

## THE UNIVERSITY.

### AND THE RELATION IT SUSTAINS TO THE LABOR PROBLEM.

Discussed in a Paper to *The Adelbert* of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University by Eugene V. Debs.

The *Adelbert* is the title of the college paper published by the students of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University. In the February issue there appears an article by Mr. Eugene V. Debs captioned "The American University and the Labor Problem." The article was contributed by Mr. Debs in answer to the following interrogatory propounded by the editors: "Is the American University doing its share in solving the great Labor Problem? If not where is it lacking and what suggestions would you make for its improvement in that direction?" and is here reproduced in full as follows:

Strictly speaking, the American University is doing little, if anything, toward solving the "great labor problem" and the reason why, if sought, is found in the fact that neither the American nor the European Universities were founded for any purpose directly or remotely connected with the solution of any labor problem, great or small. Such is the history of European Universities and in the founding of American Universities history may be said to have repeated itself.

In replying to the interrogatories addressed to me by the Editor-in-Chief of *The Adelbert*, "Is the American University doing its share in solving the great Labor Problem? If not, where is it lacking and what suggestions would you make for its improvement in that direction?" hypercriticism of the American University is not required and yet, facts should be courageously stated regardless of consequences.

As a general proposition, universities are aristocratic institutions. This is preeminently true of European Universities and to make matters still worse they were from the date of inception hedged about with ecclesiastic prerogatives and bigotries which, *nobis volens*, created a class of superior beings as separate and distinct from labor as if the lines defining their limits had been rivers of fire.

That American Universities, as in the case of Harvard and Yale, should have inherited the defects of European institutions, is of easy and satisfactory explanation. The French, English, and German Universities were creations of kings and popes and within their sacred precincts no labor problem was ever considered except to find the most effective methods of enslaving the masses, and how effectively this work has gone forward in Europe for the past six hundred years the merest novice in investigation may find abundant proof; indeed, exclusiveness is the distinguishing characteristic of the Ancient and modern university and no amount of learned sophistication can obscure the fact. It was true of the Lyceum when Aristotle taught, when Grecian philosophy was in its meridian glory, and the academy of Plato was not invaded except by the favored few and it is as true now as then, that a University education is reserved for those who have money to purchase it, and the fact that Universities confer degrees is in itself a power employed for constituting a species of nobility which, however well deserved in certain cases, considered from an educational point of view as rewards of merit, serves nevertheless, and has always served the purpose of creating an aristocracy of D. D's., LL. D's., etc., often as obnoxiously exclusive as a titled nobility created by kings.

The graduates of Universities with their diplomas and degrees, boasting of their *Alma Mater*s, as a rule regard themselves, as compared with the "common people," of superior mold, and this fact is scarcely less conspicuous in America than in Europe. The rule is stated: there are numerous exceptions, but observation verifies the proposition and that such defects and infirmities are largely the result of inheritance, few will be found to question the avowal.

Referring directly to the interrogatory "Is the American University doing its share in solving the great Labor Problem?" after grouping all the facts the reply must be in the negative; but just what is meant by the "great labor problem" is susceptible of so many and such varied conclusions that the difficulties evoked are well calculated to involve discussion in ceaseless entanglements. Labor in the United States is confronted with numerous problems and which one should be designated as "the great labor problem" must be of necessity, left to the judgment of those who are interested in such questions.

There are those who are constantly championing the hypothesis that there exists something in the nature of an irrepressible conflict between labor and capital and that to harmonize the belligerents, constitutes the solution of the "great labor problem" and the error, for such it is, so permeates discussion that confusion becomes worse confound-

ed as the debate proceeds and necessarily so, because the premise is a myth, the truth being that capital and labor instead of occupying a hostile attitude towards each other, enjoy the most peaceful relationship. This must of necessity be the condition; since the truth is axiomatic that labor and only labor, creates capital. But when it is stated that a conflict exists between laborers and capitalists, a problem is presented worthy of the attention of the American University. It so happens, however, that the University, to use a figure of speech, is itself a capitalist and has never had anything in common with labor and, therefore, is not doing its "share," whatever that may be, in solving any labor problem.

In this there is nothing peculiar to the American University, the facts standing out as prominently in the history of all universities.

What, in this connection, could be more interesting than to know what labor problem has been solved by any of the great universities of Europe? To be more particular and pertinent, because of language inheritance, what labor problems have the great historical and wealthy universities of England solved? For more than six hundred years the Cambridge and Oxford Universities have flourished, and if either of them have solved any great labor problem for the benefit of the toilers of England, the facts should be stated. A correspondent of a Chicago paper, writing recently from London, after recapitulating numerous and aggravating afflictions of labor in England says, "The result is that England has upon her hands an enormous pauperized population and the government is seriously embarrassed by continued demands for relief." What is true of England is equally true of the United States, for notwithstanding we have Harvard and Yale and perhaps a hundred more American Universities, we also have "an enormous pauperized population" and if these universities have solved any labor problem, the present is happily opportune to herald the fact.

If the American University has failed in doing its share in solving the "great labor problem," no laborious research is required to find a plausible reason for its shortcomings, and recent humiliating incidents transpiring in the operation of the Chicago University, become sufficiently explanatory to satisfy the most exacting. The dismissal of Prof. Bemis proclaims the fact that the American University is not equipped to solve labor problems, but is arrogantly hostile to labor, and further proof of its opposition to labor, if demanded, is found in President Harper's explanation of the dismissal of Prof. Bemis in which he is reported to have said substantially that to "express friendship for working men is well enough but we get our money from the other side."

The American University is not seeking to solve labor problems because the performance of such work would require the arraignment of the capitalistic class from which it "gets its money," and the capitalistic class solves all labor problems by creating environments which pauperize labor, and reduce it to vassalage.

Suggestions for the improvement of the "American University" made by any one identified with labor, thought responding to a request to offer hints in that direction, would be regarded by university presidents, professors and graduates, as impertinences, plebeian rudeness, born of ignorance and audacity, and yet it so happens that every advance step taken to solve labor problems, bearing the stamp of common sense and justice, has been made by men within the ranks of labor and not by men wearing University titles and equipped with the advantages their *Alma Mater*s could confer.

But such statements are not put forth to intimate intentional culpability on the part of the American University. It was not founded nor endowed for solving labor problems and its curriculum never includes studies specially designed to aid in the performance of such tasks, and any improvement in that direction would involve such radical changes as would disturb their foundations.

The American University if it would do any share in solving the "great labor problem," would be required to attack the corrupting power of money wielded by corporations, trusts and syndicates, as also the American aristocracy, whether built upon coal-oil or cod fish, watered stocks, banks, bullion or boodle. This, as in the case of the Chicago institution, it would not do because it is from such sources that it gets its money. It would be required to employ professors to lecture upon the degrading influences of starvation wages, which darken ten thousand American homes. It would be confronted with the exiling power of labor-saving machinery, which is filling the land with armies of enforced idlers which thoughtful men regard as dangerous and threatening the perpetuity of our republican institutions. It would have to array itself against a corrupt

## LABOR,

### THE ONLY SOURCE OF WEALTH A NATION POSSESSES.

The Capacity of The People for Production is More Than Goods, Chatties and Real Estate.

In a recent issue of the *Silver Knight* there appeared the following excellent article: The struggle of the masses against the classes to obtain liberty and independence is not hopeless. It is true that the debts of the civilized world exceed the assessed value of all the property for the purposes of taxation, but the people are not included in the assessment which makes up the aggregate of the wealth of the world. The real wealth of a nation is not goods, chatties, real estate and money, but consists in the capacity of the people for production. If the money powers can continue to keep the volume of money small enough they will control it and continue the process of falling prices by reducing the volume of standard or ultimate redemption money. If they can do this, a condition similar to that existing during the Dark Ages must necessarily be produced, because if money is constantly growing in purchasing power the wealth of bondholders and money changers will constantly increase, and as their wealth increases by the increasing purchasing power of money, the wealth produced by the masses will decrease in like ratio. It takes but a few years for the labor of a country to reproduce its entire wealth. The wealth of the United States is not in its bonded indebtedness; is not in the paltry sum of gold, which is claimed to be in the country; is not in the few thousand millions which the bankers and money changers have filched from the people by dishonest legislation, but it is the capacity of seventy million of people in the country possessing the largest resources in the world to produce wealth. If prices would not fall so that young men could convert their labor into property, or, in other words, produce property with their labor and sell it for money, all would have an opportunity, and the productive power of seventy million of people could be utilized. At the present time not one half—perhaps not one-fourth—of the real productive power of the country is in operation and cannot be on falling prices. This is very plain when we reflect that the instinct of gain leads people to invest in those things which they believe will rise in price, and decline investments in those things which they believe will fall in price. In other words, in the language of the street, the people go "long" on those things which they think will go up, and go "short" on those things which they think will go down in price. When the purchasing power of money is increasing by reason of its scarcity the common instinct of gain leads the community to invest in money and bonds, which are money futures, in anticipation of a further rise in the purchasing power or value of money. Investments in bonds and money futures produce no wealth, but absorb wealth already produced. But if the volume of money could be so increased as to raise prices, the same instinct of gain would lead the people to invest in property and create property. This could only be accomplished by the use of labor which is the source of all wealth. If prices of property were rising, all business enterprises would be active, as it always is on such occasions, and the wealth producing energy of the country would be brought into play and seventy millions of people would produce more wealth in a year than all the hoarded treasures of the conspirators of Wall street. The only possible way that the money powers can enslave the people is to hold the corner which they now have on gold and prevent standard money being stamped upon or manufactured out of any other material but gold. In that case the wheels of industry must stop, the great mass of mankind must become slaves, and the few who deal in money and invest in bonds will have it all. All this is plain when we reflect that the money in circulation on the one hand and the property for sale on the other, are reciprocally the supply and demand of each other, and that general prices are governed by the volume of money. Prices of individual commodities will go up and down according to the supply and demand, but there is one general demand for all property, and that is the volume of money, and the general price of all property depends upon that volume. When that volume shrinks, prices must fall, and when prices fall stagnation and want follow. Labor cannot be employed on falling prices. In the labor of the people exists our store of wealth. That store cannot be unlocked and the labor utilized unless when labor produces property that property can be exchanged at living rates for money. The money powers understand this, and it was a cold-blooded calculation which induced them to destroy silver, and thereby reduce the metallic basis more than one-half. It is a cold-blooded calculation with them when they make war upon the greenbacks and all paper money with a view of diminishing

the supply of money and reducing prices. This gives them not only a mortgage on the property of the people but a mortgage upon the people themselves by which they can foreclose and sell mankind into slavery.

If the American people would say the word they can utilize the wealth of labor which they possess, which is infinitely greater than all the accumulated wealth in property. If they will say the word and insist that the government shall furnish enough money to stop falling prices of property and make their labor available, they will have prosperity, liberty, and independence. But if the Czar of the southern end of the Capital, if the Nero of the White House, and the Cataline of the Senate are followed and kept in power by the masses, the fate of the American people will be the same as the fate of the people of ancient Rome, who were destroyed by the wickedness of characters such as these.

### THE B. OF L. E., THE ENGINEERS AND THE PLANT SYSTEM.

The Plant system is one of the largest systems of railway in the South. It extends over several states and has an enormous mileage, including branches, almost without number. For a number of years this system had a contract with its engineers, who were almost wholly members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Recently the whole general grievance committee of the B. of L. E., consisting of 6 members and 28 other members of the order, more or less prominent, 34 in all, were discharged and no reason was assigned. The men are all of exceptional character and efficiency and no mark is upon their record, yet the order for their discharge came like a flash of lightning from a clear sky.

Mr. Debs went south soon after these men were discharged to fill appointments which had been made long before there was any intimation of trouble. When he reached Macon some engineers informed him that it was currently reported that he had come south to fill engineers' places on the Plant system in case they went on a strike to reinstate their discharged members. It was further reported that Mr. Plant had a letter from Mr. Debs to that effect. It did not take the President of the A. R. U. long to stamp the life out of the damnable falsehood. "Let the letter be produced" declared Debs, "and I will agree to commit suicide." The engineers on the Plant system have nothing to fear from this source, and they know it. The trouble is not that they are afraid of Debs or the A. R. U., but simply that the companies have been favoring them for a long while for a purpose and have now "got 'em." That's where the shoe pinches. Up to this writing the B. of L. E. has not lifted a finger to reinstate the 34 engineers who have sacrificed their jobs on account of having been prominent in its councils.

It may be said right here that if they make a stand in behalf of these men no A. R. U. man shall scab on them and if one or more should do so, he or they will be promptly expelled from the order. No matter how often others may scab on the A. R. U., the A. R. U. will never descend to that level. We have personally met many of these discharged engineers and among them their general chairman, W. E. Futch, of Brunswick, Ga., and we have no hesitancy in saying that they are as fine a lot of men as may be found on any road in the country. Mr. Futch bears an enviable reputation. Not a man, woman or child can be found in that section but speaks of him in terms not only of respect and esteem but of personal attachment.

All these men were unjustly, cruelly discharged. They are the victims of a heartless exhibition of power. If the B. of L. E. suffers them to go under without an effort to save them, that will be the end of the B. of L. E. in the southern states. All eyes are on them. Will they act? We shall see. It is now their turn. We are not disposed to discuss the past at this time. If there is any occasion to show where it stands, the friends of the A. R. U. may feel assured that they will have no cause to blush for the attitude of the order toward the discharged Plant engineers.

The *Evening Journal* of St. Louis, a daily paper published in the interest of organized labor, merits the patronage and support of every workman in St. Louis and vicinity. It is published by a co-operative company composed entirely of prominent representatives of labor and is a fearless champion of the rights and interests of the toiling masses. Organized labor has been and is at a great disadvantage for the want of a daily press. Here is the opportunity to have a daily that will do us justice and that will be of incalculable benefit to us in reaching the people and moulding a favorable public sentiment. The men at the head of the *Evening Journal* are true friends of labor, their hearts are in the cause and we should find pleasure in helping them in their very laudable undertaking to give organized labor a daily paper of character and influence that will champion the rights of the world's workers and manfully battle for them until they are enthroned.

## AT ST. LOUIS.

### AN IMMENSE AUDIENCE GREETED EUGENE V. DEBS AT MUSIC HALL.

More Than 8,000 People, Greet Him With Demonstrations of Confidence and Admiration.

On March 6th, agreeable to appointment, the President of the American Railway Union spoke in Music Hall, at the exposition building, in St. Louis, Mo., to a vast concourse of citizens, under the auspices of the Trades and Labor Union of the city.

It is worthy of remark that the American Railway Union is an organization, the membership of which includes only railway employes and this fact gives exceptional prominence to another fact, that Eugene V. Debs, who, though President of the A. R. U., enjoys the most happy fraternal relations with other labor organizations.

In making the tour of the country with the specific object in view of reconstructing the American Railway Union, he everywhere seeks, by every argument at his command, to strengthen every other labor organization.

Absolutely free from those petty envies and jealousies which work disaster whenever and wherever they appear, Mr. Debs glories in the prosperity of all, and exerts his influence always in that direction. It is this liberal, catholic spirit, known and read of all men who know Mr. Debs, that gives him his grand welcome wherever he appears as the champion of the cause of labor.

St. Louis is a great city—in proportion to population, probably the richest city of the republic. It contains a vast number of working men, among whom are men of large intelligence; of sterling ability, of thorough comprehension of the rights and wants of labor, men of ripe experience, courageous and aggressive. And such men and the hosts they represent, were those who greeted, by thousands, E. V. Debs on the 6th inst. at Music Hall.

Manifestly, such vast multitudes as throng the halls where Mr. Debs speaks, is a concession that he has struck the key note in the solution of the labor problem the unification of the thought and purpose of organized labor to improve conditions, as against faction, division and discord.

Referring to the arrival of Mr. Debs in St. Louis, the *Evening Journal*, of the 6th, said:

Eugene V. Debs, the greatest labor leader of the country, is in town. He arrived in the city at 3 o'clock this afternoon, having come over the Vandallia road from Terre Haute.

The Entertainment Committee of the Trades and Labor Union, composed of J. J. Isaacs, chairman; William Shilling, S. E. Northrup, S. Levy and J. G. Hoppinjohn, met Mr. Debs at the Union station. After a hearty hand-shake all around, he was led to a carriage which had been in wait, and driven to the Leclaire Hotel.

Mr. Debs said: "In only one city of fourteen in the south which I visited on my lecture tour was the hall large enough to hold the crowds that assembled to greet me. I am exceedingly well pleased with the reception I received."

### THE MEETING AT MUSIC HALL.

It is difficult to describe enthusiasm when it takes on the characteristics of a storm. To touch the hearts and arouse the sympathies of from 8,000 to 10,000 people in one great assemblage, and listen to the response they give, defies the most facile pen.

It is sometimes entirely reasonable to assume that the headlines introducing a report constitute the very cream of the effort. As, for instance, the St. Louis *Evening Journal*, of March 7th, in reporting scenes at Music Hall, captions the report as follows: "Eugene V. Debs at Exposition Hall—Confronting a sea of faces, he upholds labor's cause—Talks only to upbuild—His great heart throbs for a common Brotherhood." Following this, the *Journal* said:

About twenty-five years ago the writer had occasion to pass through a small park in St. Louis. This was his daily habit. Note is now made of that fact, because of the marked reversal of conditions.

At the time specified a darkness came over the park. It was early in the afternoon. As the premature darkness was accounted for by a moment's reflection, the spectacle was witnessed from a comfortable seat near by.

Simply an eclipse.

Last evening, within this grand edifice erected on the site of this park, shone forth one of the brightest stars in America's mental firmament to-day.

President Kreyling, of the Trades and Labor Union, presented to the packed house Eugene V. Debs. The presentation was perfunctory. Who can introduce this man to an American audience?

The tenor of the address entire was cheer through concentrated effort. With varied and recurring illustration the workers of the land were shown that in union was salvation. Comparing the laborer's vigil with the lookout from the steamer's deck, Mr. Debs said, impressively: "Take heart; the midnight watch is over!"

Applause was on tap at Exposition Hall last night. Somehow, the hearing of applause does not mar the hearing of a speech as its appearance in parenthesis does the printed report. Quick to the verge of anticipation came hearty responses to a plain recital of accumulating wrongs.

But Mr. Debs stopped at denunciation. With patience as to detail and emphasis as to need, he pointed clearly to the mode of accomplishment of those reforms which he urged. The vast audience was thoroughly in rapport. The earnestness and eloquence of the speaker made for him instantaneous acquaintance.

In response to a request Mr. Debs, during his stay, contributed the follow-

ing views for publication in the St. Louis *Chronicle*:

To the many readers of the *Chronicle*: Legislation direct by the people is the supreme demand of the hour. Political corruptionists have brought the nation to the verge of a ruin and have made this the most degenerate age of which history, ancient or modern, gives any account. The true, strong, patriotic men and women of the country, who love their country above every other consideration, must unite and in voice demand "Direct Legislation, Proportion Representation and the Imperative Mandate." EUGENE V. DEBS

INTERVIEWED.  
The *Evening Journal*, of March 8th, said:

Accompanied by Mr. Kreyling, President of the St. Louis Trades and Labor Union, Eugene V. Debs visited the office of the *Evening Journal* yesterday afternoon. After the eager force of the office had been presented to him, Mr. Debs bent informally to congratulate them upon the nature and prospects of the enterprise which they have in hand. At the outset of his talk he called attention to the up-hill fight which confronts our efforts to build up a newspaper so pronouncedly its pro-union views; still such knowledge should be intensify the determination to succeed. Strength of purpose and harmony among the members of the co-operative company would inevitably overcome all obstacles which could possibly be thrown in its way. Mr. Debs spoke feelingly of his close association with the printers of the country. In all their successes he rejoiced. The sacrifices necessary to be met were pointed out clearly, and ardor to meet them was strongly urged. Mr. Debs said: "I know well what it is to put one's hand in the pocket and find nothing there." The consistent and outspoken course of the *Evening Journal* was commended as worthy of the grand achievement before it.

To-day Mr. Debs will address the Trades and Labor Union at Walthalla Hall.

The St. Louis meeting met every expectation, and its influence was such that labor will be benefited in every department, regardless of name.

### THE CONSPIRACY TRIAL.

On March 9th, General Black, District Attorney for the Northern Illinois District, went before Judge Grosscup, at Chicago, and entered a *nolle prosequi* in the conspiracy case of E. V. Debs and his associate officers of the American Railway Union.

The case was one of a series of perquisitions gotten up by the Railway Managers' Association, an infamous proceeding, but fortunately for the accused it was not a case that permitted the Judge to play despot.

A trial began before a jury, but before it was through, a jurymen took sick and though the defendants were anxious to proceed, the case was continued, and is now ended by being dismissed.

We said at the time that the case would never come to trial. The General Managers and Pullman did not want to go on the witness stand and the General Managers Association did not want the "proceedings" of their secret meetings aired in court, and that settled it. The officers of the American Railway Union served their sentences in jail and this last and final act in striking the case from the docket gives bolder prominence to the infamous judicial outrage of which they were victims. They were innocent. They violated no law, they committed no crime and Judge Woods knew it and yet they went to jail. If they conspired to stop the mail to incite riot, to burn cars or to commit any other crime, why are they not tried? Why is the case against them dismissed? And why did the prosecution wait fourteen months before having it dismissed? The answers all suggest themselves. The whole proceeding is a burning disgrace to our federal judiciary and bears testimony overwhelling that the whole machinery is manipulated at the behest and in the interest of the plutocratic gang by their subsidized hirelings. We are not satisfied to have this case dismissed. This does not atone for the monstrous outrage that was perpetrated upon innocent men in the name of law. Before we get through we propose to bring the whole gang before the tribunal of the people. They prostituted their high offices in abject obedience to corporate capital—they are traitors to the people and merit the scorn and contempt of every good citizen.

A "sick" juror afforded the gang the means of escape and the Christian whelps stood not on the order of going. A "fixed" juror was the general impression and subsequent developments have not served to change it.

The last decade of federal jurisprudence in the United States of America in the 19th century will stand forth in Alpine proportions of infamy and venality, without a parallel in all the ages.

The Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis is one of the foremost in the country. David Kreyling, who officiates as President, has all the qualifications of a leader and presides with the dignity and decision of an accomplished parliamentarian. He is ably seconded by a score or more of others, all of whom are well up in parliamentary tactics and the usages of debate. This body represents almost every labor organization in St. Louis and its bi-monthly meetings constitute gatherings which in point of dignity, importance and proportions may properly be called a Labor Congress. Business is transacted there on business principles and as the delegates are uniformly intelligent, aggressive and progressive, the sessions are fruitful of incalculable good to the cause of labor in St. Louis and vicinity.

THE RAILWAY TIMES

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TERRE HAUTE, APRIL 1, 1896.

THE DOLLAR GOD.

Entirely regardless of the vast number of churches created in the United States and dedicated with more or less pomp to the worship of the "Living God," the almighty dollar is the god we worship, at least six days in the week, and going to church on Sundays is little more than a spectacular parade in which the votaries of fashion display their elegant costumes.

Manifestly, the sturdy Professor fairly estimates the debauching processes of the money power in the United States. It is the dominating power in religion and legislation. It corrupts the courts and decisions are swayed by dollars.

IMPEACHING CLEVELAND.

The sentiment of the American people, as expressed by "the congress," is overwhelmingly in favor of granting the Cubans, struggling for independence, belligerent rights.

It has been given out, true or false, that Grover Cleveland, the Buzzard's Bay fisherman and wild goose hunter, who is profoundly solicitous for the salvation of the souls of the wild and woolly men of western states and territories, is opposed by any executive act to carry out the will of the people in the interest of liberty and independence in Cuba.

Cleveland is bull headed. He is as Senator Tillman said, to the extent of his presidential prerogatives a "bloated tyrant"—as destitute of sympathy for men battling for freedom, as a man-eating tiger. Such is his record. He exhibited it when a young man, when his government was in peril by hiring a substitute.

A member of Congress, proposes, if he refuses to respond to the will of the American people, regarding Cuba, to begin proceedings for his impeachment. He may escape the penalty which impeachment would inflict, upon some technicality, but the effort to punish him for shameful conduct would be a move in the right direction.

A CONGRESSIONAL EXCHANGE.

The daily transaction in merchantable members of "the Congress," upon which Grover Cleveland afflicts messages, has made Washington a business center of the nation of incalculable importance, and the business of buying, hypothecating, mortgaging, holding and delivering the goods, has increased so rapidly and reached such enormous sum totals, that it has been deemed prudent by trusts, syndicates, corporations and monopolies, and all those who have jobs to put through "the Congress," to establish an Exchange for the transaction of business.

While the institution is called an "Exchange," it has few features which entitle it to such a name—owing to the methods of doing business. True, some buying and selling is done, but the principal business of the members of the Exchange is to classify the Congressional commodities and fix quotations. It requires a pile of money to become a member of the Exchange—and as a general proposition, only millionaire syndicates, trusts and corporations are members.

The method of classification is exceedingly cabalistic—and changes occur frequently to deepen the mystery and only the initiated understand them. Sometimes each job has a special classification—depending upon the "fat" there is in it.

Sometimes the method is to classify by animals, sometimes by fish and sometimes by fowls. As a result, Congressmen who are supposed to have a price and are vulnerable, are classified as bulls, bears, asses, mules, hogs, goats and sheep. If the classification is on the piscatorial line it includes many variations from whale to smelt, the shark and dogfish being the most important except the whale, who is usually at the head of a committee having the job in hand and is expected to do the required spouting.

It is now regarded as a matter of prime necessity for those who would control legislation to commit their jobs to the Exchange, and learn approximately the cost of a favorable issue, and then determine if it is worth while to push the job. Already the Exchange is pronounced a success.

SYMPATHY.

The Cubans have struck for liberty and independence—and the people of the United States, from center to circumference, are in sympathy with the strike, and the press of the country with rare exceptions, if there be any exceptions at all, applaud this sympathy for the struggling patriots of Cuba—and thousands of Americans are contributing money to purchase guns and ammunition to help the patriots win victories. Nor is this all, but brave men, regardless of perils by sea and by land, are going continually to Cuba to fight Spaniards to achieve victory.

Why this laudation of sympathy for foreigners in distress, and this denunciation of those who sympathize with their fellow men at home who are the victims of a tyranny as infernal as afflicts Cuba? It is because the plutocratic class have debauched the press, thereby being able to create a public opinion which best subserves their practical schemes.

A PERTINENT QUESTION.

John F. Hume, in the American Magazine of Civics, for March, 1896, asks, "Are we a nation of rascals?" The writer is a gold bug, or an employe of gold bugs, who desires to make it appear that all who favor the free coinage of silver are rascals—and all who advocate a gold standard are honest gentlemen, patriots, etc., in that line, to the end of the chapter.

We have no purpose, in referring to Mr. Hume's paper, to formulate a reply to his platitudes, but rather to offer some reflections suggested by his query, "Are we a nation of rascals?" and do not hesitate to reply in the negative. We are far more a nation of fools than rascals as the daily records demonstrate. But had Mr. Hume asked, as a nation, are we dominated by rascals? the very general reply would have been—certainly. The rascals have everything in their power and their sway is about absolute.

There is scarcely an intelligent man in the country who is not in some way connected with the capitalistic knaves, who does not believe the highest judicial tribunal in the land to be a nest of corruption, a rascally concern swayed and debauched by the corrupting power of money—and the general sentiment of the country is that Congress with few exceptions, is an aggregation of political and partisan knaves, who legislate to establish and perpetuate rascality in finance, and in every department of business—and if one turns to the present administration, it will be found that at its head is one who has been engaged, assiduously, under cover of loud professions of honesty, to insure himself, when he drops out of office, a fortune of millions—the result of schemes so adroitly planned, that only a Rothschild or one of his pals, like J. Pierpont Morgan, could explain how it was accomplished.

In all of the great business interests of the country, with rare exceptions, rascals are in command. To establish the fact beyond controversy, one has only to contemplate the colossal scoundrelism of Carnegie, who palms off upon the government armor for our battle ships utterly valueless; accepted by the government, and the ships sent to sea to be sunk and blown up, should they ever come in contact with the ships of other nations, where rascality in such matters is detected and punished.

Who is there so bold now-a-days as to deny the charge that trusts by rascally schemes are crushing out of existence every form of competition and amassing princely fortunes by robbing the public? It is a truth universally admitted and there is no power to arrest their devastating policy.

Who does not know that the railroad corporations of the country have managed, by what is called capitalization to inject about five billions of water into their stocks and bonds upon which they collect tribute from the nation? It matters not which way we turn or what investigations we pursue, dominating rascality, plumed and spurred, challenges observation and denunciation.

It is said the people—the great majority of the people, are honest—that they protest against this reign of rascality. This may be true, but what matters it if true, the rascals rule all the same. The people could, if they would, change things for the better, but by some unaccountable infatuation, they continue to vote for one or the other of the old parties and thus perpetuate the rule of rascals. Lincoln said "you can't fool all the people, all the time." We shall see.

THE OLD, OLD STORY.

Begging the Worcester Spy's pardon, are we to understand that the United States supreme court in the Stanford decision gave a clean bill of health to the way in which the Stanford millions were acquired? If so, will the Spy not point out that part of the court's opinion which does so? The Spy speaks of those who have questioned the manner of this accumulation as "demagogues and socialistic ranters." But the most dangerous of all our classes are those who wink at the plundering of railway and other corporations, and then place the wealth so acquired on a pedestal of high moral and public advantage. They are anarchists of the worst type, beside which your socialistic ranter is an admirable person.—Springfield (Mass.) Republican

QUERIES.

- When will the coming woman arrive? When will labor unify and vote for its redemption from oppression? When will workingmen cease to be mere tools of corporations? When will workingmen refuse to sneeze when plutocrats take snuff? When will the Shylocks get another \$100,000,000 of Cleveland's gold bonds? When will a wrong inflicted upon one workingman arouse the indignation of all workingmen?

The contract of the engineers on the Chesapeake and Ohio has been summarily abrogated by the company, and their schedule annulled. The officials declare that they will have no further dealings with the B. of L. E., and that they will hereafter run their road to quit themselves. Railroads never violate their agreements—Oh, no!

WHAT HAS BECOME OF IT?

Some time since Senator Call of Florida introduced the following resolution in the United States Senate:

Resolved, That a special committee of seven senators be appointed who shall be charged with the duty of inquiring into the imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs for an alleged contempt of court, and who shall report to the Senate and recommend such legislation as may be necessary for the enforcement of the law and the protection of citizens from an arbitrary and oppressive excess of judiciary power.

A special committee was not appointed, but the resolution was referred to the Committee on Judiciary under promise that action would be promptly reported. At the time of its reference there was quite a tilt among several of the senators, Senator Call urging the necessity of prompt consideration, but since the resolution went to the Committee on Judiciary nothing has been heard from it, and the probabilities are that it has been finally pigeon-holed. The present Senate will not consent to an investigation of any branch of the government's affairs. Such an investigation as is proposed by Senator Call would, if thoroughly, honestly and impartially made, disclose a state of judicial corruption and venality, in obedience to corporate domination, that would shock the country from center to circumference. We hope the few senators who are not debauched will insist upon the consideration of the resolution and keep the matter before the country, and if the cowardly and traitorous Senate will not act, the people will draw their own conclusions and be governed accordingly.

LEVIED ON A PULLMAN.

Geo. Mudgett, treasurer of Spokane county, Washington, recently levied on a Pullman sleeping car at Spokane to satisfy delinquent taxes to the amount of \$150. Judge Hanford of the federal court promptly issued an order to Mudgett to release the car and an order to the marshal to take possession by force if necessary. And now it is claimed that the Northern Pacific has a half interest in the car and as the road is in the hands of receivers, Mr. Mudgett is liable to find himself in serious trouble. Indeed, Mr. Mudgett has been cited to appear before Judge Hanford on April 7th and show cause why he should not be punished for contempt of court.

We personally feel very friendly toward Mr. Mudgett and we respect him for having fearlessly performed his duty, but we hope Judge Hanford will give him a jail sentence. He should be made to pay the penalty of his audacity in calling on the Pullman company to obey the law and pay taxes. Only the poor do this. We want more jail sentences in just such cases, the more the better and after a while the people will get their eyes open and see that our federal courts are plutocratic headquarters and our federal judges a set of corporation lackeys. Then they will act and a long row of infamous decisions and orders will be reversed.

WEALTH AND LUXURY.

Bishop Potter of the Protestant Episcopal church recently expressed himself in the following vigorous language in respect to the growth of wealth and luxury:

"The growth of wealth and of luxury, wicked, wasteful, and wanton, as before God I declare that luxury to be, has been matched step by step by a deepening and deadening poverty which has left whole neighborhoods of people practically without hope and without aspiration. At such a time, for the church of God to sit still and be content with theories of its duty outlawed by time and long ago demonstrated to be grotesquely inadequate to the demands of a living situation, this is to deserve the scorn of men and the curse of God! Take my word for it, men and brethren, unless you and I and all those who have any gift or stewardship of talents or means, of whatever sort, are willing to get up out of our sloth and ease and selfish dilettantism of service, and get down among the people who are battling amid their poverty and ignorance—among young girls for their chastity, young men for their better ideal of righteousness, old and young alike for one clear ray of the immortal courage and the immortal hope—then verily the church in its stately splendor: its apostolic orders, its venerable ritual, its decorous and dignified conventions, is revealed as simply a monstrous and insolent impertinence."

Trinity church of New York city is in the Bishop's diocese, and if he had wanted a target worthy of his gun and ammunition, he could have bombarded that stronghold of pomp, pride and hypocrisy, and received for his work the applause of the whole country.

The Southern Railway System is still making reductions. Get together, boys!

GROVER'S WAY.

- When Grover feels a keen desire To set his party's woods on fire He takes his gun, says I'll retire, And shoot, shoot, shoot. When Grover sees his millions go To Europe, in a steady flow, The way to get it back, you know, Is bonds, bonds, bonds. When Grover wants to find release From his avoirdupois of grease, He goes a hunting for wild geese, And pops, pops, pops. When Grover finds no use for prayer, And feels profane enough to swear, He goes to Buzzard's bay, and there Will fish, fish, fish. When Grover rubs his diaphragm, Takes his bottle and his dram, He's happy as a long-neck-clam, And drinks, drinks, drinks. O, Grover, he's enormous, big, Fat as any China pig, To see him with a gun or pig, Is E Pluribus Unum.

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of 'Pantaloons, Overalls and Shirts you are standing by your colors. They are Union Made by Union Mads for Union Men.

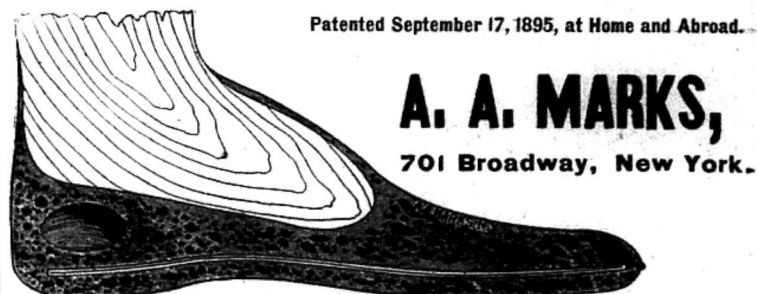
If the principles that organized labor is contending for, are worth anything, they are worth standing up for, and in what better way can a man show his loyalty than in the clothes he wears. If your clothing dealer doesn't keep these goods or won't get them, drop us a Postal. We will send you samples, self-measurement blank and tape measure—and mind you, you will never wear scab clothing again. HAMILTON CARHARTT & CO., Detroit, Mich. J. D. Ferguson, & Co., Sole Agents, Logansport, Ind.

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A RAILROAD MAN'S REMEDY!! No Douches, 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.

THE NEW FOOT

The Latest and Greatest Improvement in ARTIFICIAL LEGS.



A Rubber Foot with a Spring Mattress

LIGHT, SOFT AND DURABLE. A Treatise on Artificial Legs and Arms, of over 400 pages, sent gratis.

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The Largest Overall Manufacturers in the World

GUARANTEED NEVER TO RIP!

If you don't wear overalls, you MUST WEAR PANTS. You should wear Shirts, and you should wear Sack Coats They are all the Best that can be made Our Brand is on all INSIST upon our goods. If your local dealer don't keep them, then write to

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A LOST LEG Is not the calamity it was before the invention of The Patent Adjustable Double Slip Socket. LARGEST LEG FIRM IN THE WORLD. Received the Medal and Diploma at the World's Fair, and the Medal and Diploma at the California International Exposition. THE WINKLEY ARTIFICIAL LIMB CO. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

FAT FOLKS REDUCED. Dr. Snyder, 207 Broadway, NEW YORK CITY.

PAPERS.

THE PROTEST OF HUNGER. BY HUGH J. HUGHES. You ask for a song of our greatness— A wreath for Columbia's shrine: I give you the protest of hunger, That frowns on your drooping wine: Far better the leaving of revels Than the while that the hungry are fed, Than the voice of the heart-stricken millions, Who shall turn from Columbia dead.

THE INDEPENDENT VOTER. BY FRANK A. MYERS. The ballot of the untitled voter is the ruling force in our great country, given by our forefathers to the meaneast and poorest alike as a God-given right, disarming cast and throttling the assumptions of any favored few.

COMING HOME TO ROOST. The Danville (Ills.) Press says: Considerable comment was heard on the summary dismissal of a number of engineers from the service of the C. & E. I. company.

THEIR MEN, MEMBERS OF THE B. OF L. E., who with the full sanction and authority of Grand Chief Arthur took the places of the C. & E. I. engineers, also members of the B. of L. E., who went out on a strike for a restoration of their wages.

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Punish all election frauds, ballot-box thieves, ballot-box stuffers and tally-sheet tamperers, and let there be a fair vote and an honest count.

Mr. Editor:—In a recent issue of the Evansville Courier there appeared a letter from Major Rosencrans, President of the Heilmann Plow Co., of Evansville, Ind., to John W. Hayes, G. S. T. of K. of L., from which I quote the following paragraph:

"Allow me, however, to add that as an individual I have decided upon the value of labor organizations as an economic factor and as an influence in this community. I do not hesitate to say that I believe its general effects to be bad; only second to the blighting effect of the drink habit."

The reading of which carried me back to the days of slavery in the south, at which time both by the law and custom of the Southern States the black slaves were prohibited from assembling for the purpose of discussing their condition as human beings.

No, the fact is that the Major has without any mental or physical effort of his own come into possession of sufficient capital to secure the position of President of a soulless corporation known as the Heilmann Plow Co.

Such men as he would, had they the power, bind the shackles on the limbs of every laboring man and declare to the world, these are our slaves, now and forever. The labor organizations are beneficial, and any one familiar with their workings knows that they are composed of the better class of workmen.

These are men, members of the B. of L. E., who with the full sanction and authority of Grand Chief Arthur took the places of the C. & E. I. engineers, also members of the B. of L. E., who went out on a strike for a restoration of their wages.

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PULPIT AND PRECEPT.

On Sunday evening, March 22, Eugene V. Debs, by invitation of Rev. Dr. Holmes, the pastor, occupied the pulpit of the First Baptist church of Terre Haute, and addressed an immense audience of friends and neighbors of his native city.

The incident is wonderfully suggestive. It has been written that "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country and in his own house."

It is not required to affirm that Mr. Debs is neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet in any bible sense, but as a champion of labor, as the friend of the toiling masses, he is equally honored at home and abroad as his magnificent reception at Terre Haute bears irrefutable testimony, and which his audience on Sunday evening at the church emphasized.

And yet he is the familiar of more common people than any man on the globe. He meets them by the thousands, he shakes their hands, they call on him, and in twenty years of that experience, there isn't one man, high, low or in the middle that will say but what he was treated just as kindly, as respectfully as any other.

Perhaps I had better say nothing, but simply introduce Mr. Debs. I feel it a duty, however, to say a few words. It is not two years since I met the man who is to address you this evening.

It goes without saying that had the great audience in the church been in an undedicated hall resounding applause would have evinced how very close Mr. Debs is to the hearts of the people of Terre Haute.

Ladies, gentlemen and friends—First of all I desire to thank the reverend gentleman and the congregation of this church for the kindness which made it possible for me to stand here tonight.

In the foregoing remarks the reader has the key note of the address which throughout breathed a spirit of thorough conviction and knightly courage, free from circumlocution and that sort of diplomatic legerdemain which mystifies rather than elucidates questions of vital importance.

Mr. Debs read extracts from the writing of eminent men to show that the times are sadly out of joint—to the rapid accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few, and the alarming increase of the army of idle men.

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MEN CONSTITUTE THE STATE.

Those who desire to know what constitutes the state should read the following description of a state by Sir William Jones, an Englishman, who lived contemporaneously with Washington.

What constitutes a State? Not high-raised battlement or labored mound—Thick wall or moated gate; Not cities proud with spires and turrets crown'd; Not buoys and broad-armed posts; Where laughing at the storm, rich navies ride; Not star'd and spangled courts, Where low-brow'd baseness wafts perfume to pride;

Men, high-minded men, With power as far above dull brutes endowed in forests, brake or den As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude, MEN WHO THEIR DUTIES KNOW BUT KNOW THEIR RIGHTS, AND KNOWING DARE MAINTAIN—

Just how many men there are in the United States, answering the description of Sir William Jones, cannot be ascertained from the census reports—men who know their duties and their rights, and dare maintain them, to prevent the long-armed blow of plutocrats; but after the next November election the required information will be supplied.

Promptings to noble acts, like hope, "spring eternal in the human breast." Human nature has its redeeming qualities. There are still Abou Ben Adhem's who love their fellow men and who labor to promote the welfare and happiness of individuals and communities—

The Jacobin Club, for example, an outside and irresponsible organization, marching down every day to make the Assembly register its decrees, has a strong family likeness to our bosses and lobbyists and "owners" of Congressmen, who buy and sell legislation, put the screws on this man and make the other one howl, and unblushingly set themselves up as absolute dictators.

Such is the American Congress, owned and controlled by bosses and lobbyists, who, having the necessary money, own the Congressmen, who do their bidding, and like hirelings receive their pay.

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SPECIAL OFFER TO RAILROAD MEN'S WIVES AND DAUGHTERS!

Our Mammoth New 1896 Flower Seed Offer. A MAGNIFICENT COLLECTION OF FLOWER SEEDS OVER 300 VARIETIES FREE! A WHOLE FLOWER GARDEN WITHOUT COST! An Unparalleled Offer by an Old-Established and Reliable Publishing House.

BOYCOTT THE SWEET SHOP OF J. W. LOSSE!

CUSTOM TAILORS UNION LABEL. The "Shylock" of the Progressive Tailoring Company of St. Louis, Missouri. All union men, look out for his agents, as they travel all over the South and West.

HOW FEDERATION WORKS.

The employees on the Georgia railroad had "federation," but they have it no more. The engineers, firemen and brakemen had grievances. The conductors had none. The federation machinery was put in motion and the grand chiefs were sent for. They assembled at Augusta. General Manager Scott asked for a week's time and it was granted.

CELLULOID

TRADE MARK. Grimy Finger Marks. That would render a linen collar unfit to wear, can be instantly removed from a "Celluloid" waterproof collar with a wet cloth or sponge.

STAR Accident Co., CHICAGO, ILL.

STAR Accident Co., CHICAGO, ILL. STARTED BUSINESS 1884. Paid for Claims since organization, \$634,422. 1884 - \$290 1885 - \$45,048 1886 - \$84,422 1887 - 1,855 1888 - 70,819 1889 - 114,131 1890 - 5,295 1891 - 65,383 1892 - 71,532 1893 - 24,550 1894 - 95,250 1895 - 60,402 1896 - to Oct. 1st.

Do You Want a ROUSING GOOD LECTURE? GET THE Rev. W. H. Carwardine, The Pullman M. E. Clergyman and Honorary Member of the A. R. U., known all over the United States in connection with the Pullman Strike. The lecture of Rev. W. H. Carwardine on "Sociological Problems," was one of the most interesting and instructive lectures ever delivered in St. Paul's Church. It ought to be heard in every town and city of the land. - Rev. Rev. Samuel Fallow, Chicago. Your lectures are doing immense good for our cause. Your name is honored in ten thousand households throughout the country for your noble defense of the right. - Eugene V. Debs.

THE UNIVERSITY.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE] Judiciary and hold it up as a target for the maledictions of liberty-loving Americans.

THE PITTSBURGH DISCOVERY.

An associated press dispatch was sent out from Pittsburgh, on March 15th, announcing in bold head lines that a scheme had been discovered to paralyze the industrial interests of the country.

PAYING THE PENALTY.

W. H. Clune, Philip Stanwood and Isaac Ross, members of Local Union No. 80, A. R. U., Los Angeles, California, are serving their sentence of eighteen months in jail for alleged conspiracy to obstruct the mails.

CURRENT NOTES.

In the great Strike for Liberty in 1776, 280,200 patriots participated. New Haven, Conn., is to have a new railroad depot to cost \$8,000,000.

THE A. R. U.

With stately stride the order is marching to the front. The annual and quarterly passports change May 1st. See that you get them.

AMERICAN FEDERATION.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has just concluded an interesting and important session at Indianapolis, the headquarters of the order.

DEATH OF FRANK SWEENEY.

Frank Sweeney, for several years Grand Master of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association, died of consumption at Chicago on March 27th.

WHAT'S WANTED.

The courage of conviction. A reign of common sense. An increase of the army of fool killers. Uncompromising hostility to bigotry.

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KEEP A STIFF UPPER LIP.

In the ups and downs of life, boys, there are places where we slip. But no matter what the strife, boys, keep a stiff upper lip.

SHERMAN IN THE SOUTH.

During the past five months Organizer C. O. Sherman has been in the South and the results of his campaign are little less than wonderful.

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YOU'RE ON THE RIGHT TRACK WHEN YOU SMOKE PLUG CUT. The undisputed leader of plug cut smoking tobaccos throughout the world.

Beware of Ointments for Catarrh that Contain Mercury. as mercury will surely destroy the sense of smell and completely derange the whole system when entering it through the mucous surfaces.

THE FOOT TO WALK ON IS A LYONS ALUMINUM PNEUMATIC. The entire foot is full of air, giving the wearer an easy, elastic step.

MILWAUKEE BEER. PABST'S BEER. BEEN SICK? Get well by using Pabst Malt Extract, The "Best" Tonic.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF PRESIDENT E. V. DEBS. A handsome cabinet photograph of the President of the American Railway Union may be obtained by enclosing twenty-five cents (stamps accepted) to

RAILWAY TIMES, TERRE HAUTE, IND. MEN OF ALL AGES SUFFERING FROM Weakness, Nervousness, Debility, and all the train of evils resulting therefrom.

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BLOOD POISON. Primary, Secondary or Tertiary permanently cured in 15 to 30 days. We eliminate all poison from the system, so that there can never be a return of the disease in any form.