beheld idleness with infinite disapproval, and that even now the same unchangeable God regards the man who is too proud to work and the man who is too mean to work as belonging to the same class of vagabonds, since both live off of men who do work. We read of Dives in his palace, clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously every day. We read of Lazarus, the afflicted beggar. At that time there do not appear to have been any asylums for such men as Lazarus. Charitable societies were not then organized; men and women were not going about the streets to find and help the unfortunate. The real friends that visited Lazarus were the vagabond dogs of the city; they did "lick his sores." Now, we do not assume that dogs go to heaven, but we are inclined to the opinion that such benevolently disposed dogs as visited Lazarus and did what they could to alleviate his sufferings, will always stand a thousand chances to enter heaven to one of a rich man who uses his power and position to degrade and impoverish men and women who work.

tion is tenable, we suppose taking a notable case in which the facts are brought out in such startling prominence as to fall with crushing weight upon anything and everything offered as an objection. In the courts, when lawyers contend, when authorities are given in support of positions, the demand is made for book and page. We accept the example and refer to the Holy Bible, Book of Exodus, Chapter III:

Under the rule of the Pharaohs, the descendants of the patriarch Jacob were subjected to numberless indignities; they were reduced to slavery in the worst sense of the term. Their "task masters" were cruel, and their tasks of a character so monstrously unjust that God Himself took cognizance of them, and as a result—

"The Lord said: I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard them cry by reason of their task masters; for I know their sorrows, and I am come to deliver them."

Just here, we say, in the way of recapitulation: That the omnipotent, omniscient God is a working God, that it is His will concerning man that he should work, that when workingmen are oppressed, God is in sympathy with them and will so shape events as to deliver them from their cruel task masters.

It will be well to bear in mind that the grievance the Children of Israel had against Pharaoh related entirely to work, to the cruelty of their "task masters," and it will be noticed that from the time that Moses interfered in the name of the Lord, Pharaoh became angry and the tasks were more severe and crushing than ever. Let it be understood that Pharaoh was a heartless employer, that the toiling Israelites got none of the wealth they created. They lived, they worked, they multiplied, they groaned. Finally God heard their cries, saw their afflictions, and then began the conflict. Pharaoh was stubborn, self-willed, autocratic. He neither knew nor feared God. He had vast numbers of Israelites working for him; they added immensely to his resources and income, supported him in luxury and were sinking continually into deeper degradation.

There are those who deplore disturbances, commotions that interfere with the regular order of business. That was not God's idea at all. Moses was an agitator. He kept the subject continually before Pharaoh. Showed that monarch many signs and wonders indicating that the Grand Master Workman had taken a hand in the business of righting the wrongs of workingmen. The measures resorted to to bring Pharaoh to his senses exceed those that any dynamiter or nihilist ever imagined. Pharaoh made up his mind to retain the Israelites in bondage, to increase their tasks and to scourge them if the tasks were not performed, and he did not propose to permit such a labor agitator as Moses to interfere. But Moses represented a power, that would, in due time, and by most extraordinary methods, humble the proud monarch and rescue the Israelites from their task masters. And then came the plagues in rapid succession, and finally the overwhelming of Pharaoh's hosts in the Red Sea.

The cruel task master business did attract at one time the notice of Jehovah. Who dare say the same is not true now? The methods by which redress may be secured may not be the same, but the methods God adopted for punishing the Egyptians for their cruelties to the Israelites, ought to suggest to task masters of the present, moderation. Who have been the poor men of the world in all ages? Manifestly the workingmen of the world. The declaration will not be denied.

Who will say that the millionaires of any period came by their wealth honestly, even as honest men define the term, and in the courts of Infinite Justice, who believes the title of the nabobs to their wealth would be considered of any value whatever? Who does not know that strength has robbed weakness long enough to make even Heaven cry "shame."

Accept the declaration, that the "Son of God" has dwelt upon the earth, one of the God head, and learn from His speech and deeds His estimate of the rich and of the poor. Was He ever seen in the society of the rich? Did He ever eulogize the rich? Were they ever his companions? He spake the parable of the rich man in hell, and immortalized the dogs that licked the sores of Lazarus, and said it would be easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter Heaven. Christ was an agitator. He believed in dealing honestly with the poor and He denounced the rich who devoured widows' houses, and placed upon men's shoulders cruel burdens. He was called the "carpenter's son," and is supposed to have worked at the carpenter's trade.

It is accepted as true, that from the day His ministry began, workingmen have realized within them as never before a kinship with God. Admit that the process of advancement has been slow and toilsome, the question is, Have they advanced? Has God so shaped events as to give workingmen a chance to disenthrall themselves? Who that is able to read aright the signs of the times, is bold enough to deny it? There may be those who take no stock in the theory that "There is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will." Stanley, in the dark, gloomy, silent forests of Africa, whatever had been his previous notions, was induced

by his experience to confess a Divine hand in his deliverance. Be this as it may, for nearly nineteen hundred years forces have been in operation designed to emancipate workingmen from cruel taskmasters, and, fortunately, by the divine powers of mind, and these powers were never so active as now in the ranks of workingmen.

If the theory is accepted that God is shaping events for the emancipation of workingmen from the curse of circumstances, which enable the rich to rob and degrade them, the question might be asked, Why is He so slow about it? As well ask, Why does the century plant bloom only once in a hundred years? It might be an answer to say that a day, as Jehovah counts time, is as a thousand years; admit it, and it is less than two days since the agitations inaugurated by Christ began. Moreover, it is well to state that a great many workingmen are not yet prepared for full orb'd emancipation.

The Pharaohs, as a matter of course, don't believe in the emancipation of workingmen, and these autocrats have their armies of underlings, who live by the breath of their masters, and they chime in in opposition to organization and federation. Aside from these are thousands of non-union workingmen and a vast army of scabs, all working against emancipation, all really playing into the hands of those who, to-day, are as tyrannical as Pharaoh, and would exhibit their inhumanity but for the restraints which the laws impose. In the advance made toward emancipation, such people have been impeding obstructions but not conquering. They will eventually disappear. Such are the laws of progress, and they are immutable.

The strangest feature of the subject under discussion, is the course pursued by the church, the church founded by One so poor that He proclaimed Himself poorer than the foxes that have holes and the birds that have nests. Has the voice of the church been raised for the emancipation of workingmen from the grasp of their task masters? How often has the church denounced Carnegie's rule in Pennsylvania? How often has the church warned task masters at the head of great corporations that their cruelties were an offense to God and all decent people? Thank God, without the aid of the church, workingmen, by faith in the principles of eternal justice, are marching on to victory, and we think, since it is admitted that "God helps them who help themselves" or, at least, try to help themselves, He is on the side of the workingmen.

What Is Socialism?

BY W. H. STUART.

Socialism is that system in which all the means and instruments for the production and distribution of wealth will be owned collectively, under a purely democratic administration of political affairs. A socialist is one who believes in and advocates the adoption of such a system. The socialist ideal is the co-operative commonwealth. Socialism is a purely economic question; it relates exclusively to affairs of this planet. Of the political economy of the skies, socialism has no theory. It is neither religious nor irreligious. It is no part of the duty of a socialist to excite religious animosities; he leaves that to fools and demagogues. The former are usually the ignorant tools and dupes of the capitalists, while the latter are often their hirelings, who are paid to divide the workers on trivial and unimportant issues, while their capitalist masters rob them in security.

Under all past economic systems, including the present one, the strong, able, cunning and unscrupulous few, have lived on the labors of the weak, ignorant and credulous many. Socialism proposes that this system of exploitation shall cease and give place to one of fraternal co-operation, where production shall be carried on in the interest of all the people instead of, as at present, in the interest of an insignificant minority of them. In other words, socialism means democracy in industry. It is democracy carried to its logical conclusion, for political equality without industrial equality is the merest sham and delusion.

The last census discloses the startling fact that less than three per cent. of our population practically own and control the national wealth. The national wealth has increased within the past thirty years over 400 per cent. Thirty years ago the number of millionaires in this country could be counted on the fingers of one hand. They are now numbered by thousands. The enormous increase in wealth noted has not been equitably shared in by the actual producers of it; but, on the contrary, has flowed, a Pactolian stream, into the coffers of an insignificant minority of the non-producing classes of society.

What has been the cause of this extraordinary concentration of wealth into the hands of the non-producing classes? The socialist answers: Our present system of free contract and free competition. That is to say, under competitive conditions, this is the condition that confronts us. Under the control and in possession of one class, the capitalists, the three per cent. of the population, are all the means and instruments for the production and distribution of wealth; all the factories and manufacturing establishments, fitted up with costly labor displacing machinery; the railroads; the telegraph and telephone lines; the street railway; the gas and electric light plants; our municipal system of water works; all valuable mines and other natural resources, including all valuable urban land, in addition to hundreds of millions of acres of agricultural land—in a word—all the means for the production and distribution of wealth. On the other side are the great body of the actual producers, who have nothing but their labor-power to sell and whose existence depends on their ability to sell it quickly lest they starve. Under such conditions of private control of capital, it is inevitable, that competition among the workers will keep

wages down to the "life line," the "subsistence point," according to the standard of living of the time and country.

Labor produces all wealth, and wages is the least portion of the product that the laborer, under competitive conditions, will consent to receive as his share for producing it. Given an abundance of labor and wages under competitive conditions will never permanently exceed the sum necessary to maintain the standard of living. The difference between that part of the product, represented by wages, and the entire value of the product, is absorbed by the capitalist class in the shape of rent, interest and profits. Interest and rent is a tribute the capitalists are enabled to levy solely through the possession of the means of production. Neither the capitalist nor the land owner, as such, produce anything. That capital, for the use of which the capitalists charge wages for their assistance in production, is itself the product of labor, and in the hands of the capitalists merely represent accumulated unpaid labor.

Labor under our present system is treated as a mere commodity. Its value is the cost of its subsistence and reproduction. It has, however, the power— not possessed by any other commodity—of producing more than its value. The capitalists take advantage of this ability of labor to produce more than its subsistence, for having under their control the tools for the production of wealth, they are enabled to prevent access to them only on condition that the worker will be satisfied with a subsistence wage; that is to say, under the capitalist system, the capitalists are enabled to absorb all the surplus value produced over and above the value or cost of labor. This is the "iron law" that governs wages. The laborer produces, let us say, three dollars in wealth, but is forced under competitive conditions to accept one dollar as wages for his share in producing it. Under such conditions wages represent, not the value of the product, but his necessities. As a consequence the laborer is unable to buy back the product. Hence the continual accumulation of wealth by the capitalist class. Hence, also, the reason why all commercial nations are engaged in bitter rivalry in extending their markets, for the purpose of working off their surplus commodities that their own exploited wage slaves are unable to purchase.

Under such conditions, labor saving machinery, which should be a blessing, becomes a curse, for every new machine displaces labor and adds to the ever increasing army of unemployed. This reserve army of the unemployed is an inevitable effect and result of the competitive system, and is a continual menace to the workers, for when a strike for higher wages or shorter hours occurs, the capitalists have at their command a needy army always on the ragged edge of want, only too glad to take the place of the strikers.

By those who have an intelligent grasp of the problem, the various panaceas offered, such as the unlimited coinage of silver, or increase in the circulating medium, free trade or protection, or the single tax, will be deemed totally inadequate, for the reason that those remedies do not go to the root of the matter. As long as the laborer produces three dollars in wealth, and is compelled to accept one-third of that amount for his share for producing it, no increase in the volume of money will improve his condition. Nor can free trade or protection help him, for wages are governed solely and only by the supply of labor.

Protection may enable the capitalist to pay high wages, but he is under no compulsion to do so. No matter what his profits may be, he need only pay the wages necessary to maintain the average standard of living. If the supply of labor increases greatly over that necessary for capitalist production, the standard of living will be slowly but inevitably lowered. All that the single tax offers to the man without capital (97 per cent of the population) is what he can make on land at the "margin of cultivation," i. e., on land of no rental value, and with the ordinary individual tools of production. All the advantage in land, above the part in use, would be confiscated by the state in the shape of single tax; while all the advantage accruing to labor by the use of the most efficient and costly tools of production would be confiscated by the capitalists, as "interest" for their "aid in production," as Henry George puts it. The iron law of wages would still be in full force and effect. Labor would still continue to be ground between the upper and nether millstones of rent and interest.

Against this system of robbery and exploitation, socialism is a protest. We claim that all should be co-heirs of this magnificent civilization that has come down to us through the past centuries. Our ancestors, through succeeding generations, have added to our knowledge of literature, science, art, inventions, and improvement in government. It is a legacy that under our present system a few are enabled to monopolize the benefits of. Why should we not all share in this splendid gift of the ages? To effect this purpose we must destroy, by peaceful and constitutional methods, our present brutal and degrading system of free competition, and consequent wage slavery, and substitute therefor a system of fraternal co-operation, based on the brotherhood of man—in a word, The Co-operative Commonwealth. This, and this only, will effect the economic emancipation of our nation.

Pickings.

BY W. I. RIKER.

John Burns has been re-elected to Parliament. The exodus of the negro to his native Africa is assuming gigantic proportions. We could easily spare a few railway managers who have a white covering over a black heart.

America has about 5,500 small islands scattered around its coast which are of no practical value—only barren wastes. America also has about the same number of plutocratic gold bugs who are of no value to the country, only "Baron" wastes.

Leading New York carpenter contractors have agreed with the carpenter's union to pay a minimum scale of 35 cents per hour, beginning April 1, and to employ only union men. Several recent strikes have been settled and both parties to the agreement expect a season of unusual activity. The plasterers' and stone cutters' unions are seeking a similar agreement with contractors, and a

number of small strikes have been declared during the past week in order to bring the contractors into line.

Australian papers show that organization is growing in that country. Independent labor politics is also making headway.

It is lawful for any person to kill a grave robber in China the instant he is caught in the act. The same law ought to prevail in this country for railroad robbers and bank wreckers who bear the title of general managers, presidents and treasurers.

Scientists claim that the stormy petrel lays but one egg, yet it is believed to be a very numerous bird. It is also an established fact that the enemies of labor organizations propagate and multiply rapidly, whether direct from the egg or in the form of a microbe.

The resignation of Benjamin F. Norton as president of the Atlantic Avenue railway, of Brooklyn, is requested by J. W. Seligman & Co., of New York, the controlling stockholders, to take effect May 1st. This is said to be a sequel to the recent trolley strike. Norton's uncompromising attitude towards the strikers has embittered the public mind against the road to the material decrease of its earnings. The traffic since the strike it is said, has fallen 40 per cent. below that of the corresponding period last year.

The Staten Island Terra Cotta Co. has a strike on its hands which is assuming alarming proportions. The governor has notified the state militia to be ready at a moment's notice. It seems that the particular grievance of the employees is that they have received but two weeks' pay this year, and storekeepers have refused to give them further credit. Starvation has driven them to desperation; the men have made repeated demands upon the company to be paid, but have been put off with promises though the company seems to be able to pay. The manager now states that the company has gone into a receiver's hands, and it will be some time before the matter can be settled so the men can be paid. The strikers have threatened to tear down the works, and as the larger part of them are Norwegians and Poles who cannot speak English, trouble is momentarily expected.

The Bankers' Party.

MR. EDITOR:—I believe the time has come for all organized labor to join hands against the new Silver party that has been started in the United States, headed by J. C. Selby, Wm. M. Stewart, J. P. Jones and A. J. Warner. It should be a united war on the part of the labor journals and the reform press against this bankers' catch-vote scheme from beginning to end. It is a fraud of gigantic proportions, and if the laboring men of the country do not get together in 1895, and free themselves, they will have to fight or submit to slavery, the worst known to history.

I am a populist from core to rind, and the Omaha platform is good enough for me. I do not believe that the free coinage of silver and gold is all that the working millions want in this land of the poor and home of the slave. I believe it is the duty of every labor organization in the country to get together and lay their plans, and get the reform press to join with them in their struggle for life against the Judas Iscariot scheme that was conceived in Wall Street.

Possibly, the men who cast the 2,000,000 votes for the People's party are willing to submit to such a plot as a so-called One Plank Silver party. I want information, and ask, what good will free coinage do the laboring millions in this country if the banking system is not changed? What is to prevent the banking thieves—an organized gang of robbers, if working people save a few dollars and place it in their banks, from stealing their deposits? The banks may close their doors, and the depositors may go to hell, so far as the bankers and the present government cares. The time has come for labor to come together, or it must suffer if the requirement is not heeded.

If the labor leaders will organize themselves they will be crowned with success. The union men in all branches of trade will follow them if they will but come to an understanding themselves. Let them get together at once. There should be no delay. Time is precious. The battle has already commenced. The bankers will have four big tools in Denver tomorrow. They will begin the battle, and if organized labor and its friends do not unite they will be overwhelmed, as sure as night follows day.

The new Silver party is a move on the part of the bankers to put the Republican party in power in 1896, and if they succeed, I repeat the language of the greatest man that ever lived in this or any other country, "I fear for the safety of the Republic." It will not do for the Republican party to secure power in 1896. The Republican party passed all the laws that have been used to put the country in its present condition. I want a government that owns its banks, so that when I deposit money in it I can get it any time as long as the government exists. This cannot now be done, nor will you be able to do it if Judas Selby is elected in 1896. He is nothing more nor less than a bankers' tool, in my opinion. The bankers are afraid of the people's party. They would give the people free coinage to keep them still, just as a burglar would chloroform a man to keep him still while being robbed. I warn every workingman in the United States that he must keep clear of the one-plank does. It is designed to put him to sleep while the bankers rob him. If the bankers could accomplish their purpose through either of the old parties they would not care for a new party. Look at the men who are connected with the bankers' one-plank Silver party. Who are they? They are Republicans of the rank type. Most of the men engaged in this new movement care absolutely nothing for the money question in its broadest sense, as understood by the People's platform, and are willing to accept any sort of bank robbery that the bankers want if they can only get free coinage of silver. Here I wish to ask another question. What is there in the one-plank Silver party to prevent the bankers from demonizing silver again? Did they not do it in '73? If they did not, history lies, and 99 per cent. of the press, all over the country, lies.

The question is before the laboring people of this country. What are you going to do about it? Are you going to be led around by the nose, like a dumb brute, or are you going to get together and start a republic of the people, by the people and for the people? You ask, how are we going to do it? Let the labor leaders have a convention and unite in one solid phalanx. Then they will control a power that will stem the strongest tide of opposition that the banking thieves could possibly inaugurate. The greatest question that confronts the laboring people today is, shall the banks or the people rule? The two old parties have been rapidly drifting to the side of the bankers and our legislation has been such that we are almost hopelessly committed to the reign of the bankers, and it is becoming a grave question if we can ever be free without one of the greatest revolutions ever recorded. There is no hope for us if labor does not wake up to a sense of duty. The People's party platform advocates the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 and the abolition of National banks, and the issue of a full legal tender treasury note, good for all debts, public and private. I want to ask every laboring man, if he believes that the men who are howling so they can be heard all over the country, if they are not hypocrites of shameful proportions? They could, if they would, join the People's party, but they are not on the side of the people. Look at them square in the face, and you will see stamped over their eyes the word "Bank."

The bankers' one plank silver party was conceived in a womb of robbery and born in Wall street; of the progeny four full grown boys have been educated, and with pockets full of bullion and free passes, are out on a grand campaign foot over the country talking free silver for their masters. If these lusty tooters want free silver, let them come to the People's party. But they do not want free silver and don't you believe their professions. They want the money power to rule this country with an iron rod.

Now is a good time to think, brother laboring man. The people must govern themselves or they will be degraded in payment for their work. A nation of tenants is a nation of slaves, and a slave is the lowest possible level a human being can reach. Every laboring man should be an organizer for 1896 for government, bankers government, money government, railroad government, and telegraph government, the government ownership of land and a government of the people. If you can keep in touch with the people and the government in touch with the people, you will not be wrong.

The new bankers' one plank silver bait covers a Wall-street hook. Don't be a sucker. I have not met a working man yet who has gone into the bankers' new one plank silver party. Have you? But workingmen are the suckers they are fishing for.

I would like to find some smart man who would give him some information relating to this new bankers' party platform. What good will free silver do while the money changers are in control of the country and can corner the money market whenever they please? What good will bimetalism do the country as long as the bankers control the money of the country? Ninety per cent. of the people are in debt to the bankers to-day and all the people produce will not pay the interest. What will the people gain by free coinage? The only hope for the people is to put the people's party platform into law. Have the government to own the banks, have the government to issue the money. Then the people will stand some show for their lives, and if the labor leaders will get organized and let labor unions rest for a few days, they will accomplish wonders.

I do not see any reason why Bros. Debs, Howard, Powderly, Sovereign, Gompers, McBride, Sargent, and in fact all the friends of labor should be at the head of labor organizations. If they will not do something of this kind, they are not the friends of labor, and I say it without fear, that those who will not try to get working people to vote for their own good, are neither trying nor wanting to improve the conditions in which labor is involved.

I believe if the labor leaders would organize and send a true and honest set of delegates to the People's party national convention next year they could nominate a candidate for President, such a man as Debs, for instance, who would sweep the country. All the people have to do is to say "they will." They cast 80 per cent. of the votes, and all of the devils out of hell could not stop them from getting what they started after—and if the labor leaders will lay down their little prejudices and come out like men to the front of the battle, they will gain a victory without bloodshed. But if they sit around and quarrel like cats and dogs, the bankers will put chains upon them that will rattle all over the world, and they will have to walk through streets slippery with blood to break their chains.

The struggle to free the black slaves will not be a circumstance compared to it. You may think I am a d—d fool and others the same, who look at matters in the same light as myself, but if you should live to see it, you will not want to see the second. It can be avoided if the men of influence in the labor world will only stop wrangling for a while, and work for the interest of the laboring classes. Put your religious prejudices, and all labor quarrels away and do something that will be of some benefit. It will take ten million years to accomplish anything with the present mode of procedure. The laboring men are voting against their interests. Why? Simply because the leaders of labor and all the labor unions are split up and are voting every ticket in the field. What in the hell is the use for laboring men to vote, if they do not vote together? It will do no good to meet in the hall and yell "scab," and resolve this, that and the other. Get out and do your work if you are a laboring man's friend, and if not, shut up and vote the bankers' new one plank silver ticket straight, and starve or commit self murder—as the bankers will give you that privilege. And if you don't wish that the bankers will call out their President, nor your president, mind you, and he will call out the boys and they will shoot a few pills of cold lead into your stomachs that will settle your appetite for all time to come.

S. P. Leap.

DENVER, COL. Uncle Sam has about 100,000 employees in his 65,000 postoffices who never strike—they just stamp.

PROGRESSION.
 Press forward! Press forward, and never look back.
 The late of Lot's wife bear in mind.
 While the sunlight of Truth illumines your track.
 Leave the Sodom of Error behind.
 Get out of that rut of old Dogma, and new.
 Let the dead past bury its dead;
 Hold on to the Truth, whatever you do,
 And follow the Light—just ahead.
 The procession is moving, don't you lag behind!
 March boldly a'ong in the front rank.
 Keep your eye on our flag, and never you mind
 If Plutoerats call you a CRANK.
 —J. R. Backus.

The Relation Labor Has to Consumption of Products.
 BY V. E. WINCHELL.

The shrinkage in the prices of labor seems to be paralyzing the commercial world, and by a careful analysis of the subject shows it to be the sole cause of our last financial panic.
 No money earned to buy, how can the various products be consumed?
 Now unless some immediate step is taken to check this wonderful downward progress, producers of raw material, manufacturers, merchants, agriculturists and all other lines of industry, must continue to go from bad to worse and suffer from want of the demand for their product, which comes from want of consumption, and the lack of consumption comes from the lessened or diminished purchasing power of American labor. To illustrate: The toiling masses of our population number about sixteen million who depend upon their daily labor for support. This includes the agriculturists, men, women and children over the age of 16 years, and all others who work on salaries or wages in mercantile life. From a clipping taken from a daily paper, I find the total product of the various kinds of everything produced in this country in 1893 was fourteen billions of dollars worth. Now say seventy per cent. of this total product has formerly been consumed by this portion of our population, does it not stand to reason that this same amount of shrinkage will fall upon the producers of these various products? Allowing sixty five days for Sundays and holidays, the average working days per year will be 300 days. If a mechanic earns \$4.00 per day, he can consume \$1,200 worth of products per year. If his pay shrinks to \$2.00 per day, he can consume but \$600 worth per year. Now figure that portion of the masses who have been subject to reductions in hours of employment as well as shrinkage in pay, and if it not enough to cause alarm among the business men of the country, they simply lack sense.

Let us trace the prosperity of this nation back to where it first came to us. Prior to the war of 1860-61 labor averaged from 75 cents to \$1.25 per day for skilled mechanics—and conditions in this country were similar to all European nations. But when the 1861 war broke out and Uncle Sam absorbed most all the skilled labor for the army. What few remained were in such demand that the price for skilled labor advanced to an average of \$5.00 per day. Those in the army continued to be consumers but not producers, and it was not until then that this country took its first step to a state of such prosperity, heretofore unknown to any other nation. The conditions would be the same were these men taken for any government purpose wherein they were simply consumers, and not allowed to produce. We found that when the high scale of wages had become established, and the thousands of men in the army returned to the labor market, even then their own extravagance furnished a demand among themselves, and this portion of our population was enabled to consume in greater proportion to its population than any other part of the civilized world. They were enabled to put their surplus earnings into circulation in the way of extravagant expenditures, thus giving employment to others to serve in the production of those luxuries that their surplus earnings could create a demand for.

Those who saved their surplus earnings eventually built houses, which increased the demand for lumber, hardware, etc. If the scale of wages gets down to where landlord and grocer gets it all, where can the lumber and hardware industries thrive under any such state of affairs?
 New York World, Dec. 16th, report of Dun's, gives it as 17 per cent. less hands employed and 29 per cent. less wages paid in 1893 to that of 1892; 3 per cent. less hands employed in 1894 to 1893, and 18 1/2 per cent. less wages in 1894 to 1893. This represents the purchasing power of American products. Can we as a progressive nation afford to lose sight of this fact, or permit it to continue? I attribute the present state of depression to the introduction of labor saving devices, wholly so, as the machine consumes nothing but the time necessary to obtain the raw material and labor to complete it. When once finished a boy at \$4.00 per week dispenses the employment of from four to ten skilled mechanics who were consuming \$1,200 per year each, and their value as consumers has been replaced by a boy who can consume but \$208.00 worth per year. In another way the corn planter, harrow, threshing machine, etc., have so rapidly found their way into the field, that the overproduction of food products has so diminished in value that the mortgages and obligations of the farmer have not been met, and the banks having these securities were forced a year ago to close their doors in not being able to realize what they had loaned on them some five or six years ago. All this came from the shrinkage in the value of the product, which grew worse and worse year by year as the labor saving device overproduced and found an idle community to consume this product, and in order to get it into money the surplus had to be exported and the cost of transportation deducted from what it was worth in Europe. During this time a multitude of immigrants came pouring in from all the pauper points of the compass. They did consume something, but they helped to make matters worse than they would have been from the fact that the curse was multiplied by their branching out into all branches of industry at a low rate of wages for such occupations where bone and muscle had to be employed, and where the English language and skill not in figure.

Since this time we have had political excuses for remedy, such as high tariffs, low tariffs, silver legislation and all this. Increase the purchasing power of the masses in the way of high wages and they will have no cause to find fault

at the price of the product. The cry of manufacturer now is that he can not sell what he has for sale at one fourth its cost, because the masses have no money to buy with at any price, and are out of employment.

Our Coxey's army, Kelly's army, railroad strikes, miners' strikes, Carnegie's cut and the Homestead disturbances, tramps, and all this, is a forerunner of what things are coming to. Correct the source of the evil and all this tramp, A. R. U. and other disturbances will be forevermore unheard of. The conditions of today must be taken up for consideration by congress, and something done to check it temporarily, until some sound legislation can permanently restore to us as it was during the period of 1862 to 1887. I would suggest as a remedy give more holidays and make it compulsory to observe them, reduce the hours of labor, and employ 300,000 or more men for government work. Put a stop to all immigration and labor saving devices, and prohibiting all child labor under age of 18 years in factories and stores, (excepting as office boy) and young ladies below the age of 20 years. By doing this her father, uncle or brother can better provide for her welfare and furnish her with education, and make the surroundings of home far more elevating and comfortable by her non competing with him for his occupation.

I have worked at a trade for eight years from 1872 to 1880, and have been a commercial traveling man since that time up to date, and I believe the opinion of one who has served as the mechanic for eight years, and had to find the source of the consumption of his class of product for fifteen years, coming daily in contact with the merchant who simply represents the demands of the masses that consume the product, is much nearer the truth, as he is much better able to feel the pulse of the situation than a lawyer, banker, manufacturer or agriculturist, as his analysis of the problem is taken not from one section of the country or any one class, but it is the result of careful study of all points to be considered from the raw material to the labor of production, the manufacturer, its purchaser, its consumer.

Human Government.
 BY FRANK A. MYERS.

The attainment of the elective franchise has been the highest achievement for the people in matters of government ever accomplished. It is liberty; it is the overthrow of tyranny. The ballot is the pinnacle of self-government. It should be pure, intelligent, honest, for an ignorant elective franchise means corruption and corruption means overthrow and death. The integrity of the voter in his sentiments is primarily essential to good representative government, the highest and best form yet devised. For plutocracy, or one resting on aristocratic caste, and sustained by a non producing army, and supported by a system of jurisprudence not universal in its application, and only held up by a privy of interests, is not one for the greatest good to the greatest number. The male elective franchise is "the head of the corner" of our system of government, and on its free, full, honest exercise depends our perpetuity. The principles of self-government better guarantee the absolute right between man and man than any other form yet tried.

It is necessary to have parties; they are guardians and critics at once of public morality. But with partyism in the present form of our government, honesty in the conduct of elections is impossible, notwithstanding the safety of the republic lies primarily in an honest, fair ballot. The means of political corruption are almost infinite; laws will be evaded without reflection by the dishonest and politically vile.

Now, in general terms, two things may be named as the causes of all political and governmental corruption, and they are:

1. Partyism.
 2. Placeism (by which is meant promises of place, to place hunters and underlings in party machinery—a sort of friendship or enlarged nepotism).
- Let us look a brief moment at some of the methods of corruption. In doing so here only a partial catalogue of the evils can be made. The list could easily be lengthened.

Fraudulent registration is the greatest rape on the ballot—registering more than the actual number of voters.

No faith in bad election laws. The want of uniformity—because they are State and not National—and their constant changing opens up a temptation for throwing out well-meant but technically wrong ballots. A cumbersome election machinery makes possible this crime.

Ballot-box stuffing, and stealing, and unfair counting—"counting out" the one and "counting in" the other—are no worse than a false ballot by "party workers."

Political foul play and misrule together create a sense that the government is a failure, and the voter is impressed that his ballot is of little significance. Bossism and machine politics are unquestionably a form of political slavery, and the abuses of spoilsmen become open, if indeed they are not tortured into actual party virtues. The voter is used simply as a vehicle for ringism, and the one who "stands in" with the ring has the strongest "pull" for a governmental position. The de-luded suffragist sees the stained parties only as organized systems of corruption, and with disgust half the voters see the opposite corrupt party assume the reins of government, in which he now has little further concern. This naturally lessens his faith in public affairs, which now are to him but the history of the opposing class of voters. To him the laws now become merely party laws, which favor the ascendant party and check the minority, and which are skillfully designed to perpetuate the party in power regardless of justice and equity.

Intimidation is practiced, and the "wishes" of the employer too often enforced upon the helpless workman. The truth is, it comes to be either his vote or his place—a sort of stand-and-deliver argument. It is a blow at the living and the very life of the voter.

Often the candidate for office is an unfit man, in any sense you may take it, a man not only of questionable character but unqualified. The corrupt campaign so slanders men that good men are afraid to run. Money not infrequently buys the nomination—by treating the delegates like princes, delegates only all too susceptible. The man with a "bar!" is the most "available" candidate from a party standpoint, and he is nominated as the "only man who can be elected." Buying positions on tickets is but dealing in political "futures," is but a bargain and sale of opinions and influence of men of even high places. The nomination to the chief executiveship of the nation has been sold like merchandise. Voters represent dollars instead of political sentiment. It has occurred that after the election Cronin like methods have been employed to steal votes and a place.

The wire pullers and highwaymen in politics demand of the candidate by assessment for "campaign purposes" either his money or his chances of success, and declare, unless he delivers his purse, they will "slaughter" him at the polls, though on their own ticket.

A corrupt man should not be voted for, nor should an incompetent or weak one be "supported," nor one who personally or indirectly aids in prostituting law for the sake of winning at the polls, for the voter thus becomes an accomplice in disrespect for the law. No man should be elected to make or enforce law, who himself is a violator of law, or who winks at lawlessness in any form.

And the candidate himself makes false issues by soliciting votes as a "personal favor," and in "setting up the drinks" which are but bribes. The voter understands that the emoluments of office are all there is of politics. This hereby plunders the taxpayer by imposing on him a poor official. If skill is needed anywhere in life it is in the vast affairs of the public. Moreover, the candidate renders "favors" for votes. He perhaps "loans" the voter money, or pays his rent or some other small debt, in order to place an obligation on him for his vote.

Campaigns are usually hideous farces. Their foundation stone is to pour out taffy on the one hand and throw mud on the other. The "bureau" of campaign literature daily sends out fresh roboracks for the sole purpose of deceiving the voter as to candidates, facts, problems and issues. The real questions before the people are too frequently evaded, false ones lugged in, emotions aroused by press and documents and speeches, and with a great boom and storm and howl the "grand last effort" is made just before election day, in order to whip everybody into party lines. Much use is made of the hypocritical cry of "reform" by place seekers and soreheads. A "deserter from the ranks" is unmercifully abused, is regarded as a "party traitor" or a mug wump, or something else equally mean, so that it is almost worth a man's character to change his vote. He is guilty of "political heresy," a sin that knows no forgiveness. Good government is not the end of a campaign; it is merely party success. As a reward for earnest work the "stalwarts" are "recognized" by a long list of names to his petition for a place. Every "worker," be it understood, has an object, and that is the obtaining of a government sinecure in some "fat" office. The "orator" who is best loaded to the muzzle with mouth filling phrases and lets himself "go off" loudest and keeps the historic party fires burning brightest is most honored. Sorry to say the press, following blindly party lead, too often does the government it would serve a gross wrong. It slanders good men for partisan purposes. The question may be asked here—Is it among the indices of the character and style of American gentlemen that a person may speak of another in print in language which, in personal intercourse among gentlemen, would mark the person employing it as a barbarian? May a personal insult be offered in cold type, which no gentleman would be guilty of in the presence of the other?

Party splits are encouraged in the opposite party for the purpose of weakening the opponent and also confusing the voter.

The cancer of nepotism weakens faith in government by a free people. It is a form of selfish parasitism that is repulsive and disastrous.

The great body of the people are honest, patriotic and intelligent, and daily are growing better qualified to exercise the right of self-government, and the occupation of a boss will be done away with at no distant day, we hope.

These evils named may be remedied by civil service, by removing party incentives to "work," by voting for the man and for principle and not the party, by educating and lifting up the fallen voter, by weeding out and disfranchising the corrupt place-hunter and time-trimmer. The Brooklyn Eagle said in November, 1893, anent the McLaughlin ring methods in Brooklyn:

Fraudulent suffrage is an attack on the only sovereign or king which Americans acknowledge. It would not be overpunished if it was punished with death.

Thoughts and Things.
 BY W. P. BORLAND.

So far as it relates to incomes derived from rents and certain kinds of bonds, the Supreme Court declares that the new income tax law is unconstitutional. Under this decision the landlords of the country will pay no income tax; owners of bonds of almost any kind, either federal, state, county, or municipal, will also be exempt. This decision is but one more illustration of the utter futility of all attempts to enforce laws enacted in the interest of the masses, while our present constitution of government is permitted to exist. The incomes here exempted are the very ones it was most desired to reach by the law; they are incomes which represent wealth extracted from the earnings of labor without the slightest exertion on the part of their possessors, and absolutely without return of anything which may be even pretended to constitute an equivalent. These incomes represent the results of social parasitism pure and simple. And the supreme court declares that our constitution is such a one as renders congress utterly powerless to pass a law compelling the social parasites to contribute a part of their incomes for the support of the government. No wonder that there should exist a sort of idolatrous worship of the constitution among the parasites.

There is much food for thought in this decision for the single taxers of the

country. Here is a body of heroic workers making tremendous efforts to gain the assent of our law making bodies to the inauguration of a taxing policy which shall throw the entire burden of taxation upon rent; and here, on the other hand, is our court of last resort declaring that our law makers have no constitutional authority to tax the income derived from rent for the purpose of obtaining even a small portion of the revenue necessary to meet the expenses of government. Providing it were possible to pass a single tax law tomorrow, does any person really believe that such a law could be enforced? Can there be the least shadow of doubt that our supreme court would promptly declare such a law unconstitutional, and thus null and void? The single tax is considerable of a reform, but, like many other reforms which touch fundamental social facts, it depends upon political action; and there is no possibility of putting it into effect without first bringing about a rearrangement of our political scheme itself. We are much deeper in the slough of political despotism in this country than many good persons imagine, and the emancipation of the workers does not so largely depend on the enactment of proper laws as many of them think. Vote together and elect legislators who will enact the sort of laws we want, and what does it all amount to unless there first be derived a constitutional sanction for those laws?

We are ruled in this country by a cabal consisting of the five judges composing a majority of our Supreme Bench; the notion that we are living under laws which are the product of the legislative power of the nation, put into effect with the approval of the executive, is a very pleasant fiction,—it is by no means a fact. So far as the people are concerned the maintenance of our numerous legislative bodies, state and national, is a piece of entirely useless expense. The only valid laws which these legislative bodies can pass are those which are in the interest of the privilege mongers and monopolists. When a really effective law in the interest of the masses is passed, a law the enforcement of which would abate somewhat the profits wrung from the sweat of the toilers by means of privilege, it is promptly brought before the cabal for review, and just as promptly declared null and void. The existence of this excellent scheme of government of ours is a fine thing for the monopolists, on the resolution of really fundamental questions it is only necessary for them to own the five men composing the cabal. They are then fully protected, and the people and their law makers may be d—d. These are the men who denounce anarchy and anarchists! An anarchist, according to Webster, is one who "promotes disorder in a state." With the assistance of their cabal, there is being an awful lot of "disorder" for the near future promoted by these monopolists.

The moral of the difficulties in the political situation points to action outside of politics for the workers. The present industrial regime must be supplanted by one which shall guarantee to the worker security for the enjoyment of the full product of his exertions, and full and free opportunity to utilize the benefits of an advanced and advancing civilization. He must be freed from the tyranny of capitalism. He must be brought out from under the fatal action of the inexorable law of the market. All things point to the destruction of the competitive regime and the establishment of a co-operative system of industry upon its ruins, but, in so far as this change depends upon political action, it can only be brought about by revolution. There is hope that the violent process of change may be avoided by the people forming themselves into a gigantic co-operative stock company which shall carry on its operations in the interests of its stockholders,—the people—and entirely outside of politics or government, merely taking advantage of existing laws for the benefit of the workers who will compose the company. Such a company has already been formed in New York. It is known as the "Twentieth Century Company," and its prospectus states its object to be "the furtherance of a universal co-operative movement having for its object the regulation, production and distribution of the necessities of life, and the improvement of existing social conditions." This is a new departure in co-operation. Workingmen can do no better service for themselves and for humanity than by joining the "Twentieth Century Company" in sufficient numbers to make it an immediate success.

Drilling the Children.
 MR. EDITOR:—Is it not time for our reform papers to turn upon the system of arming our Sunday school boys and teaching them to thirst for human blood? I believe all union men who are in favor of freedom should raise their voices in condemnation of such actions and forbid their children from participation therein. Why do the people wish to poison those young brains and minds to these practices? Why do they not advise all workingmen to drill and be prepared in case of need? I could raise five thousand men and put them into drill, if they will permit; their minds are set and cannot be poisoned; suppose we try it, and see how it is received. What a mighty howl would go up. One thing is certain, if union men wish to be united at heart, manly and free, they must come promptly forward and condemn the arming and drilling of their children. It is only a trap to ensnare young children into slavery in after years. My advice to parents is to drill their boys into the use of the ballot, so they may do so intelligently at the proper time, while the fathers may drill in the use of arms in the meantime, if it becomes necessary. I hope to see every reform paper in the country take up this important matter and point out its dangers to the unwary. There is danger in the movement, that is not apparent to the unsuspecting, but which will disclose itself to every thinking person. There is no law by which we can be forced to yield up our children to the use of the thieves of this country. I hope they will start now to stamp out this movement in its youth.

Hoping your worthy paper will give my views its full support I remain a union man, opposed to child armies.
 C. O. SHERMAN.
 CHICAGO, ILL.

Jno. D. Rockefeller has been giving large sums of money to education and religion, and now, to get it back, advances the price of oil.

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While their flag went marching on. Glory, Glory, Hallelujah. Glory, Glory, Hallelujah.

But no longer shall the children bend above the whizzing wheel; We will free the weary women from their bondage under steel.

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The A. R. U. is the most lively corpse the General Managers' Association ever tackled.

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We will have one thousand local unions and three hundred thousand members January 1st, 1896. Get into line!

Two hundred local unions again in working order. Eight directors and ten organizers in the field expounding the A. R. U. gospel of unification.

The Devils Lake News asks: "Where is that suit for slander the General Managers' Association was going to bring against one Debs?"

Roy M. Goodwin has for the past month been on the Great Northern and has met with wonderful success. He expects soon to go over the Canadian Pacific, where there is urgent demand for his services.

The sweeping reductions in the wages of Southern Pacific engine and train men and the utter helplessness of their brotherhoods to afford them the least protection is bringing them by hundreds into the American Railway Union.

The Northwest has just been covered by Sylvester Keliher, of the general union, who has addressed large and enthusiastic meetings in that section.

Mrs. Alice Tregaskis, Master Workman of local Assembly No. 918, K. of L., Portland, Oregon, one of the noblest women that ever battled in the cause of human rights, has this to say of the visit of President Debs to the Pacific coast.

Wm. E. Burns is giving special attention to Chicago and vicinity, and reports the outlook for the order exceedingly encouraging.

The man who directly or indirectly issues a blacklisting order, is a man eating tiger, and unfortunately has no soul to be damned.

Those interested in the hard times that now afflict the country should get the book and read it. If they are not converted to Coin's point of view it is certain that at any rate some valuable ideas and facts will be gained.

There is widespread demoralization among the telegraph operators of the country. It can not be said that any organization they now have affords them the slightest protection.

Coin's Financial School. BY MOSES RUTHE. When anyone approaches a friend and suggests to him that he ought to read Smith, Jones or Harvey's recent publication on the financial question, he is apt to meet with a discouraging reception.

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