

## A STARTLING SERMON

### FRIGHTFUL ARRANGMENT OF THE "HIRELING MINISTRY" BY ONE OF THEM.

The Rev. F. F. Passmore immortalizes himself by telling the Haggard Truth About the Craven Cowardice of the Clergy.

The Rev. F. F. Passmore is a nineteenth century hero. We doff our hat at the mention of his name. One such man redeems a nation. In *Our Nation's Crisis*, Denver, Colo., Governor Waite's plucky paper, of June 6th, appears the full text of the remarkable and startling paper of the Rev. F. F. Passmore, member of the recent Colorado Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which we have pleasure in reproducing for the benefit of our readers. Every Reform paper in the country should publish it in full, and every Christian minister should read and ponder its contents, and every workman should commit it to memory. The Rev. Mr. Passmore is a type of Jesus Christ as well as a minister of His gospel. He has the masterful ability of a student and scholar and the superlative courage of a manly man. Let it be borne in mind that this fearful scourging is not applied by the hand of an anarchist, or labor agitator, but by that of as brave, conscientious and noble a Christian clergyman as ever performed a genuine Christian duty. Read this sermon, Archbishop Ireland, Reverend Delano and the rest of ye Pharisees and hypocrites who use the livery of labor in which to serve the devil of plutocracy, and then look up, if you can raise your eyes from the earth long enough, and tell us what the workingmen of this country owe to the Christian pulpit, and why they should turn in that direction for advice or consolation! We make no allusion to religion, we merely discuss the church of to-day as an institution in close alliance with the power that robs and oppresses the poor and weak. Preachers, as a rule, are for wealth and monopoly, because their salaries depend upon it. They are weak and spineless as sick sheep and when they discuss labor at all it is to warn workingmen against the "labor agitator" and the "demagogue," exhorting them to respect "law and order" and be "obedient to their employers"—in other words, to be meek, submissive and unresisting slaves. Away with such pretended reformers. Christ would disown the whole brood and sweep them to the rear in righteous wrath. If the labor question is solved, if workingmen are rescued from the dragon fangs of plutocracy, if liberty is to bless and glorify the sons and daughters of men, it must be done without the aid of the church, for the church has always been and always will be on the side of successful fraud and triumphant iniquity. That is its history and that is its present attitude. The church, as represented in the rich and influential congregations, is plutocratic to the core. There is no more real Christianity in this vulgar, heartless institution than there was in the "whited sepulchers" that the Master denounced with all the righteous indignation of his hypocritizing, justice-loving soul.

But we will yield the floor to the Rev. Mr. Passmore. His superb discourse is as follows:

### TO THE MINISTERS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

By Rev. F. F. Passmore, member of the Colorado Conference Methodist Episcopal Church.

"I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel."—Ezekiel, 3: 7.

"Feed my lambs. . . . Feed my sheep. . . . Feed my sheep."—John 21: 15-17.

Watchmen are men who are appointed to look out for danger, and when they see it, to give the alarm and warn the people.

Shepherds are men who are to look after sheep—all the sheep and all the interests of the sheep.

### THE MINISTRY.

Studying the ministry of our church from the standpoint of the above Scripture, I am impressed with the fact that the greatest failure of the age is the ministry. I find the ministry in our church, as a class, the most worldly, unfaithful and cowardly that it has probably ever been. The church is worldly, formal and unspiritual, and has lost her power for good; yet the church is on as high a plane as her leaders. When our bishops and elders do not keep the Sabbath, how can we wonder that the people do not? When I look over the age I see crime of every description and violence on the increase—Sabbath desecration, murder, lynching, suicides, adultery, drunkenness, gambling, defalcation, divorces, the oppression of the poor, political corruption, the outraging of womanhood and girlhood; in a word, the passions of men—the worst, most infernal and devilish—are running riot. I am constrained to stop and ask what our ministers, who are supposed to be the opposers of all sin, are doing? I am sorry to say that I find them, even to our bishops, throwing their influence in favor of all these sins and crimes. It is a sad state for the

church, and a gloomy condition for the country, when the ministry and the corrupt and criminal classes are working hand and hand, and walking side by side, as the preachers, saloon men and other corrupt and vile classes are doing.

The time has come when every true minister of the Methodist Episcopal church, from our bishops down, must take a stand squarely on God's word for justice, purity and truth. It is enough to make night and sin themselves blush to see how the ministry, including our bishops, are pandering to the world, and upholding crime and criminals.

From the sermons coming from our pulpits to-day it would seem as if our leading preachers had not the faintest idea of the nature of the divine mission to which they claim to have been called. The prophets, Christ and the apostles, were the true ministers of Bible history, and they are to be our patterns in subjects, manner and methods.

If the Bible teaches anything on the subject of the ministry, it teaches that those who go to the world with this message of salvation are to give up the world; its wealth, its honor, its care, its glory, and be wholly consecrated to the welfare of mankind. The true, the loyal, the courageous watchman warns against all danger. The good shepherd looks after all the interests of the lambs and sheep. It was the great unwashed multitude that Jesus, beholding in pity and compassion, said: "They are as sheep without a shepherd." The average man-pleasing sermons of to-day on some effete subject of the past, or some irrelevant subject of the far away future, will no more feed and satisfy humanity than they will the sheep. When Jesus said, "Feed my lambs—feed my sheep," he meant that his shepherds should take particular care in looking after the interests of humanity, as the shepherds care for their sheep. Not looking after the rich and strong and favored ones, and neglecting the poor, and weak, and sick, and dying. Not giving all their attention to Capitol Hill, and letting the people on the river go to perdition. It is not expected that a shepherd will aid wild beasts to destroy their flocks, but our spiritual shepherds are aiding the saloon men, gamblers, corrupt Republicans and prostitutes to destroy their flocks. When the history of the ministry of to-day is written, it will read strangely, and sounds more like the doings of pagan priests than of the Methodist ministry. There is nothing in the world so powerful and effective as a consecrated, sanctified, spiritual, live and courageous pulpit. On the other hand, there is nothing so pale, so cumbersome, so weak, so lifeless, so contemptible, so useless and so cowardly, as a man serving, time serving, money-seeking ministry. A ministry that is so far lost to the spirit of the Master that it can preach to please the rich and the corrupt who are violating every law of God and desecrating every sacred right of man, is in a condition that should arouse a sleeping church and slumbering age. Just as the preachers stood for the divine right of kings in the days of Cromwell, and for the king and the nobility in the days preceding the French revolution, and upheld the slaveholder in the anti-slavery struggle; so our bishops, elders, editors, college professors and the pastors of our great churches are standing by the rich and supporting them in outraging the poor. They have been and are standing by the

### REPUBLICAN PARTY,

a party that has become the most corrupt organization in this country. This party demonetized silver and has filled the nation with poverty and tramps. It is now the champion of the saloon, upholding gamblers, prostitution, corporations, trusts and monopolies, and still the preachers are supporting it. This party has brought millions of prosperous people to poverty and charity, and has broken up happy homes, and still the preachers support it. This party has brought this nation to the brink of financial and moral ruin, and still our bishops and great preachers support it. For men to pretend to preach Christ and then go to the ballot box and support the worst men, and the most devilish and infernal sins and crimes of this age, is about the baldest and loudest hypocrisy that has been made open to the world for ages. How much more staunch supporters of sin can our bishops become than to favor the licensing of saloons, and support a party that now favors licensing the prostitution of womanhood? This is worshiping at the shrine of the rich and the vile with a vengeance. I am no longer surprised at the inefficiency of the ministry; the corruption in politics; the deadness of the church; the development of trusts; the growth of monopolies; the wealth of the few; the poverty of the many; the brutality of crime; the desecration of the Sabbath; the increase of infidelity; the rapid growth of immorality; and the general drift of the nation from the Bible and Christianity. I am no longer surprised at the condition of the church, the country and the age, when I think that our bishops and great preachers, with few exceptions, have joined with corrupt politicians, gamblers, saloon men, Sabbath

breakers, prostitutes, money-changers and the oppressors of the poor and weak. Instead of driving the money-changers from the temple, they are invited in and made welcome. Dare anyone think for a moment that such preachers are preaching Christ, living His spirit, and representing His doctrines to the world? Christ's doctrines, principles and spirit would change all these things and would bring about an era of well-being to mankind. The trouble with our age is that Christ is not being preached in our great churches by our great preachers. I mean just what I say. Christ is not being preached in one of the great Methodist churches from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

### THE DENVER MINISTRY.

If Dr. McIntyre and Bishop Warren are preaching Christ, how is it that the longer they preach, and the more fine churches they build, there is the more immorality, drunkenness, crime and poverty?

I stood on the Sixteenth street viaduct last winter and saw poor women and children picking small pieces of coal to keep them from freezing. They had to be careful that the feet of the corporation horses did not crush them. Horses, I suppose, that belong to some of the members of the big up-town churches, a mile or two away, with their high-salaried pastors and their wealthy congregations. I thought of the fine sermons that would be preached for the entertainment of the rich, but that nothing would be said about the injustice and wrong heaped upon the poor. The idea of the Methodist Episcopal church aiding in building up an aristocracy of wealth and oppression on Capitol Hill, while she fosters crime and poverty and pauperism below the Union depot! This is placing the church in a relation to humanity that Wesley and Asbury never thought would occur.

### TIME-SERVERS AND NOT TRUE CHRISTIANS.

Great churches in whose pulpits stand men sending forth peals of impassioned oratory for the pleasure of a few rich and favored, and never a word for the thousands of poor, hungry and cold of humanity, who have been brought to this distress by the very men who are sitting enraptured by such eloquence, is about as far from being the true spirit of Christ as Heaven is from hell. Some women and children picking up coal in the great rich city of Denver to keep from freezing, while other women and children in the same city are worshipping God in a two-hundred-and-fifty-thousand-dollar Methodist church only a few blocks away, with the added luxury of soul-enraving music from a thirty-thousand-dollar organ. Does any sane man, saint or sinner, believe for a moment that either of these pictures—the one on the river, or the other on Capitol Hill—are the "products of true Christianity"? If the people in the bottoms were not so poor, the people on the hill would not be so rich. If the people on the hill were not so rich, the people in the bottoms would not be so poor. Yet we have D. D. and schools of theology that are teaching that both these conditions are the results of Christianity. Can we hope to change these conditions while Bishop Warren and the other chief watchmen and shepherds are living in fine mansions in Denver and University Park; are clothed in purple and fine linen, and are faring sumptuously every day?

### POLITICIANS.

A large portion of the men who sit in the pews of our great churches, and hang on the words of our bishops and popular preachers, are the men who are corrupting our politics, oppressing the poor, debauching womanhood—are the men who not only listen to great preachers but pay them high salaries, and build the fine churches. Our bishops and great preachers are living in such style of opulence and affluence, and moving in circles of such magnificent splendor; that the poor cannot pay the bills, and cannot, therefore, hope for their sympathy. The ministry should live such a plain, simple life as to be able to breathe the air of full freedom and perfect independence, which would enable them as ambassadors of God to be faithful and true to all classes of men. Worldliness and political corruption have come into the Methodist church like a flood, and have affected our chief ministers to such an extent as to have caused them to preach the teachings of Christ down to the level of a corrupt and effeminate age, and to league themselves with the Republican party and the immoral and criminal classes of society. Our great ministers in this state, with Chancellor McDowell, last fall and also last April, joined hands with the corrupt Republican politicians, gamblers, saloon men and fallen women of Market street to "redeem" the state and city. They succeeded, and as one of the results of the "redeeming," Denver was never so nearly turned over to the criminal elements, and gambling and prostitution were never so flourishing as now. A fine lot of "redeemers!" Preachers, chancellors, university professors, saloon men and gamblers and scarlet women. A fine lot of "redeemers"—such a lot as redeemed Babylon, Tyre and Rome just before those great powers fell. A fine

set of reforming preachers, preaching a little about Christ in the pulpit and flirting with gamblers and scarlet women at the ballot box.

The fact is that bishops and leading ministers have gone away from the true work of watchmen and shepherds. It is to-day as Dr. Hamilton said in an address before the Colorado conference at Boulder, last summer, that "a hireling ministry perpetuated slavery."

### A REAL ESTATE AND A HIRELING MINISTRY.

Just so now, a hireling ministry is perpetuating the crimes and wrongs and oppressions and injustices and corruptions that are undermining society. Our bishops and editors and secretaries and the pastors of our large churches are pandering to the rich and corrupt elements for the sake of large salaries, and are living in splendor and affluence, riding in Pullman palace cars, traveling to the uttermost parts of the earth, while millions of men, women and children are in distress, and hundreds are starving. Is such an effeminate and luxury-loving ministry as this likely to raise its voice for God's glory and man's good? Has a world-pandering and wealth-gathering ministry ever done anything for the poor and needy in any age of the world, or under any religious leader, whether Christ, Mahomet or Confucius? Have real estate speculating ministers ever done anything for humanity? Real estate preachers are men who draw a salary from the people, but while the people support them are doing business for themselves, letting the sheep shift as best they can, and go to perdition if they must. Real estate speculating preachers, ministers breaking their necks to get in a fine house in Denver and University Park, and bishops living in thirty-five thousand dollar mansions make good *redeemers*. They always have and always will, and the saloon men, gamblers and scarlet women can always count on them, and they can always be found at the old stand of redemption when any redeeming is needed to be done. Our bishops and great preachers are so busy in the "redeeming" business these times that they do not know that the Sabbath is being desecrated, the poor impoverished, the state and church demoralized. They do not hear the rumbling of discontent, neither do they feel the tremors of the ground swell of the coming new era.

### BISHOP WARREN.

Bishop Warren said in one of his addresses: "One of the burning questions of the twentieth century will be: What shall we do with our millionaires?" Bishop, it is not only a question for the twentieth century, but a question of the nineteenth century as well, and one thing to do with our millionaires is for our bishops and leading preachers to stop worshipping at the shrine of the rich, and in the place of the flattering sermons that are being preached to-day, preach to the rich, as John Wesley did, the danger of riches. The bishop farther says: "Wealth and resultant luxury ruined Rome; shall we also perish?" Yes, bishop, unless our bishops and great preachers come back to God's word and preach faithfully against the sins of the age, and stop pandering to the rich and corrupt classes, we too will perish.

The bishop also says: "Let us spring out of our flowery beds of ease, and out of our absorption of getting riches and position, and go down into Gethsemane to the bloody sweat and struggle with death; not for ourselves, but for men and women who are dying there without touch of loving hand or word of loving heart." Here is a grand thought, and if the bishop will get off that "flowery bed of ease," on which he reclines, and out of that thirty-five-thousand-dollar mansion, and go to the world with these great thoughts in practice as well as theory, the bishop can do a grand work for God and humanity. But truth, right and justice, to say nothing of the Christian spirit, compel me to say that the bishop cannot have influence with men as an ambassador of Christ, reclining on "flowery beds of ease" and in a fine mansion, when so many of God's children are cold, hungry and naked. Whenever our bishops and preachers cease to be absorbed in getting riches and position, and become more absorbed in glorifying God and elevating men, and relieving the distressed, the truth will prevail, and one generation of such preachers will take the world for Christ. The bishop speaks about the "bloody sweat" and "struggle of death" in "Gethsemane." But the doing justice and right will settle these wrongs. Talking about doing courageous and daring things for the poor, and at the same time aiding in oppressing them, may be very fine in oration, but it does not bring relief.

And lastly, the bishop says: "In what battles are we fighting Satan now? He is embodied in the liquor traffic." Is it not one of the most inexplicable things that the bishop will admit that "Satan is embodied in the liquor traffic," and at the same time lend his influence to Philip Zang, saloon men, gamblers, the Republican party and the scarlet women of Market street to embody Satan a little more solidly in the "liquor

traffic," and to "redeem" Colorado and the city of Denver?

It is just such sayings as this on the one hand, and just such doings as these on the other, that has shorn the ministry of the great influence it might have had on the world. Saying these pretty, euphonious and eloquent things about "sweating bloody sweat" for the needy and friendless, and then turn round and, by acts, drive these same souls to poverty, squalor, shame and damnation! To day, as in all the past, pretty words of friendship and acts of oppression have marked the history of the ministry as a class through all ages. The Methodist church is becoming quite an hospital for the broken-down presiding elders and preachers who have made themselves, through selfishness, to be burdens on the church. This ought not to be. The church should press an aggressive campaign against the sins of the age, instead of nursing so many burdensome charges.

### "FEED MY LAMBS."

To the young ministers: There is no line of work or thought, or life more noble than the ministry. It is a broad field for expansion, growth, development, heroism, courage and self sacrifice. Make nature, the Bible, and the Holy Ghost your teachers. Take truth first-hand; drink at the upper fountains. Thousands of ministers are destroying their powers for usefulness by taking truth second-hand. Be free. "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." Be as free as the sunbeams, the ocean waves, the storm's roar, the earthquake's tremble; be as free as nature. God can and will inspire men to-day if they will only throw themselves in the current of His power and purposes. Truth and candor, young men, compel me to say that the old ministers now on the stage of action, are failures. "They have been weighed in the balances and found wanting." No generation of ministers ever made a more signal failure than the old ministers now in the arena. This is not mere opinion, but stern historical fact. Bishops Hedding and Simpson, and the men of their days, both north and south, gave as an heritage to this nation, one of the bloodiest wars of all history.

### COWARDICE OF THE METHODIST CLERGY BEFORE THE WAR.

While in Georgia, in 1852, Bishop Hedding witnessed at an auction the sale of a number of slaves: "The bishop rode up as close as he could approach in his sulky and for some time witnessed the scene. Husbands and wives who had grown old together, parents and children, brothers and sisters, were here severed from each other, probably forever. The most affecting scene of all was the separation of a mother from two interesting children. It was a scene such as his eyes never witnessed before; and it moved his whole soul from its very depths. The bishop felt so indignant that he spoke to a northern friend on the ground and denounced the outrage. A few days after this scene had transpired, one of the preachers came to the bishop and told him that his remarks to the northern friend had occasioned great excitement, and advised the bishop to be careful what he said upon that subject. The bishop did not think it unwise to follow the counsels of his brother preacher." This is a sample of what I mean when I say that not only the old preachers on the stage, but those of the last generation, were and are failures.

For a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church to witness such a scene as this, and for fear of popular opinion, to smother the indignity in his heart for twenty years and never preach a sermon against the great monster, slavery, is an illustration of moral cowardice that not only cursed the last generation, but is cursing this one also. If the ministry of the past had been true to the right, and not so obsequious to the slave power, the war of the rebellion would never have occurred.

### OUR PRESENT CONDITION.

See what the bishops, editors, elders and old preachers now on deck have bequeathed to us. They have left to us a desecrated Sabbath, about three millions of drunkards, an annual death harvest for perdition of about one hundred and fifty thousand drunkards, two hundred and fifty thousand saloons, patriotism almost dead, expiring, four million tramps, the rich growing richer, the poor growing poorer, the rich in power, controlling the navy, army and government; the general government the most corrupt; the world ever saw; two saloons running full blast in the capitol of the world's republic. These are only a few of the conditions that a compliant, complacent, obsequious, time serving and man pleasing ministry have left to this age for solution. And amid all this degeneracy and moral disintegration, these old brothers of ours are not turning over a hand to save or reform the age. They are so busy with the saloon men, gamblers and scarlet women "redeeming" the state, that of course they have no time (?) and less disposition to spend their time on trifles.

[CONTINUED ON SIXTH PAGE.]

## PRESS PREYING.

### MILLIONAIRE NEWSPAPERS OF CHICAGO PREY UPON SCHOOL CHILDREN

By Robbing Them of Funds Required For Building School Houses and Paying Teachers.

Mr. Geo. A. Schilling, in an open letter to Mayor Swift of Chicago, points out how two great newspapers manage to rob the school children of that city, by the undervaluation of the land upon which their plants are erected. This undervaluation robbery of Chicago's children of school age, is, as in all such cases, brought about by methods which would make an average burglar blush, because it requires a specially conscientious cut throat to rob school children. "The school census of Chicago," says Mr. Schilling, "shows that 14,000 children can only receive half day time because of inadequate room; that 42,000 are compelled to become street arabs because there is no room at all, and that 3,000 of our boys and girls are annually committed to the Bridewell, many of whom might have been spared a criminal career had they not been crowded from the school." And this condition of things is brought about by robbers, who pose as philanthropists, profoundly interested in the welfare of society, but who, nevertheless, as Mr. Schilling shows, are engaged in robbing school children of their rights by denying them the means of securing an education. Mr. Schilling arraigns the Chicago *Tribune*, a gold-burglar sheet, for employing a characterless creature to do its dirty work, by the name of Trude, and says:

It has been an open secret on the streets of Chicago that A. S. Trude, an alleged democrat and an attorney of the Chicago *Tribune* Company, was appointed a member of the school board under a republican administration, at the *Tribune's* request, aided by the publisher's of other newspapers of this city. Trude, more than any other member of the board, seems bent upon sacrificing the remnant of public school lands to private greed. His whole conduct in connection with these recent transactions confirms the opinion, often expressed, that he was placed there for the ostensible purpose of serving his client, while pretending to conserve a public trust. Under the circumstances he has no more right to be a member of the board of education than to be a member of a jury before whom his father or his brother is being tried for crime.

His presence there is a public scandal, and were he representing a less powerful interest, the newspaper trust, which now stifles discussion, would raise such a howl that it would manifest itself in public indignation and a demand for his immediate removal.

Mr. Schilling, in his communication, shows how the increase of population increases the value of land, what is termed "unearned increment" which will be of special value to men who favor the single tax upon land, because the figures demonstrate the truth of the proposition upon which their arguments rest. In this connection Mr. Schilling submits three tables.

Table No. 1.—Showing populating, appraisal and annual rental:

Year	CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, SITE.		
	Population of City of Chicago.	Valuation of site.	Annual Rental at 6 per cent.
1850 . . . . .	109,000	\$8,400 00	\$504 00
1852 . . . . .	175,000	10,000 00	600 00
1875 . . . . .	400,000	44,000 00	2,640 00
1880 . . . . .	508,238	82,000 00	4,920 00
1885 . . . . .	700,000	140,000 00	8,400 00
1888 (5 years)	1,500,000	220,000 00	13,200 00
1895 (80 years)	2,400,000	340,000 00	20,400 00

CHICAGO TRIBUNE, SITE.

Year	CHICAGO TRIBUNE, SITE.		
	Population of City of Chicago.	Valuation of site.	Annual Rental at 6 per cent.
1850 . . . . .	109,000	\$9,000 00	\$540 00
1852 . . . . .	175,000	24,480 00	1,468 80
1875 . . . . .	400,000	62,400 00	3,744 00
1885 . . . . .	700,000	300,000 00	18,000 00
1895 . . . . .	1,500,000	500,000 00	30,000 00

Table No. 2.—Showing the percentage of increase of population and land values:

Year	Per cent. increase of population.		Per cent. increase of valuation of city.	
	Per cent.	Daily News.	Per cent.	Tribune.
1850 to 1852 . . . . .	64.13	19.05	172.90	164.90
1852 to 1875 . . . . .	123.50	380.00	3,488.00	5,744.00
1875 to 1885 . . . . .	25.32	86.36	70.73	880.7
1885 to 1888 . . . . .	75.00	71.43	66.67	5,455.50
1888 to 1895 . . . . .	114.29	2,767.14	2,767.14	2,767.14
1890 to 1895 . . . . .	1,276.13	2,767.14	2,767.14	2,767.14

Here it is seen there is an enormous growth in the value of the land which belongs to the children of Chicago for educational purposes, the benefits of which they are deprived of by the most disreputable methods. To rob banks and wreck railroads, are regarded as colossal crimes, but they sink to insignificance when compared to the schemes of the Chicago *News* and the Chicago *Tribune* to rob school children.

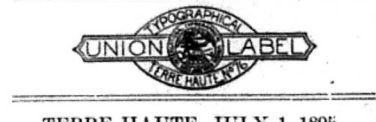
The Los Angeles *Civic Review* says that "at one fell swoop the supreme court has cut off a revenue of \$40,000,000 from the income tax. It has made the treasury liable for \$347,000,000 of income taxes collected in former years. If this decision is correct, special taxes of all kinds are illegal, and the revenue from whisky, tobacco, etc., will not only be stopped, but many millions may have to be refunded. Talk about anarchists! If an army of anarchists had marched from Maine to Texas they could scarcely have caused the loss that this demolisher of law has wrought upon the country."

Mr. Justice Brown of the supreme bench speaks of the "sordid despotism of wealth," and in response to this "sordid despotism" denies American citizens who appeal to him, the constitutional right of a trial by an impartial jury. The "sordid despotism" of the supreme court is much more to be feared than that of wealth.



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TERRE HAUTE, JULY 1, 1895.

THE betting is now 16 to 1 that free coinage wins.

PHIL ARMOUR says, in making his fortune he has been "steered by Texas."

AMONG the trials of American workingmen, trials by jury have been wiped out.

The Hindoos have 2,000,000 gods, but the U. S. Supreme Court hasn't even one god. It is goddess.

REMEMBER the Hartford Travelers' Accident Insurance Company, is the pronounced enemy of workingmen.

WHEN one reflects upon Cleveland's administration, the old saw that "troubles never come singly" loses its teeth.

"First know you are right and then go ahead," said Davy Crockett, or words to that effect. The motto will do to tie to.

THE Jews of New York have established a co-operative butcher shop and will steer their own meat, regardless of Armour.

SINCE January 1, 1893, judgments have been obtained against the Brooklyn trolley roads, amounting to \$291,000, for damages.

SOME one says there are in the world 149 universities, having 157,513 students, not one of whom could build a house or make a nail.

OLD mother Hammersly, of New York, who first married a duke and then a lord, has settled \$16,000 a year on her second venture.

THE entire plutocratic fraternity see in what is called the "silver craze" the abridgement of their power to rule and ruin the country.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, recently prayed in his family, "Oh Lord give me life, give me life, for my tanks and pipes—give me the life of Patmos."

THE corporations care little for statutes, because when their interests are involved they can buy a judge, or nine of them if necessary.

PREPARATORY to Pullman's debut at the reception to be given him by his royal forked tailed highness, he is practicing the gridiron polka.

A NEW ENGLAND factory owner on pay day, was asked: "What are you doing?" Oh, said the proprietor, facetiously, "just skinning my cattle."

THE wife of Li Hung Chang has 1,200 pairs of trouserettes on hand and is equipped to do China on a wheel as soon as the roads are in good condition.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW defends C. P. Huntington for violating the law, for which he was indicted, and admits that he, too, has violated the same law.

THE wires say "suicide is becoming epidemic." Possibly—there is less torture, even in "rough on rats," than in the Pullman style of death by starvation.

THE "bench" is a place where "judges sit in court," and it is a place where dogs are exhibited in public. Hence the supreme bench; hence, also, a dog show.

A SCORPION, confined within a circle of fire, has been known to sting itself to death, a privilege that will not be accorded to Geo. M. Pullman by the devil.

PATTI, who has a castle at Craig-y-Noe, in Wales, will entertain the duke and duchess of York during the season, and Chauncey M. Depew may also be invited.

IN the Arctic regions when the people want to push an enterprise, they rely upon their dogs. In the United States corporations pull through by harnessing U. S. judges.

JAMES J. HILL climbed to his present responsible position, as president of the Great Northern, from a freight clerk on the steamboat docks of St. Paul, which was also a responsible position.

SAYS the Fargo Commonwealth, the railroads will carry a man from New York to San Francisco for \$80, and a hog for \$6, and a Congressman free. The Congressman rates \$80 lower than a man and \$74 lower than a hog.

A NEBRASKA man has sued a railroad asking for \$78,000 because the engines passing certain crossings, failed to whistle as provided by Nebraska law. The case will go to the supreme "sappers and miners" and the corporation will win. It's got the cash.

THE FOURTH OF JULY.

One hundred and nineteen years ago, on the 4th day of July, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was read in old Independence Hall in the city of Philadelphia, and the day at once took precedence of all the secular days of the year. It was consecrated to liberty and independence. It was ordained by the voice of the people and by the voice of God to be the Sabbath day of liberty, and for one hundred and nineteen years has been held by Americans to be a day for the exhibition of the highest and holiest inspirations and aspirations of a nation of free men.

In the life of a nation, one hundred and nineteen years are as a day in the life of a man. A nation that has scored only one hundred and nineteen years is still in its infancy. It oldest traditions are but as yesterday. No antiquarian explores for its ruined shrines, its buried cities, its broken monuments and forgotten tombs.

As a nation, the United States is still in a formative condition. Everything is experimental, and it is here that the question forces itself upon the mind: Did the fathers, in the beginning, make fatal mistakes from which have sprung a brood of ills which now vex the people and imperil their liberties?

That portion of the Declaration of Independence which was and is esteemed its crowning glory reads as follows:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

When these words were written there were in the colonies not less than 500,000 chattel slaves.

The "self-evident" truths and the "unalienable rights" proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence were glorious truths ingloriously denied by the men who uttered them.

Five hundred thousand chattel slaves, though silent and voiceless as so many statues carved in ebony, stood like shadows of coming events around the "Cradle of Liberty," pointing to a time when the Declaration of Independence should include their posterity.

These five hundred thousand chattel slaves from 1776 to 1860 had increased to 3,953,760, and then came the battle and the storm; and when the smoke had drifted away, when blood had ceased to flow, when drums had ceased to throb and the battle flags were furled, 4,000,000 of chattel slaves stood forth redeemed, emancipated, disenthralled by the genius of one who walked amidst the fire, like unto the Son of God. Then, and not until then, was the Declaration of Independence itself emancipated. Then, and not till then, could Americans sing of their flag—

"Forever float that standard sheet, Where breathes a foe but falls before us, With freedom's soil beneath our feet, And freedom's banner streaming o'er us."

But what other evils had chattel slavery wrought in America from 1620 to 1860—two hundred and forty years?

It had taught the nation the damnable heresy that labor, whether performed by chattel slaves or free born American citizens, was menial, servile, low and slavish; that the badge of labor was of itself degrading.

The master of the black slaves became an autocrat under the laws which doomed his negroes to toil, that he might revel in the wealth their labor produced, and this unspeakable infamy, this crime of the ages, from the day chattel slavery disappeared, has sought to entrench itself throughout the land, in shop, and forge, and mine, and every industrial enterprise where men work for wages—and now, while the boast is made that there are no chattel slaves to lament their fate, there are ten million wage slaves whose "unalienable rights" to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," neither legislatures, congress nor courts respect.

The constitution itself recognized the institution of slavery—the right of one man to own another man, to work him, whip him, chain him and sell him. This constitutional infamy was fully set forth and expounded in the Dred Scott case. It was a slave hunting decision. It was a blood hound decision. It made the Declaration of Independence a monumental misnomer, and the constitution of the country a thing demanding amendment. It aroused the nation to a comprehension of constitutional dangers, and to supreme court infamies. To avoid any more Dred Scott decisions, it became necessary to emancipate all the chattel slaves in America, but this was not accomplished until the supreme court had advised the world that the constitution of the United States of America, was a slave hunting, a slave catching instrument, and that under its protection one man could own a thousand slaves, and that breeding slaves for market was as constitutional as to breed hogs and mules for market, and that slave blocks, slave pens, whips and fetters were all constitutional.

It is common for 4th of July orators to indulge in eulogistic words of American growth in population, power and wealth, for which there is abundant data. Some of these orators will possibly begin at Concord and fly their oratorical kites from Bunker Hill to Appomattox, and tell how slavery perished and the Union was saved, tell how the

nation has marched across the continent, how thirteen states have grown to forty-four and how we have increased from 3,000,000 to 70,000,000 people. It may be that some corporation lawyer or judge, feeling the inspiration of his fee, will glorify the supremacy of law, particularly law by injunction, and seek to glorify United States supreme court judges in lofty periods of flatulent floundoodle.

But in ten thousand instances other themes than the physical prosperity of the nation, will challenge the utterances of American citizens. They will relate to American liberty. There will be orators who will refer to the Dred Scott decision, the blood hound, negro-hunting and negro-capturing and negro-enslaving decision that made every man a constitutional blood hound, whose depraved nature would have made him a Judas, and who would have betrayed Christ for a reward.

They will doubtless take for a theme the decision of the supreme court, more infamous than the Dred Scott decision, which denies an American citizen the right of trial by jury, and leaves him at the mercy of any judicial satrap who wears the tag of a U. S. judge.

Workingmen, it is said, have determined to celebrate the 4th of July. The announcement is full of cheer. It is a day upon which Americans determined to strike against the despotism of King George. The grandest lessons taught by the declaration which inaugurated the strike have been discarded by the U. S. supreme court, long ago denounced by Thomas Jefferson as the power which would eventually destroy the republic—a power which George Mason, of Virginia, a member of the constitutional convention, said was a power "which made justice as unattainable by a great part of the community, as in England, and enabling the rich to oppress and ruin the poor."

These words of Jefferson and Mason were prophetic, and the dangers feared have come.

Workingmen will never again appeal to the United States supreme court for justice. The court is constructed as Mr. Mason said, to "enable the rich to oppress and ruin the poor." The demand now is to amend the constitution, to compel the supreme court vulture to relax its claws upon the throat of liberty, that workingmen may have a trial by jury, and be imprisoned only in obedience to a verdict rendered under due forms of law.

If workingmen have determined to celebrate the 4th of July, for the purpose of arousing their fellow workingmen to the dangers that now environ their dearest liberties, their prudence and their courage are worthy of the highest commendation, demonstrating that the spirit of '76 still lives to find expression in the words and deeds of men who are the worthy sons of patriotic sires.

MR. CLARENCE S. DARROW, in a recent address, said, "The decision in the Debs case will not down." "The federal courts have decided that any one who refuses to work may be sent to jail." "The industrial system of to-day is hardly fifty years old, but it is fitted to the political system of the middle ages. Governments were organized to protect life, but they are now used chiefly to protect property." "Everything in America is passing into the hands of the few marvelously rich, and the masses are becoming the abject slaves of the powerful and rich."

MR. DEBS has a favorable opinion of Mr. Justice Harlan; but he is not pleasantly impressed by the Supreme Court, even though that body was unanimous in his case.—Standard Union.

There was a time when Judas Iscariot stood fairly well as an apostle of the truth, but he betrayed his Master as Harlan betrayed the people—and as for the Supreme Court, only men who favor a despotism, have any feeling for the "sappers and miners" but that of supreme contempt.

FATHER DUCHEY, in his address before the Bakers' International Union, is quoted as saying "You can d—n the President of the United States; you can d—n ex-President Harrison, and be all right; but if you d—n a railroad president you are an anarchist." In going into the d—ng business, on the square, it would be more logical to include the entire corporations, including the supreme "sappers and miners."

REPORT has it that Cal Brice, a United States Senator, representing Wall Street, banker, gold bugger, railroad wrecker and pusillanimous democrat, has bought another railroad. He is a senator of brass and boodle, who, for a consideration, such as Hevermeyer could offer, would sell his vote if he d—d his country by the transaction.

WHILE the banks of the United States, during the past eleven years have been improving their burglar proof safes and locks they have lost, says the Financial Review, over \$126,000,000 by embezzlements and defalcations. Upper crust civilization seems to be a failure.

AN exchange says that "one New England factory employs 12,000 women." During the time of chattel slavery a planter, who could boast of owning 500 niggers, was a potentate.

SAVAGES scalp their victims. Railroad managers blacklist theirs. Savage or Christian, take your choice.

THE MONEY POWER AND THE SUPREME COURT.

The great mass of the people, whatever may be said of the past, no longer place any confidence in the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. In every instance without an exception, it is controlled by what is known as the "money power" of the country—a power which seeks to control legislation in all matters in which its interests are directly or remotely involved.

The money power is simply an aggregation of moneyed men, moneyed interests, individuals, corporations, trusts, syndicates, combinations of every description, which seek to control legislation and the decisions of courts. In congress and legislatures this money power demands the passage of laws promotive of its schemes, and the defeat of bills inimical to its interests—but if a law is enacted hostile to its plots and projects, then the courts are brought into requisition to vindicate its piracies and enable it to carry on and carry out its policy of plunder. In this bold and defiant policy the Supreme Court is always found on the side of the money power. Instances are numerous and could easily be catalogued. It it folly to intimate that this money power is a myth—a vagary trumped up by political visionaries. It had an existence at the very foundation of the government; the money power and the Supreme Court are practically co-existent. The Constitution in 1787 provided for a supreme court and in 1791 the U. S. bank was chartered; and this U. S. bank constituted a money power. It was re-chartered in 1816 and for forty years controlled the financial legislation of the country, or until 1832, when it demanded a renewal of its charter, which Andrew Jackson, as President, forbade, because of its corrupting and debauching influence and during the entire period of its existence this colossal and infamous power had the support of the Supreme Court.

The bank ceased to exist in 1836, and but little was heard of the money power until the war of the rebellion cast its awful shadow on the land, and this national calamity was due in no small measure to the Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision, in the interest of the most damnable crime known to the ages.

The Supreme Court was then as now, the defender of slavery. It was the friend of the master, and the foe of the slave—black slavery then, white slavery now. General Jackson warned his countrymen against the money power, "the power which moneyed interests can exercise in inflicting injury upon the agricultural, mechanical and laboring classes of society," and he said the men who control the money power "will besiege the halls of legislation in the general government, as well as in the states, and will seek by every artifice and device to mislead and deceive the public servants." This warning has become literally true, but it has been unheeded by the Supreme Court, and the money power has been aided and abetted in its devices and intrigues to mislead and debauch public servants by that silk gowned body which burlesquing justice and law has brought itself into ridicule and contempt.

The late income tax decision, was distinctly and infamously in the interest of the money power and stands forth in the history of the decline and fall of judicial integrity as the most humiliating spectacle the world ever witnessed—an exhibition of five supreme judges expectorating a mass of sophisticated slime to obscure their degenerate act in becoming the abject and vernal worshippers of money.

True, there were four supreme judges who did not, on the income tax question, yield obedience to the demands of the money power, and for their courage have been the recipients of much flatulent flattery, as if it were unusual for a supreme judge to be an honest man and keep his ermined robes less spotted than a leopard's skin. But there was before this supreme tribunal a case infinitely more important than that of the income tax, involving the most sacred rights of American citizens. The money power was profoundly interested in the case. It demanded that the constitution of the republic should be cloven down in its interest; that men charged with crime should be sent to prison without a trial by a jury of their peers, and in defiance of every constitutional guarantee, made and provided for administering justice. The issue was squarely made; the lines were vividly defined; the money power on one side, innocent men on the other side appealing to the Supreme Court to glorify constitution, justice, and liberty by awarding these men a jury trial. What was the result? Did the Supreme Court divide on the question? No. The corporations, the money power, demanded that constitutional guarantees should be cloven down; that justice and liberty should be strangled, and without a dissenting voice, nine supreme judges assented to the demand of the money power, and thus the money power and the Supreme Court, working together, have centralized the government—made the word "constitution," a term of universal derision, and the Supreme Court, engaged from the beginning in sapping and mining the federal structure, has at last established a centralized despotism upon its ruins.

SAVE YOUR MONEY AND BUY A JUDGE.

"Save your money and buy a gun." That's the way the message run; But here's a hint, the merest nudge— Save your money and buy a judge. Save my money, well, yes, you bet, To buy a gun and bayonet— But at this time, I'll not begrudge The money spent to buy a judge. Save your money; don't you spend it; Save your money; don't you lend it; Save your money, and never budge From your purpose to buy a judge. Buy a judge as you'd buy a dog; Buy a judge as you'd buy a hog; And if you like that sort of sport Go out and buy the Supreme Court. Old Jay Gould's dead; but Jay Gould knew The judgeship market through and through; Bought his judges as men buy asses; Paid cash down, or railroad passes. When Gould wanted a decision Stating law with nice precision, All quibbling was deemed so much fudge; He took his money and bought his judge. It's all the same, yet as a biz Price of judges may have riz; Still, take hint, a friendly nudge— Save your money and buy a judge. Blackstone.

IS AN INJURY TO ONE THE CONCERN OF ALL?

The question, "Is an injury to one the concern of all?" Never before in the conflicts between right and wrong, has the interrogation had such supreme significance as now. Hitherto, organizations of workingmen have proclaimed that an injury to one of their members concerned all the members of their order, and a thousand strikes have been ordered to vindicate the truth of the motto. It has been inscribed upon banners; has been a plank in labor's platforms and rituals; it has been the theme of poets and orators, and it has inspired many a man to do and dare to keep the motto high advanced before the world. Governments deserving the name assert the principle, and when a citizen, however humble or obscure, is the victim of a wrong perpetrated by another government, and appeals to his government for redress, explanation and reparation is demanded, and if this is not done, the nation, too weak or supine to afford redress, sinks to fathomless depths of contempt; nor will it ever regain its standing until it asserts its power to compel the offending nation to make atonement for the wrongs inflicted upon its citizen.

History is burdened with instances of wars resulting from wrongs inflicted upon individuals who appealed to their governments for redress, and the United States government has won imperishable glory by wars which had their origin in wrongs inflicted upon individuals, and now there is not a nation of the earth, however powerful, that would escape chastisement or accountability, were it to inflict a wrong upon an American citizen, in any quarter of the globe, and organized workingmen, by asserting the truth that an "injury to one is the concern of all," have simply recognized a principle of government, without which the term "government," becomes one of ineffable scorn.

Take a recent case or two. A Spanish gunboat fired upon a ship flying the American flag in Cuban waters. The report of the gun had scarcely died away until Spain was required to make an apology. She made the required explanation and averted war.

A negro, an American citizen, living in Madagascar, was arrested, tried and imprisoned by the French government, in that far away land, but not beyond the reach of our national authority, and France was required to explain. The trial of the American citizen was denounced as despotism; the rights of the American had been disregarded, and now the victim of French despotism is to have a fair trial, and if convicted, it will be by due process of law. The injury to this Afro-American citizen becomes the concern of 70,000,000 Americans, and the government of the United States stands pledged that he shall not be unjustly imprisoned.

How stands the case of the American Railway Union officials? They committed no crime; they violated no law; they simply sought to rescue wage-slaves from the grasp of a human tiger, and yet, without trial as provided by the constitution of the nation, the Magna Charta of American liberties, these rights are denied them, their liberties are cloven down, and they are sent to prison by as infamous a despot as ever lifted up his eyes in hell.

Is this injury to the American Railway Union officials, the concern of all workingmen in America? If not, then despotism will never, in the estimation of an American wage man, be able to inflict a wrong upon labor, that will concern them all.

In vindicating this concern, what can be done? This? Workingmen can meet and protest against the despotism of the United States judiciary. They can protest against sending men to prison except by a jury trial and under due forms of law. They can sound the tocsin, the alarm bells of the nation. They can hold public meetings, and discuss matters pertaining to their rights and liberties, and they can make the national starry flag once more symbolize liberty. Will they do it? Time will tell the story.

In giving the devil his dues it is right to exonerate the autocrat of hell, from any participation in the famine policy of Geo. M. Pullman. In that regard the devil is a philanthropist, compared with Pullman, a director in the Hartford Travelers' Insurance Company.



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**THE DECISION.**

**A REVIEW WHICH PUNCTURES THE THING FROM BOTTOM TO TOP.**

And Leaves It and Its Authors Wallowing in Corruption Silline and Infamy.

The discussion now going forward in the undebauched press of the country of the decision in the Debs *habeas corpus* case is more important than upon any other subject before the American people. The Milwaukee *Daily News*, in a recent issue, reviews the decision and permits its readers to see into it and through it, and points out lucidly its ill-disguised purpose to promote the interests of corporations by striking down the rights of workmen. In its hypocritical professions to sustain the constitution, the supreme "sappers and miners" eliminate from that document every guarantee of liberty it provides, and confers upon corporations unlimited power to degrade workmen.

**THE FELLOWS.**

The *News* begins by exclaiming: What an innocent lot of fellows those United States supreme court justices are! They seem to think that Judge Woods issued his injunction against the great railroad strike of last July solely for the purpose of seeing that the United States mails and interstate commerce were not interfered with, and that the government in asking for the injunction was actuated by a desire "to prevent the unnecessary effusion of bloodshed." They seem to think, too, that the American Railway Union was actuated by a wild desire to delay the mails and to stop the interstate commerce instead of merely trying to carry out the determination of its membership, not to work on any railway that used sleeping cars owned by a certain corporation, which refused to do justice to its employes.

The supreme court coolly ignores the right of the employes to quit work whenever they become dissatisfied with the conditions of their employment, which was really the point at issue, and devotes its whole attention to a condition that did not exist—resistance to the rightful authority of the United States government. The United States was only a party to the trouble as it was made so by

**GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.**

who were completely under control of the railway corporations. There was not the slightest evidence that the American Railway Union or its members had any desire to interfere with the mails or with interstate commerce. But Attorney General Olney and his understrappers claimed that they had conspired to do so, and Judge Woods and the supreme court accept this false statement unquestioningly.

As the result of yesterday's decision railway employes are left completely at the

**MERCY OF THE CORPORATIONS.**

No matter what wrong may be perpetrated against them by a combination of railway corporations or otherwise, they are not allowed even the poor privilege of quitting work. But there is another side to the question that should have caused the supreme court justices to hesitate before giving such

**A SWEEPING DECISION**

against the liberties of American citizens, even if controlled wholly by love of the great railway corporations. This is that the tables may some time be turned upon the present privileged classes under this ruling. If the people instead of the privileged classes had been possessed of the powers of government when the strike occurred, the attorney general of the United States could have asked for an injunction against the

**GENERAL MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION**

instead of the American Railway Union, and with equal, if not greater truth, charged the association with conspiring to obstruct the mails and interfere with interstate commerce, and Judge Woods, if as anxious to please the people as the privileged classes, would undoubtedly have granted the injunction. If the General Managers' Association did not straightway drop the Pullman cars and proceed to run the lines without them the general managers, instead of Debs *et al.*, would now be about to undergo terms of imprisonment for violating the order of Judge Woods. But does anybody suppose that if Judge Woods had made such an order the present supreme court would have sustained him?

**NOT AT ALL.**

It would have decided that the injunction order was contrary to the spirit of the government and calculated to rob citizens of their liberty without due process of law, or they would have alleged any one of a thousand other reasons. The lesson to be learned by the people is that if the government is to be for the people it must be of the people and by the people.

**GOVERNMENT BY LAWYERS**

won't fill the bill. If the president and congress were with the people the courts would shortly be so, too. The decision has greatly shortened the road to overturning the rule of trusts and corporations which now curses the country, if only the people can get control of the government.

**A UNITED STATES JUDGE**

who wishes as ardently to serve the people as nearly all of them do now to serve

the corporations, under the new ruling could enjoin the beef combine from robbing the people by raising the price of meat 25 per cent., or the Standard Oil Company for its increase of 50 per cent. in the price of kerosene, or the leather trust for the lift of 25 per cent. in the price of shoes, etc., on the grounds that these acts of robbery of the people are in defiance of the United States anti-trust law; that they interfere with interstate commerce by decreasing the amount to be transported, and have a like injurious effect upon the United States mail service.

**ON THE WHOLE,**

it must be confessed, the country is brought a step nearer to the condition that afflicted France prior to the great revolution. It is difficult to see any great difference in effect between the letters *de cachet* by which the French autocrats could send a man to rot in the Bastille and the

ARBITRARY ORDER OF JUDGE WOODS which robs Mr. Debs and associates of their liberty. The ballot box gives the American citizens an opportunity for correcting such evils which the French did not possess, and the remedy can be reached through this without a violent explosion. But it may be safely relied upon that a free people, such as those of this country are, will, in their own good time, express their

**CONDEMNATION**

of the gross attack upon the liberties of the American people that is sustained by this decision of the privileged class supreme court.

**JURY AND JUSTICE.**

Referring to the indictment of Eugene V. Debs and his official associates, the Des Moines (Ia.) *Standard* remarks that "there is now pending against Debs and his colleagues, in the federal court, a charge of having violated certain laws of the United States. The case has once been on trial, but the proceedings were interrupted by the illness of one of the jurors, since which time nothing appears to have been done with a view to bringing the proceeding to a close. In fact, indications tend to make good the assertion of the accused that the government attorneys do not wish to have the trial brought to a close, and one government attorney, since the supreme court decision, is credited with the statement that they did not desire to be placed in the position of a persecutor, and that for that reason the jury trial would not be pushed.

The fact will be apparent to any but the most obtuse, from both the assertions and dilatory action of the government attorneys, that it is not desired to have the men tried on the charges by a jury. And the reason for this is plainly to be found in the fact that the men can not be convicted on the evidence which the government has against them, and, failing to convict, they would bring into deplorable repute the findings of both Judge Woods and the supreme court. It would be a most difficult task to place Judge Woods in a more uncomfortable and really trying position than the one which he would have to occupy should a jury find Debs and his colleagues innocent of the acts which Woods has sent them to jail for being guilty of in violation of the orders of his court. And to spare the judge the humiliation of such a situation, his co-workers in the service of the railroad corporations, having obtained from the supreme court all that they could possibly desire, prefer to have the matter brought to a close without further inquiry and publicity.

If there is any method known to law which can compel the government and railroad attorneys to come into court and either dismiss or convict the men of the charges they have brought against them, it ought at once to be acted upon. It is not to be endured that men should be accused of crime, to the destruction of reputation and standing among law-abiding people and then be refused an opportunity to have a jury of honest men redeem them from the imputation. Neither is it to be endured, out of respect for the laws of the land and for the public safety, that men guilty of crime, as Debs and his colleagues are charged with being by government officials, should escape the penalty that attaches to their commission.

It is due to the law that if Debs and Howard and the other implicated men are guilty of whatever they are charged, that they should hang, or go to jail, or be fined, just exactly as the law may provide. If they are innocent, it is due to the men, in common fairness, that the prosecuting attorney should be compelled to admit it in open court and dismiss the cases against them, or that a jury should have an opportunity to pass upon the evidence and declare them not guilty.

Let another jury be empanelled and let the case proceed at once."

**PUEBLO RESOLVES.**

The following resolution was adopted by the A. R. U. of No. 60, of Pueblo, Colo.:

Resolved, That we draw our charter in mourning, in memory of our beloved president, Eugene V. Debs, and colleagues, for the space of six months or the time that he is incarcerated in prison for the cause of humanity, and the freedom of the toilers of our country. That we denounce Judge Woods and the judges of the supreme court as traitors to life and liberty, and the happiness of the people of this country.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Rocky Mountain *News*, the *Railway Times* and the *Chicago Age*.

**PLUTOCRATS ON TOP.**

**THEY TRAMPLE UPON LAW AND RULE THE COURTS.**

The Interstate Commerce Law Fun for Them, but It is Death to Labor.

Not only old things, but good things are passing away, and new and evil things are taking their places in the affairs of Americans. Wealth rules, and if a law is enacted to restrain its rapacity, the law is promptly crushed by the courts. The Supreme Court is watchful of the interests of wealth. Trusts flourish in defiance of anti-trust laws. Like Carnegie's armor plates, they are full of "blow-holes." The interstate commerce law was enacted ostensibly to catch railroad rascals, to prevent, says the Superior and Duluth *Forum*, dangerous and oppressive combinations of railroad corporations and check tyrannical discriminations. The interstate law is a dead letter, but as the statute with which the General Managers' Association struck the hopes of labor in last summer's strike, and which now sends Debs to a year's imprisonment without a trial by his peers, it is a most vivid reality.

Are you blind or do you see that the moneyed side wins in this country? The anti-trust law is powerless to check the march of trusts, the plutocrats escape the income tax, the railroads laugh at the intentions of the interstate commerce law, and use it as a club to beat the brains out of the A. R. U. The solemn airs of the supreme court and the exultation of the railroad attorneys and capitalistic newspapers over this decision are about as fitting to the conditions of the hour as would be the cry of "fire! fire!" on the lips of a drowning man who is going down for the second time. These newspapers and attorneys cry "That settles it; it is decided that mobs can't rule this country." The reply is that there has been no danger of mobs ruling this country. Mob violence is not the danger that threatens this commonwealth. Any person who makes any pretensions to intelligence knows that our danger lies in the unchecked ascendancy of money. Will any man who is not paid for it assert that the money power and the railroad corporation interests have not been materially served and the cause of labor materially injured by the decision of the supreme court in the case of Debs and his lieutenants?

People who do not stop to examine the facts or reflect upon them are likely to be deceived by the assertions of the whole chorus of leading newspapers to which it is second nature to support corporations and oppose organized labor. The supreme court decides that it has no jurisdiction of any appeal from the sentence pronounced upon Debs and his associates by Judge Woods of the lower federal court. Judge Woods is the irresponsible arbiter of that sentence, and there is no court in this country authorized to reverse it. He has adjudged the leaders of the A. R. U. guilty and that decree will stand until doomsday as far as the courts of law are concerned.

Now, of what did Woods find the A. R. U. leaders guilty? Not of violence against the person of any man; not of destroying any man's or corporation's property; not of interfering with trains or mails; and, further, he did not find them guilty of exhorting any man or men to do all or any of these things. The evidence in the trial of the indictments before a jury for exactly the same offense charged in the contempt proceedings was far fuller than Judge Woods had before him, yet not one of the witnesses pretended to say that any of the A. R. U. leaders had committed or advised any act of illegal violence. What lesson, then, are we to draw from this decision, and for what acts are these men punished?

Debs and his lieutenants are punished because they counseled men to strike and to persist in a strike which was already begun. According to Judge Woods' decision, which the supreme court says it has no power to review, it is a crime to aid or abet employes of a railroad in a strike, even by means which have been held perfectly peaceable and unquestionably legal. It is a crime of which one man is to be judge and in the trial of which no jury is required. Always keep it in mind that when you abet a strike of railroad men you are interfering with interstate commerce and are likely to get six months.

The General Managers' Association and all sorts of combinations, conspiracies and trusts exist with no court to molest or make afraid and no process to intimidate; but how vigorously does injunction rap a labor organization on the head, and how remorselessly does contempt wreak the vengeance of the outraged law upon a champion of the workmen! Hurray for the great constitutional right of injunction, which will forbid the laborer to strike but will not raise its hand when the company discharges him, or cuts down his wages or requires him to work twelve hours!

It is wonderful how modern civilization simplifies things. Trouble between a railroad and its employes was once a many-sided, puzzling problem; but how easy is it now become? What can be easier than the machinery of a federal

judge, appointed for life, exercising power by injunction and contempt, from whose decisions there is no appeal, with the result of six months' imprisonment inflicted on any man who dares say to the oppressed laborers, "strike!" And the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Chicago Times-Herald*, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* and the *St. Paul Globe*, in their profound reflections and noble diction, give us to understand that an advance has been made in civilization and self-government.

**COURT APPEALS.**

Slush About Appealing for Justice to Courts over which Tyrants Rule.

The San Francisco *Star* in writing of the "Debs decision" says: "The Supreme Court, on May 27th, denied the application of E. V. Debs for *habeas corpus*, which involves his serving six months in jail, not for violating a statute, apparently, but for violating an injunction. The court correctly holds that the general government has power to prevent and punish obstructions to the mail service, but incorrectly assumes that any such obstruction existed, excepting on the part of the railroad corporations, in refusing to start any train without Pullman cars, no obstruction whatever having been offered by any strikers at any time to the transportation of mail cars.

Justice Brewer appropriately read the unanimous decision. He was promoted to the Supreme Court in 1885 or 1886, for his superserviceableness as actual attorney for a railroad corporation, while nominally a Federal judge in Colorado, the road being under receivership during a strike. His course then was strictly in line with the decision of the court now; both are of the same bolt of cloth, that bolt being a judicial despotism, in defiance of natural right and constitutional limitations.

Of course the customary clap-trap was uttered that "under the government, of, for and by the people, the means of redress of all wrongs is through the courts and the ballot box."

The United States courts (and in some degree the State courts) can and do over-ride any and all laws in the interest of human rights, on pretext of constitutionality, but affirm laws which are unconstitutional in fact, whenever they are in the interest of corporations and plutocrats. The people have no more power over the courts or their judge-made laws, than they have over the administration of China, or the man in the moon, even to the insignificantly fractional extent they have over the election of alleged lawmakers, the latter only having such power subject to the vetoes of courts.

The interstate commerce law was a measure designed to protect the people against railroad corporations. It never did so. When invoked against them, it has always failed. The base use to which it has been put against the strikers should cause the nation to demand and insist upon its repeal. As there is no law whatever that can reach the criminals who control the transportation systems of the country, the less law we have on the subject the better, for, whether good or bad, it will be twisted and distorted, as occasion may require, to oppress the people.

The imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs and his associates for no crime whatever, but for exercising a natural right and giving a helping hand to the helpless, is a judicial infamy almost without parallel in the history of the Republic. It is worthy of the courts of the czar. In England it would cause a revolution. When such an act is possible here "tear down the flaunting lie" that the people rule. Ours is a government of plutocrats, for plutocrats, and by plutocrats. Jesus Christ was crucified because he loved his fellow men; Debs, for the same reason, was only imprisoned, and that imprisonment may be the bugle call to Freedom. There will be retribution for this crime; Truth shall at last triumphant be; Justice shall wield the sceptre and tyranny be dethroned.

**CONTAGIOUS DISEASE.**

The following from the Superior *Sunday Forum*, is reproduced by special request of a traveling brother who was in Proctor Knott at the time of the alleged sensation:

Last Sunday evening our usually quiet village was suddenly thrown into a state of consternation by the sudden report of smallpox having broken out in our midst, which proved upon closer investigation to be considerably exaggerated, but that there were some grounds for such report none can deny, as was shown by the committee of public safety to the effect that a full developed "scab" was found at our leading hotel, but fortunately in the form of a man, and in close proximity to one of our most estimable young ladies, who was soon waited upon by a committee of our R. R. men and was informed of his true character and her danger, much to her surprise and chagrin, and who, in turn, informed him that he could find the pest house in West Superior and that the sooner he hastened there the better it would suit her and the better it would be for his health.

He was given an ahead of time order and he flew, followed by such words of encouragement as "scab!" "rope!" "hang him!" When he struck the cable car it was not fast enough for Mr. Charles Carey on this eventful occasion.

We are very sorry that this climate was not suited to his particular and obnoxious malady.

"No country," said Daniel Webster, "can long remain free where the tendency of the law is to concentrate the wealth of the country into a few hands." And that is where we are at; and when law is lacking, a potbellied judge issues an injunction to wreck the country.

**RAPINE OF RIGHTS.**

**THE INFAMOUS DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT**

Presented in Its True Light, and the Perils of the People Exposed.

The Topeka *Advocate*, a paper whose utterances upon all subjects are indicative of patriotic purposes and command attention, devotes considerable space to the infamous court proceedings, by which the rights of citizens under the constitution are struck down, for the gratification of corporations. It seems that a number of plutocratic publications in Kansas are in favor of abolishing the constitution when the rights of workmen come in conflict with corporations, and Governor Altgeld is especially selected as a target of these plutocratic popguns. "Governor Altgeld of Illinois has," says the *Advocate*, "made a very caustic criticism of the decision of the supreme court in the case of Eugene V. Debs. He points out clearly the danger to human liberty in America which this decision involves, so that the blind man, though a fool, seemingly, need not fail to perceive it. The manner in which his criticism is disposed of by a servile press may be seen by a couple of illustrations. The *Lawrence Journal* of June 3 says:"

Governor Altgeld is disgusted with the order of the court putting Debs in jail. As a matter of fact Altgeld is very much opposed to the punishment of any convicted criminal, no matter what his crime may have been. He has proven this by pardoning one or more men after they had been found guilty of almost every crime in the calendar.

The Topeka *Capital* of June 4, brushes the whole question lightly aside in this manner:

Nothing is now lacking to satisfy patriotic citizens of the justice of the supreme court's decision in the Debs case. Governor Altgeld has denounced it.

"Not a solitary word about the principles involved in the decision. Not a reference to the fact pointed out by Governor Altgeld that by it our government is revolutionized, government by court injunction established and the right of trial by jury, guaranteed by the constitution, swept away. Upon this topic so important to every American citizen, these nincompoops are as silent as an oyster. It is much easier to brush aside the governor's arraignment of the court by this kind of an appeal to a prejudice which these papers and others of their kind have been laboring for years to create, than to satisfactorily dispose of the facts which he presents. But how about the people? Are they satisfied to see the whole bulwark of American liberty thus swept away without protest? Will they be satisfied with the manner in which the *Capital* and others of its ilk dispose of the questions involved in this decision? We think not."

Pursuing the subject, the *Advocate* says: "Here is another example of the easy manner in which Governor Altgeld's arraignment of the supreme court decision in the Debs case is disposed of. This is from the *Emporia Republican* of June 4:"

Herr Altgeld has swelled up again on account of the supreme court decision in the Debs case. Altgeld has made up his mind to be displeased with everything that is done in this country according to law, and he is going to swell with indignation as long as the newspapers will give him space. If the courts continue to send criminals to jail, he will soon reach the bursting point.

"Is the *Republican* satisfied with a decision that establishes government by court injunction, and sweeps away the right of trial by jury? This is the point involved in the decision in question, and it cannot be evaded nor can the people be befuddled upon the subject by appeals to prejudice such as the republican press of the country is now attempting. Not a single republican paper has yet dared to discuss, in any manner whatever the principles involved in that decision. Every reference to it is of like character of the one above quoted. The design is to prevent a correct understanding of the case by the people, and of the far reaching and disastrous consequences of the decision.

The question whether Debs is guilty of violation of the laws is not at all concerned here. Admit for the sake of the argument that he is. Admit that he is deserving of even greater punishment than that to which he has been sentenced. What then? Has he been constitutionally tried? Have his rights as an American citizen been regarded? The constitution of the United States provides:

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed.

Is this a criminal prosecution against Debs? If not, upon what pretense is he imprisoned? If it is a criminal prosecution, has he enjoyed "the right of a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury?" These are the questions involved in this case, not whether Debs is guilty, or Governor Altgeld "swelled."

Reader, it will not do to pass this case lightly by. If Mr. Debs may be seized and tried upon serious charges without a jury, you may be also, and so may every other American citizen.

If this decision is to stand American liberty is at an end. It is the beginning of Star Chamber proceedings where "suspects" may be convicted of all imaginable offenses without regard to forms of law and in utter disregard of the constitution. The revolution is accomplished, and every man and woman is at the mercy of a court owned and manipulated by a moneyed aristocracy.

**BLACKLISTING PENALTIES.**

The Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha railroad is the most vigorous of the local blacklisters. One of its fundamental principles is that no man who was in its employment at the time of the great strike of 1894, and joined the strikers on that occasion, shall ever again be employed on its lines. This road will hire no man who was employed on any other road and joined the strike last summer.

The Omaha goes one step farther in its policy of persecuting its striking employes, and prevents them from getting work on other roads, when possible, and even pursues them into other vocations, and endeavors to deprive them of the means of earning a livelihood in any legitimate way.

It was on the line of this road, at Hawthorne, Wisconsin, that Conductor James Ring and brakeman W. M. Shoopman were killed. These men met their death at the hands of a man who turned a switch so that the front truck of a box car took one track and the hind truck another, the car being overturned with terrific force.

Though there are hundreds of reliable, experienced brakemen in the northwest who are anxious and willing to work, the Omaha, in pursuit of the blacklisting conspiracy to which it belongs, passes them by and hires men without previous experience. Most of the accidents on the Omaha are due to the employment of greenhorns in place of veterans.

The man who threw the switch last Monday and sent Ring and Shoopman straight into the jaws of death is one of the so called "scabs" whom the Omaha took on last summer and keep in preference to the seasoned hands that are to be had by the scores at a moment's time. Tally two deaths to the blacklisting policy of the Omaha road.—*Duluth Forum*.

**KATE FIELD.**

The editor, publisher and proprietor of the "dear departed," *Washington*, is just as bright and chipper as before her battle ship foundered and went down with everything on board except the one big gun of the ship. This piece of ordinance, constructed to shoot with equal accuracy at any target, bombs, round and chain shot, scrap iron, old candlesticks, tin cans, grape and canister, picks, shovels and spades, stones and brick bats, or anything else shootable, having been provided with life preservers and wide flowing skirts, floated like a cork upon the yeasty billows, and being remounted, belched and thunders from the ramparts of the *Chicago Times Herald* in a way that warns all the people that the "coming woman" spoken of by prophets and seers, has come, and proposes to be heard all along the line of battle.

Dropping metaphor and coming down to the simplicities of our vernacular, Miss Kate Field has gone all to pieces over the decision of the United States Supreme "Sappers and Miners," on the income tax law. This Katy did a *la Washington*. She was so tickled, that she says: "I, for one, wanted to shout hallelujah," but was restrained, because to shout that way right in court would have been improper. She was delighted to hear the cryer lift up his voice and yell, "O yez! O yez! O yez! All persons having business before the honorable, the Supreme court of the United States are admonished to draw near and give their attention, for the court is now sitting. God save the United States and this honorable court." To which Katy said "amen," and added, "The United States needs to be saved at this particular time by this particular court." Katy is a gold-bugger. She didn't want the rich to shell out any of their shekels to help support the government, and the query goes the rounds, "What makes Kate love gold-bugs so?" A hundred and one answers could be given, ninety-nine of which would explain the situation. Kate loves a plutocrat for the same reason that Tom Moore loved a lord, for the dividends there is in it. The ways of providence are mysterious and if Kate, like Choate, got a fat "retainer" gallantry compels us to shout, "Rah for Providence" that sunk the battle ship *Washington*, but saved its gun. If the "coming woman" has come in the person of Kate Field, there is one consolation, at least, the coming woman will not rear a brood of plutocrats to shout "hallelujah" as the country ceases to be a republic and becomes a Russian despotism.

When a newspaper man in Chicago interviewed Gov. Altgeld on the subject of Chaucey M. Depew's speech in that city some time ago, the governor, in reply to the question as to whether he had read the address or not, replied: "No, I have not. Some years ago I listened to Mr. Depew for two hours, and came to the conclusion that so long as the Lord insisted on limiting human life to about three score and ten years, two hours was all the time the average man could afford to spend out of the allotment on Depew."

On the income tax question the supreme court split wide open, and nearly in the middle. On the question of sending workmen to prison without a trial by a jury, the court was a unit and a constitutional house was hatched.

As if never satisfied in humiliating Ireland, Dr. Nicholson of the great Oxford Bodleian library, has discovered that St. Patrick was an Englishman.



PAPERS.

DESPOTISM.

Recital of an Outrage Perpetrated on A. P. Rogers, Who Was Arrested Without a Warrant and Imprisoned by a Deputy Marshal.

The following communication, in a plain, straightforward way, recites a damnable outrage perpetrated upon a member of the American Railway Union who, though adjudged innocent by the court, has no means of redress. We give the readers of the RAILWAY TIMES the full text of the letter, and if such things do not arouse the indignation of workmen, then they are as dead to all sense of freedom as so many Egyptian mummies.

MR. EDITOR:—I take the liberty of writing to you under the impression that a man in jail is glad to hear from anybody. I have been there. Yes, I am a member of the A. R. U. and was unfortunately enough to make myself conspicuous during the strike of a year ago. The prompting cause of this communication is some remarks of Governor Altgeld's, relative to the supreme court of the United States. I am very much and agreeably surprised at his temerity. He does not seem to be at all cowed by that lately developed octopus, contempt of court. I propose to tell you my experience as a "contemner" of court. I am not at all certain it will entertain you, but it will relieve my feelings somewhat. To begin with, I was awakened by a deputy United States marshal about two o'clock one afternoon (I had been up all the night before). He asked me if my name was Rogers, I told him it was. He said, "I guess I will have to arrest you." I asked him if he had a warrant. He said, "No I haven't, with me, but I have one over to the depot, I will go and get it if you want me to." I told him I didn't know that it was necessary, and asked him if he wanted me to go with him now? He asked me if I had anything I wanted to do before I went. I told him no. I had my clothes on and could go at once, and went out with him. On the way to the car, the Santa Fe road, or the United States government, I am unable to say which, was using a car in lieu of a jail. We met one of the most prominent lawyers of the town and I asked him if it made any difference whether I made the deputy read his warrant or not. He said, "No, Loomis (that was the deputy's name) is a good fellow." I told him there were lots of good fellows, but I wanted to know about the law, as I expected to get after somebody for false imprisonment if I could. He said no, it made no difference. Well, after keeping me with eleven other men in the car two nights and a day, we were started for Santa Fe on a special train, the first one out of Raton after the strike. When we got to the penitentiary we were all searched and locked up in a room together. The next morning we were taken up to court before the Honorable Justice Seeds, who issued warrants for the arrest of all but four of us (Loomis had no warrant for me at all) and we were taken back to the pen. After staying in the pen, more properly speaking the United States jail building which is inside of the penitentiary walls, twelve or fourteen days, we were taken before the Honorable Justice Seeds for trial. Then I learned the cause of my arrest. A dispatcher, by the name of Smith who had been run out of Raton during the strike, had deposed and said that he had met me at Hillside, the first siding out of Raton (north) and that I had told him he had better move on, that he was not my kind of people. Now, I did meet him at Hillside, but had no such conversation with him. I was instrumental in his getting a big drink of whiskey (he did not testify as to that). I did meet him again at the next station, Lynn, where I said to him just what he claimed, but at the same time, I told him distinctly that we did not propose to offer him any violence (there were several of us at Lynn). Mind you, he did not state in his affidavit that I had in any way intimidated him or that I had tried to. We were tried in a bunch, as it were, to save time. Some got ten days, some fifteen and on up to sixty; one, Harry Carr, was discharged. Smith testified that he had seen him as he was being run out of town. The Honorable Justice Seeds thought, I presume, that that was sufficient evidence to warrant Carr's conviction. When His Honor came to my case, his remarks were about of this tenor: "Now, in the case of Mr. Rogers, it would appear from the nature of the evidence, that what Mr. Rogers said to Mr. Smith was more in the nature of friendly advice, and the court is very much in doubt as to Mr. Rogers' guilt." Here he paused so long that I was afraid he had forgotten me, so I whispered to T. B. Catron, our attorney, since elected delegate to congress, to ask the old fool, to my shame be it said, I referred to the "Honorable Justice Seeds as an old fool," what he intended to do with me. Catron said "I presume, your Honor intended to discharge Mr. Rogers." "Oh yes! oh yes!" remarked the Honorable Justice Seeds, "Mr. Rogers may be discharged." Carr and myself were, as one would say, financially embarrassed. We did not have a red cent between us. As soon as the court adjourned I went to Seeds and asked him if he could not pass us back to Raton. He said no, he could not, that he did not have the power, but that Waldo, the Santa Fe attorney, could if he wanted to. I asked Seeds if he would not ask Waldo for us as we were not acquainted with him, and that a request from him would probably have some weight. He said he would. Carr and I stepped out of the court room and stopped to inquire where Waldo's office was located. When we stepped into Waldo's office, who was there but Seeds. He had his hand raised and was saying to Waldo, "There are a lot of the sons of b—s I discharged," and just then turning he saw us. "Why, here the gentlemen are now," he said. Waldo said: "Come right in gentlemen; Judge Seeds was just speaking to me about passes for you. I shall be glad to get them for you; I will telephone to Hurly at once. (Hurly was and is, division superintendent). It is a great mistake having you down here at all; I don't see how it occurred." We had telegraphic passes inside of an hour. I am unable to say whether Seeds was getting so much a head for convictions or not and it may have been through chagrin at losing the price of two that he referred to us as sons of b—s. I have told you facts which I can swear to and can get wit-

nesses to—more particularly the sons of b—s epithet—and yet as far as I can learn, under this government "of the people, for the people and by the people" with a constitution that guarantees equal rights to all without regard to race, color or previous condition of servitude, I have no redress. I wrote to Catron shortly after I was discharged asking him what I could do, but I got no answer. Probably he thought it would hardly pay to ally himself with so obscure a personage as myself and thereby arouse so mighty a power as the United States courts when there was a roar of contempt in the air. Yours truly, A. P. ROGERS.

RATON, NEW MEXICO.

Talks to Toilers.

BY RABBI ALEX LYONS.

I implied in my preceding talk that I am friend to the laborer. I propose now to ask and discuss: Who is the true friend of the workman? If you answer this question guided by the critical opinions of the envious or otherwise sordid minds of many persons among the people as among writers for press and magazine you must conclude that you are friendless, dupes, tools and much else that is discreditable but pitiable. It is a common criticism of labor-leaders, for instance, that they are actuated, not by friendship for the laborer and his cause, but by personal profit either in money, influence or position. They aim at either pelf or "pull." In support of this opinion it will be urged that Mr. So-and-so, who is a labor leader, lives and dresses well, has a fine home and makes a good salary in his position while those for whom he is supposed to battle live in comparative poverty. Therefore, it is argued, the man is simply trying to feather his own nest. The same logic is used against the man who rises from labor-leadership to political position. This one, it is said, serves Labor in order to serve his ambition.

Let us grant for the moment that this criticism is correct and that in consequence and consistently such men ought not to be upheld and followed but should be decried and deposed. Then I demand in the name of consistency that this principle be universally applied. Apply it and there will fall before the sentence of this celestial sincerity of the critics not only the heads of labor-leaders but also those of almost all that serve in official capacity. Does your politician, even of the nobler kind, who aspires to office and seeks your co-operation desire the position out of irresistible love to serve you and your fellowmen or from love for his community or country that he cannot withstand? Is there no selfishness in his makeup and action? Question now even the holiest of positions, as the pulpit is erroneously regarded, are its occupants so entirely responsive to a higher "call" that they are bent solely on serving God and uplifting a fallen "humanity"? If so why does salary enter so largely into their determination of their choice of positions? Even the Catholic clergy who are vowed to poverty may not be exalted over others since their service is rewarded with a life-long support and freedom from worldly care and necessity. A happy state! So I can not see the justness of the criticism that they are not friends of labor or of any other cause into whose determination enters considerations for self.

A man is not necessarily sordidly selfish because his position or espousal of cause redounds to the benefit of self. Should a man court poverty, and turn deaf ear to the whisperings of ambition and aspiration in order to demonstrate his sincerity, benevolence and beneficence in the cause he represents? It is a common mistake and grievous fault to brand ambition and self consideration because they are allied to or at the heart of an effort in behalf of others. I doubt the possibility of a voluntary action in which there is absolutely no self. And is this wrong and to be decried? Certainly not. Is not effort entitled to reward? Has the laborer greater right to effort in his behalf at no cost to himself than the leader has to be compensated for this effort? Shall the leader be unselfish that his followers may be the selfish ones? I should dishonor laborers were they so minded. The man who serves them as leader, makes this occupation his profession, gives to it his brain, hand and muscle, is as much entitled to a proper return as is the physician or lawyer that serves patient or client. If a man devoted to a cause is not to consider self also shall he live and sustain wife and children on the mere consciousness of undertaking or accomplishing humanitarian endeavors? The effort of the labor-leader in behalf of the cause of labor means higher wages, fewer hours, better conditions for the laborer. Shall the laborer receive something for nothing because he is laborer and his leader have nothing for something because he is leader? I believe that the workman has a higher opinion of himself, has more self respect than this unreasonable opinion imputes to him. The laborer should not be regarded as a recipient and beggar of charity. He is not such, he is as manly and as proud as the man whose leading he follows. The truth about the relation between the laborer and his leader is that they have espoused a common cause. They are parties to a partnership for mutual improvement. As well as the laborer is not criticized for the improvement of his condition accruing from the association in which he stands as member, the leader, who is agent of this success, is entitled to the same and even kindlier consideration at the mind of popular judgment.

Of course I distinguish here between two kinds of leaders: those that lead and those that manipulate. The one works with and for his followers; the other works his followers and works with them but altogether for himself. A man can represent, love, be truly devoted to a cause, advance it and still gain personal profit or advantage. He is still a friend of the following he represents. But the man who is in the cause primarily and solely for himself is an enemy of the worst kind. He is the Judas whose kiss means death. He is to be singled out for public detestation and shame. He is not a leader he is a leech. How can the laborer recognize him? How can he tell his friend from his foe? Let me have the indulgence of my hearers for an answer to this question in the future.

"Merrie England" is a book that has been selling at the rate of 100,000 a month for over a year in England. It is a book that should be read by every workman.

A Batch of Letters.

BY "ABE KAY."

Letter No. 3.

Since the November elections I've bin spendin the left uv my time around Saint Paul. There's so many plewtokrats there that resemble me that I've no difficulty in passin for one two-thirds uv the time, besides its the easiest place in the Yoomited States to dodge a board bill in.

Yesterday, I met in the readin room uv the Pacific House Ginnal Saint John. The Ginnal is here on the same business as most uv us, to-wit: to combine more closely in order to wollop Debs for the lickins he giv us last summer. The Ginnal wuz gloomy. Things didn't soot him, he observed, and he wuz afeard that the country wuz on the high road to rooin. He had been absent nearly 4 months, which time he had spent in England. When he went away the constitutional plewtocracy had some rites wich wuz respected. On his return, what did he see? The majority uv power in the hands uv Debs and his followers. He shoold go to Washington and find out whether

1. They spozed the laborer woud submit to hoomiliatin condishuns? 2. What Debs means by dictatin to the yoonanimus vote uv our combine. 3. Whether the government woud stand by us in case uv a nother war. "Why," says he, "but a few days ago Debs hed the audacity to say that we were whipped out uv evgistence, and must not—mark the term—must not assom the aggressive posishun again, or we woud be totally annihilated. Good Lord! where are we driftin? For one, I never will be consiliated on them terms—never!" "Ez soon ez I take my seat in Congress," resumed he, "I shel deliver a speech, wich I writ the day Jim Hill surrendered, so ez to have it ready, in wich I shel take the follerin ground, to-wit:

"That we hev buried the hatchet and hev diskivered that we love the A. R. U. above any yoonion on earth, but we must be met half way or we wont be anserable for the consenkenses. Ez a basis for fucher settlements I shel insist on the follerin condishuns: 'The enormous debt wich wuz imposed on us by strikes must be paid out uv the workmen's salary—ez a peace offerin. The doctrin uv plewtokratic rites must be made the supreme law uv the land. On this point I am inflexible and on others immovable."

An old man named Mackey (who we once fired out uv our combine for expressin sympathy for a laborer) who hed been listenin, broke in and remarked: "My name," sed he, "is Mackey, and I live in Illinois. I want to say a word to the getleman from Injeany, and to the one from Montany." "How," retorted I, "do you know I'm from Montany, not hevvin spoken a word in your hearin?" "By a instink I hev. Whenever I see a easterner layin it down heavy to a individjil whose phisigomeny is uv such a cast that upon beholdin it yoo instinctively feel to see that yoo pocket book is safe, a face that woud be dangerous if it hed courage into it, I allus know the latter to be a northwestern plewtokrat. The Montany part I guesseed at, becuz, my friend, that state furnishes the lowest order uv plewtokrats uv any uv em. Pardon me, if I flatter you, but what I wanted to say wuz, that I sponse suthin has happened in the past year. I wuz a original plewtokrat. Sum years ago I hed thousands uv laborers and wuz doin well, but in a evil moment I jined cahoots with yoo fellers, thinkin I cud better my condishun, but yoo cusses throwed me out for not wantin to abuse my men. Hence, I secessed. Sech men ez Sain Jonn and Dickison told me my men woud not dare to fight back, but they did, and now I find myself back where I first started from, with nary a man workin for me, and me workin for a dollar and fifty cents a day. "But all this is no excoose for talkin bald noncents. Yoo old ass," sed he addressin the Ginnal, "yoo talk uv what yoo will do and what yoo wont. Hevent yoo diskivered that yoo are whipped? Hevent yoo found out that yoo are subjoegated? Hevent yoo got a pardon in your pocket, which dockymen is all that saves yoo neck from stretchin hemp, for hirin them cussis to set fire to cars in the city of Shecago? Why do yoo talk uv what Dakota will and wont do? Good Lord! I recollectt about 7 months since Dakota woud never permit her soil to be polluted by Debs hirelins, but he marched all over it with a handful uv men and subjoegated it and skarcely a word wuz said openly. If yoo intend this talk for the purpose uv skeerin the A. R. U., believe me when I say that the A. R. U. wont be skeert. Ef it's intended for home consumption, consider me the people. I've heard it before and I'll take no more uv it till my stummick settles. It makes me puke. The fact is, yoo are whipped and hev got to do the best yoo kin. Slavery of the workingmen will be abolished and its my opinion the whole country will be better off. I kin sware now that after livin outside uv the labor flag for 8 years that I love it. Yoo bet I do. I hev diskivered that it is a good flag to live under, and when sich cusses ez yoo talk uv what yoo will and wont do under it, I bile. Go home, yoo cusses, go home. Yoo fools, pullin off your coats, go to work, thankin the Lord that the A. R. U. is merciful enough to let yoo go home at all, insted uv hangin yoo up like dogs for tryin to bust up an organizashun that's too good for yoo. Avaunt!"

And the excited Mr. Mackey, who is evidently, subjoegated, strode out uv our presence. His talk cast a chill over our confidences and we didn't reoom with the ease and freedom we commenced with, and in a few minutes we parted. [TO BE CONTINUED.]

A Propaganda Society.

MR. EDITOR:—As the conditions of a people are generally the reflex of their ideas no matter whether right or wrong, and as we find the latter to prevail to an alarming extent, I believe we can to, a large degree, overcome this economic error by forming a propaganda society. The work of the organization will consist in spreading the truth by lectures and the distribution of cards and tracts. Being a workman and acquainted with human nature of the industrial type, I know for a certainty that nothing is more difficult than to persuade workmen to think on economic lines.

Prize-fights, leg-shaws, suicides, divorces, murders and low-lived literature of every sort is what the average intelligence feeds the brain with. This is a deplorable fact, and how to overcome it, to me, is the greatest question of the

hour. Sensational news mongering, of course, is largely to blame for this unutterably wide spread depravity. "Truth shall prevail" but we must lend it a helping hand!

Exhaustive discourses of any kind are perfectly repulsive to the average wage slave. Their whole make-up deprecates everything of a scientific nature. Carnality in all its unmentionable ugliness seems to be of graver moment to the victims of this damnable economic system than dry statistics or social theorizing. These are undisputable facts and must be faced and counteracted. Yonder is a knot of workmen laughing themselves sore and what is the cause of it! Ville Smut! A group of loungers is standing on that street corner and what do you suppose is the burden of their conversation? Jackson and Corbett. This low, animal sentiment and depraved taste prevails to an alarming degree in our large civic cess-pools. How can we wean industrial humanity from this stupid bestiality? By changing their ideas! How shall we proceed in the matter? By forming a universal organization and each member pledging one cent or more per day to ward a fund, to be used in the purchase and distribution of reform tracts.

These tracts to be in the form of interrogations and answers. For instance: What is the cause of widespread poverty? Answer—Class legislation. What makes money scarce? Answer—The single gold standard. Is high tariff a good thing for the workingman? Answer—No, because it protects only the capitalist. Why are workmen slaves? Answer—Because they must either choose to beg steal or starve or work for some one else. Can wage slavery be abolished? Answer—Yes, by substituting for it industrial co-operation. Is the present system of civilization good? No, because it gives the most cunning and dishonest the largest share of our aggregate wealth. Can a man be a Christian and live off the sweat of other people? No, because it is dishonest to take anything from anybody without giving a just equivalent in return.

Trusting you will agitate for this new movement I promise you I will do the best for it my humble efforts will admit. Let these tracts cover the United States like snow flakes, and emancipation will surely come to the exploited masses.

J. R. ARMSTRONG. ANGELES, California.

A Call to Action.

MR. EDITOR.—The officers of our order are in prison. Justice is on the scaffold. Despotism is on the throne. The strike to liberate the Pullman wage-slaves failed, so says the general public. Is it true? Let us see. Are the heroes of the strike dead? No, they still live. While some of them are in prison and others are suffering the cruelties of the blacklist, the bond of union is as strong, aye, stronger than during the great conflict. Their interests are the same, now as then. While our leaders languish in prison, how can we better serve our great order than by carrying forward the reorganization of our forces? In this work of reorganization, we attest our fealty to our imprisoned leaders, to our order, to justice and liberty, and when our leaders are again at liberty, when their prison doors swing open, when the despot's hand is no longer upon their throats, when their fetters are broken and they are free, we will be in a position to give them the grandest reception ever accorded men who have suffered for the welfare of their fellow men.

Comrades of the A. R. U., persecution, prisons, and the lash of the blacklist are giving us practical education in reforms and economics. We are being taught, as no other order was ever taught, the curse of despotism and the value of liberty. Are you dead to the issues fate has forced upon you? Will you permit the avaricious horde to trample upon your prostrate bodies? Do you hear the call ringing through the land to reorganize our order, re-light our lodge fires and fling our glorious banners to the breeze? Yes, we hear the call, we appreciate the work performed by our imprisoned leaders. Forced into idleness by the infamous blacklist, we will utilize our idle hours by bringing our order into a solid phalanx. We will speak kindly to the erring, we will lift up the weak and inspire those who hesitate, with courage. We will remember 1890, when we hope by our silent ballot to liberate the masses from the bondage of a cruel despotism. In this great work we are bound to win if we do our whole duty fearlessly.

Our cause is just, our purposes are in alliance with all that is grand and good. Comrades of the A. R. U. I write you in the spirit of faith and hope, and subscribe myself, in the mystic bonds of our order.

Sincerely and fraternally yours, GEO. A. MAWMAN. CHICAGO, ILL., June 25.

The Income Tax Decision.

MR. EDITOR:—Mr. Borland's numerous critics are right. The income tax law apportioned the tax according to wealth. The supreme court decides that a tax on rent and incomes being a direct tax, must be apportioned according to population. Therefore the court declared the law unconstitutional.

One of Mr. Borland's critics, James D. McDade, while right on this point, is entirely wrong in stating that such a decision is in harmony with the single tax. On the contrary, the single tax would be a tax on income derived from rent of land, quite regardless of population. "Besides," continues Mr. McDade "the supreme court has expressly declared that all titles to land are held subject to the reserved right of the people to take the entire rental value by taxation, whenever they choose to exercise it." Is this really so? I am aware that a single tax "paper" is quite freely circulated, attached to letter heads and envelopes, containing an alleged decision of the United States supreme court, reading as follows:

"The reserved right of the people to the rental value of land must be conceded as a condition to every deed."—United States Supreme Court. I presume this is the decision that Mr. McDade refers to. I fear, however, that it is fraudulent; merely manufactured for propaganda purposes. If not, will Mr. McDade kindly furnish the proper references so as to enable us to verify so important a deliverance of the supreme court.

W. H. STUART.

Read "Merrie England."

THE HARP THAT ONCE THROUGH LABOR'S HALLS.

[Parody.] The harp that once through labor's halls, The soul of music shed, Now hangs as mute on labor's walls As if that soul were dead; So sleeps the pride of labor days, So glory's thrill is o'er, And hears that once beat high with praise, Now feel that joy no more. No more the chiefs of labor's right, The harp of labor swells, For Woodstock's shadow, dark as night, The tale of ruin tells; Thus labor now, bound helot like, The only throb it gives, Is when some slave resolves to strike To show that freedom lives. Mice.

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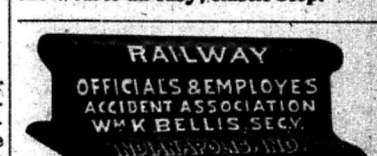
PHOTOGRAPHS OF PRESIDENT E. V. DEBS

A handsome cabinet photograph of the President of the American Railway Union may be obtained by enclosing twenty-five cents (stamps accepted) to

RAILWAY TIMES, TERRE HAUTE, IND.

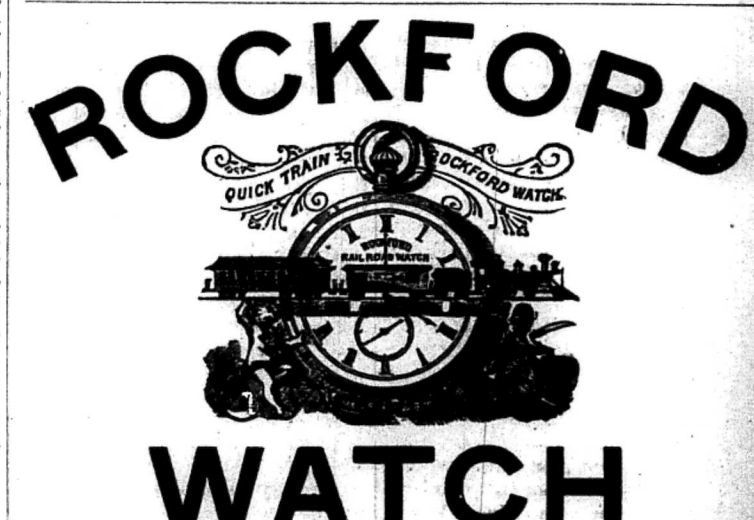


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WHO'S AFRAID.

A WIDE OPEN LETTER ADDRESSED TO ARCHBISHOP IRELAND.

By the New York People, on Labor, Silver, Money Power, Morality, Socialism, etc.

In addressing an open letter to the Right Reverend Archbishop, the People calls attention to an interview with the distinguished prelate, in which he says that he speaks advisedly and after reflection upon the silver question. The People refers to the interview and remarks:

You speak of capital as though it were some coy maiden who should be wooed, some heathen deity that must be propitiated, lest it hide and flee from us, or turn its back in wrath upon the people. Such a conception of capital reveals neither reflection nor reading.

Thoughtless people are in the habit of styling "capital" anything, any tool of production. This is a double error. For a tool of production to come under the definition of "capital" it must combine two qualities:

First. It must be of such a grade and degree of perfection that the individual cannot himself produce it out of natural opportunities; and,

Second. It must be private property. So long as the tool can be easily extracted from nature-by the individual, he who owns it owns not man; any one else, with access to nature, could likewise draw it forth; competition would then be normal; none would be subject to the owner of the tool but such who refused to exert themselves in its production.

The first condition for the tool to become "capital" sets in only when it has so far developed that the individual alone cannot extract it from nature when it requires for its extraction from nature myriads of other tools, which in their turn require as many more to produce them; when powers such as those of steam and electricity are harnessed to the aid of man; and, lastly, when the direct and indirect co-operation of thousands upon thousands of individuals is the prerequisite of the tool. Then it becomes, not necessarily "capital," but liable to be such. If it is public property, owned as collectively as it is used, then it is not "capital," but a social agency that adds to society the riches which the simple and primitive tool adds to man. Then it is a blessing to the people. Then it raises from their shoulders the burden of brutish toil for a bare existence, and affords that leisure and freedom from want and the fear of want without which the mass of humanity cannot develop morally and intellectually. If, on the other hand, such perfected tools become private property, then, and not until then, do they fall within the definition of "capital." Then, instead of being a promoter of the happiness of man, they become the source of public misery. Then he who owns them owns the unfortunate ones who don't. And then, by a logical sequence, the private owners of the machinery of production become, together with the private owners of the land, comparatively an ever-decreasing number, a property holding oligarchy, that holds by the throat an ever-increasing number of the masses.

Now, then, who is it that produces this capital? None but the workers, the hired brain and manual proletariat. The capitalist does no manner of work. He is an idler, a useless being, a parasite. To call things by their names, in the righteous indignation of the Jesus whom you claim to follow they are a robber class.

You say justly, however, that the silver craze will cause capital to flee. Money is sublimated capital when it is held in the large aggregations we find it to day. And right also you are in saying that without it we do nothing, and that it has to be brought from abroad mainly. Yes, it is a fact that that universal empire which the Papacy has been vainly striving to establish is to-day a fact accomplished by Dives. Capital is an international lording, with his central seat of power in Europe. From this fact you conclude and advise that, seeing we need the capital in money form held in Europe, we should submit to the laws under which capital will consent to come from its hiding.

We beg leave to call your attention to the immorality of the position you take. Equity, jurisprudence, born of the civil law, and twin sister of canon law, establishes the moral principle that no man should profit by his own wrong, that no man should make his wrongdoing the justification for his acts. That money, sound money, not a fifty-cent dollar, but the gold dollar, and in huge quantities at that, should have become the oil to grease the wagon of production, is the result of the capitalist system of production; it is the result of the private ownership of the nation's machinery of work; and this is a robber system. It is preposterous to imagine that a nation like ours, teeming with natural wealth, stocked with a large and industrious population, and equipped with the best developed and gigantic tools, should need any "oil" from private sources—domestic or foreign—to set its wheels of production going. That it does stand in this abject position of dependence is the result of the wrongful act whereby the international capitalist has robbed it of

its own product. Such a nation can work out its own salvation by restoring to itself the wealth and the wealth-producing capital, born of its own efforts, together with the land, the free gift of nature. Common sense, to say nothing of morality, dictates accordingly a course just the reverse of that which you counsel. So far from allowing the robber class of capitalism and landlordism to profit by its own wrong and compelling us, in order to produce and live, to submit to its further dictation, we should end the system that requires further dependence, which promotes further robbery.

You counsel the "harmonizing" of America with Europe. We read that with joy. The advice implies a correct inkling of the situation. It is a repudiation of the idiotic A. P. A. position, that proceeds from the crazy notion that America is no part of our planetary system, and that she can "go it alone." But, pray tell us, with Europe is it most sensible that we "harmonize?" With that breaking down Europe of the exploiting, oppressing and robbing class, or with that rising Europe that is marching victorious to the overthrow of the old? With that infamous, blood soaked and crime sodden Europe that upholds the cruel system of capitalism, that makes Christianity an impossibility, and reduces its moral precepts to mere lip-service; or with that nobler Europe that aims at the Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth, and which, with its red flag of the Brotherhood of Man, is ushering in the reign of the Prince of Peace?

You evidently still prefer the old. We do the new. And we counsel you, whose path is in so many ways different from that of Michael Augustine Corrigan, that "Prince of the Church" who caused Dr. Edward McGlynn to be bruised and gouged out of St. Stephen's parish, to tear yourself away from the capitalist rut in which he moves; to adapt your economics to your ethics; post yourself on the social question, and to desist from teachings, which, the day is near, you will be constrained to repudiate, just the same as your compeers now repudiate the gospel of chattel slavery that, not quite forty years ago, they were wont to proclaim as the bulwark of justice and of American institutions.

W. A. BALL SCORES WHITELEW REID.

The Vulture Who, With Claw and Beak, Attacks E. V. Debs.

The Anaconda Independent reproduces from the Fargo Sun the following letter of W. A. Ball, Esq., in which Reid is gibbeted before the country, as follows: FARGO, Ju 28, 1894.—To the Sun: While reading the New York Tribune I saw an editorial of abuse on E. V. Debs—and I hear that the same contemptible matter is now posted in conspicuous places for the public to read—so done by the order of railroad officials.

The importer of "scabs" has awakened from his ill Van Winkle sleep of obscurity into which torpor, toad-like, he has been since the 8th of November, 1892, caused by the ballots of good, honest Union workmen, and now Whitelaw Reid, like Banquo's ghost, again appears and as sponsor for the railways and monopolists, wants to tread the stage of life again—and compares Eugene V. Debs to that assassin, P. E. Prenter-gast, and offers excuses for P. E. P., because he only killed one man in a dirty, cowardly manner, and then tells in glowing words about an engineer whose body lays oozing beneath the engine in the bottom of a western creek, out on the Pacific coast, caused by E. V. Debs, and further says Debs could be hung for it, or words to that effect.

Now if this arch-enemy of the laboring man, Whitelaw Reid, should stop his abuse of Mr. Debs long enough to investigate and determine why two men, one in Ohio and another in Iowa, committed suicide in 1892 and eternally damned themselves because they were foolish enough to bet that he would be elected vice-president of the United States. I do not think he would like to be hanged for causing the death of these two men.

As ancient history tells us that when Demosthenes, that great Athenian orator, was a prisoner, his captors bound him to a rock, and there, at the mercy of the elements, left him to perish—but not a monster of the sea, nor a beast of the forest attacked him; but the vulture, that vile, filthy scavenger of the air, attempted to disembowel him.

So, now, Vulture Reid attacks Eugene V. Debs, when he is a prisoner, and falsely accuses and slanders him. This human vulture spends his time and strength in giving vent to his spleen in heaping abuse upon a man who would in a manly comparison compare about as mud to marble.

TO EUGENE V. DEBS.

Eugene, beloved of all the land, Our hearts go out to thee In sorrow, that one so truly grand, Should persecuted be. Cheer up brave soul, a nation prays: God's hand a guide shall be, To steer our chieftain through the days Of sad adversity. Thou saw'st the slaves of Pullman-town, Bound fast by hunger's girth, And loud didst thou thy slogan sound, A sound that shook the earth. The tyrant trembles at thy voice, And skulks away in fear, The poor men at thy words rejoice, God's inspired one to hear. So now my friend I bid thee weal, May victory thy efforts crown, And may satan grind beneath his heel The Czar of Pullman-town. A Member of the A. R. U. Vicksburg, Mississippi.

Every dollar contributed by workmen to the Hartford Travelers Insurance Company, increases the power of its owners and managers to oppress labor.

Workmen should permit Geo. M. Pullman and his Travelers Insurance Company to go to hell without a cent of their money to pay expenses.

"Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party thou shalt stand." Certainly. Going to vote the populist ticket from top to bottom.

A. R. U. ISMS.

The Woodstock jail—Labor's shrine.

A. R. U. You solid for the order? You bet.

Let Woodstock be the theme of labor day.

Woods and Woodstock, monumental infamies.

The trials of the A. R. U. officials are not jury trials.

The pirates' black flag should wave over Woodstock jail.

Labor has become the target for Grover Cleveland's gunners.

The corporations will see to it that Woods has plenty of beef.

"Labor is a commodity," says the corporations, and Woods calls it for them.

Woods' judicial flail will never beat the manhood out of courageous A. R. U. men.

The whole labor world stands with bowed head around Woodstock jail, but it is thinking.

Woods has neither wit nor wisdom, but is justly distinguished for attacks of judicial diarrhoea.

Iron is said to be the metal of civilization, but the iron doors and bars of Woodstock jail is the metal of despotism.

The A. R. U. men are in prison, because they listened to the wail of Pullman's wage slaves—"We are starving; we are dying."

Miles, of the general military association, wants to be President. His hope is in the cartridge box—wit. bullets for ballots.

Woods may not be much of a judge of law, but he is a shrewd, calculating ass, and knows where the corporation crib is located.

On labor day let crepe, as black as a raven's wing, drape America's starry ensign, for liberty lies dead in the Woodstock tomb.

Deputy marshals, armed with guns, escorting innocent men to prison, ought to make every workingman in America a flaming Vesuvius.

Eighteen passenger conductors who were "loyal" to the Cotton Belt Co. last summer, have just been discharged in a body. The Cotton Belt evidently believes in the principle of solidarity when it comes to "firing" men.

Some engineers and firemen on the Santa Fe, who were "loyal" to the company last summer, have just had a grievance. They took it to the master mechanic, who consoled them about as follows: "Well, boys, the Santa Fe owns every nut, bolt and screw on those engines you are running and any time you are not satisfied to work on those engines you'd better get off and go home." The boys did not think it was necessary to send for a grand chief to come and indorse the decision.

COMPLIMENTARY.

Kind words are always "words fitly spoken," and though not costly are real treasures. The Willmar Tribune, referring to the business visit, says: "Mr. Debs was here on private business to help adjust some difficulties between the railway company and some A. R. U. men. He said he did not feel at liberty to appear publicly, but simply to attend to his special errand. Hundreds of people had come from the country with the expectation of hearing him, and most of them were somewhat disappointed.

"We just had a chance interview with Mr. Debs on the street. We were somewhat anxious to get a good square look at a real live anarchist. We must confess that we were greatly surprised to find ourselves face to face with a clever, intelligent and well bred gentleman. He has an honest, open and manly face. There is no sign of assumed superiority or haughtiness, but rather a striking direct simplicity, backed up by a sincere earnestness. He is evidently conscientious in his convictions. There is not the least appearance of scheming trickery about him. His conversation is slow and measured, but evinces trained and systematic thinking. His mind, we should judge, is not of the scintillating, fiery kind that carries everything for the moment, but of the profound, earnest caliber that leaves lasting impressions. His face betokens a kind and sympathetic nature that would shrink from all forms of suffering. If we judged him right it is his sympathetic nature that spurs him on to battle for the rights of those that he believes to suffer wrong. He has been called Czar Debs. But there is no sign or symptom of selfish ambition about his physiognomy. He is evidently a leader among his fellows, and to our mind he is a noble and disinterested leader.

We have made arrangements to club with the Coming Nation, one of the greatest reform papers in the United States, at the following figures: one year \$1.20; six months 60 cents; three months 30 cents. The Coming Nation is a weekly paper.

THE DECISION.

Press Opinions.

While this is not a political journal we cannot but remark that the Supreme Court judges of the United States seem always to be arrayed against the people whom they are supposed to represent.—Railway News Reporter.

E. V. Debs left the city Wednesday evening for Chicago to serve out the sentence imposed by "Block 4 of Five" Judge Woods. Mr. Debs said he believed that the midnight hour of labor trouble was passing.—Exponent, Terre Haute.

Eugene V. Debs, the martyr President of the American Railway Union, will languish a few months in jail, but the principle for which he fought, and is now compelled to suffer, will long outlive those responsible for his incarceration. The decision of the Supreme Court has hastened the governmental control of the railroads and the telegraphs at least fifty years.—Vanguard.

"Socialism is a theory. Trades unionism is a fact"—Jack Plane. E. V. Debs and his companions in jail, John L. Gehr in the penitentiary, eighteen brickmakers sweating in a calaboose, thousands of men blacklisted, hundreds in prisons in every principal city, thousands idle and hungry and shelterless in the presence of plenty—all these things are facts. Why not try a little theory and not so much fact, my dear "Jack"?—The Public.

For every month that Eugene V. Debs lies in jail for trying to do the greatest good to the greatest number he ought to have one year in the presidential chair.

Eugene Debs will not lose the confidence and respect of the great common people even though he is in jail.

Rev. Frank Crane of Omaha has sustained the supreme court in the case of Debs. There is now nothing left for Debs to do but to go to jail.—Western Laborer, Omaha.

The Murdock Review quoted our announcement of the coming of Debs last week and said: "The Tribune was a little previous in the above announcement, as Debs has been remanded to jail to serve about a year. His visit to Willmar will very likely have to be postponed until a later date."

In this instance it is the Review that was too previous. Debs is not in jail yet, and it will be a source of regret to many decent people when he is put there. Some of these popinjay sheets seem to enjoy to refer to the able leader of the A. R. U. as a common jail-bird, but the time may come when they will regret their words. When they insult him they also insult the large body of railroad men who are struggling for their rights.—Willmar (Minn.) Tribune.

MASS MEETING.

At a mass meeting of the workmen of Omaha held June 9th to take action on the recent refusal of the Supreme Court to grant a writ of habeas corpus in the case of E. V. Debs, the Associated Press dispatch says:

The hall was packed with workmen. Speeches were made by August Bertram, the Rev. Alexander F. Irvine and "Gen." Kelly of industrial army renown. The following resolution introduced by Kelly was adopted: "Resolved, That we, the workmen of Omaha, in mass meeting assembled, denounce the action of the court as arbitrary and unjust and calculated to destroy the confidence of the masses in the integrity of the judiciary of the United States.

The Eight Hour Herald referring to the sentence of Woods, says: "In its decision in the Debs case the Supreme Court lays great stress upon the necessity of enforcing the provisions of the Interstate commerce law, and asserts in the most positive terms the right of the United States government to send troops into any state to remove obstructions placed in the way of interstate commerce or the uninterrupted carrying of the mails. The decision further says that 'if the inhabitants of a single state, or a great body of them, should combine to obstruct interstate commerce or the transportation of the mails, prosecutions for such offenses had in such a community would be doomed in advance to failure.' This, then, is why the general government interferes. We would just like to say that the interstate commerce act is openly and brazenly violated in this city every week in the year, if not every day in the week, and that the failure to punish such violations has been just as pronounced as set forth in the extract given above. We will say further that the right of the federal government to invade a state with troops is seriously questioned by many able lawyers—many of them as able as those occupying positions on the Supreme bench. Debs and his companions may serve their sentences without injury to the cause of labor, but whether the cause of free government is safe in the hands of the Supreme Court is another question, and one that is now productive of much deep thinking.

Eugene Debs in jail for having led a sympathetic strike in behalf of the miserable workmen of Pullman, the millionaire philanthropist—in jail, and talking Socialism through the bars to the workmen of the United States—will be to the millionaire caste an immeasurably more dangerous person than he was when free and confining his activities to directing the railroad hands. He will be viewed by millions as a martyr in labor's cause, and his prison will be a prophet's shrine. His incarceration is a triumph for the Railway Managers Association, and for all the good and wealthy citizens who are engaged in the railroad business. And their satisfaction will be shared by that large, respectable, comfortable, and easy-going class, who consider that the workmen are by nature an inferior breed of human beings. Our own Mr. Huntington, besides being a representative predatory millionaire, is a full-blown specimen citizen of the respectable, self-satisfied order. When workmen strike he deplores their unreasonable conduct, and inquires why, if they have real grievances, they do not go into politics to redress them? And when they attempt to go into politics, his sensibilities are shocked by their utterances. When Mr. Debs was out here not long ago making addresses and urging workmen to vote for laws that would make life more tolerable for themselves, and the earth less fully the property of Stead's "fated swine of civilization," there was not an organ of Mr. Huntington's in all California that did not revile Mr. Debs as a low demagogue and a pestiferous agitator. Nobody can utter a word in behalf of the right of ordinary men, whether wage-workers, business, or professional men, to keep their earnings and own themselves, who does not encounter this sort of dull abuse.

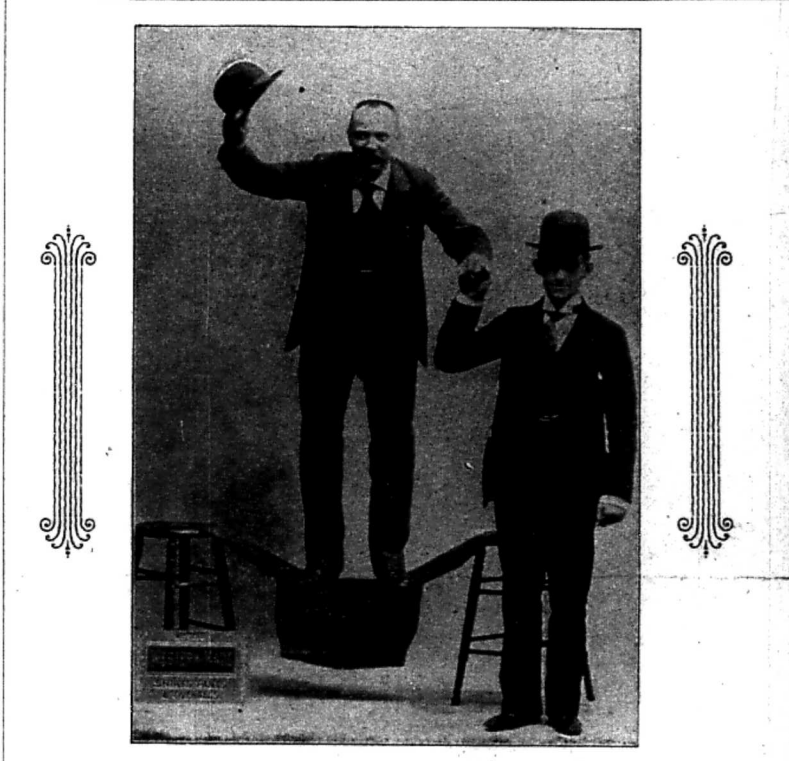
The practical effect of the decision is that labor unions must let the railroads alone—that a train represents the majesty of the national government, and that for an officer of a union to order a strike is a very dangerous thing to do—a criminal thing, if the railroad happens to be in the hands of a receiver and under the protection of a court. It was known before that to interfere forcibly with the running of trains, either by placing obstacles in their way, or forcibly dragging off the men necessary to operate them, was a crime, and punishable by law, like any other attack on property or the person. But it is now doctrine that an order from the officer of a labor union to his followers—which order is of no effect without their consent—is equivalent to such an attack in the eyes of the law.—Arthur McEwen's Letter, San Francisco.

The Answers TO THE Traveling Engineer's Form of Examination FOR Firemen for Promotion AND Engineers for Employment. WILL GIVE THE CORRECT ANSWERS IN THE June (1895) Issue.

This form of examination is standard on the D. S. S. & A. road, where the men pass 100 per cent. on them, and the answers will be furnished by Mr. M. MEEHAN, Traveling Engineer of that road, who was also chairman of the committee formulating the original questions. Subscribe for the paper, \$2.00 per year, \$1.00 for six months, 20 cents per number. ADDRESS, LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERING, 256 Broadway, New York City

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A LOST LEG Is not the calamity it was before the invention of The Patent Adjustable Slip Socket. LARGEST LEG FIRM IN THE UNITED STATES. Received the Medal and Diploma at the World's Fair, and the Gold Medal and Bronze Medal and Diploma at the California International Exposition. The Inner Socket, seen outside the limb in cut, is made over a plaster cast of the stump, giving an exact fit, being held permanently upon the stump by elastic fastened to lacer above, and in act of walking moves up and down in the Outer Socket, bringing all the friction between the two sockets, instead of between the stump and the socket as in the case of all wooden socket limbs. With our SLIP SOCKET the most tender and sensitive stump can be fitted and limb worn with perfect ease and comfort. Endorsed and purchased by the United States Government. Send for our large catalogue with illustrations. All we ask is for you to investigate for yourself, by writing to hundreds of railroad men having amputations like your own and wearing the SLIP SOCKET. THE WINKLEY ARTIFICIAL LIMB CO., BRANCH OFFICES: 74 Adams St., Dexter Building, Chicago. 116 Jones St., San Francisco. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.



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JOHN McBRIDE,

A STARTLING SERMON

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

It would never do to neglect such weighty matters as "redeeming" the state and city, if the church and Sabbath, and manhood and justice and right go to perdition.

Such a ministry as this never blazed out new highways for a progressive and marching humanity. A ministry that will protect rich rogues in the church and support corrupt Republicans in office, can always be depended upon with the scarlet women as "redeemers."

WHAT THEY "ARE HERE FOR."

We have not a bishop nor great preacher to day that is thundering against sinners and corruptions that are overturning our homes, the church and nation itself. Our great preachers to-day are preaching for big salaries, fine mansions and sumptuous living; and they are getting them.

Our bishops and great preachers are bobbing along to eternity on the high waves of riches and fine mansions, and "flowery beds of ease," while millions are hungry and poor and are sinking beneath dark, cruel waves of inhuman wrongs that these "redeeming" bishops will not condemn.

AN APPEAL TO YOUNG PREACHERS.

Young men, you may and you may not, have a good time on "flowery beds of ease," but of one thing be sure: You cannot help this old world to a higher plane from fine mansions and large salaries. You cannot help humanity and be popular with the great and the rich. In saving the nation and the age you will have to lose your life and strike the popular sins, and in striking the popular sins you will strike the popular men and institutions.

Ex Governor John Evans has been desecrating the Sabbath for years, as well as corrupting the politics of Denver, and not a preacher has the courage to condemn him. The ministers are not only effeminate, self-seeking and cowardly, but are the greatest sinners of the age. The next great move will be to reform the reformers, civilize civilization, Christianize Christianity, and redeem the "redeemers."

Young men, see how world-serving the church is becoming. The world-flooding spirit is rising to a high point of influence. When the Denver University so far forgets her high and divine mission as to insert in her catalogue such a notice as this, it is time to thunder a halt: "Training for the concert stage, and for the operatic stage by actual performance in opera." When Methodist schools are as adept in fitting men for the stage as the pulpit, we cannot wonder if we find their chancellors in convention controlled by saloon men, gamblers and scarlet women. Are conventions of corrupt Republican and criminal classes proper places to find the educators of the young men and women of Colorado? Was the Arapahoe Republican convention held in Denver last fall of an elevating character? By any known law for man's good was Chancellor McDowell justified as a citizen, a Christian man, or an educator, in placing himself on a level with immoral and criminal classes in that convention?

RELIGION AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

This is a grand age for men of conviction, courage and heroism. Men who will stand for the right regardless of consequences are the men who will solve our problems. But of one thing I want to assure you: You cannot be true to Christ and your fellowmen and support the Republican party, or any other that upholds the saloons and the crimes of the age. The Republican party has received the support of the Methodist Episcopal church since 1860.

Whatever that party has done in the past, she is now backing the liquor influence and other crimes of the age. She has contracted the currency, demoted silver, built up the great system of trusts, monopolies and corporations. And while it is true that the party freed four millions of black slaves, she has, by class legislation and alliance with the criminal classes, made more white slaves than were freed. From a great party of freedom, she has become a great organization of injustice, corruption, oppression, tyranny and crime-breeding. How sad to hear Bishop Warren saying only a short time ago that "the entire Christian sentiment of the state was thrown in favor of the Republican victory last fall." Here is another illustration of my charge that our bishops and older ministers have failed. God never required us to follow men, though they are bishops, into such a camp as this.

No wonder the Broadway theater can exhibit living pictures on its stage, in calling distance of Trinity church, with impunity. No wonder the leading business men of Denver would petition for gambling to be protected and fostered by law. No wonder prostitution, drunkenness and crime are on the increase. No wonder that Denver is a very Sodom in wickedness, when Bishop Warren, Chancellor McDowell and the great preachers of the city unite with harlots and gamblers to "redeem" the state. Until this unholy alliance of bishops and preachers, saloon men and harlots is broken up, the church will never regain her lost power. Until the sin of these unholy alliances is atoned for, we

need not look for the blessing of God on our labors.

WHITHER ARE WE DRIFTING?

Young men, can you not see where we are drifting? Do you not see that you cannot follow these fine mansion, luxury-loving, "flowery bed of ease," Republican, saloon-supporting bishops and preachers, and be grand men? Can you not see that God is waiting for men of faith and truth to come to the front? Can you not see that it will take men who will give up fine mansions, big salaries and the applause of men, and the glories of the world, and will dare to do right in the face of all opposition, if it brings hunger, nakedness, ostracism, prison or death, that we may be true to God, to duty and to the demands of the age?

"BRAVE BOYS, AT YOUR COUNTRY'S CALL."

Our conference will soon meet and I would suggest that we take a bold, fearless, manly, Christian stand on all the great questions now agitating the church and country. As Christian ministers we claim to have something good for the world. If so, let us get grace and courage enough to give it to the world, or be silent and retire from the arena. Young men, let us to the front. Cowards have led us long enough. The "fearful and unbelieving" are classed with the "abominable and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars," and the bible says "shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone," and I believe it means fearful and unbelieving ministers as well as any other class.

To the front, young heroes; let the old, and fearful, and unbelieving, and gouty, and effeminate, and luxury-loving, and cowardly be sent to the rear with the infirm and the stiff.

Remember the hireling flee, but the good shepherd will lay down his life for the sheep.

Remember you are sentinels and must look out for danger, and raise the voice of warning.

Remember you are watchmen, and are expected to stand fearlessly, courageously and grandly on the towers of truth—the danger mark of human progress.

A switchman who was accommodating enough to take the place of an A. R. U. striker, last summer, at a point on the Rock Island, worked continuously until the 6th of this month, when he was one minute late getting back from dinner. He got a "clearance."

THE RUSSIAN GRIPPE.

"Yes," says Woods, "I'm the Russian Grippe. The corporations gave me a tip. And Debs et al. are on the hip. And d—n me, if I let 'em slip."

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO ORGANIZED LABOR.

Some time since information was received by the Pillsbury-Washburn Flour Mills Company, Limited, of Minneapolis, Minn., that their flour was being boycotted by organized labor throughout the state of Illinois. Such information was received by the managing director, Mr. Charles A. Pillsbury, with great regret, from the fact that in his twenty-five years of active business life he had been a principle with him to so fairly deal with his employees that they might never have cause for strike or other remedial measures of coercion; and, in fact, nothing but the very kindest feelings have ever existed between the employees and this firm.

Mr. Pillsbury immediately dispatched Mr. J. P. McLaughley, their local agent, to investigate the origin of the trouble. Mr. McLaughley called the attention of the Trade and Labor Council, and other prominent representatives of organized labor, to the matter, and they immediately forwarded to Mr. Charles A. Pillsbury, managing director, the following letters:

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., May 10, 1895. DEAR SIR: There has never been any trouble between your firm and the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Council, within the knowledge of the undersigned; nor can anything be found in the old records of the central labor body that would even suggest such a state in the slightest degree. You are at liberty to use this letter in repudiation of any wrong that may have resulted to the products of your firm, through misunderstanding. The laboring people, so far, have expressed only the kindest feelings toward your firm. Yours respectfully, W. H. HARRINGTON, President, 3115 Nineteenth Ave., South.

F. W. SCHMIDT, Secretary Trades and Labor Council, 1810 Fifth Avenue, South. GENERAL OFFICE, AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION, 421 Ashland Block, Meers, Pillsbury-Washburn Co., CHICAGO, ILL., May 12, 1895.

GENTLEMEN: From personal observation for years, and information from those who know, I can always be sure that you have always been considered among the most fair and just to labor in Minneapolis, and organized labor has no intention or cause to place an embargo on your flour. Yours respectfully, SYLVESTER KELTHER, Secretary, JOURNEMEN STONE CUTTERS' ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA, 609 South Eighth Ave., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., May 11, 1895.

Pillsbury-Washburn Co.: SIR: I hereby take great pleasure in recommending your flour to all honest union men, as the best, and at the same time manufactured by honest labor. Respectfully, GEO. W. MEYER, President, MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., May 12, 1895.

To Whom It May Concern: I have been familiar with the affairs of organized labor in Minnesota for the last eight years. A large part of that time has been spent as labor editor of various daily papers, and I had an exceptional opportunity to know the relations of the various firms to their employees. No employer of labor stands higher than the Pillsbury-Washburn firm; they are uniformly kind and considerate to their employees, and have never had a strike, boycott or trouble of any sort. C. A. Pillsbury is a citizen who is held in high esteem by the labor people of this section. He is frequently invited to participate in their public gatherings, and has successfully acted as arbitrator where large interests were involved. From many years' personal experience, I can frankly say that I know of no employer who stands higher in the estimation of organized labor, or whose employees are better satisfied with their treatment and conditions of labor. EVA McDONALD VALESKI, Labor Editor Tribune.

STATE OF MINNESOTA, BUREAU OF LABOR, ST. PAUL, MINN., May 15, 1895.

Mr. Geo. A. Schilling, Sec'y Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, Springfield, Ill.: DEAR SIR:—Permit me to call your attention to a subject that concerns one of the manufacturing establishments of this state. I refer to the flour mill of the Pillsbury-Washburn Company, of Minneapolis. I write you because I have been informed that the working people of Springfield and Peoria, Ill., have obtained the impression that a boycott had been placed upon the products of the firm referred to. This is a mistake. Trusting that you will, as a friend of organized labor, and as a lover of justice, do all you can to remove the false impression concerning the flour manufactured by the Pillsbury-Washburn Company. I am, with sincere regards, Very truly yours, I. G. POWERS, Commissioner of Labor.

Armed with this evidence of the good-will of organized labor in Minneapolis, Mr. McLaughley immediately left for Illinois, to run down the source of misrepresentation. Before leaving Chicago, he secured the following letter from the officers of the State Federation of Illinois:

ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR, CHICAGO, May 18, 1895. GENTLEMEN:—I want to assure you and organized labor throughout the state of Illinois, that there is no boycott against the Pillsbury-Washburn Company. Respectfully, CHAS. J. KIEFLER, President.

WALTER M. GROVES, Sec'y-Treas. The original complaint having been sent in from Messrs. Horace Clark & Sons Company, of Peoria, Ill., Mr. McLaughley next went to Peoria, where he learned that the boycott was being advertised through means of a card purporting to be authorized by union labor, having a fac-simile of a number of union labor labels as a center column, and local firms' advertisements in the different cities throughout the state, where posted. From Peoria the information was received that the cards had been printed in Decatur. Mr. McLaughley at Decatur learned that the card was gotten up by an unauthorized agent—so far as labor organizations are concerned, by the unauthorized use of their labels as a means to solicit advertising.

It will, no doubt, be regretted by the members of labor unions that a firm which has been so liberal with its employees, having for years divided a fair share of its profits with them, should be so unjustly injured. Pillsbury, who is the head of the firm, was the first miller to give practical encouragement to the first co-operative cooper shop in Minneapolis, organized in 1874, since when he has been their patron and friend. During the life of the Knights of Labor movement Mr. Pillsbury often corresponded with the district and local officers, requesting their aid in securing their employees in their efforts to secure employment. In 1884 he was selected as the chairman of the joint committee from the commercial clubs representing the Twin Cities, and the various committees of railway employees of the Great Northern Railway, as a final board of arbitration, which committee, in final settlement, rendered a report so justly fair, that all interests accepted without delay, and in a few hours commerce and industry were relieved.

It is to be sincerely hoped that in the future no such injurious mistakes will be allowed to occur, where the effect would so seriously injure the product of a firm so loyal to the labor and organized at large.

Workingmen desiring to use Pillsbury's Best, which will be the best under all circumstances, should, in ordering from their grocers, be sure and insist on receiving Pillsbury's Best, as interested parties will try and supply them with inferior grades, upon which they make a larger profit.

THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.

'Twas end of Time on earth. All things terrestrial Had been removed up to the realm Celestial; The trump had sounded and, the book unsealed Laid on the table with men's work revealed; A white winged angel, with the record scroll Stood waiting orders to call off the roll. Then spake the Judge, "We will now begin Reviewing those most numbered in sin; Read off the list, he who was the worst, As entered in the record, shall be tried first." "His name is Grover." "Let him then appear." "A careful search shows he is not here." "To Purgatory then go thou in haste; Call on the Guardian, we've no time to waste. Say that the soul of the most guilty man Must come to Court, according to the plan." The angel scarce had left the shining place Ere he returned before the throne of Grace: "The faithful warden of the halfway rest Says such a soul has never been his guest." "Then he must needs have gone direct to hell Where the companionship suits him so well; Go thou and give the devil my command, And say I need this shadow on the stand." Old Satan roared to hear such order given Until the echoes reached the doors of Heaven. "Toll the Almighty there is no such shade; GROVER WAS I in Earth's masquerade." —De Witt.

"Selling Like Wildfire."

The phenomenal success of "Merrie England," the socialist book that is selling like wildfire, is a complete refutation of the claim that people must be "first taught to think" by cultivating the errors they hug. "Merrie England" is not a novel, but a series of articles on economics and sociology. It treats with severity all the popular superstitions, and preaches the hard facts of socialism. And, notwithstanding it is not a novel with a love story interwoven, it has already distanced all books published in the English language during the last ten years.—New York People.

The TIMES has arranged to handle "Merrie England." It is a book of nearly 200 pages and its price is only ten cents.

The A. R. U. Memento.

The A. R. U. memento, copyrighted by Ellis B. Harris, is a design 10x14 inches, containing a poem entitled "Debs," surmounted by a photograph of the president and an eagle bearing flags inscribed "Protection," "Fraternity." The whole is surrounded by eight links, each containing an appropriate verse. Between the links and poem there is a cross and crown on the right side and clasped hands with the torch on the left. At the base of the poem a phonix and the letters "A. R. U." Around the photograph of the president the motto "Whatever ye would that man should do by you, do ye even so by them." President Debs pronounces the design as eloquent of the mission of our order. Every A. R. U. man out of employment would do well to correspond with undersigned and secure an agency for their locality. Sample copies, 30 cents. Address

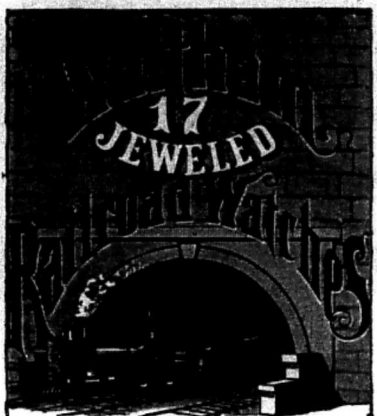
ELLIS B. HARRIS, Publisher, No. 815 Banks avenue, West Superior, Wis.

We have 100 copies of "Merrie England" which we will send to any address for ten cents each.

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

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Advertisement for 'The Railway Men's Railroad' featuring 'The Anney Freight Car Coupler' and 'The McConway & Torley Company'. It includes a detailed illustration of the coupler and text describing its benefits for freight cars.

Advertisement for 'The Railway Men's Railroad' with the slogan 'Every railroad employe is invited to join in the enterprise.' It details the financial structure of the railroad, including stock shares and interest payments, and lists the San Diego Pacific & Eastern R.R. with Geo. W. Vroman as President.

Advertisement for 'A RAILROAD MAN'S REMEDY!!' featuring 'Ely's Cream Balm'. It claims to be a cure for various ailments like douches, vapors, and colds, and is available at druggists or by mail.