

FOR CONTEMPT!

DEBS, HOWARD, ROGERS AND KELIHER AT THE BAR.

The Law's offended Majesty—New Version—Proceedings, Comment, Legal Chatter and Conclusion.

On the morning of Tuesday, July 17, word reached Eugene V. Debs, president of the American Railway Union, that at 10 o'clock an application would be made to the sitting judge of the United States court for an attachment for contempt of court against himself, Vice-President George W. Howard, Secretary Sylvester Keliher and Director L. W. Rogers, editor of THE RAILWAY TIMES.

Mr. Debs appeared in court at the hour named and heard the petition read by special counsel for the government, Edwin Walker.

The information set out the injunction, which will appear in a very bad light in the history of American jurisprudence as the "Omnibus," and the alleged violation of it by the parties named. The document was supported by telegrams said to have been issued by Debs to different parts of the country. Here is the only paragraph which even the rage for novelty of construction, so fashionable in courts of the present day, that the alleged violation could apply to: " * * * and from compelling or inducing or attempting to compel or induce by threats, intimidation, persuasion, force or violence any of the employees of any of said railroads to refuse or fail to perform any of their duties as employes of any of said railroads in connection with the interstate business or commerce of such railroads, or the carriage of the United States mail by such railroads, or the transportation of passengers or property between or among the states; and from compelling or inducing or attempting to compel or induce by threats, intimidation, force or violence any of the employees of said railroads who are employed by such railroads and engaged in its service in the conduct of interstate business, or in the operation of any of its trains carrying the mail of the United States or doing interstate business, or the transportation of passengers and freight between and among the states; and from compelling or inducing or attempting to compel or induce by threats, intimidation, force or violence any of the employees of said railroads who are employed by such railroads and engaged in its service in the conduct of interstate business, or in the operation of any of its trains carrying the mail of the United States or doing interstate business, or the transportation of passengers and freight between and among the states; and from doing any act whatever in furtherance of any conspiracy or combination to restrain either of said railroad companies or receivers in the free and unhindered control and handling of interstate commerce over the lines of said railroads, and of transportation of persons and freight between and among the states; and from ordering, directing, aiding, assisting or abetting, in any manner whatever, any person or persons to commit any or either of the acts aforesaid."

The violation of this simmers down to the one word "persuasion," and the possible stretch of a railroad lawyer's imagination to the words "ordering, directing," or assisting. The main body of the writ to which the above appears as blisters, which, while they may smart on the A. R. U. hide, will in the near future burn into the flesh and spread over the whole surface of the forsaken officials who applied the iron, related to not destroying property, throwing switches, etc., something that the criminal law takes care of without injunction. The gentleman in Washington who disgraces the Attorney General's office, might as well have added to it: not to commit fornication, bribery, or pack a jury. It would have been equally relevant.

The reader can get at gist of thing in a nutshell. The United States Courts forbade the officers of the A. R. U. from soliciting men at work on railroads to strike, and from ordering men to strike, or from directing men to strike.

In this information for contempt, it was alleged that they did persuade men to strike, did direct and order members to strike. That's the crime charged. And if a crime, where is union labor's weapon.

THE RAILWAY TIMES will break in on the narrative to trace up the origin of the "omnibus," and submit for the reader's inspection the opinion of a newspaper of world-wide influence, and which so far as the strike itself is concerned, damns us very cordially: "Early in the morning Judges Woods and Grosscup, of the United States Courts, arrived in the city in answer to messages sent them by District Attorney Milchrist. The latter and Edwin Walker, who is special counsel for the government, appointed on Sunday by Attorney General Olney, had prepared a bill in chancery on behalf of the government against the strikers. The bill was prepared partly under directions of Attorney General Olney, who telegraphed to Mr. Walker Sunday night that the American Railway Union could be enjoined from interfering with trains on the ground that it was interference with interstate commerce as well as an interference with the passage of mails." The above is from the Chicago Herald, a sheet that varies the object for which it exists—to secure deposits for its owner's bank, and by its supposed influence

otherwise induce credulous capital to feed the pig—by printing the news. It is a calm narration of an outrage, which is of a character so common that it fails to be remarked. Olney prepared the bill, Olney with an indecency that would bring the blush of shame to the cheek of a harlot plying her trade, or of a Pullman robbing his workmen, selects Edwin Walker, now and for years past the counsel for the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul road, as special counsel for the government! Walker with the strongest possible personal interest, makes use of the whole people to gain a wished-for end, a prostitution of the courts of the country to further aid the corporations in their beating down of labor. The farce was palpable, but the old lawyer kept his face straight as he talked United States law, while the thin veil hardly pretended to hide the grin of the General Managers, enjoying with malicious triumph the humor of the thing.

Now hear the democratic thunderbolt, the New York World, on the situation. The stars marking omitted matter is where it digs our ribs. It is freely forgiven here, for it, as defender of plutocracy and Clevelandism, revolts at the outrage which must redound to the disadvantage of the class for which it stands.

"More dangerous and menacing than any strike, however, is the carefully laid plan for bringing about the intervention of the federal government on the side of the railroads.

"Such intervention would be intolerable if it were open and avowed. It is not less dangerous in its far-reaching consequences when done by trick under a strained interpretation of the law.

"The World holds that all violent interference with the railway companies in performing their duties as public carriers should be prevented if possible, and punished if it cannot be prevented. This should be done, however, through the local authorities of the manner provided by law. That the federal government could be called upon to interfere in such manner would not have been dreamed of ten years ago. Through the encroachment of the federal courts it is now being dragged in on all possible occasions, but the effort to make a federal question of quarrels between employers and employes should be resisted with the whole force of public opinion.

"SUCH AN INJUNCTION AS THAT DRAWN BY TWO CORPORATION ATTORNEYS AND GRANTED YESTERDAY BY JUDGES GROSSCUP AND WOODS IS A MONSTROUS INVASION OF THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS.

"If this doctrine prevails and federal interference is insisted upon, on the ground that railroads are performing a semi-public service, and that consequently railroad employes are quasi-public servants, then the interference should not be by a legal quibble. The government should act frankly and straightforwardly, and accept the full consequences of the position it assumes.

"If operating railroads is a public service and railroad men are public servants in any sense that can justify federal control of their acts, then the federal government must not only protect the railroad companies against their employes when there is a quarrel between them—it must also protect the employes in all their rights and privileges as public servants. It must guarantee them adequate wages, reasonable hours of work, proper vacations and all else that it guarantees to other persons in the public service.

"It must stand security for the wages if the companies default. It must restrain railroad managers from nagging interference with them. It must forbid wage reductions except by consent of Congress. It must insure railroad employes as secure a tenure of office as it insures other government employes.

"This is the inexorable logic of the case. If the government interferes in behalf of the railway companies to prevent railway employes from enforcing their demands in ways permitted to all other workmen, it must in common fairness interfere to protect them against oppression on the part of their employers. Either they stand toward the government as other workmen do, or else their status is one which entitles them to peculiar protection while subjecting them to peculiar control.

"And if the law is to be interpreted in the way proposed, if railroad operation is to be treated as something of so public a character that those engaged in it are subject to direct federal control, the step is a very short one to national ownership and national operation of the railroads.

"The situation is one of the utmost gravity. The exercise of the federal power in aiding the railroad managers cannot fail to have far-reaching consequences of a distinctly revolutionary character.

"It is worth while to contemplate those consequences very seriously before going further with the Attorney-General's scheme of lending to the railroad companies the great power of the national government with which to subdue their striking employes."

Judge Seaman, specially imported for the purpose, fixed 2 o'clock for the hearing, and about that hour all the respondents were on hand. They were represented by Hon. W. W. Erwin, of St. Paul; W. W. Shoemaker, Esq., of same city, and S. S. Gregory, Esq., of Chicago.

Mr. Erwin opened with a hot one, delivered coolly, deliberately and impressively. He stated the reasons why his clients should not

STILL ON.

THE BIG STRIKE HOLDS UP ITS END.

Synopsis of Events—Some True, some False—Trail of General Managers' Conspiracy.

In giving a continuation of strike brevities, the reader will bear in mind that outside of Chicago THE RAILWAY TIMES must depend, in part, on the Associated and United Press. These institutions never tell the truth where that truth would be favorable to labor. THE TIMES does the best it can under the circumstances, and if set down correctly, it is for the reason named. For potent reasons, in these days of courts more remarkable for their sensitiveness than for their judgment—put it as charitably as possible—it is best to omit the words of cheer we have received from the brothers.

JULY 16.—General Schofield thinks regular army should be increased.—Cheyenne and Laramie vote to stick.—Two box cars and passenger coach burned at Lebanon, Indiana.—Employees of "Soo" line informed that they will not be re-employed.—Caisson of light battery F, second artillery, blew up on Grand Boulevard, Chicago. Four men (all regulars) killed instantly; three (all soldiers) fatally injured, and twelve (soldiers and citizens) injured. Cause, defective ammunition.—Scab engineer on Wabash ran train through switch; played smash with cars, engine and telegraph wires.—Big times at Sacramento and Oakland, California. Crowd gets the best of the troops.—A. R. U. men at Milwaukee on trial for conspiracy.—Strikers arrested at Springfield, Illinois, Cincinnati, Ohio, St. Paul, Sioux City and Hammond, Indiana.—One Turner, Colonel First Illinois jays, and a pulpit whacker named Thomas, who does the praying for same gang, called a meeting at Pullman to induce men to go back to work. This insult by the military and clerical tools of plutocracy fittingly rebuked. The strikers made up a meeting out of the wreck and renewed their vow.—Bad track at Battle Creek, Michigan, wrecks Atlantic express; fireman killed; fifteen injured.—Cairo division of Big Four tied up second time, as also the Vandavia at Brazil, Indiana.—Journemen Tailors' Association, at Chicago, resolve to stand by A. R. U.—Brighton Park Republican Club resolve that Pullman is no good.—Business men and railroad stockholders in New York city kicking on general managers.—Employees on Lake Erie road, from Bellaire to Toledo, have to sign ironclad before going back to work.—United States Circuit court at St. Paul gets in its work; gives John O'Brien, A. R. U. striker, ninety days in jail for contempt of court.—President Debs addresses big audience at Columbia Theater, Chicago.

JULY 17.—Debs, Keliher, Howard and Rogers jailed to await trial for contempt of court on Monday next.—Pullman shops to be opened tomorrow. [This gag appears daily in newspapers, and has up to date of publication. Reader will consider it in each day as he goes along. This saves type. All the same, Pullman has not opened shops except where twenty jays are in charge of one scab.] Baltimore & Ohio goes through switch, as also patrol train ahead of it.—Riley and Walsh, at Prescott, Arizona, indicted for conspiracy. Out on bail.—Albert Miles, a striker, shot and fatally wounded by Oscar Veberman, a scab engineer, Chicago.—Night trains all abandoned on Southern Pacific; run daytime irregularly.—Associated Press reports three bridges burned on Northern Pacific.—Trains started on Milwaukee, St. Louis and Kansas City, but run empty; shippers afraid to trust scabs.—Associated Press liar reports strike settled as to Hocking Valley, Ohio, road.—Leaders at New Orleans held to court for trial November 17.—Engine wrecked, as alleged, by dynamite, in Northern Pacific, near Missoula, Montana.—Two thousand men marched in funeral procession of Charles J. Luth, murdered by a scab clerk, at St. Paul, Minnesota.—Attempt to settle strike at Sacramento fails.—Fuzzy Wuzzy Miles refuses to withdraw regulars from Chicago at request of Mayor Hopkins.—Indignation meeting by the score in Chicago over imprisonment of Debs and others.—Laramie, Wyoming, strikers give bail for appearance.

JULY 18.—Trouble at Chicago Stock Yards. Scabs and strikers somehow do not abide together in brotherly love.—W. J. Donney, a drunken 7th Illinois jay, who murdered Patrick O'Connor in cold blood, was returned as not guilty by grand jury. Grand jury all right, though general managers.—Regulars moving on Butte, Montana.—Usual lies about strikers wrecking trains, due to awkwardness of scabs, fill Associated liars' dispatches.—Regulars leave town (for what we have received may the Lord make us truly thankful), but the whole shebang only moves to Fort Sheridan, ready for another invasion of Illinois when the corporations call for them.—John H. Howarth and Martin Kelly sentenced to eight months in jail at Los Angeles for violation of the omnibus abortion.—Fifty strikers indicted at Ogden, Utah, charged with interfering with U. S. mails. Great Heavens! what a delicate article the mail is when corporations want to down a strike.—Two A. R.

U. men arrested at Hammond charged with intimidating a scab. Probably appealed to his honor.—Switchmen of Chicago, the old guard of the late brotherhoods, representing every yard, vote unanimously to stay out.—Green scabs wrecking railroad property in Chicago to the amount of thousands of dollars a day, and ten crews do not get through as much work as one engine formerly did. Passenger trains delayed as much as two hours in the different yards by blocked tracks.

JULY 19.—Grand jury grinds out indictments by the dozen in Chicago. President Debs figures in them all. Very industrious grand jury that; going to investigate general managers, too. Poor general managers! In the hands of that judge! Big meeting of Pullman strikers at Kensington. Same old story, "Stand pat." Grand Trunk officials called a meeting of the strikers on their road to consider return to work. Nary a time.

JULY 20.—Enormous mass meeting at Ogden's Grove, Chicago, to protest against the hydra-headed iniquity—legislative, executive and judicial—afflicting the country. The speakers waded into the rottenness without reference to contempt for any of them. An open letter of the hot tomalley order was sent Cleveland, to which his fatness will of course pay no attention. The impeachment of that blistering disgrace on justice, Olney, was demanded, but of course that will not be regarded. We are in the hands of the Philistine for two years and a half more, and it is good for us.

From general news throughout the union, leaders believe that Chicago is the key to the strike situation. Situation at Chicago stock yards mighty bad for boss. Men brought in will not remain, and green hands are butchering things in more senses than one.—Chicago & Erie shops worked 140 men Thursday; Friday eight reported.—A Pullman fraud collector nabbed, and settled for a hundred days.—Missouri Pacific is blacklisting, and new employes have to sign ironclad.—Trouble on the Wabash for Brotherhood engineers who took strikers' places. Four hundred of the displaced are carrying a knife in their boot for Brother Arthur.—Scab conductor at Brazil, Indiana, gets slugged.—Five A. R. U. men at Woodland, California, held for murder by reason of a train wreck charged against them.—Report in Associated liar that Emporia, Kansas, had returned to work, forcibly denied from that point.—Reports to everyday meeting at Ulich's Hall, Chicago, show all lines of the city in bad shape, a mere pretense of doing business.

JULY 21.—Pullman notified that he must start his works, or else hire his own guards.—Scabs in Lake Shore yard, Chicago, refuse to work unless under guard. Guilty conscience! James Hogan, Roy Goodwin, William Burns and Martin Elliott, directors of the A. R. U., arrested on charge of conspiracy at Chicago. Gave bail in \$2,500 each.

JULY 22.—Railroads notified by government that the soft snap of having two deputy marshals to protect every scab at United States expense is off; must pay their own deputies.—Except to show, every yard in Chicago reported as practically tied up; shippers kicking.—Assistant Superintendent Mahoney at stock yards, Chicago, resigned his position; working with scabs was killing him.—Wives, mothers, sisters, sweethearts of strikers attended meeting at 82 Lake street and urged their boys to stand firm.—Women auxiliary clubs formed in many sections of the city and landlords, in many cases, abate rent.—Milwaukee men, contrary to Associated Tom Peppers, still stand firm.—Same report as to Oakland and San Francisco. American Federation issues appeal for donation to the "Debs Defense Funds."—People's Party clubs springing up everywhere as a result of the exposure produced by strike and action of the United States courts.—Scabs in Chicago tired of their jobs and ask roads for transportation home. Refused, of course.—Marshals' deputies keeping in practice by beating inoffensive citizens. How long, O Lord, how long?—John Walsh, owner of Herald and Post loads his papers to the brim with lies concerning A. R. U. officers. Cos why? The A. R. U. would not deposit in his bank.—A. R. U. officers file answer to injunction in United States courts.

JULY 23.—Officers of A. R. U. come to trial for contempt.—Attempt to start Allen Paper Wheel shops at Pullman. Fails.—Work resumed at St. Paul shops.—Members of 6th Regiment Illinois Jay's scabs at Union Stock Yards.—Switchmen on Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul at Goose Island, go out.—More men on St. Paul, North-Western and Pan Handle at Chicago, out.—A couple of dozen big meetings held at Chicago. Sentiment universally indorsed, "stand pat."

JULY 24.—Debs and others on trial.—Situation practically unchanged.

JULY 25.—Case of Debs et al. continued to September 5. Bail in that and further conspiracy cases fixed at \$38,000.—Twenty-six scab crews at work in stock yards.—Drunken soldier on Halsted street gets knocked out.—Third Illinois Jay Brigade bid us good by, leaving only the First now in the business of frightening children and timid women.

JULY 26.—President Debs held a reception attended by thousands, and in the afternoon, presided by a band, between three and four thousand marched with him to the depot to see him off homeward—Terre Haute—where he will remain till Wednesday next.—Mr. George M. Pullman announces himself. He will spend five million dollars to beat the strike. Part of the fund is now permanently

invested.—Jays on duty stay out too long in the scab business to suit employers, who are not in favor of the dirty business in which they are engaged. Result, numerous jays lose their jobs. Correct; they know now how it is themselves.—Fooled machinists engaged to go to Cincinnati kick and quit; would not take strikers' places.—Deputies at Chicago set to guard a scab boarding house; in order to keep job, fire off their guns at imaginary foes. Plute papers print the lie. Investigation showed the game up; nothing injured except the nerves of the scab colony.—No news of importance by Associated Liars.

JULY 27.—Express on C. M. & St. P. wrecked at Portage, Wisconsin. Engineer and fireman killed. Scab crew of switch engine left her on switch, but overlapping main line. Railroad scab's life, while it lasts, not a happy one. Plute press in tears; could not blame it on the striker.—Bill Wiley, scab switchman, at Albert Lea, Minnesota. Plute papers managed to miss item.—Scabs intending to hire in Chicago should remember that they are to be boarded in the roundhouses and will not be pleasantly received by Chicago society when they walk outside.—Old switchmen, A. R. U. men, offered \$150 a month and a five-years' contract at the stock yards. Not any, thank you.—All roads reported in bad shape and street crossings blocked. A. R. U. conclude to go to law a little on this matter themselves.—Richard Lawrence and Ed. Rhodes, of Chillicothe, Illinois, sent to jail for forty days for contempt. Jess so, judge. Even life appointment may not prevent a return inning.—Attorney Meagher, of Michigan Central, asks the court to send a few men to jail on general principles, to prevent acts of violence.—Seventh Illinois Jays relieved from duty and the state from the robbery of their support.

JULY 28.—Debs et al. and the American Railway Union granted leave to appeal to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in the matter of the omnibus abortion and general managers' reserve.—Thirty scabs found kenneled on the third floor of Dearborn station, sleep on the floor and so tightly wedged in that you could not squeeze another man in to save your life. Say they were hornswoggled by the Managers' Association, brought to Chicago from Boston under false pretenses and hardly get enough to eat, and cannot get transportation home. That's not intimidation, however, of the kind that Judge Grosscup sends men to jail for. Intimidation in law is a rum thing; it's a good deal owing to who practices it.—M. Teete shot by Jay Chambers, of the Illinois First, while walking across Michigan Central tracks at Pullman. Private Chambers had not killed anybody yet, and as Teete had no gun picked him out as a good subject.

JULY 29.—Engineer (scab) named Elliot, on B. & O. road, shoots at little girls for calling him scab. Not arrested.—Bert Byrnes, engineer, shot in his cab fatally. Killer unknown.—Troops ordered to leave Hammond.—Workingmen and business men of Hammond joining the K. of L. in large numbers.—Buggy run down and young girl killed at a Chicago & Northwestern crossing in Chicago. Scab flagman on duty.—Trouble on Santa Fe about schedule of engineers and firemen at Kansas City. Arthur will settle it, and the schedule signed as the management desires.—President Debs addresses an audience of two thousand at Terre Haute.—Police score the deputy United States marshals at Chicago.—Pullman men said to be offered work in a body by a new sleeping car company.—Quiet at headquarters. Seventeen meetings held in Chicago.—Delegates for convention begin to put in appearance.

"HON." GRINDSTONE M. PULLMAN.

By a PULLMANITE.

Blest be the man who first invented sleep! Quoth Sancho Panza of old Spanish fame. But Sancho Panza, had he lived today. To see Czar Pullman and brave men at bay, Would scorn to bless the "Sleeper" King at all. Would brand him Tyrant, nor that name recall. What is a tyrant? Must he wear a crown? Be Russian czar or build a showy town? Be sultan with the bowstring at his back? Or unburned savage that no crime may check? No! Your railway chief the ideal tyrant stands! The sordid press brings aid at his command, And money kings and dunkeys mingle well For throbbing labor with a purpose tell. The law of force, of ancient feudal times, Invoked to crush on modern "business" lines To grind the semblance of a soul from man Your railway chiefs with Pullman strike and plan. These tyrants all, we know them here at home, Who scourge their victims till the victims groan, Put on the screws and force their tribute tax, And book fat "divvies" on the business racks; Cut down fair wages, but still maintain their tolls For rents, for water to imprisoned souls. Aye, starve that Labor that upbilled wealth. Robbed is its substance, and destroyed its health. By forms and methods known to tyrants well, And known to robbers when their acts compel. As much a robber is your Pullman king, As bandit chief with ransoms on his string. Your Pullman king a legislature buys, Both house and senate comes a business prize. Listed as "goods," as merchandise, for price, His agent's skillful with loaded dice. Fat sums expended in this "lawful" way, Gives Grindstone Pullman his sweet right of way. This "right" he wants in starving Labor now, In branding deep on manhood's grimy brow. The mark of slave, a chattel and a thing. That must cringe low before this railroad king— No meaner puppet breathe on God's green earth, Than those he corals on his hamlet-hearth. Despised, awe, damned by every honest man, Are Pullman bosses and his grindstone plan.

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THE CONVENTION

As the special convention called for tomorrow will be in session before THE RAILWAY TIMES reaches its readers, it only calls now for bare mention. The convention's conclusions will reach you before it does, and it can be hoped that whatever action it may take on the present issue shall be for the best interests of the A. R. U. and of labor.

THAT COMMISSION.

The President has appointed the commission, or rather investigating committee into the Pullman strike.

THE RAILWAY TIMES does not go off at half cock in the matter, and results.

Labor Commissioner Wright is the John D. Kernan, of New York, is a lawyer and has had extensive practice as such a position attorney; Nicholas E. Worthington of Peoria, also a lawyer, and now Judge of the Circuit Court. There was no room of commission for a practical railroad mechanic.

The President has never been remarkable for his estimate of the brain power or mess of anybody not connected with his fesson or a bank, and perhaps in starting three men presumably biased against him he expects them to be fair.

THE CARTOON.

A real good cartoon teaches more than a dozen sermons. It was not the love of a part of THE RAILWAY TIMES that led to the publication of the cartoon here accompanying, but with the hope that the general public might strike pay dirt in the awaking some folks to the present conditions of latter-day liberty and prosperity.

JAMES J. MURPHY.

Brother James J. Murphy, of local 192, found drowned at Eldridge court, Lake Michigan. He had been missing several days. Circumstances point to foul play. He was true and active member of the A. R. U., it is believed that "the enemy's chattels" something to do with his taking off.

DIVIDENDS DECLARED.

Rutland, preferred, 2 per cent.
Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific, 1 per cent quarterly.
Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, 1 1/2 per cent, quarterly.
Des Moines & Fort Dodge, preferred, 4 per cent.
Detroit, Hillsdale & South-Western, 2 per cent.
Georgia Railroad, 2 1/4 per cent, quarterly.
Northern New Jersey, 2 1/4 per cent.
Norwich & Worcester, 4 per cent.
Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago, regular and special guaranteed, 1 1/2 per cent, quarterly.
Richmond & Petersburg, 3 per cent.
Rock Island & Peoria, 2 1/2 per cent.
Worcester, Nashua & Rochester, 2 per cent.
Chicago Junction Railways, and Union Stock Yards Company, common, 4 per cent preferred, 3 per cent.
Atlanta & West Point, 3 per cent.

ONE SHYLOCK.

The esteemed Walsh, who acquired his wealth by shaving notes, conniving people in selling their real estate for less than it was worth, procuring deposits for his bank by supporting any depositor in anything from blackmailing up, and vilifying people who will not deposit, has the Himalayan gall to brand the A. R. U. as a criminal organization. The great boycotted vilifies the Harrison boys for daring to be the sons of a father whom Walsh blackguarded in life, but who nevertheless always floored the christian banker and his blanket sheet attachment.

While the esteemed is vigorously charging, the A. R. U. have at least, show they refuse to be slaves, and if, as he says, Harrison are strictly on the make, they getting there and the esteemed's newspaper getting it in the neck.

SOME OLNEY POINTERS.

Mr. Olney (log.): "Who says I don't enforce the laws? Watch me get at those workmen!"

An easy little question for Mr. Olney: How is it that poor strikers can break laws which rich trusts cannot?

"What!" said Olney; "rolling stock jeopardized! I've made money out of rolling stock. Where are the troops?"

An esteemed contemporary refers to Mr. Olney as having "left the service of the corporations to become attorney-general." He has never left the service of the corporations. He simply took a public position in which his services to them would be more valuable.

Workmen threaten corporations: Olney, friend and servant of corporations, engages Edmund Walker, a most expert railroad lawyer, to defend the corporations. Central Pacific steals from the people: Olney, friend and servant of railroads, secures Edward Ross, an unknown lawyer, to defend the interest of the people.—New York World.

FOR CONTEMPT!

(Continued from first page.)

be compelled to give bond for hearing on the rule day. He said:

"On the other hand, the subject matter contained in the bill brought by the United States in behalf of the United States is of such a new character in the jurisprudence of the republic as to require the greatest consideration in the preparation of an argument in its adjudication by this court. For the first time in the history of the republic equity, which is simply a rule of conscience in the absence of law, is, under the fear and trepidation of some political minds, asked to administer the penal laws of the country.

WOULD GRANT ABSOLUTE FRANCHISES.

"When this bill is reached upon rule day, the solicitors and counsel for the defendants will demur to the bill. That demurrer to the bill will raise the entire question. It is as yet undecided. The application was never before made to the equity side of the United States Court. It is novel, new and strange, and its reception and adjudication will mark an entire change in the genius and institutions of this republic, and will exalt its federal courts from being the adjudicators of limited power to the absolute functions of the courts of the British monarchy. Nor do we think that, had not the outlying exigencies and circumstances and reports of deprivations and lawlessness been brought before the Justice who issued the temporary injunction in this bill, he would have ever entertained it on his own motion as possibly to be entertained by a court governed only by conscience.

"Our four clients represent here, 'Your Honor, an organization called the American Railway Union, incorporated by the laws of the great sovereign state of Illinois, induced to incorporate themselves that they might singly and collectively resist the unchecked operations of capitalistic tyranny, as yet unchecked by the functions of the republic or the functions of the sovereign states. They are from the standpoint of their grievances the children of the republic who have no forum either in the laws of the state or under the laws of the general government to petition against what they complain to be wrongs inflicting suffering, poverty and dismay upon the members of their organization.

The district attorney sat back like a bound boy at a husking, while Walker, counsel for C. M. & St. P. road, took charge of the government. It was a raw thing to do; it required neck, but it was in the play and it had to go. Walker wanted the case heard at once, wanted to go on his vacation, but after the usual amount of argument on both sides, Seaman fixed the bail at \$3,000 each and set Monday, July 23, for the hearing.

Brother Seaman is a cool-blooded animal, but when he found that the defendants refused to give bail, his face changed color. He knew that he was not to try the matter, and his connection with it did not put him in the same boat with Woods and Grosscup. He knew that there was no necessity for bond, but in demanding it supposed that he was merely adding it, that it would shut the General Managers Association's mouth, but he was not prepared for the go-to-jail. The respondents would not give 5 cents bail. Debs said that before the fire of such persecution, A. R. U. men all over the country had to go behind the bars, and that the officers had the same right to take their medicine.

Seaman was not quite prepared for this. When the rotten carcass of the whole outrage is exposed to view, Judge Seaman, of Milwaukee, will have the honor of being the judge who committed Debs, Howard, Keliher and Rogers to jail. Great distinction, judge, but THE TIMES would not run for office on it if it were in your boots.

The men went to jail, and next morning the Herald, Inter Ocean and Medill's Affliction came out in colors. They read homilies to deceived labor, spoke of the "fallen dictator," covering their sheets with illustration, each one showing bars; spoke with keen delight about "click of locks," etc., and yet the men behind the bars appeared in this neck of woods as towering a good many feet above the corporation agents and plute shavers.

During the few days locked up, the gentleman in charge of the prison treated our boys right, extended every facility for their comfort that duty would allow. The atmosphere, on account of crowded condition, suggested water-closets in need of repairs, but that had to be added to the account for future settlement. It was a temporary affliction, but was for good. The locking up of those men made thousands of votes for the right, and clinched with rivets that will never yield, a country's damnation of the conspiracy that brought it about!

On the morning of the 23d there was a crush around the postoffice building. Friends and foes wanted to get into the stuffy, hot courtroom of limited capacity. As at present there are about four deputy marshals to the square yard in and about the building, and as at every step one of these hoboos, whose importance is resplendently reflected from a tin star and a laundry-boycotting shirt, it was not an easy job, and the corridors filled up. The odor of perspiration was persistently and offensively prevalent, while on the opposite side of the street workmen by the dozen were riveting iron columns for a sky scraper, and two coal wagons—anthracite coal—scraping against the teamster's shovels, played a pronounced tenor to the rattle on the street.

Judges Wood and Grosscup were on the bench. Mr. Gregory submitted the answer of the defendants, and suggested that they be tried under the indictments heretofore found for conspiracy, which charged substantially the same offense, first. Mr. Gregory had the floor till in the afternoon, and in the most polite and gentlemanly way possible heaped a few scuttles of live coals on the enemy's head. He was followed by corporation lawyer

Walker in his make-up as United States District Attorney. The learned counsel wobbled as to Gregory's argument, but took it out in going into the general charge; was in somewhat of a hurry to get the boys locked up again. Another corporation lawyer then argued the case more or less ably, and as both judges had been corporation lawyers themselves, they were as interested as it is possible for a court to be, considering that they knew all about it before. The wives and lady friends of the prisoners were present, and not one of them went to sleep during the whole pother.

On Tuesday the line of argument was continued all day and all the attorneys as well as Judge Woods took a hand. Every line of Erwin's remarks cut like a knife and the crowded lobby and bar approved of it. He claimed that the answer purged the defendants, and if untrue the prosecution had a remedy at law for perjury.

"Is it any vindication of the dignity and honor of the court to have a conviction for perjury?" asked Judge Woods.

"A court of equity does not sit as dignity, but as conscience, your honor."

In following the motion to quash, Erwin further said: "The splendid dignity of this court stands affrighted before the proposition made that it is a private detective, or that it is sitting as a master of chancery, to discover information which the prosecutor for the government should have placed in his bill of information before he dared to ask for the writ of attachment."

The court ruled the answer insufficient. Then followed a legal squabble that occupied the balance of the day, when Judge Wood ordered that taking of testimony should begin in the morning.

The instructive, moral and consistent climax of the day was when the attorney for the Santa Fe made a bitter attack on the defendants in the name of the outraged Interstate Commerce act. At and previous to that time the receivers on his road were vainly endeavoring to trace up the insignificant sum of seven million dollars, stolen in the holy name of that overworked fake; money that disappeared from its vaults during the time this self-same righteous pleader for corporation rule was attorney for the road. The receivers have not yet discovered how much, if any, of the swag he pocketed.

On Wednesday morning Judge Woods denied the motion to quash. Mr. Erwin then moved for time, that the defense needed twenty, and demanded a show-up of the general managers' books. That was refused by the court. The District Attorney de jure stated that District Attorney de facto Walker was unable to be present on account of illness, and he would rather not proceed without his presence. The angel of the Santa Fe, with a charming forgetfulness of the raped seven millions, was fierce for present procedure, and almost wept at the spectacle of defrauded justice beholding Debs et al at liberty. The play was so good that a couple of the managers present mutually nudged each other and smiled.

The court finally continued the matter until September 7 next, and as the victims had to be out of jail to prepare their defense, they gave bail, were released, and received with open arms by their friends.

So endeth the first chapter. The A. R. U. will be in the second to its neck. Those of our readers with a taste for following the prophetic, please note that.

AFTER THE STRIKE IS OVER.

WRITTEN BY TWO STRIKING SWITCHMEN.

Once a pretty maiden climbed an old man's knee, Asked for a story—"Papa tell me Why are you lonely, why are you sad, Why do the switchmen call you a scab?" "I had friends, pet, long, long years ago, How I lost them you soon shall know, I'll tell it all, pet, tell all my shame, I was a scab, pet, I was to blame."

CHORUS.

After the strike is over, After the men have won, After the yards have opened, After the notice is down, Many the heart is aching, Though the hope seems bright, That many a scab will vanish, After the strike.

"Brave men were striking, standing side by side, Striking for justice, striking with pride; I then was with them, with them heart and soul, But when the test came I left them in the cold; I thought best, pet, best to turn a scab, Best to return, pet, to the job I had; That's why I'm lonely; that's why I'm sad; That's why the switchmen call me a scab."

"Many years have passed, pet, since I have won that name, And in song and story they have told my shame, I have tried to tell them, tried to explain, But they will not listen, pleading is in vain, Everywhere I wander, everywhere I roam, The story of my shame is sure to find my home; I'd give my life, pet, I'd give my all, If I'd not turned traitor, or scabbed at all."

JUDGE GROSSCUP, in charging the jury in Chicago, said: "No man is above law." We desire to take exception to this. We admit no man should be above law, but when Judge Grosscup made the above statement he knew he was uttering a lie. He must have known of the sugar trust bribery cases, of Carnegie swindling the government with rotten armor plates, of the thousands of cases of fraud and corruption which have disgraced the country for the past twenty years, and the perpetrators of all kind of villainy have never been brought to justice. These scoundrels are above law. They laugh at law, and will continue to do so just as long as Hanford and Grosscup disgrace the judicial bench, and drunken bums are elevated to the halls of Congress and the presidential chair. But the people, the great common people, are awakening, and when this crisis is settled, it will be settled in such a way as to make the President of the United States as much amenable to the laws of the land as the meanest and humblest citizen, and all the people will say, amen.—Tacoma Sun.

THAT'S THE STUFF.

GENERAL ORDER, NO. 2.

Headquarters State Dept., F. P. S. F. Pullman, Wash., July 16, 1894.

A general boycott by all members of the F. P. S. F. is hereby ordered in all towns having more than one road, against any road handling Pullman coaches, provided one of said roads does not handle said coaches. Said boycott must be carried on in a peaceable manner and there must be no acts of violence.

This order is made because the F. P. S. F. is wholly in sympathy with the A. R. U. in their battle for human rights and human liberty.

J. H. ST. LAWRENCE, Gen. Comd'g Dept. Wash. F. P. S. F.

To All Officers and Members of the F. P. S. F.:

It having been decided by the American Railway Union and their friends to withhold patronage from all railways running Pullman cars and under the ban of the A. R. U., you are hereby requested to appoint a committee to handle this matter in each precinct that you may have members in. This committee to be added to the boycott committee appointed by the A. R. U. It will be the duty of this committee to canvass the precinct in which they live and ascertain if possible where they are trading—if they patronize merchants patronizing the boycotted roads. Also to notify merchants in their district of the action and see that it is enforced. You will see to this at once and have the committee report by mail or otherwise to W. J. WALKER, Chief of the Staff of F. P. S. F. and Chairman of Com.

I would recommend that each company appoint a committee on literature, whose duty it will be to solicit subscriptions for reform papers and books, and in other ways circulate this matter. This committee should keep on file sample copies of such papers and books with prices and reporting at each meeting the amount of progress made since the last meeting.

W. J. WALKER, C. of F. P. S. F., Freeman's Labor Journal, Spokane.

The above arrangement—if not in contempt of court or a conspiracy—ought to meet labor's genuine approbation. Hit the hog where he is sore—his pocket.

SAINT STANFORD.

Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, and Senator Voorhees, are two honorary members of what is called the millionaires' club, which is a kind of wheel within a wheel in the Senate. On June 5, 1894, these two dignitaries performed a ceremony much like what the ancient heathens would have called an apotheosis, and what the Roman Catholics would call a beatification of their late brother Senator, Leland Stanford, whom they would fain create a kind of saint.

But in the Roman Catholic ceremonial there is a personage called the devil's advocate, whose office it is to state the objections to the proposed promotion. Our senatorial beatifiers forgot this gentleman, whose indispensable duty we must, in justice, perform for their benefit.

Mr. Hoar's argument was in substance thus: Mr. Stanford—we beg pardon, Saint Stanford—devoted his great estate to a noble benefaction (meaning the Stanford University); he had an abiding faith in the Christian religion; he loved his country; he hoped that partly by means of the Stanford University every child who desired it should receive a good education; if the claim of the United States against his estate should be good, it would take twelve or fifteen years to establish it; if this claim was for \$15,000,000, that comes to only twenty cents apiece for the inhabitants of the United States; such a claim might embarrass the widow Stanford and the Stanford University, and perhaps destroy the latter; for all of which reasons the said claim should at once be withdrawn and nullified by act of Congress.

Senator Voorhees added that Saint Stanford was possessed of simplicity and sublimity of character, which qualities were not touched or debased by his wealth, and that his was just such a simple, kindly, devoted nature as poor folks have.

Now, this simple, kindly, devoted, sublime man, on the 18th of September, 1871, swore positively that there had been paid in as subscriptions to the stock of the Central Pacific railroad, the sum of \$59,283,190. But, as a matter of fact, the amount so paid was only \$760,000. The amount thus untruthfully sworn to was perhaps sublime; the confidence with which the statement was intrusted to the public may have been simple, and the motive for making it may have been kindly and devoted to his companions, Crocker, Hopkins and Huntington; but the particular method which the proposed saint took to exhibit these virtues is more likely to land the saint in the penitentiary than in paradise.

Again: This proposed saint and his brother saints, Saint Crocker, Saint Hopkins and Saint Huntington, were the first to bestow upon the country the great blessing of Chinese labor. Up to date, this saintly enterprise has had the effect to deprive about one hundred thousand Americans every year of the means of living, and enormously to promote the holy order of mendicants called tramps. This missionary work gives the American an opportunity to practice self-denial and to endure hardships, and thus to greatly elevate his moral character. Ungratefully enough, the American workman has permitted himself to become miserable and to get excited over the resulting state of things; but that does not diminish the merits of Stanford as a saint—at least as a Joss.

Again: This simple, kindly, devoted, sublime man, and his three equally s., k., d. and s. mates, performed the following operations: Being directors of the Central Pacific railroad, they also called themselves the Contract and

Finance Company. Then, as directors, they let to themselves, as contractors, the job of building the road, agreeing to pay themselves about three times as much as the road would cost; and then the four saints put the unpaid two-thirds of this pay—not into the treasury of the railroad where it should have been deposited to pay the debts of the road—but into their own four saintly pockets. This transaction, followed by others equally saintly, has resulted in the hopeless bankruptcy of the road and in four immense fortunes to the four saints. By an interesting coincidence, the sum of the four fortunes is just about what would set the road on its pins again.

It is true that these transactions with the Contract and Finance Company cannot be proved by the books of the company, because these four simple, kindly, devoted, sublime men made away with the said books. Some think they were burned; there is a vague report that they were built up alive, as it were, like Constance de Beverly or some other guilty nun, in the foundation walls of St. Mark Hopkins' mansion on Nob Hill, in San Francisco. When that mansion is pulled down perhaps their molding bones will be discovered.

Again: A long course of similar transactions afterward took place between these four simple, kindly, devoted and sublime men, as directors, and themselves, as another company, called the Pacific Improvement Company, which has been operated in the same way, namely:

- 1. To make contracts with themselves to do work at enormously extravagant rates.
2. To pay for this work out of the money of the Central Pacific Railroad.
3. To put the profits into their own saintly pockets.

The result, as before stated, has been the bankruptcy of the railroads and the enrichment of the saints.

It was a simple proceeding—so is any embezzlement. It was kindly—to each other. It was devoted—to their own profit. It was sublime—in the impudence of its monstrous misappropriation.

Again: Saint Stanford joined with the three other saints by the methods above sketched, not only to get into their private possession the funds and securities which ought to have been reserved to pay the debts of the Central Pacific Railroad to the government and to the bondholders and stockholders, but they imposed upon the public the necessity of paying in fares and freights, not interest on the actual cost of the road, but interest on three times the actual cost of the road. In order to do this and maintain their power to do it, they organized and practiced a system of the meanest tyranny. They extorted nearly all the earnings of farmers and fruit-raisers; they discriminated for and against individuals, farms and towns, and in many other ways oppressed and terrorized business men.

Again: They practiced a systematic debauchery and corruption of voters, officeholders, legislatures and all governmental organizations whatever.

It is notorious in California that Saint Stanford twice bought his election to the United States Senate. It is currently believed in California, and with strong reason, that his first election cost him \$70,000 and his second election not less than \$500,000. And any well-informed Californian will agree that these transactions of Saint Stanford did very much toward causing that overwhelming expression of opinion in favor of an election of United States Senators by the people, which was uttered during the campaign which resulted in the election of Senator White.

But now observe the nature of Senator Hoar's reasonings. They are grounded on assumptions like these: If a man devotes part of his alleged property to benevolent purposes, no inquiry should be made whether the property does not really belong to somebody else. If it would take a good while to decide whether property belongs to one person or another, it should be held to belong to the person who holds it. If a rightful claim by the United States does not amount to a large sum per head of the population of the country, it should not be collected. If the collection of a rightful claim of the United States would "embarrass" anybody, or any institution, it ought not to be collected. An examination of Senator Hoar's remarks will show that these are the principles to which he is logically reducible.

Now: Is this the kind of timber that they make saints of in Massachusetts and Indiana? If so, we could man a new heaven for those states out of the state prison.—Iconoclasts, in Twentieth Century.

The treasury deficiency for the fiscal year is about seventy-six millions. Let us thank God that we are alive.

The gold reserve is dwindling and the press say that treasury officials are "puzzled at the action of the national banks" in not letting go of their gold. How innocent the administration end of the bond conspiracy are.

THE RAILWAY TIMES hereby tenders its devout thanks for some first-class, well-constructed sentiment, to Brother William W. Reeves, of 136, Fargo. The correspondence was not marked to publish, but it would read well were it not for army, court, executive and the corporations. Will Brother Reeves please call again with something it can publish, and use a shot-gun and not a ten-pounder.

Unabashed.

"Doesn't this sight make you feel the utter insignificance of humanity?" asked the thoughtful young woman of her companion as they gazed on the massive cliff rearing its high head above them. "Oh, I don't know," answered the frivolous girl. "It is big and all that, but when I come to think that it cannot eat ice cream, dance or go to matinees, I rather think humanity has the best of it after all."—Indianapolis Journal.

THE STRIKE PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION.

BY AUTHOR OF "DOGS AND PLEAS."

Ever faithful to their paid-for-duty of bamboozling, fooling and deceiving the public in the interests of their plutocratic and other cratic masters, the Associated Liars—otherwise known as the Associated Press—are inflaming their readers against the strikers, by all manner of lies, misrepresentation and false and specious arguments. Of course, their lickspittle servility and the oppressors' interest is cloaked with a hypocritical desire for the true interests of the oppressed, and a mother-like solicitude that laboring men shall not be misguided by designing demagogues. So they—as though by concerted agreement—are all lifting up their strident voices and asking with holy indignation, "Who is this Debs, this Eugene V. Debs? Who is this hitherto unknown person who has sprung with a bound into the field, and presumes to order men to do his bidding? Who with a nod of his imperial head orders all commerce to cease, and the country to be plunged into inconvenience and uncertainty? Who with his imperial hand can smite with paralysis the agencies that produce profits and dividends?" In answer to which string of idiotic questions, they launch out into hysterically angry reflections on the horrible absurdity of a great people being driven and ordered about, and allowed and forbidden by one man; and they conclude that it is intolerable that a czar shall rule our commerce and destinies in this free country, and demand with a long, loud and reverberating howl that Debs be arrested, and all Debsism be stamped out.

Of course, these scoundrelly editors know that this is a merely cunning and one-sided presentation of the case intended to please their plutocratic masters and blind that soft-headed mass of unthinking dummies called "The Great Public." They know well enough that Debs is only the representative of a vast organization of injured and discontented slaves; they know that Debs is but the lifted-up voice and intelligent expression of a universal resentment against wrong and robbery, and is the voice merely by the accident of being fit; and that had this resentment not Debs it would speak through some other; and these scoundrels know that when they are asking "Who is Debs?" they are really asking with scorn, Who are the American Railway Union?

Though for their scoundrelly purpose these bold, fearless and independent lickspittles ask with well-feigned astonishment and indignation, Who is Debs? thus showing how wicked they think it is for Labor to become dictatorial, it never seems to have struck them to ask at any time, Who is this Jay Gould, who by a stroke of his pen or by the touching off of a little private plot can produce a Black Friday and plunge a nation into a panic? They do not ask who are those arch devils who for their own private enrichment, signed the edict that last year brought to a sudden standstill the wheels of industry; brought on universal starvation; flung 3,000,000 more unfortunates out to join the other 2,000,000 of unemployed and tramps; that created a despair which with thousands ended with the suicidal bullet, rope or dagger, and with other thousands has resulted in them becoming criminals, vandals and enemies of society; that precipitated wages down like an avalanche and threw our already disordered and creaking machinery of productive industrialism into such a terribly unworkable maladjustment that such strikes as this and thousands of other such are the natural and logical consequence.

Oh, no; they never ask these questions, because the dictators and czars who do these things are financiers and statesmen, and the hellish consequences are euphemistically called "stringencies," "depressions" and "supply and demand." Neither do they ask: "Who is this Pullman, who, after having like a colossal spider sucked all the juice out of the bodies and souls of thousands of his fellow-men and brothers—who by the laws of our infernal industrial system are delivered over to him for prey and a spoil—turns a deaf ear to their appeals for living wages, plants his mulish hind feet on his inalienable right to "run his hand-starving business in his own way," and when his victims kick and appeal for help to their fellow-victims—victims of such other bloated spiders as he—and rather than sacrifice one jot or tittle of his legal rights to suck and skin his victims, would allow all the business of the country to be paralyzed. Now that Debs has been arrested for obstructing the business of the country, let the runaway coward be recalled from his Castle of Rest and let Pullman be arrested too.

But is there no settlement of these ever-recurring strikes? There is. The whole trouble lies in the fact that we are trying to do what Christ said could not be done—to "put new wine into old bottles." We are endeavoring to make the new principles of the universal socializing of all industrial production fit in with the old principle of private ownership of the means of production, and—the new wine is bursting the old bottles, that's all. Private ownership of the means was all right when the means and tools were small, and society was a mere loose aggregation of individually self-sufficient units, when every family owned its own bit of land, sowed and reaped for itself, made its own food and clothes and raised the materials for them; also when the specializing of industries was small; but when the spirit of invention arose, and one machine was made that knocked a thousand privately operated tools into obsolescence and uselessness; when the locomotive and the telegraph began to weave and weave isolated individuals and small communities into homogeneous societies numbering millions; when the specializing of industries and the infinite division of labor took hold of men and compelled them, willy nilly, to work together in co-operation and concert; then it began to be seen that to allow the old

private ownership of the simple means of production to extend to the infinitely extended and enormously costly new means of production, could only result in making the fortunate owner of the means the owner master of the men who merely worked could not own the means.

And so it has been. From the day of the first large machine till now, the eternal and ever-enlarging socializing of production has simply resulted in making the fortunate few private owners of the means richer and richer and the multitude of compulsorily co-operative workers poorer and poorer.

And ever more and more do even the private owners of the means of modern production recognize that further and further socialization of industry is the natural law. John Smith and his establishment became John Smith & Co., too large any longer for John Smith to manage, but is managed by the co-operative energies and skill of foremen, superintendents, general manager, etc. Then, in the course of evolution a score of companies are gathered into a gigantic corporation or trust, where the co-operation of all the workers is exacted with military precision and despotism, and Smith and Brown and Jones and Robinson are reduced to mere figure-heads, who along with scores of others are simply the "company," whose only function is to own the means and draw the dividends a la Carnegie, who knows nothing about the business and does as little to earn its income.

Verily, the private ownership of things, which in the natural course of evolution have become social and co-operative functions, has become a tragic absurdity and an unworkable principle. That such a colossal aggregation of machinery as the modern railroad, with its army of co-operative employes, whose function is to weave communities together, and distribute the necessities of their lives, should be the "my property" of any one man, or the "our property" of any small number of men, is as absurd as to hand over the whole community in chains to be the slaves of any one man.

And ever more and more do these railroad companies have to confess that the job of running a huge socialized and co-operative institution for their own private profit is a failure. Through the corruption and rascality, necessary to squeeze more and dividends out of it, and the friction, discontent and rebellion that come through the co-operative partners' blind recognition of the fact that they ought to be but are not, equal partners in it, the companies are ever more frequently compelled to call on the government—that is the community—to run the unworkable thing for them, thus confessing that the private operation of a public and socialized function is too much for them.

There is only one possible logical reply to this confession: If the community has to come in to run your business for you, then the community ought to stay in and run it for the community, and you must get out.

Today, the police and military—public functionaries—are a necessary part of every large business. The clubs, rifles and bayonets are as much a part of the equipment as the engines and cars, and steam hammers and looms and machines, and the policemen and militiamen as much the employes of the concern as the switchmen and engineers and the clerks and bookkeepers—only they are in waiting round the corner, in the army and stationhouse. And the government, too—theoretically, the highest expression of the collective power of society—is, and has been for years, so continually called on to help capitalists to drive their business for them; to force trade means of tariffs and other artificial means go in their direction; to bind the people, by means of franchises and monopolies, hand and foot, and hand them over for plundering and bleeding; and when in the natural order of things the inevitable conflict between state law and natural law has come they have headedly insisted that the government shall with bullet and bayonet compel natural law conform to statute law. Let us then make these selfish, unconscionable and devout believers in government control and government direction of their private business accept the natural conclusions of their own logic, arguments and practice, and kick the scoundrel out and run their businesses by the government in the name of and for the whole people.

But—a very large but—the character of the government must be changed. Today, through our representative system—which simply allows us only the privilege of choosing the men who shall make laws for us and rule us, instead of giving us the power to vote our laws—government is composed of plutocrats, and is always the tool of plutocrats, and the people—the millions—are "the people" only in pretense and for bamboozling purposes. We first need that our government be a true democracy, really representing "the people" and then that the government take over and run every business which by its nature must be run co-operatively, for the profit and benefit of the whole community.

It may be objected that this is socialism. Well, perhaps it is. But as we cannot please ourselves whether we will have socialism or some sort or not, we will have to choose present socialism, which is socialist and co-operative in production only, but not in distribution, or a co-operative system that is socialist in both production and distribution.

The question then is, which socialism will you have? The one we have now, in which all the workers produce co-operatively and socialistically and then hand their social product over to a set of thieves who have the legal wrong to confiscate it all, demonstrated daily to be a vast unworkable, wasteful, murderous, and a not much longer endurable iniquity. There is only the other socialism to choose—that which is co-operative in distribution as well as production.

Oh, that workmen were not such big fools. How easy it is to get 500,000 men stand together, fight, starve, endure, die for a paltry 10 cents per day; but to get them to march together solidly to the ballot box and there vote out the old system and take over themselves their own businesses and trade, and receive the whole product of their labor for their wages; to vote out the whole swarms of suckers that devour them, to bring in the reign of peace and righteousness and plenty on earth; that seems impossible.

Well, how foolish soever men may be, nature goes inexorably on exacting eternally her penalties for her broken laws. Raise the United States army to a million men; buy one and bullet the starved and desperate workers into submission, and the question of making millionaires on one side and starvation on the other will ever remain unsolved. The fermenting new wine of changed industrial conditions cannot be clubbed into the old conditions, no more than a growing bud can be walloped out of the sin of outgrowing his clothes.

It is too late now to discuss whether should make the railroads public functionaries. They've got to be; events will make them. And after the railroads, the telegraphs, telephones, the shops, factories, mines and everything else. It is coming, either by the long and bloody way of the sword and the sword, or by the short and less way of the ballot. Which shall it be?

SPECIAL ARTICLES.

LEARNED OUT OF DOORS.

BY ANNA R. WEEKS. Last May we went into our garden; the ground was bare, neither fruit nor flower was there. But we expected nothing, until we had planted something. So we went to work; we dug and raked; we took the lumps of earth carefully in our fingers and crushed them till the ground was loose, smooth and fine.

Then we put in the seeds; we watered the ground and waited. But the next day there was no result; nor the next. But we had done our part; still we waited. At last came what seems always a miracle, he is not; out of the dry and tiny globes we buried came green leaves, then shoots, then food or flowers. Now the garden is a thing of comfort and of beauty.

So it is with reforms; they never begin all over the world at once, and with a hurrah, though those who observe only their climates may think so. A few best souls whose hearts are ever open to receive truth, plant its seeds in a day when the earth seems bare of good. But they are patient, and in time the mustard seed "becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof."

As I went out this morning and found in the garden mignonette, hollyhocks, verbenas, geraniums, pansies, I said in my heart: "Working people, take courage; you have planted the seeds, they are growing, nothing under heaven can blight them now; ere long you shall find in the world-garden the flowers of justice, ay, even that sweeter blossom, love."

For humanity cannot much longer be kept divided against itself. We have come to that predestined time when every man shall know every other to be what he is, his brother.

Not much longer can riches separate us, not much longer can poverty separate us. How pany, then, to him who sees the march of the world in this light, seem the cruel stubbornness of a Pullman or a Carnegie, the subtle plans of railway managers, ay, even the brazen threat of a Gatling gun!

It is ever so with wrong; always it forgets to calculate on spiritual forces; this is its fatal weakness. So that, when it suddenly awakes on the morn of a new era, when it sees that man has gone up one step higher toward brotherhood, it gropes in vain to discover what power has suddenly done this; when it has been no more sudden a change than comes to my garden every year.

"The poet's clearer eye should see, in all Earth's seeming woe, seed of immortal flowers."

FOR ARBITRATION.

BY T. T. CRITTENDEN.

The present gloomy aspect of affairs in these United States is sufficient to cause every true and loyal American, living under the purest and most perfect form of republican government, to reflect with deepest concern and anticipation upon the contest between capital and labor at present engaging the attention of this vast country fraught as it is with many dangerous possibilities. Wealth and its vicious companions, avarice and selfishness, are allied on one side against and attempting, by quasi judicial means, to throttle and crush labor.

This serious question has never before been brought so prominently and forcibly before the attention of this great nation for consideration and settlement. Is it a fact that this government is going to adopt the most arbitrary method to coerce labor at the solicitation and dictation of corporate power, or is it going to be the arbiter in, calm though firm manner between a class and the masses? Has labor's voice no right to be heard when in firm and courteous terms it asks for an adjudication between labor and capital on a fair and honorable basis?

Does this government, after the disgraceful and dishonorable juggling with the rights of the people by its representatives in Congress on the sugar schedule of the new tariff, desire to boldly throw down the gauntlet and say to the people, the laboring people, it is absolutely on the side of the monopolistic element in this country? We trust not!

If wealth prevails with the aid of the federal government, its power will be inconceivable and the laws will continue to be framed, as they have for some years past, in the interest of wealth, corporate and monopolistic, with an occasional provision for the laboring people so framed as to be susceptible by legal subterfuge of a construction favorable to the persons whom it was supposed to control and direct. No one reveres or admires this form of government more than the writer of this article, but it is equally abhorrent to him and doubtless to all true Americans to witness the manner in which its principles are flagrantly and partially administered.

Many Americans wonder why this government rushed so quickly to the support of corporations without apparently considering the rights of the other side unless it is actually a government only for the few who are rich and not at all for the many who are poor. The idea of arbitration is recognized in many of our constitutions of various states, and when parties in difficulties submit to arbitration the courts see that the judgment or decision of the arbitrators is enforced. Arbitration is certainly one of the fairest and quickest methods for adjusting disagreements, and if good enough for courts to recognize why could not the national government have pursued the same course and had executed the decision of the arbitrators, thereby appearing and acting with absolute impartiality instead of arbitrarily and with partiality taking sides with one only of the parties to the question?

The corporations have now involved the government in this difficulty by means of their very worthy and highly esteemed subservient creature, the Attorney-General of the United States, and no matter how much injury may be caused to the property of the corporations, as a result of a conflict between the laboring mass and the government, the people of this country should know that the railroads will not suffer the loss of one dollar, because they will by sleight of hand reimburse themselves from the dear people.

of men thoroughly conversant with the rights of labor, is defeated, corporations will become more strongly entrenched than ever before. Should any one of these independent organizations of labor become involved in any disagreement with their employers they will find it an impossibility to gain anything without the aid of the A. R. U. and other labor organizations. On account of the stand they have generally taken in this contest discontent and dissatisfaction have gained a foothold among them, much to the gratification of corporate power; and when they in turn, for it will surely come, desire to secure a hearing, or determine upon some course of action to secure it, they will find it almost, if not absolutely impossible to gain the co-operation of the mass of fellow-workmen whom, in this contest, they failed to support.

As a member of the A. R. U., however, this writer is opposed to retaining any ill will and will advise and work for such co-operation in the future for the purpose of proving that malice has no consideration in the ranks of the A. R. U., and that when any labor organization seeks to secure justice and maintain a right or redress a wrong the A. R. U. is a friend to and supporter of all labor's efforts. Two wrongs do not produce a right, therefore for the sake of unity, brotherhood and success labor must and should combine. The A. R. U. does not favor anarchism, nor believe in condemning the actions and principles of many for the rashness, turbulence and lawlessness of the few, for should such be the conclusion in any contest not one has taken place in the past which should not be condemned in scathing terms. The A. R. U. desires to consider the best interest of the working classes and do all in its power to justly maintain their rights against the stealthy encroachments of wealth as well as respect the rights of capital in so far as they do not impose any additional burdens upon labor.

Justice to all, partiality to none.

WORDS BY THE WAY.

BY CARL SMITH.

Whenever a usurer is hit hard he begins to talk of the widow and the orphan. George Pullman did not deviate from the old rule, and when it came to an explanation and an apology for his usury he declared that it was for the purpose of paying the dividends due the unfortunate widows and orphans who held stock in the Pullman Company that he cut his wages to the starvation point. Not exactly in so many words did the Saint of Castle Rest say this, but the purport could not be more concisely expressed.

"Hundreds of shares of the Pullman stock," observes the gentleman with the halo and the whiskers, "are held by women whose savings are invested therein." And he asks us if these gentle mothers and sisters in Israel are to be deprived of their little divy quarterly. Let us see. At a moment's notice we would say yes, if it meant the life and death of hundreds and thousands of other women who are not so fortunate as to hold stock in the Pullman venture. It occurs to us that perhaps the starving and oppressed womenfolk of the model town, whose lives have been a monotonous grind of making both ends meet, with a hard tug to bring even that consummation about, are deserving of a little consideration in comparison with the gentle dames whose money is laid up with the octopus of Pullman. Surely the wife of the workman is not to be deprived of the sustenance which will make her strong enough to suckle the babe of the workman, so that the little Lords Fauntleroy of the lady of investment shall have some new and costly toy to trifle with and throw away. Certainly the woman who toils and serves God in the sweat of her brow is not a secondary consideration to the silk-gowned widow who places her money in the keeping of George M. Pullman, because she knows he is one of the kind of shysters who will cause money to increase whether men are worn to death or whether women are forced to sob in sorrow and starvation to bring about the profit or not. Mr. Pullman would call this sophistry. We have the right to call his "widow and orphan" argument sophistry in exactly the same ratio.

What of the "protective" organizations now? Are they not somewhat ashamed of their protective clauses which assume to mean strike in every word, and which they know to be meaningless so far as actual service and execution is concerned? If the American Railway Union strike had been won in the start by the help of these orders, there would be some sense in believing that a small, one-class organization could really protect its members a little. But under the present circumstances—and I do not mean that the strike is lost—it will be easier for an elephant and five camels to walk abreast through the eye of a needle than for a single organization to win a strike. There is no use talking, they cannot do it. Their grand officers, with the magnitude of the A. R. U. fight before them, must concede this. If with half, or more than half the railroads of the country tied up, and with the desired end simply the request for arbitration a cause fail, how on earth do these small fry expect to win when they ask for the much greater concession of increased wages on one road? Had they all come to the assistance of the A. R. U. they would have helped in breaking the back of corporate greed, and there might have been something for them to hope for. As it is, their strike clauses are merely bluffs, and they know it. A few diplomatic grievors may secure some concessions from the railroads for them, but it will be diplomacy and not fear of the strike clause which will wield the force. It is a calamity to all orders that there was not a full unity of action in this strike.

Why? Because the cause was one in which all men might meet as on a common territory. It was not restoration of wages nor the dismissal of a petty tyrant or an official; it was the great question of arbitration which is of interest alike to every employe. Just the same way as a murder is a crime against the entire community, so is a refusal to arbitrate a crime against every wageworker. Men are hanged for murder, not for vengeance, but to warn others not to kill other victims. Do you see the application? And yet the other railroad organizations had no interest in this fight. They had no grievance, forsooth. Has the sheriff who executes a criminal any grievance against him? No, he does it for the general good.

He—"I am going to ask your father for your hand tonight. Don't you wish me luck?" She—"Yes; I hope he will have on his slippers."—Life.

Let me introduce you to "The President" Watch Movement. Just finished by the UNITED STATES WATCH CO., Wallham, Mass. This is the only 18-size, 17-jeweled double roller, lever setting movement on the market. It is most highly and accurately finished throughout, and is especially adapted to men in railroad train service. Each movement is accompanied by time rate certificate, and the price is within the reach of all. Purchase no other until you have seen it. If your jeweler does not handle it ask him to send for it.

JOHN J. McGRANE, Jobber in American Watches, 187 Broadway, NEW YORK CITY.

COMIN' HOME AGAIN.

FROM THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION.

It's in the way back yonder, but I see it 'jest as plain As of that day o' leavin' was a-dawnin' bright again; With me all flushed an' eager—same as any boy 'ud be, Fumins' to snatch the treasures 'that I knowed was waitin' for me.

I can feel them nervous fingers still a-tremblin' on my cheek, An' catch the quiverin' message when mother tried to speak; All the time a-smilin', tryin' to hide from me the pain, As she whispered, "Goodby, darlin', tell you're comin' home again!"

I see her still a-gazin' as I stepped outside the gate, Jest like she used to watch fer me whenever I was late; An' I caught the faintest echo, but it sounded sweet and plain, For I heard it, "Goodby, darlin', tell you're comin' home again!"

An' now, when daylight's fadin' an' the stars begin to light The skies, a-blushin' softly from their tender kisses bright Seems like I hear her whisper in a lovin' kind o' strain, That she's waitin' up in heaven fer my comin' home again.

Gave Offense.

Mrs. Jenkins—"I hear your husband is making a grand record in Congress, Mrs. Watkinson?" Mrs. Watkinson—"Oh, yes! We're ever so proud of him." Mrs. Jenkins—"Yes, I've heard my husband often speak of him as the silver-tongued—" "What? I'd have you know, madam, that my husband's just as decent a man as yours. I'm done with you! Please never speak to me again, madam."—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

On His Dignity.

Stern parent: "You may marry my daughter, sir! Why, she would starve!" Sutor: "Well, sir, if you are the kind of a man to let your daughter and her husband starve I don't wish to enter the family."—Wonder.

Chivalrous.

"There is one thing about my first husband that I shall always respect him for," she said with a quiver in her voice. "What is that?" "He paid all the expenses of our divorce like a perfect gentleman."—Life.

At a Hotel.

Guest: "Water, bring me some rice pudding." Waiter: "Boss, I can't just recommend the rice pudding to lay." "What's the matter with it?" "Nuffin' 'cept dar an't none."—Texas Sittings.

Positive and Negative.

"You don't mean to say the cashier has gone?" "Yes," replied the bank official. "Dear me! He had such a pleasing appearance." "Yes. And such a displeasing disappearance."—Washington Star.

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