

AGONY AND PRAYER.

A MOTHER'S GRIEF-BURDENED APPEAL TO THE MOTHERS OF AMERICA

For Sympathy and Help to Save the Life of Her Boy Condemned to Death.

A wild wail of agony is heard from Topeka, Kansas. A mother sitting in the dark shadows of the gallows, erected for the execution of her son, calls, as only a mother can call, upon mothers for sympathy and help. The appeal is burdened with anguish. A mother's heart is broken and a mother's soul is torn by inexpressible grief. What can be done to help this despairing mother in this supreme hour of her distress? I answer, give publicity to her prayer. Let it be printed in every reform paper in the land. Let it be heard in every home where a mother's heart throbs with devotion for her child—and as her thoughts go from the cradle of innocence, over which she has sung her lullaby songs, to the scaffold, as go the thoughts of the mother who prays for her unfortunate boy, the response will be a PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES to interpose his authority to grant the priceless boon and give the stricken mother relief. I give the full text of the appeal as follows:

Topeka, Kas., July 2.—Mrs. Sadie Hatch, mother of the condemned murderer, Clyde Mattox, who will be hanged at Wichita by the United States authorities next October, has issued a plea to the mothers of the United States to intercede for her son with President Cleveland. Her prayer is as follows:

"To the Mothers of the United States: I am the most miserable of mothers. Heart-broken, penniless and in the depth of my anguish I make this appeal to your hearts as the one solitary hope now left me. My son, Clyde Mattox, is now in the United States prison at Fort Leavenworth, under the sentence of death for the alleged murder of a colored man in Oklahoma in December, 1889. He will be 34 years old in August, 1895, and the day set for his execution is Friday, October 11. He is my only child and I a widow. I have seen him tried three times for his life upon this charge and the world has no surpenser moments of agony than those trials were to me. I have witnessed the jury come in twice with a verdict of guilty and I have heard the judge pronounce the sentence of death upon him three times. Once there was a hung jury; from the verdict in the last trial an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the judgment was affirmed with three dissenting judges. Many witnesses have testified to his innocence as well as to his guilt. While I shall not complain at this extreme juncture, it does appear as if the power of compulsory process should have been more efficacious in compelling the attendance of some of his absent witnesses. I have hired lawyers, procured witnesses and spent my home and substance in his defense. I am now houseless and homeless. Every dollar I could command has been his. He was a mere boy at the time of this alleged offense and is yet; he is now emaciated and frail in body and has undergone such tension from suspense, confinement and peril which would deplete the mind of a much more robust person. To the awful situation of his extended trials for murder, his constant incarceration, there is to be added nine months' solitary confinement in the crank house of the Kansas state penitentiary, immured day and night in a dungeon with only the companionship of imbeciles and idiots, to whom he gave the measure of pity he himself should have had. In a mother's heart I believe him innocent. At this grave time, when I implore mercy, it is not for me to impugn judge, jury or witnesses. I have had enough trouble to blot out heaven. I do not know what to do nor where to turn. It may be my extremity, and it may be a God who answers prayers that leads me to ask you to implore the President for mercy, as only mothers can, and he maybe can be saved."

I do not doubt the response the mothers of America will give to this appeal. I would as soon doubt the abounding love of Christ who listened to the cry of the distressed. No, no; the mothers of America will join with the sorrowing, heart-broken mother in Topeka in petitioning the President of the United States to stay the executioner's hand. He is a father, nor do I doubt that his wife, who has been blessed with children, will add her prayer for mercy.

At any rate, it is the last resort. If the press responds in giving the appeal of the disconsolate mother wide publicity and petitions are circulated in the homes of America, I do not doubt that the President, touched by the appeal for mercy, will interpose his authority, save the life of an erring boy and thrill the heart of an agonized mother with unspeakable joy.

Eugene V. Debs

The blacklist is a device of despotism. As railway companies are creatures of law, Congress and the state legislatures should positively prohibit the lists and make attempts to proscribe and starve strikers a felony punishable by imprisonment for a long period of years. Compared to those who by the blacklist condemn men and innocent women and children to want and misery the assassin is respectable.—*Dubuque Telegraph.*

In the Newport palace of the Vanderbilts it is said that one fireplace cost \$75,000, and the employes on the N. Y. C. & H. R. R. R. will pay for it.

TOASTS FOR A MILLIONAIRE BANQUET.

- "Beggars and Their Lordings."—Response by CORNELIUS VANDERBILT. "Tramps and Their Camps."—CHAUNCEY M. DEFEW.
- "The Blacklist and Scaicides."—C. P. HUNTINGTON.
- "The Divinity that Shapes Our Ends."—BISHOP POTTER.
- "The Gospel of the Gun."—GEN. MILLS.
- "Bullets the Palladium of Liberty."—RICHARD OLNEY, Secretary of State.
- "The Blessings of Boodle."—GEORGE GOULD.
- "The Rich Man, the Camel and the Eye of a Needle."—ANDREW CARNEGIE.
- "The Blow-Holes in the Constitution."—CHIEF JUSTICE FULLER.
- "Famine and Its Fangs."—GEO. M. PULLMAN.
- "Keep Your Tanks Full and Make the Lord Your Trust."—JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER.
- "Economics and New England Long-necked Clams."—EDWARD ATKINSON.
- "The Key to the Silylock of the Treasury."—JOHN G. CARLISLE.
- "The Parity of the Turkey and the Turkey Buzzard."—GROVER CLEVELAND.
- "The Steer of the Present and the Hog of the Future."—PHIL D. ARMOUR.
- "Skin a Skunk and Build a Fortune."—JOHN JACOB ASTOR.
- "Cleveland, de Moses of America."—BARON ROTHSCHILDS.

BLACKLISTING.

From time to time railroad managers deny that they are engaged in blacklisting men who have been in their employ. The crime of blacklisting is so infamous in all of its features that when even the most black-hearted scoundrels who perpetrate it are charged with the devilish deed, they seek to avoid detection by lying. To confess their guilt would at once damn them in the estimation of all men except their confederate villains; and yet, says the Des Moines Standard, "that the railway companies have instituted and maintain a blacklist can no longer be disputed. That they have established a system of personal records of all employes is known. It might be difficult to prove a general manager guilty of blacklisting, yet blacklisting is undoubtedly done, and those men who are prominent in labor organizations and have been connected with recent labor troubles find it impossible to retain a situation for more than a few days. The explanation is found in the blanks furnished an applicant to fill out in order to secure employment. These blanks when filled out furnish a complete record of a man so that it is impossible to escape the vindictiveness of a general manager who may want to make it impossible for a man, once a striker, ever to get employment." This is an outline of the devilish program. The blacklisted man is tracked with more than bloodhound ferocity. No sooner does he find employment than the blacklisting hounds are upon him and he is driven again and again into idleness and starvation. There ought to be some remedy found for this cruel crime. The life of a blacklisted man is not worth the living. It is a ceaseless horror. It is difficult to conceive of such human monsters as a blacklisting railroad manager. He ought to be declared an outlaw, worse than a mad dog or a man-eating wild beast, and to this it will come at last. Men will not always suffer without turning upon the savages who devise methods of torture. Many victims have sought release from their sufferings in suicide, in self-murder. This only makes the blacklisting devils laugh and chuckle. The remedy isn't in self-killing; a remedy far more efficacious is easily found and easily applied, and it will be found and applied.

E. V. DEBS IN 1896.

To sing of freedom in a prison cell is likely to be more productive of melancholy than joy, consequently we cannot be surprised that the article published in this number by that victim of legal injustice, Eugene V. Debs, should contain a degree of pathos which is anything but exhilarating. The law of injunction framed in the interests of corporate power is designed to take from the people the right of peacefully combining for the improvement of their condition. It is this right denied them and which is enjoyed in England under a monarchical government far more than it is here which causes many to think that only by violence and revolution can justice to the masses be obtained. A fitting rebuke to corporate power would be to nominate Debs for the presidency in '96. What say you workers, shall the bankers select your candidate or will you bestow that honor upon one of your own members who has been found true to your interests?—*Twentieth Century.*

WOODSTOCK THE MECCA OF LIBERTY.

On July 4th, the prisoners in Woodstock jail were thronged with visitors from Chicago and other points. Among those who came to bear testimony of their profound interest in the cause of liberty were Judge Jesse Cox, Professor Miller, Joseph Schweggen and John Maynes of Chicago, Geo. Schilling (of the Labor Commission of Illinois) and many other men of thought, who deplore the Russiizing policy of the government, and who are doing noble work to restrain the autocratic rule of the Supreme Court, and those pilgrims to Woodstock jail, with much impressive ceremony, made Woodstock the "New Mecca of American Liberty."

"Merrie England" is the book every workingman's wife should read.

A. F. OF L. SPEAKS.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE WORKINGMEN OF INDIANAPOLIS

In Mass Meeting, Assembled Under the Auspices of the American Federation of Labor.

On Sunday, June 30th, a great mass meeting of the workingmen of Indianapolis was held in Mozart Hall, for the purpose of giving expression of their condemnation of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in refusing a writ of habeas corpus to Eugene V. Debs and his associates, sentenced to prison by Wm. A. Woods, a district judge in the employment of the United States.

Indianapolis is the home of Wm. A. Woods of the Dudley blocks of five infamy, and it is the headquarters of the great organization known as the American Federation of Labor.

It seemed eminently appropriate that a mass meeting under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor should be held in Indianapolis, because for the present it is the residence city of JOHN M'BRIDE, the president of the organization—a gentleman of rare accomplishments, and known to be deeply concerned in all matters appertaining to the welfare of the wage men of the United States. The day was not auspicious. A drizzling rain from an early hour in the morning continued until after the hour appointed for the meeting, notwithstanding which, the meeting having been called to discuss the judicial despotism by which

EUGENE V. DEBS and his associate officials had been sent to prison by Wm. A. Woods, the hall was well filled with earnest, liberty loving men, at an early hour. The meeting was called to order by

MR. EDGAR A. PERKINS, of Indianapolis, President of the Central Labor Union, whose members were active in the work of calling the meeting. Mr. Perkins is a member of the Typographical Union of Indianapolis and an active and efficient worker in the cause of organized labor. Modest and retiring, but firm and energetic, he stands deservedly high in the councils of organized labor.

THE SOCIALISTIC SANGERBUND entertained the audience for a time with a number of songs superbly rendered, a generous contribution of vocal music which the Sangerbund makes whenever labor demands its services. The music over, the president of the meeting introduced

D. F. KENNEDY, ESQ., one of the most eloquent labor speakers in the state, or in the country. Mr. Kennedy is a born orator, strong in his logic, lucid in the presentation of facts, cogent in his arguments, and having a fervid fancy, he holds his audience from start to finish, and rising by graceful periods, he wins tumultuous applause by genuine bursts of eloquence.

As reported, Mr. Kennedy called attention to the truth of history that nations are like individuals in that they have their birth, their growth and their decay and, sometimes, he said, nations die suddenly, like a man with his boots on, and sometimes they die by slow decay. It is the latter fate, he said, that he feared for his country. He feared that the cause of dissolution might continue at work and that the opiate of riches might so hide the pain as to give the destroying principles unheeded play. He said he thought he detected signs that such decay is at work and that some remedy must be found. The meeting, he continued, had much deeper significance than any purpose to express sympathy with Eugene V. Debs. The great purpose was to protest against an encroachment upon the rights of the people, as conceived by the founders of the government. Debs, he said,

NEEDS NO DEFENSE. The sentiment was applauded. Debs was eulogized as a pioneer and a martyr in the cause of labor and as having won peerless renown when history shall be written right.

The speaker then argued that the power that sent Debs and his fellow-agitators to jail was not derived from the people, whence, under our constitution, all power must come. He recalled the lesson of history that power cannot safely be entrusted to one man or to one branch of government. The only safe abiding place and conservator of liberty, he said, is in the majority.

TRUE LIBERTY, he said, is that which is defined and circumscribed by law; not the unstable will of men or judges. The will of the people, he declared, is the only authority that has a right to claim the fealty of the citizen. If any other authority is set up it is time for the people to change the government or to work to secure its amendment. Citizens, he said, have been subjected to a loss of their liberty without a trial by a jury of their peers. "It has come to a point where a judge, without a trial, has sent freemen to jail," he continued. "We are

LIVING IN A GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION. Did our forefathers ever anticipate a government by injunction?" He criticized the courts in a number of instances and referred to Judge Baker, in the case of strikers from Muncie, as having lectured them for doing acts, as strikers, which would lead to destruction of property, when the facts were that the defendants were not organized, but were nonunion men. He charged that all doubts of the rights of employes as against employers are decided in favor of the corporations. He scored the courts where, it is alleged, they have tried to restrict the expression of sentiment. He related the experience of an agitator in the Milwaukee strikes seven years ago, when Governor Rusak called out the troops. The leader was arrested and was sentenced to serve a year in prison. He left the State before he was imprisoned and remained away. Then there came a time when the two old parties, the speaker said, were involved in a contest in a municipal election with a labor candidate on the other side. The former agitator was induced to return and

take part against his old friends and the election was carried by about the number of votes that the agitator used to control. The courts, he claimed, then called the agitator before the bar and discharged him as a reward for his conspicuous assistance. It was such things as these that caused the speaker to believe that a

NEW AND DANGEROUS ELEMENT in our government has arisen. The remedy, he said, is to meet often and remonstrate against the abuse of power until by statute the limits of this power are restrained to a safe point. It is a further duty, he said, to see that no corporation lawyers are placed in positions of judicial trust or as attorney general. Failure of our government, he said, would not mean so much the strength of enemies as it would that

THE PEOPLE ARE ASLEEP, and are not aroused to the proper appreciation of dangers and the power vested in them by the constitution. Mr. Kennedy, in closing his speech with a picture of government by injunction and another by the will of the majority, declared himself an optimist, and said the dangers were such as the people can sweep away themselves.

It is needless to say that the audience bore testimony of their interest in Mr. Kennedy's address by repeated cheers. At the conclusion of Mr. Kennedy's address the president introduced felicitously

PRESIDENT JOHN M'BRIDE, of the American Federation of Labor, to the audience, which received him with the most generous demonstrations of confidence. President McBride possesses all the requirements of a captivatingspeaker. His gesticulations, without being studied, are as natural and as graceful as the swaying of the arms of an oak in a storm. They respond to the thought of the speaker and give dignity and power to his words.

As reported in the press, Mr. McBride first pointed out some of the changes that time has wrought in the nation since the day, now nearly 119 years ago, when the Declaration of Independence was made. There were then 3,000,000 people, and there are now nearly 70,000,000. Since then 17,000,000 immigrants have come to America. Then there were not 2 per cent. living in cities, out in 1890 there were 22 per cent. in cities. Then the wealth was evenly distributed, but now 182 families own two-thirds of the \$60,000,000,000 of property in the country. All these changes, he said, had caused new relations between men, and have complicated society and its varied interests so that the people must be watchful of their rights as laid down by their forefathers.

Referring to the courts he said that lest it would be thought that his criticisms were biased, he would read from the utterance of Thomas Jefferson on the same subject. He then read from a letter by Jefferson in which the Virginia statesman remarked that legislatures and presidents may err, but new elections can remove them and bring about the will of the people. But the courts he described as a power like gravity, without interruption, which shapes into a composite whole the country's legislation, and may continue far past the point of safety to popular rights. He was convinced (he quoted Jefferson as saying) that, while at the founding of the constitution the courts were regarded as the weakest of the three co-ordinate powers, they have become the strongest, and in this "dead" "weight" danger. Jefferson, continued, "I was fearful of the power that is vested in men for life without

ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THEIR ACTS. He took up the income tax decision to show that the courts have become themselves the creatures of environment, and that their opinions are sometimes influenced by surroundings. He quoted from a speech by Tillman, of South Carolina, when he was speaking of the change in the attitude of Justice Shiras in deciding the income tax case. The Justice, he said, was not bought, but he could not resist the pressure of the social influence of such men as the Rothchilds or the Havermeyers, under whose mahogany he had sat. The courts, he charged, together with Cleveland and Olney, must do the bidding of this class of people.

Mr. McBride explained that writs of injunction were originally intended to cover cases where there were no adequate and complete remedy in the law. But injunctions, he said, had been used for the last two years to

INTIMIDATE AND COERCE WORKINGMEN from exercising their right in the interest of the greed of corporations. He said that the willingness of the railroad attorney to dismiss the case against Debs when a juror was taken sick was evidence of inability to convict him before a jury of his peers. It showed, he said, that the railroad and the government had no case showing a violation of any law, constitutional or statutory. He explained, then, that the

RULE BY INJUNCTION comes from the power delegated to judges to make rules governing their own courts. These have the force of law, but are not derived from the people, the source of all law. If the order enjoining Debs had been merely to keep off the rails of the railroads it would have been good for the law, but the injunction went further, enjoined him from sending letters or telegrams, advising or directing his fellow workmen of the order. "Did you ever hear of such a thing?" he asked. He denounced it as a

GAG ON FREE SPEECH, and pointed out how such an order might come to be in as president of the American Federation of Labor, and the organization be deprived of his direction in an affair affecting its members. The organization, he said, would be robbed of its usefulness.

LABOR TRUSTS BROKEN. Mr. McBride reviewed the decision of the Supreme Court, saying that its effect was a refusal to enter upon a consideration of the action of a lower court in enforcing its own decrees, and a denial of its right to interfere in case of contempt of court. The government, he said, could not reach the trusts controlled by the whiskey and sugar interests of the country, but had found and dealt with that other trust, the trust of labor, in the person of Debs. He reviewed a case of injunction against printers, against coal miners and against locomotive engineers. He said that Judge Jenkins's decision in the Ann Arbor case carries with it an inhibition of a strike, and thus would prevent co-operation among workingmen, who ever accomplish anything without co-operation. Nothing, he said, is gained simply by opposing the courts, but the effort should be to bring such pressure to bear upon the next congress as to have a law enacted restraining their power in such matters. Mr. McBride was loudly applauded.

At the conclusion of Mr. McBride's address, President Perkins read the following preamble and resolutions to the meeting, which, upon motion, were adopted without a dissenting voice, and with enthusiastic applause.

The workingmen of Indianapolis, in mass meet-

IN PRISON

FOURTH OF JULY REFLECTIONS UPON THE ADVANCE OF DESPOTISM.

In the United States Since July 4th, 1776, When a New Nation Was Born.

[Eugene V. Debs in Twentieth Century.]
Sitting in Woodstock jail, behind prison bars, and permitting my fancy to have free rein, what more natural than to contemplate the resounding acclamations of a great nation celebrating the anniversary of the birthday of Liberty? What more natural than to commune with the dead, who, when living, in the spirit of heroism expanded to the full stature of patriots and dared all things, battles, wounds, imprisonment, confiscation and death, to secure liberty for themselves and their posterity.

But in the midst of such ardent admiration of the men who wrested the sceptre from England's proud monarch and secured for the American people the priceless boon of liberty, I am compelled to ponder present conditions and ask myself

"WHAT REMAINS OF THE LIBERTY thus secured to the American people? Why celebrate the 'birthday' of American liberty when Liberty itself lies cold and stiff and dead, stabbed to death by nine gowned and ermined men, who, if they have any mission connected with the affairs of the American people, it is to forever stand guard over their constitutional and unalienable rights." It has been regarded as a patriotic duty for Americans, on the Fourth of July, to apostrophize Liberty and to select from the vocabularies of all languages eulogistic words to describe its value and its glory, and when words failed to express those essential attributes of liberty which made life itself an inferior blessing, bonfires have blazed, cannons have belched their thunder, banners have waved, drums have throbbed, and bugle blasts have called the people to assemble and rejoice together over God's inscrutable decree in bestowing upon Americans blessings denied to all other peoples, kindreds and tongues since time began. Nor do I doubt that on this anniversary such exhibitions will be repeated, but it will be a hollow mockery.

THE STAGE will be gorgeous with scenery for the play of liberty, but liberty will be absent—only its ghost will appear, only its "canonized bones" will be present, only its skeleton jaws will move to tell American slaves that the supreme "funeral directors" have buried it in a potter's field without so much as a slab to mark its resting place. And yet the farce will proceed and orators will be found to bombard the air to convince the people that in the nation's grand march across the continent and in its physical achievements, the *ultima thule* of its destiny has been reached. If liberty is referred to at all, it will be to emphasize the plutocratic doctrine that a government of the people, by the people and for the people and constitutional guarantees of liberty are as so many vagaries and that a strong

CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT is what the Fathers designed should be established upon the ruins of the republic, and that the constitution itself, ceasing to be a guarantee of the liberties of the people, should be eventually so construed that one man, robed, crowned and sceptered as a judge, combining the characteristics of caiff and satrap, could, as whim might influence him, strike down every constitutional right of the citizen and send him to prison.

I am familiar with the often quoted maxim:

"No man e'er felt the halter drawn With good opinion of the law."

It has been said of every martyr from the first time that a thumb-screw was ever applied by the inquisition. It was said of every victim broken upon the wheels, disjointed upon the rack or burned at the stake. It has been a handy excuse for tyrants in all ages and is as current now as when the beasts of bigotry first lapped the innocent blood of their victims. I know with what gusto corporations and their

REMINED SYCOPHANTS and all their brood of degenerate creatures regard the imprisonment of the officers of the American Railway Union, and yet it is not law, nor the administration of law that called forth our protest, but the abrogation of all law and the substitution of iron-clad despotism. Innocent men, unstained by crime, we appealed to the courts and to the constitution for protection, for guaranteed rights. We appealed as American citizens to the Supreme Court of the nation.

As well might we have appealed to so many man eating tigers in an African jungle. Our destiny was imprisonment, and it tells the story of the final triumph of Russian methods of government in the United States of America. "Or my associates and myself I may say:

"Of all the work my hand hath wrought Beneath the sky, Save a place in kindly human thought, No gain have I." And yet, when, on the morning of the

Fourth of July, the effulgent glories of the sun gild my cell and when his softer evening rays invite to meditation, my thoughts must turn upon conditions which give

THE LIFE DIRECT to the old-time American boast of liberty and independence. The law of injunction, a despotic decree, is the death knell of liberty as once enjoyed by the American people. That myself and associates in prison happen to be the victims of the unspeakable outrage in no regard emphasizes my abhorrence and detestation of the traitorous grasp of power by which the atrocious crime against the liberties of the people was perpetrated. I would have demanded for the most brutal, base-born and red-handed criminal a trial by an

IMPARTIAL JURY, under due forms of law, and would have punished him only by the fiat of a verdict legally obtained, but in the case of myself and associates, we behold American citizens, charged with no crime and without indictment or trial branded as criminals and sent, like galley slaves, to prison by one man who, arrogating to himself the authority of law-maker, judge and jury, plays the role of czar and sends whom he will to prison, as the Russian despot sends men to Siberia, to prison or to death as suits his caprice. The question may be prudently asked: What remains worth saving of the liberties of the Americans? I answer

THE BALLOT. It is a powerful weapon if the American people can be persuaded to unify and wield it in defense of their rights and their liberties. True it is that the people have slept while their enemies, "working like gravity," have stolen the most valued jewel from their crown of sovereignty. Can it be recovered or is it entirely lost? It required eight years of bloody, cruel and devastating war to secure it, and thousands of brave souls perished in the patriotic conflict. If the anniversary of the Fourth of July is devoted to arousing the American people to a realization of their great misfortune, if they will resolve to regain their liberties by renewing the pledge of the Fathers to perish or conquer, then Woods and

WOODSTOCK JAIL may stand in the future monumental infamies, from which the people may go forth as did the revolutionary heroes from the infamous edicts of King George to regain their lost liberties—and all along the lines of the hosts of the common people, the victims of plutocracy and their corrupt agencies, should re-sound again the battle cry that was heard from Lexington to Yorktown: "Give me liberty or give me death!"

E. Q. NYE TO THE OLD SOLDIERS. The Milwaukee News reports Mr. Nye's address to the veterans of the late war, in which, among other things he told them that it was time to quit prking about what they did and how they saved the country thirty years ago, and look around them and see what was left to them now of what they saved then. He declared that while peace might have its victories as well as war, it also had its dangers which were more to be feared than those of war; that the liberties of the American people, which his hearers fought to preserve and which were saved by war, were being stolen away from them in prolonged peace, were being trampled upon and ground into the earth by injunctinal orders of federal courts, as well as being overridden, ignored, suppressed and slaughtered by militia at the command of men chosen to be the servants of the people, to maintain the nation's laws in the purity of their spirit and to protect and defend the rights and liberties for which his hearers fought. He pronounced it time to let the past take care of itself and give attention to the evils of the present and the threatened overthrow of American liberty in these times of peace. He was emphatic in his denunciation of the suppression of the rights of the people, vouchsafed to them by the constitution and cemented to the hearts of all true Americans by the blood of battle. He said when courts trampled the rights of the people under foot, forbid the exercise of those rights and put men in prison for exercising them, as has been done of late years, it was times patriotic men should give their most serious attention to the dangers of peace. During his talk along this line he was frequently interrupted with applause and cheers and declarations of "that's the truth."

In the foregoing, Mr. Nye sounded key notes, which are ringing through the land, calling upon all men who love liberty, to act in devising means for rescuing the liberties of the people from the grasp of men who are determined to overthrow them.

We have sold a thousand extra copies of the RAILWAY TIMES containing the address of Rev. Passmore before the Methodist Conference in Denver recently. The address has now been published in pamphlet form and is for sale at this office at 10 cents each.

The Gray matter in the brains of the supreme court is just sufficient for the court to know on which side to butter its bread.

FROM WOODSTOCK.

PRESIDENT DEBS AND SECRETARY KELHER WRITE FOR THE MINNEAPOLIS TIMES.

The President Discourses on the Subject of "Success and Failure," and the Secretary Tells of Their Daily Routine in Jail.

There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune; Omitted, all the voyage of their life is bound in shallows and in miseries.

Suppose I start out by naming some of the essentials to success? Is the response, name them? I comply and jot down the following: Education, industry, frugality, integrity, veracity, fidelity, vigilance, sobriety and charity; these things I hold are essential to success in life.

The opposite of education is ignorance; of industry, slothfulness; of frugality, wastefulness; of integrity, dishonesty; of veracity, falsehood; of fidelity, treachery; of vigilance, carelessness; of sobriety, inebriety; and of charity, miserliness, heartlessness and unforgiveness.

The question arises, what is success in life? The answer is likely to be, in a majority of cases, securing wealth, getting rich, and I am convinced that the thing we call "public opinion" renders the same verdict.

I am not required to occupy space to furnish an extended list of those sometimes called "self-made men," nor do I deem it necessary to make reference to ancient history for examples.

Abraham Lincoln answers my purpose. No land, no century, no nation, tribe or kindred, since the tribes sought to build a town to heaven in the plains of Shinar, has produced a man who, whether patrician or plebeian born, secured grander success than fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln.

One year ago to-day the great Pullman strike was extended to the railroads and had reached its greatest proportions by July 4.

But why, it may be asked, go in search of exceptions for examples of success in life? The query is pertinent. It demands attention.

The men who rounded Peter's dome and grined the aisles of Christian Rome, they builded better than they knew.

Who has not read the legend of Mordecai and Haman? The former poor, obscure and unhonored sitting at the king's gate; the latter proud, powerful, jealous and revengeful.

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foundations of the present millionaire fortunes in the United States were graduates of such institutions of learning. John Jacob Astor, Commodore Vanderbilt and Jay Gould may be cited as cases in point and the list could be extended indefinitely.

Dismissing popular verdicts and public opinion, more frequently wrong than right, in estimating success in life, it will be profitable to note instances of splendid success in which money at no time played a conspicuous part.

I am not required to occupy space to furnish an extended list of those sometimes called "self-made men," nor do I deem it necessary to make reference to ancient history for examples.

Abraham Lincoln answers my purpose. No land, no century, no nation, tribe or kindred, since the tribes sought to build a town to heaven in the plains of Shinar, has produced a man who, whether patrician or plebeian born, secured grander success than fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln.

One year ago to-day the great Pullman strike was extended to the railroads and had reached its greatest proportions by July 4.

But why, it may be asked, go in search of exceptions for examples of success in life? The query is pertinent. It demands attention.

The men who rounded Peter's dome and grined the aisles of Christian Rome, they builded better than they knew.

Who has not read the legend of Mordecai and Haman? The former poor, obscure and unhonored sitting at the king's gate; the latter proud, powerful, jealous and revengeful.

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father and the ceaseless devotion of a mother who never grows weary. It is in such homes that labor organizations have their invincible devotees and which, in the fullness of time, are to demonstrate that organized labor is a success.

Again, in securing success in life, an unknown tramp, plodding his way along a railroad track, discovered a broken rail. He immediately went back to flag an express train and prevented a disaster.

I sing the hymn of the conqueror—who fell in the battle of life. The hymn of the wounded, the beaten, who died overwhelmed in the strife.

Of nations was lifted in chorus, whose brows was the chaplet of fame; But the hymn of the low and the humble, the weary, the broken in heart.

Who have held to their faith, unswerving in the prize that the world holds on high. Who have dared for a high cause to suffer, resist, fight, if need be to die.

Speak, history! who are life's honors? Unroll thy long annals, I say! Are they those whom the world calls the victors, who won the success of the day?

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The American Railway Union will not suffer on account of our incarceration. We have a crew of competent organizers in the field, and our being in jail has aroused them as well as our members everywhere to greater effort.

As for ourselves, we are as comfortably situated as could be expected. The jail is practically new; its sanitary condition good; it is kept scrupulously clean, and the sheriff gives us all the liberties the rules will permit.

We have a large number of books. A few of them are: Shakespeare's, Victor Hugo's, Henry George's, Carlyle's and Garland's works; "Social Evolution," by Kidd; "Political Economy," by Ely; "Coming Climax," Hubbard; "Fabian Essays," Socialism; "Civilization Civilized," Maybell; "Better Days," Fritch; "Wealth Against Commonwealth," Lloyd; "The Human Drift," Gillette.

We have had a great many visitors to-day—five from Chicago, three from Indianapolis, several from the country and Woodstock. Sunday is "our busy day" for visitors; although 51 miles from Chicago, a good many come out from there each week.

More Power to this Church. To Eugene V. Debs: COMRADE:—The Church of the New Era deprecates your unjust imprisonment.

Fraternally, W. C. B. RANDOLPH, Secretary Church of the New Era. By order the Congregation. LOS ANGELES, Cal., June 23, 1895.

The People's Advocate says that "Olney, the well paid attorney of the railways, goes to the head of Cleveland's cabinet. Debs, the unpaid friend of the laboring men who operate the railways, goes to the state's jail!

There are several ways to meet the issue; first let us try the ballot way. If that fails, we can try Miles' way. Where there is a will there is a way.

"MERRIE ENGLAND." Does "Merrie England" sell? You bet it does! Orders come pouring in from all sides.

If there be a socialist who hasn't read it, he ought to send ten cents for it, and when done with it make up his mind to sell as many to his fellow workers as he can.

"Merrie England" is a book of nearly 200 pages. We will supply it to readers of THE TIMES at ten cents a copy.—Ed.)

Andy Carnegie has discovered that men who work never get rich," but they do get robbed, and kicked, and scalped and starved, and that too by the Carnegies and Pullmans.

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PAPERS.

Democracy Outwitted.

MARIE LOUISE.

The features conspicuous in the burghes of the twelfth century were love of peace, indifference to national affairs, lack of the pure sense of honor, patient forbearance of tyranny, steadfastness of purpose, unwavering plodding through weal and woe, and never turning to right nor to left, never losing sight of the one and sole object of his labor and anxious care, viz., the preservation of his wares, the increase of his profits and the accumulation of wealth.

The modern trader, like his prototype of all past ages, is pre-eminently conservative and peace loving. He loathes insurrection at home and dreads foreign war, not on account of the loss of lives it entails, but on account of the danger to property and the prostration to trade it would cause to this country were this to be the vanquished party.

The trader of the present and that of the past have always been found eager advocates of political liberty and equality. The great European revolution, fought mainly on French soil in 1789-95, was a purely middle-class revolution; the genius of the trader engineered its outbreak and its termination.

Suppose we set to work with a firm resolution to remove the pauper class by all the means at our disposal. We might then afford to let the aristocracy and the military carouse together at their heart's content, for their carnival house is erected on the caves of the paupers. Remove the base and the upper structure collapses.

Fellow workmen, awaken to your condition. Democracy has been outwitted and you were instrumental to it. Arise! give your hands to your paupered brothers, free their pinioned limbs, revive their benumbed spirits, raise their manly dignity, take them to your breasts, help them to assert their manhood. Do this and you will see how long the carouse overhead shall last.

NEW YORK, June, 1895.

Talks to Toilers.

BY RABBI ALEX. LYONS.

My introductory thought this time must be an explanation. In the talk preceding this one I said incidentally that the pulpit is erroneously regarded as the holiest of positions. This remark has been considered objectionable; I am accused of spite or irreverence; and an explanation is requested. So I shall explain not because I am uncertain in my opinion or fear any unpleasant consequence of being misunderstood, but because the explanation contains a sentiment of significance for those to whom I speak.

We have a small enriched class which has scaled to plutocracy; we have a large class of pauperized individuals scaling constantly downward into degradation, and we have the balance forming a class of small traders and mechanics whose livelihood is hopelessly precarious. That so monstrous an abnormality has obtained under the pure democratic rule of manhood suffrage is a fact that shatters all the political speculations of the past. Before us that fact stands grim and portentous!

The masses are not poorer than they were one hundred years ago, but they have lost their aggressive spirit, which, if it did not benefit them to any great extent, at least operated as a check on the ambition of the wealth seeking portion of the community. The feature most striking in the present offspring of democracy is the formation of a plutocracy, or aristocracy of wealth, whose power extends over and controls the bodies of legislation and jurisdiction. The ancient aristocracy derived its power from the king and bowed in obedience to the dispensator of power; the modern aristocracy derives its power from the people and causes the dispensator to bow in obedience to it, thus reversing the order of precedence. The authority of feudal aristocracy was checked by the will of the king; the authority of modern aristocracy towers unchecked by any power above itself; all institutions are subservient to its will and caprice. Of justice we have but the parody, of law we have but the name.

So long as the simple, industrious, thrifty, peace loving trader swayed national affairs the ideal of patriotism and the military spirit were discounted, for the trader's love of gain overshadows that of country. In his eyes standing armies are a costly and unprofitable pageant. England, Switzerland and all essentially commercial countries frown on standing armies and set little value on the spirit of patriotism. The Jews have horror of bearing arms and abhor war. The presence of military spirit in a people is a sure indication that it is under the heel of an aristocracy whose wealth and rank needs a safer protection than that afforded by mere civic organizations, and that a pauper class grovels somewhere, casting an evil eye on the blue blooded class. Until lately trading America has maintained an attitude similar to that of other democratic trading nations; but a strong effort is being made to inculcate in the people the martial spirit tacked on *chavirisme*. For the first time this course is visiting our land, for the first time we show a marked desire to revert to barbarism. The churches have taken the initiative, they arm and drill the young in the art of slaughtering, in the profession of wholesale and legalized murder. Obviously an aristocracy has been born unto us. The supremacy of the simple democratic trader, the burghes of the nineteenth century, is a thing of the past, other and different conditions have obtained. While we elumbered in idiotic assurance, an aristocracy has swooped upon us. The invader requires the support of bayonets and uniformed minions of tyranny. The cry for an increase of the regular army is heard from every part of the states where the wealthy and the politicians are found. Modest American generals clamor for large legions to command and lead against—whom? Some invaders must be prowling on the seas around, though they be invisible to the naked eye. Be it as it may, the aristocrat is here—so is the pauper! Why in the name of common sense could we not get the former and dispense with the latter? Is it not enough for the American people to be loaded with an idle aristocracy, a large standing army and military children, without adding to the burden a pauper class?

I repeat, and more emphatically this time, that I regard the pulpit as not more holy than other directions of proper human endeavor. I say this without spite or irreverence. I am an occupant of the pulpit. I love my work, I am warmly attached to my constituency and I have sufficient ground for belief that my feeling is reciprocated. Accordingly I can have no grudge. As little is my remark the utterance of irreverence. I esteem the varied positions of human activity on a level of importance and holiness with the pulpit just because I am one of its occupants and have some idea of the Fatherhood of God and the dignity of man. The estimation of the real worth of any position depends altogether upon our very conception of God and His earthly children. Is God a Father? Then must He be an impartial Parent in whose regard true worth is worth in any position of human occupation. No position is holy in itself. It is simply an opportunity for the exercise of effort holy or otherwise. It is holy when its tenant makes it so by noble motive and devotion to any of life's sanctities. The man who performs the humblest work if it be the striving of duty or love is on a plane of moral worth and sanctity not transcended by any other. The pulpit on the other hand where insincerity, hypocrisy and self-interest hold forth is but a fancy wooden box not more sacred for its ornamental trappings than other wood even unbewn. We err grievously in

common practice when we honor a man and defer to him with all the bowing and smiling and compliment of social homage because he occupies high position. Is he an ornament to the place? is the important and should be the prime consideration. The honor of a place depends upon the significance and worth its occupant brings into and manifests in it. We have different capacities of accomplishment. We are differently endowed by nature. One is fitted to lead, another to follow. One must serve in the vales of life, another is called by capacity to the heights of endeavor. One must with toilsome days hew the frowning forest while another has to play his different though not nobler part in the upbuilding of civilization. Hence it is only natural, a dispensation of the divine ordainment of human life, that one is called or succeeds to one thing while another has to find content and vocation in something else. The moral of all this is simply this: Each has his life's place and part. Let each do his duty in the place wherein he works and none other whatever his sphere can do more or stand higher in the eye of a moral regard for true worth. Though society pays its servile homage to positions of power, prominence or profit, I for one as the occupant of one pulpit shall not hold in higher consideration a man whose only title to tribute is wealth or position than I hold another whose fate has placed him in lowly position with a meager competence for his reward. Let us learn to value men and not honor things and places. Let us recognize and make the sacramental word of our conduct towards each other that a man's man for a' that, no matter what his position. The pulpit like every other place is holy or otherwise, according to the holiness its occupant brings into it.

I have spoken thus at length of a matter apparently of little interest or significance to the toiler I am addressing. But the sentiment I have given expression is of vital importance to those who are members of the golden guild of labor. It is of far reaching significance for the workman to recognize and acknowledge that we are individually adapted and called for varied occupations of life; it is equally as important for him to feel that there is no difference of moral worth in different positions of endeavor. The disregard of these facts on the part of too many is the root of much of the prevalent discontent. The disregard of these facts is prolific of an envy that feeds this discontent. And I for one will be party to no so-called labor cause whose motive is solely the desire to quiet the cravings of jealousy. If there is anything yet due the laborer, as I believe there is, it must be the allowance of justice and not the quest of selfishness. The toiler ought to get what he is entitled to and every bit of it, but he is not entitled to all that he sometimes wants. It is unfortunate that we are not constructed by nature with capabilities consistent with our desires, but since we are not we must make the best of and seek content in the obtaining of our due for what we are. Added to this we can have the comfort, valuable to those who will foster it, that faithful devotion to duty, whatever and wherever this duty be, is a consciousness whose joy wealth can not buy nor power destroy.

TERRE HAUTE, IND., July 12, 1895.

Political Straight Jackets.

BY JOSE GROS.

About ten years ago we had now and then the opportunity of exchanging thoughts with a bright man in high social circles, considerably endowed with radical modes of thought, although in extremely easy circumstances. That combination is so seldom enjoyed, that it was a treat to us to talk with such a man. One of his ideas was that our whole political system remained yet an experiment, which, in his opinion, contained the germs of self-destruction, not because of excesses from below but because of excesses from above. We ourselves did not see that then with the same force as we do now and have seen it for about 6 or 7 years. Yet, we commenced to see it 15 years ago, or as soon as we took pains to connect our vicious tendencies with the letter and spirit of our constitution. It did not take long for us to notice that that constitution grants despotic powers to Congress, and to our Judiciary on the top.

In connection with Congress the despotic power rests on taxation and monetary systems, without any specific moral limitations. The same applies to the power of Congress in regulating commerce. Our analysis, in this short essay can only refer to the latter point, in relation to our Supreme Court decision about the Chicago strike last year.

In all our national troubles we like to go to the first and most fundamental causes. We neither hate nor worship men. We simply hate error and worship truth.

Take the two following simple facts: The Constitution gives to Congress absolute power to regulate commerce. No conditions. No limitations. The constitution gives to our nine Supreme Judges the power to read the laws that Congress makes, if any American citizen requires it. There we have two despotic powers, one on the top of the other. If that brings the people any inconvenience, why should we grumble against any body but ourselves who allow such a double despotic power, and worship it, as the most marvelous constitution ever devised by men?

Now let us ask another question: Why should Congress regulate commerce any more than the raising of cabbages or the manufacturing of shoes, etc? Congress should see that we have free commerce, and hence free channels for commerce to operate between consumer and producer. Railroads in the hands of corporations make all free internal commerce a naked lie. We are not a free nation any more than Turkey, with our principal arteries of commerce in the hands of railroad corporations. The latter being created by congress or our own whole political system, they have to be protected by our whole governmental machinery up to the supreme court. You may tell us that that could be done under certain principles of justice. Of course it could; but don't you see that the system is unjust from the bottom? Don't you know that like begets like? In the long run we cannot expect any permanent good fruits from anything fundamentally wrong.

Think of the fact that for nearly 80 years the horizons of this nation were darkened with the crime of chattel slavery that our constitution made it

almost impossible for us to suppress, because a very small minority of state machine politicians can forever delay all important constitutional reforms. And that is what makes our political straight jacket the hardest that any nation had to bear. Even in Turkey a majority of 51 per cent. of the people could fundamentally remodel their social structure, at a stretch. Even if such a change was left to popular vote on our principle of 1 in each state, even then it would take a majority of over 80 per cent. to amend our constitution, if a few small states happened to be against it, and please remember that the question is left to the majority vote of state politicians.

Well, the same constitution which made it next to impossible, or practically so, for us to suppress chattel slavery, stands again across the path of progress in our efforts to suppress wage slavery. Because what is it that evolves, perpetuates and intensifies the latter? Land monopoly, just what made chattel slavery possible and profitable. And what is it that makes land monopoly both profitable and possible? The very methods of indirect taxation specifically legalized by our constitution, with the additional fact that it makes direct taxation about impossible and unjust under monopoly rule. There we have the bottom cause which poisons our whole industrial system by making land gambling the most profitable industry, or rather the only profitable one. The others are only profitable at all in so far as they are connected with land monopoly.

Take now our railroad corporations. The land values they hold exceed six billions of dollars, and those of our mining corporations, including the Standard oil company, may reach the sum of ten billions of dollars. And every trust in the country would be knocked down to the gutter, without land monopoly, and hence through full taxation on land values, because they all rest on their power to restrict production, which implies the power to restrict the use of land, the source of all production.

Our readers can now notice the intimate links of the two problems of political and economic freedom. Our nation is so situated, in our humble opinion, that our political straight jacket stands just across the path of all economic freedom, or even of any important improvement making wage slavery less oppressive than it is.

It is unreasonable for us to blame our legislative bodies, judges or politicians, for our national evils. We have no reason to expect them to be any better than the system they have to handle. We cannot expect to be healthy if we insist upon living in a swamp that we don't want to drain. Let us drain our political system through honest basic enactments direct by the people. The mere trying of that would compel our politicians to behave some anyhow.

The United States Sovereign.

BY J. R. ARMSTRONG.

Foxy Nasal-Twang lives in Ague Hollow, and the unctuous tuft on his elongated chin has been sadly tugged of late. His ancestral line he traces back to the famous May Flower, and he seems to think that in the evolution of things Mr. Nasal-Twang is perfection itself. His gifts chiefly consist in rolling an amber quid from one side of his mouth to the other and talking politics. Republican, of course! That grand old party is his single theme; no matter what its sins of omission and commission are. Perched on a soap box in the village store, you can see him almost any time during the day or night. By the way, the village was christened jaw-town, in honor of our living tobacco distillery, Mr. Nasal-Twang. In order to keep up its reputation, all the available jaws in the town are kept running full time and the principal topic of their incessant gab, at present is on Mr. Jeremiah Reed's eternal fitness for the next presidential chair. One of Foxy's great boasts was that he had not worn a new suit of clothes for over twenty years and that he had not eaten any other kind of grub than potatoes, hominy and sowl-belly for twice that length of time. It is needless to say that the choicer portions of his hogs were sold every fall to pay his taxes and buy other little luxuries, etc. Like other portions of the rock bound state of Maine, Ague Hollow was comparatively sterile, except that it produced a goodly number of ignoramuses and work in a few quarries, at very small pay. Several missionaries had already been sent there, by interested parties, to convert the people from pork and potato diet and soap box education, but so far nothing but disappointment had resulted. As people's mentality is generally on a par with what they eat it is a most difficult task to intellectualize human beings from a pork plane to a higher one.

Republicanism, being founded on the hog-plane of intelligence, has a very fertile growth in Ague Hollow. The throes of a money famine seldom entered there. The people had, long years before this epoch, managed to live without it. Pension-pay-day, thanks to the late unpleasantness, was about the only time filthy lucre crept into the town and the most of that went into the coffers of the tax collector. Happiness and contentment beamed on every countenance. Political campaigns, however, occasionally struck the people with excitement and empty soap boxes would immediately go up in price. An unfortunate socialist orator happened in there one day, and started to orate in mid-air on the status of the working people, dwelling with considerable pathos on the great wrongs the two old parties were responsible for, and he was denounced as a traitor and an incendiary and would have been lynched had he not beat a hasty retreat. That is one reason why Mr. Nasal-Twang's unctuous tuft has been tugged so violently of late. The idea of an arch traitor of a socialist to dare his face within the sun browned quiet of Ague Hollow to tell the people they were poor! was simply awful. Protractive meetings, a species of emotional pleasure, kept the people very busy every fall and spring, reconsecrating themselves, I presume to "chaw tobacco" and talk "politics." Our friend Foxy, though, for the first time in forty years, is growing dissatisfied with his lot, because he had the misfortune the other day to discover that his faded clothes would scarcely hang together until he could get another suit. He has confidentially told his friends about his mis-lap, but, strange to say, nearly all of them are in the same boat. Of course, something must be accused for the condition of Ague Hollow and the people, with one accord, threw all the blame on Cleveland's tampering with the tariff.

THE HIAWATHA OF IT.

Thus they make old party platforms, Of mixed lumber make the platforms; Make them silvery on the outside, Make them golden on the inside— For the people on the outside, For the gold-bug on the inside; Putting silver on the outside, Putting gold upon the inside; Then they change the inside outside, Change the outside to the inside— Inside outside, outside inside. These will swear the inside's outside, Those declare the outside's inside. Thus they make old party platforms, Of mixed lumber make the platforms.

—Commonwealth.

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TERRE HAUTE, JULY 15, 1895.

FOURTEEN years ago, Grover Cleveland was a very poor man. He is now rated at \$2,000,000. He has made politics pay.

GEORGE GOULD is now in Europe, looking over the title market. He has a sister with several millions in her own right to sell.

CAPITALIZATION and centralization—both frauds and infamies—Messrs. Bullion & Boodle and the Supreme Court declare are constitutional.

IRISH-AMERICANS make eloquent appeals for money to secure home rule for Ireland, and this too, at a time when home ruin prevails in the United States.

JUDAS got only thirty pieces of silver for betraying Christ, but how much, if anything at all, was paid to the Supreme Court for betraying workmen, is a secret.

THERE are about 300,000 officeholders at the pleasure of Grover Cleveland, not one of whom dare arouse his displeasure by opposing his Rothschilds-Shylock policy.

PULLMAN, the pirate and famine fiend, a stockholder in the Hartford Travelers' Accident Insurance Co. Workmen should avoid it as they would a pestilence.

A DRAFT on the treasury for one cent has been drawn in favor of Grover Cleveland. With a deficit of more than \$45,000,000, where is the one cent to come from?

JOHN BROWN said he would be of "immeasurably more importance dead than alive." John Brown was willing to die for a great cause, but he had a trial by a jury of his peers.

Judge Caldwell should become a candidate for President, and should be elected, there would be a decided improvement over the present Cleveland, Rothschilds and shylock administration.

ACCORDING to exchanges, "Merrie England" is having a phenomenal sale in the Eastern states: It is claimed that the book is leading all others in sales—even the most popular novels of the day.

THE Missouri law forbidding the discharge by corporations of employees who refuse to sever connection with labor organizations has been declared unconstitutional by Justice Sherwood of the Supreme Court. Another case of one man power similar to the Shiras opinion in the income tax law.—*Knoxville Independent.*

How long, Lord, how long, will it require workmen to learn that under present political conditions, their rights will be disregarded? The long felt want is a new party.

THE Auburn (Wash.) *New Era* remarks that "not 16,000 failures a year; not 9,000 murders a year; not a million tramps; not strikes and lockouts—none of these things were sufficient to arouse the gold-bug; but free silver talk among the people and he at once becomes an active patriot to save the country from the deluge of disaster which free silver would bring." Yes, the plutocrats are opposed to free silver and free men. They are bi-shackelists for labor—monaristocrats in government. They are the monstrosities of the century, possessing all the characteristics of hog, hyena, snapping turtle and alligator, with just enough of the human to be pillars in the church.

THE case of Eugene V. Debs, leader of the Chicago railway strike last summer, has been before the Supreme Court, and the court upholds unanimously the decision of the United States Circuit Court. Debs must, therefore, serve out his sentence. The only point at issue before the Supreme Court seems to have been a legal one, as to the right of the lower court to proceed against Debs and the others by writs of injunction. It was this summary proceeding that really broke the strike, and was denounced by Lyman Trumbull and others as "government by injunction." The decision of the Supreme Court puts into the hands of Federal judges tremendous powers in the case of any future interruption of interstate traffic; and it is safe to say that a repetition of the scenes of last summer will be next to impossible hereafter. While we have said and still think that the conviction of Debs for personal participation in the wilful obstruction of traffic was unjustified, since he neither committed nor counseled such violence, we have never laid any stress upon the legal points raised against the injunction proceedings, and we think the country is to be congratulated on the final decision on that point.—*The Voice.*

Indeed, really, is the country "to be congratulated," when any power, no matter what you call it, can send men guilty or innocent to prison without a jury trial? The legal point raised was that the A. R. U. officials should have a fair trial, as provided by the constitution. This was denied them—and in this denial, the constitution was betrayed and stabbed to death.

PRISON PENS.
 During the war of the rebellion men went forth to rescue the chattel slaves of the south, pledging life, fortune and sacred honor to make the stars and stripes, "Old Glory," symbolize liberty for all, and multiplied thousands of them were captured and confined in the Andersonville and Libby prison pens, where they perished by sickness, wounds and starvation.

In the Woodstock prison pen are A. R. U. men, who saw in the town of Pullman, men, women and children in a worse condition than were the southern slaves. It was a prison pen, where white men, their wives and children were dying of sickness, destitution, hunger and starvation. Men of the American Railway Union, with a courage which attests their nobility of heart and soul, resolved to rescue them from horrors as infernal as make Andersonville and Libby synonyms of hell. They failed, but the Pullman strike stands, forever stands for "Freedom's battle once begun." It was a blow struck for freedom, for human rights, against plutocratic power. It has been heard round the world. It still reverberates. It is *vox dei*. God was in the strike. It was as Christ-like as when the poor Nazarene took pity on the five thousand tramps, with their wives and children, and fed them in the wilderness. Pullman was the Andersonville horror of the century. Geo. M. Pullman had inaugurated famine; the victims of his hellish rapacity were dying of starvation. He saw their torture unmoved; their moaning was music to his tiger ears, and he tightened his grasp upon their throats. To rescue these victims of unparalleled rapacity was the one motive and the only motive of the American Railway Union, and the enemies of labor point to Woodstock prison pen as the result. Nay, verily, not the final result. To ears attuned, there are voices heard from heaven and from earth, proclaiming that a prison is not labor's final goal, final destiny. Even now, coming events cast their shadows before. Chains and prisons for labor may be the decree of Woods, confirmed by the supreme court, but by the eternal there is another and a higher court, and the people are preparing for an appeal, and they will be heard. Andersonville and Libby, Pullman and Woodstock, each with its brood of horrors, are destined to live in history, monuments of unrestrained vice and vengeance, power and perfidy. In spite of Libby and Andersonville, African slavery with its pens and blocks, whips and chains disappeared. It was a fierce struggle; the rivers were red to the sea. The smoke of battle obscured the sun in his meridian glory. There were thunder peals of artillery, the lighting flash of rifles; the battle raged four long years and when the negro slave was free, five hundred thousand men lay dead on the field. Let it be understood that the Woodstock prison pen stands for the liberty of America's wage-slaves. The idea is growing as does the banyan tree. It is sending its branches down deep into the souls of men who will not wear chains. Czars will not be permitted to pursue their Siberian savagery. Prisons will be places to confine criminals, who have been tried by a jury, and not for innocent men, sentenced by an autocrat.

"It is coming, it is nigh; Stand your homes and altars by; On your own free thresholds die. Whose shrinks or falters now, Whose to the yoke would bow, Brand the craven on his brow. Freedom's soil hath only place For a free and fearless race; None for traitors false and base.

At a Vanderbilt wedding, recently in old Massachusetts, \$2,000,000,000 was represented by the guests. The amount was so enormous that the Boston baked bean, codfish, clam and mackerel aristocracy had the ague. Old Faneuil Hall, the "Cradle of Liberty," rocked a little bit, Bunker Hill monument managed to stand up, but old South Church heaved a sigh, while Edward Atkinson wrote an eulogy on the long neck clam and his Alladin oven, which with a white bean, the hams and shoulders of a mosquito, make a square meal for a workman. Massachusetts hasn't experienced such a sensation for a hundred years. A \$2,000,000,000 wedding, it is thought, marks an epoch in American affairs, almost as important as the recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court.

A REPRESENTATIVE of a big plutocratic sheet, recently said: "There is more interest expressed in E. V. Debs than in any other man in the country," and added: "The big plutocratic papers had concluded to let Debs die in jail, by never mentioning his name, but the pressure is so great on the part of the people to know more of him, that they have had to open their columns to meet the demand"—and the country will not forget the victim of despotism.

THERE is one labor church in the country, recently established at Denver, Colo., by Rev. Myron W. Reed, the first one we believe since Christ was crucified by the money power of Jerusalem.

THE *Alliance Plow Boy* is of the opinion that "unless the next Congress is better than the last, nobody wants it to meet anywhere, this side of h—1."

THE Czar of Russia and the Czar of the United States deem it necessary to have a body guard.

To PATRONIZE the Travelers' Accident Insurance Company of Hartford, is to increase the wealth of the putrid plutocrat Geo. M. Pullman.

GROVER CLEVELAND, in anticipation of stomach cramps, orders a surgeon of the United States navy to attend him. By this arrangement he escapes a doctor's bill.

AT Buzzard's Bay, Grover Cleveland owns some woodland around which he has built a fence, and has issued an injunction, warning the inhabitants not to hunt and shoot on his premises.

REPORT has it that Grover Cleveland before he transferred his administration to Buzzard's Bay, declared he would issue no more gold bonds, but Rothschilds is to be heard from before a final decision is made.

THE London University College has a professor by the name of Boys, who has demonstrated that the weight of the earth is 5,832,064,000,000,000,000 lbs. In this calculation it is evident that the learned professor did not take into consideration the U. S. Supreme Court, which would have increased the weight 000,000,000,000,000,832.5 lbs.

A MILWAUKEE dispatch says at least four of the most prominent railroad lines are to be indicted by order of the interstate commerce commission, for conspiracy to defraud their patrons. All such proceedings are the merest folly. No railroad corporation will be made to suffer in any trial before a U. S. Court. The great law firm of Bullion & Boodle always carry their point.

SAYS an exchange: "Machines may do the physical work of men, but machines cannot become citizens with life, love and patriotism, nor can they become husbands and fathers to protect and rear men and women for managing the affairs of coming generations." Before speaking positively upon the subject, it might be well to consult Messrs. Bullion and Boodle, the great corporation law firm, whose opinion always goes with the Supreme Court and with the present administration.

THE Washington State Alliance at its annual meeting in June, resolved as follows:

Resolved, That in consideration of his noble efforts toward the education and enlightenment and the amelioration of the working people, that the State Farmers Alliance do extend to Eugene V. Debs our most heartfelt sympathy in his undeserved imprisonment, condemning as we do the late decision of the Supreme Court in the Debs habeas corpus case.

Resolved, That laws be enacted or the constitution be so amended if necessary that no person shall be denied the right of trial by jury. The right of appeal or the full benefit of habeas corpus in all cases whatsoever.

Such expressions coming from the Farmers Alliance indicate the drift of public opinion upon matters as vital to liberty and independence as was the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

MAYOR PINGREE, of Detroit, is of the opinion that "corporations are constantly by means of money or other bribes seeking to corrupt the members of the council and other public servants. With money often acquired in questionable methods, by watering stocks and flim-flamming the public, they retain the public press to advocate their schemes and are ever ready to obtain dishonestly that to which they are not entitled." The distinguished mayor has got the hang of the thing exactly. A corporation, with rare exceptions, will lie, cheat and steal. It is built like an elephant with a proboscis that can pick up a pin or pull down a state house; wreck a railroad or trounce a Supreme Court. In a word the corporation is the government, and its game is bunco from the start.

THE Milwaukee *Daily News*, one of the ablest, fairest and most fearless dailies in America, says:

President Cleveland had an opportunity of partially atoning for his great fault of a year ago by pardoning Mr. Debs and his associates on the Fourth. But like the little minded despot that he is he was incapable of appreciating the fact. This illustrates the fact that while it is possible to forgive those who have wronged us, it is impossible for some natures to forgive those they have wronged.

President Cleveland would have no occasion to pardon Mr. Debs and his associates if he had not been the tool of monopoly, for they would be enjoying their liberty—what little there is left of it. They don't want his clemency. They were denied justice and they scorn to become the objects of plutocratic mercy. They will serve their time and be measured by their "contempt" it is but a second.

CALVIN S. BRICE, the Democratic U. S. Senator, representing Havermeyer, during the late fashionable season in Washington paid off \$50,000, or \$16,866.66 a month for swell dinners, great social outbursts, rainbow rackets, palace car plunges, sidereal musicales and high kicking dances. He paid Melba \$1,500 for two little trills, and De Reszkes \$1,000 for one baritone snort. He allows his two daughters \$8,000 a year each for pin money and his sons \$10,000 each to maintain style. He has a social director, a fashion pilot whom he pays \$10,000 a year. This is the Democratic U. S. Senator who represents trusts, syndicates, combines, pools, Wall street, Rothschilds and anything and everything else connected with the money power, and fairly represents the general make-up of the nation's House of Lords. No wonder the Democratic party is wrecked.

FIGURES WORTH CONSIDERING.

Some time ago Senator Mills of Texas, desired to obtain approximately accurate figures showing the average earnings of workmen in the leading manufacturing nations of the world, and in response to his inquiries received the following communication from Carroll D. Wright:

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 6, 1894.
 MY DEAR SIR: In response to yours of January 15 and January 26, I have the honor to state that from the very best sources which I have been able to consult, I estimate the average annual earnings in all manufacturing industries in the countries named by you to be as follows:

Countries.	Annual Product.	Number of Employees.	Proportion per Hand.
United Kingdom	\$1,000,000,000	5,180,000	\$190
France	2,246,000,000	4,440,000	506
Germany	2,016,000,000	4,350,000	463
Russia	1,286,000,000	2,280,000	564
Austria	1,286,000,000	2,280,000	564
Italy	693,000,000	1,140,000	608
Spain	436,000,000	726,000	599
Belgium	510,000,000	850,000	600
Switzerland	2,216,000,000	3,870,000	572
United States	\$1,888,000,000	1,888,000	\$1,000

The contention has been that labor received a mere pittance of the wealth it produced, and the foregoing official figures demonstrate the truth of the affirmation.

It has also been contended that factory and shop employes in the United States received more wages than in any other country, and the table prepared by Mr. Wright demonstrates the reliability of the statement. Tabulated, the excess of wages in the United States, as compared with the countries named, is as follows:

Countries.	Annual Wages per Capita.	Less than United States.
United States	\$347	
United Kingdom	204	\$143
France	175	172
Germany	155	192
Russia	129	217
Austria	129	217
Italy	130	217
Spain	120	227
Belgium	145	202
Switzerland	156	191

It is not strange, in view of the facts set forth that there should be a rush of emigrants from European countries to the United States in search of better conditions. But the figures given require still further analysis to demonstrate the fact that labor, at least in the United States, does not receive its equitable share of the wealth it creates. In fact, the figures disclose the fact that in this regard it fares worse than in any of the countries named—is cheated and robbed as in no other country. Tabulated, the figures overwhelmingly verify the statements, as follows:

Countries.	Annual Product per Capita.	Annual Wages per Capita.	Per Cent. of Pro-duct, Employer.	Per Cent. of Pro-duct, Employee.	Per Cent. Above United States.
Italy	\$265	\$130	49	31.2	
Austria	409	156	38	45.5	
Switzerland	438	156	35.4	35.8	
Spain	364	129	35.4	35.5	
Russia	581	120	20.8	20.4	
France	645	175	27.1	27.1	
Germany	545	155	28.4	28.4	
United Kingdom	740	204	27.6	27.6	
Belgium	645	145	22.5	22.5	
United States	1,888	347	18.3	18.3	

In the foregoing exhibits it will be seen that of all the countries named, the workmen of the United States receive the smallest share of the products of their labor, it being but 17.8 per cent., while the employer secures 82.2 per cent.; and the figures demonstrate that there is no such robbery of labor perpetrated in all Europe. In Italy, where the product per capita is \$265, the workman secures 49 per cent. of it, and the employer 51 per cent.; while in the United States the employer grabs 82.2 per cent., leaving the workman only 17.8 per cent. Even in Russia, the workman obtains 13.4 per cent. more of the product of his labor than falls to the lot of the toiler in the United States. And in Italy, the land of the dago, the laborer secures 31.2 per cent. more of the product of their sweat than the robber barons of the United States yield to their employes.

Carroll D. Wright says the product per capita of American workmen is \$1,888—more than twice the amount credited to the highest product per capita of any European nation—and this being true, average wages per capita should yield, if based upon United Kingdom data, at least \$487, instead of \$347.

The figures bring into the boldest possible prominence the importance of labor organizations, for by them, and them alone have wages been maintained to the point indicated—an average of \$347 dollars a year. Strike them down and wages will go, in a twelve month, to the Italian, Russian and Spanish level, so that the annual incomes of American workmen would be from \$120 to \$180; and owing to the factionized condition of organized labor in the United States, the drift is steadily toward the dago level.

THE COURT MARTINE.
 The mastiff, Woods, sends men to jail by his injunction law.
 For corporations he wags his tail—
 For them he wags his jaw.

A RINGING EDITORIAL.

The Milwaukee *Daily News* is one of the few great dailies that dare speak the truth without fear or favor. It stands a monumental exception to the rule. It is published in the interest of the people, and neither gold nor bribery of any kind can deflect it from the straightforward course it has decided to pursue. The *Daily News* of Milwaukee does not cater to capital, neither does it pander to labor organizations. It seeks the right and fearlessly stands by it. Such a paper is a boon to a community. The people may rely upon its integrity with out fear of disappointment. It is with more than ordinary satisfaction that we reproduce one of the robust editorials from the columns of the *Daily News*. It is one of a large number of similar tenor and vigor which characterize the editorial department. In every line are "thoughts that breathe and words that burn." The caption is "The Glorious Fourth in Woodstock Jail," and we give it in full, as follows:

"The 'glorious liberty' of this country must have appeared a good deal of a myth to Eugene V. Debs and his associates in Woodstock jail, where they are undergoing punishment for no crime known to the laws and convicted without the right of trial by jury, which is accorded to even petty larcenists and prize fighters.

It must have afforded them small satisfaction to know that the supreme court of the United States had through a gross perversion of the spirit of the constitution decreed that instead of being liberated they should be grateful that they were not shot down like dogs, without even the warning of a court injunction, because of some imaginary sovereignty which the United States is supposed to have over postal affairs and interstate commerce.

To Mr. Debs and his companions in jail, who had merely exercised their constitutionally-guaranteed right of immunity from involuntary servitude, the question of the sovereignty of the government must seem very foreign to the question of their right to their liberty. But even if they were so obtuse as to believe that their quitting work was a violation of the interstate commerce law, their opinion of the justice that prevails in this fair land of ours could hardly be strengthened by the knowledge they have that ex-President Reinhardt, of the Atchison railroad, who confessed to having given millions of dollars in rebates to shippers in clear violation of that law, has never yet spent a day in jail for the offense, and that hundreds of other violators of the interstate commerce law enjoy a similar immunity from punishment.

It must seem painfully evident to these prisoners in Woodstock that while theoretically the law may be the same for the rich and the poor, in practice it is a very different thing; that the rich are privileged to violate the law without punishment, while the poor are imprisoned even when they have no intention whatever of violating it.

It will, of course, be claimed that the strike of last year in Chicago was opposed to public order, and therefore required arbitrary treatment. But if the law had been previously regarded by the officials of the railroad companies none of these would have been in the hands of receivers, and they would therefore not have been in a position to secure the arbitrary power which the United States courts claim the right to exercise.

It is certainly small comfort to Mr. Debs and his fellow prisoners to know that they are jail solely because the officers of the Atchison railroad bankrupted that institution in defiance of the interstate commerce law.

But even if the strike was in the nature of an attack on public order, which it was not necessarily, being merely the exercise in conjunction by a number of men of the constitutional privilege of quitting work, what earthly necessity could exist for proceeding in the wholly arbitrary manner that was employed? If strikers violated the law could they not be punished through the regular processes of the law?

To the people of the United States, the working people in particular, these persons in Woodstock jail constitute an object lesson. To certain classes this lesson appears to be that workmen should be frightened out of striking by the fate of the Woodstock prisoners.

But it is to be hoped that the great mass of the American people will draw a wholly different inference. It should be that the judiciary of the United States is, as at present constituted, worse than a threat to the liberties of the American people. It is a blow already delivered.

The great corporations and combines have evidently used their secret but almost unlimited power to pack the United States courts with judges who are their faithful servants and the latter are striving in every direction to increase the opportunities for serving their masters.

Unless the people cast off the shackles of party control, which now rob them of the power to protect their liberties, and unless they reform the judiciary, the executive and the senate in such a way that these will recognize no sovereign but the people, Debs and his associates will merely be distinguished as the first of a mighty host who were sent to prison for daring to exercise their legal rights.

Let the people elect the president, the senators and all United States court judges and elect them often enough, and the people, and not the corporations will govern this country.

THE dispatches say that no more attempts will be made on the part of the government to prosecute the 130 members of the American Railway Union in California, charged with participating in the strike of last July. The reason for this action is that the evidence against the men is not considered sufficient. The cost to the government of prosecuting the four cases already tried was \$20,000 and no convictions were secured. As there is no additional evidence to be used against the other men it is considered impossible to convict them. In a private letter from San Francisco it is said that the two jurymen who refused to convict the men in the former trials are now being boycotted into bankruptcy by the Southern Pacific Railroad Co.

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PRISON LIFE.

E. V. DEBS AND HIS FELLOW VICTIMS OF DESPOTIC POWER

Transform their Prison into an Academy for Intellectual and Physical Culture.

A representative of the Chicago Evening Journal visited Woodstock jail to ascertain the daily routine of E. V. Debs and his fellow officials of the A. R. U. He found a "Co-operative Colony School" established in "Liberty jail," where the prisoners are improving their minds by study. The representative of the Evening Journal says:

The Co-operative Colony of Liberty Jail—that is the name by which the seven United States prisoners now serving a six months' sentence in the McHenry county Jail at Woodstock, Ill., wish to be remembered by the hordes of curious visitors who daily flock to the quiet little town in the hope of catching a glimpse of the famous labor leaders.

The church bells were pealing forth their Sunday morning invitation to the religiously inclined of Woodstock when the representative of the Journal approached the jail and inquired of one of the bystanders where the jailer was to be found. Following the directions which were given him he made his way to the rear of the building and found himself in a small enclosure fenced in by the court house and small outhouses and surrounded by a high iron fence. Lounging around in easy, picturesque attitudes were a half dozen men, reading, smoking, or exercising with chest weights. They did not deign to notice the approach of the reporter, but upon being asked, one of them directed him to the jailer's quarters by a wave of the hand and a few words, and immediately turned to his paper. The jailer found, and being informed of the visitor's mission, he displayed no hesitancy in talking of the life and the habits of the prisoners in his charge.

"You want to know something about Debs and his associates," said he. "Well, there is a good deal about them that is interesting. They are a fine lot of men, and they have marked out for themselves a course of study and recreation which will result in much benefit to them. They study and read most of the time, and when not engaged with their books they exercise and recreate in the jail corridor and court house yard. They are the best lot of prisoners I ever had to handle and they occasion us no trouble."

For some time the jailer talked about the men, ending with "They all have a wheel in the head on social subjects, and you can't side track them when they get started talking on labor questions."

DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO SELF-CULTURE.

At the wish of the reporter the jailer introduced him to the prisoners who were in the yard. Those who were there were James Hogan, L. W. Rogers, Roy M. Goodwin and Sylvester Keliher. All were willing to talk and spoke entertainingly of their life in the jail. "We have had little time to mourn over our incarceration," said Mr. Keliher. "We keep busy from morning until night, and with our studies, debates and exercises we pass the time pleasantly. No, we are not much bothered with visitors. Sheriff Eckert keeps the curious ones away, and we only see those with whom we have business and friends from a distance. Jail life is not the ideal life, but it is not half as bad as most people would imagine."

Through the open window Eugene V. Debs could be seen seated in the jail corridor. He was reading a Chicago paper and had his chair tipped back while his feet rested on the iron grating. Those who knew Mr. Debs would hardly recognize him now. A beard, sandy in color and cut in the imperial style, covered his face which was fuller than when he left Chicago some weeks ago. He looked the picture of health as did all the other prisoners except Burns, who is suffering from a severe cold. As the reporter stood with the men, Elliott passed by carrying chest weights which he fastened to the court house and with which he began to exercise. In a cell beyond the corridor where Debs sat, Burns could be seen stretched full length upon his cot. He was clean shaven, in this respect differing from his companions, all of whom have grown beards.

After a short talk with the group in the yard, the reporter was permitted to see the sheriff, Geo. Eckert, who allowed him to enter Mr. Debs' cell. Sheriff Eckert explained that hundreds of people had come to the jail in the hope of talking with the prisoners, but nearly all were refused admittance. "The Woodstock people are not as bad as those who come from Chicago and other cities. The latter are so anxious to gratify their curiosity that they can't listen to reason."

LIVE A STUDIOUS LIFE.

Mr. Debs was willing to talk and led the way to the dining room, which the sheriff had suggested as a good place for an interview. Arriving at the room the famous labor leader pointed to a chair having broad arm rests, and said: "There is a place for your copy paper, and you can write while I talk."

He then proceeded to relate the history of his life, and in a few moments had told the most interesting occurrences. "Since coming here," said the

American Railway Union president, "we have lived a studios life. Separated as we are from the world we are enabled to concentrate our every thought on our studies, and I have accomplished more in that direction in a few weeks than I could in a year out in the world."

Asked how he liked jail life, and whether it agreed with him, Debs said: "I like it very well for jail life. I don't imagine existence in prison can be made particularly fascinating, but we have made our way of life here as pleasant and profitable as it is possible to be under the conditions. I know you will want to know how we put in our time. Well, we have a perfect system, one of our own invention and which carries out our ideas of reorganized society."

"We have elected officers for our community, which we call the Co-operative Colony of Liberty Jail. Our officers consist of an Inspector, a Colonel and a Professor. Mr. Elliott is inspector, Mr. Hogan the colonel, Mr. Rogers the professor and I fill the office of teacher. At 6 o'clock each morning Inspector Elliott calls the colony and we are all required to rise at the word. After washing we have an hour in which to exercise. Col. Hogan drills us and we have become quite proficient in military manoeuvres. We have but one gun, Mr. Eckert's army musket, but we drill by turns. Mr. Elliott has become a very good soldier. At 7:30 o'clock we breakfast, our table being set in the sheriff's dining room, and at this meal we usually have a steak or chops, fried potatoes, bread, butter and coffee."

"After breakfast we go back to the corridor, where we call our study room, and read and study until 12:15. Our work is in the line of economics, sociology and history. We have about 200 volumes of the best works on these subjects, and we are keeping them well thumbed. I conduct a class each morning and my charges are apt pupils. At 12:15 we leave off work and take our midday exercise in the jail yard. We run, walk and use the dumb bells and chest weights. At 1 we have our dinner, and at this meal we usually have a roast, vegetables, pastry or pudding, and coffee. After dinner we read and study until 5 o'clock, after which Colonel Hogan takes out his squad and drills it. Supper comes at 6:30 and we have cold meat, milk and bread."

THE LITERARY EXERCISES.

"Our literary exercises begin at 8 and last until 10. The exercises usually take the form of a debate. We take some current labor question and discuss it from every point of view. For tomorrow (Monday) night we will debate the question, 'Resolved, That the State has a stronger claim on the child than its parents.' Mr. Rogers takes the affirmative side and Mr. Keliher the negative. After they finish their arguments we all join in the discussion."

"We have a code of rules which every man must live up to. During the drill hours Col. Hogan imposes punishment on delinquents. During study hours I have the authority to do this, and Inspector Elliott and Professor Rogers have their hours. We occasionally lock one of the colony up in his cell when he commits some infraction of the rules. We have all been well up to the present time and I think we can keep ourselves in good condition during our stay here."

C. C. PERSONETTE.

To write obituaries of friends is ever a gloomy task, but when death removes a comrade in the morning of his manhood, when the future gives promise of a life of usefulness, the duty becomes inexpressibly sad. Our friend, C. C. Personette was a member of the American Railway Union of special promise. He was the soul of honor. He loved the truth and scorned a lie. He was generous to the extent of dividing his last dollar with a needy comrade. The woes of his fellow men touched his manly heart, and he responded by contributing everything in his power for their relief. It was this nobility of soul that prompted our brother to aid in rescuing the Pullman slaves from the grasp of famine. For this he suffered the penalty of the blacklist. But, brave soul that he was, he did not surrender. He struggled on, held up his head, faced the storm and at last found employment in spite of the bloodhounds of railway corporations. But the work and the worry incident to the struggle sapped the foundations of his strength and health, and his death was another instance of the murderous blacklisting infernalism to add its damning weight to the crimes of blacklisting fiends. But our comrade lived well, and though we lament his demise, he died well, and the American Railway Union, of which he was an honored member, sends its condolence to his bereaved, devoted and sorrowing mother who, as the years go by will find ever increasing consolation in the fact that her darling boy left for her contemplation and comfort an unsullied name.

It was the president of the Hartford Traveler's Insurance Company that denounced Rev. Dixon, of Hartford, Conn., for preaching a sermon in the interest of labor and the imprisoned victims of Woods' despotism.

There were eleven millionaires in New York City who saved \$905,000 the first year by the income tax decision of the supreme court. Money talks and the supreme court listens.

THE SUPREME COURT

ITS INFAMOUS USURPATION OF POWER BRAVELY DISCUSSED.

A Centralized Despotism Created, in Which Congress and the Executive are Overthrown.

The American Law Review analyzes the supreme court decision in the following masterful manner. It says:

But a few reflections may not be out of place, and some of them are being brought home to the minds of the people by the daily press with considerable force. The first is that this is not a case where the judicial branch of the government is called upon (as it may be under the statute) to aid the executive branch in the execution of this act of congress. On the contrary it is a case where the judicial branch of the government interferes with the executive branch, by enjoining it from executing an act of congress passed to provide revenues for carrying on the government. So extraordinary will be the effect of the decision if it should result in a considerable obstruction in the execution of the law, that it will lead to a deficit at the close of \$4,000,000 a month thereafter.

A second reflection is that the power which the supreme court of the United States is called upon to exercise, in enjoining the executive branch of the government, was never granted by the constitution, but

WAS SEIZED,

or, as some of the lay presses, in politely discussing this matter, have said, was "assumed." In no other country in the civilized world does the judicial branch of the government dare to lay hold upon the executive and obstruct it in the execution of an act of the legislature. If the president in this instance were to elect to go forward and to execute this law in all its parts the judiciary would be helpless; for the judiciary, as was pointed out by Chief Justice Taney in the Messenger case exercises only a moral power, and can not execute its decrees in the face of the opposition of the executive. Indeed, the president appoints the marshals, the very officers by which, if at all, the circuit and district courts of the United States must execute their decrees. The power of the court to exercise the extraordinary jurisdiction involved in arresting the execution of the law by the executive branch of the government, rests therefore upon the assent of that branch of the government, which assent is yielded in conformity with public opinion. These observations are of equal force, whether the injunction is, in form, directed against an officer of the executive branch of the government, or whether it is merely an injunction procured by a stockholder, restraining the directors and officers of his own corporation from complying with the law; the effect in either case is the same—an obstruction by the judicial of the executive branch of the government, in collecting the revenues without which the government can not be carried on. If the judicial branch of the government had been called upon to assist in executing the statute, its position would have been plainly different; for then the judges would have been entitled to say: "Here is the constitution—the paramount law—which we are sworn to support, and therefore we must yield our support to the constitution, and must refuse to aid in the execution of a law which violates it."

This brings us to a further reflection, which is, that in the early stages of our constitutional development, when the power to set aside legislative acts on the ground of their being opposed to the constitution, was first seized by the judicial branch of the government, it was freely admitted and constantly reiterated, that the

POWER WOULD NEVER BE EXERCISED except in a plain and clear case of conflict between the statute and the constitution. But here is a case where the conflict is neither plain nor clear. What has hitherto appeared in our own columns on the subject proves this. The fact that the best lawyers in the country are divided on the subject proves it. The fact that the supreme court of the United States, after the best argument and the best opportunity for forming an opinion upon the subject, is

HOPELESSLY DIVIDED

in respect to it, is the strongest confirmation of the fact. Indeed, it appears that in the convention which framed the constitution, when this clause was under consideration, the question was put as to the meaning of the expression "direct taxes," and was not answered. A question upon which professional and judicial opinion everywhere is so

HOPELESSLY DIVIDED

is therefore a doubtful question. This being so, the ancient doctrine of this and other American courts, should lead the judges to stay their hands and refrain from overturning the statutes as being in conflict with the constitution, and refrain from interfering with the executive department of the government in executing it.

But this leads to the further reflection that that day and doctrine in our constitutional development have passed, and that the

MODERN DOCTRINE

has come to be that almost every im-

portant piece of legislation must be submitted to the judiciary to ascertain whether or not it is constitutional before the executive officers of the government can proceed to execute it. Nay, we have reached the stage of constitutional development when acts of the legislature are set aside on economic and casuistic theories, and on the ground of being opposed to implied limitations upon the legislative power in every free government—that is, upon limitations of the judges. It is said that, in the original argument in this income tax case, the court allowed itself to be harangued upon the economic features of the law—questions with which the court had nothing to do. Nay, it appears, at least from one of the opinions which was rendered, that the justice who rendered it proceeded with an

IMAGINATION INFLAMED

by the socialistic tendencies of the law, as involving an attack upon private property; considerations which lay totally outside the scope of his office as a judge interpreting the constitution. It is speaking truthfully, and therefore not disrespectfully, to say that some of the judges of that court seem to have no adequate idea of the dividing line between judicial and legislative power, and seem to be incapable of restraining themselves to the mere office of judge.

HENRY GEORGE ON MARY'S LAMB.

Mary had a little lamb.
The soil was very poor.
But still she kept it on her hand,
And struggled to get more.
She held her land until the day
The people settled down—
Till where a wilderness had been
Grew up a thriving town.
Then Mary rented out her plot
(She would not sell, you know,
But waited patiently about
For prices still to grow.)
They grew as population came,
And Mary raised the rent:
With common food and raiment, now,
She would not be content.
She built herself a mansion fine,
Had luxuries galore:
But every time the people came,
She raised the rent some more.
"What makes the land keep Mary so?"
The common people cry.
"Why, Mary owns the land, you know."
The knowing ones reply.
And so each one of you might be—
Wealthy, refined and wise—
If you had only owned some land,
And "waited for the rise."

GOV. ATGELD SKINS A SKUNK.

In an interview with a Chicago Times-Herald reporter, Governor Atgeld proceeded to skin Vanderbilt's \$50,000 Delmonico soup orator and all-around skunk, as follows: "He (Depew) is the most conspicuous product of the doctrine 'do evil that good may come of it' that this country has ever seen. He first attracted attention many years ago as a lobbyist at Albany, where he for a long time was engaged in the highly honorable business of putting metaphorical collars on the New York legislators, so that to the public they appeared to belong to the Vanderbilts and the New York Central railroad. According to reports this business was reduced to such a science that whenever the New York Central railroad wished to buy a legislator they did not even stop to negotiate with him, but simply put him on the scales and weighed him."

SLIME AND CORRUPTION.

"A train of slime and corruption was stretched across the state from New York City by way of Albany to Buffalo, and from there it spread over the whole country, corrupting public officers, polluting legislative halls and even filling courts of justice with its odor. This was the beginning of that flood of corruption which is to-day washing the foundations from under our whole governmental fabric."

"No man could be a dealer in this leprosy without soiling his fingers, and I am told that since that time Mr. Depew has never been seen without wearing gloves. He made all of this a stepping stone to greatness. He wrapped the stars and stripes about him. He became a red, white and blue orator—he changed his calendar so as to make the Fourth of July embrace 365 days, leaving but six hours for the remainder of the year, and then he started for the white house."

"Subsequently the Vanderbilts, finding him to be a great convenience, made him president of the New York Central railroad and paid him a salary of \$50,000 a year. The old railroad men smiled at the idea, but they had not yet learned that one of the most important features of modern railroading is to construct a railroad near the court house and operate a line through state capitals. Soon thereafter the Union stock yards of Chicago made Mr. Depew an official, and gave him \$25,000 a year. This in addition to the other salary. It was claimed that he had never seen the stock yards and did not know on which end of a steer the horns belonged. But all this was of no consequence, as, instead of slaughtering cattle, he was expected to earn his salary by slaughtering the innocents who talk about protecting the public."

"I understand he got still other salaries and have no doubt he earns them all, for in the art of engineering money out of the public into the pockets of private individuals, he has no superior."

Someone says "The supreme court is solid mahogany." Certainly, it makes a fine stand for corporations to sit on.

NOT DESPONDENT.

E. V. DEBS AND HIS FELLOW PRISONERS IN WOODSTOCK JAIL.

Have Unconquerable Faith in the Ultimate Triumph of the Cause for which They Suffer.

In the Cincinnati Enquirer of June 30 we find the following interview by a representative of that great newspaper with Eugene V. Debs, now in Woodstock jail. The interview proceeds as follows: WOODSTOCK, ILL., June 29.—Sitting in his cell with malefactors on every side, serving a sentence for contempt of the laws, Eugene V. Debs cheerfully prophesies that the labor movement is not dead, but that its reverses are strengthening it, and finally the cause for which he contended must prevail.

The Enquirer correspondent visited Mr. Debs in the Woodstock jail to-day. His tenure in jail has not affected him apparently, for he yet has the firm, flashing eye which distinguished him, and was busy writing to his followers.

After complimenting Sheriff Eckert upon the latter's treatment, Mr. Debs was asked his opinion of the future of labor. He replied:

HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

"I never took a more hopeful view of labor's future than now. The dead line of wretchedness and degradation has almost been reached. Avarice and cupidity are as they have ever been, totally blind. As insatiate and remorseless as a conflagration, they pursue and devour. They make no concession. Their away must be absolute. The slave power had it a third of a century ago. The money power has it to-day. History will repeat itself."

There is an invisible yet a mighty mustering of the forces of labor going forward. They are doing some powerful thinking. When the supreme hour is struck they will instinctively and spontaneously unite their tremendous forces and hew out their pathway to emancipation. The time is not quite ripe yet. A few more federal troops, a few more injunctions, a few more jail sentences, perhaps another supreme court stab-hole in the constitution, and the reign of might will end and that of right begin."

EFFECT ON POLITICS.

"What effect will it have upon the coming presidential election?" Mr. Debs was asked.

"It will, in my opinion, have the effect of tremendously increasing the vote of the People's Party, and if that party's convention is composed of wise, liberal and patriotic representatives, and they formulate a platform upon which the great mass of reformers, be they socialists, single taxers, trades unionists, or what not, can unite and harmonize, they will, in 1896, take at least second place, and in 1900 at the latest, sweep the country. The Democratic party as a national organization its dead beyond resurrection, and will never see power again in this generation. The Republican party is the party of the money power, and will make a desperate fight to secure and maintain supremacy. The future contests will be between this party and the People's Party; the one the party of the rich—the classes; the other the party of the poor—the masses. In this fight the people will win. There is to-day an overwhelming majority against both the old parties; it is only required to unify this opposition, and the good work is going bravely forward."

THE SILVER QUESTION.

"Will silver benefit the question of labor?"

"To a limited extent and this only for an inconsequential period. I am for free silver as a means to an end. The free coinage of silver would, in my opinion, relieve somewhat the present stringency and stimulate to activity our industrial enterprises, but the great world of labor, which involves all there is of worth in the world, will not be regenerated by the free coinage of silver or any other metal. The money sharks will manipulate silver just as they do gold and with the same results to labor."

CO-OPERATION.

"Co-operation is the ultima thule of social agitation. The philosophy of co-operation is rational, humane and all-embracing, and I subscribe to it without reservation. The trend is toward the co-operative commonwealth. It is the hope of the world. Vested iniquity will contest every inch of its progress, but it will come as certain as the dawn. The competitive system has had its day; it has blotted out all the stars of hope; filled the world with groans and reduced humanity to slavery. The strong have devoured the weak. All the highways of the centuries are strewn with the bones of the hapless victims. Competition is the mother of selfishness and greed. Competition develops the fangs, not the souls of men. Competition is fit only for the social degeneracy of savages and beasts. Competition has spawned a brood of vices which have filled our highways with tramps, our asylums with insanity, our prisons with crime, and the whole land with unspeakable woe; and the verdict of an awakened public conscience will relegate it to the relic chamber of the barbarous past. Mutualism, co-operation, which contemplate the 'brotherhood of man,' will come as certain as the earth revolves upon its

axis, soon after the sun of the twentieth century lights the world."

STRIKES.

"Do you still believe in strikes as a means to success?"
"No, sir! But I would not totally abolish the provision for them. The dread of a strike has a powerful restraining effect upon that class of employers who regard their employees as so many chattels or cattle. Abolish the strike, and workmen are totally helpless. Forced to a choice between a strike and degradation I would strike if I stood alone. I would not disrobe myself of my manhood; I would scorn to strip myself naked of my independence. I don't like strikes any more than I like war. Are the American people ready to abolish war?"

"I don't take much stock in arbitration. If it is 'compulsory' it is vicious in principle, and if it is voluntary it can't be enforced. I have a notion that under any kind of an arrangement the rich employer would get the turkey and the poor employe the buzzard, just as it is in many of our courts. Still, while the competitive system lasts, I am willing to give it a fair trial. I am willing to admit that boards of arbitration have done some good, and I shall not discourage any effort made to extend to its utmost limit the scope of its usefulness as a factor in preventing or adjusting labor difficulties."

Concerning Governor Altgeld, Mr. Debs says the Illinois executive is the staunchest, ablest and most courageous friend of labor in the United States, and he would like to see him president.

Mr. Debs says he doesn't want a pardon.

"Jail life may have a demoralizing effect upon its victims, but we shall not degenerate to an extent that we would accept our liberty on any such condition. We are content to serve our full time. Some of these days the sentence of the assassins of constitutional liberty will be pronounced, and there will be no appeal from it."

"The injunction law is utterly infamous. It stabs to death the 'Goddesses of Liberty,' and crowns and scepters the harlot of despotism. It is the last resort of tyranny."

DUTY OF THE CHURCH.

"What should be the stand of the church with regard to the labor question?"

"Squarely on the side of labor. That was the doctrine of Christ. But the church has never been for labor and never will be until labor triumphs, and then the church will be its staunchest supporter. Wendell Phillips declared the church was the foe of the abolitionists and the strongest supporter of slavery. It has always been so. The church is on the side of power, right or wrong, and every honest minister will admit it. It is supported by and is the main support of the money power, and the minister who is great enough and self-sacrificing enough to preach Christ soon preaches himself out of the pulpit."

THE INCOME TAX DECISION.

Mr. H. H. Brown, in the Ottawa Journal, remarks that the supreme court has completed the work of Cleveland, Carlisle, Sherman & Co., and turned the government over completely to the bondholders and landlords. Capital demands all protection. Property is more than life, dollars more than man. Capital pays no taxes: Labor is the slave, pays the expenses of the government, and is itself unprotected. The income tax is unconstitutional! Interest and rents cannot be taxed! There is no limit to the rate of either. Never was there a worse slavery in any age than that dawning upon the American laborer under the present usurpation of power by the federal courts. It means death to manhood and liberty if submitted to much longer. If '96 does not see an uprising of the people and a throwing off of this yoke by the all-potent weapon, the ballot, then it means a deeper depth of infamy on the one hand, and of suffering on the other, than the imagination can paint, until the latent spirit of independence be roused to resistance. Then, "Go to, now, ye rich men, howl and weep for your miseries that shall come upon you." For retribution is in the air! God's justice will not forever sleep! All ancient nations tell how it comes.

The spirit of pilgrim and Huguenot, Puritan and cavalier, of continental and western pioneer yet breathes—"sleeping but never dead"—and woe to those who awaken it in the old battle for liberty.

Capital is to-day enthroned on the triple throne—legislative, executive and judicial; and when the courts are corrupted the last bulwark of the people is captured and the last remnant of liberty is gone. There is no longer hope in submission. A combination of all forces that are opposed to present conditions must be made. A reorganization of all reformers is necessary. "On to Washington!" "Down with the oppressor!" must be the cry. No longer half-way measures will do. It is Government vs. Monopoly! All lesser issues must be forgotten in the rescue of liberty. Down with the oppressor.

The bludgeon blow struck by the supreme court was not only intended to kill the American Railway Union, but to kill liberty as well.

A. F. OF L. SPEAKS.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

ing assembled, declare that the primal principle upon which the government of the United States was founded, was the inalienable right of each citizen to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

That it was for the establishment and maintenance of these rights the Declaration of Independence was written and published to the world on the 4th day of July, 1776.

That it was for the vindication of these inalienable rights, that the battles of the American revolution were fought from Concord to Yorktown.

That it was for the preservation of these rights, secured by our revolutionary fathers, that the constitution of the United States was framed and made the organic law of the republic.

That while the constitution provided for a supreme judicial tribunal, and clothed it with great—and in some instances supreme—power, it sought to maintain inviolate the liberties of the people.

That these liberties should not be wrested from the people, nor questioned, except as follows: "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

"In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury."

WHEREAS, The supreme court, without a dissenting voice, by processes of reasoning satisfactory to itself, has sanctioned the mandate of a subordinate judge, whereby Eugene V. Debs, George W. Howard, L. W. Rogers, James Hogan, Sylvester Kellier, Wm. E. Burns, Roy M. Goodwin and Martin J. Elliott have been deprived of their liberty without a trial by an impartial jury and without "due process of law," as understood by the great body of the American people, and

WHEREAS, These judicial proceedings, resulting in depriving the American citizens named of their liberty, were in contravention of constitutional guarantees, violations of American traditions, and at war with the spirit of American institutions, and

WHEREAS, The judicial proceedings herein set forth are justly regarded, by the workingmen of America as dangerous innovations of traditional and constitutional rights, demanding patriotic protests, and

WHEREAS, The motto of organized labor is, that "an injury to one is the concern of all," therefore, be it

Resolved, By the workingmen of Indianapolis, in mass meeting assembled, that, notwithstanding the reasons assigned for the action of the supreme court, we regard the decision as an alarming exercise of power, demanding the fearless expression of disapprobation;

Resolved, That here and now we record our indubitable protest against the abrogation of the constitutional mandate that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law and trial by an impartial jury."

Resolved, That, dismissing all controversy regarding the constitutional powers of the supreme court, or its subordinates, to imprison citizens without a trial jury, whether real or sophisticated, we regard the exercising of such power as in derogation of the rights and liberties of the people, and here record our pledge to exercise such rights as still remain to us as American citizens, to abridge the power of the supreme court to Russinize the United States government, by the amendment of the constitution, or by the enactment of restraining statutes;

Resolved, That we call upon organized labor throughout the country to meet in mass meetings and record their emphatic protests against the exercise of a power by the supreme court, or its subordinates, which places the most sacred rights of the citizens in peril;

Resolved, That we extend to our fellow workers in the cause of labor, now imprisoned in Woodstock jail, our profoundest sympathy, in this the darkest days of their persecution.

The president then introduced COL. J. B. MAYNARD

as being the friend of Eugene V. Debs and of organized labor. Col. Maynard spoke as follows:

FELLOW CITIZENS:—I need not say that I esteem myself fortunate in having the privilege of addressing a meeting of my fellow townsmen, held under the auspices of the great organization known as the American Federation of Labor, called to deliberate upon questions of momentous concern, in which every man in this hall has a deep and an abiding interest.

THE CENTRAL, THE PIVOTAL QUESTION upon which our discussions turn on this occasion relate to our liberties as American citizens. The questions which I propound to you, fellow citizens, are:—

Are we free men? Do we enjoy that measure of liberty guaranteed to us by the Constitution of our country?

What says the constitution, the great Magna Charta of American Liberty? This: "No person shall be held for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment by a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger, or he shall not be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law."

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."

Now, fellow citizens, we have in full view the constitutional guarantee of our individual liberty, our individual right. If any one of us is charged with a capital or otherwise infamous crime the constitution declares that we shall not be held for it unless on presentment or indictment by a grand jury. That we shall not be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. That we shall have speedy trial by an impartial jury.

WHAT IS THIS DUE PROCESS OF LAW? It is when life, liberty or property is at stake that every step taken in the prosecution shall conform to the provisions of the constitution and the statutes; the writ, the arrest, the arraignment, the indictment, the trial, the verdict—in every stage of the proceedings the accused shall have the full, complete and unqualified protection of the law.

WHAT IS THE AMERICAN IDEA OF LAW? I do not refer to definitions given by lexiconists, but rather to the power that enacts and establishes law for the government of the people. The constitution of the Federal Union and the constitution of the states are the fundamental or organic laws. They are the higher law. They declare by what methods laws may be enacted by the representatives of the people in congress, by the representatives of the people in legislatures, and there is absolutely no other authority in the United States that can enact or decree a constitutional law, and neither congress nor the legislatures of the states can enact a law in conflict with the mandates of the constitution of the United States. There is but one higher power in governmental affairs in the United States and that is the sovereign, all-pervading power of the people.

Hence, there is not upon the statute books of the republic, nor upon the statute books of the state, a law that deprives a citizen of life, liberty or property except by due process of law, including a trial by an impartial jury.

Our government, as originally formed, consisted of three departments, known as the executive, legislative and judicial departments. Of these, two are required to make a law, the legislative and the executive. The corporation was not originally a department of the government.

In making laws certain rules are observed. As for instance, a bill is introduced. It is read and referred to a committee. It is examined by the committee, reported back to the body in which it was introduced, read again, discussed, amended if required, read a third time and then a vote is taken. This done in one house, it is immediately referred to the other house, senate or house of representatives as the case may be, and again the bill undergoes the ordeal to which it was subjected in the body where it originated. If it passes it is then submitted to the executive department, where it is examined, and if approved, is signed by the president or governor and becomes the law of the republic or state, as the case may be.

I have recited these time-worn, threadbare, hackneyed law making proceedings, to enable us to grasp the fact that only the sovereign people, by their representatives, can make laws in the United States, and if laws are made for the government of the people by any other process, they should be declared dead from the beginning.

Now, then, fellow citizens, from the foundation of the government to this day no law making body ever made a law depriving man of life, liberty or property, except by due process of law and a trial by an impartial jury.

It is seen that the PATRIOTS WHO LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR GOVERNMENT determined to guard and protect the lives, the liberties and the property of the people against the tyranny of despots. They were familiar with the damnable outrages perpetrated by the kings, and czars, and sultans of Europe, and determined that they should never be transplanted in America.

They gave their intense abhorrence of autocracy, aristocracy, plutocracy, and every form of arbitrary power full rein, and they made, or thought they had made, the rights and liberties of the people secure, by constitutional provisions.

Americans have been in the habit for more than a hundred years of apostrophizing and eulogizing the constitution. It has been referred to as the "ark of the nation's safety" however fiercely the storm of faction might beat upon it. And as the years have come and gone, the glow of our oratory in praise of the wisdom of the fathers has taken on added effulgence. We have referred to our constitution as the Jews ascribed glory to Zion. We have invited the nations of the earth to "walk about" our constitution and "tell the twers thereof" to "mark well its bulwarks," that they might tell the story of its strength to future generations.

And why this ceaseless panegyric? Was it because the constitution made a more "perfect union"? Was it because it provided that only the federal government should coin money, declare war and make treaties, etc.? I do not think so. I believe the constitution has been the subject of lofty encomiums because it sought to guard the rights and the liberties of the people against any and every invasion, come from whence it might.

The founders of our federal government were patriots in the fullest sense of the term. But they were human and therefore fallible. These great men who framed the American constitution were not gods; they never claimed nor received idolatrous homage. They were never invested with the glory or gloom surrounding oracles, but in declaring that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property, except by due process of law and a trial by an impartial jury, they exhibited the attributes of infallibility.

It was first written that God made man a little lower than the angels, but the new version has it that God made man a "little lower than God," and I hold that when the men who made the constitution sought to protect the liberties of Americans by ordaining that they should not be deprived of the priceless boon, without which life itself is an unpeppable curse, except by due process of law, and a trial by an impartial jury, it was a case of vox populi, vox dei, or that the decree of the constitution is the mandate of God.

What can be said of these constitutional guarantees of the rights and liberties of American citizens to-day?

I anticipate your answer. You invite me to go with you on a pilgrimage to WOODSTOCK PRISON. In fancy I stand with you around that dismal pen, the court ordained Bastille of America. You tell me that in 1776 old Independence Hall was the cradle of liberty, and then blessing your maledictions, you tell me Woodstock is its grave, its iron grated and iron barred tomb.

Peering through the bars we behold in this peeling of liberty E. V. Debs, Sylvester Kellier, L. W. Rogers, James Hogan, Wm. E. Burns, Roy M. Goodwin and Martin J. Elliott. Their rights have been bludgeoned to death, their liberties have been cloven down and the constitution, with more stab holes in it than there were in Caesar's mantle, lies cold and stiff at our feet—and, by all the pagan gods in a pile, look you!—the winding sheet of the corpse is the silk gown of the supreme court, black as a pirate's flag.

Do you ask me whose despotic hands tore the jewel of liberty from the American constitution and buried it for a time, and perhaps forever, in this Woodstock bastille? I answer, a subordinate judge of the federal judiciary.

Do you ask by what authority this worse than Russian nihilist threw his judicial bomb into the arena where citizens were contending for their constitutional rights? I answer by the same authority that Russian despots have imprisoned, tortured, murdered and exiled their subjects who dared to whisper the word liberty from St. Petersburg to Kamchatka, a country where a thousand trails of blood and tears, of groans and gloom, curses and curses have mapped the land from palace to prison as cattle wear deep their pathways from green fields to slaughter pens. I say

WORSER THAN A RUSSIAN NIHILIST because in Russia the misguided devotees of liberty seek to kill the authors of their enslavement, while in the United States the judicial nihilists explode their bombs to destroy constitutional guarantees of liberty.

Have I overstated the case? Have I committed the offense of exaggeration?

THE WOODSTOCK BASTILLE. I fancy we have made a pilgrimage to Woodstock. I imagine we are now standing near the jail. It is a rude and crude specimen of architecture. There is no display of art in its construction. We note its iron bars and its iron doors, its little grated windows—blow holes in its armor—and its iron grated cells. We might visit Woodstock a thousand times without so much as a thought of its jail. Not so now. It is the one building in the United States upon which all eyes are centered, upon which the thoughts of all liberty loving Americans converge. The supreme court has transformed it into a dungeon, a slave pen, a bastille, a Russian horror.

Behind the bars we see our imprisoned friends. We ask, we can not help asking, what is the "capital or otherwise infamous crime" for which these men are suffering the deprivation of their liberty?

Are we told that these prisoners, members of a great organization, known as the American Railway Union, espoused the cause of several thousand wage slaves in the town of Pullman, that to rescue them from the grasp of famine they inaugurated a strike; that against the workingmen was arrayed the money power of the nation, the corporations, the courts, the plutocracy, the aristocracy and the military power of state and nation; and that the strike was defeated and the money power triumphed, and to emphasize this defeat the officers of the American Railway Union, the leaders in the strike, are imprisoned, and that this exhibition of power will strike terror in the ranks of organized labor, and that, cowed, bowed, humiliated, demoralized, debased and crawling in the presence of this exhibition of despotic power, organized labor manacled, branded and tagged, will wear the insignia of their de-

basement, as silent as so many dumb-driven cattle.

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to Woodstock prison they sent you all to that bastille.

I do not deal in hallucinations. When the supreme court decided that Dred Scott should be returned to slavery and to chains, the slave block and the whip, it said that every fugitive from bondage should be arrested and re-enslaved, and the fate of the Woodstock prisoners is your fate if you dare be free.

In this emergency WHAT RIGHT remains to workingmen? I believe Mr. Brutus Brewer conferred them the ballot. The ballot has been often referred to as one of the palladiums of American liberty, one of its safeguards, but it so happens, that in spite of this palladium, liberty has been cloven down, and now one of the judicial czars who signed the decree recommends the ballot as a panacea for the bludgeon blow he inflicted.

I felicitate you, fellow citizens that you still have the ballot. As a preventive of a great national disaster it cuts a sorry figure. But it has immense power if workingmen will unite and wield it for regaining their lost constitutional right to remain free, until by the fiat of an impartial jury they are sent to prison.

But preceding the voting there must be AGITATION. The world moves by agitation. It is the law irrevocable and eternal. It rules in the realms of nature and of mind. But for agitation the world would lapse again into the stagnation of the dark ages. Every thunder peal, every flash of lightning, every wind that blows and every tide that flows tells, not only of nature's abhorrence of a vacuum, but of stagnation as well.

I read that on one occasion, Jesus, the "carpenter's son," was riding into Jerusalem, when the multitude, with loud voice, broke forth in praise. The Pharisees, the plutocrats of the time, sought to hush the agitation, and called upon the "Master" to rebuke his followers. His reply was: "I tell you that if they should hold their peace the stones would immediately cry out."

Shakespeare says "there are sermons in stones," and Jesus told the Pharisees if his followers ceased their acclamations he would put tongues in all the boulders of Jerusalem and make preachers of them.

Jesus of Nazareth was the arch agitator of the centuries, and since the days of his incarnation humanity, by zig zag roads, has been advancing. The plutocratic Pharisees murdered him and thought the agitation would cease. Constitutional liberty in the United States has been crucified, not between two thieves, but at the behest of the high priests of corporations, the colossal thieves of all the centuries.

WILL AGITATION CEASE THEREFORE? Has the combined power of plutocracy, the judiciary and the military paralyzed the tongues of men who were born free? Have the soldiers in liberty's cause deserted their standard? Has the last Dred Scott decision changed their hair to wool and their alabaster complexions to ebony? Is the decision of the supreme court, which denies workingmen a trial by an impartial jury, the first gong peal of a return to old plantation days? Are workingmen to be in the future the kneeling camels of plutocrats, to receive such burdens as their masters choose to bind upon their backs—the helots, the peons, the coolies of America? I do not believe it. This mass meeting stands as

A PROTEST against the decree of a despotic supreme court. It is a notification that agitation has begun and will proceed until, regardless of cost, the lost right of a trial by jury is regained, or, as Jefferson predicted, the supreme court, the "sappers and miners" of the republic, shall have established a centralized plutocracy, placing liberty on the scaffold or in a dungeon, while treason, crowned and sceptered, is placed on the throne.

The great order of the American Federation of Labor has spoken in no uncertain voice. It invites all subordinate organizations throughout its continental jurisdiction to hold mass meetings and denounce in becoming speech the despotism of the supreme court. It would have organized labor keep up the agitation until by legislation the arbitrary power of the supreme court is abridged and the people are once more free. That the effect of the Indianapolis meeting will exert a most salutary influence is a foregone conclusion. It revives hope. It strengthens faith. It has the ring of '76, and the American Federation of Labor is to be congratulated upon the noble stand it has taken in vindication of the rights of American citizens.

A SONG OF FATHERLAND. I've wandered east, I've wandered west, In gypsy vein a random roamer. Of men and maids I've known the best, Like the far traveled king in Homer.

But, oh, for the land that bore me! Oh, for the stout old land Of breezy fen and winding glen Of roaring flood and sounding strand.

I've stood where stands in pillared pride The shrine of Jove's spear shaking daughter And humbled Persia stained the tide Of free Greek seas with heaps of slaughter.

I've stood upon the rocky crest Where Jove's proud eagle spreads his pinion, Where looked the god far east, far west, And all he saw was Rome's dominion.

I've seen the domes of Moscow far, In green and golden glory gleaming, And stood where sleeps the mighty czar, By Neva's flood so grandly streaming.

I've stood on many a famous spot Where blood of heroes flowed like rivers, Where Deutschland rose at Gravelotte, And dashed the strength of Gaul to shivers.

I've fed my eyes by land and sea, With sights of grandeur streaming o'er me But still my heart remains with thee, Dear Scottish land that stoutly bore me.

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MYRON REEDISMS.

God, call the roll.

My text is taken from the acts, not the deliberations of the apostles.

God is not over, nor around; He is in the midst. That is what makes me have more respect for impulse than I once had for it.

The man who builds the best he knows is working under infinite genius and will find in the end that he builded better than he knew.

Science does not always build from the ground up. Truth comes both ways. However it comes, I dislike to see the church the last to receive it.

If we all said plainly what we most clearly think, we should not be far out of the way. God does not permit honest minded people to make fatal mistakes.

Henry George concentrates on the land question. I do not find any of him scattered about, and none of him wasted. He has made himself heard wherever there is any land.

Perhaps the moderns undervalue impulse. Jesus, walking along by the lake, sees a fisherman and says to him, "Follow me," and the man does not wait to sell or store his boat and net or to take anyone's advice, promptly follows.

The fanatic has an advantage, he makes himself heard. He calls attention to one side of the question; let some other fanatic call attention to the other side, and then both sides are attended to. We may not admire the man of one idea, but he is useful.

I do not recognize the division of history into sacred and profane. Abraham Lincoln did the same kind of work as Moses. He had as definite a call. I can find no date when God ceased to converse with His children. Whatever needs to be done is God's business. A man's faculty is his call.

A Sunday school teacher writes to know if she is to teach the children what she thinks. That is a timely question. Some children by and by will have a poor opinion of some of us. When they are older and wiser they will say severely that we taught them what we ourselves did not believe, or they will say kindly that we did not know any better, and so excuse us. We must have more confidence in our intuition.

John Brown fixed his eyes on black slaves and he sent himself after his eyes. He made a nation look where he looked. He was a narrow man, but he was very effective. One member of parliament devoted himself to the protection of English sailors. He concentrated himself on the toilers of the sea—men who have found the shore more pitiless than the ocean. He inflicted himself on parliament; he wearied men into consent.

Probably there is no more idle question than, "Where will this lead to?" No man is able to tell the far-reaching consequence of his action. There are always some reasons for not doing anything. One might be so well balanced as never to move and stand still like a wheel on its center. There are many lives spoiled by too much deliberation. Death often finds a man at the interrogation point; no question answered, no duty done.

When General Gordon has nothing else to do he teaches ragged children at Gravesend. In battle he has no society. In China or in Egypt, he is not homesick. Wherever he is, on this side of the grave or on the other side, he is on his father's plantation. If he is not at work here, you will find him at work there. He is somewhere on the place. He is where God has the most use for him. "He is not dead; He is just away."

There is a great deal of quick obedience in the people of the Bible. They do not argue and reason why, deliberate, doubt and delay. The Lord says to Moses, "Speak to my people that they go forward," and he sounds the call. There are several reasons for not going forward. The Red Sea is one strong reason and the wilderness is another. No nations have been issued. One cannot live upon the country in a desert. The march of Moses is very imprudent, reckless undertaking. There is no precedent for it. The Lord warns Noah of the flood, and tells him to build an ark, and in spite of sunshiny weather and the ridicule of neighbors, the man at once begins to build.

Mr. Bergh, whose name suggests "the humane society," was wrapped up in his crusade against cruelty to animals. He included in his care, children. He was not a wide man; he was not nearly so wide as Shakespeare; he was narrow; he had to be thin in order to be sharp. Perhaps he was wide enough. Mentally he was shaped like a wedge. Perhaps division of labor must be recognized in the business of doing good. Mr. Bergh walked the streets with his eyes out for the woes of horses and dogs. He was very effective. He was the inspiration of the society. The result is that while there is cruelty still in the world, it has become ashamed, and is inclined to hide. It is confessed now that justice is justice to every creature. Our dumb relative has rights.

A CHARITABLE ARAB.

Said All Ben Hassan, a kind-hearted man; "I'll treat my poor camel as well as I can.

"To temper the heat I will shade the poor fellow With my second best apple green cotton umbrella.

"With a pair of blue goggles I'll shield her poor eyes From the glare of the sun, and I'll keep off the flies.

"And cool her at times with my big palm leaf fan." (But I'll stick on her back and I'll milk all I can), Said All Ben Hassan, the charity man.

—F. B. Opper in St. Nicholas (slightly modified.)

Said Abou Ben Booodle, a Christian man.

"I'll pray ten times a day, and more if I can.

"With my mouth full of love and my eyes full of tears,

"I'll skin my hir'd cattle as Armour skins steers,

"Through the blow holes of my faith the people may see

"I'm as circumspect and devout as a meek pharisee.

"I'll corner beef, pork, corn, rye, barley and wheat,

"And thank God that workingmen have garbage to eat.

"If I've a case in court, blotched black and blue,

ALL ALONG THE LINE

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE NATION IS ASSAILED BY INDIGNANT MEN.

Confidence in Its Decisions No Longer Has a Place in the Minds of Honest Citizens.

The National Watchman, in burning words, flays the supreme court as follows: "The recent decision of the supreme court declaring the income tax law unconstitutional is most startling, and at the same time the most infamous of all that has ever been handed down from that body. It is a plain declaration that the rich and avaricious shall rule this nation at the expense of the toiling millions. It is a statement in unmistakable terms that the millionaire with his princely income should contribute no more toward the support of the government than the average producer. This income tax compelled every person to pay into the national treasury 2 per cent. of his income in excess of \$4,000. Every other civilized nation nearly has an income tax which is considered the most just and equitable of all the forms of taxation. During the late war there was an income tax in this country and it was declared constitutional. In fact this has been the prevailing opinion in this court since the formation of the government. The constitution declares that all direct taxation shall be a per capita tax—that is, the amount of tax to be raised shall be divided among the states in proportion to population. In seeking a method to annul this law and thwart the will of the people this court assumed that this income tax was a direct tax, and should be paid in proportion to population and not by individuals in the ratio of their incomes. Our government, like all others, was instituted for the protection of life and property and a due regard for equitable conditions would demand that the man who has the most property should pay the largest amount in its defense. The supreme court, however, in this decision, declares that each individual shall contribute alike in this defense. Such a doctrine is monstrous and will not stand the test of loyalty in this country. It is revolutionary and will go far toward fanning the smoldering fires of revolution that are even now dangerously near breaking into a wild conflagration. The supreme court has been debauched in the near past and can no longer be trusted. This decision marks the trinity of corruption under which the people are now groaning. Justice Shiras should be impeached for being either a fool or a scoundrel, since inside of sixty days he has changed his mind upon the greatest question ever before this court. Think of it: a supreme judge with no more mind than that. We believe that if Justice Jackson had taken a different view from what he did that Justice Shiras would not have changed. Plutocracy, however, demanded that this law should be annulled, and it was done. We heard the decision and saw the guilty look of this treacherous judge. He was uneasy and showed guilt in every move. But the act is done, and the people have received another lesson of corruption and venality in high places. The end is not yet."

When the officers of the A. R. U. were sent to jail the subsidized press of the country agreed to let them drop out of sight and bury them in the gloom of silence. But the pressure was too great; the people too clamorous, and now the President is kept busy from 6 A. M. until 10 P. M. writing articles for the first magazines and big dailies of the country.

The talk about "federating" the old brotherhoods would make a horse laugh. Haven't they been "worked" often enough? Or do they want another Northwestern or Lehigh Valley experience? In the Lehigh Valley strike the A. R. U. did not scab on them as they afterward did on the A. R. U., and yet the company whipped them hands down.

"The Co-operative Colony of Liberty Jail" is the title of the temporary headquarters of the A. R. U. at Woodstock, Ill. Not a note of complaint nor a chirp of despondency is heard there. Each heart throbs quicksteps and each eye has the flash and sparkle of determination. The directors are now using the pen. Their voices will soon again resound in the land.

All employees of the Boston and Maine Railroad have been forbidden by an order just issued from using tobacco in any form while on duty, and also when off duty if wearing uniform or railroad badge. If the employees of Secretary Olney's road will put in a few A. R. U. unions down there the Secretary will be glad to lend them his plug hat for a spit-box before next election.

An address singing in the Opera house in Portland, Ore., on the evening of the Fourth of July added some verses which were composed by an A. R. U. man of that city, one of which is given below: There is one in jail whom we'll never forget; Pullman's the cause of it all. He is there for the cause of the poor you can bet; 'Old Pullman's the cause of it all.

Other verses followed which finally disclosed the name of Pullman's victim in the Woodstock jail. As a result about a hundred carpenters have been given employment in re-roofing that opera house.

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An address singing in the Opera house in Portland, Ore., on the evening of the Fourth of July added some verses which were composed by an A. R. U. man of that city, one of which is given below: There is one in jail whom we'll never forget; Pullman's the cause of it all. He is there for the cause of the poor you can bet; 'Old Pullman's the cause of it all.

Other verses followed which finally disclosed the name of Pullman's victim in the Woodstock jail. As a result about a hundred carpenters have been given employment in re-roofing that opera house.

A. R. U. ISMS.

We still "stand pat."

The new ritual takes effect August 1st.

Texas is coming to the front in grand shape.

Col. Hogan has charge of the military drill at Woodstock jail.

Don't be a coward or a sneak. It don't pay. Be a man. It pays.

Ten local unions have been reorganized since the first of July and two new ones.

We have five applications for organizers in the state of Ohio. They will all be in line by the end of this month.

The tide has changed and the current is running strongly in our direction. They are coming to us "as the waves come."

A. R. U. men do not patronize the Travellers' Insurance Co. since it has become known that George M. Pullman is a director.

Fidelity to principle is the watchword of the A. R. U. The men who followed its flag through the smoke and flame of battle will yet carry it to victory.

The progressive engineers of the western states are coming to us in numbers to warrant the statement that we will soon have a majority of them.

Since the A. R. U. officers have been in jail President Debs has received over a thousand letters of commiseration. Many are postmarked in foreign lands.

In a letter just received from Texas the writer refers to Jesus Christ, the saviour of men, as the "illustrious predecessor" of the President of the A. R. U.

Sheriff Eckert will be a middle-of-the-road Populist by the time the A. R. U. officers have served their sentences. On these lines he is sure to succeed himself.

A. R. U. men who were discharged on the T. & O. C. R. R. have been reinstated by Organizer Wild and any future grievances will be conducted by the A. R. U. exclusively.

Do not forget the RAILWAY TIMES. The circulation is rapidly increasing but we want to make it an hundred thousand. Get every subscriber you can. Don't allow one to escape.

Earnest, substantial work is what is now wanted on the part of every member—a proper understanding of the duties of membership and the courage and manliness to perform them.

The seven directors who are in jail at Woodstock are putting in every leisure moment "lining up" the men and putting the order in shape for action. Their mail is something wonderful.

A prominent western railway conductor writes us: I have joined the A. R. U. as it is now the only protective order of railway employes in existence." They are coming in right along.

A local secretary of one of our unions in the west says his union is like a Missouri rail fence—horse high, hog tight and bull proof. That is the kind of goods we are turning out these days.

The A. R. U. with all the railroads, all the old brotherhoods, all the courts, federal and state troops, marshals, scabs, plutocrats, press and pulpit against them made a fight that was the marvel of the age.

Notwithstanding all our officers are in jail business is increasing and we are taking in more members than at any time since the great strike. This is not a "slam" at the officers, but a fact in which they join in congratulations.

The Southern Pacific conductors and brakemen are said to be anticipating that the guaranty provision of their contract with the company will be cut off and their pay reduced to actual mileage without overtime. This will give the A. R. U. a few hundred more members.

We have a letter from the coast which tells of a rumor in that section that Grand Chief Wilkinson of the B. of R. T., has a position waiting for him on the Southern Pacific when his term of office expires with the Trainmen. We would advise him to take out an A. R. U. card before he tackles the job.

Do you want to belong to a bona fide labor protective organization that means business? Join the A. R. U. Do you wish to join a dress parade institution specially designed and positively guaranteed to meet the approbation of the general managers' association? Apply to the old brotherhoods.

A large crowd of professional and business gentlemen spent the Fourth with President Debs and associates in the Woodstock jail. Among those in the party were Judge Jesse Cox, Prof. Miller, Hon. George Schilling and Col. J. H. Schwergzen, of Chicago. Before leaving they christened the jail, "New Mecca of American Liberty."

When the officers of the A. R. U. were sent to jail the subsidized press of the country agreed to let them drop out of sight and bury them in the gloom of silence. But the pressure was too great; the people too clamorous, and now the President is kept busy from 6 A. M. until 10 P. M. writing articles for the first magazines and big dailies of the country.

The talk about "federating" the old brotherhoods would make a horse laugh. Haven't they been "worked" often enough? Or do they want another Northwestern or Lehigh Valley experience? In the Lehigh Valley strike the A. R. U. did not scab on them as they afterward did on the A. R. U., and yet the company whipped them hands down.

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HOME.

The prince rides up to the palace gates And his eyes with tears are dim, For he thinks of the beggar maiden sweet Who never may wed with him.

For home is where the heart is, In dwelling great or small, And there's many a splendid palace That's never a home at all.

The yeoman comes to his little cot With a song when day is done, For his dearie is standing in the door, And his children to meet him run.

For home is where the heart is, In dwelling great or small, And there's many a stately mansion That's never a home at all.

Could I but live with my own sweetheart In a hut with sanded floor, I'd be richer far than a loveless man With fame and a golden store.

For home is where the heart is, In dwelling great or small, And a cottage lighted by lovelight is the dearest home of all.

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 phoenix 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.

THE MINISTRY

Is the subject of an address delivered by the Rev. F. F. Passmore before the Methodist Episcopal Conference, recently held at Denver, Colo. This is one of the most startling arraignment of the "hiring clergy" that was ever uttered by a christian minister. So great has been the demand for extra copies of the TIMES containing this paper that we have published a limited edition which can be had at this office for ten cents each.

OUR CLUBBING LIST.

We will send the RAILWAY TIMES and COMING NATION, one year \$1.20 six months .70 three months .40 SENTINEL (Lima, Ohio), one year \$1.20 six months .70 three months .40 CO-OPERATIVE AGE (St. Paul), one year \$1.20

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 organized labor director, Mr. Charles A. Pillsbury, with great regret, from the fact that in his twenty-five years of active business life it had been a principle with him to so fairly deal with his employes 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 employes and this firm.

Mr. Pillsbury immediately dispatched J. P. McGaughey, their local agent to investigate the cause of the trouble. Mr. McGaughey 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 letter: 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 reparation 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, F. W. SCHMIDT, Secretary Trade and Labor Council, 1810 Fifth Avenue, South, Chicago, Ill., May 12, 1895.

GENERAL OFFICE, AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION, 421 Ashland Block, Messrs. Pillsbury-Washburn Co., CHICAGO, ILL., May 12, 1895. GENTLEMEN: From personal observation for years, and information from those who know, I can say that your company has 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 KELLER, Secretary.

JOURNEYMEN STONE CUTTERS' ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA, 509 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. Yours 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 thus have had an exceptional opportunity to know the relations of the various firms to their employes. No employer of labor stands higher in my estimation than Pillsbury-Washburn Co. They are uniformly kind and considerate to their employes, 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 is most successful in all matters 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 employes are better satisfied with their treatment and conditions of labor. EVA McDONALD VALES, 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 has 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 what you can to remove the false impression concerning the flour manufactured by the Pillsbury-Washburn Company, I am, with sincere regards, Very truly yours, L. G. POWERS, Commissioner of Labor.

Armed with this evidence of the good-will of organized labor in Minneapolis, Mr. McGaughey 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. RIEFLER, President.

WALTER M. GROVES, Sec'y-Treas. The original complaint having been sent in from Messrs. Horace Clark & Sons Company, of Peoria, Ill., Mr. McGaughey 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, were posted. From Peoria the information was received that the card had been printed in Decatur, Ill., and that the union labor labels were secured by an unauthorized agent—so far as labor organizations are concerned—and printed in a rat establishment, having no right to the use of the union label. All the officers of the labor unions appealed to, without exception, were unanimous in their opinion that the card was a fraud, and offering every courtesy in their power to correct any bad impression that might have been caused by the unauthorized use of their labels as a means to solicit advertising.

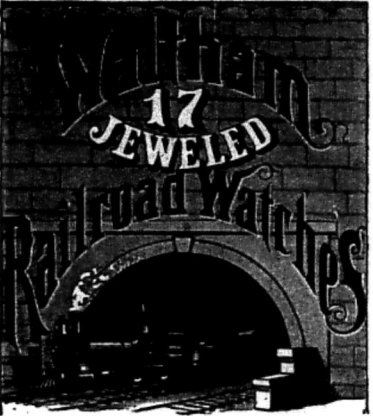
It will, no doubt, be regretted by the members of labor unions that a firm which has been so liberal to its employes, in providing for years divided a fair share of its profits with them, should be so unjustly injured. C. A. Pillsbury, who is the head of the firm, was the first miller to give practical 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 efforts in securing organization among his employes. In 1894 he was selected as the chairman of the joint committee from the commercial clubs representing the Twin Cities, and the various committees of railway employes of the Great Northern Railway, as a final board of arbitration, which committee, in final settlement, rendered a report so manifestly 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, whereby being advertised through means of a card purporting to be authorized by union labor, and local firms' advertisements in the different cities throughout the state, were posted. 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 the Pillsbury's Best, and to try and supply them with inferior grades, upon which they make a larger profit.

WALTHAM WATCHES

ARE THE BEST AMERICAN-MADE WATCHES.

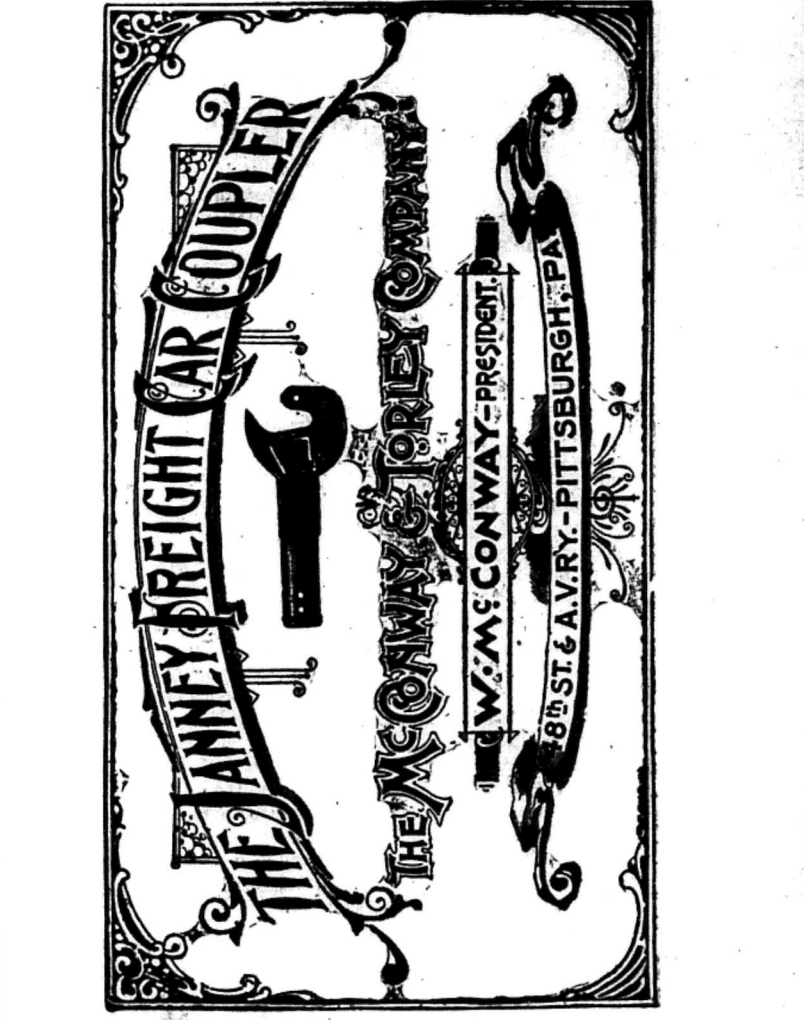
Their superiority over all other watches, both foreign and domestic, has been attested by the Highest Awards in Horology at International Expositions, and by Public Approbation for Forty Years.



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

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

MANUFACTURED AND WARRANTED BY THE AMERICAN WALTHAM WATCH CO., WALTHAM, MASS.



The Railroad Men's Railroad.

Every railroad employe is invited to join in the enterprise. This road will be a transcontinental line beginning at San Diego City. The shares of stock are ten dollars each, payable fifty cents per month. Nothing to be paid until sufficient stock is subscribed to insure the building of the road. Before any money is collected the present directors will retire in favor of such board as the subscribers elect through the brotherhood organizations. All preliminary expenses will be borne by the citizens of San Diego, who will in addition liberally subsidize the road. This road will be built for cash. No bonds. To be owned, controlled and operated by railroad employes. For full particulars address

SAN DIEGO PACIFIC & EASTERN R. R., Geo. W. Vroman, President, San Diego, Cal.

Advertisement for ELY'S CREAM BALM. A RAILROAD MAN'S REMEDY!! No Douche, No Vaporizing, No Wash. A CURE THAT CURES. An Effective VEST POCKET Remedy. Always Ready. No Pain Exposed to Wind or Weather Like the Railroad "Boys" and Subject to CATARRH should be Without ELY'S CREAM BALM Gives Relief at once for Cold in the Head. Apply into the Nostrils—It is Quickly Absorbed. 50c. Druggists or by mail. ELY BROS., 56 Warren St., N. Y.