

RAILWAY TIMES.

VOL. IV.

TERRE HAUTE, INDIANA, TUESDAY, JUNE 15, 1897.

THE CO-OPOLITAN.

A STORY OF THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

An Interesting Chapter from a Forthcoming Volume Which Gives Promise of Intense Interest.

The St. Paul *Broadaxe* in its issue of June 3d publishes the following: "A gentleman named Zebian Forbush, living near St. Paul, has written a remarkable novel which, in our humble opinion, will stir up the sentiment in favor of Mr. Debs' new plan as anything else would or could. We have been permitted to read the manuscript and think that it is equal to 'Looking Backwards' as depicting results, and greater far than that work in showing the steps by which the Co-operative Commonwealth selects Idaho as its home, establishes a city, bids the people to enter the state, holds and wins elections and fights constitutional battles in the courts. Mr. Forbush is a very prominent gentleman and has a wide political reputation, being well known in the state and somewhat known in the nation. The novel reads like 'Robinson Crusoe' and 'Looking Backwards' combined. We have asked and received permission to print the second chapter as it treats upon the selection of the state, soon to be made by Mr. Debs and his companions, for the location of his enterprise."

CHAPTER II.

After the introduction of the subject to my notice, in the manner described in the foregoing pages, I spent nearly all my time for at least a month in the study of such books as had been suggested to me, treating upon the condition of labor in which is ordinarily called the Christian World. I was engaged in this occupation when Thompson returned from his trip to the south and west, to say that I have become convinced that Thompson's plan of co-operation and the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth was practical, would not be true, but in all my researches I had kept his plan in mind and confessed that I was anxious to see it put into practice. I was not convinced by any means that it would succeed, but I wanted to observe its workings and believed that it could do no hurt. Therefore when I again met Thompson in the latter part of June, I made haste to assure him that I was prepared to approve his theories and desiring of taking some part in the experiment, which I hoped would be tried. Upon learning this, Thompson informed me that he was already a member of the Co-operative Commonwealth and that a meeting of some of the most influential projectors would be held that evening and that he would like to have me present. I readily accepted the invitation and at the appointed time and place met him that evening, and together we went to the meeting. I was quite surprised upon entering the little hall where the meeting had assembled, to find myself in the midst of well-dressed, refined, intellectual and apparently practical men. Thompson introduced me to a number of these as a friend that was interested in the Co-operative Commonwealth and who would, as he thought, contribute to its success. Although I felt that this recommendation of me was premature, yet I made no objection to it, because I preferred to accept the cordial reception which his introduction seemed to procure for me. We spent about half an hour in conversation on subjects involving the co-operation idea. I had little to say, personally, but rather confined myself to asking questions until the meeting was called to order. But from what was told me in answer to my questions, I was deeply impressed by the apparent sincerity and general benevolence which pervaded the assemblage.

I confess that I rather expected to find a somewhat motley crowd of men, with wild staring eyes, shaggy, unkempt heads and beards, indulging with furious gestures and loud voices, in bitter and irrational denunciation of the government and public institutions of my country. Instead of that these men were as sleek, as mild, as quiet and gentlemanly as an equal number of bank presidents might be. Perhaps more so. At any rate, I have seen bank presidents and directors congregate together in less orderly conventions, and have heard far more expressions of contempt for our government and its laws, than these men uttered. The truth was, that the gentlemen whom I now had the honor to meet, were more fervently patriotic than any similar assemblage I had ever seen. Men who come together in the name of a church, a party, a bank, a business enterprise or even a particular charity, are not prone to hold country above all other objects. But these men, gathering in the name of humanity, held their country to be, by reason of its location, character, condition and opportunities, the most suitable field for whatever was and is best in the human race.

When the meeting opened Thompson, evidently in great consideration of the position of president, immediately introduced me to the meeting.

"Gentlemen," said he, "this meeting is called for a purpose with which you are doubtless all familiar. Lest there should be persons among you, however, who are not fully informed, I deem it proper, to make a brief statement at this time. The present business and financial depression, spreading as it does throughout most of Christendom, has produced a feeling of unrest among those classes of people who feel it most. This unrest is admitted by all who have eyes with which to observe, and minds with which to analyze, to be fraught with danger. It threatens our security, it threatens our homes, it threatens morals and religion, it threatens the stability of our institutions, the existence of the republic and the durability of Christian civilization. It is the protest of blind Sampson against the exactions of the Philistines. It is the human heart overflowing with bitterness at the injustice of men and classes. Ere the pillars of the temple trembled and the walls of the temple fell upon us, we offer a remedy and ask that it be applied. In justice to ourselves, let me say, that we propose this remedy experimentally. We do not, by any means, know whether the human system is capable of receiving it, but we are absolutely certain that it can do no injury. We are also equally certain that the attempt to apply it will injure the condition of those who actively participate in our plan. I ought also to say that if our remedy is accepted earnestly and applied with intelligence it will not fail.

"There are in the American states over 250,000 voters who believe that the theory of economics is that the machinery of production belongs to the people in common. These are convinced that in the theory so expressed, lies the remedy for those economic evils which produce the extremes of great wealth and great poverty. They are also ready to participate in some concerted movement which will enable them to establish a Co-operative Commonwealth in one of our American states. Our plan is to direct all those who believe in this system of economics into one state, enable them to establish themselves there in comparative comfort and ultimately by colonizing a sufficient number of them, to take possession of the political machinery of that state, adopt a new constitution, and through it establish the Co-operative Commonwealth. We who have enlisted in this enterprise believe that our own grand republic, with its system of inter-dependent, yet sovereign states, offers the field for an experiment and an example, which may enlighten the world. The example of Utah, although disapproved as to the purpose, presents an instance of a commonwealth developing under the influence of an idea. When the idea is pure and exalted, and at the same time furnishes hope to hungry and struggling millions, how much more likely is it to develop a masterpiece among states. The Co-operative Commonwealth is already organized. It even now numbers 3,000 votes, representing 15,000 people, men, women and children, in its membership. A fund of \$100,000 has been accumulated and is now available, to establish co-operative colonies and the fund is rapidly increasing. No colonies, it is true, have yet been established for the reason that we have not yet selected the state for that purpose. This selection is the special purpose of our meeting tonight. Let me express to you, my friends, the belief that we are now meeting in the most important convention which we have ever held, because our success depends undeniably upon the proper location of our Co-operative Commonwealth. Strong arguments can be produced in favor of the South and the West, and I have heard more favorable mention of Tennessee than of any of the states. I hope, gentlemen, that you will discuss this matter fully and deliberately as becomes the dignity and high purpose of men who, perhaps, are about to give to the world its most enduring and most beneficent commonwealth.

So the meeting was declared open for discussion. The gentlemen who participated were not partisans of any particular section or state, and were evidently disposed to be deliberate and cautious in their selection. Most of them presented arguments in favor of Tennessee. Some were in favor of the state of Washington. As I listened to the discussion I was conscious of a deep feeling of interest developing within me. It seemed to me that intuitively I comprehended the motives and purposes of these men, and that I had a stronger grasp upon the details of their design than they. A great inspiration seized upon me which seemed to swing my mind over every detail and light up every feature of this subject. When all who intended to appear to have spoken, the chairman suggested that Mr. Braden might, perhaps, being comparatively a novice, present some views which would be worthy of consideration. I immediately complied and spoke as follows:

Gentlemen—I feel a deep and profound sympathy for the objects of this meeting. When I say this I do not

ADDRESS OF EUGENE V. DEBS

At Handel Hall, Chicago, Tuesday, June 15, 1897,

At the Opening of the Special Convention of the American Railway Union.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, FRIENDS AND CO-WORKERS:

We have assembled here in the paragon city of Chicago under the auspices of the American Railway Union to deliberate upon propositions which relate to industrial and economic affairs.

We are here as the representatives of Labor, which, overlapping the narrower limits of unions, lodges, divisions and guilds, inscribes upon its banner the conquering shibboleth, "Humanity," and goes forth to battle with one supreme, overmastering purpose in view, that of bettering the condition of men and women who work and whose only capital is their brains and their hands.

The toilers of all enlightened nations, by which I mean those who comprehend their unalienable right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," by processes of mind evolution, have arrived at the conclusion that their mission in the world is something superior to eternal servitude; that they were designed by their Creator to occupy positions superior to beasts of burden, to "dumb, driven cattle," superior to the coral insect which builds, and dies as it builds, superior to the worm that spins silk, lays its egg to perpetuate its toiling race, and dies.

But they find that after all the centuries of toil, servitude and degradation, conditions remain essentially unchanged, except in those rare and widely separated instances when they have sought to achieve some measure of emancipation from their thraldoms by breaking the fetters which their masters had forged.

But history, that "register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind," reveals the fact that the wage system, which is of necessity slavery, hoary with age and forever producing the same results, has created and perpetuated conditions at the mere mention of which humanity shudders.

But I should do violence to the truth and perpetrate the crime of ingratitude if I were to intimate that amidst all the gloom of the centuries the star of Hope had not held its place and cheered humanity to struggle on for better conditions, and I should be untrue to my own convictions if I were to deny that even now, as eighteen hundred years ago, there is heard above all the sordid strife and tumult of the world the promise, "On earth peace, good will toward men."

In the onward march of civilization and evolution, in the majestic mustering of the mind forces of the world, whose achievements make facts more wonderful than the creations of fancy, when the world, by the wires on which electricity travels with the speed of thought, is made a whispering gallery, when cities rise and flourish as if by magic, when in all the earth there is no *terra incognita*, when steam and electricity on the land and on the sea are solving all the problems of commerce, and man stands forth by the fiat of his own genius the crowned conqueror of nature, I ask, in this period of sublime achievements, what benefits have come to the great family of toilers, without whose work the world would roll in space a wilderness? I answer, they are just where they were when the Pharaohs built the pyramids with their slaves and kings built cities for their own glory.

The wage-system, in spite of all the refinements of sophistication is the same in all ages, in all lands and in all climes. Its victims work, propagate their species, bear all the burdens and perish.

I am not here to denounce capital, nor am I here to exploit my views of the rich, not even of that gentleman who discarded the beggar at his gate, and soon after "lifted up his eyes in hell." Men, as a rule, are the product of conditions, circumstances, environments, and as these are favorable or unfavorable, men become useful or useless, noble or ignoble, good or bad. It is, therefore, not with the individual that I have to do, but with the system of society that produces him and is responsible for him, and my purpose is to discuss conditions and aid as best I can in pointing out means of relief for those of my fellow-toilers who believe that the time has come when better conditions for multiplied thousands can be secured.

I am not unmindful of the fact that there are those who disagree with us and who maintain that there can be no relief while any part of the wage system remains. They insist that the present competitive system must be completely overthrown and not a vestige of it left in any department of activity, on a foot of our soil, before permanent relief to the suffering masses can be provided. (With these good people I have no quarrel. Indeed, among those who are pledged to the Co-operative Commonwealth and who differ as to method only, there is no occasion for unfriendly feeling and all I need say is that while we propose to battle with all our energy and zeal to carry out our plans for immediate relief, there will be no abatement in our efforts to further the cause of socialism in general until its universal triumph is proclaimed,—and we are impressed with the conviction that nothing heretofore attempted in our country is so well calculated to augment the hosts in the fraternal faith and hasten the divine day of deliverance as the work we are about to undertake. It is well enough to extol the beauties of the ideal system, but in the presence of existing conditions, when millions are suffering, many of them tortured by hunger pangs and driven to desperation and despair, and all this in sight of fabulous resources, something should be done and done now, and though the whole world cried out in opposition, I should still favor immediate action on such lines as common sense commended and to such an extent as ceaseless effort and indomitable will made possible, in preference to serene contemplation of these horrors while awaiting the ushering in of the millennium by the ordinary processes in operation. Even though we fail—but we shall not fail, for our mission is as sacred as ever aroused men to action, and tens of thousands will at once rally beneath our standard in every state of the Union, and cheered and sustained and reinforced by succeeding tens of thousands, press forward with the resistless ardor of a new crusade, nor will they be deflected from their course the breadth of a hair until slavery in every form has been abolished and humanity rises to exaltation, redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled.)

The fetters of the slave and the scourge of the master symbolize the reign of competitive commercialism, and while the barbarous system is suffered to endure, the Declaration of Independence is a meaningless platitude and our much vaunted free institutions a delusion and a sham. Not until slave and master have both disappeared, and forever, and the equal freedom of all has been established, can we lay any proper claim to civilization.

No proposition will be accepted by the convention which will not withstand the severest criticism, which is fully expected. Neither the magnitude of the task we are about to undertake nor the power of the opposing forces is underestimated. You will observe when this convention is organized for business that only such propositions will be submitted as will have the indorsement of a host of the best thinkers in the land,—students of affairs, men and women of large intellectual endowments, wide and varied knowledge and profoundly interested in the welfare of society. Some of these thinkers, interested in industrial, economic and humanitarian affairs, will participate in the deliberations of this convention. They know, as Goldsmith knew, and as we all know that "Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates and men decay. And they know, as we all know, that the twin curse his long since

[CONTINUED ON SECOND PAGE.]

GOT WHAT THEY VOTED FOR.

At Wilmerding, Pa., four hundred workmen in the Westinghouse Air Brake Co., were laid off two weeks ago, in a note that explained that "dull times and lack of work" made it necessary. These men, 700 strong, bought their uniforms and paid their way to Canton, O., last year to do honor to the "advance agent of prosperity." They marched and counter-marched spending more time and money than would have bought them boots and taught them something about political questions aside from the things stuffed into them by pie-hunting political reprobates. But they preferred to get their political instruction second-hand—and a fine job lot they got.

Now when these 400 got the dose of prosperity they got mad. They saw McKinley's picture on the shop wall. They pulled it down, tore it to shreds, stamped on it, spit on it, and acted the fool generally. They then went to their labor hall, tore down McKinley's picture, the campaign banner of silk they had carried to Canton, all mementos and articles referring to the campaign and tore and stamped and spit on them. They got their uniforms, helmets and mottoes, piled them up and burned them amid the execrations of the most bitter kind about being lied to, deceived and unhooded, and swore by all that was good they would never be taken in again. But they will. The democratic pie hunters will get them next time and they will get a continuance of their present dose—and deserve it if they refuse to use the brain nature has given them to understand the questions they vote on for themselves and know what it will produce. There is nothing the matter with these people except they are poor, and they are poor, not because of any tariff or money question, but because the property of the land is all in the hands of a few and the balance can't help but be poor. In other words they are poor because property can be monopolized under a system of private ownership. Neither democrats nor populists want to substitute any change in this respect. They will fool the voters just as McKinley did for the property owners. Nothing like starving the working people to get them to see the idiocy of their political actions.—*Appeal to Reason.*

THE "PASSING" OF THE MIDDLE CLASS.

We are inclined to believe that there is much truth in the observations of a writer in the *St. Louis Evening Journal*, that the middle class of this country is being rapidly eliminated, and that, at the present rate of extinction, it will entirely disappear before a not distant day. The country is unquestionably making steady progress toward a condition that will present a community consisting of a few luxuriously rich and a multitude of dependent poor. If the common-sense and sympathies of the middle class are not soon earnestly enlisted with the socialists in the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, in a few years most of that class will be paupers. The writer in question says, in part:

"For the man in a middle station of life, who heretofore has been able to maintain by reasonable exertion an independent position, while providing himself and his family with the comforts and a reasonable share of the luxuries of life, there will very shortly be no room, unless a material change is made in our methods. It behooves him, therefore, to take cognizance of his position and consider the cause and the remedy. This class being in a position in which they are the last to seriously feel the evil effects of mismanagement, and their minds being absorbed in their personal affairs, they are willing to let others assume the duties of public affairs and have no sympathy with the complaints of those who are suffering from the evils of a bad system."—*The Commonwealth.*

AN ACTUAL FACT.

A Western Court, a real State Supreme Court, has held a labor law to be constitutional! But, then—of course, it was a wild and woolly Western Court—where modern civilization has not yet got in its graft as is the case in the East. The Supreme Court of Utah has handed down a decision which sustains the "act regulating the hours of employment in underground mines, and smelting and ore reduction works." This act prohibits the employment of workmen in such occupations more than eight hours per day, except in cases of emergency where life or property is in imminent danger. Of course this labor law may be knocked out yet,—an appeal can be made to that body which gained an international reputation through what is known as the "Dred-Scott decision."—*Locomotive Firemen's Magazine.*

A Strike in China.

On account of increased license fees about 3,000 wheelbarrow coolies went on a strike in Shanghai on April 5 and created a riot which threatened most serious consequences. The desperate deeds of the mob are indicated in the mail advice brought by steamer, which state that the local authorities had to be assisted by marines from the American and British warships in quelling the

REPRESSION

THE MOTHER OF REVOLUTION. HERBERT N. CASSON.

Monopolists Have Made Us Colonists and We Are Bearing Taxation Without Representation.

The Labor Church of Lynn, Mass., becoming famed as a seat of independent thought and courageous expression, a weekly sermon of the Rev. Herbert Casson is read and discussed by thousands in every part of the country. Bold, epigrammatic style, his extensive grasp of social and economic questions, his fearless arraignment of false doctrines and his courageous advocacy of true principles stamp one of the commanding figures of the great struggle for economic emancipation. Herbert N. Casson is a man whose soul with the common people is one of them. His great heart is pierced by the cruel injustice perpetrated by a vicious system upon the poor and with tongue of flame he denounces their oppressors and thrusts into their faces the demand for a release from remorseless grasp. One such man guarantee that some day the sun of justice shall light the world.

In discussing the appalling conditions now existing in our country, Mr. Casson said in one of his recent sermons: "We have a great national pauper factory which is running night and day. It turns out annually 15,276 bankrupts, 12,000 murderers, 7,000 suicides and 3,000,000 unemployed. It is like a saw-mill where logs go in at one end and come out a finished product at the other. There is the overworked department where the bark is taken off and the lumber is sawed up; the unemployment department, where the logs are stacked and twisted into scabs and willing to do the charity department, where logs are flattened into paupers; the lunacy department, where they burn up the logs; the law department, where logs are pounded into criminals; the branding department, where logs are branded with a red-hot iron; the reformatory department, where logs are ground into anarchists and iron hoods; and the church department, where the logs are labeled 'wicked sinners' and shipped to the bad."—*C. O. D.*

Monopolists have made us colonists again. We are again bearing taxation without representation. We are taxed \$150,000,000 a year on sugar trust alone, yet no one is consulted in that organization. What of McKinley's cabinet represents the people? If government become merely protector of property, and the people cannot obtain any property, what care they for the government?

Repression is always the mother of revolution. If men are not allowed to form unions they will form regiments; if they are not allowed to speak openly they will drill secretly; if they are deprived of their votes they will remember John Brown and the kind of hero he carried—over his shoulder.

Poverty is an explosive, and monopolists manufacture it if they can, the risk as well as the profit. When they change their tactics, there soon is an outbreak of wrath and indignation from the whole nation. A monopolist will be ordered to Europe, their doctors, and we will amend immigration laws so that they will come back.

Those who think strong words called for do not know our conditions. The hardest word is milder than the softest bullet, and the time to speak plainly, if we prevent civil war.

I believe a great crusade of education in 1859 might have prevented the shameful war. But abolitionists wrangling about the constitutional political parties and fighting capitalists; and business men were tied in money making; and colleges teaching Latin and Hebrew; and servative citizens were killing Love and Brown and chasing Garrison and Thomson; and newspapers were being scandals and murder trials; Fourth of July orators were declaiming about liberty; and churches were discussing Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar.

And 500,000 young men were healthy and ambitious, never dreaming that before five years they would be lying mangled in ghastly trenches; a million mothers and sisters, and in 1859 were proud of their boys; glad their home was in America and not in war-cursed Europe; yet in 1864 their homes were left to them desolate.

I tell you, men of Massachusetts, there is no peace but equality; no wealth but character; no security but brotherhood; no salvation but knowledge; and no supreme court but the enlightened conscience of man.

Governor Russell of North Carolina has a remedy for lynching. He says the executive power should be used where the step being taken is speedy.

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TERRE HAUTE, JUNE 15, 1897.

BOYCE'S SPEECH.

Autocratic press still keeps up its... against Edward Boyce, President of the Western Federation of Miners...

...man has been more deliberately... represented or more viciously... than Edward Boyce...

...the annual report of the president of... Western Federation of Miners...

...out purpose to defend or in... way talk for Mr. Boyce, as the... and words of that gentleman...

...Every abusive sentence is bound... to give us the full report, and... not give us the full report...

...foreign soil, he enjoys... only to attack it...

truth a dangerous enemy to organized labor, and a foe to American citizenship. He has neither love nor respect for the flag...

The fact of their not publishing the full report gives the lie direct to the first paragraph, and the second would be ignored were it not for the amount of current ignorance on the subject.

The treason in the report, we affirm, after careful perusal, and an opportunity given to our readers to judge for themselves, is all contained in the following paragraph:

"The supreme demand of the hour is that all miners and workmen engaged in the mining industry in the west shall get together, work together, fight together, and, above all, vote together, and maintain friendly relations with all labor organizations who are striving to better the conditions of labor, regardless of their method or plan of action; then if we cannot free ourselves from the vicious thralldom of corporate greed, the failure is due to our ignorance."

The rest would have been forgiven if he had not counseled his fellows to vote together. That is the advice that strikes terror to the corporation puppet.

"The bearing of arms as recommended is but following in the footsteps of the founders of this government. They all know how to use and keep them. It was a chief requisite for liberty against tyranny. Every man those good old days was supposed to be in possession of the best make of a gun. After liberty had been won, the union formed; it was the general belief that a government of the people could not be maintained. Thomas Jefferson, the great statesman and scholar, when in Paris, was asked what in his opinion was the greatest security for the perpetuation of the government. His reply was: 'In every log cabin in America there is a rifle and a man who knows how to use it, and where these are tyranny will never dare pop up its head.' Tyranny did not dare show itself as long as these heroes lived, but they are dead and their arts long forgotten. Every man, every common man in this country should be skilled in the use of firearms."

It was the skill and courage of the fathers that gave us a country fit to live in. They paid a high price for the liberty bequeathed us, but it was worth it, and we should show our appreciation of it. They bought it with the sword. Every liberty that the human race ever had was gotten this way. Such great virtues never sprang unbidden from the loins of peace. They were never given to beggars. Every man, yes, and every woman, too, knows very well that we are the children of Mars and Bellona. Those who now eructate condemnations of us are the tories of our fathers' time.

The daily press of the present day who style the utterances of Boyce treasonable, shouted treason a great deal louder at Washington and Lincoln. That they praise their memories is because the people made them do it. Washington was among those who even if he laid down his arms and surrendered would be hanged. Lincoln was the most denounced man in his time by these...

is not a circumstance to that which the press hurled at him. He was called the nigger lover, the subverter of the constitution and its rights, the Illinois baboon. Every mean epithet that hate could invent or malice conceive was imputed to him. He was to them then what Boyce is now, the only difference is that the postal laws are even more strict and newspaper slubbergullions have about lost the power of invective.

Ed Boyce stands before the world today as one of the greatest men of his time. Gifted mentally and physically, he could easily build himself a home and enjoy its comforts; but there is no enjoyment or rest for him as long as he sees his fellowmen downtrodden and liberty itself endangered. We see him baring his breast to the shot and shell of corporation thugs here at home; we see him incarcerated in a filthy dungeon alongside of the most degraded of criminals, in an unbearable August; our thoughts follow him as he is carried in chains to Boise penitentiary, where cheerfully he lays down his liberty for us, hated and scoffed at by every mean hireling in the northwest; derided by one half of those for whom he suffers—his ardor is not dampened, nor his course abandoned. Defying death and laying down his liberty that his fellow workmen may get living wages and educate their children, his grand deeds will live as long as the tongue is spoken. He is our ideal of unselfishness without any parallel in the world's history. The sacrifice of Moses who gave himself for the lowly of his day, the deathless friendship of Damon and Pythias, is insignificant before the living death, exile and hate of this man. Go on, Boyce, with your humanizing work. Civilization will be benefited by your having lived, and when borne down by the weight of years it comes your turn to cross the dark river, holy angels will hover at your bedside to carry your noble soul to the heavenly throne.

THE CONVENTION.

The special convention of the American Railway Union meets at Chicago this day. All the indications are favorable to a large attendance and to satisfactory results. The delegates will be confronted by great issues, and to meet these in a manner becoming their acknowledged gravity will tax the wisdom and courage of the entire body. We know the men who will be there and we have no misgivings as to the outcome. Advanced grounds will be taken and the position of the order clearly set forth. That the convention will declare in favor of the Co-operative Commonwealth and commit all the resources of the order to that line of work, there seems to be not a shadow of doubt. The wage system must be abolished. The co-operative system must be established. All the workers in the country should unite in hastening the change. The convention now in session, it is safe to say, will do its full share in that direction.

THE NEW PROJECT.

"It is with natural interest that students of industrial and economical problems will regard the serious and comprehensive plan for a co-operative commonwealth now outlined by an organization known as the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth. The plan differs from previous projects of the sort in several important particulars.

"It is, in the first place, far more extensive in the scope of the operations. Hitherto a satisfactory test of co-operation on a very large scale has been rendered practically impossible because the authors of the experiment have had to defer more or less to the conditions imposed by circumstances and environment. The co-operative colonies and communities which have been undertaken have sometimes managed to maintain a healthy and independent existence, but sooner or later they were forced in one way or another to adjust themselves somewhat to the environment of the vast majority of people surrounding them. Their life was necessarily insular and limited to a degree. To attempt to live the larger life of the world, even in a merely social way, was to break down the barriers which the necessities of their system placed around their community.

"The new project, as indicated by Eugene V. Debs and others interested in the movement, proposes a more decisive test by establishing not a community but an entire state whose laws shall be based on co-operative principles. The aim is to win the support of the co-operative principle at the polls, and through the state legislature introduce a complete co-operative system. Certainly such a plan, if carried out, would put the theory of co-operation to a more practical test than it has yet known. The first difficulty will be that of securing political control of a state, but some of the Western and Southwestern states are nowadays quickly swayed by prospects of a change, and perhaps this part of the plan is not so chimerical as it looks. At the least, the principle of co-operation has commended itself to many economists, and a serious attempt to establish it as a part of the industrial system of the country is bound to be watched with interest by all classes.—Chicago Record.

Major Ginter, the Richmond tobacco king, has retired with \$8,000,000. In 1865 he was penniless, and for six years he lived with a pushcart.

ADDRESS OF EUGENE V. DEBS.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

reached the United States of America. Here, wealth has accumulated until individual fortunes defy computation; here, men by millions are decaying, and here the ills which the author of the "Deserted Village" so graphically portrayed are epidemic, and are spreading with alarming rapidity from the centre, in every possible direction, over the land.

In certain quarters it is esteemed a duty to indulge in criticisms designed to make any and every humanitarian enterprise the butt for ridicule and contempt, and to characterize their authors as vagabonds, if nothing worse, and their schemes as senseless and impossible. But such a course, designed to work disaster and perpetuate wretchedness in the interest of those who profit by it, no longer intimidates those who, amidst storms and battles, have achieved so much self-emancipation as to dare to think for themselves, and have learned outside of optimistic and pessimistic schools that they must work out their own salvation and not trust the "ordering" of events relating to the emancipation of others, not even to that inscrutable "divinity" which is said to "shape our ends, though hew them bow we will," nor supinely wait for that one "tide in the affairs of men that leads on to fortune," but with will and courage and self-reliance hew out for themselves new pathways to better conditions.

The past is not a sealed book. Whatever have been the trophies of our boasted civilization the emancipation of wage-slavery does not appear in the list of its victories. Nowhere on the face of the earth has a monument been erected as a memorial of such an event. The combined forces of religion, education, science and civilization have been unequal to the task of so shaping affairs as to permit men who toil to own themselves. The wage-system has held them with unrelaxing grasp in perpetual bondage.

We have had the declaration from an inspired apostle of the Christian religion that "God is no respecter of persons." We have it incorporated in our Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal," and we have constitutions and statutes in consonance with the declaration, but it is held that the cruelty of the wage-system can in no wise be modified; that while "men may come and men may go," the system, like the brook in the poem, must flow on forever; that wage-slavery is the one curse for which there is no redress, and that labor must forever be the creator of wealth in which its share is bare subsistence and all too often, a cipher at the right hand of a decimal point.

But the "thorny stem of Time" is even now budding with cheering indications that a new dispensation is at hand.

What is this new dispensation and what does it signify?

In the presence of this audience, made up of workers and thinkers, I would not, even if I had the tongue of an angel, seek to encourage delusive hopes. My experience and observation teach me that we live at a time in the history of our country when industrial conditions are of a character which everywhere excite unrest and alarm. Business prostration is universal. "Confidence" seems to have taken to itself wings and flown away, and so far as the most penetrating vision can discern there is no indication that it will ever return. In the meantime the gloom that has settled down upon the country deepens into darkness, nor would relief come to the disemployed millions if confidence were to return tomorrow, simply because there are more workers by far than can find employment under the most favorable conditions possible under the present system and because the number of enforced idlers is steadily and rapidly increasing by reason of the labor displacing machine which, under the capitalist system of production, has doomed labor to fathomless depths of servitude, suffering and degradation.

Statistics relating to the vast army of men, women and children who toil for a living in all our centres of population constitute a picture of poverty which cannot be contemplated without the most painful forebodings of ills which affright courageous men. Hunger and squalor in a land of fabulous plenty is a condition which, whatever else may be said, demonstrates beyond controversy that the Almighty does not rule in the councils of nations and if, in the onward march of mind evolution, men are at last convinced that they must emancipate themselves from bondage, it is all that can be hoped for. No miracles will be wrought to supply men with food, clothing and shelter. No northern blast will be tempered to a southern zephyr in response to the bleatings of the shorn lamb. No "five thousand men, besides women and children" will be "fed with five loaves and two fishes." No widow's "barrel of meal" and "cruse of oil" will be replenished by an Elijah. What then?

If the new dispensation is to continue the wage-slave system, eulogies are out of order and the tongue of Hope may rest from its labors.

Not so, however. The new dispensation is not ushered in by heralds proclaiming that man shall work no more, but it does come promulgating the new and divine gospel that man may work for himself, that the chains which bind him to wage-slavery shall be broken, and that unfettered, disenthralled and emancipated, he may expand to the full stature of a free man, receiving, by right divine, the proceeds of his toil.

It is a dispensation that ushers in the Co-operative Commonwealth, not at once in its full orb'd noon, but more properly its sunrise, its morning, its beginning.

Co-operation is not a word newly coined. It is as old as the tower of Babel, erected by the tribes in the plain of Shinar, when men believed they could build a tower whose top might reach into heaven, a majestic folly, but demonstrating, nevertheless, what may be accomplished by co-operative effort. These co-operative workers did complete their tower, they did lay the foundations of Babylon and their tower, though its top did not reach the skies, stood for a thousand years one of the great wonders of a great city. And men now, as then, are interdependent and the term co-operation illustrates the idea, and debate upon the law of mutual dependence is not required. It is a fundamental law, an axiomatic truth, the only question to be debated being, is the purpose of co-operative effort wise or otherwise? Is it a vagary or a verity? No scientist, no philosopher, no statesman, no philanthropist ever has in the past, does in the present, or will in the future pronounce co-operation a vagary, a hallucination unworthy of consideration. Co-operation presupposes a condition, as applied to industrial affairs, in which men work together in harmony for one another's prosperity, happiness and independence, a condition in which no man is master and no man a slave, a condition in which a man's brain and brawn and soul are all his own and not, as under the wage system, another's.

I would have no one deceived. Here, in this presence, I should be mindful of the practical. The ultima thule of co-operation, the Co-operative Commonwealth, is perhaps in the distant future, not, however, in the dreamland of the enthusiast, but entirely within the realm of the possible.

We are here to deal with initials and among other things to find a location, a spot favored by nature, in climate salubrious and a soil which will yield abundant harvests of food products for man and beast. Any one of several Western states, which are sparsely settled and where the people are largely in sympathy with the enterprise can be selected for the beginning. Invitations, cordial and heartfelt, have been extended by thousands of citizens, including governors of states and others eminent in public affairs. The state decided upon, we propose to colonize it with men and women thoroughly imbued with a knowledge of economics as applied to industrial affairs, men and women whose philosophy has taught them to deal with the knowable and the attainable, men and women of profound convictions who point to the ten thousand monuments of co-operative success that line all the pathways of civilization, the profits of which have been snatched from the builders to enrich those who owned the wage-slave, while the toilers, despoiled of their rights lived on as they are living to-day, by permission of those who control all opportunities and dictate all conditions.

(There are those who believe, and I am one of the number, that it is practicable to inaugurate a change of programme and that the time is ripe for a beginning.)

There may be those within the sound of my voice who expect the Co-operative Commonwealth to advance and reach maturity by some inscrutable power, without the aid of human endeavor. Not so, my friends. It means hard work. It involves moral and physical courage of the highest order. It presupposes earnest convictions. Its goal is industrial

MACHINERY AND HUMANITY.

Labor saving machinery, which ought to be one of the greatest blessings to humanity, is almost its greatest curse, because of a system which makes it possible for shrewd and selfish men to get all of the benefit accruing from it. It ought to shorten the hours of labor to all. It does, in fact, keep those who continue to toil at their tasks as many hours as before, and throw the balance into the streets, the poor houses and prisons. It ought to make good citizens of men. It does, in fact, make them the reverse through idleness. It ought to be the means of educating children to a higher degree than their parents. It does, in fact, take them out of school in infancy to make newsboys, bootblacks, flower girls, who must eke out a miserable existence for the family, and later become ignorant, vicious, criminal.

No individual ought to be permitted to make an enormous profit out of labor saving machinery, unless that profit, or a large portion of it, is used for the benefit of the race—to educate it, to elevate it, to make it happy. No inventor has the right to a monopoly on the product of his ingenuity, unless the profits are used for the betterment of humanity.

It is not labor-saving machinery that is at fault; it is not its invention and introduction into the workshops of the world that is at fault; it is the system which permits selfish men to use it as a means to oppress their fellows that is to blame, and the sooner that system is radically changed or done away with altogether, the better will it be for humanity. Men ought not to be forced into almshouses, prisons or the river by the sudden inspiration of a mechanical genius.—Toledo Daily Bee.

WHAT JUSTICE, TRULY.

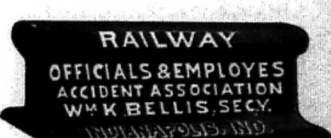
What justice is there in this, that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man that either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great splendor upon what is so ill acquired; and a poor man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works even harder than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labors so necessary that no commonwealth would hold out one year without them, can only earn so mean a livelihood that the condition of the beasts is much better than theirs?—Sir Thomas More.

New Occasions has been merged with the New Time and will be made one of greatest magazines of social progress. B. O. Flower, founder and until recently editor of the Arena and Frederick Upham Adams will edit the new publication. We congratulate the reading public upon this new consolidation, which we are confident will result in a magazine that will lead in the world of social thought.

STATE OF OHIO, CITY OF TOLEDO, ss. FRANK J. CHENEY makes oath that he is the senior partner of the firm of F. J. CHENEY & CO., doing business in the City of Toledo, County and State aforesaid, and that said firm will pay the sum of ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS for each and every case of CATARRH that cannot be cured by the use of HALL'S CATARRH CURE.

Sworn to before me and subscribed in my presence, this 6th day of December, A. D. 1886. A. W. GLEASON, Notary Public.

Hall's Catarrh Cure is taken internally, and acts directly on the blood and mucous surfaces of the system. Sent for testimonials, free. F. J. CHENEY & CO., Toledo, O. Sold by Druggists, 75c. Hall's Family Pills are the best.



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PROGRESSIVE EXAMINATION OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS AND FIREMEN. By JOHN A. HILL, editor of Locomotive Engineering... Includes details about the exam and its benefits.

PAPERS.

Thoughts from the Workshop "On Scatter-brained Notions, Etc."

J. R. ARMSTRONG.

A short time ago the President of the A. R. U. organization announced through the columns of the New York Journal a certain well-defined plan for the regeneration of the present obnoxious industrial system.

The erudite editor of the S. L. P. organ in his usual vitriolic and fatwitted manner proceeds to grin and laugh like a well-fed ape at what he is pleased to call a "scheme."

Is this huge mass of humanity not being daily increased by lockouts, close downs and wholesale discharges? What is the cause of this condition? Improved labor saving machinery, a vicious monetary system, centralization of wealth, cheaper labor, Dingley class legislation of various kinds and glaring intimidations, "false returns," and other species of unbridled and unmitigated corruption.

The "national theatre" is where the Moses of the S. L. P. intends to lead the famishing hordes, and by this singular movement all will be well. The co-operative commonwealth will never be ushered into being if the American people depend solely upon this "scatter-brained" scheme; it savors too much of the "pure and simple" ignorance of the S. L. P.

Doublets the "national theatre" man would immediately clap his hands and say "I told you so!" By the Eternal! Eugene V. Debs is no visionary and his recent trip out West has plainly shown him the necessity of immediate action toward the regeneration of society!

Wait till a bridge of ice is formed over the mouth of hell and then we can all march ten abreast into heaven. No sir, that won't do; our stomachs are dead set against the proposition! An empty stomach can't digest the S. L. P. logic—it is too much like pig iron.

Did the British parliament revolutionize the industrial world and transform the co-lage manufacturer into a "factory hand" or did not James Watt have something to do with it? Was it by act of congress that the fleet footed courier was displaced by the electric flash or did Mr. Morse have anything to do with it?

something in that direction without waiting for the aid of blatant politicians? "Socialism," he says, "would have to remain in abeyance in the colonized state until Congress was conquered."

The idea of waiting until "capitalism" is entirely overthrown before we commence co-operation! Why, the government is bankrupt now and cannot raise enough money to pay the interest on its debts. The co-operative stores in England, starting with four or five pounds sterling and now running up into the hundreds of millions, would never have had a being if the advice of the S. L. P. solon had been taken.

Socialism is rapidly spreading all over Europe without the aid of "members of parliament" and in a very few years "capitalism" will be "left in the cold." Municipal ownership of public utilities in Glasgow, railroads, electric lights, water, wash houses, lodging houses, telephones, etc., etc., bids fair to be a model co-operative commonwealth in the near future, in a small way.

This knight also arranges to himself the sole monopoly of "socialism." He says very dignifiedly that "the socialists, that is to say, that organized world-wide political movement that marches along the path of the class struggle to overthrow the capitalist system, and that, by its steady tread and scientific theories on aims and tactics, has rendered the word socialism the respected word it is to-day, does not, cannot resort to the puerility involved in a colonizing scheme."

No doubt the attorneys of trusts and combines, who pretend to be our congressmen, will open their eyes wider than usual when they learn that their kind services can be done without and the civilization that has been the dream of seers, prophets, poets and scientists, has at last been given birth in the Golden West.

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Another instance of the employment of nonunion labor by government officials has come to light. Delegate William Lehman of the Germania Workers' association of New York requested Major Schwab of the immigration bureau on Ellis Island to dispense with the services of nonunion waiters in the restaurant.

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ADDRESS OF EUGENE V. DEBS.

[CONTINUED FROM SECOND PAGE.]

independence, an independence the world has never known and can never know until co-operative labor, solving every problem and surmounting every obstacle in industrial affairs, achieves emancipation for its votaries.

I need not be told that the term independence is a much used and a much-abused word. It may stand for much or for practically nothing at all. Under the operation of the wage system there is no independence for those who toil, because independence means exemption from control by others, the direction of one's own affairs without interference.

Dealing with the subject from this point of view there is not in the United States a wage-worker who is independent. He must not only work to live, but always under conditions dictated by another person. His life and the lives of those dependent upon his work are absolutely under the control of others.

True it is, borne down by the exactions of masters, the toilers have struck in the hope of securing emancipation, but when the struggles were over they found themselves in the grasp of the same old system, more heavily manacled than before. The chains which bound them, unbroken, gnawed deeper into their flesh—into their very souls, and the contest has served to deepen the impression that the fight for independence has made them still more dependent and that they are pariahs in their much vaunted "land of the free and home of the brave."

Such conditions have aroused thoughtful men within and without the ranks of Labor, and the consensus of opinion is that there is one way out of the labyrinthian pathways in which toilers have traveled for centuries, in which poverty has kept abreast of progress and is now so far in advance that a remedy must be found and applied without delay. The antidote is believed to be co-operative effort on the part of all toilers. By co-operation they can work out their own salvation, their redemption and independence. By co-operation they can burst through every enthrallment, break every fetter, rise superior to present environments, and produce such a change as shall challenge the admiration of the world.

I have referred to the building of the tower of Babel, not to approve the folly of the workers in the construction of a monument to perpetuate a delusion, but to demonstrate the possibilities of co-operative effort.

But we have in our own land and within a period of living witnesses a far more stupendous co-operative enterprise carried forward to the acme of success. I refer to the achievements of the Mormons in Utah, not to condone persecution, but simply to demonstrate that co-operative effort possesses those essential qualities of success that achieve victories over the most obstinate impediments. In the case of Utah it made "the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose." It made "the wilderness and the solitary places glad." It touched the mountain streams which in their flow awakened the fertility of a generous soil and filled the land with harvest-home melodies.

"Work for the unemployed" is the first call to duty and demands immediate action. To rescue these from tenements and hovels, from streets and slums, from charity's degrading bondage and give them the opportunity of applying their labor to the natural resources is the initial and commanding duty of the present hour.

When carping critics say our scheme is not feasible, let the answer be, "Work for the unemployed." These words must burn and glow on the first banner thrown in the new crusade. "Work for the unemployed" must be the battle cry and it must be taken up and echoed and re-echoed until it reverberates in tones of thunder throughout the land. Here, and now, I declare myself enlisted in the cause of "Work for the unemployed." Nature provides the means and in the words of "Old Hickory," "By the eternal," we will provide the places. No excuse or evasion, no compliment or criticism will deflect us from our course. Nothing less than "work for the unemployed" will answer the demand.

An organization of a million workers whose hearts are with us is the first thing in order. We must at once press the work of organizing until from every village, hamlet, town and city of every state and territory in the union is voiced the demand and command, "Work for the unemployed."

In the new organization there will be no division lines. All whose hearts are attuned to the symphonies of humanity will be welcomed, totally regardless of race, color, nationality, occupation or sex. It will be an organization of equals pledged to the sublime work of giving effect to the Declaration of Independence on American soil.

Each will contribute according to his ability to the support of the new movement, and the monthly installments will soon be sufficient to start the pioneers Westward, and by that time the state will have been selected. Under the supervision of able and experienced persons the foundation of the new order will be laid, lands will be secured, machinery and tools will be provided, the soil will be cultivated and industrial enterprises will be established, and thus will begin the work which will not end until the Co-operative Commonwealth has become a realized fact. Gradually we will develop along co-operative lines, withdrawing, wherever and whenever possible, all patronage and support, commercial and political, from the decaying old competitive system, until "innocuous desuetude" opens its vaults to receive it.

The theme is inspiring and invites to elaboration, but time forbids detail. The convention will mature plans and devise ways and means to proceed, and the day of adjournment will mark the first day's campaign. Not one day, nor hour is to be lost. Action, here and now, is the supreme demand and this convention will respond in a spirit to dispel all doubt as to ultimate success.

The fruits of co-operative industry are benedictions. Plenty banishes poverty. Free men, the possessors of free homes, are not scourged to their tasks by hunger pangs. Work is no longer a curse to be deplored, and life, emancipated from despair, is worth the living. Wifehood becomes a thing of beauty—Motherhood a joy forever, and home a type of heaven.

I felicitate you upon this auspicious beginning of a great and philanthropic work. If wisdom prevails in our councils we are destined to see thriving co-operative colonies planted in this country which, growing, as success crowns earnest endeavor, will ripen at last into a national Co-operative Commonwealth in which men shall be brothers and shall enjoy emancipation and all the fruits of independence.

DEBS' NEW PLAN.

While it is true that many persons who did not approve the great strike of 1894 look with abhorrence on Eugene V. Debs there are also several hundred thousand honest people and good citizens who believe him to be one of the very best and most reliable friends labor has ever had in this country.

His judgment has been attacked by his enemies, but even these never uttered a word of suspicion as to his personal integrity. Few labor leaders can claim such a reputation. For this reason Mr. Debs is to day the most influential labor leader in the United States and his power is such that thousands of men would willingly co-operate with him in any enterprise he would propose for the amelioration of labor's condition.

Another instance of the employment of nonunion labor by government officials has come to light. Delegate William Lehman of the Germania Workers' association of New York requested Major Schwab of the immigration bureau on Ellis Island to dispense with the services of nonunion waiters in the restaurant.

delivering their country from the evils which infest it, are ready for some great move to usher in the brighter day and the grander age. Debs can lead them. If he is able to lead them into peaceful paths and by peaceful methods to a better condition, coming ages will bless him as the greatest man of his generation and one of the greatest in all time. Moses lead the children of Israel out of slavery. Was that the only age which could produce a deliverer of his fallen people?

And Mr. Debs has now formulated the general features of a plan which is bold and startling, but which if carried into effect cannot, whether it succeeds or fails, do other than good. He proposes to change the American Railway Union into the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth and to have some American state selected in which to concentrate all his and its efforts. He intends with his associates to direct the flood of immigration into the selected state from among the brotherhood and to concentrate enough voters in that state to outvote all parties and take possession of the political machinery of the state. Then the plan is to establish the co-operative commonwealth by law. This

does not, we apprehend, mean the expulsion of those who continue to believe in and to be devoted to individualism. It does not contemplate the violation of the constitution nor the disturbance of vested rights. If the machinery of government is seized it will be remodeled, doubled, but still conform to the constitution by being "republican in form." It will continue to be republican in fact.

This bold and startling plan could never be carried out except in a country organized as this country is. Russia, Germany, the British Empire and the various states of the older and Eastern continents would crush such a movement out at once. Their central governments are strong and hostile to all movements among the people. But under the constitution of this country there is no reason why the government would not permit such a state government as Debs and his associates propose. It is not necessary to run counter to the federal constitution in any one of its provisions. The men who have the Debs plan in hand understand that, and will probably find that in their propaganda work the study of the constitution should be made a feature. We repeat that we do not know whether this plan can succeed, but it beats striking for higher wages shorter hours and other advantages all to pieces, and any good can come out of it.—The Broad.

LABOR IN RUSSIA.

It is Organizing in Unions, but the Way of the Labor Leader is Hard.

The first bulletins from the census taken on new principles in the Russian empire last February show just what the political symptoms of the past few years have prepared us for—namely, that the cities and industrial centers have been growing in population at an exceptional rate. Five years ago there were 14 towns of over 100,000 souls; now there are 21. St. Petersburg now has a population of 1,250,000, an increase of 25 per cent in five years. Moscow in a similar period shows an increase of 20 per cent and Lodz one of nearly 40 per cent. This last place, called the Manchester of Poland, has passed Kharkov, Kiev and Riga since 1892 and is now the fifth city in the empire.

I said politics had foreshadowed this, for the distinctive note of political agitation in Russia during the past three years has been its concentration in factory towns. Nihilism has disappeared. In its place we have labor troubles. The Russian government finds itself confronted now by incessant strikes, with which it has only a very antiquated and inefficient machinery to deal. Trades unions have always been forbidden in Russia, and workmen are slaves to all sorts of stupid and oppressive regulations, but there is nothing which exactly solves the problem of making artisans work when they don't want to. Educated revolutionists have lately been toiling as common mill hands to secure the confidence of the workers and have been covertly preaching the strike as the only social salvation of their class.

Sixty of these evangelists were imprisoned in the government prison in Moscow the other day, and all are going to Siberia merely for urging a general strike in the district. The Vetroff girl, whose suspicious death in the Petropavlov prison in St. Petersburg created such a sensation in March, was arrested for this same offense of inciting to strike. All the same, strikes are springing up all over industrial Russia, and as they appeal keenly to the Russian's feelings as to the dignity of labor, as well as to his passion for giving the greatest possible amount of trouble short of actual danger to his own skin, they are likely to expand into something like a great labor war, which will mark a new era in Russian history.

Labor in Great Britain.

The report of the British labor department for the month ending March 15 states that conditions continue to improve, the coal, iron and steel industries being more fully employed, and the percentage of unemployed members of trades unions in the most important groups of trades showing a decided decline. The returns of 115 of the principal trades unions having an aggregate membership of 500,000 show that a fraction of less than 8 per cent of their members were unemployed during the month ending on the date given. For the corresponding month of 1896 the number of unemployed was almost double.

End of a Long Strike.

The strike of the American Flint Glass Workers' union, which was started four years ago, has been declared off. The dispute was over working the "unlimited turn," and of the 7,500 men connected with the American Flint Glass Workers' union 1,900 struck. The strike has cost the Glass Workers' union over \$1,000,000. The strike benefit was \$6 a week and the death benefit was \$750. Not a few of the strikers died while waiting for the company to give in. Now that the strike is over it is thought the United States Glass company will reinstate a large number of men.

Samuel Woods, M. P.

Mr. Samuel Woods, senior fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor at its Cincinnati convention, has been returned to the British house of commons as representative of Walthamstow. He represented the labor interests and in a Conservative constituency turned a Conservative majority of 2,858 into a minority of 278.

All who met Mr. Woods will feel that no better choice could be made for a workingman's representative. From a boy in the mines he has risen to one of the proudest positions in the gift of his people.—Iron Molders' Journal.

THE CO-OPOLIT

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

want to be understood as expressing a fair for any plan whereby the thoughtful, conservative statesmanship of modern society is set aside, and experimental statesmanship substituted for it. I am convinced that the social system which Christendom accepts to-day, is the best which humanity has ever employed, and that it would be the worst of crimes to destroy it without furnishing some practical model for a new and better one. But the United States presents a plan which is sufficiently elastic, and are sufficiently extensive, and opportunities sufficiently varied and abundant, to make it proper that one state should be devoted to the development of your co-operative system. I, for one, am fully convinced that a state should be selected in which the obstacles to your efforts will be but few and slight. For instance, you ought not to concentrate your efforts on Tennessee if there is another area, less populous, less prejudiced and less attached to the present system. The vote of Tennessee is 321,190. Its population approaches 2,000,000. You must, in order to gain control of Tennessee, increase its population by nearly 2,000,000 co-operators casting a vote of nearly 300,000. This assumes that a portion of the present population is not opposed to the present co-operative commonwealth. It is plain to me that it will take you a generation to accomplish your purpose.

The same objections apply, in a less degree, to Washington. The population of that state is 450,000 and its vote 93,435. To direct our colonies to a territory not yet admitted to the Union, like Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma, would subject them to repressive congressional legislation from which in a state they would be free. As for Wyoming with population of 60,000 and a vote of 21,000, it does not present a field for our operations as suitable as some others. For my part I am greatly prepossessed in favor of Idaho. This state has an area of about 84,000 square miles, a population of about 90,000 and a vote of about 30,000. This vote is now increased by about 15,000 on account of the extension of the right of suffrage to women. This will be an advantage to your colonists because the proportion of married men among you will be greater than that of the shifting population of the mining camp. From this it is evident that you will control the state as soon as you have 50,000 men and women there. Already the Co-operative Commonwealth numbers 3000 men and this means 6000 votes. But I make no doubt that 100,000 men, to say nothing of their wives, are ready to go to Idaho with your colonies if you choose that location.

But you ask, what manner of place is Idaho? I reply, that in my journeyings throughout my beloved country I have found its superior nowhere, in what goes to produce a great commonwealth. Its name signifies "The Gem of the Mountains." It has valleys of great breadth and fertility, mountains covered with extensive forests, lakes of enchanting beauty, navigable rivers, swift streams, unlimited water power, inexhaustible mineral resources. It has 11,000,000 acres arable land, 19,000,000 acres of land which can be reclaimed by irrigation and plenty of water available for the purpose. You have, perhaps, no very great acquaintance with Idaho. This, in my opinion, should induce you to select a committee to visit the state incognito to examine and report on its resources. You will find that it is capable of supporting a population of 10,000,000 people. These can engage in manufacture, farming, grazing, fruit culture, mining, wool growing, and all the pursuits followed by the people of Pennsylvania or in New England. The climate is not so warm as that of Tennessee, but in my judgment that is an advantage. It is much warmer than in any northern state east of the Rockies and north of the Ohio river. It is dry and healthful. Gentlemen, I shall not enter into a further description of Idaho, but beg you to make a further investigation. Remember that in states whose opportunities are famous those opportunities have been occupied. If you can find a state which is but little known, you will find its opportunities. Idaho is such a state. Gentlemen, I will say no more.

My remarks produced a profound impression. I was followed by several gentlemen, who heartily approved the suggestion to appoint a committee of investigation and to send the committee to Idaho, to report after a month's absence. A motion to that effect was carried providing that the chairman and the other to be appointed by him, should constitute that committee. And the day did me the honor to appoint me, and also appointed Henry B. Henderson, gentleman of great wealth, a relative of thirty years' standing, and one of the best men who ever lived on the planet with an unselfish heart. The meeting then adjourned to meet a month after, when the committee was to make its report.

The family of the late secretary treasury, Daniel Manning, has been in Troy, N. Y., a 100-pound ball United States cruiser which he made.

LABOR'S GOLDEN AGE.

THESE LATTER DAY REFORMERS MAY LEARN BY STUDYING IT.

The Eight Hour-Workday in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries—Why the Statute of Laborers Was Tuttle For One Hundred and Fifty Years.

[Special Correspondence.]

"I have stated more than once," says Professor Thorold Rogers in his great work, "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," "that the fifteenth century was the golden age of the English laborer, if we are to interpret the wages which he earned by the cost of the necessities of life. At no time were wages, relatively speaking, so high and at no time was food so cheap. Attempts were constantly made to reduce these wages by acts of parliament, the legislature frequently insisting that the statute of laborers should be kept. But these efforts were futile, the rate keeps steadily high, and finally becomes customary and was recognized by parliament."

The history of this period is mighty instructive and contains lessons which might be studied with a great deal of profit by workmen of the present day. The working day was one of eight hours. Rogers says emphatically, "The artisan who is demanding at this time an eight-hour day in the building trades is simply striving to recover what his ancestor worked by four or five centuries ago." This eight-hour day was not a matter of law; it was an economic fact which was stronger than law. The law tried to establish a working day much longer than that, and Karl Marx makes mention of the fact that while the object of modern legislation is to compulsorily shorten the working day the statutes of these early times strove to lengthen it by compulsion.

Beginning with the statute of laborers in 1348, the English parliament for a continuous period of 150 years following that date vainly strove to regulate the wages and hours of labor of workmen in the interests of employers. The statute of laborers very minutely regulated the prices of the different kinds of labor and decreed imprisonment for those who refused to work for the prices established by law. Laborers who quit their employment before the time set in their agreements were liable to the penalty of imprisonment in the stocks. Employers who paid more than lawful wages were liable to treble damages. Any excess of wages taken or paid was to be seized for the use of the king. This statute was frequently strengthened by supplemental acts calculated to make it harder of evasion, and the penalties for its infraction increased in severity in direct ratio with the difficulty of enforcing the law.

In 1360 it was enacted that workers who absented themselves from their work or quit their place of abode should be imprisoned for 15 days and branded on the forehead with an iron in the form of a letter F. In cases where the laborers fled into the towns the magistrates were directed to deliver them up, and if they failed to do so they were subject to a penalty of £15, £10 of which went to the king and £5 to the master by whom the fugitive was claimed. In 1363, so as to facilitate the capture of laborers who had disobeyed the law forbidding them to migrate from place to place, the dress of laborers, both as to cut and quality of cloth, was strictly regulated and dire penalties were provided for breaking the law. Justices of the peace everywhere were charged with the enforcement of the law. They were given discretionary power to fix the price of labor by proclamation, and very severe penalties were provided for the punishment of both masters and workmen who exceeded the established rates. Notwithstanding all this lawmaking, instigated by employers of labor and solely in their interests, and all calculated to keep wages down, the general tendency of wages all through the latter half of the fourteenth century and the whole of the fifteenth was continually upward, and this was in spite of the fact that prices were in the main constantly decreasing.

Socially and politically there is nothing in the condition of the laborer of that period to account for this important economic movement in his favor. He had no political power whatever. The idea that he should have a voice in the government of his country would have been treated as the fantastic raving of a lunatic. So far as social standing was concerned, he was exactly on a par with the beasts of the field. His master looked upon him as a veritable chattel, the same as he considered his horses and cows. How, then, can the economic advantages of the laborer be explained? The explanation may be found in the feudal system of land tenure, under which there was no such thing as absolute ownership of land, and the existence also of vast stretches of common land, to the use of which the humblest laborer in England had the same right as his master. Says Bliss: "Every man, even the poorest, had a little land for use, and so long as he paid dues in the way of feudal service he had that use of land an actual fixture of his tenure. The land was in effect nationalized, owned by the king as the representative of the nation and yet allotted and subdivided with more or less approximation to justice among all the people. It compelled high wages. When laboring man could not obtain what he thought sufficient, he could only live upon his little allotment, paying a slight feudal service, and retain a humble yet not impossible mode of life. He was not compelled to compete for wages. The employers were called to compete for workmen."

and the laborer easily maintained his economic position until this fundamental fact was changed.

When they were violently robbed of their feudal rights and deprived of their use of the common lands by the inclosures which began with the reign of Henry VII, and when they had further to suffer the confiscation of the lands and revenues of their guilds under Henry VIII and Edward VI they were placed at the mercy of their employers, and wages came tumbling down with a crash. Says Rogers, "Henry and his son had, at last, though unwittingly, given effect to the statute of laborers."

I wonder that workmen do not stop long enough in their career of interminable legislative tinkering to gain some knowledge of those fundamental economic facts against the operation of which mere statute law is powerless.

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THE WORKERS' SHARE.

Some Figures Which Tell Why the Clothing Workers Went on Strike.

One of the men prominent in the strike in New York, discussing the conditions of the garment workers, said:

"The pressers succumb first. Their working life lasts on an average only 15 years, and they are the strongest men. They handle heavy irons all the time, however, in an atmosphere which no one but an east sider could breathe for half an hour without becoming faint. First rheumatism sets in, then a general running down of the system follows, and finally consumption saps the man's life away. Operators and men at other branches have not such exacting toil."

He further said that as matters are at present, unless wages and conditions improve, the only hope of the tailors was the introduction of machinery. It has already been introduced in a number of large factories.

The manufacturers supply the material ready cut to the contractors, who then get the tailors to work as cheaply as possible. No one has ever been able to find out how much profit the contractor has, and how much the manufacturer gets before the suit of clothes is in the hands of the retailers. To judge from the cost of making the clothing, the profits must be enormous. The following table, compiled from figures furnished by some of the strike leaders, shows the prices paid to the tailors by the contractors for making a suit of clothes.

It will be seen that at least six workers receive collectively 95 cents for making a suit of clothes. The same number divide 50 cents for making an overcoat. Cost to contractor of making a suit of clothes retailing at from \$15 to \$18 and of overcoat retailing at from \$15 to \$20:

Table with 4 columns: Operator, Maker, Finisher, Presser, Cleaner, Feller (button-holes, etc.), Total. Rows show percentages for making suits and overcoats.

These are the outside prices. Some of the tailors say the prices occasionally go down to 60 cents for a suit of clothes. The contractors allege that they have little or no profit and that the manufacturers reap it all. The manufacturers say that competition is so keen that they make almost nothing.

Working For the Label.

The Foresters of America at the recent state convention held in Newburg, N. Y., adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That it shall be obligatory upon the grand executive council to hereafter have all printing done by recognized union labor, and that the representatives of this grand council to the supreme court convention, to be held in Denver, be instructed to bring the matter before the supreme convention, with a view to having said law inserted in our general laws."

The matter was brought to the attention of the Foresters and worked for most energetically by members of the Cigar makers' union, some of whom are Foresters. According to the resolution, all printing done in the state for any lodge of Foresters will be done in a union office. With other organizations manifesting a similar desire to help each other, union labels of every description would soon be largely in demand. There is scarcely any doubt that the resolution to be introduced in the Denver convention will pass, and that will make it a national movement.

Labor in the Hawaiian Islands.

Labor Commissioner Fitzgerald of California, who recently went to the Hawaiian Islands to investigate labor conditions there, is reported as saying that he thinks there is a chance for white labor on the islands. While Mr. Fitzgerald was in Honolulu he outlined a plan for the substitution of white labor for Asiatics on the sugar plantations. He declared this was the only way to save the islands. The planters agreed with him and declared that they were willing to pay extra wages for American labor.

Grand Rapids Printers.

Grand Rapids printers have adopted the percentage system of collecting dues. A scale for proofreaders was adopted, which provides that eight hours shall be a day, with the exception of one day each week, which shall be 12 hours, \$2.50 a day, six days to a week, to go into effect June 6. The scale desired by the stereotypes was adopted, to go into effect June 6. It provides a uniform rate of \$3.33 1/3 per day or night.

Union Labor Best.

Mayor Quincy of Boston, when called to task for rejecting the lowest bid on a city job and giving it to a contractor employing union labor, replied that, though trade unionists are not necessarily more skilled, the best of the skilled workmen were within the trades unions, and employers who do the business usually employ them.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

Instructive Reading For Those Who Say, "Only the Profligate Are Idle."

The American Statistical association publishes the records of the charity organization societies of New York, Baltimore and six smaller cities respecting the cause of need among the families whose condition was investigated last year. As charity organization societies are not commonly suspected of sentimentalism, and as the various returns are in substantial agreement, the body of evidence presented may be regarded as authoritative. In a condensed form the results reached were as follows:

Table with 3 columns: New York, Baltimore, Smaller cities. Rows include Lack of employment, Sick, Intemperance or shiftlessness, Miscellaneous causes.

What is notable about this table is that in all these cities the want of employment was believed to be the cause of distress in as many cases as sickness, intemperance and shiftlessness combined. This, too, it must be remembered, was among the families which applied to public charities for aid. Among those which have been aided by the trades unions and by their own relatives the proportion of those whose need was due to the want of regular work was doubtless much larger. One labor union in this city paid "out of work benefit" to over 1,000 families during the greater part of the recent winter.

It is true that in many of the cases where want of employment has been the chief cause of need intemperance or shiftlessness has been a contributing cause to the want of employment. When work is slack in any business, it is as a rule the less efficient employees who are laid off. These are likely to be the intemperate and the shiftless. But during the last three years, in which entire factories have been shut down for weeks and months at a time, the unemployed have not been confined to the inefficient classes. The last report of the Pennsylvania bureau of labor statistics brings out strikingly the situation in that state. The returns giving the number of employees and the aggregate wages in 412 establishments since 1892 are presented in tabular form:

Table with 3 columns: 1892, 1893, 1894. Rows include Employees, Wages.

In other words, though the average wages of the hands while employed had fallen but 13 per cent since 1892, the average number of men who were getting any wages at all had fallen 24 per cent. These establishments were doubtless in industries which have suffered exceptionally during the present depression, but no one who looks into industrial conditions can question that the wage earners in the cities have been suffering as keenly from the want of employment as farmers have been suffering from the ruinous fall in prices. While, then, it should not be disguised that intemperance and shiftlessness are perhaps the most fruitful sources of individual distress, it must also be recognized that the industrial system is so far out of joint that thousands of men able and willing to work are living in enforced idleness.—Outlook for June.

Organized Labor Favors Cuba.

The Central Labor union of the District of Columbia, at a recent meeting, adopted the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas, the people of Cuba are now engaged in a struggle for liberation from the oppressive control of Spain, therefore

"Resolved, That the Central Labor union of the District of Columbia favors the intervention of the United States government to the end that the brutal warfare now being waged by Spain shall cease and that Cuban independence may be assured."

The passage of the resolution was preceded by a long and interesting discussion, in which many of the most prominent delegates took part. All, however, spoke in favor of the Cubans, and at the conclusion of the remarks the preamble and resolution were adopted by the unanimous vote of the representatives of the 21 organizations present.

Will They Do It?

The following resolutions have been adopted by a unanimous vote of the Lynn (Mass.) Central Labor union:

Whereas, The recent decisions of Associate Justice Fabens on the Perkins and Doyle cases have caused much comment and adverse criticism of the "would be law giver;" be it

Resolved, That we, the Central Labor union of Lynn, recognize the absurdity and unfairness of these decisions, but that we, like many of the people, realize that Associate Justice Fabens was probably no more to blame than the rest of the circle of capitalist leaders who prearranged the whole proceedings during the absence of Judge Berry and secured a decision calculated to injure the cause of the strikers.

Women's Labor Unions.

Chicago women engaged in the various trades and industries are to be organized into labor unions and will have a strong central council similar to the building trades council. The Chicago Federation of Labor gave its approval to the new movement at its meeting recently and made an appeal to the American Federation of Labor for the appointment of a woman organizer for the Chicago district.

Women employed as clerks, stenographers, telephone operators, garment workers, factory girls—in short, the tens of thousands of female workers of Chicago—are to be welded into unions and will receive union wages for union hours and have the product of their toil stamped with the seal of union labor.

and five unions, though weak, are now in running order. These unions are: Garment makers, shirt makers, bindery girls, shoe operators, tick makers.

A central body for these unions exists, in a feeble way, under the name of the Dorcas Federal Labor union. All these bodies are to be built up and strengthened by the woman organizer, who is to be backed by the American Federation of Labor and the Chicago Federation of Labor.

After these have been developed into strong organizations, a score of other trades are to be taken up, and milliners, telephone operators, clerks, stenographers and other branches where feminine labor is employed are to be organized into separate unions, each having its delegate to the central council and, perhaps, to the Chicago Federation of Labor.

THE "LABOR TRUST."

Some Things Senator Edmunds Doesn't Know About the Trades Unions.

Ex-Senator Edmunds, commonly called "venerable" because he grew old in the enjoyment of well paid public offices, has taught his party a lesson in frankness by openly defending the trusts and monopolies which have been bred of a quarter of a century of Republican rule. The only form of trust which stirs his honest resentment is what he calls the "Labor trust," or, as it is perhaps more widely known, the labor union. At the spectacle of men and women banding together for mutual co-operation against the exactions of employers, for united benevolent purposes, or to the end that the standard of their trade may be elevated, the gorge of the ex-senator rises. "They may talk about our honest men with wives and families to support who are willing to work for \$1 and \$2 a day, but they can't get it," says Edmunds. "Why? Because their union, or their trust, won't allow them. The standard is set for them, and if they don't wait and starve their families until they can reach that standard they can't get work anywhere."

Mr. Edmunds being a sage, a man trusted by the richest corporations with the conduct of their legal business, nobody present ventured to ask him how the standard of wages would be fixed if the workmen did not themselves fix it and sturdily stand by it. If he will go over to the east side of New York, look into Wallballa hall, or make a trip through the teeming tenements, he will gain some idea of the standard of wages and the standard of living which has resulted from free competition in labor. He will find tailors, to the numbers of tens of thousands, re-enforcing their labor unions and saying to each other, "We will starve if need be, we and our wives and our babies, but we will not return again to the practice of bidding against each other for work at starvation wages."

If he will look into the conditions which have caused the tailors' strike, he will find them bred of exactly the procedure which he would substitute for that of organized labor. One family, either out of the union or indifferent to its rules, agrees to work for a certain contractor for less than the union rates. Presently that contractor underbids his fellows. They investigate, discover the cause, and meet the unfair competition by cutting down the pay of their workers. The process is repeated until the wages become barely sufficient to support the workers, nor does it always stop there, for there are not infrequently some who will work for less than a living wage, supplementing it by vicious or dishonest practices. In every badly organized trade this process goes on. The miners and iron workers of Pennsylvania, the dock laborers of our great seaports, continually suffer from its effects and check it only as they renew the bonds of their organizations, which chafe Mr. Edmunds but bring to them at least a decent livelihood. On the other hand, the best organized trades are the best paid and contribute by the prosperity of their members to the general prosperity of the community.

Between the labor union and the trust there is precisely the difference that exists between a republic and an absolute despotism, such as that of the shah of Persia. Law exists in each, doubtless, and individuals are subject to its limitations, but the laws of the one are made for the good of all who are under its authority, the laws of the other for the prime benefit and profit of a profligate tyrant and those who help to collect his booty and share in it.—New York Journal.

Clearing House For Immigrants.

The treasury department has under consideration a scheme which if adopted will result in placing the control of immigration in the hands of private parties.

In brief, the scheme contemplates the leasing of a portion of Ellis Island to one of several companies which shall erect a clearing house there. This clearing house is to be used to distribute immigrants all over the United States. The immigrants are first to be inspected in accordance with the law, and then, if they so desire, they are to be sent to the clearing house. There is fear that their desires will cut little figure so far as the immigration inspectors are concerned and that all will go to the clearing house. Thus something like a monopoly in immigration is likely to result.

The plan recommended by the investigating committee provides that a permanent exhibition hall be erected on the unoccupied space on Ellis Island, with maps, charts, photographs, printed descriptions, sample products and records of the demand for particular kinds of labor in particular localities for the guidance of immigrants. The building, the committee thought, should be erected by private enterprise, and in return the company should be granted for a term of possibly 25 years the exclusive privilege of sitting offices to make boards of immigration.

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