

The Railway Times.

VOL. I.

CHICAGO, AUGUST 15, 1894.

NO. 16.

THE STORY TO DATE.

A RESUME OF THE ACTION OF THE A. R. U.

In Connection With The Pullman Strike and Boycott.—Railway Managers and Their Game.

This issue of THE RAILWAY TIMES will reach many besides those who are its regular patrons and subscribers. Arrangements have been made by which this number goes also to hundreds of persons who are not on its regular mailing list. The aim is to reach two classes of readers, both of whom we know to have been cordially with the American Railway Union in the Titanic combat in which it has been engaged: 1st—The great farming population that has revolted against the political and industrial conditions that are blanketing the vast acres of the South and West with mortgages; and 2d, our brothers of the cities who, in the organizations of their own crafts and trades, have associated themselves for that protection of their own interests which it is the purpose of the American Railway Union to exert for all who come within its circle.

The story of the cause of the strike of the Pullman employes and of the walkout of other railway unions in support of that strike and the record of consequent events down to the present time, has been variously told from day to day. The papers owned by the corporations have misrepresented it, morning and evening, weekdays and Sundays. The papers published in the interest of the People's party and the trades journals of the various unions have given, so far as their space permitted and their knowledge of the facts enabled it, a just and sympathetic report. In the columns of THE RAILWAY TIMES a general synopsis of all the events of the strike has been attempted. If in this issue there is some repetition of narration, and there will be, we shall ask the indulgence of our regular readers therefor. It is done because of those to whom this issue goes who are not regular readers of the paper.

We attempt in this number to give in general review the course of the American Railway Union and its directors since the middle of June. It is written without fear and we believe as dispassionately as though it were the record of some other union's battles. Nothing is set down here in malice, no event is knowingly mistated, no statement is perverted, nothing is suppressed that should be written, nothing is distorted or colored to justify the course we have taken, or to cover any mistake we may have made.

It is impossible that such a review as we here undertake should not touch upon the course of those whom we had a right to look upon as allies, and because of those failure to adhere to their own solemn obligations we have met temporary defeat. Of these as little shall be said as possible. Communications and resolutions condemning their course have been sent to this office by the hundreds, enough to fill many papers the size of this one. We will print none of these, lest the feeling of bitterness their publication would create might, on some future occasion and in some crucial hour, prevent that harmony of action among the united labor bodies of the United States upon which their very life depends.

The American Railway Union stands for universal organization. It attempts this for railway men, and it will yet achieve it. From its inception it has recognized that all who toil have common cause and must meet a common and most powerfully entrenched enemy. From this line of battle it will not be driven, nor will it be seduced into attacking those who should be in its own ranks—and yet will be. Some of our brothers have been misled and have misunderstood our position, and, as we believe, have mistaken their own duty. But it will not always be so.

The American Railway Union and the Pullman Employes.

The purpose for which the American Railway Union was organized, and the reason the Pullman employes were ad-

mitted, is told in the following, from the report of the resolution committee of the American Railway Union convention held in this city on August 2d and 3d:

"The American Railway Union was organized in the common interests of all workingmen upon the railways of the United States and in connected industries because of the partial or utter failure of the class unions already in existence to protect railroad employes from the aggressions and impositions of their employers, the railway corporations of the country. The crisis and the hard times of the previous year, which were themselves occasioned, we are convinced, by the criminal conspiracy of capitalists, formed also the occasion for a pretended necessity of reducing the wages of the workingmen everywhere throughout the nation.

"To protect themselves in their extremities the railway employes formed the American Railway Union in the hope that by opposing a united front they might be able to defend themselves.

"Into this union men working in connected industries were also admitted. No compulsion or undue influence was employed to obtain members and no effort was made to destroy the older brotherhoods.

"The only intention was to bring about a more perfect union, in which the will of the members should at all times rule, and to this end no strike was ordered except upon a majority vote of the local unions themselves.

"Into this union, at their own request, the employes of the Pullman Palace Car Company were admitted. Their grievances were the cause of the present general walkout."

The Pullman Strike.

The Pullman strike was inaugurated on May 11. Into the grievances of these employes, many and sore, we need not enter. These at least have been fully and very fairly made known even by the corporation newspapers. The Pullman men were working for wages that did not clothe and feed them and their families. They had submitted to repeated reductions of wages, but the rents they paid to Pullman and the other tributes wrung from them in his name had not been reduced. They were tyrannized over by petty and ignorant bosses and were watched by petty and malignant spies. Their most faithful toil only brought them, at the end of every week, deeper in debt to Pullman. On the day of the strike Pullman's workingmen owed Pullman's company \$70,000 for rents alone.

For the details supporting these statements our readers are referred to a history of the strike, which has just been written and published by Rev. W. H. Carwardine, pastor of the Methodist church in Pullman. We hope the reform press will handle this book. As it sells for 25 cents, Mr. Carwardine will not be likely to receive anything for his labor in getting it up save the thanks of the lowly and oppressed whom he has defended, contumely and persecution from their oppressors, and—one day—the "well done, good and faithful servant" from the Master in whose footsteps he is walking.

Following the Convention.

The first quadrennial convention of the American Railway Union was called to order in Ullrich's Hall, Chicago, on June 12th, and remained in daily session until Saturday, June 23d. There were 423 local unions, with a membership of over 100,000, represented. The utmost freedom, combined with thorough good-fellowship, characterized the deliberations and decisions of the delegates from the beginning to the close of the convention.

Among those seated were representatives from the various local unions in Pullman, and from the first it was appreciated that in the affairs of the American Railway Union the Pullman trouble was the most immediately pressing. Many of the delegates had come instructed how to act upon this question, and before the session was over other delegates received such instructions by wire or by letter. These instructions were that members of the American Railway Union must refrain from handling Pullman cars until Pullman made terms with his employes who were members of the American Railway Union. Nothing remained for the directors of the American Railway Union but to carry out this decision.

Fair Play for the Railway Companies.

That the railway companies might not be taken at a disadvantage, five days notice was given them to the effect that after June 22d the American Railway Union men in their employ would not haul Pullman cars. How the railway companies met this evidence of good faith will be shown by the following, taken from appeals to the railway employes and to the public made by President Debs on June 29th and July 5th. By this time a general railway strike was in progress on all roads where American Railway Union men were employed, and Chicago was the storm-center of the strike.

President Debs' Appeal To Employes.

CHICAGO, ILL., June 29.
To the Railroad Employes of America.
The struggle with the Pullman Company has developed into a contest between the producing classes and the money power of the country. This is

what Lincoln predicted at the close of the civil war, and it was this reflection that gave the great emancipator his gloomiest forebodings. We stand upon the ground that the workingmen are entitled to a just proportion of the proceeds of their labor. This the Pullman Company denied them. Reduction has been made from time to time until the employes earned barely sufficient wages to live, not enough to prevent them from sinking deeper and deeper into Pullman's debt, thereby mortgaging their bodies and souls, as well as their children's, to that heartless corporation.

Up to this point the fight was between the American Railway Union and the Pullman Company. The American Railway Union resolved that its members would refuse to handle Pullman cars and equipment. Then the railway corporations, through the General Managers' Association, came to the rescue, and in a series of whereas declared to the world that they would go into partnership with Pullman, so to speak, and stand by him in his devilish work of starving his employes to death. The American Railway Union accepted the gage of war, and thus the contest is now on between the railway corporations united solidly upon the one hand and the labor forces upon the other. Every railroad employe of the country should take his stand against the corporations in this fight, for if it should be lost corporations will have despotic sway and all employes will be reduced to a condition scarcely removed above chattel slavery; but the fight will not be lost. The great principle of American manhood and independence is involved. Corporate power, drunk with its own excesses, has presumed too far upon the forbearance of the American people, and, notwithstanding a subsidized press to which there are many notable and noble exceptions, public sympathy is with the striking employes, who are merely contending for the right of their fellow-toilers to receive living wages for their work.

I appeal to strikers everywhere to

Refrain From Any Act of Violence.

Let there be no interference with the affairs of the companies involved, and, above all, let there be no act of depredation. A man who will destroy property or violate law is an enemy and not a friend to the cause of labor. The great public is with us and we need only to maintain a dignified, honest, straightforward policy to achieve victory. Let it be understood that this strike is not ordered by myself or any other individual; nor is the strike inaugurated anywhere except by consent and authority from a majority of the employes themselves.

Neither is this a fight simply of the American Railway Union. The question of organization ought not to be raised, but every man who believes in organized railroad labor should take his stand on the side of labor and its battles for his rights and those of his fellowmen. I have faith in the great body of railway employes of the country, and am confident they will maintain an unbroken front in spite of any opposition that may be brought to bear against them. I am perfectly confident of success. We cannot fail.
E. V. DEBS.

Extracts From Appeal of July 5th.

To the Public: So many misleading reports have been given currency in reference to the great railroad strike now in progress that I am prompted, in the interest of justice and fair play, to give the public an honest, impartial statement of the issues involved and the facts as they actually exist. My purpose in this is to have the great American public—the plain people—in every avenue of life conversant with the situation as it really is, that they who constitute the highest tribunal we know may pass just judgment upon our acts—condemn us if we are wrong and uphold us if we are right.

Then follows a recital of the Pullman employes' grievances and of the refusal of the Pullman company to arbitrate, or even to receive any of the many committees seeking a settlement that were appointed by unions and by impartial citizens.

As a last resort the delegates by unanimous vote determined that unless the Pullman Company would agree to do justice to their employes within five days, the members of the order would decline to haul Pullman cars. This action, as it remembered, was not taken until the strike had been on six weeks, and every conceivable effort to obtain redress had failed because of the obstinacy of the company.

Up to this point the trouble was confined to the Pullman Company and its employes. How, then, did the strike extend to the railways? Let the answer be given in accordance with the facts. The day before the order of the delegates declining to haul Pullman cars went into effect, the General Managers' Association, representing the principal western railways, met and passed a series of resolutions, declaring in substance that they would uphold the Pullman Company in its fight upon the employes, that they would haul Pullman cars and that they would stand together in crushing out the American Railway Union. The resolutions in question were published in the city papers and can be referred to in substantiation of this statement. It will thus be seen that the railway companies virtually joined forces with the Pullman Company, went into partnership with them, so to speak, to reduce and defeat their half-starved employes. In this way the trouble was extended from line to line, and from system to system, until a crisis has been reached.

The American Railway Union, by whose authority and in whose behalf this statement is made, stands ready—has from the beginning stood ready—to do anything in its power, provided it is honorable, to end this trouble. This, briefly stated, is the position the organization occupies: It simply insists that the Pullman Company shall meet its employes and do them justice. We guarantee that the latter will accept any reasonable proposition. The company may act through its officials or otherwise

and the employes through their chosen representatives. Let them agree as far as they can, and where they fail to agree let the points in dispute be submitted to arbitration.

The question of the recognition of the American Railway Union, or any other organization, is waived. We do not ask, nor have we ever asked, for recognition as an organization. We care nothing about that, and so far as we are concerned it has no part in the controversy. Let the officials deal with the employes without reference to organization. Let the spirit of conciliation, mutual concession, and compromise animate and govern both sides, and there will be no trouble in reaching a settlement that will be satisfactory to all concerned. This done, let the railway companies agree to restore all their employes to their situations without prejudice, and the trouble will be ended.

The Managers' Combine.

In this connection may be stated, as well as in any other place, that the General Managers' Association is not a thing of yesterday, born of the recent strike. It was in existence last year, and had its plans perfected then, and its lawyers engaged, to fight against an anticipated demand for higher wages.

The American Railway Union was not organized at the time the General Managers' Association prepared the trap of 1893, into which railway organizations were to be lured to their fall, if railway men asked for an advance in wages.

This statement is made on authority that cannot be denied, and upon proof that cannot be explained away. We ask our brothers of other and older railway organizations to ponder upon this:

If the railway managers approve of all your organizations, and if they are willing every railway employe shall belong to any or all railway unions except the American Railway Union, against what organization or organizations was it they were combined early in 1893? And how safe would your now-flattered unions be if the association could really wipe out the American Railway Union, as the managers boast they are doing?

When the Strike Was Won.

We have said that the storm-center of the strike was in Chicago, and from beginning to end the conditions here were repeated, with local variations, wherever the American Railway Union men were a majority upon any division of a railroad. To summarize the situation here at any time will answer for a general survey of the entire field.

At noon of June 22d the boycott against Pullman cars went into effect, as the notice served five days previously had given warning. In little more than one week there was a practical paralysis of both passenger and freight traffic on all affected roads, and everything had been accomplished without one act of violence, without the intimidation of one man or the destruction of one dollar's worth of the property of any road.

The roads that were at this time practically powerless included these: Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, Northern Pacific, Southern Pacific, Chicago & Western Indiana (belt line), Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis, Louisville, New Albany & Chicago (Monon), Chicago & Grand Trunk, Chicago & Erie, Illinois Central, Baltimore & Ohio, Chicago Great Western (Maple Leaf), Wisconsin Central, Cincinnati Southern, Chicago & Eastern Indiana, Wabash, Chicago & Northwestern, Chicago & Alton, Union Pacific, Denver & Rio Grande, Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, Chicago & Eastern Illinois, Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, Union Stock Yards & Transit Company (involving 15,000 Knights of Labor in the packing houses), Michigan Central, Lake Shore, Nickel Plate, Colorado Midland, Big Four and Calumet Terminal. Nothing was moving in Chicago, and news from the west and south was to the same effect, that it was the greatest tie-up in the history of railroads, extending over more territory than has ever before affected at any one time.

At this time the strike was won, and peacefully won, the greatest victory for labor ever achieved through a labor organization. At this time if the railway managers had had no other resource than the weapons they are entitled to use in such a contest as this, they would have owned themselves beaten, and a speedy and honorable settlement of all difficulties would have ensued. Whether the roads had ceased to carry Pullman cars, or whether the managers had forced Pullman to meet in decency his employes, as at any time they could doubtless have done, the result would have been the same—victory for the American Railway Union and living wages for all within its membership. But, as events proved, the roads were preparing to call in an ally never before brought into such combat. All the powers of the United States were to be invoked against a portion of its most faithful and loyal citizens.

A Black Day for America's Liberties.

On July 1st, President Grover Cleveland, conferred with Attorney General

SOLIDARITY.

[Written for the Railway Times.]

The world is mine, to live in and to enjoy,
Is mine to love in and to weep,
Is mine to build upon, but not to destroy,
Is mine to labor in and sleep.
The world is mine, my heritage it is;
It is not mine alone;
Who's born of woman, it is also his,
His title is my own.

'Tis more my own than were it given me
To hold in undisturbed repose.
For me alone, a desert it would be;
Men make it blossom like the rose.
And whose will not for my title fight,
Must likewise his resign;
And whose tramples on another's right,
Abridges also mine.

To stand together; neither can escape
Our joint responsibility.
The injuries we do each other shape
The common, racial destiny.
Our interests are mutual, communal.
Whoever we may be;
The blows which on a cowering fellow fall,
Are an affront to me.

Americans, 'tis time we understood:
Our flag, the red, the white, the blue,
Mean Freedom, Equal Rights and Brotherhood
For all earth's children as for you.
That fellow-men in Pullman or Cathay—
It matters nothing where—
Are driven as slaves beneath a despot's sway,
That, too, is my affair.

The world grows smaller; men are closer drawn;
Antipodeans now are neighbors.
And sympathetic strikes announce the dawn
Of justice for each man who labors.
National lines are nothing; all is this:
Whose wills every man
To be as free as he would be—he is
My fellow-countryman.

Our grandfathers summoned hither the oppressed
Of every nation; they have thronged
Unto us from the east and west,
The souls by cruel tyrants wronged.
Our hand is full; let us our shield extend
To whoso'er men be;
While anywhere man to despots bend,
I am not wholly free.

MILES MENANDER DAWSON.

A LAST BLOW STRUCK.

The last blow that could be struck at the unfortunate victims of Geo. M. Pullman's greed has fallen. Most of his hard working employes, as has been said, were in debt to him for rent before the strike began. None of these, of course have been able to pay any rent since the strike has been in progress. Only for the great and steady generosity of other unions they would not have had even food. When, therefore, the Pullman company began preparation to evict these men from the Pullman houses in which they are tenants, nothing remained for the men but to surrender, or to see their meagre furniture, their wives, their sick, and their helpless, thrown out on the sidewalks. And even the sidewalk is Pullman's in Pullman town. Failing means to get their goods promptly removed from those walks, the strikers would no doubt see Pullman's syncophants kick them into the lake. Under such circumstances nothing but sympathy is or can be felt for the men who go back to work. At this writing a number of these have done so, although the great body still remain out. Those who have returned, have been made to stand in line for hours, waiting the will of the petty bosses who, tyrants before the trouble, are now ferociously cruel. Each man who is accepted is obliged to surrender his American Railway Union card and to foreswear future allegiance to a labor organization. About one hundred men, the managers say, have been blacklisted and will never be employed again, but the rest they would be glad to take back—on Pullman's terms. One thing only in this sorrowful situation is pleasant to record. The men who took the strikers' places are meeting with that consideration at the hands of Pullman's managers which is the just reward of the deed. When no strikers could be coerced or coaxed into returning, the Pullman bosses could not say too much about the mechanical ability of the new men, who were, they claimed, in personnel, and in every way, of much higher type than the men who went out. As fast as these last come back to work, however, the traitors to labor who took their places are fired. According to the Post: The new men are mechanics, but most of them unskilled in car-building. It would be a waste of time for the company to teach them this trade when it has good and skilled men, who know the shops and the works, waiting for work. The new men will therefore be shunted and the strikers taken back. In that way the company will save its credit with the world by avoiding the eviction of several thousand poverty-stricken people, will save its back rent the strikers would never pay were they turned out, and will fill its shops with skilled workmen who have been in them years.

Moral (for the benefit of wage-earners who think they are sure of places if they follow the bosses' advice and refuse to organize) even a boss—even a Pullman boss—despises a scab.

Has your local union appointed an agent for THE RAILWAY TIMES? Don't neglect this important matter.

REVOKE THE CHARTER.

QUO-WARRANTO CASE FILED AGAINST PULLMAN CO.

It Exceeds Charter Rights.—Owns Stock in Another Corporation and A City of Its Own.

On Saturday last Attorney General Maloney took certain steps which, if followed to their legitimate halting place, will do something toward convincing a doubting people that law is not always administered only against the unfortunate, and justice is not always blind to the anarchism that is backed by wealth and power.

Late in the afternoon of that day the attorney general, says the News, appeared in the office of the clerk of the circuit court and filed a petition in quo-warranto against the big concern which has been enjoying so much prominence in the public view of late.

The legal document filed asks leave to file an information in the nature of quo-warranto proceedings. This is the first step in an attack by the state's chief law officer on the charter of a corporation. The next step will be to ask the company to show cause why its charter shall not be revoked. The defendant corporation is charged with illegally owning a controlling interest in the Allen Paper Car Wheel Company and with wrongfully exercising the powers of a municipal corporation in furnishing dwellings, light, water, heat and provisions to the residents of Pullman.

The petition also charges that in the possession of the real estate and buildings in Pullman and Chicago, outside manufacturing plant, or for other purposes than the transaction of its lawful chartered business it is violating its corporate rights.

The holding of a majority of stock in the Union Foundry and Pullman Car Wheel Company is made a parallel charge to that in reference to the Allen Paper Car Wheel Company. The attorney general, on behalf of the people of Illinois, informs the court that the defendant corporation exists under a special act of the legislature passed Feb. 22, 1867, with George M. Pullman, John Crerar and Norman Williams, Jr., as incorporators.

The capital stock was originally \$100,000, and the corporate privilege was the manufacture, construction and purchase of railway cars, to be sold or used as the company saw fit. The incorporated body was authorized to hold such real estate as was necessary for the successful prosecution of business. The petition recites that the capital stock has been increased to many millions beyond the knowledge of the attorney general.

The court is informed that the company has not regarded the limitations as to its holding of real estate, but has usurped the right to buy and own large tracts in and about Chicago, and has created churches, school houses, theaters, hotels, dwelling houses and a business block. This property is being rented for large sums, the petition recites, and it is averred that such holdings and rentals, are violations of the conditions of its charter, not being necessary for the prosecution of its business.

Another charge is that the company has no right under its charter to own and manage the Pullman building on Michigan avenue.

HE IS WITH US.

The following extract from an interview with Gov. Altgeld indicates that he takes the view held by Populists as to what is the matter with the country. After saying of the tariff bill just passed that it "is, in fact, not what the country expected, but it seems that it is the best that could be wrested from those forces that have their slimy fingers on the neck of the government," he says:

But neither this nor any other tariff bill can restore prosperity to this country. The trouble is that the great producing classes, not only of this country but of the world, can not buy freely, because they have to sell their products for little more than half what they used to get, consequently they can do but little more than meet the fixed charges of interest and taxes and other necessary expenses which have not been reduced. When the government of this country joined hands with the governments of Europe in arbitrarily reducing the volume of money in the world it correspondingly reduced the selling price of products, just as an increase in the volume would have raised prices. This crippled the purchasing power of the country, and thus made general prosperity impossible, for none of the great debts, public, corporate, or private, upon which the people have to pay the interest were reduced by that act.

It is by such utterances as these, and he is not chary of them, that Gov. Altgeld is reading himself out of the Democratic party. However, for every enemy he makes in that party he makes hundreds of friends outside of it, and when he comes into the People's party—where he belongs—millions will welcome him.

[Continued on page 5.]

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WATCH IT.

The date on the address label shows the time to which subscription is paid. See to renewal before it expires.

CARD.

SINCE last March Mr. L. W. Rogers, diffor in charge of this paper, has devoted his time and energies to other work or the American Railway Union. The gentleman who has acted as editor of the RAILWAY TIMES during this interim is out of the city this month, and for this one issue of the paper I have undertaken his duties. To my colleagues of the reform press, and to others familiar with my work in the past, first as editor of the Farmers' Voice and later of the Chicago Vanguard, I do not need to say this has been a labor of love. To extend a helping hand to the American Railway Union I esteem a privilege, and I am proud of the opportunity of signing myself the responsible editor of No. 16, Vol. I, the RAILWAY TIMES, official organ of the union. LESTER C. HUBBARD.

IT IS NOT DEFEAT.

The strike of the American Railway Union on behalf of the oppressed working people of Pullman is ended. It has passed into the domain of history, where it is destined to stand sublime through many and many a circling century.

To attempt now to sum up the results of that Titanic battle between the lowly and the powerful, between right and wrong, between progress and reaction, would be idle. For the story of the conflict, with all its remote as well as proximate effects, cannot be told without studying those future annals of the human race now both unwrought and unwritten.

Colonel Knox, in his trip through Siberia, some quarter of a century ago, found, in many a lonely cabin beyond the Ural and along the vast steppes of Asia, pictures of Abraham Lincoln. These were sacredly cherished by humble folk who spoke strange tongues, wore strange garbs, and believed in strange religions. They knew not a word of English, but they did know—dimly, mystically, yet certainly—that Lincoln was the friend of humanity of all climes, races and conditions, and hence, in their heart of hearts, these simple people loved and shined him.

The time and distance transcending quality that vests in the memory of a good man is magnified a thousand fold in the case of a great event that holds within itself imperative influences which must inexorably declare themselves for help or harm in the lives of millions of human beings in every land on earth unto remotest time.

Such a supreme happening was the heroic uprising against unjust privilege, led by Eugene V. Debs in the United States of America in the July month of 1894.

The American Railway Union, through loving and self-sacrificing deed, affirmed again the words of holy writ, "The laborer is worthy of his hire." It voiced anew a solemn declaration of the inalienable rights of man.

It thundered abroad a mighty protest against the sacrilegious claim that insensate property is more sacred than human bodies and immortal souls.

And, lastly, the American Railway Union announced to the toilers of the universal world the method and mystery of the Pullman system of industrialism.

It proclaimed that this latest patented, modernized, machine-made institution of capitalistic production had squared the plutocratic circle by scientifically demonstrating that the more gold the worker made for a corporation the more surely he became its helpless bond slave; that he forged his own fetters, and with his own hands piled a weight upon his back that at last crushed him into the earth.

This accomplished fact is the particular triumph of Geo. M. Pullman, but his successful example of the surest and most masterful manner of enchaining labor can be and is applied by plutocratic captains of industry everywhere, and doubtless will be to the bitter end.

The plutocratic editors, orators and pulpiteers exult over what they term the defeat of the American Railway Union.

Was a righteous cause ever defeated, in all the history of mankind? Never.

The immediate defenders of the proposition that man is of right entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, have perished in dungeons and died on the scaffold in many lands through many ages. But the principles for which they valorously laid down life

were immortal, and succeeding generations bore on the sacred cause to final victory.

"For freedom's battle once begun, Bequeathed from bleeding sire and son, Though oft-times lost is ever won."

There is not one fat-pensioned editor or preacher who assailed Eugene V. Debs and his gallant associates in the late contest but knew that those heroic men were struggling that more of justice and happiness might come into the dark places of earth.

Those rotund and well-kept apologists of a triumphant plutocracy knew that the success of Debs and the American Railway Union meant that hosts of women and children, now haggard and tattered, would be better fed and clad and have a new hope come into their weary, shadowed lives. And yet these smooth-groomed advocates of ruthless privilege call Jesus Christ "master!"

Debs and his compeers may not live to see the supernal victory of the cause which they so grandly championed. Despotism may doom them to be the dreary dungeon's spoil, as it has doomed earth's noblest and best through many a tragic century. But the victory for them and theirs will surely come at last.

"For right is right, since God is God, And right the day must win; To doubt would be disloyalty, To falter would be sin."

The recent strike of the American Railway Union was instinct with loftiness of purpose. It was altruistic and democratic in the truest, broadest and noblest sense of those terms, because it sought the good of all, and would have leveled all classes of workers upward to a common plane of just consideration.

The plan of its campaign was laid on high intellectual lines and carried out in harmony with the eternal moralities. Its countersigns were "love of man," "love of country," "progress with peace," and yet its patriotic and true-souled members escaped not the plutocratic slanderer and calumniator.

Never since the slave gladiators led by Spartacus struck for life and liberty and died fighting the Roman legions, was there a strike which so filled the world with its fame as that of the American Railway Union.

The reasons for this pre-eminence are nigh at hand. This strike was the first in which the executive, judicial and military functions of our general government were openly massed on the side of rich corporations and against their employes. It was the first time in the history of our republic that a president dared to show himself the mere lackey of a rich caste. It was the first time in this democratic nation that able and loyal governors of great states protested—and protested in vain—against a military inroad that overthrew and trampled under foot the civil authority of the commonwealth.

These exceptional events gave to the American Railway Union strike a world-wide publicity. Emperors, kings, lords, the bankers, the stock jobbers, the slylocks, the speculators, the gamblers—and all the drone horde which drink the life-blood of labor and grow fat—shrieked approval of Cleveland, and bade him see to it that the impudent worker was so well humbled that he would cry for mercy.

All over the earth, wherever the toiler aspires after a fairer, sweeter life, men of hard hands and backs untimely bent, whispered to each other of a great battle that was being fought far away in Chicago, and that they and all their kind had mighty stake therein, which might be full justice or mayhap heavier chains.

No, it was not a defeat—this ending of the most momentous strike of modern times. It could not be, when we are so near a century that is to surely see the rights of the masses take that place in the policies of nations which is now basely devoted to the privileges of the classes.

Thermopylae and Bunker Hill in their days might be termed defeats by Persian or Briton, but history knows them only as victories to be numbered among the decisive battles of the world. They were pivotal points, whereon civilization changed front. And as Thermopylae and Bunker Hill served as high pealing tocsins which rallied the hosts that conquered at Salamis and Yorktown, so is the seeming defeat of the American Railway Union but an alarm signal which shall summon the waiting millions to organization, to battle, and to victory.

In another column we publish a poem entitled "Solidarity," by our regular contributor, Miles Menander Dawson. This poem was first published in one of our bulletins, issued during the strike. It has attracted great attention and has been widely republished. The venerable and cultured Dr. Ernst Schmidt, that tried and true friend of organized labor and of all mankind, has already translated it into German, and it is on its way around the world. The poem is so exalted in sentiment, so perfect in form and rhythm, so eloquent in language, so deep in thought, so bold in imagery that we feel that we do not say too much when we prophesy for it enduring fame with which the great "sympathetic strike" which is mentioned in it, will be indissolubly linked. It is the noblest plea for the solidarity of the race that the poets of our modern time have yet sent forth.

COMING TOGETHER.

The American Railway Union in convention assembled gave its official endorsement of the political principles of the People's party. This wise act, while not of necessity banishing the strike as a casual and incidental means of gaining just ends for labor, recognizes that there is another, a higher and a far more potent agency through which the American toiler can get those eternal rights which are now withheld from him by the strong hands of power and gold.

This loftier, more abiding and final resource of the wronged and outraged citizen is a free ballot in support of a political party which is solemnly pledged to make this nation a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Both the Democratic and Republican parties are owned, body and soul, by the arrogant plutocracy which has captured the general government in all its functions and details.

This oligarchy of money-bags tramples our free constitution with one cloven hoof while with the other it crushes the working masses down into poverty and slavery.

This treasonable profanation of our liberty-born institutions, and this cruel devastation of our producing millions, has gone on for the last twenty years with ever-increasing scope and magnitude, and with ever accelerating momentum.

It mattered not whether the administrations were Democratic or Republican, the policy of spoliation and destruction remained unchanged, for the self-same band of plutocratic pirates held the deck of our ship of state through all party mutations.

This league of millionaire desperadoes, like the buccaneers who early ravaged the Spanish main, are bound together by a common lust of plunder. Their ferocious greed is so intense as to be all-possessing. Neither the claims of humanity, the statutes of man, nor the laws of God have place in their thoughts, or modifying effect upon their ruthless deeds.

This association of plutocratic brigands long ago captured the country, and they have looted it at leisure, with no one to make them afraid.

Let us see how they came by this sense of safety in their career of universal crime.

It happened in this wise. The keen and far-seeing attorney rogues, whom this ravaging lion used as sentinel jackals, discovered the circumstance that the American republic had passed from a government of the people into a government run alternately by two rival political machines which had neither moral principle nor patriotism, but existed solely to gather in pelf and spoil.

This monstrous lapse from old-time Jeffersonian conditions made the opportunity of the millionaire depredators, and they swiftly seized upon it. They captured the political machines which had already captured the republic. The result is that there is not today in the United States one professional politician out of a hundred, whether of high or low degree, whether Republican or Democrat, who is not the paid pensioner of some rich corporation.

As these combinations of capital—one and all, without exception—make their unholy gains, either by preying upon the farmers or laboring classes, or by stealing what of right belongs to the commonwealth of the whole people, they need no definite plan of action in order to work together. They are like a colony of bloated spiders occupying one gigantic web. Let one slenderest thread be touched, all feel the warning, and all start forth, either to defend or devour.

The great strike led by the American Railway Union gave most signal illustration of how close is the tie that binds the corporation condottieri. There is not a chartered or free lance pillager of the people between the two oceans who would not have had every railway man who struck, as well as every man, woman and child who sympathized with the strikers, taken out and murdered in cold blood, if he could have had his demon will.

The wise and impartial know this to be but the calm and unexaggerated statement of a truth-butressed fact.

To parallel the savage blood-thirst shown by our wealthy non-producers in this instance, you must search the records of a Roman slave insurrection 2,000 years ago, or that of Black Nat Turner's Virginia rebellion within our own country and century.

You may perhaps go scot free while tearing a lamb from the jaws of a hungry wolf, but no haughty master caste of any land, in any age of the world, ever gave up its pleasant franchise of idle luxury at the expense of serf toil without a fight to the death.

At the last general election millions of workingmen voted for Grover Cleveland under the fond delusion that the Democratic party was a little nearer the masses of the people than the Republican party. The action of Democrat Cleveland, Democrat Olney, and Democrat Miles, during the American Railway Union strike, has banished that pleasing fiction forever. And now every workingman of intelligence knows that the Democratic party is an exact twin counterpart of the Republican party.

Both of them are owned by the same league of banded monopolists, and

whichever one of them happens to be in power is used by the triumphant plutocracy to give bastard legality to its plunder of the people.

From these two debauched political organizations there can be no hope for popular government—no hope for reformation of crying abuses—no hope of happier days for America's deeply wronged commonalty. They are both mortgaged to that tory reactionism which is rampant in the would-be aristocratic plutocrats who now rule this republic according to their evil will.

These two parties are basely recreant to every one of their exalted traditions, and have no more worthless or honorable aspirations than two rival cliques of parasitical courtiers, who fawn and scheme around the throne for the rich largesse of the king.

In comparison with the autocrat whom they serve, the wealthiest of the Roman emperors was a pauper, for the corporation oligarchy of America holds absolute sway over sixty-five millions of people and seventy billions of capital.

Chauncey M. Depew, the petted publicist of the triumphant plutocracy, declared the other day that it was in the power of fifty American corporation millionaires to get together and by a despotic ukase bring universal bankruptcy and ruin on the nation within twenty-four hours.

The workingmen of this country believe Depew told the truth. The result of the American Railway Union strike, together with the sinister incidents which brought it about, furnish the strongest corroboratory evidence thereof.

The Republican and Democratic parties died in sin when they deserted the cause of the great plain people of this republic. The toiling masses whose rights they betrayed have put the brand of Cain upon their false brows, and will soon banish them forever from a land consecrated by the fathers to true democratic government, which is a government by a majority of the people for the benefit of all the people.

In this time of high crisis for the rights of free institutions, it is a blessed circumstance for the toiling millions that a great party is already in existence on this continent that is their natural champion. This party, like the Divine Saviour, was of humble birth. It came to bring political salvation to all men, and hence was not born of the proud but of the plain and lowly.

Its founders were men who live closest to the earth—the farmers, who plough, and sow, and reap, that all men may live and not be an-hungered.

It is the People's party. In its immortal platform, given to the world on July 4, 1892, it offered glad welcome to all classes and conditions of men who were willing to give to all other men the same rights they asked for themselves.

This was the essence of its declaration of principles, and it shall stand unchanged through the ages, if government by the people, of the people and for the people, perish not from the earth.

This party of the people, with more than a million votes in 1892, with a perfected and enlarged organization, with sublime purpose and unflinching patriotism, opens wide its arms, and proffers brotherly embrace to every toiler in the land.

The American Railway Union in its black hour of trial heard the Populist's voice of cheer, and said: "Lo! I will join my waiting brothers, and be stronger in their strength."

This re-inforcement should be but the vanguard of millions of embattled workingmen, whose tread shall make plutocratic tyrants tremble, and whose free votes shall, under God, give our imperiled republic a new birth of freedom, in which justice to all shall go hand in hand with peace, plenty and progress for all, unto remotest time. Aye, even unto the very gates of the Heavenly Kingdom!

AMONG the People's party nominees for congress in this neck of woods, so far, are John Z. White, single-taxer, in the second district, and Henry D. Lloyd, author of "A Strike of Millionaires against Miners," in the seventh." This is an excellent beginning. The Cook county convention will be held next Saturday.

"He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislatures.

"He has effected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

"For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury."

Our forefathers recited these, among other causes, as justification of that revolution which gave us a free republic and created us a sovereign people. Today, when a president of the United States has been guilty of this first act of tyranny, and a court of the United States has been guilty of this second act of tyranny, he who protests must expect to be branded as an enemy of law, order and good government. And of all the epithets that will be showered upon him, the one which is expected to most certainly crush him is "un-American." It is time to settle the question of what is American, and neither the Republican nor the Democratic party has a measurement by which to decide it.

WHICH SHALL IT BE?

"More collar or no collar. Which shall it be?" One or the other it must be, for every man and woman earning an honest livelihood. However earnestly the timid may seek to avoid the issue, however slowly the conservative may move to meet it, banded employers have decided that all wage-earners shall be driven upon it. And they will see to the driving.

Success or disaster for the American Railway Union; liberty with honor, or honor with penitentiary cells for its officers and directors; work for railway men with living wages, or work at the bosses' terms with the scabs' brand, or starvation—on these alternatives may hinge present settlement of certain phases of the "more collar or no collar" question, but by these alone will not be decided the great question itself.

Again and again—and yet again—other cases will come up with other contingencies, placing in peril other labor organizations, and calling for heavy sacrifices from other men who have been chosen to lead. No labor organization is loved, though to serve an end some may be flattered, by the employing class. By this class all are marked for destruction. Each and all, as opportunity offers or emergency demands, will be forced to face the alternative of "more collar or no collar." By each and all this question must be fully answered at some not distant day.

When the final answer is made, we shall know whether this reputed democratic republic is to be a genuinely free government because its wealth producers have achieved industrial freedom, or whether this shall be in fact and in name a despotic government owned by and managed for a plutocratic oligarchy. Which shall it be?

HENRY D. LLOYD.

The Populists of a Chicago district have named this noble gentleman as their candidate for congress.

By this wise act they have honored themselves. Mr. Lloyd has been called "the Wendell Phillips of the west," and the high designation is well deserved.

Like the great abolitionist he is an orator of singular eloquence and power. But the similarity between these two great men does not end here.

Like Wendell Phillips, Henry D. Lloyd is a scholar, a thinker and a humanitarian. He loves the human race and seeks its betterment.

If the voters of Chicago elect this good and great man to Congress it will be the triumph of civic virtue. It will show that the republic is leaving the epoch of political rottenness behind it and that the future of the country is bright with the promise of a juster and purer cycle.

THE way the Chicago Times showed up the smallpox epidemic in Chicago in last Sunday's paper was a scorcher. The other Chicago Sunday dailies were all talking smallpox epidemic, too, but smallpox in Milwaukee. Of the epidemic here they do not dare write, because our merchant princes and clothing manufacturers are having garments made in the infected district. These are advertisers, and when their dollars drop into the newspaper counting-rooms, the newspapers tell of Milwaukee's pestilence and keep silent about our own. Governor Altgeld, however, called for a special report from the state factory inspectors on "smallpox in the tenement house sweat-shops of Chicago," and this report gives all the facts the newspapers suppress. Copies can be secured by sending to the secretary of state, Springfield, Ill., or to the state factory inspector's office, 247 West Polk street, Chicago.

OUTRAGE ON PROPERTY RIGHTS.

For several weeks the Pullman works, the Hotel Florence, and all else that is Pullman's in Pullman town (and everything there is his, except the souls and votes of the strikers), has been guarded by State militia at a cost to the tax payers of the State of some \$2,000 per day. In the city here the Pullman residence on Prairie avenue and the Pullman block on Michigan avenue have been guarded and double-guarded by soldiers, militia, deputies, police and private watchmen.

On July 25 Simon Reskin threw a rock through a pane of glass in the window of Mr. Pullman's house. Thus were the prophecies of "hundreds of our best citizens" fulfilled, and only thus. For this is the sole "outrage" committed by all and sundry on Pullman property since the strike began.

As for the foolish act of this poor man the Chicago Herald describes it in the following "funny paragraph" sort of style, a style that paper specially preserves and uses for hungry, homeless, friendless human beings:

Simon Reskin came to this country six years ago because he did not like the black bread and weak soup he got in central Russia. He smashed a window in George M. Pullman's residence, on Prairie avenue, yesterday, because his toes peeped through his tattered shoes and he could get no breakfast.

Reskin blames the government of the United States for his having to go hungry and wear dilapidated shoes. He is a stupid-looking fellow as he is brutal in appearance, and when he hurled a stone at Pullman's window he took pleasure in the thought that he was also hitting the government. He made no concealment of this after he was arrested. He is now in the county jail, having been held to the criminal court by Justice Foster in \$500 bonds on a charge of malicious mischief.

The grand jury failed to indict Reskin, much to the disgust of the "hundreds of best citizens" aforesaid, but the city police were more efficient.

A few nights after his release Reskin was found sleeping supperless under a bridge, and for this crime he was run in. The police magistrate, another unjustifiable leniency, lectured Reskin and let him go under orders to get out of the city. (So we settle the great industrial question here. If a man is starving, give him a lecture instead of a loaf of bread, and if he is homeless, drive him on to some other town or city that hasn't as many homeless ones.)

Still a few nights more and the wicked Reskin was found by other police, this time sleeping under a sidewalk, supperless—the persistent, pestilential fellow! Next morning he was fined and sent to the Bridewell. He will now have food and a place to sleep for a hundred days.

Afterwards? Oh, no one is asking that question. The question is: Who will pay for that pane of glass? The rights of property must be respected, and outrage upon them must be promptly punished. This is the whole duty of man, according to the revised creed of commercialism, king of the United States of America.

ELY'S "HERESY."

Prof. Ely has seized the first opportunity to publicly declare that he didn't mean it at all, and the plutocratic press which was but yesterday denouncing him is now covering the apologetic gentleman with fulsome flattery.

It is strange that anybody should have imagined that any real danger to special privileges lurked in Prof. Ely's harmless babble. His "economic heresy" has been carefully confined to municipal ownership of street car lines and the nationalization of railways. He is certainly justified in declaring himself amazed that he should be considered a socialist.

But it would seem that even this narrow effort in the direction of reform displeased the powers that be, and Prof. Ely was cautioned by the united denunciation of the capitalistic press. It was enough. He made a prompt and most abject disclaimer of any intention to meddle with the existing order of things. In his anxiety to show that he has not forfeited his right to a place in an institution endowed by the patricians he vehemently declares that he was never guilty of the disgraceful act of receiving a walking delegate in his home, that he has always advised the laboring people not to strike, and that he has had his printing done in a scab office. He might have added, without marring the harmony of his apology, that he was willing to further prove his loyalty by becoming a rat printer if necessary.

Is the lunatic who started the story of Ely being a socialist still at large?

The Chicago Times says anent the quarranto proceedings Attorney General Moloney has begun against the Pullman Company:

We hope Mr. Moloney will not permit this suit to fizzle out like the one he recently instituted against the gas trust and which ended in a compromise entirely satisfactory to the defendant corporation. If he will force the fight on the Pullman Company to the bitter end he will find himself the most popular man in Chicago when it is over.

THE RAILWAY TIMES shares in the hope the daily Times here expresses, and is in position to promise that Mr. Moloney's popularity, in the event of his success, will not be confined to Chicago, but will extend wherever steel rails are laid.

A MEETING of populists in West Indianapolis, Sunday evening last, was broken up by the police on the pretense that it was disorderly and held Sunday evening. Among the speakers present were Leroy Templeton, who was candidate for governor on the Populist ticket last election, and Phil Rappaport, editor of the German Tribune, Indianapolis, one of the best known of the scholarly writers on socialism in America. On Tuesday evening, July 10, a meeting of Knights of Labor in this city, presided over by District Master Workman Lindholm, was broken up by the police. Farmers and wage-workers, where has your right to free speech gone, and what are you going to do about it?

THE members of the American Railway Union, in aligning themselves with the Populists in politics, of course accept and endorse the demand for government ownership of railroads. But—and this is vital—we must first have a government owned by the people, and not the kind we now have, run by and for the trusts and corporations. The more power we vest in the government, when "government" means the Cleverlands, the Olneys, the Mortons, the worse for the people. Public utilities and natural monopolies must be owned by the people and managed for them by directors of their own choosing. So long as Wall street selects the candidates of the two old parties, and we are fools enough to vote them into power, we know that power will be used for our undoing. This lesson has just been bitterly brought home to railway men. Therefore we offer, as the corollary of government ownership of railroads, "a people's ownership of the government."

Examine the club premium list in this issue.

In railroad parlance "Chuca Choo" is simply out of sight.

RETURNS NOT ALL IN.

In the year 1860, about a week after the historic day upon which Abraham Lincoln was elected president of the United States, the writer was standing on the main street of his boyhood town by the banks of the Mississippi river, when a roving Indian, wrapped in his blanket, stalked by after the stately manner of his race.

Quote a jocular doctor, the premier wit of the village: "The noble red man must be bringing in election returns from the back country districts."

This little event was recalled to mind by the thought that in the case of the plutocracy vs. Debs et al. the majority of the returns were still out, and that the great back country, where real men grow, was still to be heard from.

Mr. Philistine Lawyer, Mr. Gradgrind Capitalist, and the Rev. Dr. Sycophant, may hold up their hands in horror at this suggestion, and declare that the plain, every-day millions of the republic have nothing to do with the case; that it is the sacred property of the courts, and that the vulgar commonalty should keep awe-struck silence until judicial omniscience speaks its omnipotent word.

The Anglo-Saxon blood is not of such submissive temper. Even the masterful Norman could not keep iron collars on the churls' necks, and no Tudor, Stuart or Guelph was ever able to lock up English mouths. They would speak loud and bold, and it was found wisest to let them so speak.

This particular race characteristic lost none of its virility in being transplanted to America, and is as strong today as when Patrick Henry thundered against King George III. in the Virginia house of burgesses.

Our people have been in the habit of freely speaking their minds on all events, questions and issues that in any degree impinged upon the general life. This is particularly true of whatever concerned governmental polity or public morals.

This republic is instinct with the progressive spirit which ever seeks to improve from better to best. Yet never did the quickened conscience of the nation seek to root out a crying wrong that it did not find the hoary abuse swaddled round by protecting laws and statutes. Custom, usage and long tenure made high crime venerable, and it found shelter behind the thickest bastions of the constitution.

To attack so favored an institution quickly brought the assailants into court, as the first abolitionists sharply ascertained.

We have county, state and United States courts that are rightfully supreme in the affairs of private litigants, or where mere material interests are involved. But at long intervals momentous problems force themselves upon the consideration of the whole people and demand solution. When these have to do with the future well-being of the entire body politic, when they are destined not only to change the existing social order but also to exercise a profound influence upon the character of the nation's future civilization, then the mighty issue passes beyond the jurisdiction of the bench of gowned judges at Washington, to receive final determination in the higher court of all the people, where the only law applied to the case is the higher law of God as it is written in the consciences of men.

Forty years ago chattel slavery was on trial before that supreme tribunal.

Today wage slavery is at the bar of the same court.

The High Court of Last Resort.
The hearing of the case of chattel slavery ran on through many tragic years, until the issue itself was burned up in the flames of war.

For a quarter of a century prior to Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, the great jury was constantly in the box, listening to argument and evidence. In 1837, when a pro-slavery mob murdered Abolition Editor Lovejoy at Alton, Ill., a majority of the men of the north declared that a pestilential agitator had been rightly put out of the way.

In 1859 John Brown perished on the scaffold at Harper's Ferry. It was overwhelmingly proven that he had committed high treason. He seized government property by force of arms. He invaded Virginia with armed men, and fought United States soldiers and the state militia until overpowered by numbers. On the day John Brown was hanged, church bells tolled all over the mighty north land, and half of the men and women this side of Mason and Dixon's line sympathized with the heroic victim, and called the traitor, martyr.

Truly a tremendous change in sentiment in twenty-two years.

And all this time anarchy stalked triumphant between the Ohio river and the Canadian border. The constitution of the United States gave warrant for human slavery, and black men became chattels under its sacred guarantee. The fugitive slave law made it the duty of every law-abiding citizen to aid the master in capturing his escaped bondman. In 1856 the supreme court at Washington gave the Dred Scott decision, which made the negro property everywhere in the United States.

And yet in that self-same year the entire regular army could not have taken a black fugitive from Oberlin, O. A general attempt at recapturing all the escaped slaves in the northern states would have brought on a northern rebellion.

Buchanan's administration dared not make the venture, and the abolition anarchists successfully nullified the constitution, overrode the laws of congress and trampled the august ruling of the United States supreme court under foot.

Anarchy was popular and respectable in those stirring times, and good man Garrison, who called the constitution "A league of the devil and a covenant with hell," received applause from millions of worthy citizens.

Thus we see that a great jury of all the people gave scant heed to laws, statutes and constitution, when these barred the way to a righteous reform which was demanded by the spirit of the age, in the name of God and a higher humanity.

The trial of chattel slavery is over. Judgment has been entered and executed and the great case now belongs to the domain of history.

But the high court of last resort is not closed, for another and a mightier issue is on trial before it.

The Mighty Issue of Today.
This new case now in process of determination is of so vast and complex a character that all parties to the suit may well be awed by its magnitude.

The question of wage slavery enters into it, but only as an incidental feature, for it includes the relations of capital to production in all departments of human industry. The mortgaged farmer—crushed into pauperism by usurious interest—and the small business man forced into bankruptcy by the omnipotent competition of huge combinations and trusts, are parties to the momentous suit along with the struggling workman whose wages are being pushed down to the starvation line.

Summarized and tersely stated the issue now before all the people for solution is this: Shall the rights of men or the rights of property have first place in the American republic of the future?

The trial on this issue has absolutely begun, and our country will never again be what it was before the struggle opened. The conflict can be neither postponed nor compromised, for irresistible forces are crowding it to a definite and final solution.

We have already entered upon a new epoch in the life of popular government in the western world, and when our republic emerges from its present trial it will either come forth as a democracy that holds the masses in chains or else a triumphant commonalty will have made social democracy a living fact on the American continent.

The plutocracy will have vanished forever, the privilege of property to crush the souls out of men will have been annihilated, and there will remain a government that is truly of the people, by the people and for the people, and where no law nor custom will be tolerated, which stands in the way of giving the greatest good to the greatest number.

The Latest, Greatest Struggle.
This trial by battle between the classes and the masses has now been going on for nigh twenty years, mainly in the way of a multitude of fitful skirmishes, called strikes, boycotts and lockouts. At long intervals there were partial engagements, like the '77 railway strike, Homestead or the Couer de Alene, but nothing so nearly approaching a general battle as the late American Railway Union strike. And a strange battle indeed it was. Moral force on one side, physical force on the other. On the one side Eugene V. Debs and his associates, always and ever commanding peace, non-resistance, and obedience to law. On the other side Pullman and the railway managers demanding police, deputy sheriffs, United States marshals, national guards, regular soldiers, clubs, revolvers, muskets, bayonets, cannon and gating guns.

Truly a striking tableau—where the arms of the soul are opposed by the arms of the flesh—one that shall bring wonderment to the freer, happier and more enlightened generations that will come after us.

The railway corporations, by use of the judicial and military power of the United States, within the law and outside of it, crushed the American Railway Union strike; and now the plutocracy is pushing its case against Debs et al.

The first strategic move was to have him and his acts condemned by the high court of contemporary public opinion. The verdict of posterity his persecutors care nothing about.

The plutocracy owns the telegraph, the big papers, the big lawyers and the big preachers, and these were at once turned loose to print and shout, "Hail, Caesar!" to the masters of gold.

The land was filled with the din of their loud-bellowed condemnation of Debs and his heroic compeers and the plutocrats declared this condemnation unanimous. But some calm philosopher mildly affirmed that the returns from the back country districts were not in.

Many theatres which understand their business keep a half dozen paid applauders scattered through the house. Professionally they are termed "the claque," and when audiences are cold these worthy gentlemen fill the house with enthusiastic thunders of applause. There is a well defined suspicion abroad that this late tumultuous trumpeting of the plutocratic editors, attorneys and pastors is not the voice of the whole people of America. On the contrary it is a very entire blatant bull-baiting

was gaised by a lot of vulgar, hireling claqueurs.

We concede that Grover Cleveland received bushels of adulatory telegrams on his unwarranted usurpations in connection with the late strike. The bankers, coupon clippers, interest eaters, speculators and gamblers were with him to a man, without regard to party affiliations. The conscienceless and cowardly rich warmly approved his course and would have commended it had it cost the lives of millions of the lowly and set back the civilization of the world a thousand years.

Counting the rich, their willing lackeys and well-paid hangers on, together with the unthinking, the heartless, and the socially ambitious, three million persons may have been with the managers and against the railwaymen in the late strike.

This is a large estimate. While, on the other side, there are at least sixty-three millions of people who have not been heard from, and these are with Debs, the champion of the rights of the masses, because they themselves are the masses.

Macaulay says, that under the house of Stuart state trials were merely brutal murders accompanied by judicial mummery and legal jargon. Judges, sheriffs, juries and lawyers, all found fat profit in making the law the instrument of a king's savage vengeance.

But this is not the seventeenth century, and the American people in the last decade of the nineteenth century are not liable to tolerate a judicial procedure that smacks of the Star chamber and Jeffrey's bloody assizes.

If the plutocrats unjustly imprison Debs and his comrades, somebody, at sometime, must make answer for the atrocious crime. The great commonalty of this country love liberty and believe in righteous laws, righteously administered. Hence, the great plain people will not rest content if good citizens and true men are juggled into prisons by railway attorneys on paltry legal quibbles and faked-up technicalities.

The Beginning of a New Cycle.

The last twenty-five years have seen the rise and triumph of the great corporations. They have subverted our republican institutions by reason of the supine inertia of the mass of our citizens, but we are now plainly on the eve of a new cycle.

The disinherited common people are asking how they lost their fair estate of self-government. The query cannot long go unanswered, nor will the wrong done them remain unrighted, for the doing of exact justice rests in their own strong hands—free ballots and brave hearts.

The people's day of victory is nigh at hand, because the returns from the great back country districts are already coming in.

ROBBED AGAIN.

From the most reliable advices which can be obtained, and which do not come via the associated press, it seems certain that the populists have again carried Alabama, as they did in 1892, and have again been robbed of their victory by the Democratic machine manipulators, as they were in that year. Then they submitted, after hot protest. This time they claim they will seat the men they have elected, if they have to fight for it. An address has been issued to the people of the state by the campaign committee of the People's party, in which they say:

The election returns as reported by the press and supporters of the ticket headed by Colonel Oates shows a repetition of the election frauds of 1892, with less pretext and absolutely without the least semblance of justification, in order to overcome legitimate majorities for our ticket in forty-one white counties. These false and fraudulent majorities aggregate 84,107 from fifteen black belt counties. In 1892 these same black belt counties aggregated a majority of 28,669.

In addition to this, frauds have been perpetrated in white counties of not less than 15,000. With the consummation of these have also been brought forth four or five fraudulent elections of senators and eleven or twelve fraudulent elections of representatives in the general assembly.

The conditions in this state have reached a climax. There is no doubt that the state ticket headed by Capt. Kolb has been elected. The alternative is presented of submission to wrong, insult and robbery, or to assert the sovereign power, before which thrones totter, scepters fall and the outrages of tyrants cease. That alternative must meet a response from manhood or silent submission from those unworthy of citizenship.

Your committee recognizes that it has been entrusted with certain duties and that its powers are circumscribed and it feels authorized only in going to the extent of advising and urging those whom it represents to exercise the power vested in them and to hold meetings, Thursday, August 23, at the respective court houses, if not otherwise specified, to act upon the great crisis and to insist that manhood, patriotism, and love of liberty, which has always evoked prompt and decisive action from them, shall find expression in their course that will be creditable to their revolutionary aims and furnish a precedent in our history to which all will ever revert with pride and satisfaction.

At the same time and place we would urge the organization of law and order leagues to uphold the supremacy of that greatest of all law and power—the sovereign will of a free people.

So far as we have seen the comments of the daily press upon the election and the manifesto, both the Republican and Democratic papers are congratulating Alabama on Oates' "victory," and both are warning Captain Kolb that "civil war in Alabama will not be tolerated." This unanimity of press sentiment is always shown when a Populist issue is under discussion, and is enough in itself to show that the two old parties are dogs of one breed. But that we all know.

JOURNALISTIC HELOTS.

The prostitution of the daily press in so well known that reference to it in any society no longer provokes denial. It is not, perhaps, so well known that newspaper men themselves are bitterly disgusted over it. By newspaper men in this connection we do not mean, of course, the banker owners or corporation stockholders of the newspapers, nor even the Great Mogul who sits in the managing editor's sanctum, clothed in awful dignity and corporation shackles. But the men who "make copy," which, after the click of the type and the revolutions of the press, comes to us in the morning sheet as news of the day and comment thereon.

There was a time when the "fourth estate" was revered by the people, and deservedly so; when to be a journalist was to follow a calling second in dignity to no other. This was in the days of Greeley, of Sam Bowles and of Raymond. In those days the brains of the paper were not in the drawers of the counting-room, where they now are.

The daily newspaper has ceased to be respectable, and is no longer respected. It has ceased to be impartial, and is no longer trusted. It has ceased to lead the people in honorable paths, and the people are throwing off its leadership altogether.

There was a time when any cause against which the newspapers united was forthwith a lost cause; when any individual or any organization generally condemned by the press forfeited thereby the esteem of friends and was condemned unheard by strangers. The time has come when the cause, the individual, or the organization which the press unites in praising passes thereby, if not into condemnation, at least into an atmosphere of suspicion. What did he give for it? is the only question that is asked when a metropolitan daily accords high praise to any man for any deed. This is the natural outcome of the counting-room control of all the columns of a paper. If the reaction that has set in, by destroying the influence and decreasing the circulation of such dailies as we now have, in the end seriously diminishes their profits, may they find satisfaction in considering that they are garnering only that which they have industriously sown and nourished. Other satisfaction for this class of papers there will not be.

There was a time when the great industrial and economic evolution now gathering head for practical action in this country was without mouthpiece. Then came the reform press. First a few struggling papers, most of which died for lack of patronage, because they for whom the reformers wrote had not learned to distinguish friend from foe, had not learned that they could not afford to be without means to reach a reading public with the truth in great emergencies, had not learned that their support of the counting-room run paper was self-destruction.

But as the spirit of reform crystallized and took tangible shape, as the people awakened to their needs and studied the tactics of those who sought to keep justice from them, the reform papers received something of that support to which they are entitled, and their number grew until we have now nearly one thousand weekly papers true to the people; at least two great magazines, The Arena and the Cosmopolitan, with here and there a daily paper shaking off unworthy controlling influences, as the Chicago Times, the San Francisco Examiner.

The influence of the prostituted dailies, though waning, is still an awful power for evil. It is most unscrupulously used to destroy those individuals and organizations that dare antagonize the present plutocratic savage order, and is no less surely undermining the very foundations of our government. No cause ever suffered more from this malign influence than that which the American Railway Union has been championing. From the beginning to the end of the late strike only one morning daily in Chicago told the truth about any phase of the situation, and most of the telegrams that went out to the press of the country might well have been written by the father of liars himself, so false were they.

This brings us again to speak of the unhappy position of the newspaper men. They are often men of good education and good intention, men of ability, who, under an order of society not altogether rotten, would be ennobling the world by the use of their talents. Now, whatever their position, from writing editorial leaders to reporting from the police courts, all they put upon paper must be in accordance with a settled line of policy, and one against which they revolt in their very souls; one which they know, better than anyone else can know, debauches the morals, deadens the reason and confuses the intellects of the paper's readers. They are deliberately using all their powers for evil, and they know it and submit to it, even while they curse themselves that this is so.

Shall we pity them because, having "given hostage to fortune in wife and children," having but the one avenue for a livelihood, and seeing no other in this congested order, they stifle conscience and pursue their calling for no nobler end than their by no means princely salaries and by no means secure positions? Personally many of these men deserve

and have our friendship, but it is not the part of a true friend to gloss the evil that should be condemned. While wage-earners, who are ignorant of all things save some one branch of labor, lay down the implements of their trade and suffer and starve, and see their families suffer and starve—which is harder—for principle; while weak and homeless girls with no means of support save one situation at meagre wages, let go of that for principle, have we pity to waste on these men of education when they choose a few dirty and begrudged dollars rather than clean though empty hands?

Rather we must record our conviction that of all the infamies that make the daily paper the loathsome thing it is nothing so much merits honest contempt as the Esau who sells his birthright of honest speech for the mess of pottage today dealt out to the journalistic helot.

A DEFENSE FUND.

There is no doubt that in the oncoming legal battles which have been thrust upon the American Railway Union is involved more than the rights, more than the life, of this one organization. The issues which the American Railway Union must meet in court involve the fundamental principles on which rest the foundations of all trade organizations. The decisions which will be rendered in the American Railway Union cases will establish precedents by which in future must stand or fall every trades organization in the United States.

However the indictments against American Railway Union prisoners may read; whatever may be the evidence for and against them; however the arguments thereon may be formulated; however judges may rule or charge, and whatever may be the verdicts in the American Railway Union trials, these are the principles at stake: The right of freemen to combine for self-protection, to leave their work in a body, and to induce others not to take their places.

If the restraining injunctions which were served upon Eugene V. Debs and his associates are good in law, and no striking workman may persuade another not to take his place, the strongest weapon of the trades union is shattered. If a body of men cannot peacefully and concertedly cease from work and conduct consequent negotiations with employers through chosen representatives, because a court may and does step in and enjoin these representatives from acting, then the day of usefulness of the trades organizations is over, and the death-knell of all such organizations has been sounded. It is for the life of such organizations and for the industrial freedom of their members—for all wage-earners who are not voluntary slaves—that the indicted members of the American Railway Union will do battle in the courts of the United States.

There is no weapon known to the legal fraternity that will not be used against these men. There is no engineering of destruction which unscrupulous talent can devise and unlimited wealth secure that will not be directed against them. For the agents of corporate wealth do not underrate this struggle, nor fail to realize what is to be lost or won. They have sworn to break up the American Railway Union and every other trades organization which they can not control. They will spend their money like water to keep the oath.

Because this is so the American Railway Union must appeal to kindred organizations for all the aid it is in their power to give. As the railway managers rushed to Pullman's assistance, and as all the representatives of trusts and corporations stand ready to back the railway managers, so must the organized workmen of the land stand by the American Railway Union.

That they are ready to do this, substantial token has been given. The cordial support this organization has had from brother toilers has been an incalculable strength to its members at every step they have taken since June 22.

Could the trials that are still to come be decided upon abstract justice, right and equity the American Railway Union would ask for nothing but the moral support of those who believe in the cause it defends.

But, brothers, there is no blinking the fact that success for the American Railway Union in the courts will be won only if it has that one friend without which it is useless to appeal for justice this side of heaven—a long, full purse.

This is certain to be costly litigation, and no effort will be spared to make it as costly as possible for the defense.

There must be a defense fund for these American Railway Union trials. Do you think it devolves on the American Railway Union alone to raise it?

Brothers, this is your battle. Are you going to help win it?

Another conspiracy has been unearthed, this time it is not wicked trades unionists who are the dark conspirators. These are alleged to be the truly good Mr. Nixon of the *Inter Ocean*, the lost-in-thought philosopher Mr. Medill of the *Tribune*, and the grab-all-for-the-bank Mr. Walsh of the *Herald-Post*. The intended victims are the Chicago *Times* and *Record* and the plot—if it can only be plotted—is to keep people from buying papers they want to read and make them buy papers they do not want to buy. Call out the militia!

AN UNBURIED CORPSE.

When the late Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association was driven on the rocks by the misconduct of its officials, railway men who knew him best hoped they had heard the last of Miles W. Barrett. His conduct in connection with his official position had killed him for any honorable place in any honest railway order, and the most merciful thing his best friends—if he had any left—could ask for him was that, being dead and damned, he might be forgotten.

But even a ghost walks if the evil deeds done in the flesh disturb its rest, and a corpse will draw attention by its stench if it remain unburied.

This Barrett seems to think he is still alive, and it seems his masters, the railway managers, foster the notion. Consequently the bought-up press is ordered to print the "news" that Barrett is actively at work forming a new switchmen's order, and giving damaging interviews concerning Eugene V. Debs, whose shoes he was not worthy to tie even when he was alive, and whose standing before men he certainly cannot lose dead or alive.

Who was Miles W. Barrett when he was alive? He was grand master of Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association until, with a little aid from others, he killed it.

What did Miles W. Barrett do when he was alive?

While he was killing the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association he tried to help kill the American Railway Union.

Invited to a conference with the representatives of the American Railway Union at the time of the strike, he answered like a blackguard, and like a blackguard filed copies of his letter with all the prominent railway officials, to curry favor with them.

While the strike was on a meeting of railway workmen was held, by arrangement of the *Railway Managers' Association*, at the Great Northern Hotel, the finest, most costly in Chicago, one where, if a switchman were seen under ordinary circumstances, he would be arrested for trespass. Miles W. Barrett was the man who presided at this meeting (when he was sober enough to sit up), and who did all in his power to handle the meeting in the interests of the railway managers and against the American Railway Union.

After that meeting he traveled over the west doing all in his power to defeat the strike, lying concerning the officials of the American Railway Union, lying about their organization, advising their members to quit it, and doing any other dirty job his plutocratic masters ordered.

This was the work of Miles W. Barrett when he was alive, and he secretly gloried in it, and when he was too drunk to be cautious he boasted of it.

And now his corpse has been galvanized, and with the aid of one Downey, too well known to our readers to need description here, it seeks to institute a new order of switchmen. If such an organization could be founded under the fostering care of the railway managers' spies, such a union of scabs as it would be could have no grand chief so worthy of the place as the late Miles W. Barrett.

But Barrett is dead. As for his corpse, it stinks.

In decency, let somebody bury it.

DEBS has gone east to lecture and make money. But how much of it will any of his poor dupes ever receive? They are out of money and out of work through Debs' false promises, made mainly to aggrandize himself. He has been feasting at first-class hotels, while the men who were deprived of their work by his orders are to day in want and practically beggars.

The above paragraph appeared as an editorial in the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* on Friday, August 10th, on which day Mr. Debs lay ill in his home at Terre Haute, under a physician's care. This is a fair specimen of the lying capacity of a Chicago daily, when it is dealing with the American Railway Union, or any representative of the organization. In eight lines there are not less than seven barefaced falsehoods, known to be such to the hiring penny-a-liner who wrote them.

Mr. Debs has not gone east, and has no present intention of going. He has not arranged to lecture for money now or at any time while the American Railway Union needs his services. The "dupes" and "beggars" of the American Railway Union—in other words the men who of their own free will sacrificed place to principle—appreciate the position in which Mr. Debs and other directors of the American Railway Union stand today as one certainly no less trying than their own. They will not tolerate for themselves the insolent pity of a paper that has in every mention for the last three months denied them justice, and they will not swerve in their allegiance to the men they have chosen to represent them for all the lies that all the plutocratic papers from ocean to ocean can hatch out. The *Inter Ocean* had better shed its tears over its own daily diminishing circulation.

Are you a regular reader of THE RAILWAY TIMES? If not you owe it to yourself to become one and keep in close touch with the organization that is today leading the attacking column in the great battle between the hosts of organized labor and the liberty-despising plutocracy. The *Times* is a semi-monthly journal of four pages—the volume of matter sometimes calling for more space. Its purpose is to herald the principles upon which the American Railway Union is built and work for the solidarity of labor. If an agent is not within reach remit direct to the office. See terms at head of editorial page.

OPENED THEIR EYES.

M. L. Daggy, Indiana correspondent of the Topeka Advocate, writes as follows from Greencastle:

The cause of the people as represented by the People's party is moving onward and upward in Indiana. The great strike has opened the eyes of the people, who are flocking to the Populists. Populist conventions over the state are large and enthusiastic and speakers everywhere are greeted by audiences of sober, thoughtful and earnest men and women eager to hear the truth.

The recent miner's convention endorsed the platform of the People's party, and urged every loyal miner to justify this action at the ballot box. In a speech at his home in Terre Haute on Sunday July 29, President Debs said: "I have reached the point where I believe it is absolutely necessary in the interest of good government to put out both parties, for I feel called called upon to confess to you candidly what action in my life I am most ashamed of. It is to admit that I voted the times for Grover Cleveland. [Applause.] Discard old political badges; symbolize your degradation. The Populist party comes nearer representing the principles for which organized labor is battling; therefore, I am a Populist." [Loud cheers.]

On Monday evening, July 30, Mr. Debs spoke at Brazil, Ind., to a large audience. I shook hands with Pretident Debs at Monday, and I am proud of the fact. No one could look at him and not like him. He has a smooth face, a nose somewhat large and a mouth which closes in a way that indicates great firmness and decision of character. His eyes show their possessor to be a man of even temperament and a kindly disposition; altogether his face expresses great intellectual strength, unyielding moral vigor. Not only his face, but his career as a labor leader proves him to be an unselfish man, true to his convictions and ever ready to stand up for the rights of humanity's oppressed legions. The people of Indiana, who are unprejudiced, are proud that Eugene V. Debs is a citizen of the Hoosier state. We lift our banner of "equal rights to all; special privileges to none," and on its face inscribe the words, "Eugene V. Debs, for governor of Indiana in 1896."

When Mr. Debs stepped off the train at Brazil on Monday evening, where a large crowd met him, I noticed an old man, upon whose face were written the lines which tell too plainly of the struggle against the inhumanities of this world, approach Mr. Debs and extend his hand saying in a reverential voice: "God bless you. I am glad to see you, I tell you I am." Unnoticed by many, this was to me a very touching incident. The old man, with a heart which beat with an honest love of truth and right, saw the conditions which plutocracy has brought upon our people. He saw justice dethroned; right crucified. He saw the masses of the people struggling against the spectre of want, while the few lived upon the wealth which the many had produced. As he looked at Mr. Debs, a great leader of the great forces of right and justice, and as he saw in Mr. Debs the representative of all those elements which must battle against king avarice, his sense of justice was stirred to its very depths, and his fervent "God bless you" expressed volumes. So say we all to the people's friend, "Mr. Debs, God bless you."

SOLIDARITY OR SLAVERY. "Combine or be crushed," is the primary lesson for all labor organizations in the contest that has been waged between the American Railway Union and the Railway Managers' Association. If the wealth-producers of America are saved from abject pauperdom linked to hopeless serfdom, it will be because they take this teaching into their souls and make it part of their lives—guide of their future acts.

Heretofore capital has always been better organized than labor, because capitalists are always a unit whenever their monied interests are assailed. Neither politics, race nor religion divide them; envy of one another's prosperity, and jealous fears of each other's advancement sink out of sight when they have a common enemy to attack, and their solidarity is never so manifest as when they fight in the offensive or defensive with a labor organization.

Wherever labor's future battles are to be fought, in the industrial and in the political field, victory is not for us unless we adopt the same policy, and adhere rigidly thereto. We have seen in the late strike that the armed forces and the courts of the United States are at the beck and call of the capitalistic combination, and can be used to any extent against the labor organization. We have seen the unlimited wealth of this combination purchasing bench and bar, press and pulpit. We have seen the assertion that capital owns both the dominant political parties verified in the course pursued by President Grover Cleveland and in the vote in commendation of that course cast by every Republican in the senate and house of representatives.

We have seen a worse thing than this, and a thing boding infinitely more disaster to labor than all these combined powers could bring upon it, we have seen this capitalistic combination secure its ends against the American Railway Union—shame that it must be written—other so-called labor organizations.

The American Railway Union strike could never have failed to bring the railway managers and Pullman after them to terms had not certain leaders of other railway organizations rushed into print and courted interviews to tell how these organizations could not, would not, should not be allowed to extend to the American Railway Union that degree of fraternal support which it is the right of any labor organization to demand and the duty of every labor organization to give, in such a crisis.

They could not even remain neutral and silent, these men who claimed to speak for organized labor, and who by their official positions do represent the organizations they have disgraced. And they, more than the railway managers, more than the plutocratic press, more than Cleveland and his army, forced the American Railway unions to declare off the late strike. Time and the true hearts of the rank and file of their own organizations will reckon with these men.

Here we cite the evil deed they stand for that we may implore our brothers in unionism to see there shall be no recurrence of such disaster. It is an evil that in more or less marked measure has checked many an onward movement of labor's forces, and it is one that must be eliminated before any campaign of labor will ultimate in victory. The foundation principle of unionism is the Christ-spirit of universal brotherhood. Down to that principle we must hew again, and from it build up a more solid bulwark. Labor's forces have been scattered upon many matters of little import, and the resultant confusion has been cunningly magnified, increased and used by labor's enemy. These forces must again come together and then they must stay together.

This country is the rightful possession of the wealth producers who have created and maintained its greatness. Its railroads belong to them, its army belongs to them, its halls of legislation and its courts of justice belong to them. By fraud and craft all these have been stolen from them, and now by fraud and force all these are turned against them. It is now not only a question of getting back our own. Equally pressing is the question, can we hold even that which is not already lost? Never again will a long truce be sounded between the warring elements of our industrial world. On labor is thrust only the alternative of "solidarity or slavery," before it only is the choice between more thorough combination or complete disintegration of what organization it now has.

LABOR PRESS ECHOES.

THE REFORM EDITORS EXPRESS THEIR OPINIONS.

Speak Out About Railroad Ownership of the Government.—Hot Words for the Plutocrats.

There are no strikes in the United States mail service, neither could there be any in the railroad service if Uncle Sam owned and operated the roads.—Akron (O.) Republic.

281,000,000 acres of land owned by the railroads. Only enough for nine states like Ohio. How did the railroads get all this land? The government made them a present of it.—Commonwealth, New York City.

Railroad ownership of government. We've got it. How do you like it, you fellows who trace your political pedigree back to Lincoln, and Jackson, and Jefferson, and Washington?—Wonder, Sacramento, Cal.

If Debs deserves conviction and punishment for conspiracy against the government, according to the indictment of the Chicago grand jury, the railway managers deserve hanging for the same offense.—Western Laborer, Omaha, Neb.

The bayonet is the last appeal of a despot. The haste with which the military has been called out is dark and significant. Are we approaching a military despotism? The shadow of the man on horseback is already in sight.—Meridian (Miss.) Times.

The United States court authorities bumbled when they committed Debs to jail. The national government just at present cannot afford to antagonize organized labor. We would advise milder views than those expressed by the prosecuting attorney.—Albany (N. Y.) Every Saturday.

When corporations stoop so low as to hire deputy marshals to create riot and destroy their own property for the express purpose of misrepresenting their striking employees, it becomes high time that railroad presidents should stop lying about causes and try and remedy conditions. Farmer and Labor Review, Los Angeles, Cal.

Now that the United States troops have fought the battles for the railroad corporations, Attorney General Olney thinks the government should give the Union Pacific Railroad one hundred years in which to pay its debts now due the government. The cheek of this Olney is without a parallel in ancient or modern times.—People's Searchlight, Michigan City, Ind.

Sovereign and Debs have been maligned just as other leaders have been, and the workers of America will love and respect them the more for it. The daily papers are wasting their time and space. The labor organizations and their leaders may make mistakes, but they will not risk taking the advice of their enemies.—Knights of Labor Journal.

The membership of the American Railway Union, which includes nearly every person in the employ of the Santa Fe in Raton, are conducting themselves in a manner which is winning the golden opinion of all. Perfect order and peace reigns, no drunkenness or anything to mar the serenity of affairs is seen. The watch-word of the men is peace, law and order.—Raton (N. M.) Reporter.

The outlook for the immediate future is one of suffering and apprehension. The capitalists will surely retaliate on the workingmen. They will triumph in their strength. Yet they should not imagine that they are safe from future violence. Another strike is bound to come. It will affect every industry and paralyze the world. I predict that a fearful struggle will occur in the near future.—Rev. Thomas Dixon, New York.

We hear a great deal about the sacredness of property. Is it not time that a word be uttered in behalf of the rights of man? The divine right of kings is a nightmare of the past. But the theory of the divine right of property has been carried to such a point that the rights of man are well nigh forgotten in the presence of this nineteenth century fetish, which has ignored justice, protected class interests and plundered industry of the wealth it had created.—The Arena.

The imprisonment of the American Railway Union leaders for contempt of the injunctions of the United States Judges Grosscup and Woods is the culminating atrocity of the whole railroad campaign against labor. If those injunctions are sustained labor organizations will have no more power to act for self-defense than an Indian. It may be a means, however, of showing the wage-earners the way to the ballot-box for a redress of grievances, and will thus prove a blessing.—Oshkosh (Wis.) Advocate.

While there is a constantly increasing number of the American people who see the absolute necessity for the government to own and operate the railroads, let it not be forgotten that the people shall own and operate the government. Were the government to own and operate the railroads while the bankers and corporations continue to own and operate the government, the people would not be materially benefited. There must be a radical change of ownership all around.—Topeka (Kan.) Advocate.

The Chicago Times is authority for Olney's remark to a western senator: "I'll break up every labor union in this country with the anti-trust law before we're through, for I will make every strike the basis for locking up every man who consents or is concerned in it before it is begun." Gentlemen of the labor unions, the time has come for you to put up or shut up. As to what you will put up—well, just at present, put up all the money you can into your treasuries. Forewarned should be forearmed.—Brookton Diamond.

Some sourceful genius discovered in the nick of time that the inter-state commerce law could be applied in a manner that would land every railroad striker in prison in a jiffy. Hence railway officials now regard the inter-state commerce law with the most respectful reverence. These same railway officials laugh in their sleeves at the impotent efforts of the government to enforce the law for the purposes for which it was originally intended, but they invoke the aid of the regular army in its enforcement for purposes never intended. Great is the law; and greater—much greater—is the railway lawyer.—Eight-Hour Herald, Chicago.

W. E. P. FRENCH, Lieut. of Infantry, U. S. A. Fort Snelling, July, 1893.

YOU WANT THIS.

That clever writer of verse, Lieut. W. E. P. French, has written and published a song for the American Railway Union which deserves the widest possible circulation. The title, "Chuca Choo," is no less unique than the words are grand and the music catchy.

Lieut. French is one of the officers of the regular army who would make a first class labor advocate without any remodeling. Those who have read his contributions to the labor press need not read praise of the work, and those who have not have a literary treat ahead, and should begin with "Chuca Choo." Eight cents in stamps sent to THE RAILWAY TIMES will bring you a copy with the

LABOR PRESS ECHOES.

THE REFORM EDITORS EXPRESS THEIR OPINIONS.

Speak Out About Railroad Ownership of the Government.—Hot Words for the Plutocrats.

When the so-called anti-trust law passed the senate by a unanimous vote we were satisfied that it would never be an obstacle to worry the trusts, but we did predict that in time it would be found to operate against organized labor. Since that corporation attorney Olney has been inducted into office he has been urged to enforce the law, but somehow he has never found a use for the law until the great railroad strike, when true to the purpose and object of the bill, he finds that it can be made available to crush organized labor.—Dakota Ruralist.

In July, 1892, the switchmen of Buffalo struck, not for higher wages, but demanding that the law be enforced. What did New York do? Did she attempt to enforce the law? No, but she immediately called out troops, not to enforce law but to assist corporate wealth in its violation of law. In nearly every instance of railroad strikes the same course has been pursued by the government, thus establishing one of two facts, either the government is in collusion with these corporations or it is utterly powerless in their hands.—Lansing Corner Stone.

Keep it before the American people that the so-called protection to American labor does not protect the laborer. By it the manufacturer is amply protected, but when the laborer can no longer live upon the wages the protected manufacturer sees proper to dole out, he must step down an' out, and let the pauper laborer have his place or be shot down by federal troops. Witness Homestead, Cour d'Alene, Buffalo, the coal fields of the South, and last of all, Chicago and other cities, to which troops were sent to subdue the striking laborers in the late great strike.—Dispatch, Tipton, Ind.

From the Boston Post we learn that the boycott of labor against the Pullman monopoly is going to be enforced by a party of thirty delegates to the Catholic Total Abstinence convention, which meets in St. Paul shortly. At a meeting held on Tuesday in Boston of the delegates to arrange for their trip, Father O'Reilly, president of the Massachusetts Union, and a strong friend of organized labor, made an earnest address in favor of standing by the boycott, and by unanimous vote the entire New England delegation determined to go in Wagner cars or use no sleepers.

The latest move of the plutocratic press is to stir up hostility among laborers and get their various unions by the ears. They are patting the "old conservative unions" on the back and telling them that the whole object of a "Debs' insurrection," as they call it, was to break them up and establish one on their ruins for his own benefit. If they can get labor unions to cutting each other's throats and fighting plutocracy's battles for it, it will prove a great relief for the gang, which hopes to hold the masses down with bayonets while the classes rob them. Labor should not be weak enough to fall into this trap.—American Nonconformist, Indianapolis.

Eugene V. Debs stands today where Abraham Lincoln stood before the civil war. Lincoln said: "We will have no slaves in the north and the south shall remain in the union." The south prepared for war and the great struggle began. After two years of that bitter contest Lincoln issued the proclamation that made his name immortal; that when you speak of "Lincoln" it calls to mind the nearest humanity ever approached perfection; greatness, grandeur and nobility of thought and purpose. We all loved Lincoln; we all shall love Debs when the white slaves have been set free and labor regains its lawful rights.—Fargo (N. D.) Morning Sun.

Attorney General Olney, by force of federal bayonets, may enforce his ruling that a pouch of letters shall not cross the continent unless accompanied by one of Pullman's palace cars, but the upholding of such a perversion of the principles of right and equity will entail ignominy upon the administration. We say that labor has already won its cause, and we mean this in the broad and ultimate sense of final victory. We say this, not because we believe that the Pullman boycott will prevail, but because this strike has compelled the American people to think and consider the cause of labor, and the encroachments of the corporations as they have never done before.—New Charter, Santa Cruz, Cal.

Circulars purporting to give a history of the Pullman strike are being scattered broadcast. The Pullman monopoly is shown to be an innocent victim of a terrible conspiracy on the part of a lot of impudent workmen who believe they are entitled to living wages. If the Pullman plutocrats think that this circular, which fairly bristles with lies and half truths and also contains extracts from Chicago newspapers bitterly attacking the American Railway Union, will influence anyone into believing that the Pullman company and the railroads are in the right and the strikers in the wrong, they must have a queer opinion of the American people. The circular will prove to be a boomerang.—Cleveland (O.) Citizen.

The sending of federal troops to Chicago, despite the protest of the governor of the state, marks a new departure in constitutional procedure and will serve as a noteworthy precedent in time to come. In effect, it amounted to interference of government to support an individual capitalist, who, by the admission of journals hostile to the popular cause, stands confessed as an arbitrary autocrat, who haughtily declined arbitration, and at this moment is probably the best hated man in the United States. The mails furnished but a flimsy pretext, for it was proved to demonstration that the mails could easily have been moved but for the underhand trickery of making every train a mail train.—Advance Era, New York City.

The vile epithets that have been piled on Mr. Debs' head of being a dictator since the strike began have been misplaced as every scholar of economic thought knows, and the individual above all others to whom that word "dictator" can be applied is the mogul of "Castle Rest" on the St. Lawrence river. He dictated to governors of states, attorneys and even the president of the United States, and like good fellows they jumped when he said so. If the president had been as anxious to find and carry out the arbitration law as he was to assist Pullman he would have resorted to that prior to rushing in the federal troops to run Pullman trains. The American Railway Union men did not refuse to carry United States mails, they refused to handle Pullman cars, and, in order to beat them, Pullman cars were coupled to mail trains and protected by federal troops on the trip. This was the nigger in the wood pile and clearly showed the dictatorship.—Trades Unionist, Baltimore, Md.

Now labor has resolved to go into politics, not with the old parties which created the corporations and then turned the government over to them, but in a party organized for the purpose of restoring the government to the people. Labor has found and founded such a party, and the laborer is flocking to it in countless thousands. It is a new revelation to him. The railroad laborer finds the farmer already there with outstretched hands to welcome, and the farm laborer and the factory laborer, and the shop laborer and the railroad laborer and the mine laborer and all laborers have found that their interests are one and identical instead of being antagonistic, as the corporations had taught them. It is a great revelation. And the great strike did it.—Lantern, Fort Scott, Kans.

The impartial observer is profoundly impressed by the fact that so many capitalists are willing to pay \$3 per day for shooters and only \$1 per day for peaceful labor; while, on the other hand, so many poor men are to be found who are perfectly content to shoot down other poor men at the wages of \$3 per day. Jay Gould used to say in scorn: "The people! Why, I can hire one-half of them to shoot the other half!" Mr. Pullman had reasonable grounds for believing the same thing. It is appalling, but it is true. Bad laws, false systems, first impoverish a people and reduce them to the savage passions which are nursed by hunger and wretchedness. Then the condition to which they have been reduced becomes a means by which they can be still further enslaved.—Tom Watson.

The charge of conspiracy against the leaders of the American Railway Union cannot be maintained except upon a malicious prosecution and a gross misrepresentation of the facts. In order to prove conspiracy it must be proven that the defendants were actuated with enmity against the United States and its laws, or against the rights and laws of any of the states and territories. It is hardly necessary to say that such a charge cannot be maintained. There is no class of men more law-abiding than the members of the American Railway Union, or organized labor in general, and Debs' proclamation advising the men to preserve order, avoid destruction of property, and observe the laws, should be a sufficient rebuke to those who are now yelling "conspiracy!"—American Citizen, St. Louis, Mo.

Neither the governor of the State of Illinois, the county or the municipal officials called on Mr. Cleveland for United States troops. The railway and other corporations brought influence to bear on the administration to send United States troops to Chicago over the protest of the governor. It is not doubted that the president ordered the federal troops to take part in the strike at the behest of private corporations. They have more influence with the administration than the governor of Illinois and the authorities of Cook county and Chicago. If federal interference should become a precedent, then it wipes out with one dash of the pen all state rights, and places every labor organization at the mercy of federal bayonets.—H. E. Taubeneck, National Chairman Peoples' Party.

What is our constitutional guarantee, when an old English precedent, covered with the dust of three centuries and made for the protection of the feudal lord and the subjugation of the vassal, fits the purposes of plutocracy better? The constitution is all right when it suits the purpose; when not, a decided preference for foreign laws is shown. This is a subpoena duces tecum we are assured, which has come down from Roman jurisprudence and it is "perfectly legal." Russia also practices Roman law when it suits best. So does England, France, Italy, Spain and Germany. So do the capitalist judges of all countries, including those of our free United States. We are being Russified at a rate which may well serve to alarm all patriotic citizens.—The Emancipator, Cleveland, O.

Our high and mighty federal judges, without straining their consciences much further, can easily find ground for injunctions against independent voting this fall. They have already decided that it is a crime to strike or to ask any one else to strike. They have also decided, in their massive minds, that labor unions, when they don't keep still, are anarchistic, and the Populist party, for sympathizing with them, is also anarchistic. Now what is easier or more logical than to decide that to allow such people to vote is a "menace to law and order" and what we call government. To play their string out, the Bakers, Grosscup and Woodes will have to get out another omnibus injunction warning Populists away from the polls at the penalty of deputy marshals and the militia.—American Nonconformist, Indianapolis.

The intelligent man who calmly reflects upon the events of early July will find himself puzzled to understand how it came about that the inter-state commerce law, which was passed at the demands of an outraged people for relief from the lawlessness, tyranny and avarice of the railway corporations, was employed by the attorney-general and his associates in government for the support of these same corporations when engaged in a tyrannical warfare upon the lawful organization of the railway employees. If the action of the people's officials was dictated and guided by the honest belief that it was in conformity with the "spirit of our institutions," then surely it is time to inquire if we had not better remodel those institutions, employ new interpreters or rewrite and radically amend the Declaration of Independence.—Jos. R. Buchanan.

It is clear that for such minds as that of the editor of the New York Nation a thorough refitting and refurbishing from the ground floor up is needed. In the first place it is noticeable that with all the deadly execution that the troops of one sort and another have done in Chicago they have as yet failed to gather in the kind of game that the editor of the Nation expected. Whenever the troops go out before breakfast to bag a few strikers they somehow seem to hit the wrong men. Can it be that the strikers stay at home and refuse to be served as targets according to the projected program? When it begins to dawn on the editors how their attempts to connect the Chicago rioters with the strikers in the mind of the public has conspicuously failed, a large portion of their prepared editorial matter will fall with a dull thud to the bottom of the waste basket.—Wm. Ballou.

One Olney, a prominent corporation lawyer in Massachusetts and incidentally United States attorney general, has decided that any string of cars can be made a 'mail train' by hitching on a mail car. That gave the distinguished corporate tool, the United States government, an

excuse to crush the anti-Pullman car strike. Acting on the same hint, the street railway highwaymen of Chicago and other large cities are arranging to carry mail on their street cars, for the avowed purpose of having a club to hold over the heads of their employees. These are the lying schemers who take the American workman up on the mountain (convention-time) and, pointing to the great world spread below, say: "All this we'll give you if you'll stand again by the dear old party and once more vote 'er straight'!" And you have supported the old frauds year after year, and to show for it you have an elegant assortment of—hunks! Vote with the Peoples' party for public ownership of public monopolies.—Hartford City Arena.

The plutocratic press is showing its teeth like a mad dog these days. Its attitude towards the laborers could not be more venomous if they were all murderers and outlaws instead of the bone and sinew of this country and the basis of its prosperity. "Charles Fleischer," says the Associated Press account of the murder at Hammond, "was at the head of the rioters when shot by the United States soldiers." As a matter of fact, Fleischer had no connection with the strike, being a law-abiding German carpenter, and was deliberately killed while looking for his little boy. This is now generally admitted, and has been abundantly proved, but the plutocratic press felt the necessity of lying in order to make a murder seem a justified act to suppress lawlessness. Organized labor has no greater enemy than the corporation-controlled daily papers.—Nonconformist, Indianapolis.

The railroads may carry on their business in such a manner that the service rendered the United States is entirely unsatisfactory. The railroads knowing that the government will see that trains go through at any cost, do not hesitate to impose such conditions on their employees that strikes and consequent delay of mails takes place, so that the people of the United States suffer. Here, then, is the position in which the United States has placed itself. It has guaranteed to protect with its troops and courts institutions which have it in their power to keep the government continually in action and expense. Common sense would suggest that a government, as well as an individual, should have some right to say just what conditions it would uphold. But the railroads make the conditions and the government sees to it, right or wrong, that they shall be carried out.—The Commoner, Pittsburg, Pa.

One of the schemes of the plutocratic press to prejudice people against Mr. Debs is to constantly insist that he arbitrarily ordered the members of the organization of which he is president to go out on the strike. There is not one of the editors who publish this charge from day to day who does not know that it is absolutely false. Neither Debs or any other labor leaders ever has ordered or can order such a strike. In the case of the American Railway Union the organization decided upon the strike in council at Chicago and Debs simply promulgated the decision as the official head of the order. Every republican and democratic editor in the country is fully aware of this fact, and still they are constantly talking about Czar Debs and his arbitrary exercise of authority over the men of his organization in depriving them, against their own inclinations, of the opportunity to work. What is the object of this falsehood? Let the reader try to think.—Topeka (Kans.) Advocate.

The contest has been a most uneven one. It has been two great labor leaders, Debs and Sovereign, supported by their organizations which are composed of poor men, on the one hand, against the combined railway corporations of the country, encouraged and supported by courts favorable to their interests and backed up by the president of the United States, the regular army, United States marshals, the militia of the states, the county sheriffs and the city police forces, as well as urged on by the most unfeeling and most potent organization of the world, the money power. With such a combination against the American Railway Union and the Knights of Labor in a test of strength the chances of success have been very uneven. The place now to measure strength is the ballot box. There is where all labor may unite in one grand national movement, and they will be joined by a large element of the business class. Nothing can prevent a glorious triumph at the polls if labor thus unites unless perchance gross fraud and intimidation are there practiced. Should this last contingency occur another means will arise which will crush like an egg-shell this unholy alliance of the money power, the military, the courts and the president. The people will not longer silently permit themselves to be robbed of their rights.—New Republic, Akron, O.

HISTORY OF THE STRIKE.

A New York Dispatch says:—John Swinton has written a sixty thousand-word book in a period of a little over two weeks. It is all about the big strike at Chicago and is called "Striking for Life; Labor's Side of the Labor Question." The book has not yet been published, but it probably will be in a few days. It will have thirty-two illustrations, including portraits of Debs and other leaders and pictures of incidents of the strike. The table contents is as follows:

Chapter 1.—The revolution. 2. The massing of capital; the wielders of power. 3. Rush of the alien starvelings, Slavs, Jews and Italians. 4. The land of famine; the competition of women. 5. The needs of labor; how to win. 6. Unions and their aims; strikers and their success. 7. The great uprising; the coming revolt. 8. Nothing to be feared; danger in the air. 9. Leaders and their work; Debs and others. 10. Millionaires and their victims. 11. The signal of ruin; the star of hope. 12. Our glorious country; our heritage of freedom.

That "the gold-tipped pen" of John Swinton is again in use on "labor's side" is good news. Time was, when the reform press was in its infancy, and labor had not learned the first letter of the alphabet which it now spells out "stand by your friends and not by your enemies," that John Swinton published a paper on labor's side which has never since had superior. He gave his time, his money, health, the very sight of his eye, to us in that paper, and we let it die for want of support. We deserve hard blows for our past stupidity, and—we are getting them. But they are waking us up.

An idle half day well spent will bring you good books free. See the club premium list.

Every union intending to give a picnic or other entertainment should send for a few copies of "Chuca Choo" and have that splendid song on the program. It is as good as an oration.

THE STORY TO DATE.

[Continued from page 1.]

(and railway attorney) Olney and with Secretary of War Lamont. As a result of the conference United States troops Trinidad, Colorado, and general notice were ordered from Los Angeles to be given that the regular soldiers would be sent to any point where the railroad companies had men to move their trains but were deterred by mobs from doing so. On the 4th of July—Independence Day, God save us!—United States troops from Fort Sheridan, just north of Chicago, were marching through the city to the south and southwest sections, where the lawless trains were massed, really without crews—the companies falsely claimed held by strikers.

False Claims. How was this brought about? First, by the false claims of railway companies that they could not transport the mails because of the strike; and, second, by the false claims made by the railway managers that the strikers were rioting, destroying property, and endangering life. Let us examine these claims.

From the beginning of the boycott, the directors of the American Railway Union offered their personal services to see that all mail trains went regularly on their appointed way, provided Pullman coaches were not attached to such trains. From the beginning, the railway managers caused to be attached to mail trains Pullman coaches, even to those which in ordinary times did not carry such coaches. They even had those coaches welded on to mail trains by blacksmiths, so they could not be detached. Who was to blame, then, the American Railway Union or the Managers' Association, if mail trains did not run on time? That the course of the managers in dragging the United States into fighting their and Pullman's battles was as unwarranted as it was unprecedented the following resolution, introduced in the United States senate on July 2d, by Senator Kyle (Populist) of South Dakota, proves:

Resolved. That no warrant or other process, civil or criminal, shall be issued by any United States commissioner, or out of any circuit or district court of the United States, against any person or persons for the alleged obstruction of any railroad train or trains unless it shall appear that such person or persons have obstructed or hindered such in such manner as to interfere with the safe and convenient movement of the part of such train or trains essential to the safe and convenient transportation of the mails of the United States; and the detachment of Pullman or other parlor or sleeping coaches from an railroad train or trains shall not constitute an offense against the laws of the United States.

Of course the senate did not adopt the resolution, nor are we writing... the people who will need to be told why this United States senate does not take the right action on any measure in the interests of equity, justice and the sovereign people. But that it was introduced by a people's advocate, and supported by other true-hearted representatives of the people, shows that the false claim of railway managers that they could not move mail trains was known to be false, and that the truth could have been learned in Washington by Cleveland, Olney, et al. as easily as by Kyle, Peffer and Pence, the truth that they would not move such trains unless the Pullman cars went also, for the purpose not of accommodating the public, but of defeating the American Railway Union.

As to the false claim that American Railway Union men were rioting. This, advanced by the managers, was trumpeted to the world by the Chicago Tribune, Inter Ocean and Herald, flashed over the corporation-controlled wires from sea to sea and under the sea, and piped in echo by all the Blanches, Trays and Sweetheart little puppy papers of the country. Was it true? It was as false as the other statement, as false as hell, and here is proof:

When the United States troops entered Chicago the state militia was not in the field, and had not been asked for by the city or county authorities. Numberless deputy marshals—of whom more anon—had been sworn in by the United States marshal here, Sheriff Gilbert had increased his force of deputies and Mayor Hopkins and Chief of Police Brennan had swelled the police force to more than twice its normal strength. These extra guardians of the peace were for the protection of railway property, and the mayor was quite as determined such property should be protected as its owners were anxious that it should be. The sheriff had received on call 400 Springfield rifles and a large amount of ammunition. Governor Altgeld was in constant and close communication with Mayor Hopkins, and every person old enough to think in Illinois, and not so big a fool as to let a newspaper do his thinking, knew that if the situation in this city required it the militia of the state would be promptly put at the command of the city's mayor.

Why, then, did not Governor Altgeld order the militia out previous to July 6th? Because neither Mayor Hopkins nor Sheriff Gilbert called upon him to do so. And why did not mayor or sheriff call for state troops? Because they did not need them, being fully able to keep the peace and preserve order without them. These things were true, and that they

were true the governor, the mayor, the sheriff, and thousands of law-abiding, order-loving citizens of Chicago will testify—have testified. Yet did the president of the United States send troops here, and quarter them in the city without the knowledge or consent of either the state, county or city authorities!

Of the letters which passed between Governor Altgeld and President Cleveland concerning this high-handed act of usurpation on the part of the latter, which have already been printed in this paper, we will not here speak, further than to say that every lover of his country and of his kind should read and remember them. There are days ahead when this will be useful.

Let it be remembered, too, that but for the part of traitors played by the three great Chicago dailies already mentioned, even Grover Cleveland would not have dared to obey his masters, the corporations, and send the troops here. The false and exaggerated accounts of riots and destruction which these papers printed every morning after the strike began paved the way for the troops. These accounts were written and printed for this purpose, and they had no other purpose. Up to the time the troops were sent here there was no serious rioting. The only disturbance of the peace was made by that semi-criminal lot of starvelings which hangs, a sinister fringe, upon Chicago skirts, and these the local authorities had well in hand even then.

On this point Joseph R. Buchanan has written as follows:

On the Fourth of July, while we of the east were reading press bulletins depicting scenes of rioting and big headlines stating that "The Regulars Are Fighting the Mob," the regular soldiers were engaged in a game of base ball between nines chosen from their ranks at Grand Crossing. Until the United States authorities interfered in the contest between the companies and their employes there was not the slightest destruction of property, and not a drop of blood had been shed. The show of force made by the corporation side was like a red rag to a bull, and the rabble, which had no connection with the American Railway Union, accepted the chance offered to show its contempt for the government and for the "rights of property."

Bloody riots did follow the presence of troops here, and the state militia was ordered out. We have not the heart to record the sickening events that ensued, nor are they any part of the history of our connection with the strike. The American Railway Union men followed the course laid down in this address, issued by President Debs on July 6:

One More Appeal.
TO ALL STRIKING EMPLOYEES:
"In view of the report of disturbances in various localities I deem it my duty to caution you against being a party to any violation of law, municipal, state, or national, during the existing difficulties. We have repeatedly declared that we respect law and order, and our conduct must conform to our profession. A man who commits violence in any form, whether a member of our order or not, should be promptly arrested and punished, and we should be first to apprehend the miscreant and bring him to justice. We must triumph as law-abiding citizens or not at all. Those who engage in force and violence are our real enemies. We have it upon reliable authority that thugs and toughs have been employed to create trouble so as to prejudice the public against our cause. The second rule in every case should be made to pay the full penalty of the law."
"I appeal to you to be men, orderly and law-abiding. Our cause is just, the great public is with us and we have nothing to fear."
"Let it be borne in mind that if the railroad companies can secure men to handle their trains they have that right. Our men have the right to quit, but their right ends there. Other men have the right to take their places, whatever the opinion of the propriety of so doing may be."
"Keep away from railroad yards, or right of way, or other places where large crowds congregate. A safe plan is to remain away entirely from places where there is any likelihood of being an outbreak."
"The railroad managers have sought to make it appear that their trains do not move because of the interference of the strikers. The statement is an unqualified falsehood, and no one knows this better than the managers themselves. They make this falsehood serve their purpose of calling out the troops."
"Respect the law, conduct yourselves as becomes men and our cause shall be crowned with success."
EUGENE V. DEBS."

Law-Breaking Deputies.
So far as known this law-abiding course was followed by every member of the American Railway Union. Charges to the contrary have been made against some members, but these have yet to be proven true. Many and persistent endeavors were made to provoke strikers into joining in riotous and criminal acts. United States deputies were specially officious in this direction, and we expect to be able to prove, in the right time and place, they were themselves the authors of crimes they seek to fasten on others. These deputies—fifty per cent of them non-residents, sworn in therefore in defiance of law—were men in desperate circumstances, well fitted for the performance of desperate deeds. Even for men who will volunteer to shoot their fellow-workmen for three dollars a day, one can but feel pity if poverty and the impossibility of securing work has driven them to such shipwreck of honor. That these men were in direct financial distress has been proven by the fact that hundreds of them parted with their pay warrants as soon as they received them, selling for anything they could get to note-shaving sharks.

Injunctions, Courts and Legal Tangles.
On Tuesday, July 10th, a special federal grand jury was impaneled in the United States district court of northern Illinois. Judge Grosscup charged the jury as to what is "insurrection, conspiracy," etc., and the penalties therefor, and the jury retired to consider such evidence as might be brought before it concerning the conduct of the American Railway Union strikers. District Attorney Milchrist, Edwin Walker, counsel for the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul road, who had been appointed by Olney special counsel to assist Mr. Milchrist in this prosecution, and Attorney Wright of the Rock Island road were in attendance.

At three o'clock the jury session began. One witness was examined, E. M. Mulford of the Western Union Telegraph Company, who, contrary to all precedent, produced for the jurors' inspection copies of the telegrams which had been sent out from and received at the American Railway Union headquarters since the strike began. With no further preliminaries the jury promptly indicted for American Railway Union officials, the indictments based on the amended section 5440, revised statutes of the United States, which reads as follows:

If two or more persons conspire either to commit an offense against the United States or to defraud the United States in any manner or for any purpose, and one or more of such parties do an act to effect the object of the conspiracy all the parties to such conspiracy shall be liable to a penalty of not more than two years, or both, at the discretion of the court.

At 4:07 Judge Grosscup received the indictments from the foreman of the jury. Ten minutes later four bench warrants were drawn up, signed and placed in the hands of the marshal. Within an hour President Eugene V. Debs, Vice-President Geo. W. Howard, Secretary Sylvester Keliker, and L. W. Rogers, director and editor of THE RAILWAY TIMES, were under arrest. The official headquarters were raided at the same time, and all the books, blanks, papers and correspondence of the Union was seized, as well as President Debs' private mail. The latter, which was taken against the protest of the American Railway Union secretary and of Mr. Debs' private secretary (Mr. Debs not being present), although its character as private correspondence was explained to the officers who made the seizure, was returned with apologies the next morning, by order of the court. The four indicted officials appeared in court room, where their bail was fixed at \$10,000 on a joint bond, which was furnished.

Just a week later, on Tuesday, July 17th, the four were again arrested, this time for contempt of court, on petition of special (and corporation) counsel Walker, setting out the restraining injunction which had been issued by Judges Grosscup and Woods, and alleging violation of it on the part of Debs, Howard, Keliker and Rogers.

The petition was supported by copies of telegrams alleged to have been sent out from the American Railway Union headquarters, and we quote that portion of the injunction, violation of which is claimed:

... and from compelling or inducing or attempting to compel or induce by threats, intimidation, persuasion, force or violence any of the employes 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 inter-state 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 employes of such railroads and engaged in its service in the conduct of inter-state business, or in the operation of any of its trains carrying the mail of the United States or doing inter-state business, or the transportation of passengers and freight between and among the states, to leave the service of such railroads, and from preventing any persons whatever by threats, intimidation, force or violence from entering the service of any of said railroads and doing the work thereof, in the carrying of the mails of the United States or the transportation of passengers and freight between or among the states, or 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 undisturbed control and handling of inter-state 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."

Brother unionists, heed well the sinister insertion of the word "persuasion" in the above. As was said on this point in the last issue of THE RAILWAY TIMES: The United States courts forbade the officers of the American Railway Union 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. If this is a crime, where is union labor's weapon?

When arrested for contempt, the four officials appeared in court accompanied by their counsel, W. A. Shoemaker and W. W. Irwin of St. Paul, and S. S. Gregory of Chicago, who had been retained as special counsel for the American Railway Union. After the routine of filing information, etc., bail was fixed in each case at \$3,000. This the defendants declined to furnish, although many tenders of bondsmen were made. Commitments were made out, and that night Brothers Debs, Howard, Keliker and Rogers slept in Cook county jail.

There they remained until trial upon this issue was had in the United States Circuit Court, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, July 23-25, Judges Woods of Indianapolis and Grosscup of Chicago presiding. The lawyers for the defense made plea that the trial should be by jury and on the conspiracy indictment, and that the contempt proceedings should be dismissed since they were virtually for the same offense and no man could be tried twice for the same offense. This motion was denied, and a motion to quash the information against the defendants for contempt as irrelevant and insufficient was overruled. Further hearing of the case was then postponed to September 5, to accommodate Judge Woods. The case of the Santa Fe road against the same defendants went over to the same date.

Bail for each of the prisoners was now to be fixed. Both Debs and Howard were under \$10,000 bonds for the first indictment of conspiracy. Five other indictments have been returned against them, and the same number against Keliker and Rogers. In these latter cases the bail was reduced from \$3,000 to \$1,000, and it was likewise out to \$1,000 from \$3,000 in each of the contempt cases, making the new bail an even \$7,000 for each man. The bonds were furnished, and again the four officials of the American Railway Union went out free men—for the time, the number of indictments against them necessitating, in the opinion of their counsel, that they should be at liberty to properly prepare for the trial.

Later District Attorney Milchrist filed a supplemental information in the contempt case to include the directors of the American Railway Union on the charge of violating the order of the court. The directors proceeded against are James Hogan, William E. Burns, R. M. Goodwin, J. F. McVean and M. J. Elliott. They were the advisory council of the four officers of the union, and when Debs, Keliker, Rogers and Howard were arrested and placed in jail for contempt they took charge of and conducted affairs at the headquarters of the American Railway Union.

Of other legal complications, in which

the officers of the American Railway Union are now involved, it is not necessary to speak here in detail. Time will straighten them all out, and in time—even though it come not speedily—it will be seen where right and justice are vested, and where privilege and power have prevailed. In passing from this subject it may be mentioned that President Debs is under indictment for conspiracy and must answer to the charge in United States courts all the way from Milwaukee to New Orleans.

From all sections of the country, where this trouble has extended, come reports of indictments, arrests, prosecutions, fines and imprisonment of men who have stood for their fellow men in the struggle, and against whom no other crime is proven. To each and all of these, and to the homes shadowed by the harsh fate that has fallen upon them, would go out the sympathy of every true American, if all the facts in each case could be shown in their true light. Unhappily those not directly connected with the movement, and not so situated that they can make personal investigation, know only what a venal press reports.

To every one to whom a copy of this issue of THE RAILWAY TIMES shall come we make appeal: Do not condemn, on the testimony of subsidized newspapers, the men of the American Railway Union who, loyal to the principles of brotherhood, are being made warning examples of by those who have sworn the spirit of brotherhood shall be crushed out of free Americans. The power that, by means ignoble, is able to bend press and pulpit to defend its evil deeds, can also find judges to interpret statutes as it may command.

Friends, Allies and Enemies.
It has been a source of deep gratification to members of the American Railway Union to see how uniformly the genuine reform and labor press of this country has understood the situation and been in hearty accord with the American Railway Union position. Wherever a Populist convention has been in session there was certain to be introduced and passed with enthusiasm resolutions endorsing our course and tendering us moral support. The populist governors, Waite and Llewellyn, have not taken the attitude in regard to our strike that the people whose votes elected them demanded. We thank them not the less for that.

The members of the American Railway Union have come to see that the ballot is their weapon; and the fraternal spirit the populists have manifested for us in our time of trial has shown us that it is with the People's party these ballots must be cast in order that they may count for labor's emancipation.

The Knights of Labor have been steadfast in their support of us, and General Master Workman Sovereign can surely count on the support of our members for that order at any time it is needed. The trades unions have been, as separate organizations, as earnest in our behalf as our own members. It is with pride we reflect that no struggle of this nature ever before called out such unanimous expressions of approval from labor bodies.

Here in Chicago the organized trades on Sunday, July 8, held a meeting to outline a plan of co-operation with us, a meeting at which over one hundred bodies were represented by 350 delegates. A general sympathetic strike was the club these bodies thought of taking up to help us. The movement was not carried to that consummation. It might have been better for all of us had it been. But the time, it seems, is not yet for labor's cause to triumph because all who toil unite.

The sympathy of the Chicago unions for us is not to be measured, however, by what they did not do, but by what they have done. They have given us every possible support save that of striking with us. Time and money, and—most valuable of all—outspoken advocacy of our cause and defense of our action. Men are brave and true-hearted who will hold such a meeting as the Chicago trade unionists held in Ogden's Grove after Debs' arrest, and they are true brothers who will speak such words as were there spoken.

Too many of the older railway organizations have not made such honorable record as other unions in connection with the American Railway Union strike. It has been very apparent that the seed of envy which employers have sown through their paid men among the leaders of these organizations found fruitful soil. While hundreds and thousands of true-hearted railway workers went out on the appeal of the American Railway Union locals, they went of their own volition, not because such action had been authorized by vote of their organizations.

Grand Master Sargent knows that ninety per cent of the organized firemen of the United States implored the order to go out, and he knows a day of reckoning will come to him because he did not listen to this appeal. Trainmen sympathized with us, but the officers of the Trainmen's Brotherhood did all in their power to injure us and to help our enemies. Every evil resource at their command—and their power to do vile things is phenomenal—was directed against us.

Switchmen went out with us, almost to a man, but the ghost of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association rattled its dry bones for a last time to show capitalists it was still up for sale. As for the conductors and engineers, if they desired our success they did not make it manifest. Honorable exceptions there were, and many of them. Engineers have sacrificed their positions and jeopardized their livelihood rather than to pull the throttle on a train manned by scabs. But the position of the engineers' brotherhood must be considered that which Chief Arthur defines it to be, until the brotherhood repudiates that position. The following correspondence covers what remains to be said:

CHICAGO, ILL., July 14.
TO P. M. ARTHUR, GRAND CHIEF BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS, CLEVELAND, O.
The newspapers quote you as having issued an official order to your members requiring them to work with "scab" firemen or anyone else the company might employ. It is also reported to us on what seems reliable authority that you are issuing letters of recommendation to engineers for the purpose of filling positions vacated by strikers; in other words, that you are supplying "scabs" to take the places of striking engineers. We desire to do no injury and wish to be advised of the facts in the case. We are now making history and do not wish to put any man on record improperly. An early reply will oblige. By order of the board of directors, American Railway Union. EUGENE V. DEBS.

CLEVELAND, O., July 14.
To E. V. DEBS, CHICAGO:
My advice to members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, when called upon to strike, has been to strike strictly for their duty as engineers and run their engines when they

could do so safely, regardless of who the company employs to fire them. I have not issued any letters of recommendation to engineers for the purpose of filling positions vacated by strikers. Have stated to all inquiring that members of the Brotherhood could take the places vacated by other members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers contrary to the laws of the order, but could not take the place of members of the American Railway Union who had quit in obedience to the orders of that organization. Have not sent any engineers. Have referred all applications for employment to the chairman of the general committee of advice and consent. P. M. ARTHUR.

Arthur is a maker of scabs, and an assassin of unionism.

The Present Situation.
The recent strike was brought on by a vote of more than three-fourths of the members of the local unions on the systems involved. After the arrests of the directors in this city a special convention of the American Railway Union was called and the entire situation canvassed. There had been some unexpected developments in connection with the strike which it was deemed best should be thoroughly discussed in full assembly. Notably, it was not anticipated, at the time the June convention adjourned, that the railroad officials, instead of measuring strength with us like men, would simply lie down and cry for the United States government to come and do their fighting for them, and that Grover Cleveland would order troops and Attorney-General Olney would order courts upon us without just cause. But these things had come to pass.

Delegates to the special convention considered the matters laid before them and returned to report thereon to their constituent bodies. With few exceptions the locals then voted the strike off, and where that was the vote the American Railway Union men have returned to work.

In some instances the roads are slow in taking back their old hands, and even try to make it a part of the new agreement that the men shall swear to leave the American Railway Union and never join it again. But the impossibility of getting good men outside the American Railway Union, the terrible loss in business, in property, and even in life, that all the roads are experiencing, from trying to run with green scab hands, will soon result in the re-employment of American Railway Union men.

Let none think our sacrifices have been in vain. At the long last it will be seen the result of this great strike has been to solidify labor's ranks and fully arm labor with its best weapon—the independent ballot. In a test of the strength of the mightiest railway labor organization against the mightiest antagonist of organized labor—the railway corporations—we have incidentally, but unmistakably, brought home to our brothers in labor the truth which nothing save such experience would have convinced them of, the truth that Socialist and Nationalist and Populist have been crying to them, namely:

This is not a people's government. It belongs to the corporations.
Cleveland for the Democracy and Harrison for the Republicans, spoke with one voice during our strike. It was the voice of an enemy. Brothers of the farm, the shop, the factory and the rails, it has cost us dear to give this object-lesson. Let us not have paid the cost in vain. From this hour, when corn-planting ghoul is exulting in their fancied victory and hugging the delusion that they have welded fresh and unbreakable fetters on us, let the cry of every wealth-producer in the land go up:

"Nothing less than industrial freedom will content us. To the ballot-box for it, oh, brothers!"

LABOR.
King of the mighty brain and iron hand!
Who on the brow of this rude earth hath placed
A starry crown! And who hath richly graced
Her bosom rude with jewels rare and grand!
With all the splendors of thy magic wand,
Still like some poor and paltry slave thou'rt
beet.
Starved, naked, trembling on the tyrant's feet,
Most wretched, abject thing in all the land!

Rise in thy manhood! Lift thy great, broad
brow!
This Moloch, whose insatiate, ravaging maw,
That never yet hath known another law
But vile aggrandizement of self! Aye, now
Rise! thou'rt Earth's King! and dash him
from on high,
And rule o'er all, as thou shouldst 'neath the
sky!
EDMUND MORTIMER, in the Chicago Times.

EVILS OF PRIVATE MONOPOLY.
Monopoly in private hands has proved injurious politically, industrially, and ethically. The essential feature of despotism everywhere is power without responsibility to the people, whether it be found in the bureaucracy of the sovereign, as in Russia, or in the board of directors of the Standard Oil, gas, water, or railroad companies, uncontrolled by the public. Free competition in large undertakings has grown into the monopolistic trust, syndicate or combine. This evolutionary development is logical, but it is also equally logical and in the proper order of things that the people alone should exercise exclusive control in all matters relating to the general interest in city, state, or nation.

Every private monopoly must be transformed into a public one. Then the curses which flow in such abundance from private ownership will cease. The bitter waters of marah will grow sweet. There is no middle course. The people must assume sovereignty industrially as well as politically. With Lincoln's emancipation proclamation political equality was established throughout the land; industrial equality, or equal opportunity for all, is yet to be secured. One is the complement of the other. One cannot long exist without the other. Such is the history of all past ages. There is no affinity between plutocracy and democracy. We must bring the republic into our industrial life. People must trust themselves.—P. O. Larkin in Donahoe's Magazine.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.
An address to the public, adopted by the American Railway Union, in the August convention, after explaining the objects of the organization and the necessity the railroad employes realized for protection against further reductions in wages, and stating the grievances of the Pullman strikers, says: "Previous to the organization of the American Railway Union, June, 1893, a combination had been entered into by the railroad corporations to ruin labor organizations and to depress the rates of wages throughout the country."

"The animus of the General Managers' Association and of the railroad corporations composing it is evident from the action of the Vanderbilt roads, which, while deadly enemies of the Pullman company, came to the assistance of the other road which carried Pullman cars. The contracts which were made with the Pullman Company are exclusive in character, and the companies refuse to carry cars of other persons or corporations on the same terms, which is in itself a violation of the inter-state commerce act as well as of the anti-trust legislation. For these reasons we submit that the contracts had no valid force and that the contention of the railroads is a mere pretence. We regret to say that the federal government gave some color to the corporations' claim that the authorities were coming to assist them in a partial conflict, both by the unnecessary use of troops without warrant of law, and without the request of the constituent local authorities. The Pullman strike, not yet at an end, and we appeal to all lovers of justice everywhere to give all moral material and especially financial assistance they can to these men who today have "Hobson's choice," either to starve in idleness or to starve in the employment of the Pullman Company.

"We also appeal to the people to desert the old political parties, which have shown themselves equally inimical to the interests of the common people and friendly to the great vampire corporations of the land. In this connection we call attention to the praiseworthy fairness of Governors Altgeld, Hogg, Waite, Pennoyer and Lewelling, and also the manly course of Mayor Hopkins of Chicago, which indicated that the people might well expect the preservation of peace without the oppression of workmen if they will but see to it that the men they select to office are not the hirelings of corporations."

"In the present struggle, as well as in all the struggles in the past between workingmen and employers it has been found that there is no provision in the laws of the country to adjudicate disputes between employers and employes. The only laws which are called into operation are those for the preservation of public order. There is great need of legislation to enable a peaceable adjudication of trouble disputes. These disagreements between employers and employes are at intervals fought at enormous expense, not merely to the parties to the quarrel, but to all the people of the country. The sovereign people should assert their right to rule. We, therefore, citizens of the republic, appeal to you, fellow-voters of our common country, to support the party which bears the name of the sovereign people. Let no man sit as your representative in state or national legislature who is opposed to the adoption of a law which will cause all such differences to be submitted to the unprejudiced decision of a properly constituted court of jury to the end that public peace may be permanently preserved and tremendous losses no longer be inflicted on the citizens of the republic. It is for this and nothing more that we come before you with this appeal."

THE BOY AND THE JUDGE.
Who are you?
My name is Henry C. Caldwell.
Do you own the earth?
No.
Do you own the Santa Fe Railroad?
No.
Do you own any stock in it?
No.
But you are running the road?
Yes.
And the employes?
Yes.
Who hired you to do it?
Nobody.
If the workingmen don't do what you tell them, what will happen to them?
They may get shot or be sent to the jail or the penitentiary.
Who told you to run this road?
The government of the United States.
Does the government own the road?
No.
Got any stock in it?
No.
Well, why does the government have you run this road?
I don't know.
Is it for your own benefit?
No.
For the benefit of the government?
No.
For the benefit of the engineers, conductors, brakemen, firemen and the others who do the work?
No.
For the farmers, merchants, mechanics and laborers along the line?
No.
For whose benefit is it then?
For the benefit of the bondholders.
And who are they?
I don't know.
Did they ever do anything especially for the government?
Not as I know of.
Where do they live?
Oh, some of them live in Boston, but most of them live in England.
What business has the government to run a railroad for the benefit of bondholders who never did anything for the government?
It's the law.
How do you come to be mixed up in it?
I am the United States circuit judge.
Well?
The officers of the road contrived by mismanagement to run it in debt, in short, to bankrupt it, and so the stockholders and bondholders turned it over to the government.
To keep?
Oh, no. To manage, to pay off the debt, to restore the road to solvency, to make it a dividend paying institution. And then?
Give it back to the stock and bondholders.
What do you get for this?
Nothing.
And the government?
Nothing.
Nothing you're joking.
Judge, you're joking.
I admit it's a big joke on the American people.—Pittsburg Kansas.

O! "BLESSED CHARITY."

Came two young children to their mother's shelf (One was quite little and the other big; And each in freedom calmly helped himself, (One was a pig.)

WHITE RIBBON ECHOES.

BY MILES MENANDER DAWSON.

The American Railway Union is often accused of not having a very high opinion of the courts nor a very great regard for judges and their mandates.

Whatever may have been represented to be the sentiments of the officers and members of the American Railway Union toward the courts, they have as a matter of fact respected the courts, and have tried to obey them implicitly.

The only regret, the only complaint is that these courts are hampered by the want of jurisdiction, and are thus unable to consider all the issues between the workmen and their employers.

It is the employer who is guilty of the real contempt of court. I do not now refer to that contempt which is punished by fine or imprisonment; though by perjury, by bribery, by all the crimes of avoidance, they are daily guilty also of that and go unscathed in spite of it.

The American Railway Union, its members, their delegates, their officers and directors, respect the courts. They would have them even better, purer, higher, freer from corporate trammels than now; but they respect the courts.

and the tricks of lawyers. The American Railway Union has publicly announced that it is willing, that it is anxious to extend the jurisdiction of these courts to cover all the merits of the disputes between employers and employees.

I never expect to do a thing of which I shall feel prouder than I do feel over having assisted in the preparation of your appeal to the voters which drew the attention of the world to your wrongs and then asked—not vengeance—not even justice—but merely that the people pass laws which will render such injustices as these under which you now suffer, impossible in future.

AGAINST ARBITRATION.

BY W. P. BORLAND.

Seeing the utter absurdity of the present industrial situation. Wherein the rights of workmen are ignored and the government comes to the aid of capitalists under the hollow pretense of preserving social order, many persons are inclined to look with favor on some sort of an arbitration scheme as a means of adjusting the differences between capitalists and laborers; and, without sufficiently considering the consequences of the proposition, as I believe, workingmen are in numerous instances taking up the cry for arbitration as though it meant their veritable salvation.

There is not a single question at issue between capitalists and laborers, today, which may be settled by arbitration. There is not a single vital phase of the industrial situation that is in any sense a proper subject for arbitration.

Why do not workmen exercise their inalienable rights, and simply quit their situations whenever conditions do not suit them? There is no room for the application of any arbitration theory there.

But it may be said the workmen can control the law. Very good, when they do that they can manage to inaugurate conditions wherein they may safely proceed to exercise their natural rights; and arbitration is still of no use.

Let me introduce you to "The President" Watch Movement. Just finished by the UNITED STATES WATCH CO., WALTHAM, MASS.

ingmen will find it so if they ever try the arbitration experiment.

If it is imagined that the capitalists are going to make all the concessions, when the two parties are theoretically equal before the law, those who cherish so fond a delusion should disabuse their minds.

Workmen have still some political rights left. Let them use their power that yet remains to them for the purpose of tearing down those laws which enthrone privilege, and the destruction of conditions that abridge freedom—let them declare that natural opportunities shall be free to all and that the capitalist is an unnecessary adjunct to civilized industrial conditions—and they will find themselves forgetting all about arbitration.

The Girls' Shoe Operators' Protective Union gave \$85 out of their treasury to the Pullman strikers, the Bedtick Makers' Knights of Labor Assembly, girls, went out on the sympathetic strike; the Women's Cloak Makers' Union gave all the money they had for the women and children at Pullman. Here's to our sisters, God bless 'em!

"The Pullman Strike" is the title of the Rev. W. H. Carwardine's book on the all-absorbing topics of the times. The author does his work well and gives the readers an excellent understanding of the much misrepresented city.

Mr. Carwardine is a resident of Pullman, and knows his subject thoroughly. He does not talk at random, but presents the figures to prove the awful reductions in wages and the outrageous rents and taxes which burden the employees.

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