THE CONVENTION.

SMALL SLICES FROM A. R. U.'S BIG MEETING.

Enthusiasm and Good Sense Mixed-Fans, Heat and Coatless Participators-A Difference.

The delegates from everywhere began putting in an appearance at the general office a week before the 12th, each day getting thicker. The office from opening till late in the evening was a continued levee, and " Brother shake hands with Brother -, of No. -" was a frequent remark. Toward the auspicious day the crowd filled up the very corners and hallways, the chairing facilities were exhausted, and the good-natured delegates discussed labor matters standing from dewy morn to flowery eve.

On the morning of the 12th pretty much everybody arrived, and some of the comers brought their wives along. Some very goodlooking fellows did not, and their spouses, on their return, should add rigid cross-examination to his accounts of his trip to Chicago. Not that the TIMES has any pointers on hand. On the contrary the conduct of everybody has to date been above proof. To be sure the Northern Pacific and Great Northern boys damned Chicago water. They missed the alkali. The one most to be pitied was Burrows, of Kalispell. He can't drink our water and daren't indulge in beer. He'll be about choked before the thing is over.

The hall at 82 Lake street was found to be too small to accommodate the crowd, and as fate would have it Uhlich's hall on North Clark street was the only one obtainable near by. At was in this hall on June 20 last that a few, a very few men launched the A. R. U. The president's address was delivered and the wind, thunder and down-pouring rain furnished the applause. In point of members the meeting was a failure as dismal and depressing as the weather. Hope and the justice of the cause kept up the spirits of this small gathering of the salt of the earth, the faith in things not seen was the only prospect of success in sight.

On June 12 that hall was packed. The sun shone somewhat too brightly for comfort. Cheers and applause rang out at every good point made by the speakers. Works backed the faith of a year ago, and the most extravagant hopes of the opening meeting were more than fulfilled.

Vice-President Howard called the convention to order, and made a five-minute speech He adjured the delegates to do their best, to give the freest possible expression to their views, to fight for what they believed to be the right, and if hot shot was hurled at them to give it right back. But when the session had ended, to lick no wounds, to indulge in no malice, and when they went through door to leave all bitterness behind to emerge on the street with smiling face and to wipe the slate of any bad feelings that hot debate might engender. He then introduced President Debs. If that gentleman is vain, the reception accorded him will spoil him. There will be no living with him when he goes home. The boys could not get enough wind in their lungs to cheer while seated, so they pretty generally stood up. Fans, hats and canes went up in unison. It ought to have been left to Debs to say as spake a Texan in Washington years ago: "I'm a biger man

When the perspiring president had delivered his address, Brother Howard suggested that as it was II o'clock that the hour between that and noon be put in hearing some of the brethren submit a few points. This was embodied in a motion from the floor and carried.

Brother Smith, of No. 12, offered a motion seconded by Brother Field, of No. 8, that the address of President Debs be accepted and referred. Brother Durkin, of No. 326, seconded by Brother Wild, moved an amendment to leave it to the convention as a committee of the whole. After discussion, motion withdrawn with leave to bring up matter after or

ganization. Directors L. W. Rogers, Sebring, Hogan Secretary Keliher, Hon. George C. Ward, of Los Angeles, E. B. Mayo, state statistician of Minnesota, Brothers Deaton, of Memphis, Cubberly, of St. Louis, Burrows, of Kalispell, and Ray, of Murphysboro, Illinois. Brother E. B. Harris read the following poem, now printed in card form and sold for benefit of Pullman strikers.

OUR NOBLE A. R. U.

As recited by the author, E. B. Harris, Delegat Local Union 264, at the First National Convention of the American Railway Union, Chicago, 1894. Published for the benefit of our brothers and sister

Do by others as you would that they should do by

This shall be the motto of our noble A. R. U. Obeying no prescription sent forth by king or questioning the footsteps of the gentle Nazarene, o a broader, brighter field, unto a joyful day,

We will lighten up the burdens, soothe away

The weeds that gather all the dew, while thirst our fairest flowers, We'll hold in check while loved ones drink of thi

our summer showers;

A welcome shower of justice, refreshing as the dew,
Poured down upon the many, not only for a few,
'Twill brighten pallid faces, 'twill moisten every lip,
And every toiler here shall drink in manly fellowship.

Lealousies we'll leave behind and in

snip. Jealousies we'll leave behind and in tranquility, Out Union ship shall safely ride a stately Argosy. A braver crew ne'er walked a deck, among the not a coward,

Keliher is our steward: our commander's name is With Rogers here and Hogan too, both standing at

We have no fears that any storm our craft shall overwhelm.

Laden with love we're sailing on a tide that never

The vice-president then introduced Miss Jennie Curtis, of Pullman, the only woman delegate in the convention. That lady from her seat in the rear of the platform rose and bowed. It wasn't just the thing for the floor, so a demand was made that she come front where she could be better seen. The request was complied with.

On motion of Brother Deegan, No. 187, con ention adjourned till 2 P.M.

Convention called to order at 2 P.M.

Moved that it be an open meeting and carried, with amendment that none but A. R. U. members in good standing be admitted.

Motion to elect three delegates as committee on credentials carried. Brothers Mooney, Yarnell and Merrman elected.

Motion to prohibit smoking carried. Motion to place chairs in rotation carried.

Motion that all credentials, properly filled, be admitted without seal.

Brothers Cubberly, of No. 212, and dmitted to seat in convention.

Motion carried for employment of official stenographer to write out proceedings of con-

Brothers W. E. Burns, J. W. Brice, H. M. Gray, F. E. Pollins and L. W. Rogers elected Committee on Rules

Committee elected to visit Carmen's convention to tender greeting and congratulation as follows: Brothers Elliot, Naylor and

Convention pledge themselves not to patonize stores open on Sunday.

Resolution condemning Tournly compulsory rbitration bill. Committee on Credentials elected to scru-

tinize cards ordered at door. A number of brothers admitted to seat in

onvention. Motion to adjourn made, amendment to meet at 7:30 P.M. Amendment lost; original

Reported by No. 285 that one M. J. Sullian, member of A. R. U., had robbed a conductor's wife, Sacramento. His picture posted and brothers told to look out.

Committee appointed to wait on Master Workman Sovereign of the Knights of Labor. Brothers J. H. Ham and T. J. Letson appointed.

Rules of order reported.

[Space prevents giving in full at a late hour The matters will appear in official report.] Moved that all committees consist of five nembers, carried.

Master Workman Sovereign announced and addressed convention.

Committee on legislation nominated.

Motion to adjourn to 2:30 P.M., carried.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

General Master Workman Sovereign addressed the convention, and after a committee of five appointed for purpose of perfecting plans of co-operation between the K. of L. scab. Every purchaser of these brands is tak and A. R. U. Mayhall, Rice, of Pullman, ing money out of the pocket of union labor. Riker, Lynch and Lovejoy.

W. E. Burns, E. B. Mayo, M. I. Elliot, Alex Shields and B. B. Ray elected committee on legislation.

Report from committee of visitors to Car

men's convention. Brothers Timblin and Merriam appointed doorkeepers, and Hill and Letson as messen-

Brothers Degan, Dwyer McVean, Naylor, Case and Smith elected committee on literature.

Following resolutions were presented and

WHEREAS. It is obvious that the coalition of labor organizations is the imperative demand of the time: and

WHEREAS, The Knights of Labor and the American Railway Union are founded upon the same principles of eternal right and justice and the common brotherhood of man; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the sentiment of the American Railway Union, in convention assembled. as voiced by the undersigned committee, be that the American Railway Union do hereby tender to the Knights of Labor its hearty alliance in all movements brought about for the elevation and benefit of the laborer; and

Resolved, That we express these sentiments that the whole laboring world may know that two of the greatest labor organizations that it has ever known, namely, the Knights of Labor and the American Railway Union, have affiliated and joined their interests for the purpose of placing the members of both organizations in a close bond of harmony to the best interests of the world of labor; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions Knights of Labor forthwith.

Committee investigating case of Fessenden & Nachbour working with force organized under K. of L., report the statements in Dispatch relating to them are untrue.

Motion to proceed with nomination of committee on resolutions.

Adjourned.

JUNE 14.

Convention called to order at 9 A.M. Resolution of respect for Brother Ed Hughes, of the Gravel Roofers, deceased, was adopted.

Subsequent proceedings in next issue.

Of course, the boys get to see the town a little, and in order to have an experience to be remembered, some sneak thief went through the McCoy Hotel on Wednesday night, where many of the boys are stopping; a half-dozen or so were cleaned out. Director Hogan, not wanting to miss a good thing, got it in the raid to the amount of \$40.

The question of officers for ensuing year has not yet come up. The board of directors will certainly be increased, and it is probable that the present officers will be retained. They have done well and that fact will weigh in considering it. However, conventions are like a white man, "mighty onsartin," but with this one, good men will be chosen in any

ALLEN ESSAYS TO REFORM SENATORS.

One outgrowth of the sugar investigation appeared in the Senate. It took the form of a bill by Mr. Allen, of Nebraska, its title bea bill by Mr. Allen, of Nebraska, its title being "A bill to preserve the purity of national
legislation." Mr. Allen is the populist member
of the sugar investigating committee and the
reports of the stock speculations by senators
suggested the measure to him. The bill provides that it shall be unlawful for any senator
or representative during his term of office to
own or be concerned, directly or indirectly, in
owning, buying or selling, or in any manner
dealing in speculative stocks, the value of
which may in any manner depend upon a vote which may in any manner depend upon a vote of Congress; nor shall any member of Congress during his term be a member of or interested pecuniarily in any board of trade, stock exchange, national bank or other organization in which such stocks are bought or sold. Vioin which such stocks are bought or sold. Vio-lation of this act is made punishable by for-feiture of office and expulsion from the branch of Congress to which such member belongs, and in addition thereto he shall be subject to indictment and conviction. The oath of office is to be enlarged in scope to cover the provisions of the bill.

Mr. Allen's intentions are good, but like all other laws ostensibly designed to check the rapacity of the thieves plutocratic, the law will be a dead letter.

THE Brotherhood of Railway Carmen held their annual convention last week at Chicago.

"HOPE springs eternal in the human breast." The Waubansee Club is making a cut his tail off close to the ears. The Wau- bricks, he kept off the grass, was not making

Hogan's industrials borrow without leave a train on the Northern Pacific. United States army called out. Oakes, Villard and other directors made a clean steal of ten million. Mr. Oakes now receiver of the road. Mr. Villard and his pards are in uninterrupted position of the possession of the swag. Champaign for several.

Best, Crocker's Best, J. C. Jenkins' Vienna, J. C. Jenkins' French Flag brands of flour are Ask your grocer if he keeps them, and if the reply is affirmative suggest that he had better not and enforce that suggestion by refusing to deal with him if he does.

L. nailed a specimen lie in last issue of the to by Pullman, the author. The houses - or Journal. Plute papers published with elaborate flourish and unconcealed joy that the board had expelled Past General Master Workman Powderly. Of course it was appainted; two little, skimpy windows, and, in untrue. Mr. Powderly and the board have many cases, roofs either thatched or stripped got into a jangle about some personal property away; no flower beds, lawns, fountains in which both claim, so the board suspended sight-a melancholy array of the poorest huts him

into print and recklessly declares that he was cost to build, fence and all, not to exceed \$50 far, far happier when he hadn't 50 cents in his each in dear times. Yet for years and years, clothes than now when he is compelled to lug unrepaired, unpainted, cracked and decaying, about \$50,000,000. Well, there's nothing to the millionaire has been collecting \$8 a month prevent him from giving his "fleecings" back for each! to the men who made it for him, instead of millionaires are very chestnutty,-Cleveland is taking a fly at the duke. The girl's ball

THE Lake Erie & Western has been given twenty-four hours to decide whether it will cancel its unauthorized \$24.75 round-trip rate. Indianapolis to Denver, for the meeting of lanthropist has not realized, his stock is republican clubs, or suffer a boycott by association lines. Notice was sent out by the Lake Erie & Western that the rate had been cancelled, but apparently association lines believe there is a string attached to the cancellation would righter, his guilty conscience keeps where the realized to the cancellation would righter, his guilty conscience keeps where the realized to the cancellation would right the realized to the real order .- Chicago Herald.

The world do move. Such an anno nent from a labor organization would have been met with a howl in the press and injunctions from the courts if labor had announced

be tendered the general executive board of the LOCAL DISTURBANCE.

THE STRIKE AT PULLMAN ON ITS PEACEFUL WAY.

No Disorder, Everybody Fed - The Duke's Foot Not On His Native Heath - Some Pullman Palaces.

The Pullman strike is still on, the situation, so far as the surface indications would show, just in the position it was the day the men quit work. All now, as then, is quiet; the hand of industry is stilled, and except for its arrangement, its beds of shrubbery and flowers, its blocks of houses-each a pattern of the other so far as each block goes-and the noisy rattle of the constantly passing railroad trains, one would not imagine that he stood on the streets of Chicago. For while it is ranked as compared with the ever-bustling city's center, it is still Chicago though fourteen miles distant from the Chicago sta-

Kensington is a half-mile only from Pull-Turners of that place—which is also a ward of people of Chicago. Chicago-generously tendered the strikers free use of their fine hall, and meetings are held there daily and in the evenings. The relief to help the cause along. That, remember, in bureau is also here, and the provisions, etc., are issued every morning, for with exception will by its example yet benefit the cause of of one Sunday, everybody has been fed, and as a great many of them didn't do any better than when they were at work, the reader will credit to brother Pullman who very kindly furnishes the house to live in, water, etc.

The militia has not been called yet. Since May 11, in the four towns but one solitary ar rest has been made.

Georgie has lots of men there as watchmen, however. These, each armed with a formidable club, are a standing menace to anybody who might be tempted to get on the grass. These men are met at every turn, around the shops, the greenhouse and the brickyard. The whole expenditure for these gentlemen is entirely superfluous. The strikers themselves were to say that the workmen were like unto the catch. himself would lay himself open to an indict-

ment for libel. One of these fellows stopped the writer The way to cure a dog of sheep stealing is to of a committee of ladies. He wasn't after bansee Club has taken the certain method to any noise, doing no mischief, but with the air break its neck. Purify Chicago politics! of a prospective brickmaker, carefully investigating the kilns. Had to get, prohibited by order, etc., etc. Gentlema: had club, lots of square jaw, and the tourists got.

"Oh, that mine enemy would write a book." Mr. Pullman writ several, singing praises of what one of his fellow note-shearers calls a "dream"; Pullman, to-wit. This book, like his posey beds, is flowery. All of the adjectives of the English language that are real moral and pretty, are strictly in it. Among other statements of facts, is a description of THE Washburn Crosby Company's, Borey's Pullman, its lawns, fountains, halls, etc. Coming down to business, he says the rents run from \$8 a month up. One would, of course, suppose that these \$8 mansions were in the description of the model houses.

Crowded down on the muddy, swampy prairie, with side doors, surrounded by rough board fences, fitted up at the back end by slab privies, each board separated by the seasoning from the others by cracks big enough to throw THE general executive board of the K. of a yellow dog through, are the closets referred shanties, as they call them there - are about twice the size of a common stove box: two very small rooms, only one door at the side, in which human beings could exist, equaled in poverty of surroundings and architecture PULLMAN, the palace car magnate, rushes only by the hovels of coal miners, and would

Meantime the relief bureau collects in, the constantly reducing wages. These multi- labor unions are active, pretty much everybody realized handsomely, several hundred dollars were taken in last Saturday for a picnic, brothers from abroad are responding, and everybody is fed. The starvation plan of the phithe meeting of lanthropist has not realized, his stock is

him east. For the duke has large yellow streaks in his composition. It's a question whether his vanity or his cowardice is the predominating trait of his character - next, of surse, to his greed. Each move is an astonits intention to boycott any above boycotters. Isher, he is afraid to make a move, his other

shops are ready to come out at the call, and with an anxiety most touching, the railroad boys await the joyful advice, " Tie up the Pullman cars."

The convention will probably attend to the matter. The trouble in the way is the annoyance that must follow to the traveling public. So kindly have the whole people treated these people and the A. R. U., that it hesitates to mode citizens who use these cars, and to do anything detrimental to the railroad companies. George is a good stayer, and such a course might keep the pot boiling along railroad lines for months. When it does come, it comes to stay till his lordship, finally convinced of the error of his way - the strong suit of the A. R. U. is logic - will yield to a better way of looking at things.

The Pullman strike is the most remarkable one of history and proves the efficiency of peaceable struggle-when the enemy permits it-as an improvement on violent methods. The strikers have the friendship and confidence of the population at large, have made no enemies and have gathered in lots of friends. This is shown by the action of the board of aldermen. Without a dissenting vote, without an opposing argument, it formally expressed its interest in these people man station, and it is here that during the day and commended them in their hour of trouble the most of the men can be found. The to the best wishes and the assistance of all the

The county commissioners took cognizance of the situation, and voted a donation of \$500 the great city of the lakes, a precedent which struggling labor in still other localities.

We have the kindest wishes of our bighearted mayor, the officials, and the whole reserve any present sympathy on their behalf, police force. Hence no clubbing, no riot, no disturbance. Such a thing has heretofore been unheard of, and marks the rapid progress toward the era of brotherhood of man.

Of course the duke isn't as yet banking on the brotherhood idea, but he'll probably get the same. there before he dies.

" For while the lamp holds out to burn The vilest sinner may retur

George will live to see the day, if the Lord spares his life for a few years, that he will bless the hour in which the A. R. U. was born, and as holy writ tells us that in the sweet bye and bye that the lion and the lamb would see that nothing was injured, and are shall lie down together and a little child shall sorry to see Mr. Pullman-Italian duke by lead them, why should the skeptic scout at virtue of creation by King Humbert-spend the prophecy that some time in the future that the money so foolishly. George does not the duke and Debs will go off fishing together, know this. Men of his stamp who have col- and the presidentess of Local 269 will kindly lared everything in sight, even at the cost of sit as arbitrator between them to decide health, happiness and even lives of his late two important issues that frequently grow out subjects, naturally sizes up everybody by his of one such excursion, namely, as to which own standard, and as he is known so well caught the most fish and which of the twain among his fellow-citizens here that if today he told the most marvelous tale connected with

Meantime, as above suggested, George may need a little chiding, and before THE RAIL-WAY TIMES again comes out on its mission of heroic effort to "purify" Chicago politics. during a trip to the brickyard, under pilotage peace and good will, he will probably be

Pullman-the town, remember-is all right. The path is cleared of all difficulty, and the A. R. U. will win.

AWFUL TARIFF.

Labor riding to Washington from protected solemn protest against a "ruinous tariff bill." They kept off the grass and got the comnittee's attentive ear.

all on account of the tariff.

Labor's homes in danger! Not the eviction warrant of tenement house landlord, or the tumbledown shanty proprietor at mine or Like another Daniel come to judgment, labor-what labo ?-discovers that the tariff is responsible in the United States. As labor in Great Britain. France, Germany and Russia has not yet made the discovery, let us take out an international patent right on the discovery; we may be able to filch even yet something from

The attending mephisto of THE RAILWAY TIMES profanely whispers something in the editorial ear. It reads: " D-d fools."

Union Pacific Railroad report for 1893 shows: Gross earnings, \$37,445,417; decrease from 1892, \$7,579.759; operating expenses decreased \$2,858,656 from 1892, leaving a decrease of net earnings, \$4,721,103.

THE Train Dispatchers' Union of America met this week in Chicago. W. W. Olcott, chief dispatcher of the Order of Train Dispatchers, who split off the first named order last year, was on the floor, but invited to leave. He left. The late secretary of the order, J. E. Doud, confiscated all the funds from June last to October.

CONGRESSMAN GEARY, in his remarks before the Pacific Railroad committee, speaks thus eloquently of Leland Stanford, of Califor nia, who "done" the United States out of millions, built a university, died, and is now reveling in bliss above. He spoke of the deceased senator as "another criminal who filches hundreds of millions." And of the university, he spoke of it as "leaving monuments to criminals."

ANOTHER PROTECTOR.

The railroad man of the United States is ound to be protected if the efforts of his friends will avail anything. He has hi mions; but that is not enough, the companies have wakened up and are determined to grapple him to themselves so that the ravenous wolf of agitation shall not wholly destroy him. Truly the railroader is to be congratulated.

Operating in the South largely is what is called the Railway Employes' Union sociation. The title is a misnomer and s read, "The Railway Employers' Col Lackeys." This aggregation of white si is especially strong on the Gulf coast.) in extensive operation and good members on the southeastern coast. On the F. C. & Florida Southern, the Jacksonville & W., and Jacksonville, St. A. & I. R. line it is especially strong in numbers and in odo like unto limburger cheese. So anxious, in deed, are the corporations named to protect the hired man that he either has to jine or gir The leading tenet of this noble order is t stand by the company in everything and tmake merry and rejoice every time it cuts his wages. The association is commended ball railroad sheets, and is going to push for further conquest.

Truly, brethren, Macedonia has shifted its base from the effete and decaying East to the flowery Floridian coast, and to do missionary service one no longer needs sail away to Africa or Asia.

The edge of this labor-degrading zephyr ha edges elsewhere. From Cairo to Mobile our organizers, Brothers Kellar and Rea, were folowed by the superintendent's car, and old Supe himself. At Jackson, Tennessee, sisted by so-called brotherhood men, thre. ened with arrest for inciting riot - testimony their speeches at an organizing meetil. N. B.-A. R. U. local union at Jackson al

There is a faint odor of it out west. At Lincoln, Nebraska, the management of the B. & M. R'y - which evidently has not yet read the Caldwell decision and the Boatner-Jenkins report - have issued a circular forbidding employes from congregating together while off duty, and have employed a small army of spotters. The manager is afraid perhaps, that the employes will knock their heads together if they get too thick.

It will be observed that the pins are not yet all down, and that the collar club down south, and the B. & M. folks in Nebraska, have set

IN MEMORIAM.

WHEREAS, Through infinite wisdom his supreme power we have lost one of the first officers of Local Union No. 120 - the first sad call through death's channels; be it there

Resolved, That we, the members of A. I U. No. 120, in regular session assembled, d improve this opportunity of expressing or sincere sympathy to the widow and child o the late G. W. Booth, in the recent hours of their sadness; and

Resolved. That we regret with true since ity the loss of this brother - that even thoug our associations have been but brief in the Pennsylvania, some weeks ago entered its local union, yet we recognized a manly bear ing and a loyal, fraternizing determination in him who zealously strove with us in united co-operation to attain to a higher standard of Oh, that's it, is it? Strikes, riots, Coxey, effectiveness in the fraternal brotherhood of murmurings of discontent, ruined commerce, organized labor, and that we are much grieve degrading poverty, swill barrel bill of fare to lose Brother Booth; but believe he has on. for children in the cities, cuts in wages, and answered that universal yet surg summor which sooner or later shall call us all to follow.

Resolved. That these resolutions be spread upon the records of this union and a copy same be delivered to deceased brother's w G. H. KUHNS.

Committee on Resolution

I IRERTY is ever born of travail. Evolucomes with pain; but still the earth move and the great universe irresistibly rolls on, for the purposes of eternity cannot be turns

Dated Sunday, May 27, 1894.

backward .- New Commonwealth. No Coxie; no strikes; no bloodshed riot when people are contented.

THE venerable editor of the Chicago 7 une ought to have enlisted his talents it patent line. Some years ago, when a tro some strike was on hand, he suggested tions of poisoned meat. All of his con. tions to the Pullman strike fund are accer with the provision that he taste them.

"You niggers," says Uncle Mose," t'inks you is gwine to git up dem golden s widout climbin', and climbin' hahd, is mig much mistakened. I des want to tell right now dat de yellervator is stopped run eber since de daas ob ole 'Lijah."-Indias olis Journal.

SPEAKING of alleged quarrels between A. R. U. and the brotherhoods, the Chie Herald says:

Perhaps out of the disintegration and ganization of the unions a better system come, freed from the strike evil and othe asperating difficulties of the labor questions.

The coming organizations will from the strike evil when the cease to compel them.

THE RAILWAY TIMES.

THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION,

No. 421 Ashland Block, Chicago. Issued the 1st and 15th of each month.

\$1.00

W. N. GATES, 29 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, Advertising Agent.

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TO CONTRIBUTORS.

HE RAILWAY TIMES has been favored a wealth of good matter by special conators. With our limited space, it cannot ortunately, publish promptly. It has to ect also with reference to variety. The deed matter will appear in due time.

NOT RESPONSIBLE.

THE RAILWAY TIMES does not hold itsel editorially responsible for the opinions of con ributors. These articles all bear the name of he writer. If they do not meet your views nit the writer and not the paper. THE RAIL WAY TIMES wants a fair show for itself and the A. R. U. It is willing to concede the same right to everybody else.

Tear up the Despot's laurels by the root Like mandrakes, shricking as they qu't the soil! Feed us no more upon the blood-red fruit That sucks its crimson from the heart of Toil!

AT last accounts John Cheek Nolan, prop rly indorsed and stamped, was hanging around the ragged edge of a prospective job as master mechanic of the Kalispell division

AT St. Paul, the union cigarmakers dug up 5,000 cigars bearing bogus union labels, on nd bearing the advertisement that it was se only one indorsed by the Order of Railway Conductors. This is, of course, a slander on our brothers of the O. R. C., and A. R. U. men will look out for them.

THE report of house judiciary committee has disposed of the Jenkins investigation and it went to the House accompanied by a resolution prepared by Mr. Terry, of Arkansas skinning the most learned judge alive, and, conceding his previous almost supernatural wisdom, the resolution adds considerably more than Judge Jenkins previously knew, and that couched in uncomplimentary terms

THE accidents on the United States bench ire playing a cinch hand when it comes to dealing with Coxeyites. Judge Smith at Salt Lake telegraphed to Judge Merrit at Ogden to hold him guilty of contempt, although ie grass !

INFLAMED by a patriotism pressing and peristent, a number of American gentlemenme residents of England-want to build the Vicaragua canal on the same plan nearly as equally devoted patriots built the Pacific THE RAILWAY TIMES, fully inorsing the necessity of the national channel ay, suggests an amendment. The United tes will have it to pay for. The United tates should own it. In that case the water will all be under the keel of the ships, none of it in interest-paying bonds.

J. LOWRIE BELL, second assistant postmas r-general, has resigned his office to accept e position of general traffic manager of the entral Railway of New Jersey at a much higher salary. His formal letter of resignation was sent to Postmaster General Bissell last hursday and is to take effect June 30, the se of the present fiscal year. Bell is the ius who suggested loading sacks with pea-, and construing them to be mail during Great Northern strike. The A. R. U. cts to get things tightened up east soon, may have the pleasure of meeting Mr. in the vicinity of Phillipi.

A NEW industry, an advance on our present vilized way of doing business, but in the me direction, has been evolved. At Bay ty, Michigan, parents were detected in first uring their children's lives for \$100, and n putting them in contact with diphtheria ents. The insurance cost \$15, the doctor the finger, and the funeral expenses \$20. profit, allowing an extra \$5 loss of a day andries \$60. Here is an opportunity lks with big families. By investing the ceds judiciously, one might eventuate in a man or a sweater boss.

vo, DARK clouds of wind, painted bloodtheir shadows across the prairies of ois last week. Kurnel Turner, commandthe steenth regiment of goslings reged as the First on the books of the adjugeneral-ordered his galli-a-nt boys to at to kill Pana miners. The miners numd about a third of the goslings, were Hence the bloody-real human dy-order was issued.

he second was a genial, brotherly windup past of the American Railway Union by Railway Age: "When men will be im ned and, very possibly, hanged for doing

leaders can safely say in reply to the bluff-

Over the pulpit of the Methodist Church at Pullman is an inscription; "All the wide wide world for Jesus." This is rank rebellion. Pullman owns the title-deed and collects rent from this spot. It is a denial of the claim, "the whole earth for Pullman."

THE noble old Roman, Allen G. Thurma once said of unionism: "Take the history of the working classes before the formation of labor organizations and compare it with the conditions of today. You will find that by united action, through organizations, wages have been raised and the hours of labor shortened. This being true, why cannot the financial and social conditions be still bettered? It can and must come through organization, and the toiler who holds aloof from labor organizations imperils the amelioration of his own

In is an easy matter for one union man to help another, and in so doing help himself. The retail clerks are compelled to stand around until late in the night. If union men would refuse to buy from unorganized stores, and especially not to buy after six P.M., the stores would jump into the union quick, and close at six, Saturday excepted. By a little reasoning, the firm of Fessenden & Nachbour, at Madison and Peoria streets, themselves

assisted in having their employes go into an assembly of the K. of L., and will live up to the agreement.

THE CONVENTION.

The first general convention of the American Railway Union convened at Uhlich's Hall, Chicago, on the 12th inst. The proceedings up to date of issue will be found elsewhere.

It is a notable gathering. Perfect freedor of action, hampered by no clique or promises to the powers that be, under rules that forbid the one-man power, it will move on to do the right as the majority sees it; its choice for servants is as free as though today it was in its inception and not as the representative of abor's triumphant departure from the old ruts.

There is a refreshing enthusiasm manifested at the mention of all things good, there is an intelligence of action heretofore unparalleled. In it are men by the hundred who can take the platform and intelligently and ably make known their views.

It is a convention of brave men representing the splendid courage that has cut away from the drifts of established precedent - not halting, uncertain or dubious as to results with the certainty that noble aims must and shall eventually triumph. From the ringing, exhaustive and markedly able address of its leader down to the rear rank there is nothing uncertain, no loopholes to cover possible defeat. The bridges are burnt and the American Railway Union, at the head of the column, in the place of honor on the right of union labor's line, is pressing forward to certain triumph for the right.

It assembled modestly. The usual welcom ings and parade were dispensed with. It is a o days before Commonweal Carter's trial, business meeting of business men. It sails against the wind of monopoly or corporate there might be some difficulty in showing it, favor. It seeks nor receives no plaudits from while I will get the grand jury to work on hands that oppress; it was not greeted from harge of riot and grand larceny." Keep off the windows of the mansions of wealth by waving kerchiefs, waved by hands unstained

> Human though proud, moved by thanks, imbitious to appear at its best. If it has scorned the patronizing pat on the back by those who pour into usury's mill the product earned by these men, they yet yearn for and rendered unfit for service. try to deserve the approval of all good men and women for their services in a cause as sacred as any that has ever called for the devotion and courageous denial of the true knight. It is a democratic wish; for the men of the American Railway Union, severally and collectively, will be prouder of the heartfelt and tearful "God bless you" of the oppressed. ill-clad, ill-fed and greed-plundered women and children of this country; will strive harder to earn it than to gain the smiling applause of he fairest daughters luxury-clad in the garments that the unrequited labor of the downtrodden of their sex have been robbed to

furnish. The convention is human, and to be human is to make some mistakes. The work will not be perfect, but it will be the crystalized effort of a body of men unswayed by malice, by personal prejudice, and all pulling together for the best interests-as they see it-of the American Railway Union, union labor and a country's good.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

THE RAILWAY TIMES prints in full the masterly address of President Debs to the first quadrennial convention of the American Railway Union.

It is the most direct and incisive effort of its leaves the friend and the enemy of his union's cause in no doubt as to its purpose, its aims and the direction to which its energies will be given. There is no concealed knife, the address is open and above board.

The treatment of the topics dwelt upon are concise, but not to omission. Its every paragraph can safely be submitted to the criticism of those who understand the real condition of labor; the facts given from which the conclusions are based are backed by a proof so overwhelming that it would be folly to attack

The A. R. U. members should posse themselves of a copy of it. It will answer questions. He can quote safely from it to beat down opposition to the principles, purposes and conduct of his union. Though brief, it leaves but little pertinent to be added as to all matters treated, and if wisely its abor leaders are today"! as to all matters treated, and if wisely its cowardly dogs who preach anarchy teachings are carried out by all, the toiler will ses will not shoot to kill or greet a fairer land, better conditions, peace en. As to them, labor and happiness at each day's sunrise.

ANARCHIST BUGABOO.

Our big plute neighbor, the Chicago Herald, which so ably shuts its eyes to the trend of events and in all matters views things through the national bank specs of its proprietor printed a cartoon in a recent issue represent ing a coal miner with a revolver in each hand trampling on a coal train. In the background, a scaffold from which hung four men and above which was the inscription "Chicago Anarchist." The cartoon was labeled, "Do the anarchists want another lesson?"

Answering, THE RAILWAY TIMES says for the anarchists, all lovers of fair play, in fact everybody except the stall-fed plute and his snob attachments; No. Furthermore, taking the sinister inquiry for all that it implies, the folks for whom THE TIMES speaks say that it will not have any more lessons of that kind.

In 1886, backed by the money and influence of frightened man-eaters, responsive to the cry for blood of the rabble made frantic by the horrible phantom that papers of the Herald stripe held up to public view, tried before a legal gentleman not frightfully conspicuous for ability or breadth of beam, but making up for any deficiencies as a jurist by a piety of very ancient type, with a jury very carefully selected for a set purpose, police officers and detectives of severe and unyielding ideas as to witness fees, such a lesson would perhaps be the proper caper. But in 1894, the Herald would be sadly at loss for a class. Don't attempt in Chicago, dear neighbor, to hang men tried for offenses of which they are not guilty, and convicted under it for one not set out on the statute books and then hung on general principles. It will not do, you cannot hold schools of that kind just

It is expected that the national bankers' reflector will disagree with the foregoing conclusion, and claim that under similar circum stances a few more anarchists can be swung up as example. But such circumstances can not now be manufactured because the rabble now knows how the show is got up.

It is admitted that nearly the self-same col lection of frightened millionaires, labor pluckers and note shavers can again be gathered in the Tremont house, that with open mouths and blanched faces they can drink in the remarks of the cold-blooded Pinkerton, shiver to their toe nails on hearing the blood-curdling recital of blackmailing detectives, have the same Daniel on the bench, a gang equal in ability to the one who packed a former jury can still be had for the price. But you will be short on jurymen who vote to kill in response to the rabble, for the rabble knows better now. In the light of recent events, if here and there an odd one who would agree to a hanging, but it would not be the anarchist on trial.

The whole disgraceful history of those bloody days are an open book. How the police scared the plute; the payment of hundreds of thousands of dollars as an incentive to run down anarchists-everybody who was defenseless was an anarchist for the purposes of that case; how when the plute combine did not chip in liberally, a so-called anarchist row was kicked up to draw in more bloodmoney; how on one of these occasions the bleeders ran their forces against the Haymarket bomb and slaughtered policemen innocent of participation in the swag; how when these lords of dollars tumbled to the racket and refused to be further neeced-that " anarchist" troubles ceased. The police forcethe rank and file-knows this now, the people know it, and thus two important tools are

Go slow, neighbor. Let your artist spread himself on something that smacks less of anarchy. Stick to the tariff, give the Emperor of China fits. Have him read up a little on Christ, Cromwell and Jefferson.

WHO TELLS STORIES?

Mr. Lyman J. Gage, Chicago millionaire of the better class of that genus, and Mesdames, Dr. Bradley and Kavanagh, are before the public and incidentally in the newspapers on a question of veracity.

The ladies are devoted labor reformers and philanthropists; that much unquestioned. They man strikers, which was refused, and it was in the style of Mr. Gage's declination and theextraneous remarks attending it that raised the question as to the truthfulness or misunderstanding of each other.

While giving it as his opinion that Mr. Pullman was an eighteen-carat philanthropist a yard or so wide, and that his slave pen was "dream"-nightmares come under that head-that the ladies were encouraging laziness, that this was a free country, that the employes were at liberty to get out at any time, that Mr. Pullman was losing a thousand dollars a day to keep the men at work, Mr. kind ever delivered. He who runs may read; it Gage managed to get down to business long enough to say that he would not give a cent, and that the typewritten appeal of the relief society was a lie, and that the Pullman folks were a lot of lazy loafers. The strongest pertinent matter of Mr. Gage's published denial reads, "Your report is a caricature, mischievous and misleading."

The ladies reiterated and went into details as before. With all the reverence, fear and trembling that one does and should feel in differing with a gentleman who has "got de stuff and lots of it." THE RAILWAY TIMES believes the ladies' story and that Mr. Gage has-is mistaken.

But there are two matters not specifically denied by Mr. Gage, to which THE TIMES must spare a little space to take issue with the gentleman. First, If these Pullman men are idle loafers, where did Mr. Pullman get his money? If Mr. Pullman has been doing business at a loss of \$1,000 a day for say six months past, where did the \$600,000 dividend come from? His rolling stock would have to

have earned that \$1,000 a day. Big profit,

Mr. Gage, in these tight times. Second. "Free country and men at liberty to get out at any time." Mr. Gage seems to be behind the age, to make believe in a matter that has been settled otherwise for years. It is not a free country where men suffer for the necessaries of life when willing to produce them. It is a free country by courtesy only where one's liberty consists in being able to the scale. The miners must still starve along, walk along certain roads. It is not a free country where one is forced by poverty to go into voluntary slavery for a mere crust. It is not a free country as to all when monopolists, usurers and trust devils are allowed by law to rob the whole people. It is not a free country where thousands and thousands of fair tillable acres are fenced in, and whereon no man save the speculating dog in the manger which national law and democratic stupidity denom inate "owner" can stick a spade or plow, except on compliance with impossible terms. Not a free country or there would be no Duke Pullman. Not a free country in the right sense of the term where Mr. Lyman J. Gage is a multi-millionaire.

As to the "liberty to get out any time," that is in one sense true. If Mr. Gage was floating on a bare plank out at sea, he has the liberty to drop off. If a Pullman striker took a notion in his head to start out and try to walk a mile a minute he is free to make the attempt. But is that a reasonable construction of the and the common weal as against the grand, laws of contract, where each is supposed to stand on equal footing? If the half-starved denizen of Pullman without money quit his drudgery, would walking the road and without means be a reasonable exercise of his right, and will Mr. Gage pretend to say that thereat; it is not lost, and when needed to he would remain an hour, if the force of his beat down wages will "bob up serenely." At necessities - wholly in Pullman's hand-did present prices for coal, operators could pay on not compel him? Does he pay extortionate rental because he wants to?

chain or cell.

vented him from giving for business reasons. Pullman always carries lots of ready money to be had on call loans. For consideration kind of hold on bankers that he has on his the operators howled dismally for the militia. he would aver that, while George's frame Next day the men were at work. shanties on the flat were rosy dreams, there

AWFUL SOCIALISTS.

The socialists (labor party) of France were strong enough to force President Carnot's ministry to resign because it opposed an eighthour bill for miners. The same conditions exist, largely, that holds here. France, by the way, did not go through the sash, doing business at the same old stand today. No bankruptcy followed. If Carnot's ministry wanted to do business on the great, glorious hurrah-for-somebody plan, it could have avoided the issue. If it had got up a tariff bill, combined with bankers to go broke every few months and then issue gold bonds, patted the intelligent fellow-citizen on the back just before elections, and stigmatized him as an anarchist and alien and set the militia to shooting him right after, the calamity just recorded would not have happened.

Why don't we knock 'em out once in a while? Wouldn't be constitutional; treason to the protection of American industries according to the McKinley-Wilson bill; would affect old confidence and the stable currency that John Sherman broke the country to give us: and furthermore and worse, it's awful bad red-shirted socialism.

Won't do, boys. Hurrah foryour choice; same gag at either end.

THE "SEARCHLIGHT."

called on Mr. Gage for a donation for Pull- He has built up a couple of newspaper enter- whether its enemy sails under a foreign flag or Hence the Searchlight, Chicago, Illinois. and degrade. The first number made its bow to middle ofthe-road men and cranks for the right on the 7th inst. A four-page, seven-column paper, well printed. Being Hen. Vincent's paper, it is not necessary to say what is in it, nor touch upon the quality of the matter, except that it is worth several times the subscription price-50 cents a year-and that it will circu-

favor of the men.

THE bottom of our present troubles it appears could be knocked galley west and end crooked if there was only another issue of gold reserve and more poorhouses.

THE RAILWAY TIMES unhesitatingly recom satire "The Dogs and The Fleas," a take-off on 454 more for 1894 than for 1893. existing order of things not complimentary to us dogs. The little 25-cent book, profusely illustrated by cuts wherein one recognizes many acquaintances made dear to him by their excessive costliness, fills a big place in the reform literature of the day. For sale by Frank Jackson, 90 Washington street, Chicago, Illinois.

THE COAL STRIKE.

The great coal strike is still on, but the nes of battle seem to have shifted. A ma jority of the operators are ready to resume if their fellows will agree to pay the scale. So that it is now the miners and the major part of the employers ready to call the strike off, against the few who will not be satisfied with coal trade must be kept stagnant, the public must suffer, industries must close down, men must be thrown out of employment, bloodshed, destruction and riot engendered and provoked, war must be declared, the militia nuisance and disguised Pinkertons turned loose to kill. What for? In order that a very few men who have camped down on what reason and the God of Israel has declared to be the heritage of the whole people, have vested rights which in their exercise involves ruin, penury and industrial chaos; the hog owns (?) the coal mine. If a good Christian, he perhaps thanks the Lord for the manifold blessings showered upon such a miserable sinner, but he never exhibits the title deeds executed by God for that coal land.

What are you going to do about it? Do? Why, kill somebody! Fight and let the disconsolate widow and orphan who owns the mines squeeze a cent or so a ton out of the What are public peace, labor's rights constitutionally grounded principle that he who grabs may have.

One peculiarity of the strike is the tempo rary disappearance of the law of supply and demand. The reader must not be alarmed an average all round 50 cents more a ton for mining than the men demand. These lords Every man in Pullman remains there for of the coal, these anarchists-in the sense in the same reason that Mr. Gage would hug the which ignorance understands the term - do supposititious plank, and quit it under the not mind such a little thing as the supply and same circumstances. Force operating to re demand gag when it stands in the way of strict freedom of action is not confined to pinching their slaves. And in all the abuse monopolists, millionaires and mortgage sharks of the miners by t'e plutocratic and snob was that anti-income tax meeting held in Car-For public information. The usually free newspapers, it is never suggested that if the negie hall, New York, Friday night! It was giver Gage had a string tied to him that pre- operators were to pay decent wages, now much more than justified by the present prices of coal, that the trouble would end.

The late Blue Jeans Williams, when govhe helps banks out when the line of discount ernor of Indiana, settled a coal strike at Brazil they might escape payment of the just tribute stretches out. He has pretty much the same with a telegram. When the men went out, workmen. Mr. Gage is a banker, but if "Pay your men fair wages and you will not quietly questioned on the dead thieving square, need any militia," was the governor's reply.

Another peculiarity of this strike is that the is no question as to the granite-like reality of strikers are all foreigners, aliens, anarchiststhat rabble's vote were polled there might be his interest on money. Isn't that so, Mr. bad, bad, men. We know this is so, because the Associated Press says so. There is no the New York Life Insurance Company; John more likelihood of the Associated Press de- Claffin, president of the H. B. Claffin Comconcerned than there is of a detective perjuring himself where reward is hung up for conviction. The Associated Press says so. Perhaps in this seeming digression the reader may exclaim: "Methinks the lady doth protest too much." Not at all. Strong parallels are needed in matters of such importance. the crisp rustle of greenbacks and bonds, the The aspiration of the Associated Press dispatch for the highest possible shelf in veracity's cupboard demands unquestioned examples and particular instances. As to the latter, one occurs here: The day the eastern divisions of the Great Northern were called out, when not a single wheel was moving on the whole system, it wired the waiting country that "all trains had departed on time, and that the through trains to the Pacific coast would go through as usual."

The Associated Press says the strikers are all aliens; that liberty-loving and that lawabiding American miners are willing to work if the anarchists would permit them. Let it go at that.

This presents a strong argument for the repeal of anti-emigration laws. If the Yankee stock has been whittled down to that point in the land, where floats the flag that synonyms liberty, another breed is needed, and needed badly.

its management and managers, and trusts that the miners will hold out to the end. It does between partners in the Chicago Express, Mr. not indorse violence on the part of anybody Henry Vincent retired from editorial control or union, but does anchor itself to the naturalof that paper. But he is not out of business. born and God given right of self-defense, prises against odds, and can do it again. prostitutes the stars and stripes to murder, rob

C. & E. I. ORPHANS.

Tir for tat. Joseph Buchanan's Philadel- For some reason or other they only calculated noble and philanthropic purpose this; a conphia conference would not indorse the strike. on ten months of the past year and with it vocation forsooth which should inspire the Next day the strike refused to indorse the made comparisons for 1893. For 1893 the poet to songs of exultation and the admiring Buchanan aggregation, by being declared in earnings were \$3,724,877. For the ten months populace to cheers. under head of 1894 it was \$3,514,993, a decrease of \$209,884. But calculating for the bags' interest wax enthusiastic in describing two missing months at same ratio as the ten this meeting; no wonder the sounding given, the year's receipts would read \$4,217, phrases of these great men are quoted and 991, or an increase of business in 1894 over commented upon at length. Do they not bonds. That would be two issues this year that of 1893 amounting to \$493,114. The represent Wealth, which can crush or reward? and a third will probably be necessary to operating expenses for 1893 were \$2,526,384. Money, which is, after all, the true god whose keep the present era of unprecedented pros- For the ten months of the 1894 report they prophets these journals aim to be? It was an perity a running. Give us more gold for the were \$2,101,438, and adding two months at ideal symposium of plutocratic interests and same ratio we have \$2,521,724, or \$4,660 ideas which was held at Carnegie hall Friday more than for 1893. Deduct this last named night, and its ponderous denunciations of this sum from the profit of 1894 over 1893 and it pernicious legislative measure, which felonmends to its readers the clever and instructive shows that the C. & E. I. R. R. made \$488,- iously aims to make the millionaire pay taxes

RAILWAY TIMES has a string attached to its combined. But the income tax bill will

representing that on account of awful dull echoing blusterings of the wealth-wo business, bankruptcy just staring them in the journals which they control. - Chic

face, they would have to make a reduction of ten per cent on the wages of the men, and besides by a pretended reduction in hours to make two men do what had formerly required the work of three.

The report goes to show that there is an awful amount of robbery and lying carried on in these days under the bleak mantel of hard times. The C. & E. I. employees are gouged while the road is earning increased dividends.

That's why THE TIMES carries a string attachment to its sorrow for the bald-headed orphans of the C. & E. I.

IT IS COMING.

By J. ARTHUR EDGERTON, IN TWENTIETH CENTURY How bright, how sweet, this world would be If men could live for others! How sweet, how bright, How full of light This life, if justice, truth and right

If men would all be brothers! And is this nothing but a dream? Must wrong go on forever? Must poverty And selfish greed and tyranny?

Must hate and strife be still sup

And love and peace come never!

Were once enthroned; if men were free;

No. I will not believe it. No. God still reigns somewhere, brothe Somewhere, sometime, The race will climb Will gentler, nobler, happier, grow; And men will love each other

The morn is rising soft and bright; The way grows light before us. Cheer, brother, cheer. Through doubt, through fear, The world grows better, year by year And fast and bright a day of light Will spread its white wings o'er us.

MONEY TALKS. What a coming together of money bags and

a veritable conference of Dives and Croesus and Pluto-an emergency council of the frightened leaders of the cohorts of Class and Coin called to consider some means by which demanded of them by the sovereign People. And with what unction the plutocratic republican journals recount the names of the excessively rich men "present and taking part!" The Tribune, that gold-worshiping local organ of Capital, Class and Corporation, in its news dispatches lingers lovingly over a list comprising John A. McCall, president of liberately falsifying in any case where labor is pany; John P. Townsend, president of the Bowery Savings Bank; Evan Thomas, president of the Produce Exchange; Edward King, president of the Union Trust Company, and Colonel Strong, president of the Central National Bank. After heralding these names, all resonant of the chink of golden coin and

> The speakers who took part represented enormous interests, financial and commercial, embracing banking, life insurance, commerce, commission, groceries, fire underwriting, and other business widely scattered through the community and bearing directly upon the business interests of the country at large

Tribune triumphantly remarks that:

That is just what they are doing, "bearing upon the business interests of the country at large" with the awful, irksome, dead weight of vampires, of old men of the sea-bearing on the country's business interests with the ponderous and relentless force of a hydraulic press, squeezing from it all its life and vitality. A careful scrutiny of the list will fail to show single producer of any useful commodity. Not a farmer, not a miner, not a manufacturer even, among the lot. All speculators, usurers, gamblers on the necessities of others, money sucking vampires, who draw the very lifeblood from the body politic; who live in opulence by the exertions of others; who, THE RAILWAY TIMES indorses the strike, having usurped natural monopolies, charge their less fortunate fellow-men for the privilege of enjoying their inherent rights. A truly representative gathering of Gotham

millionaires was this one-a convention of harpies met together in a hall the very name of which smacks of plutocracy, monopoly, and subversion of the rights of man. And these representatives of money bags and class interests had gathered there for the purpose of pooling their powerful forces to defeat the income tax-for the formulation of The widows disconsolate and poor orphans, plans to evade payment of their just share though in no case over seventy-five years of of the expenses of the government which has age, bereft of both parents, who are known protected them in the acquisition of their as the stockholders of the Chicago & Eastern golden hoards and is now protecting them in Illinois railroad, met last week to figure up the enjoyment of their ill-gotten gains. An their losses and to condole with each other. honorable gathering certainly, and for a

No wonder the servile organs of money just as if he were a common, contemptible. All of this figuring is interesting, and we poor man, might well fall upon the ears of weep because the C. & E. I. did not make republican editors who worship at the shrine five millions more, but at the same time THE of money as law, gospel and the prophets all come a law notwithstanding the denun Last March the officials of the C. & E. I. of these money-bags tax-dodgers, a

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THE ADDRESS

PRESIDENT DEBS OUTLINES THE labor's crafts when a battle was on, labor's PRINCIPLES OF THE A.R. U.

A Remarkable Document - Open, Clear and Able - Exhaustive Treatment of the Labor Question.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,-I apprecia the honor conferred by the position I occupy on this occasion, because it affords me th great satisfaction of welcoming you as delegates representing the American Railway Union, in this, the first convention of the an organization of railway employes, called into existence by conditions vindicating its necessity, the rapid growth and power of which is phenomenal to an extent that has no parallel in the history of labor organizations anywhere, at any time, or on any continent facts which, while well calculated to arouse honest exultation, impose upon us the gravest responsibilities.

GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION.

This organization was launched upon the troubled seas of labor June 20, 1893, one year ago. If on that day there were doubts and misgivings, there were also stout hearts, hope, and a faith which was the "substance of things hoped for." There were a number of organizations in the field, but it was believed that there was room for one more, and hence the flag of the American Railway Union was unfurled to the breeze and the order began its first voyage of discovery and conquest.

On August 17, 1893, the first local union of lapse of rine months and twenty-eight days, we number 425 local unions and more than 100,000 members. Such growth in numbers. power and prosperity was never before recorded of any other labor organization, and while we have a right to felicitate each other upon this wonderful development, it will be the part of wisdom to remember that our responsibilities have kept pace with our progress, and that as delegates and officers of this young but gigantic organization, we are charged with the duty of enacting organic laws, bearing the impress of wisdom and patient investigation, for its government.

A NEW DEPARTURE.

The American Railway Union is not only new organization of railway employes, but it is a new departure in the organization of this class of wage earners. We begin our career as an order with new formulas, new policies, new purposes and new shibboleths. We start out with the declaration, for the truth of which there is overwhelming proof, that in the one towering, pivotal and essential feature, that of protection against corporate power, all the organizations of railway employes hitherto known have been dismal failures.

PERSONAL

In saying this, I must not be charged with being the enemy of the old organizations, nor must my utterances here be regarded as discourteous, for all railroad employes whose knowledge of the facts gives weight to their opinions, know that the strength of my young and my mature manhood has been freely given to one of these organizations, and that I speak from a knowledge of facts obtained from years of study and familiarity with the workings of these organizations. To assume that because I have discovered defects, because I point them out and bring them to the attention of my fellow workingmen, that I am, therefore, the enemy of the rank and file of these organizations, is a resort to questionable methods to obscure imperfections and to perpetuate inefficiency.

THE FIELD.

The American Railway Union found, on the day of its organization, a broad and inviting field for the display of its philanthropic energies. This field was entered and cultivated, and here today we are permitted to dant harvest that come to us as a reward for work well done, and thousands of railway employes, hitherto unsheltered by any organization, but who were left out in the cold to endure the pitiless storms of corporate power, vie with each other in repeating the plaudit, "Well done, good and faithful servants. You were faithful to your trust when local union, No. 1, was born, and we now place in your charge 425 unions, and awaiting the deliberations of our representatives in the first convention of our order, we stand pledged to multiply our unions, until every neglected railway employe has a home beneath the sheltering flag of the Amer ican Railway Union:" In all of this magnificent work, in all the splendid triumphs that thave fallen to the lot of the American Railway Union, it has simply minded its own business neither directly nor remotely interfering with the business of other organizations.

BUILDING THE OR ANIZATION

Appreciating the fact that in building an organization of railway employes, it must e built for war, we jike a modern battleship, have determined to build upon that plan, If peace prevails, from a ense of prudence or fear, the ship may dis ay her bunting, ride xercise her crew or sailing qualities, the safely at anchor in port, make trial trips to te make trial trips to tes idea always prevailing t t if war is declared the ship is ready for a Railway Union is buil n. The American upon this plan. It ity. It indulges in enjoys peace and pros no bravado, but at all ti s, and in all seasons it is prepared to asser he rights of its mem ces in their defense

of all the organiza

experts in naval architecture call "blow holes," cracks and imperfections to the extent that, when a corporation battleship or a fleet of these monsters delivered a broa navy went down with all of the grand comders, crew and petty officials on board. Taught in the school of experience, the American Railway Union accepts no armor plates (especially those manufactured by Carnegie, Frick & Co.), with blow holes, open or "plugged." It has already demonstrated in its youth that it can win victories against powerful odds; that it can see the right and that it has the courage to defend the right, when others, looking through spectacles with "dollars of the daddies" for eye-glasses, could not see the right - when the grandest exhibition of their courage took the shape of orders from their boots, the headquarters of their hearts and their courage, directing their members to submit to the wrong for the glory of the corporation and the good will of the watered stock and bondholders.

There is one thing far more deplorable than strikes and war. It is when men accept degrading conditions and wear collars and fetters without resistance. When a man sur renders his honest convictions, his loyalty to principle, he ceases to be a man. Decorate him with the insignia of office, robe him in purple and fine linen, give him a palace and let him feast his full on the choicest luxuries and still he is a poltroon. Lazarus, at the gate of Dives, attended by vagabond dogs, expands to proportions as far above such a coward and sneak as Pike's Peak towers above the burrow of a prairie dog.

WISDOM, WORK AND PERIL. But as I have intimated, this convention means serious work for the American Railway Umon. Let it be remembered that the order our order was organized, and now, after a is now on trial with a future of work and peril. The first great demand upon the delegates is conservative propositions for organic laws and unbroken harmony in deliberations. There is danger in extremes, and defeat lurks in discord, nor is this all; however paradoxical it may seem, there is, nevertheless, an element of danger in prosperity, and against this we will find it the part of wisdom to guard with sedulous care. Present conditions are fruitful of manifold defects and deficiencies which are annoying and constitute grievances which, while productive of injury and vexation, are far below the plane of gravity which demands any resort to extreme measures for redress or adjustment, and which, were this order to take cognizance, would be productive of continuous embroilment, and which would result in the discredit of the order. Industrial conditions are at present of a character which demands a constant exercise of the virtue of patience and forbearance when difficult ties are encountered, which under other and more favorable conditions would demand the interposition of the order.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS.

We meet in convention at a time when the business and industrial conditions of the coun try are most deplorable. Such prostration, paralysis and widespread demoralization in inancial, commercial and industrial affairs were never before known in American history. It would be surprising if such conditions did not enter into the deliberations of this convention, and cool heads will be required to formulate declarations, which while giving expression to honest convictions, at the same time steer clear of rocks and shoals and reefs, among which the ship of state is now sailing, or feeling its way. In the first place, the country is full of men forced into idleness, which, as a general proposition, they did not create and cannot control. Banks break by the hundred, commercial establishments collapse by the thousand, manufacturing establishments suspend operations, and railroads, representing more than a billion of investments, are forced into the hands of receivers. These cyclonic disturbances fall with crushing force upon labor which is powerless to resist their force to an extent which will lessen the burdens it is compelled to bear.

THE COAL MINERS' STRIKE.

In the case of the strike of the coal miners it may be said that they voluntarily abandoned their work, but it should be remembered that the purpose of the miners was as patriotic as ever prompted men to battle for a principle or to take up arms in defense of home, wife and children. I do not doubt that this convention will devote time and consideration to the condition of the coal miners of the country. They there been despoiled and degraded. Toiling and starving, these men consolidated and struck for wages that would have the effect, in some measure, at least, to emancipate them from burdens that no American citizen should bear, and from the horrors of oppression which defy exaggeration. And yet, the wages these miners de mand are so meager that the country i astounded at the exhibition of piratical greed which refuses the moderate demands of men who, having exhausted patience and endur ance, concluded to strike.

The representatives of the American Railway Union, in convention assembled, will, I am sure, voice only sentiments of profound sympathy for the overtasked and underpaid coal miners of the United States, and give utterance only to words of unmitigated score and contempt for those who have oppresse them, and those who oppose their efforts to secure just pay for their exhaustive and perilous work, regardless of the source from which opposition emanates. And this sympathy, on the part of the American Railway Union, is all the more natural and becoming, because the ordeal which it passed on the Great North ern Railway was in many regards similar to that which now confronts the union coal min

forkers of the country of the countr rican Railwa

section of the country came to its rescue, no only with words of sympathy and cheer, but with even more substantial evidences that our demands were just, and I do not hesitate to believe that the time will come in the history of the American Railway Union-if, indeed, it has not already comstrike for honest wages, no A. R. U. man, in any capacity, will contribute to their defeat by hauling a pound of coal an inch mined by nonunion labor.

The coal mine workers of the United States are confronted with a host of enemies and multiplied obstacles. There are convict and scabs by the thousands; there are mine owners and operators, always and forever scheming to reduce wages, and who would reduce our civilization to the plane of Hottentots if thereby they could increase the size of their fortunes; there is railroad cash, court injunctions, marshals and deputy marshals, with Winchester rifles, and in addition soldiers-federal and state-with shotted rifler and Gatling guns. Can they win against such odds? Three hundred thousand union minworkers may be compelled to dig coal, and at the same time, dig their graves, and here, speaking for the American Railway Union, I bespeak for the coal miners your profoundest sympathy and your most serious considera-

The men who resist tyranny in labor affairs are fighting the battles of workingmen now and in all future time. Humble, obscure and unlettered they may be, but in their valor and sacrifices they are bearing testimony of divinity in human nature. Such battles are not less glorious than those of Thermopylæ and Marathon, though the orator and poet may not embellish them in eloquence and song.

COMMONWEALERS.

Another phase of the deplorable con tions in which workingmen find themselves involved, is the organization of what is known as the "Coxey, or Commonweal armies." of which General Coxey, of Ohio, is commander-in-chief. There never was such a continental display of hopeless poverty since time began. Out of work, out of money and without food, ragged, hungry, friendless and homeless, these commonwealers began their march to the capital city of the nation while Congress is in session. It would require the genius of a Milton or a Dante to describe these Coxey armies. These wretched men heard to cry, "On to Washington!" and they responded, as did the Highland clans of Scotland when the sound of the pibroch called them to battle. The proposition was to go to Washington and permit the law-makers of the nation to see what congressional legislation had accomplished for workingmen, and to the

'Came as the winds come, when Navies are strande

Faster and still faster they rallied as the bugle call echoed through the land. They walk they ride, they float; the storms beat upor them, their tent the skies, their couch their mother earth, their pillows stones. Some fall by the way and are buried by their comrades unknelled and unsung, to sleep their last sleep in unknown and forgotten graves. But the survivors press forward to Washington, and a they march, recruits start up from almost every eenter of population in all of the land, from mountain and valley, from hill and dale, from abandoned mine and silent factory, shop and forge-they come and tramp to the muffled drum - funeral march of their throbbing hearts. The cry is, "On to Washington," where, on the marble steps of the nation' capitol, in their rags, and barefooted, they would petition Congress to enact laws whereby they might perpetuate their wretched existence by toil-laws that would rekindle the last re maining spark of hope, that their future would be relieved of some of the horrors of hunger and nakedness.

It is written that "hope springs eternal in the human breast," and it is also written that hope deferred maketh the heart sick." The hopes of the commonwealers have been deferred, aye, crushed, and lie dead at their feet and the commonwealers are walking upon ir graves. Congress has ears, bu not listen to the tale of their woes; Congress has eyes, but it will not look upon rags and wretchedness; Congress has tongues, but they do not move when human woes demand words of sympathy and condolence.

The capital city of the nation has a patch of ground where the sun and rain produce grass, now known as "sacred grass," and Coxey and his fellow-leaders are now languishing in prison because their unsanctified feet pressed the nation's "sacred grass," and over this sacred grass" patch floats the nation's starry emblem of liberty and independence. Oh my fellow-representatives of the American Railway Union, were it possible for our

"Flag of the free heart's only home, By angel hands to valor given,"

to realize the deep degradation to which it has been subjected in the nation's capital, every star upon its blue field would be a shooting dar, and every stripe upon its folds a whip o flame to scourge the miserable men who make the nation's ensign symbolize oppression in stead of liberty. It would be strange, indeed if this convention, composed of workingmen should terminate its deliberations without making special reference to the commonwea armies whose foremost men are suffering imprisonment because their sovereign feet stepped upon the nation's " sacred grass."

Oh, my fellow-workingmen, there must be to slavery in this land of " the ctar spangled banner." There must be no cry go heaven vard to make angels weep, nor hellward to make devils blush, from famishing min romen and children, victims of a greedy eartless capitalism that coins the life and so nest toil into dollars to swell its unholy

ntion, I do not doubt, will de

the cause of labor demoralization throughou the country, and fortunately for the conv it has the right to adopt the language of Pres ident Cleveland and declare that it is "princi pally owing to congressional legislati do not doubt the absolute correct President's affirmation, and accepting it as true, the proposition would seem to be prudent that if legislation has brought upon the country the unparalleled curses which now afflict it, legislation ought to be sufficiently potential to remove the curse complained of, one of the rules, which, like the hinery of a locomotive, ought to work both ways. But unfortunately for labor and for the ountry, the legislation now going forward at Washington, instead of affording relief, instead of lifting the burdens from the bent forms of laboring men and women, instead of dispersing clouds and dispelling gloom, it is adding indefinitely to the woes congressional legislation has inflicted. Doubts and uncertainties are intensifying the unrest of the people. Instead of workingmen finding employ-

ment, the armies of the idle, day by day are ncreasing. There are more rags fluttering on the bodies of Americans than can be seen elsewhere from the Congo forests to the home of the Laplanders, and that, too, in a land where decent clothing is a drug on the market There is more hunger in the United States of America, where food is fabulously abundant than can be found in any zone that belts the earth from the poles to the equator. There are more Lazaruses begging crumbs that fall from rich men's tables than angels ever beheld since the morning stars sang together, and there are more rich men like Dives, rolling in luxury and dressing in purple and fine linen than statisticians have numbered.

I am not here to formulate plans of a parti san character to relieve the distress that has fallen to the lot of labor. I care nothing for parties, as such, but as an American citizen and assuming that President Cleveland told the truth when he charged that the business ession and demoralization and the brood of ills this legislation has spawned upon the country was principally owing to congressional legislation, I am free to assert that congres sional legislation, radically different from what we have had, from what we are now having and are likely to have, must be had, and that speedily, if as a nation we are to have peace and prosperity.

This convention, representing as it does more than one hundred thousand workingmen, I do not doubt, will deem it wise to give expression to its views upon matters of such commanding import.

I entertain an American regard for the ballot. I do not underestimate its power. I do not doubt that the time is at hand when wageworkers will combine and consolidate for the purpose of righting the wrongs legislators have brought upon the country by vicious legislation, and that this they will do under some banner, on some platform, and the declaration of some policy, which will, like a tide taken at the flood, lead on to victory. To do this, is to enter politics, and partisan politics.

Congressional legislation, which the president of the United States declares is principally responsible for our present national affliction, was partisan legislation, enacted by political parties, which, in dividing the spoils of success, have always given the turkey to the rich, and the turkey buzzard to the poorto the workingman. If this policy is to be changed, it must be done by the ballots of workingmen emancipated from the parties, which, regardless of names and professions, are equally culpable. Taking this view of the subject. I fail to discover any valid reason why this convention may not consider the propriety of an alliance on the part of workingmen of a party whose leaders, and whose platform and policy is to have congressional and state legislation which will lift workingmen to a higher plane of prosperity rather than continue to contribute their support to the political parties, which have shorn them as if they were sheep, and degraded them as if they were chattels.

MEN AMBITIOUS TO REGAIN THEIR FORMER convention. It is a terrible illustration of cor-

I take pleasure in calling the attention of have been members of some of the organizations of railway employes, but who, under the pressure of adverse circumstances lost their standing, and have been found in the ranks of non-union men. It is not required that I hould catalogue all the misadventures of these infortunate men, or contend that in all regards they are blameless, though investigation would doubtless disclose the fact that in a vast majority of cases they were the victims of adverse circumstances which they were utterly powerless to overcome, such as sickness, loss of employment, and hence inability to pay dues and "stand square on the books." The loss of their standing in their respective organizations has been, in numerous instances, the oss of friends and the loss of hope. Despondency took the place of courage, and as disappointments multiplied and wants pressed heavily upon them, it is doubtless true that, in numerous instances, they were induced, indeed compelled, by their necessities, to accept wages which fixed upon them the insufferable stigma of scabs when, in fact, their better natures rebelled at such a classification. I know that there are thousands of these men anxious to regain their position and honorable standing in the ranks of organized labor; and here the question arises, What can the American Railway Union do to edeem such men from the ranks of non-union workingmen? Thousands of these victims of misfortune are honest men and anxious of owing themselves such, and the American flway Union may, with eminent propriety.

the splendid maxim, that "While it is to err, it is divine to forgive," and exch men an opportunity to make good

AN EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

ced thinkers in the ranks rtant means of solving the labor It is one of the propositions, the wisdom of which can be der nonstrated with mathematical accuracy. The cry is, that there are more men than there is work-and the affirmation is absolutely true, if men co There is just so much work to be done: hence if you reduce the number of hours constituting a day's work, you add to the number of men required to do the work: hence also, if 100 men work 10 hours a day, it is equal to 1,000 hours; if the hours are reduced to 8, the number of men re quired to perform the job in one day would be 125, because 125 men working 8 hours equals 1,000 hours. Therefore, if 5,000,000 mer working to hours a day were to work only 8 hours a day, the result would be that 1,250,000 idle men would find employment. It is a mathematical demonstration of an ec and a philanthropic proposition, which, could it be adopted throughout the country, would result in a harvest of untold peace, prosperity and contentment.

There are numerous other blessings which would come to workingmen, and to society a large, were the eight-hour day universally adopted. Workingmen would have more hours for rest, more hours for study, more hours in their homes and with their familiesin every instance, a change of condition for the better, for the good of workingmen, for the good of society, and which could not fail of adding indefinitely to the power of our civilization to bless mankind.

The American Railway Union, I am per suaded, is in favor of the eight-hour day, and I suggest that it would be both wise and opportune for this convention to call a conference of all labor organizations to urge legislation to establish an eight-hour day in every department of labor and to keep alive the agitation upon the subject by voice, pen and ballot until victory is achieved.

THE PULLMAN STRIKE.

The Pullman strike in the town of Pullman and against the millionaire Pullman, began under the auspices of the American Railway Union on the 11th day of May. Pullman, the town, like Pullman, the proprietor, has a national reputation not specially unlike that which Carnegie, Frick and Homestead enjoy. Whether Carnegie, Frick or Pullman is the nore intimate friend of his satanic majesty, he of the forked tail and cloven foot, it is needless to inquire. All of them go back on him on Sundays, but on working days, when the business is to rob and degrade working men and women, Pullman and the devil pull together at Pullman as merrily as "Buck and Bright," hitched to a harrow. So devoutly has Pullman robbed the Pullman employes, so religiously has he cut down wages, so piously has he made his retainers economize to prolong starvation, so happily are) the principles of Pullman blended with the policy of the proprietor of the lake of fire and brimstone, that the biography of the one would do for the history of the other, and not a change of a letter or a punctuation mark would be required by the severest critic.

Pullman, as greedy as a horse leech, saw his employes losing strength, saw them emaciated, but he kept on sucking their life currents. It

was work and poverty in Pullmantown, or Pullemdown, until, patience ceasing to be a virtue, and further forbearance becoming treason to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, the employes determined to strike to better their condition. Pullman was very rich; his employes were very poor; but they concluded that the town of Pauperdom was better than Pullmandom, and in a moment of righteous energy, quit work, which simply gave Pullman, the plutocrat with a soul so small that a million of them could dance on the little end of a hornet's stinger, an opportunity, by refusing them fair wages, to suck their blood to the last drop and coin it for the gratification of his pride and the enlargement of his pomp.

The Pullman strike, as an object lesson will. I doubt not, engage the attention of this porate greed, and heartlessness, and pharisa ical fraud which for years has prevailed in this country, and which has created conditions this convention to a large body of men who in the presence of which the stoutest hearts take alarm.

NATIONAL OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS. There are thousands of American citizen

profoundly versed in economics, who do not hesitate to affirm that the time is approaching when the government will be required to own the railroads, to prevent the railroads from oruning the government. Accepting the figures of the census bureau at Washington, tha the wealth of the country is sixty-five billions and accepting current valuation of the railroads of the country at ten billions, it is sure that the railroads already own 15.38 per cent of the entire wealth of the country, enough to dominate legislation, by debauching legislatures and sending their tools to the United States Senate, where the olfactory organs of honest men are saluted with more stenche than Coleridge discovered when he visited Cologne. The question, How shall we pay for the railroads? is one that need not trouble the people, until the ballots of the people demand that the government ought, for the general welfare, to own them; and the day the people decide that question the way to buy the railroads will be made exceedingly lumi nous. Other countries have demonstrated the feasibility of the national ownership of rail roads, and the problem need not and ought not to deter those who believe in the practica bility of the undertaking in the United States from giving the fullest and truest expression to their convictions, That it would be great undertaking need not be questioned but the American people are familiar with great undertakings, and when once resolved upon, bugbears and scarecrows will disappear. ht be required to squeeze

out the water that constitutes ab United States, upon which the own torting divid employes. With government owners stead of schemes to enrich pluto policy would be to give divider lic in cheaper transportation, and honest w to those who really operate the roads. Th princely salaries of presidents, vice-pres general managers, et al., would disappear, ar employes, who now have their wages cut I make good losses in Wall street, honestly and regularly paid, and this equitab distribution of receipts would work a revo tion in the condition of railroad employes.

We are becoming familiar with the subject and the more it is discussed the more practical and patriotic the scheme appears. members of the American Railway Unio have had abundant opportunities for knowing that the change of ownership of the railroa of the country, from corporations to the go ernment, could by no possibility make the conditions worse, but that, discussed from and from every point of view, the chi would be of incalculable benefit to them.

MEMBERSHIP OF WOMEN. The American Railway Union adm women to membership. There are thousar of women in the employment of the railro of the country, doing work necessary to car forward the great enterprises in which the railroads are engaged. That these wom should be protected goes without saying, as the American Railway Union throw open its doors to receive them, and will der onstrate its loyalty to them by maintaining that when a woman performs a man's wo she ought, in all justice, to have a man's p

THE STRIKE ON THE GREAT NORTHER . The strike inaugurated on the Great No ern Railway began on April 13, 1894, ended on the first day of May, 1894, cont ing eighteen days. The strike was an ex tion of resolute men who refused the degra tion incident to a reduction of wages belo a decent living standard. The resistance these men to the imposition of degrading wages was in all regards chivalric. They sa and clearly comprehended the importance unity of opinion, purpose and action, and to the necessary steps to secure all the bene such unity could confer. They were in I right, and realized that "Thrice is he arm that hath his quarrel just." They did underestimate the power of their foes, I sized them up, number and weight, in a w which demonstrated from first to last that t American Railway Union was master of t situation. The battleground extended fro St. Paul to the coast, involving the rights a wages of thousands of men. In ev gagement the American Railway Uni decisive advantages. The ranks of th were never broken, never dismayer faltered, and as an exhibition of fealty and justice, every day, and continuo

records of labor's struggle presents to pa I would be unpardonably faithless to were I to fail to mention, in this connthe valuable services rendered by employ the Great Northern, who, though member other organizations, clearly saw that American Railway Union was right, and that splendid courage which dares to be to conviction, contributed their full quot secure victory, and this was done in defia of orders designed to make them the frie of the enemies of labor.

Taken altogether, a more notable vic has never been achieved in railway affa the United States or elsewhere. The su of the American Railway Union was en plete-wages were restored, and all the n who engaged in the strike have been resto to their employment, a feature of the vic which can be said of no other extended road strike.

CONCLUSION.

Delegates to the first convention or American Railway Union, 1 welcome most cordially, and salute you as brothe coworkers in a great cause, the bandi gether of employes of every class on a can railways.

The work of organization has been

tionally arduous—a wide area of count been traversed. The task has been here results are of a character which ato all the exhaustive labor The fires of local unions are b stowed. on mountains, in valleys and on plains, nomenal success, so far, has attended efforts. The strides of the American R: Union have been gigantic. It is rapid compassing the great republic from ocean—from the lakes to the gulf legislation by this convention wi order still greater and more umphs. Mistakes should be gu The future of our order is h The eyes of all other tions are fixed upon this connot doubt that we shall meet ev expectation and perfect our which will prove an enduring classes of railway employes.

The forces of labor must un ation of labor demands it lines must grow dimmer day become imperceptible, and then marshalled under one conque shall march together, vote fight together, until workingn ceive and enjoy all the fruits Then will our country be truly free, and its institutions as secure an as the eternal mountains.

ing as the eternal mountains.

If the union of labor's army is or delayed by jealous leaders let aside, or be set aside. The one su mand of the hour is that railway shall get together. If they will officers of the American Railway promptly and cheerfully retire '
Neither the honors nor emo'
will tempt them to stand in t. tion an instant; and to test the proposition go forth fro to all railway employes to n ground and there unite for nable. No corporation reign of justice would be strike would be remande of the past. An era of would dawn. Let us a

SPECIAL ARTICLES.

THE COXEY MOVEMENT.

The Coxey movement has given rise to numerous crificians, favorable and adverse, intelligent and absurd. In the East, it met with little of sympathy and much of hostility, while in the West, workingmen's organizations and farmers' societies received the pilgrims with open arms and gave them food and help. Why this difference in the attitude of the East and that of the West? Need it be explained? Labor all over the territory suffers equally from the effect of the industrial crisis which presses on is; but in the West the ruined farmers and mail, traders add their misery to that of the rage-workers, while in the East the sufferings of the laborers are overlaid by the glittering of luxurious wealth, their cries are drowned by the din of clanging precious metals, their eyes are dimmed by Wall street gold dust, their lungs are atrophied by the miasm that idle opulence emits.

An army of unemployed, tramping the land

opulence emits.

An army of unemployed, tramping the land with military discipline, is a new feature in the sistory of this republic. The average American views things with a business-like eye. His first care is to ascertain what material benefit can be derived from any enterprise or ovation. It is the boast of the Americans t they are the most practical people on the This is a tacit admission that they are least sentimental people on earth, unless e can imagine an exaggerated practicability, ilanced, or overbalanced by sentiment, being apable of locating in the human mind I ill not affirm, neither will I deny the possicity of so remarkable a mental combination—set everyone reason it out for himself. Be it

ni not amrin, neither will 1 deny the possinity of so remarkable a mental combination—
iet everyone reason it out for himself. Be it as it may, the Americans are truly a practical people. How does it happen that a nation so young that as yet it can have no history of national maturity, is possessed of strong characteristics best fitting ripe age? It can be explained on no other hypothesis than that the human animal is molded into shape by the force-of his environment and gets assimited to it—an hypothesis, an axiom, I should y, which robs the theory of heredity of most its seductive and convenient features.

When the "Army of the Commonweal" set motion on the evening of March 12, at assillon, Ohio, the press—the sole expresno of public opinion permitted to be heard neered and jeered and railed, malignantly representing the character of the men, their

presenting the character of the men, their s and intentions. "What do they intend "ejaculated the sagacious newspa-"they are insane cranks, simpletons ols." "They are tramps and vagrants etting out to plunder the country by intimi-ation and fraud."

ation and fraud."

The garrulous eastern press opened its batery of sarcasm and ironic cackling, believing, io doubt, that in America, as in France, cidicule kills." Those lickers of Wall street Move dust are too engrossed in their specialty learn that, in France, "ridicule kills" besuse the French are the most sentimental and on-practical people in the world, and that the mericans are confessedly the apposite. on-practical people in the world, and that the mericans are confessedly the opposite. A seory carefully analyzed, a mathematical pro-osition clearly demonstrated will do more yward killing an innovation in America than the whole array of derisive terminology. The ward killing an innovation in America than the whole array of derisive terminology. The inseless clap-trap of the political press and the jobbing politicians finds no response mong the intelligent workers and the cul-nen and women of the well-to-do class.

nen and women of the well-to-do class.
in approval and admiration, they must
d to the most ignorant and the poorest
nation, and to the would-be "superior
which is recruited among the clerical
yees, the owners of small business socenteel, and the satellites of the scientiiterary profession—a "superior class"

iterary profession—a "superior class" in an its arduous efforts to ape the wealthy tans of glittering display and the cultured veneer of good manner and speech, eds in landing into ludicrousness. Classid with these may also be the hybrid posing aristocracy of labor. Those species of the nus Homo may laugh and mock and sneer the thousands of men who tramp the tged, rocky roads of the country attired in unty garments and fed with insufficient food; ents and fed with insufficient food : inty garments and fed with insufficient food;
y may scoff and rail as their empty brains
d stunted humanity prompts them to do.
it remember it, gilded "superior class,"
ove the judgment of man stands the eternal
der of things in the universe. The rising the "Army of the Commonweal" is no

ted or unconnected phenomenon. It is a ptom which by its magnitude and its culiar characteristics indicates the presence a serious and complicated social malady, he intelligent man pauses before this symptomic product the presence of the m, for it is a landmark leading to the cause

ms almost superfluous to state that the marching toward Washington are not ps and vagrants. It will suffice to read the danger they voluntarily-brave and the iships they cheerfully endure, to be con-

The march was almost heroic, six of it up over Laurel Ridge, of the Blue e mountains, being accomplished in a storm. The men and horses were almost usted by the terrible exertions of the trip a the summit of the mountain was hed, but as the camping place was six s ahead, it was necessary to force the hing to reach it before night. At the foot of the mountains a halt was

ozen water crackers each for the the command pushed on, reach

ce 5:30 P.M. 30 P.M." . "The aggled and exhausted after bedraggied and exhausted after ramp. Many of them did not othing of any kind. . ." est upholder of the present in-m will not, cannot, deny that the e country—land, money and the of production—is owned by a and that the toiling masses are y for procuring the food necessary ence. Only a snob will immuned
The situation which swooped
niddle of last summer and lasted
rowing more terrible every day,
essible voice that rings out the
f the modern economic regime. Only a snob will maintain

That? Bradstreet is an authority respect. Those millions of toilers lie means of living depends on their after all the tortures of destitution from of hunger down to the humiliation ing alms. What else can be the lot illess man? Does it require iless man? Does it require great perceive it? Even a snob ought ricient mental continuity to reason

ry millions be reasonably exry millions be reasonably ex-in a silent, respectful and nner? Is there not a likeli-will stir themselves to find side of their fellows in mis-te conspicuous on the streets ? The masses of the peo-ts—silently endure priva-or a long time at a stretch. iving are gradually coniving are gradually con-

below that of the beast of burden and life becomes "not worth while living." Then, driven by despair, they strike for a change in their condition—they have nothing to lose but their poverty, and they are willing to part with that.

but their poverty, and they are willing to part with that.

Popular upheavals — history again tells us—occur periodically with the regularity of a clock. When the national wealth and political power have centralized in a few hands, and poverty has become the portion of the masses, the meridian is reached, the hand points to the figure and the clock rings it out. The heat has attained its climax, and the retrogressive process sets in, for immobility is unknown in nature. The point where increase ceases is that where decrease begins to operate; the point where the rule of plutocracy ceases is that where the rule of the toilers is pitched against it.

Never before did young America behold a state of affairs where all the national wealth and power are centralized in so few hands as

Never before did young America behold a state of affairs where all the national wealth and power are centralized in so few hands as they are today. To be convinced of it you need no statistics. Listen to the heavy footstep which resounds over the plains here, there and everywhere, all turned toward the East. It is the dropping of many feet united in motion. The tramping responds to the beatings of many hearts whose sorrow have brought them together in sympathy. Tonight the tramping will discontinue for a few hours and then the heavy step shall resume its monotonous cadence.

"Of what consequence are they?" sneers the gilded "superior class," "they are dirty, ragged, homeless tramps; they are aimless, and purposeless, they meekly trundle along the roads as a show."

True it is, they meekly trundle along the roads without arms or weapons to defend themselves against the attacks te which they are subject and even subjected. Yes, they are meek; but beneath that meekness runs a current whose power it is to operate many ways.

rent whose power it is to operate many ways. It is a current produced by time, which electrifies the downtrodden and stirs them up. On the "Army of the Commonweal," it operates meekly and you laugh at it. But gaze yonder. Over hills, down valleys, from mountain to Oves hills, down valleys, from mountain to mountain, on nearly the entire surface of the territory. Hark! The tumult of angry passions, the towing and twisting and hustling of hundreds of thousands of human beings; the sound of musket shots, the crashing of explosion, the roar of flames, the arrayed battle, the skirmishing, the groans of the wounded and the dying! Will this also make you laugh, gided "superior class?" These sons and daughters of toil are fighting for wages that will even buy bread. They are not as meek as their fellows in misfortune, the Coxeyites. The arguments they use will appeal to your consideration and turn your laugh into a grin, for, of humane sentiment, all you have is the gilding. The protest of the Coxeyites is "too comical for anything!" But the protest of those yonder is not quite so comical, is it?

If the gilded "superior class" could annex a little intelligence to their cunning and su-preme conceit, they would know what this general fermentation throughout this republic eans and whence it com es Instead of the trashy novels which the master, the mistre and the servant devour greedily, books of his-tory would be read and object lessons learned. They would know that processions of hunger, bread riots, enforced idleness, are the advance oread roots, enforced theness, are the advance guard of a social change or a political revolu-tion, that they are not objects for scorn, but objects of great import, calling for the minis-tration of the good and the wise.

In 1514, the masses of England were steeped deep in poverty. Their destitution was not due to industrial monopolists and

was not due to industrial monopolists and financial gamblers, as is the case with us today, it was the result of royal greed, costly wars, grinding taxes. The effect, however, differed not with our own. Poverty is unchangeable, it is always in, or on the brink of abjectness. In England, King Henry VIII required millions of pounds for his numerous weddings and his luxurious court, for favorites and for wars. Teday in America, our rulers must, in wars. Today, in America, our rulers must, in three or four years' time, amass millions of dollars, our financiers billions of same and our New York police captains buy princely man-sions. Whichever hand does the squeezing

sions. Whichever hand does the squeezing, the masses are always wrung dry.

The clergy of England, unlike that of our country, was touched with pity and raised it voice to protest. The illustrious Erasmus, the friend of Sir Thomas More, exclaimed in his

grief:
"Our rulers are like ravenous birds pouncing
the hard-won wealth "'Our rulers are like ravenous birds pouncing with beak and claw on the hard-won wealth and knowledge of mankind. Kings who are scarcely men are called 'divine,' they are 'invincible,' though they fly from every battle; 'serene,' though they turn the world upside down in a storm of war; 'illustrious,' though they grovel in ignorance of all that is noble; 'Catholic,' though they follow anything rather than Christ. Of all birds, the eagle alone has seemed to wise men the type of royalty — a bird neither beautiful nor musical, nor good for food, but murderous, greedy, ships they have an intelligent purpose possess sufficient courage to carry it out. I the correspondent of the New York Sun, I Chalk Hill, Pennsylvania, April II:

Fonight, the army is encamped at an old neutal mansion within one mile of this

The march was almost heroic, six "A revolt broke out among the weavers of

Insurrectionary riots sprang everywhere.

"A revolt broke out among the weavers of Suffolk; the men of Cambridge banded for resistance." The Norwich clothers went on resistance." The Norwich clothiers went on the street to demonstrate. "Who is your captain?" the Duke of Norfolk asked them. "His name is Poverty," was the answer, "for he and his cousin Necessity have brought us this design." to this doing.

At that time, in the cloudy sky of England loomed two figures — one, a king kneeling by a block; the other a man of the people, erect austere and mighty - Cromwell and the Com

monwealth.

Had it not been for the raging of religious wars during the reign of Henry VIII, and those of Elizabeth and James I, Cromwell had er lived, poverty had earlier met oppres sion face to face.

Our Coxeyites are moved by the same spirit that moved the legions of destitute working-men in England during the rule of Henry VIII and his three successors. They als may answer: "Our captain's name is Poverty he and his cousin Necessity have brought us he and his cousts Necessity have brought us to this doing." Poverty, remember, is a crime in the eyes of society, and the culprit is con-demned without a trial. Read, and let all good people take note, the words Dean Fran-cis Wayland, of Yale, addressed to the stu-dents, who, human-like, intended to welcome the Boston and Connecticut contingents of the

dents, who, human-like, intended to welcome
the Boston and Connecticut contingents of the
"Commonweal." He said:

"I have just heard it has been suggested
that you, young gentlemen, take some steps
toward receiving and entertaining a lot of
soap-fearing, vermin-haunted vagabonds who
are expected to reach New Haven shortly and
whom the newspapers call Coxeyites. It is
certainly not necessary to remind any gentleman of the injudiciousness of encouraging
any band of beggars. As for receiving them,
no gentleman would think of such a thing.
I am very anxious for the good reputation of
the law school, and I hope that none of you
will disgrace it by receiving these tramps or
encouraging them in any way.

I have no objection to students going in a body
to visit jails and state prisons, but I do object
to their diguifying a set of men who are only
fit for the state prison and the graveyard."

So spirited and ringing a speech was doubt,
leasly received by the gidded "superior class"
of America with happing of hands.

gent persons, be assured, will estimate it at its real value. The language and the spirit of Dean F. Wayland, of Yale College, are too coarse to merit criticism. The residence besitting a man of his caliber is the lunatic asyum; he needs medical care.

fitting a man of his caliber is the lunatic asylum; he needs medical care.

Having read his vulgar speech, I decided to avail myself of the opportunity of meeting the Boston and the Connecticut contingents in New York. Of the former I saw but little; nevertheless I was enabled to see that they were genuine workingmen thrown out of employment. They were orderly, intelligent and well-behaving individuals.

The men from Connecticut I saw on their arrival at the People's Party headquaters, and visited them repeatedly during their stay in New York. A more intelligent, a cleaner, a better-mannered body of men cannot be found among the toiling class. A quarter of

a better-mannered body of men cannot be found among the toiling class. A quarter of an hour after their arrival they were washed, cleaned, and presented a most respectable appearance. Their conversation revealed a fair education and a habit of thinking. Had they been attired in fine broadcloth, they would have been termed "fine gentlemen." The broadcloth was absent but the gentlemen The broadcloth was absent but the gentlemen were there all the same, and no right-minded person could agree to the contrary. They repeatedly expressed indignation at being called "hoboes" by the press. The ignominious meaning attached to that newly coined agreed did not speak to these and the New word did not apply to them, and the New York Sun ought to keep it for qualifying those whom it is so anxious to save from the income tax, and for itself also. The epithet would

tax, and for itself also. The epithet would fit better those it represents than the unemployed toilers of the "Commonweal."
Captain Sweetland, of the Connecticut Coxeyites, is a well-bred, intelligent, energetic young man and sways over his army the influence of his well-tempered will. The People of the commonweal will be a supported to the commonweal will be commonweal. ence of his well-tempered will. The Peo-ple's Party Committee extended the traveler ple's Party Committee extended the travelers a friendly hospitality and the best of care. The meeting, on both sides, was very gratifying. To me it was specially gratifying, for I gained the knowledge of what the "Army of the Commonweal" really is. At the departure of the contingent, when they formed in the street for parading, to a World reporter by my side, I said:

"Are they not a body of intelligent, respectable looking men?"

"They are a very, very fine lot of men," he

"They are a very, very fine lot of men," he answered, and his thin, sharp lips had nothing cynical about them. This, from a New York press reporter, is a compliment of no mean

MY GIRL. BY HARRY C. BURNS.

You ought to see her; goodness! gosh! she's all the

Our love has been a growin' till we both are eightythree.

She isn't as she used to be, with roses on her cheek, When her and I went splashin' like two fishes in the creek.

Ole Tim has kept on growin', but our love gree twice as fast, An' me an' my Maria are a stickin' close an' fast.

years have had their sorrow, their sunshine an' their pain, But 'longside o' Maria I would live them o'er again; Her smile is like an angel's, an' she's just as dear

As when I called her pet an queen when we twenty-three.

Yes, life has had its struggles an wove wrinkles on

our brow, But love has kept on growin' an' we both are happy

now. The billows keep a heavin' an' we're the tide,

Maria's still as gentle an' as loving as a bride.
"My girl"—that's what I've called my love fo many, many years— She smiles in answer thro' her eyes when they an

wet with tears. We're joggin' on together o'er the rugged paths o

Our love has never faltered, an' pray God it Until life's war is ended an' our hearts lie cold an

FREEDOM'S ENEMIES. BY JOSE GROS.

In old times freedom had but one class of enemies, the retrogressive or conservative minds. In our days freedom has two other classes of enemies, namely: the surface reformers and the reformers into destruction The latter are those who propose to reform society through the suppression of natural laws, and therefore of laws divine. Because what is natural is divine, and what is divine in natural, outside of human infatuations. Is there anything more natural than for each man to fix his own daily labors, to control his own capital, to co operate with other men or not, as he may prefer? Yet, socialists want all that he may prefer? Yet, socialists want all that to be controlled by a lot of public bosses. As if we did not already have too many of them We don't object to socialists expounding their own theories. Even if impossible, they

such reformers descend to distortions of the laws of freedom, we are forced to class them as enemies of freedom. They imitate the re-trogressive minds of today, when they object to free access to all natural opportunities through the simple and ethical device of taxa-tion on land values for all public needs. They even resort to the old, exploded, silly platitude of the landlords everywhere. They say, for instance, that the poor landholder, in city occuntry, shall be ruined by sudden rises in land values, resulting from the rapid growth

iand values, resulting from the rapid growth of this or that town or section.

A little quiet thought, if you want to think, will show you that the rapid growth of certain towns or sections, with the sudden rise in land values, is but one of the products of monopoly That means anarchy and disorder in al industrial developments, just the disorder and anarchy which would be abolished by making monopoly impossible through taxation on land values, and hence establishing free production

and free commerce.

A new social status would naturally follow. in which all towns and sections would grow in which all towns and sections would grow gradually, according to their respective merits, and never at the expense of each other, never to the injury of the workers in each locality, because they would be the ones who would fix the land values, and hence the assessments.

because they would be the ones who would fix the land values, and hence the assessments. They could make them just as low as they saw fit; only, they would then have to be satisfied with less public improvements.

Our poor socialists, just like our rich landlords or land gamblers, always speak of the assessor as a sword of Damocles over the head of the poor landholder. Just as if the assessor could do anything but to accept the land values resting on the most recent land transactions in each locality! And the latter would be fixed by the workers of each locality; not by any group of public officers. The assessor himself would be a plain worker.

Taxation on land values—the single tax—means free land to the workers. It does not mean the private land monopoly of today, nor the public monopoly that socialism would like to give us.

New basic economic laws could not fall evolve new industrial conditions, based on the order of ethics and for would reverse the abnormal conditions, had a little more or

ABLE ADDRESS.

DELIVERED BY MRS. ELLA M. ROBERTS TO

THE A. R. U. WORKING GIRLS' UNION.

I have always said that it is a pity that the laboring class could not understand their great power; that were they to join hands and cooperate, they could rule the world. Let the Vanderbilts, Goulds, Fields, Armours and Fullmans take their wealth; what they have, let them keep; but if the laborers, the wealth-producers, the bread-winners, would organize in one mighty body, they could starve the millionaires into being just in less than a year. It wouldn't be a case of the laborer starving, that would be on the other side. What we need is the determination to hang together. Is there a person, do you think, that has read of the city of Pullman since its birth, and understands the injustice that has been done the Is there a person, do you think, that has read of the city of Pullman since its birth, and understands the injustice that has been done the people, that blames them for belonging to a union to protect themselves? Many of them who have only been able to earn a dollar a day to support their wives and children would, had they no means of protection, soon be where they could only earn 50 cents. An article in the Inter Ocean, headed "Age Cuts No Figure," says: "The government gives \$255.68 to each little Indian, the same as to the squaw or chief. But to each white Amer-\$265.68 to each little Indian, the same as to the squaw or chief. But to each white American-born citizen the government, instead of increasing the amount of his cash, keeps cutting him down until the poor man, with the largest family, is the smallest salaried man of today." Pullman before the strike took place, said to a Daily News reporter "That he was not making money; that he was paying the men all he could." Even if this be so, we notice by the newspaper reports that he has men all he could." Even if this be so, we notice by the newspaper reports that he has increased his \$30,000,000 which he started out with in the city of Pullman to \$60,000,000. What has he increased it with? His own labor? No! Well, then, as his own immense expenditures still keep on, as he does not seem to be cutting down his own expenses, why should he cut down others?

why should he cut down others?

He seems to be able to erect a church at a cost of \$75,000. The best thing he can do is to go into it and pray the remainder of his life. The Bible teaches, "Honor thy father and thy mother." Well, that is what Pullman was doing when he built the church. It's all right to honor father and mother, but at the same time he must remember that "it's easier for a camel to go through the eve of a needle. for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of Heaven." While I think of it, there is one way Pullman might dispose of a little of his wealth, if he wishes to try for Heaven. He might make an effort, and pay the porters and waiters on his sleeping and dining cars. I read an article in one of the daily papers, saying that the porters on the Pullman palace cars only get \$20 per month. That, in order to live and support their families, they are obliged to depend upon the charity of the public. Anyone who has ever traveled in the Pullman cars will know that this is so. When a man will have the unlimited gall to charge for a camel to go through the eye of a needle a man will have the unlimited gall to charge the exorbitant prices that Pullman does or his cars, and besides, depend upon the public to support his help, we can expect anything. Even so much as charging \$2.25 per thousand for gas, when it costs the Pullman Company for gas, when it costs the Fullman Company less than 35 cents per thousand; such as charging enough water tax to his tenants to be able to run his enormous factories free; charging, besides an exorbitant rent, 50 cents per month for the luxury of shutters at the windows. But there was one poor being in Pullman who did not need blinds. The sun-Pullman who did not need blinds. The sunbeams streamed into the room and chased each other over the bare floor. But sightless eyes, put out working for Pullman, could never see the laughing sun, the green trees, the sparkling lakes—all, all gone forever. And with the loss of sight work gradually ceased, and with no work there was no bread. Day after day he applied for work; they gave him none. He grew melancholy; the strain was too much to bear, and today he is a lunatic in the Dunning Insane Asylum. \$75,000 for a church, and a man driven insane because he could not get work to live!

could not get work to live!

At the time of slavery the condition of the colored man was not as bad as that of his white brother today. The slave was given white brother today. The slave was given clothing, food and shelter, for he had a value. But the wage-worker of today has no value. He feels that he is dead stock in the market. They claim that the black slave was separated from their wives and children, making their condition worse than ours, But the misery, the hardships, the low wages, the lack of money, separate more families than slavery ever dreamed of. It is the cause of nine-

tenths of the divorces today.

A little child plucked a flower in one of A little child plucked a flower in one of our city parks to take home to her sick mother; she was arrested, sentenced, and having no money went to the bridewell. A few days after wagonloads of these same flowers were ordered cut by the park commissioners and sent to an aristocratic family on sioners and sent to an aristocratic family on one of the avenues, to decorate their mansion for a fashionable ball.

to be controlled by a lot of public bosses. As if we did not already have too many of them!

We don't object to socialists expounding their own theories. Even if impossible, they level thought and are thus useful; but when such reformers descend to distortions of the plucked and chipped pieces from it, but this form. also was refused them. Even a relic from their beloved tree they were not allowed to have. It also was carted into the kingdom of one of the plutocrats. But the difference be-tween the child with the flower and the plutorat with the tree; the child went to jail, the plutocrat did not.

What we need of organization is to do away with injustice to the many and favorit-

ism to the few.

Machinery has been invented all over this world to make the lives of men easier, hapintended to it has been the means of throwing men out of work entirely, and in many cases putting children in their place. What we need is control of this machinery, so that we can have the wealth that it produces. In-stead of one company like the Pullman being allowed to make \$30,000,000 in ten years, we would be able to reap the benefit of our own labor. Instead of our children being forced to work we could provide for them while they were helpless and send them to school and educate them, as we wish in our hearts to do. But under the present conditions we must refuse our children the bare necessities of life, that some millionaire may hoard up his millions. Once in a while he will condescend to put a million dollars into a museum, or form an institute, after crushing us to the wall just a little farther than he thinks we will stand. But that is only to pour balm upon stand. But that is only to pour balm upon the troubled waters.

the troubled waters.

But we are up to their games, they won't work any longer. The day of men making their millions in this country is nearly passed. The people are awake to the fact that there is die in the attempt. A man never earned a million dollars honestly in his life, and when he tries to explain that he made it in some big speculation like Pullman, where he was even shrewd enough to utilize the refuse of the sewer fertilizing, he didn't make it honestly—he made it through his greed and cunning. The only trouble wilh the people of today is, they are not radical enough. They have too much reverence for that which is old, such as constitutions and so forth. While the very fact of the matter is Thomas Jefferson, author of the castination of the safety of the strikers, claiming them. It is against the strikers, claiming the safety of the safe

should exist longer than thirty-four years, and that each generation should make a new constitution for itself." He also went so far as to key "God forbid that we should ever be twenty years without a rebellion. What country can preserve its liberties if its rulers are not warned from time to time that the people preserve the spirit of resistance. Let them take arms, what signify a few lives lost? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure."

Today, if Thomas Jefferson were alive and used the forcible talk he did then, he would be called an anarchist. He would be shunned by the people as something dangerous to associate with; and yet he was author of the Declaration of Independence, President of these United States and a great, grand reformer of the times, more liberal in his day than a man dare be today.

A little article in the Inter Ocean, headed "A Retreat for Coxey," advises the representations of Coxes," advises the Filips.

A little article in the Inter Ocean, headed "A Retreat for Coxey," advises the representatives of Coxey's army to emigrate to the Fiji Islands, stating it would be a good country to live in without working. The party who wrote that article must have been asleep ever wrote that article must have been asleep ever since the commencement of the commouweal movement, or he would know that the representatives of the Coxey army are asking for work for the people instead of looking for a place where they can go and not work. I would ask the Inter Ocean and other papers that any advice they may have, just give it to the monopolists who have loafed for so many years. Just get them to the Fiji Islands for a while, and give us a chance to work for ourselves. selves.

The condition of greedy monopoly and the The condition of greedy monopoly and the laborer of today reminds me of a story. A minister and his little son were walking along the road admiring the beauties of nature. In passing a stream, they saw a large stork who was reaching down into the water with his long bill and procuring fish for his food. "See, my son," said the minister, "how good the all-wise Father has been in making that bird. See the long less he has that he may bird. See the long legs he has that he may stand in the water; also the long neck that he may reach down and procure his food. How wonderful God has provided for the subsistence of the stork." The boy looked thoughtful, then said solemnly:

"Yes, but father, don't you think it's toughther the feb?" So with received the said solemnly.

on the fish?" So with monopoly. It's all right with grasping monopoly, but it's pretty tough on us poor fish.

I saw another article in the daily paper

which said: "The government is getting tired." I suppose when they say government they refer to a few hired representatives in Washington. The late Gen. M. M. Trumbull said: "In the name of common sense, what is government? Is it our creator or our crea is government? Is it our creator or our crea-ture? Are we its agents or its principal? Do we exist for government, or government for us? Has it any money to distribute among us but what we give it?" So when the papers but what we give it?" So when the papers say the government is getting tired, I would answer for the laborer—the down-trodden workingman — the voter — in a voice which can be heard all over this great land: We are the people, and as the people we are, indeed, getting very tired. We are not only getting tired but we have been so for a long time now, so tired that at times it has seemed that we were becoming indifferent to the conditions surrounding us, and were going to let things go on in the miserable, one-sided way until we died. But we thought of our little children, and, remembering they will soon be men and women, threw aside our indifference and compensed action. Men have refused to work menced action. Men have refused to work longer and starve. They demand that even though the cry has gone out against many of them, that they are foreigners in the great strikes all over this fair land, they demand that the same courtesy be shown them now as

are created equal." Some men have worked for monopolists and have been such faithful slaves that today a few of them own the earth, and they are in need of your services no longer. They have not paid you enough to lay up a cent, while helping them accumulate their pile, and when out of employment you are at the mercy of the world, and the earth belonging to them, you are at their mercy. While the wealth you have produced lies in shining heaps, or towers itself in ten and twenty story buildings, making magnificent cities, or stretches itself out into beautiful parks, looms up in expensive state buildings such as capitals and so forth state buildings such as capitols and so forth, and you, the producer of all this wealth, are not even allowed to walk on the grass, march as peaceable citizens through the cities, nor sit on the sidewalk to rest. On the street, only

at Castle Garden where the statue of Liberty

velcomed them with the words: "All me

feeds and clothes her criminals, but the laborer out of work is starved, and in many cases driven to suicide in despair. In New York city, a boy of fourteen years suicided because he could not earn enough to support his invalid sister. In "Chicago a poor woman, with her six weeks' old babe in her arms, was suicided from her home bacause her bushand."

JOHN CASEY, President.

JOHN CASEY, President.

E. A. BLISS. Secretary. a laborer, could find no work. But the labor ing man will no more settle down and live in hovels, no more see their own little ones go without the comforts of life, while the mo they earn goes to buy extravagant luxury for some aristocrat's child—no more see their dear ones treated as the scum of the earth while he is helping the monopolist lay up his

pile. Let them cry out that you are tramps, bums or whatever they may. Turn a deaf ear to their insults. I lend rather be a poor penni-less bum, with no place to lay my head, than to be a millionaire, and have the knowledge upon my conscience that in order that I might have my millions innocent lives must suffer. The millions in the hands of the few has The millions in the hands of the few has caused so many tears, so much suffering, were it put up in one mighty ocean, fountains of blood would gush forth, so great has been the misery of the people. I had rather die a beggar than die a Vanderbilt, and leave, like he did, interest-bearing bonds which will amount to \$75,000,000 interest alone in, I think, the very 1025. And our children, not yet born. year 1925. And our children, not yet born, are brought into the world with this tax upon

People tell us that a government that was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them. But could our patriotic old fathers for them. But could our patriotic old fathers, founders of this government, be with us today, I do not think, if I understand them rightly, they would be on the side of monopoly. If

they would be on the side of monopoly. If they who said, "Of the people, by the people, and for the people," could see a whole city owned and run by one man, where no one had a voice in its government, they would see that their dream of the future of this great and glorious republic had been a myth. The constitution of the fathers of this coun-

Four old men one hundred years old could clasp hands and reach back to the time when Columbus first landed on American soil. Only four hundred years, when such a thing as an American did not exist, only the red man of the forest and plain. Where would this country be today if it were not for foreigners? And these same kickers I think many of them would have difficulty in conversing with their own fathers if it depended on the English language.

own fathers if it depended on the English language.

Go back a little farther, and they would find trouble to converse with their chattering, gibbering ancestors at all. But, foreigners or not, all men are, born equal. The world owes them a living and a living they must have. I think the laboring masses are so far aroused that they will never, in the days to come, submit to the injustice that has been theirs in the mit to the injustice that has been theirs in the

"Swing inward, O gates of the future Swing outward, ye doors of the pas For the worker his fetters is breakin And rising from stupor at last."

TRACK LAID IN THE YEAR 1893.

Lines	Miles.
New England.	
Maine 4 New Hampshire	115.40
Massachusetts	1.63
Rhode Island I	5.21
Middle States.	
New York 8	36 64
New Jersey	1.43
Pennsylvania	304.77
Maryland I	2.
Central Northern.	
Ohio 8	148.5
Michigan 4	61.83
Indiana 7	30.76
Illinois 7	78.59
Wisconsin 4	26.50
South Atlantic.	100
Virginia5	16.64
West Virginia	96.80
South Carolina	17.75
Georgia 7	173.
Florida10	212.70
Gulf and Mississippi Valley.	
Alabama 5	46.
Mississippi 2	9.50
Tennessee 5	19.66
Kentucky 6	27.15
Louisiana 5	29.35
Southwestern.	
Missouri 7	139.99
Arkansas 7	50.51
Texas10	166.72
Kansas	18.39 28.65
New Mexico	2.53
Northwestern.	,5
Iowa 1 Minnesota 9	116.46
Nebraska2	32.70
North Dakota 2	194.61
South Dakota 4	92.46
Wyoming I	3.90
Montana	27.50
Pacific States.	
Washington 2	41.90
Oregon I	11.50
California	64.57 5.56
Arizona	42.
Utah 3	20.57
RECAPITULATION.	
4 New England states 7	123.24
4 Middle states	344.84
5 Central Northern states 20	346.18
6 South Atlantic states50	624.56

Total, 43 states and territories. . 244 2,635.00 -Railway Age. GRAND JUNCTION, Colo., May 15, 1894

South Atlantic states.....50 Gulf and Miss. Valley states. 23

Southwestern states.....31 Northwestern states.....20

Pacific Coast states.........17

344.84 346.18 624.56 131.66 406.79 471.63

Sylvester Keliher, Esq., secretary of A. R. U., Chicago, Illinois: DEAR SIR AND BROTHER,-The following

resolutions were unanimously adopted at a regular meeting of Local Union No. 2, A. R. U, May 5, 1894, at this place:

Resolved, That Local Union No. 2, A. R. U. May 1, 1894, at this place: J., do heartily congratulate our brothers on the

Great Northern railroad on their splendid vic-tory in their hard-fought battle for our com-mon rights and justice, and that we regard with boundless admiration the heroic conduct exhibited by all those of our comrades engaged in the fight, and especially the matchless generalship of our incomparable leader and President Eugene V. Debs and his able lieutenants.

P. W. Monahan, Corresponding Secretary.

Uncle Eph on Hand.

The practical joker had evidently been at work with Uncle Eph, for he was seen early in the morning toiling toward the capitol, with all the implements of his profession as calciminer with him. "Where are you going?" asked one of his patrons, who met him. "Up to de capitol." "To the capitol?" "Yasto de capitol." It is the capitol of eb'ryt'ing in sight."- Washington Star.

How He Won Her.

Miss Richgirl (of Chicago): "And so you kissed the blarney stone at the Columbian Exposition? Ha, ha! It was nothing but a Chicago paving stone." Mr. Smartchapp: "So I heard at the time, but I thought perhaps you might have walked on it." Then haps you might have walked on it." she married him.—New York Weekly.

Not a Millionaire.

Dacer: "Jack, those doeskin trousers bag at the knees. That's a poor compliment to the bride." Jack (a Chicago groomsman): "Gad, man! Do you think I can afford a new pair of trousers levery time I'm married? I'm no millionaire!"—New York Town

An Impressive Oration.

"Mary Jane," said the rector solemnly, the steak is cooked to a crisp and the pota-"the steak is cooked to a crisp and the pola-toes are raw. You have left undone things that ought to be done, and cooked too done the things that ought not to be done, and there is no health in them."—Indianapolis Journal.

Forestalled.

Mrs. Cobwigger: "I bought a ne resterday, and the one you sent ho mything like it." Haberdasher: we sent, Mad-

BITHER A MILITARY DESPOTISM OR SOCIALISM.

I see by a paper that machinery is being put in coal mines that will largely displace labor. In every direction I look the same thing preents itself. We already have millions on the verge of starvation, and by the use made of nillions more will be made idle. If the price of coal were reduced in propo to the saving of labor, then people, paying less for coal, would have money to buy other things which the labor of these coal miners, or other labor, its equivalent, would produce and the miners would only have exchanged ns. But coal will not be sold correspondingly lower; the people will not have any additional means to employ the miners; and they, in turn, having no ability to buy, will use less the labor of the workers who use coal, and so on, growing worse and worse and worse.

Now what are you going to do with these men private capital will not and cannot employ? You dare not kill them, and it is dangerous to permit them to starve. If you employ them at a reduced wage, you have, to tent, decreased the demand for goods they formerly consumed, and to that extent have thrown out of work those who were making those goods, who, in turn, decrease the call for goods they formerly used, and so on, and you have the same conditions, only onger in producing them, that you would have by refusing to employ them at all. Take either horn of the question, and it finally brings you up to the same point-starvation and social danger.

I know many of you think you have nothing to do with such matters; that the world has always moved along before and will move along now; that things will right themselves some way without your assistance. But they won't. There have been recurring crises every few years since 1825, each bearing harder and wider, and now things are different. Monopoly holds undisputed (?) sway, and machines are doing a work that is a factor not in previous crises. This is the LAST CRISIS OF THE SERIES, for this one is going to break down the system of men using other men to make profit out of them like slaves.

There is going to be no revival of business under democratic, republican or any other party so long as the present theory of production is carried on. There is no valid evidence that there will be employment for the out-of-work of today. Nobody wants more labor, could not sell their product if they made it, and are not going to employ men and give the workers the products, for that would interfere with the regular products of manufactory or farm. I say this question is not going to settle itself without YOUR influence, no matter how small or great you are. If you will not learn it one way you will learn it another. You and your forefathers have let these crises come and go without investigation, believing the lies that the politicians, mouthpieces of those who profit by the system told you. It is like a merchant failing and scaling down his creditors, and another failure and another, until there is absolutely nothing left to scale down any more. Then the merchant must change his vocation or starve. Voters have been permitting this scaling until they are scaled out of property, means or eyen work, and the day of reckoning is here. It is going to be solved this time. It means a military tyranny to keep the people down, as they do in Europe, or it means that the nation will take charge of the business of the country, furnish work for its members, and give them the products of their labor without discount or usury. One of these two things is coming, and coming now. Take your choice for yourself and your children .- Coming Nation.

SPURIOUS FREEDOM OF

Argument will be begun today before the Illinois Supreme Court in a case involving the constitutionality of the law prohibiting manufacturers of clothing and wearing apparel from allowing their women employes to work more than eight hours a day. The validity of the law is attacked upon two grounds, one a mere technicality, the other its conflict with the constitutional provision the masses are. - Coming Nation. guaranteeing individual freedom of right of contract.

Mr. Bourke Cockran told us the other night that the framers of the federal constitution were the wisest men that ever lived. Their wisdom, however, did not reach the point of discerning that courts without humanity and missioner Peck, of New York, for 1893: guardianship of the "vested rights" classes without courage would make one clause in that constitution the buttress of oppression. the defense of the absolute robbery of the employed by the employer, the legalization of the sweating system. Copying the federal strikes, 95,984; number refusing to work after constitution the states have incorporated in strike, 5,049. Amount lost in wages, \$1,389, their constitutions provisions for guarding that 154.32; amount expended for relief of strikfreedom of contract which enables an employer to say to an applicant for work: "You must be my tenant at a higher rent than you need pay to others, buy your food at my store at 15 per cent higher figures than it is sold at elsewhere, work twelve hours a day, and submit to fines for tardiness or absence, or you cannot have the place." The man, being hungry and without work, accepts, and the American liberty of freedom of contract is

Under this precious constitutional guarant of freedom the truck-store law was declared invalid. This law was intended to preven the payment of workmen in checks good only made public. They forced the legislature to pass a law for the protection of the workmen, but the lawyers, to whom society is nothi

with the

Probably the eight-hour law will go ed within twenty-four hours a committee ged to uncessingly labor until the idioti principle of protecting the alleged free ntract between the man who m the man who owns the only available food be stricken from the constitution. - Chicag Times.

WHAT MIGHT BE DONE.

BY CHARLES MACKAY. What might be done if men were wis What glorious deeds, my suffering Would they unite in love and right, And cease their scorn of one ar

Oppression's heart might be imbued With kindly drops of loving kind And knowledge pour from shore to Light on the eyes of mental bline

All slavery, warfare, lies and wrongs, All vice and crime might die toget I wine and corn to each man born Be free as warmth in summer weather

The meanest wretch that ever trod, eepest sunk in guilt and sor and erect, in self respect,

What might be done? This might be done, And more than this, my suffering broth ore than the tongue e'er spoke or sung, If men were true and loved each other.

NO SLAVERY TODAY!

In other days, when our older men were in the vigor of life, was slavery. A man with a few thousand could then buy a member of the human family whose unfortunate fore-parents had been kidnapped from their native landcould buy him or her and getting a bill of sale the thing was done. So long as the purchaser into poverty. The same was true in feudal kept that piece of paper, or proof that he had times. Lords rose and fell with every change such paper, he was entitled to the net result, of monarchial fortune and as the result of that is, above the cost of maintenance, of the feudal strife. But as organic law became said member of the human family. That was stronger and more certain in its operation the slavery—the heinous monster to kill which the blood of half a million citizens of this land, and the rise to legal privilege more difficult was shed. And mark you, reader, that it was and infrequent. In like manner, as civilizaonly for the net results of the slave that he tion increases, the transformation of the was wanted or held as a slave. If slaves worker into the employer, or of the poor man could not have worked or could not have pro- into a rich man, becomes more and more induced more than enough to keep them, there frequent .- Albion W. Tourgee. never would have been any slavery. None are so blind that they have to be told that this SAGE, THE GOULDS, AND THE condition was the most degrading and unjust servitude.

But now. I know of men, leaders in ocial, religious and political circles, who have little scraps of paper locked up in great the Consolidated Coal Company, of St. Louis, strong, fireproof vaults of iron and stone. On the bottom line of these slips of paper a man not a black man-but one of the citizens of the greatest republic that has yet by men been builded-a man, a citizen, has signed his name and pledged his body-the labor of his body-to the holder of that paper for the payment of a given part of his labor, for a giver time. Perhaps the paper calls for a greater sum than the labor of one man can produce and the signer has to scheme to get the result or part of the result of the labor of one or more other persons. That slip of paper is a promissory note, and the signer is as much a slave as was ever a colored man in the South, or perhaps more-for the latter never gave up more than his labor-the white slave must often steal the labor of others to satisfy his inexorable master, whose name and power every man fears-Mr. Banker. But this is not slavery.

Or, perhaps the paper is a deed to divers houses in which men must live or perish, and every month this one master calls for onethird or one-fourth of the entire income of the great free citizen, who would die rather than be a slave and have his master take all he created except a living for himself and family!

Or, perhaps the paper is a share in some corporation that is squeezing all the balance the landlord don't take out of the great free citizen to pay dividends on "capital" invested in the great combines that control the water he uses, the food he eats, the clothing he wears and the coffins he will be buried in, and he is the bituminous coal regions, west and east, as as helpless and poor as the meanest kept well as for the countless attendant horrors Rut slavery has he abolished in the United States! What idiots women press their starving babies to their

STRIKES ARE BENEFITS.

Who says strikes don't benefit the workingmen? Digest the following figures taken will surely be expiated in violence-unless from the eighth annual report of Labor Com- the government turn aside from its solicitous There were 6,258 strikes in 170 trades. Of and raise a hand for the masses, who have no these, 3,556 were successful, 169 were compromised, 465 were unsuccessful, and 58 are pending. Number of persons engaged in ers, \$131,518.55; lost to employers from all causes, \$481,524.45. Estimated gain in wages for one year, \$3,122,888.10. A reduction in hours of labor was obtained by the strikers in 2,085 instances.

CANADIAN PACIFIC EARNINGS.

From the earliest days of inception until some time subsequent to the laying of the last that it behooves us to consider the best means rail of the Canadian Pacific road, there were by which that consent may be ascertained. would-be prophets of evil persistently foretelling that the earnings would never be sufficient to pay for the oil necessary to lubricate of the governed—the people, but rather their the axles of the rolling stock. As an answer at a store operated by their employer. The to this, the balance-sheet for the year 1893 abuses, the heartless robberies perpetrated showed total earnings of \$20,962,317, which in matters connected with governmental afunder such a system have been sufficiently after payment of all working charges left a net profit amounting to no less than \$7,741,416. to reach and deal with subjects of vital im--J. M. Oxley in Lippincott's.

and the client everything, proved that it in-fringed upon the freedom of contract and it was annulled. So, too, with the law provid-ing for weekly payment of wages, and that

POVERTY AND WEALTH.

IS MASTER OF HIS LIFE

Poverty, instead of being mainly the fault of the weak, has in all ages been chiefly the quence of the unrestricted exercise of wer by the strong.

tablishment of privileged classes. Mon and nobility are instances of this. A king rules because he has secured control of the political power of a realm. A hereditary nobility results always from the fact that there has been some combination of individuals who have been able to wrest from the body of the people some portion of the power that rightfully belongs in an equal degree to each.

This division of society into legalized classes of varying right and distinctive privileges is merely the result of unrestricted physical or political competition, but the inevitable consequences of perpetuating such inequalities by grant or prescription is ultimately to destroy

What is true of hereditary rank is also true of wealth, which is merely the control of accumulated surplus. One man has the capacity and the luck to make large accumulations. Another, of more power in other directions, perhaps, is deficient in that quality. The one equires the power which capital gives. Adam Smith aptly defines wealth to be "the power to control the labor of the country," and the man who controls another's labor controls the life of him who has no other convertible possession. This power society in a hundred ways perpetuates, so that conditions become permanent even in a republic to almost the same degree as rank in a monarchy, and we have a rich and a poor class. Men rise, it is true, out of the one into the other or fall back from wealth loss of inherited rank became less frequent

The Times spoke only the other day of the actions of this man Ridgely, manager of in reference to the Springfield conference. It now appears that Ridgely is but the agent of Russell Sage and the Gould estate, and has been acting in their interest to defeat the object of the conference and prolong the strike. It should be said on behalf of most of the

operators in Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania, that they have not been averse to some sort of convention with the strikers on the basis of a living wage. The movement to take advantage of the present desperate condition of the miners to drive wages down to the starvation point has been conducted by Ridgely, who, it seems, has simply been taking his orders from Sage and the Goulds. The other operators may have been moved by motives of humanity or by the siness necessity of keeping their plants in operation. Neither consideration appeals in the slightest degree to the New York magnates. They are above present need, having other and larger fish in the fire. No one ever accused them of a womanly tenderness for the feelings of others. The Gould estate was built on the wreck of other fortunes, and Russell Sage has made the greater part of his money by wringing usury from the necessities of his neighbors. Indeed, it is the practice of this good deacon to keep great hoards of ready money in hand against a sudden emergency in the street, in which he counts on loaning his store at cent per cent.

These are the people who must assume the responsibility for the prolonged suffering in ncident to the coal famine. Ten th emaciated breasts that the pampered brood of Jay Gould may gather the wherewithal for ostentatious charities, and the skinflint miser Deacon Sage, add to his heap. There is blood on every dollar so gained-blood which rights save those of toiling and starving that others may hoard and enjoy wealth .- Chicago Times.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

There is now pending before several legislatures bills which provide that the people of the states shall become more intimately acquainted with its affairs and perform the duties devolving upon them as sovereign citi-

If the theory of our government is correct and we all claim it to be, it implies that our government rests upon the consent of the gov erned; and it therefore necessarily follows

The political affairs of our states and country do not today really represent the consent toleration. Absence of expression of approval or disapproval does not imply cons in matters connected with governmental af-

The people have recognized that legislation directly involving their interests and advancement are so far removed from their power and influence, that the laws and measures for their relief are so intricately interwoven with the

odern idea of the political bo that little if d as to which party is dominant in the affairs of our states or

Organized labor in crystalized form ex carnest men and women of America who ex-ert themselves for the perpetuity of a govern-ment of the people, for the people and by the people; and insist that if a republican form of government is to be maintained it can only be when the governed become full sharers in the duties and responsibilities of government.

It is for this reason that we demand the induction of the initiative and the referen in government, so that the affairs of our people may be conducted by direct legislation

This system has passed the experimental stage. It is now in full force throughout Switzerland; and in embryo as typified by the New England town meetings.

· In labor organizations the affairs of most There can be no argument based upon reason urged against its application to the politics and municipal. Its opponents can bring forth no bluff them into a strike. If the officers and point for their antagonism except their mis- members of this new order only keep cool of the future as well as the interests of the present can safely be intrusted into their hands. The whole are more honest, more intelligent than the few.

have an oligarchy or a democracy. All lovers for political reform, economic justice and social enfranchisement must range themselves on the over again .- Locomotive Engineering. side of organized labor in this demand for direct legislation. - American Federationist.

WHY NOT DIFFERENT?

A writer in the Labor Leader wants everybody, particularly workingmen, to study the situation, and says: "Stop a moment and think! Shut you

eyes, patient reader, you even who scarce know 'light from darkness,' girded by 'the clinging bands of pain and sorrow,' bearing the curse of ages,' and with imagination as mighty as that of Jean Paul piercing the immensity of space, let the vision of labor unfold before you. Sweep over not alone our fair land, but with world-scope look and tell us what you see. Millions on millions, and millions more-bent backs and crooked limbs -failing sight and poisoned blood-humanity enfeebleized, dwarfed and brutalized. In dank air of mine the swart gnomes dig; amid buzzing wheel and rattling pulley the toil-spiders spin and weave; the filmy fabrics deftly fall from thin fingers; broad shoulders bear the stone and brick for giant edifices neath broiling sun; human automatons guide swift machines whose tireless speed strains every nerve to greatest tension; pale women stitch and stitch and stitch 'in poverty, hunger and dirt'; little children, caricatures of civilization, dream perchance of 'the young lambs playing in the meadows' while they vitiate mind and body in the close factory prison. Tell us not, O wise men, that this is the exercise of human faculty. These funeral corteges such early visitants, these babes shriveling for want of that pure air mother nature wafts so freely over land and sea, these tired and aching frames and bitter, narrowed minds-these are proofs that too long a living lie has been foisted on us to shield a social crime.

ONCE the welcome light has broken, Who shall say What the unimagined glories Of the day? What the evil that shall perish In its ray? Aid the dawning, Tongue and Pen! Aid it, hopes of honest men! Aid it, Paper, aid it Type! Aid it for the hour is ripe; And our earnest must not slacken Into play; Men of thought, and men of CLEAR THE WAY. -Charles Mackay

AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION.

The great victory of the American Railway probably the greatest victory won by railroad fused to sanction or aid the strikers. Chief firemen, switchmen, brakemen, trainmen, conductors and telegraphers went on strike in a Under the leadership of men like Arthur, the engineers strike and get beaten in detail; then the firemen, brakemen, switchmen and conductors strike in succession and are badly defeated. And yet very few railroad strikes would be lost if all employes struck together. While the chances of winning strikes, no matter how great the combination of labor, are decreased by the large numbers of unemployed men, still the chances are increased by the federation of all branches of labor. Eugene Debs, the president and founder of the American Railway Union, is a man of aded views, with a great heart and brain, and under his administration the union gives great promise of superseding those railway unions that sacrifice the interests of their -Cleveland Citisen.

THE GREAT NORTHERN STRIKE

American Railway Union—have scored nal victory in their first strike, that on the Great Northern road. This is the first suc ful strike by railroad men in twenty y When men combine to resist a reducti wages below the average of the country, the blic are on their side, and railroad officials elves are glad to see them maintain the pay. Only the fact that all employes went out and tied up the road from the Mississippi to the Pacific saved the day-and the pay goes a long way toward proving what President Debs has so stoutly maintained, that there was strength and safety only in absolute unity. Had any class order struck on the Great Northern for the same thing the A. R. U. did, the strikers would have lost their jobs and others would have taken their places at the reduced pay. It has been the hope and ambition of President Debs to keep out of strikes entous character, and, in many, those of and settle differences by agreements, but he the slightest importance are carried on by has shown by action that he is a general in means of the initiative and referendum. the field as well as on the recruiting board. We miss our guess if Mr. Hill, or any other manager of his kind, will not go quite a way business of our government, national, state, or to arbitrate with the A. R. U. before they trust of the people. We believe and have full avoid swelled heads, ask for only what is right faith in the people. We believe that the safety and demand only justice-justice for the other side as well as their own-they will do much to elevate their own members, and railroad workmen everywhere, and still hold the respect of the railroad officers of the country. We must soon choose whether we are to That there is strength in a union of all classes of railroad men has been proven. Let us of the human family, all who earnestly strive hope, then, there will be no excesses on either side that will call for another clash to prove it

THE INCOME TAX IN ENGLAND.

The paper which A. R. Spofford, librarian of Congress, read before a recent meeting of the Anthropological Society, deserves a wider publicity than is usually accorded to the records of that excellent body. The following extracts are especially worthy of the conideration of some half-baked statesmen who have been holding up the experience of England as a horrible example to frighten Demo crats away from their duty :

The fiscal experience of England is chiefly valuable as representing a people singularly in-dependent and jealous of proscription and of private rights, yet submitting for half a cen-tury to a kind of taxation which is denounced as of all others the most inquisitorial. Originated in 1798 as a war tax it continued till 1815, with brief, intervals, and was re-estab-lished in 1842 to cover deficient revenue in a time of profound peace. From that day to this it has survived under all administrations, in peace and in war, simply because it has prothe most convenient, the most elastic, and the most popular of all taxes—that upon liquors alone excepted. It has put into the British treasury every year from \$30,000,000 to \$80,000,000, and now pays nearly 40 per cent of the whole annual cost of the government. It has been subjected to every ordeal of criticism, of investigation, and of denunciation in the press, in parliament, and on the hustings where parliaments are made.

ncome tax have reported in 1852 and in 1861, after hearing all the testimony brought against it, that they could not recommend its repeal.

In spite of the alleged inequalities and inquisitions of the tax, it has survived that chronic attack of grumbling about public af-fairs which is the inalienable right of every

Englishman. There has been no demand the great commercial interests of Engand for its abolition. It is periodically de nounced by a portion of the press and as periodically re-enacted by parliament. It has enabled England to reform her entire financial and commercial system upon the lines which have prevailed in that country, reducing or abolishing all taxes upon consumption (except luxuries) and levying her taxes upon property and upon gains in every form.

Mr. Spofford is quite within the facts. It is true that the English income tax has been perennially assaulted by interested persons ever since it was conceived, but it has survived these attacks and remains the favorite impost of the people, not as a war measure, but as a convenient, elastic and equitable means of providing the ordinary revenues of peace. Such all of them are head-over-heels in debt to a record the income tax will make in America.

ABLE.

The relations of the wage-workers to the nanufacturers are not in the nature of a part-Union on the Northern Pacific Railway is nership with mutual interests, profit and ufacturers are! The rack-rented Pullin losses. They are in a certain degree similar men in recent years. It is the more remarkato to the position of buyer and seller of any arti- George Pullman said he was running his shop ble because the American Railway Union has cle of merchandise. When organized, each been in existence only a short time, and the will endeavor to secure the most favorable this statement was made, the company other railway organizations stood by and re- terms before making a contract. When both nounced that it would divide \$600,000 sides fail to reach an understanding the manu-Arthur, of the Brotherhood of Engineers, and facturer closes his factory and the workmen Chief Sargent, of the Brotherhood of Fire- cease to labor. This has been termed a lockmen, warned their members that they would out or strike. In reality it means an effort to not sanction the strike and that no strike maintain a fixed price or value for skill and to wipe out Duke George's little bill with benefits would be paid; but the engineers, brains, which should secure to its owner a fair Lord .- Knights of Labor. equivalent for labor performed. When both interests cannot be adjusted by argument or body and won an unprecedented victory. This conference, the positions change into two hosvictory shows the power of railway employes tile camps, ready to destroy each other. The when all branches are federated together. strongest side stipulates the term of peace under which industry can be resumed.

best disciplined force, the most complete organization, and strongest financial resources office's of the company have told himwield the power which is recognized as justice staple, trustful soul, he believes themin the settlement of trade disputes.

Trades unions well organized and disciplined, do not favor strikes. They discourage hasty and impulsive movements to redress the strike of 1891. That is to say, t either real or imaginary grievances. A strike horny-handed sons of toil lost their sleep should not be resorted to before all efforts in spent their money in order that the I harmony with honor and dignity to settle the company might swindle the governmen difference have failed. In conducting a of a matter of \$450,000. That strike, manhood should assert itself, abusive language, vituperative prints and pamphlets, It is evident that the lieute harmful to the best cause, should be avoided. sophisticated for shore duty. A strike should be conducted in a quiet and ordered to sea before a co A strike should be conducted in a quiet and energetic manner, without any bragging as to Chicago Herald.

er, and cause a r ing to our grievances .- Adolph Str

PULLMAN'S RESPONSIBILITY.

If George M. Pullman shortly finds h face to face with a national or strike, he has himself to blame.

If the traveling public find them prived of the ordinary comforts of travel and eset by a thousand annoyances and dangers, hey have George M. Pullman to blan

The latest device of high civilization h een offered to Pullman as an honorable es from the dishonorable position in which he inds himself. Arbitration, the resort of inteligence and humanity, is placed before him as an alternative to prolonged suffering and men acing disquietude. The tender comes from nen and women of the highest classnerchants, two lawyers, a college profe abor editor, a philanthropist-all careful students of sociology, who have proved their devotion to the interests of all classes by housand acts. If Pullman refuses this offer-and it is said

that he certainly will—he cannot fall back on the lying truism that he "has the right to manage his own business in his own way. His is a quasi public corporation as he is a quasi public citizen, having responsibilities to people who have made him what he is and ipon whose suffrage he absolutely depends. Hs cannot shirk those responsibilities now and so fatten his own greed at the public cost. He owes a duty to the state and to the world of labor; the obligation is absolute.

There is, unhappily, no assurance that he will, or that, having consented to arbitration, he would abide by the decision of the arbiters He has been caught in more than one lie and deceit since this strike began. His word i not good,-Chicago Times.

THE "industrials" out west who captu trains to ride on them, should receive the mo severe punishment allowed by the law. Wh don't the fools steal the entire railroad anbecome the most respected citizens of the community?—Ex.

I MOVE you, Mr. Chairman Deaver, that it s the sense of the populists of Nebraska that Senator Allen of this state and Eugene V. Debs of Indiana be declared Nebraska's choice for President and Vice - President. Who'll second the motion ?- Western Laborer.

No TRUE freedom is possible while some depend on others for a chance to earn a living. When a man can stand on his own feet, secure in the power to earn an independent liing, and can dictate the terms on which he will work for another, then that man is free,-

JUDGE CALDWELL recently said that \$36,ooo eco of the capital stock of the Union Tacific Railroad represented an investment of 2 cents on each dollar. Yet the people are paying freight rates sufficient to pay an interest on this enormous amount of Knights of Labor.

CERT.-Debs talked reform to 26,000 peoole at Indianapolis one day this week; Sover eign is receiving an ovation in the West where he is deluging plutocracy with metallic facts; Gompers in the East giving encouragement to the striking coal miners; Senator Allen in Washington pulling the tail of the tariff bugaboo until its squawk can be heard over the civilized world; over 100,000 men marching to Washington to demand the right of petition. Verily, the world "do move" in these stirring times of peace !- Western Laborer.

A STRIKE at Pullman! "Who'd a thun it?" Why, this is the palace town that the outside world has been led to believe by cu rent newspaper reports was the paradise of th workingman. It now transpires that near Pullman Company, and are suffering f poor wages, unjust conditions and all other ills that ordinary outside workers suffe from. Oh! of course, the works have be WHEN STRIKES ARE JUSTIFI- run at a dead loss to the owners. That's way they became millionaires.- K. of Journal.

> OH! how charitable these millionaire n employes are on strike for living wages, and at an actual loss. Yet within four days after dividends on its stock. But Duke George ! just built a memorial church at a cost \$75,000, and it is expected that every ma woman and child will say one prayer, at lea

No government investigation has ever elicited more ludicrous statements from wi nesses than the one now in progress into " Carnegie armor plate frank Holcomb, of the mavy, one of the inspe It is not justice that wins, it is power. The at the Carp gie works, bears off the pain ingenuit in accounting for the frauds. the workmen in the mills stayed up all ni and used false stamps and bad material order to "get even" with the company Lieutenant Holcomb, is their i

THE FIRST QUADRENNIAL CONVENTION A. R. U. ne following is the full list of delega

ng to A. R. U. Convention up to yes at 12 P.M.:

I. C. W. Archbold

2. John Casey. 6. Martin King. 7. Thomas Muller. 8. S. B. Field. 12. Carl Smith

13. George Fairchild. 16. S. E. Heberling. 17. Fred Woodruff. 18. Robert Tracey.

Thomas Shortlift. 20. E. Payne. 21. Z. R. Dickey. 25. M. J. Powers.

39. T. D. Connor.

45. Joseph Bell.

46. G. O. Toole.

47. Lee Sommers.

48. F. A. Wake.

F. J. Hart.

51. S. E. Breslou

52. James Bruce.

Ira Jackson.

62. Ira D. Mayhall.

63. C. B. Herman.

66. C. U. Pierson.

73. George Colbath

78. L. V. Carroll.

80. C. G. Dahl. '

St. J. A. Corcoran.

83. W. L. Irwin. 88. T. F. Richardson.

W. T. Riker.

A. C. Burrows

John S. Sheehan

92. Matt Scanlon.

D. Collins.

J. H. Small.

106. E. B. Mavo.

107. S. E. Garrett.

110. E. H. Mattice.

117. James W. Mann.

John H. Mooney.

Steven Washington.

C. R. Webber.

D. Maney.

B. Lawson.

127. W. H. Brookan,

133. C. C. Personette.

134. Con McCauliffe.

165. J. P. Barney. 136. E. E. Evans.

137. A. Stockdale.

139. C. A. Timlin.

140. Frank Bannin.

142. G. W. Buzard.

146. C. S. Hurd. 147. F. E. Smith.

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169. H. B. Wells.

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199 William Hass.

192. H. E. Cronin.

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402. John McMinn. 406. A. P. Merriam. 407. A. J. Patterson.

413. W. F. Kissell.

415. J. W. Lyon.

SOME A. R. U. NEWS.

In the awful rush of the Union, its growth has been almost too rapid to keep track of. On the 1st inst. the published directory showed
355 unions. The number this morning is position on current questions. There is ONLY
330. Seventy-five unions in fifteen days. It is only by imagination of all these enthusiastic. is only by imagination of all these enthusiastic gatherings at all points of the compass that we can get an idea of the whole. Just guess at a big time all round and everywhere, and you have got it. A few special cases are remembered and here given :

The St. Paul shop union expects to have in a thousand next meeting. Started with over four hundred.

I. G. Voglesang put a whopping big union at Detroit last week.

Brother Hogan organized La Crosse, Wisconsin, June 1, and met with a deserved rousing reception by a big audience.

At Emporia, Kansas, No. 52 has got into a snarl with a crumb-picking paper of that burg. No. 52 passed a set of red-hot resolutions expressing sympathy with commonweals, just the stuff, and which appeared in full next issue. Whereupon the dirt-eater, Eskrige by name, opened his mouth. Brother D. A. Matheny came back at him, skinned him and hung up the hide in the Emporia Tidings.

One of the difficulties in Chicago was to keep our force of organizers. One speaker at a meeting was all we could raise. But with the coming of the convention, we had talen: to spare. The delegates are giving the Pulman folks a full supply. At an organization meeting at Chicago last Saturday night the speakers were so plenty that they hardly got out "Mr. Chairman" until time was up. Among them were Directors Rogers, Hogan, Sebring and Kern.

THE RAILWAY TIMES trusts that the con vention will so arrange matters as regards it, as to provide for a system of correspondence to make its news notes more complete. In the rush of the past few months and its limited space, it was unable to give this important matter the attention deserved.

An Appropriate Name. There is a father in Philadelphia who is mean enough to call his daughter Misery, because she loves company. Who wouldn't love company in Philadelphia?—Texas Sift-

Not Up in Meteorology. 'Atmospherical knowledge is not thoroughly distributed in our schools. A boy being asked, "What is mist?" vaguely responded: "An umbrella."—Texas Siftings.

None but the Fly Deserve the Fair. No man deserves to win a woman who has not the sense to first secure an offensive and defensive alliance with her little brother.—

Boston Transcript.

COMPULSORY VACCINATION.

local health boards is arousing great indigna-tion. People are called from their beds at midnight to receive the virus, and children are coralled in school that the poison may b ply, and deaths are commonly reported. Lockjaw and blood poisoning have followed, and generally the remedy seems worse than the disease. We would not combat the individual liberty of any person to be vaccinated but we would be strongly tempted to resist with force any attempt to vaccinate against the will of the patient. The horror of small pox s largely an exaggerated superstition. Properly treated the chances of recovery are good. Many more people die of other diseases which are hardly ever isolated, yet are now considered equally contagious. The whole truth is that the capitalist class are afraid to die-life is too much of a picnic, and they realize that the horrible condition into which they have driven the masses of humanity is endangering the public health. They sanction cruelty, barbarism of any sort, so that they are pro tected from the result of their own system The plague, the pestilence once generated in the filth of a vile system spares no classes. Like the oppressor of the Nile when the plague struck Egypt, these exploiters will not let the people go until death invades the palace as it does the hovel. It is not vaccina but humanity that is needed. The injection of Tammany Hall virus is not so much required as a general inoculation with the spirit of Justice .- Twentieth Century.

THERE is, I know not how, in the minds of men, a certain presage, as it were, of a future existence, and this takes the deepest root, and is most discoverable, in the greatest geniuses and most exalted souls.—Cirero.

THE capitalistic press tells us that the rail-roads are making "heavy net earnings."
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side the limb in cut, is made over a plaster cast of the stump, giving an exact fit, being held permanendly upon the stump by elastic fastened to lacer above, and in act of walking moves up and down in the Outer Socket, bringing all the friction between the two sockets instead of between the stump and the socket, as is the case in all single and wooden socket limbs. With our SLIP SOCKET the most tender and sensitive stump can be fitted and limb worn with perfect ease and comfort.

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