NOT THEY WHO DESTROYED THE PROPERTY.

Officers and Reporters Swear Hoodlums Did It-Positive Proof That Roads Ran the Government.

The main object of the prosecution in the contempt cases now being tried seems to be to show, if possible, that the accused were in some way to blame for the lawlessness during the strike. The work of the government commission in this city recently has thrown much light upon this subject, and some of the sworn testimony is here reproduced. Superintendent of Police Brennan went on record as follows:

Mr. Kernan-What percentage of railroad men do you think were concerned in the acts of violence and destruction of property?

Mr. Brennan-Only a small percentage Mr. Kernan-Who did it?

Mr. Brennan-A lot of hoodlums and vicious people, mixed with women and children.

Fire Marshal Fitzgerald was sworn and examined:

Mr. Kernan-Bid you attendall of the fires in the period named?

Mr. Fitzgerald-Nearly all; I was on duty at all the fires of any magnitude.

Mr. Kernan-Please state if there was interference with the firemen in the performance of their duties, and what, in your opinion, was the cause of the fires.

Mr. Fitzgerald-There was no interference with the firemen at any time. The cause of the fires was due to the action of youngsters, who lighted waste and other inflammable material and threw it in cars and wherever it would catch the woodwork. I stopped a number of boys whom I saw doing such

Mr. Kernan-You have a large acquaintance among railroad men in your district?

Mr. Fitzgerald-Yes, I know a great many of them.

Mr. Kernan-Was any interference attempted by railroad men that you know of?

Mr. Fitzgerald-No.

Mr. Kernan-Did you receive any aid from railroad men?

Mr. Fitzgerald-Yes. On one occasion a number of railroad men helped the firemen pull an engine into position perience of the past. Take the interat Forty-fifth street and the Fort Wayne tracks. I did not ask aid at any time during the fires.

Among the many reporters who testified was Miller of the Tribune.

Mr. Kernan-Have you an extensive acquaintance among railroad men?

Mr. Miller-In the course of my work them by sight, at least.

Mr. Kernan - Did you see anyone whom you knew to be a railroad man en-

who were so engaged? Mr. Miller-Never except once. That He was not doing any of it, but the general tenor of his talk was in the nature of advice to do what was being done. and toughs. In my reports I charthem were boys.

Mr. Kernan-What was your observation as to the sobriety or otherwise of the strikers at their meetings?

Mr. Miller-I scarcely remember see ing one under the influence of liquor. Sobriety was the rule and drunkenness the exception.

Mr. Kernan-Did the speakers at these they encourage it?

Mr. Miller-They advised against it. Mr. Kernan-Did you think them sin-

cere in this advice, or was it simply a cloak? Mr. Miller-I believed them sincere, particularly the brainier men among

The testimony of the other reporters was in the same line. Harding of the

Times was examined: Mr. Kernan-Did you ever see anyone

whom you knew was a railroad man engaged in any violence?

Mr. Harding-I never did. The stock yards furnished the most glaring example of the false and exaggerated reports of riots and disorder made by the newspapers in the recent strike. This district has for years been made to bear the burden of the crimes committed in this region of the city. There was comparatively little disorder at the stock yards during the strike, but the newspaper shooting affrays and riots almost every

tigation proved to have no cause other than the desire to create excitement. The militia men, he said, were in the habit of firing merely for the sake of making a sensation. A crowd would naturally gather, reporters would flock around and there would be something to

tell and brag about. I know this is so 100 switchmen working in a yard and from talks with the men themselves, ten or twelve of them are organized They intimated that they were getting you'll have a strike on your hands in fiftired of doing nothing and were desirous of creating some excitement. One night would mean the abolition of the wage Captain O'Neil said he heard a volley of ten shots. He went to the spot and found the shooting was done by a lot of litia always called out to protect propsentries. They said they had fired at a erty independent of who owns it? Polak-the common name for the Poles

who was seen crawling under a freight car. The soldiers said it was dark and back of the strike. the man was at a distance and they did not hit him. Yet they knew he was a Polak. Equally absurd stories in explanation of the shootings were given that the roads ran the government: the police captain on other occasions.

Mr. Debs was on the stand an entire day, and among other interesting points the following was brought out:

Commissioner Kernan-If it should be shown that when government ownership of railroads has resulted in poorer service and more expensive management, do you think it would be a good thing?

Mr. Debs-Government ownership of government ownership of railroads. they wouldn't serve against the strikers. Strikes cannot be averted otherwise.

Commissioner Worthington Will tificate of character or fitness? government supervision answer the purpose?

Mr. Debs-I do not think so.

Commissioner Worthington-Will arbitration answer?

Mr. Debs-I fear not. No good can come from compulsory arbitration. That is a contradiction in terms. Even if ties? some means of enforcing the decree could be devised, those against whom eral Olney. He told us to hire all we the decree was rendered would not be needed. satisfied. The basis must be friendship and confidence.

Commissioner Kernan-You give government ownership of the railroads as a remedy for railway strikes. You doubtless see that except they are confiscated outright it must be a long time before all of them could be acquired. In the meantime do you not think that government supervision would be at least a palliative?

Mr. Debs- Not, judging by the ex- no written instructions. state commerce law for instance. It was tions to the railroad deputies? passed to prevent unjust discrimination among shippers. Yet there is not a railroad in the country that has not persistently violated every provision of the law. Take the Santa Fe for instance. The accountant for the receivers says that \$7,000,000 has been diverted in re-I have learned to know a good many of bates, \$2,000,000 of which cannot be traced.

Commissioner Kernan-Is not your principal trouble that railroad managers report to anyone except the chief degaged in violence or encouraging others are inaccessible to committees seeking redress of grievances, and thus aggravate the difficulty, and so would not was when a meat train was being cut in courts of some kind where both parties had they not? two and switches were being turned, would be on an equal footing do some

good? Mr. Debs-They might. But since ficate of character from them? railroads do not obey the decisions of Mr. Donnelly-Ohly that the railroads Most of the trouble was by hoodlums the inter-state commission I do not see said they were all right. much likelihood of their obeying the deacterized them as hoodlums. Many of cisions of a court of arbitration unless it to you? suited their convenience. With the power of the railroads to control the press, and through it public opinion, whether the railroads operated all trains and all the forces of government I do not believe they could fail in the end to control such boards. It is the perfect confidence with which the railroads depend on the forces of society and government to come to their rescue that inmeetings advise against violence or did spires them to do many things they would not do if left to fight their own

Commissioner Worthington-You give government ownership of railroads as a remedy for railroad strikes. What about strikes in other industries?

Mr. Debs-The replacement of the wage system by the co-operative com-

monwealth. Commissioner Wright-Another name

for state socialism? Mr. Debs-Not as I understand it. My views are substantially those of

Laurence Gronlund. Things must grow worse instead of better while the wage system continues. As long as a man is dependent on another for work he is a slave. With labor-saving machinery, which term I consider a misnomer, as it is really labor displacing machinery, unrestricted immigration, and ten men bidding for one job, wages are bound to go lower and lower. With unrestricted immigration and unrestricted competition reports contained accounts of fights and things have got to get worse. All forms of capital instinctively feel their affinity night. Captain O'Neil, of the stock I want labor to feel the same way. In

STRIKERS NOT GUILTY said, every day or night, which on investigation broad to have no course other tracked and made unmittented and unm

tacked and made unmitigated war on us. Commissioner Kernan-If such a unification of the railway men as you suggest were accomplished would it not have a dangerous power?

Mr. Debs-A little power is more dangerous than great power. If you have teen minutes. The unification of labor system.

Commissioner Wright-Isn't the mi-

Mr. Debs-Not in the face of General Miles' statement that he had broken the

Chief Deputy United States Marshal Donnelly was one of the very interesting bal among the man-eating tribes of the witnesses because his testimony proved South Sea jungles. To hold a well filled

Mr. Kernan-How many men did you swear in?

Mr. Donnelly-We had a regular force of between 1,400 and 1,500, and then we often heard of. A local paper says: swore in between 3,000 and 4,000 for the railroads. The government armed and paid the regular force, or will pay them. The railroads armed and paid the others.

Mr. Kernan-What class of men composed your regular force?

Mr. Donnelly-The first lot we got railroads is decidedly better than rail- were a pretty poor lot. We had to go road ownership of government. The out on the street and get such men as we give a single cent of the sum so raised time is coming when there must be could. The better class of men said

Mr. Kernan-Did you require any cer-

Mr. Donnelly-At first we didn't: we had to take what we could get. Later we made some inquiries, and frequently the men came in with some sort of certificates or letters.

Mr. Kernan-From whom did you receive your instructions to hire depu-

Mr. Donnelly-From Attorney-Gen-The number we needed was decided on at conferences between Mr. Arnold, Mr. Milchrist, the district attorney and Mr. Walker, special assistant district attorney.

Mr. Kernan - What were your instructions to the deputies, and were they written or oral?

Mr. Donnelly-Our regular men I would generally tell when we were going out to move trains engaged in inter-state commerce and mail trains. There were

Mr. Kernan-Did you give instruc-

Mr. Donnelly-I didn't give them any instructions. The railroads would send in a batch of men, saying they were all right, and we would swear them in. We gave the stars to the railroads and took their receipt for them.

Mr. Kernan-Did these railway dep uties report to you or were they under your orders?

Mr. Donnelly-No sir. They didn't tectives of the roads.

Mr. Kernan-They had derived all their authority from the United States,

Mr. Donnelly-Yes, sir.

Mr. Kernan-You required no certi-

Mr. Kernan—And they did not repor

Mr. Donnelly-No, sir.

Mr. Worthington - Do you know with deputy marshals or whether they were carrying mails or not?

Mr. Donnelly-I don't know that.

Mr. Kernan-Did you ever receive reports of drunkenness or violence among the deputies?

Mr. Donnelly-Most of the reports of that kind were from among the railroad deputies. I have one in my pocket now received a few moments ago.

Mr. Kernan-Did you see any violence committed by men you knew were strikers? Mr. Donnelly-All the violence and

car burning I saw was done by boys, tough kids. Some of them were pretty well loaded up with drink.

Mr. Kernan-Were there any of y deputies who were not citizens? Mr. Donnelly-We had one that I

know of. Mr. Kernan-Was he a regular or a railroad deputy? Mr. Donnelly-He was one of our

regular men. Mr. Kernan-You don't know whether any of the railroad deputies were citizens or not?

Mr. Donnelly-I do not.

FIENDISH WORK OF A REG-ULAR ARMY OFFICER.

Pullman Sufferers Are Kept Starving With Cash in Hand-Given Their Money Only on Surrender.

The last act in the tragic Pullman strike embodies a chapter of human atrocity rarely equaled in the sad annals of labor's heroic struggle for honest wages. To the Chicago hussars belongs to Lieutenant Quincy, in particular, is due the distinction of conceiving an atrocity that would immortalize a cannipurse before the eyes of a man whose children are starving and offer to exchange it for his resignation as a labor leader is a refinement of cruelty not

Several days ago the Chicago hussars advertised an entertainment at Tattersall's for the benefit of the Pullman strike sufferers. The public generously responded and the entertainment netted about \$500 for the strikers. The committee, of which Lieut. Tom Quincy, of the hussars, is chairman, has refused to to the relief committee or to the sufferers unless the labor unions at Pullman declare the strike off.

The committee also refuses to expend the money so raised for any other purpose than in buying railroad tickets and in sending the strikers out of town.

All of which leads to inquiry and not a little unfavorable comment.

Since raising the fund mentioned-a fund which the public contributed with exacting any conditions concerning its disposal, the hussar committee has been actively engaged in demanding of the Pullman strikers that before they can receive any assistance out of the fund they must declare the strike off. To such an extent has the committee carried its conditions that five of the eighteen local unions engaged in the Pullman strike yesterday signed docurante declaring the strike off, and these declarations were placed in the hands of Lieut. Quincy, who still has them in his possession. Lieut. Quincy also persuaded Chairman Thomas W. Heathcote, of the central strike committee, to resign his chairmanship and declare the strike off as far as his own union-No. 208-was concerned. Chairman Heathcote and the officials of four other unions were forced to take the action they did in order that the suffering families of Pullman might receive the benefit of the hussar fund.

Lieut. Quincy called at the city hall yesterday afternoon and boastingly exhibited what he termed "the surrender of the strikers to the Chicago hussars.' One of the documents was Chairman Heathcote's resignation, which is as

TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC: I have on three or four occasions called mass meetings at Turner hall, Kensington, for the purpose of declaring the strike off at Pullman. All local unions represented agreed to send representatives for the purpose of calling the strike off today. Failing to meet me for that purpose I hereby tender my resignation as chairman of the cen tral strike committee, and as president of local on No. 208. I declare the strike off.

T. W. HEATHCOTE. Lieut. Quincy also exhibited the following notice which had just been

received by him: PULLMAN, ILL., Sept. 5. TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC: We, the under signed, representatives of local unions hereafter nentioned, do hereby declare the Pullman strike off. Nos. 191, 279, 196 and 356.

WILLIAM COCHRANE, President 191. W. G. HISLOP, Secretary 191. THEODORE ROHDE, for 196. J. W. JACOBS, for 279. OTTO KLEIN, for 356.

"You see, I made these officials of the unions they represent sign this notice declaring the strike off, before we would give up a cent of money," said Lieut. Quincy. "Then we decided that we would not give up any of the fund except in the purchase of tickets for those who wanted to leave Pullman. After we received these notices which I hold, declaring the strike off, I bought eleven tickets for strikers who wanted to leave Pullman, but we shall refuse assistance to any man whose union has not declared the strike off."

"Why have you made such a con-

dition?" Lieut. Quincy hesitated and stam ered a moment before replying. "Oh, well, the people who contributed to the fund made it on those conditions. Beside that we want the strike declared off. Old Tom Heathcote has reached bed-Professor Herron, in the course of an rock. He is dead broke and we easily

order and then I bought the tickets. Some of the tickets are for Michigan some for Kansas, and some for Canada One fellow wanted me to buy tickets for himself and sister to Butte, Mont. I refused to do it and told him to go and work in a ditch for the money. I won't give a cent to any man whose union has not declared the strike off."

The announcements of the hussar en tertainment for the benefit of the Pullman sufferers contain no conditions as to how the fund should be expended, so it appears that Lieut. Quincy and his committee have arrogated to themselves the right of attaching conditions to the distribution of a fund which they hold the shame of the infamous incident, and in trust for several thousand starving women and children.

In Reverse ("Oh, Blessed Charity.")

[Written for THE RAILWAY TIMES.]

BY E. E. EVANS. I read the words with trembling heart, Penned by Charlotte Perkins Stets Oh true conceiving of an art That works such dark deception

I wish but to reverse the sce To show the utter folly in it: The treasure on the shelf is seen But no way found, as yet, to win it.

The smaller boy with wits more keen (The larger one is not far sighted), Proposes now they fix a scheme By which their hearts will be delighted.

They build a fabric far from strong On which they both may climb to reach it The lesson has been needed long; The small boy's mission was to teach it.

He clambers up — the smaller one Assisted by his trusting brother, And grasps the treasure that belongs As much to one as to the other. But now he thinks it all his own. And hugs the wealth unjustly gotten Forgetting that the tottering throne

On which he sits is weak and rotten What "blessed charity" is shown By this ill-treated larger brother, That he break not the fabric down And build one stronger than the other

Value of the Railway Strike.

The railway strike has shown conclusively that the ballot-box is the only proper and effective way to remedy the many serious evils we all experience. If the workmen, who suffer most from our present anarchial, competitive system, would vote the populist of socialist ticket this fall every state in the union would be carried by large majorities against the two old parties, and a majority for the new forces would be assured in the congress which meets in December, 1895and which, in a real republic, should that the president will call an extra session of congress for March 4, 1895, when the congressmen elected in November are entitled to seats, since it is probable that there will be fifty or sixty populists in it-if the people were sufficiently intelligent, populist and socialist congressmen would be in the majority. Then such legislation would speedily be had as would solve all these difficulties; the only solution lies in the collective ownership by the whole people of all the means of production and distribution.-The Commonwealth.

Criminals and Corporations.

A convicted criminal is often made a criminal for life, because, after having served a term in the workhouse, jail or penitentiary, he at once becomes a marked man by those who knew him in his innocence, and his just punishment earth from interfering with railroad cars made to become unjust and to continue and trains engaged in inter-state comon and on to the end of his natural life. merce or in carrying the United States In fact, he is often made to live the life mail upon the alleged ground that the of a criminal when his heart's desire is American Railway Union officers and to walk in the paths of innocence and other persons unknown were engaged in uprightness. So with many a woman who has but once listened to the siren song of the tempter; she longs for the mail; to present this bill to a United

be found in the brotherhood doctrine. govern the ways of corporations and mob or rioters, and, as they were sure to trusts. The servants of these soulless treat the injunction with contempt, to and bloodless institutions of man's creation regard it as a cardinal virtue force this negative prohibitory injuncand first-class commendation to their superiors to be able to make money for the company-make it honorably and honestly if they can, but never to forget that they are to make mouey for the company-their promotion depending upon their ability to make money .- Cincinnati Lancet-Clinic.

Just a Prediction.

The Virginia Chronicle says a prominent citizen of California, who was a resident of Nevada during the flush times, and foremost among the writers and thinkers in the early history of Ne vada, writes to a personal friend in Virginia City as follows: "It looks as though the strike was practically broken and that the railroads would have things their own way again for a time; but the day of reckoning for them is not far off. If the powers that be do not bring them under the law there will be some power that will. I think a political landslide is imaddress at the University of Nebraska, remarked that the judiciary of this country is thoroughly corrupt, and that went to the presidents of the other four alike are coming over to the populist yards police, told me that the reporters and the militia were both responsible for this. Volleys of shots fired by the soldiers or the militia were to be heard, he diers or the militia were to be heard, he

JUDGE TULEY CAUSTIC

GOYERNMENT BY INJUNC-TIONS WILL NOT DO.

The Government Sharply Criticised Fearless Attack by a Judge-. No Hope of Impeachment.

Judge Murray F. Tuley contributed an article to the Labor Day edition of the Chicago Times that is of especial interest now that the trial of the strike leaders is on. Judge Tuley is one of the ablest as well as oldest men occupying the bench and the opinion of this vener-

able jurist is of great weight. He says
When violence and disorder attended the late strike President Clevelar declared that there was no time to dis cuss the means of supressing the same He was right, but now as the strike i over the time for discussion has arrived.

Cleveland is receiving the plaudits of the multitude, particularity of the republicans, for bringing federal intervention to the suppression of the strike in a new and hitherto unheard of manner. But the rightfulness of that action and the effect of it as a precedent has yet to be submitted to the sober secon thought of the people of the Unite States. Will the verdict of the public, uninfluenced by self-interest or by apparent necessity of meeting the particular emergency, be the same at present? I appehend not.

The labor element, chagrined at the failure of the sympathetic strike caused unquestionably by federal intervention, is clamoring for the impeachment of Attorney-General Olney, by whose advice the peculiar method of resorting to a court of chancery was undertaken.

This matter of impeachment raises two questions-first, was the advice given and the course pursued sound law-and if not was the attorneygeneral honest in giving the erroneous advice; for if he was he cannot be impeached.

The labor people urge that it was a strange act for a president elected by the democratic party, which has heretofore been the party of the people-of the masses against the classes—to appoint a railroad attorney to such a position. He was the solicitor of the Chicago, Burmeet in December, 1894. It is not likely lington & Quincy railroad at the time of his appointment. They also point to the fact that Olney in selecting local counsel for the legal campaign of the United States government selected the leading railroad lawyer of Chicago as his assistant. The labor people not only be lieve that Olney was appointed attorned general at the instance of the railroad but also believe that his action and advice in the late strike was in the interest of his former employers and not dictated by any desire to serve the general

Olney's scheme was this: To cause to be filed in the United States courts at the different points where the strike existed a bill in equity under the interstate commerce law for an injunction to enjoin the officers of the American Railway Union and every other person on a conspiracy to prevent inter-state commerce and to obstruct the United States family love and recognition which should States judge and obtain, without notice to anyone, an ex parte injunction; to at-There is no such doctrine found to tempt to serve this injunction upon the call on the United States military to ention. That was the new device of this railroad attorney-general. Call on the United States judiciary to enjoin a mob or riot and then upon the military to enforce the injunction upon the mob or

It was certainly something novel for the executive power to seek to make use of the judiciary as a tool or instrument for suppressing a mob. It was the first instance in our history. The duty of the legislative power is to make the laws, of the executive power to enforce the laws, and of the judiciary to declare the laws.

Who before Olney conceived of the idea of calling upon a court of chancery to put down a mob or quell a riot, or who ever before used it for such a pur-

While it is admitted that as a rule a court of chancery can not be used to enjoin violence, disorder, or a mob, yet it is contended that under the inter-state commerce act the United States government is expressly given the right to apply to a court of chancery for its aid in enforcing that act, and to restrain parties from violating its provisions.

[Continued on third page.]

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CHICAGO, SEPTEMBER 15, 1894.

Watch It.

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

Notice to A. R. U. Men. Regular meetings of Local Union No. 12, at O'Callaghan's hall, corner Lincoln and Indiana Sts. T. J. Gare, Secy. and Indiana Sts.

Notice to Local Unions.

The ten-cents-a-week assessment or ered by the convention for the support the Pullman strike has been declared by the Board of Directors S. KELIHER, Secy.

THE TRIAL.

So far as the trial of the officers of the American Railway Union has progressed it is a tiresome farce. A minute examination is made into the most trifling letails. Several days have been c numed by the government in thrice roving inconsequental nothings and it is aid to still have on hand an endless number of witnesses who saw some unknown man pick up a stone, or heard some strike leader urging the men to quit work. The constant objections of the defendants counsel are met by Judge Woods with the remark that this is not an examination to be hindered by tech nical points, and so the weary "trial goes on.

Unless the special counsel for the gov ernment is anxious to make a pretense of earning that alleged fee of \$50,000 by consuming a great deal of time, why not ent this child's play short off, announce the verdict and have done with it? Nobody denies the main issue. It involves the principle of the right of free speech. It is a question of whether a citizen of the republic has a right to advise another citizen to act peaceably for his own best interests, to the detriment of the labor-robbing corporations. This question should be kept free, and unhadowed by the cloud of trifles. The overnment, during the strike, went into partnership with the corporations and ent them its army to crush the strike. We are now to see whether the courts can be used to imprison the advocates of strikes. So let the issue be unclouded. If the plutocracy has decided to throttle free speech let the verdict rest upon that issue alone.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

or the first time the producing milns are fully aroused and the first real effort to take legal possession of the government will be made this fall. The re cent great railroad strike more than any thing else is responsible for this. It very clearly demonstrated the fact that robbing corporations now solidly united. triumphed.

protected from wage robbery. The have more successfully done it for hire. laboring people see this, and in every section of the country they are rushing into the ranks of the People's party.

It is true the People's party is not perfect. Tens of thousands of those who will vote with it are not fully agreed to all its propositions. But if there are follows: some flaws the main issue is right. Beneath the cloud of imperfections is the great principle of a government by the people. Upon this all the countless factions agree and to this they will cling until the People's party has done its work-reconstructed the government.

Rally, then, to the People's party. It should receive every labor vote. It is the only party uncompromisingly opposed to the government as it stands. It is the only party which is the deadly enemy of trusts and corporations, and the steadfast friend of the producers. Labor can be true to itself only by voting for the People's party.

Raises Wages and Lowers Fares.

What effect will the government ownership of railways have? How can we tell? Simply by looking at the result of it in other countries which are further advanced than we are. The following figures are going the round of the reform press:

In Austria you can ride a distance of 1,000 miles across the country for \$6.50, first-class, too, while workingmen can ride six miles for two cents, twelve miles for four cents, and thirty miles for ten

In Hungary, where roads are owned the states, you can ride six miles for cent, and since the government

THE RAILWAY TIMES and freights have been cut down onehalf and wages doubled

In Germany you can ride four miles for one cent on the government-owned railroad. Yet wages are 123 per cent higher than they were when private corporations owned them, and during the last ten years the net profits have increased fourteen per cent.

In Victoria, where the government owns the railroads, fares are not half as high as in this country, and the net income is sufficient to pay all federal taxes.

The Prussian government has operated railroads so successfully that a surplus of \$1,000,000 has accumulated, and it is now proposed to reduce fares still lower.

Egan's Admission.

While undergoing the fire of cross-examination before the strike commission. General Manager Egan, who was at the head of the managers association during the strike, was forced to admit that the purpose of that body was to crush organized labor. The letter from Debs to the managers proposing a settlement was under consideration. In the presence of his testimony the assertion that the general managers combination was merely

courteously composed and looking to a settlement of the difficulty?

Mr. Egan-We didn't need a settlement; we had 'em beat already.

Question The soldiers, marshals sheriffs, and police remained on duty some time after that, didn't they?

Mr. Egan We needed the soldiers to protect our property.

Question- If a settlement could have been reached at that time between the railroads and the strikers couldn't the soldiers and marshals have been dis missed? They wouldn't have been needed after an amicable settlement had been reached, would they?

Mr. Egan It was their intention not to recognize the American Railway

Question Then it is true, is it, that the reason this communication was not received was not because it was not courteously worded, or because it was discourteous or insulting, but because the general managers would not recog nize the American Railway Union?

Mr. Egan Well, that's as I under stood it.

Question What would there have been out of the way for you to have talked with Debs and Howard when they asked a conference with you?

Mr. Egan I didn't have any authority

Question-Then your authority exten ded to this: You had authority to contract, at the expense of the failroads, for all the force necessary to crush the strike, but had no authority to settle it by peaceful means?

Mr. Egan Well, yes; I suppose so.

A Uniformed Scoundrel.

The people who recently patronized the "military" performance at Tattersall's because they wished to help the Pullman strikers and not because they cared to see the monkey tricks of a few tin soldiers from Gen. Miles' circus brigade. have been confidenced out of their money.

In the shape of admission fees they placed several hundred dollars in the hands of a fellow named Quincy, to be turned into bread and meat for the hunthe strike can not protect labor from the gry people at Pullman. They did not suspect that Mr. Pullman himself was to To this fact it added the absolute proof be the beneficiary, but a careful reading that the machinery of the government is of the article on the first page of this the means by which the corporations paper will undeceive them. Lieut. Quincy may not have been employed by There is, then, but one thing to be Mr. Pullman to manipulate the whole done-take possession of the govern-thing in his favor, but there is not a no ment. In no other way can labor be torious rascal in the country who could

"Blessed Charity."

A month ago the TIMEs contained a poem by Charlotte Perkins Stetson, bearing the caption of this article. The clever fines of the satire ran as

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

The food was free and plenty for them both. But one was rather dull and very small, So the big, smarter brother, nothing loathe He took it all.

At which the little fellow raised a yell, Which tired the other's more esthetic ears He gave him here a crust and there a shell To stop his tears.

He gave with pride, in manner calm and blane Finding the other's hunger a delight; He gave him pity, his full left hand Hid from the right.

He gave and gave, O! blessed charity, How sweet and beautiful a thing it is. How fine to see that big boy giving free, What was not his.

One of our readers sent in as a reply the verses to be found on the first page of this number. Of themselves they are excellent. Read in the light of those above they are still more interesting. Truly, the real charity is found in the forbearance of the starving giant-Labor.

One of the echoes of the strike brings to the necessities of the times is evident the information that the deputy sheriffs from the fact that a great union meeting who worked for Cook county "during of all local labor organizations of the the war" have formed an organization to state is called to assemble at Ft. Worth, enforce the payment of their claim of 86 September 24. The object is to "con-

AN APPEAL TO LABOR.

MEN AND BROTHERS:-The Pullman strike, under the auspices of the American Railway Union, has created an issue which, while it has resulted in the ar rest and indictment of the officers of the American Railway Union, places on trial, as never before, organized labor of the country. In other words, the trial of the officers of the American Railway Union is as absolutely the trial of organized labor.

The Necessity for Funds.

In the coming trial every thoughtful member of labor organizations will appreciate the fact that labor will be confronted by organized railroad capital representing billions.

Against this formidable array of money and the power of money, stands organ ized labor on trial, because the organ ization known as the American Railway Union unfurled and flung to the breeze the banner of resistance to wrongs which, the more they are contemplated, the more monstrous they appear.

The defense of the American Railway Union officials, which is but another way of stating the fact that organized labor is to be defended, requires money a defensive one goes to pieces:

Question—Now, was not this letter organized labor to grapple with organ and a large amount of money to enable ized capital and maintain successfully its standing before the tribunals, where, by the fiat of the court, it is to plead.

The Amount Which Should Be Raised.

In making this appeal to organized labor, and the friends of organized labor throughout the land, I do not hesitate to aver my belief that ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS should be contributed. The amount, at the first glance, may seem large, but it dwindles to insignificance when the magnitude of the issues involved are considered.

What Are the Issues?

I answer. The eternal right of workingmen to organize; to demand their rights; to resist oppression; to confer together in all matters relating to their welfare, and finally, as the last resort, to strike. These unalienable rights are in peril. The American Railway Union voiced them and championed them, and when they were attacked, corporations cheered and sustained by the money power, the American Railway Union protested, proposed peaceable adjustments, and, failing in all propositions, finally gave its indorsement of the strike, which is impressing upon the national mind the fact that wrongs must be redressed if peace and prosperity are to succeed the storm.

For this defiant and patriotic atti tude of the American Railway Union, in the interest of organized labor and the welfare of the country, its officers have been indicted, and with them there will be a trial of organized labor. In the dime contemplation of ultimate verdicts, the few men who have been indicted, as compared with the thousands whose interests are involved, are of comparatively little consequence. If the verdict of the jury stays the hand of vengeance, if corporate power is humbled by the fiat of justice, if the indicted defenders of workingmen's rights go forth free to proclaim that law and liberty are still in alliance, then in that case organized labor will take on new strength and courage, drooping hopes will revive, and faith in the perpetuity of free institutions will stretch forth its hands to grasp the fruitions of labor redeemed by the genius of justice. If, however, the money power of corporations shall be able to debauch jurors, if the verdict dooms the men to prison who dared, when labor plead for the reinstatement of its rights, to stand forth, regardless of consequences, in the van of the conflict, then in that case the doorn of organized labor is sealed.

The Battle is On.

advantages, and the preliminaries of the battle are seen in every direction. meet them and thwart their schemes money is required. In making this appeal for contributions to the defense fund I am not playing the role of mendicant. I simply say that, in the persons of the indicted officials of the American Railway Union, the rights of organized labor are indissolubly linked. No power can dissolubly linked. No power can dissolubly linked. unite their destiny. Hence, such contributions as may be made are for the emancipation of organized labor from aristocratic, plutocratic and corporate not been Col. Cody's friend for thraidoms, the contemplation of which purpose. He has learned well thraidoms, the contemplation of which fills the mind with alarm.

Only those who are deeply imbued with the conviction that the rights of organized labor are in peril are asked to contribute, and if these give a fraction, even a tenth of one day's income, I do not doubt we shall be able to send out, all over the width of the land, Perry's immortal dispatch, "We met the enemy, and they are ours."

EUGENE V. DEBS, Pres't American Railway Union. [Friendly papers please copy.]

Texas Labor.

That organized labor in Texas is alive the states, you can ride six miles for a day for their services. Getting 86 a sider the condition of labor" and take cent, and since the government day for helping to force others' wages such action "political and otherwise" as down to six cents a day ig in harmony the situation seems to warrant. The call is signed by President James Scott,

of the State Federation of Labor, and by the chief officers of many railway and trades organizations.

Circus Rider Miles.

When a general of the army and the mayor of a city combine in the manage ment of a spectacular performance all the world admires. The Chicago Times eems to believe that Gen. Miles and Maj. Mann have done this, and it describes the partnership with playful sareasm that is calculated to annoy the diggrand and protracted military maneuvers at Evanston:

"Miles & Mann's military tourna-ment, limited, continues to play to ex-ceptionally large business, and the manement takes pleasure in announcing that owing to the generous patronage the public has extended to this unrivaled public has extended to this unrivaled combination the engagement will be continued for another week. Hourly performances will be given as in the past, and patrons will see the usual grand exhibitions of trick riding, sham fighting and all around warfare daily, rain or shine.

"Miles & Mann's monster military circus and stellar aggregation of grizzled veterans is now bigger and better than ever before. It has more horses, more of the control of men, more wagons, chariots, and more of everything calculated to instruct and amuse both old and young than any other combination now playing in the tented arena. Prices remain as before. The small sum of 25 cents, a quarter of a dollar, admits to all and includes a seat in the grand stand.

"All performances are given under the An performances are given under the personal direction of Maj.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A., commanding the department of the Missouri. Gen. Miles' long association with Col. William F. Colly, better known to the American Cody, better known to the American public under the name of "Buffalo Bill," nsures the best stage management ob tainable

"The business staff of this stupendous combination is headed by O. R. Mann, at present mayor of the city of Evanston. Mayor Mann has obtained the exclusive grand-stand privilege for this engage ment, and in view of the extremely good thing he is making out of it has generously consented to give 5 per centum of his winnings to the soldiers library at Fort Sheridan. At the close of every performance courteous agents will pass imong the audience with copies of Gen. Miles great book, entitled 'How I Led the Dedication Day Parade; or, the Story of My Popularity. This enter-taining volume contains complete ac-counts of Gen. Miles campaigns among This enter the Indians, his friendship with Col. Cody and Maj. Burke, his triumphal career as leader and manager of the last charity ball and his heroic defense of the charity ball and his heroic defense of the city of Chicago during the late labor disturbances. It is copiously illustrated with sixteen half-tone portraits of the general in uniform, civilian's costume,

evening dress and bathing suit.
"To the young man who aims to dress well—and who does not?—these illustrations alone are worth the price of the volume. It is a book for the parlor table or boudoir, and during the present run of the Miles & Mann combination may be obtained for the sum of one

Evanston commons are under the direct patronage and support of the United States government, the government, in Messrs. Miles fact, paying the freight. & Mann are, in fact, acting in only a managerial capacity, the one as stage manager and master of the ballet; the tickets and does the elegant to the people with passes.

The original idea and intention of all

this fuss and feathers now waving on Evanston commons was to establish a summer school of war there for the benefit of regular army officers unfamiliar with the moving of large bodies of troops. From the foregoing carefully worded announcement it will be seen that the school of war idea has been badly side-tracked. The fact is that Gen. Miles has turned the school of war hippodrome in which he is the leading figure, playing daily for the plaudits of a grand stand full of school girls and college boys.

In a quiet way a whole lot of the offiduty at Evanston commons are poking fun at their brave general. They have been kept there and will be kept there for another week on the plea The corporate enemies of organized lathat they are pupils in the school of bor, with all the appliances and equipments of war, are scheming for stragetic ness is much more pronounced than the ness is much more pronounced t school idea. It is granted by all patrons of the Miles & Mann combination that they provide daily a beautiful series of

ving pictures.

In the history of war there is nothing finer than the thrilling effect Gen. Miles produces as he draws his men up in division formation after battle and rides needs only a calcium light, a band to play "The Arkansaw Traveler" and a whirling dervish to complete the resem-blance to the colonel. Gen. Miles has purpose. He has learned well the colonel's skill in utilizing spectacular effects, but he is badly handicapped for the want of a whirling dervish,

Gen. Miles always routs the enemy too, though sometimes only after terrific slaughter of his own men inflicted by his slaughter of his own men inflicted by his own men. The other day he formed his own lines opposite the position held by the alleged enemy. The cavalry held the center and made a gallant dash into the enemy's center. The enemy, as was natural, was cut in two, but also, as was natural, the enemy's left fiank swung found and cut off Miles' cavalry from his infantry on the rear. While the enemy's left was doing this their right engaged with the cavalry and awful slaughter resulted. Miles' right went to the aid of the cavalry, while his left engaged with the enemy's left, which had cut off the cavalry. Miles' left in firing on the enemy wounded its own cavalry—shot right through it, in fact, and practically annihilated them. The veteran officers shook their heads gravely over the result of this maneuver and declared that had it been executed on an actual battlefield their commander would certainly have been courtmartialed for needless slaughter of men.

But it was pretty and made a lot of lovely blue smoke. own men. The other day he formed

LAWLESS CAPITALISTS.

An American Railway Union committee waited upon Gov. Nelson of Minnesota the other day to ask his aid in securing the reinstatement of some 2,500 men who had gone out on account of the Pullman boycott. The committee stated that they expected and asked nothing for themselves, because they knew they were blacklisted, but they desired to get those men reinstated who had quit work because the vote of their local unions so decided. nified general who is conducting the The managers, the committee claimed, were making it very hard for the men to get back their old places, every man being required to sign an agreement to have nothing to do with any labor organization for a certain period and not to vote the Populist ticket this fall. The governor replied that he did not believe the railways were trying to influence votes, and added that the railways of Minnesota could not, under the laws of the state, pledge their men to remain out of labor unions.

Is Gov. Nelson as innocent as he seems, as ignorant of what a corporation agent, a railway manager, a wicked boss, can do and will do to chastise a rebellious workman? Does he really think such men care what the law says they may or may not do?

We do not believe he does. In evidence of what a railway manager will do when he seeks vengeance, we quote the following from the San Francisco Ex. to Homestead—for they break into peofollowing from the San Francisco Ex. following from the San Francisco Examiner, August 9:

General Superintendent Fillmore, of the Southern Pacific, was asked today whether the company was preventing members of the railway union who engaged in the strike from getting employment of any kind. Mr. Fillmore said:
"We have no use for men who engaged

in the late strike and will not encourage

them in any way."
"Suppose these strikers should obtain other employment. Would your company go out of its way to have them dis-charged?"

"Yes," answered Mr. Fillmore, "If I know that a man was not true to this company, and if I find out that he has got a job anywhere. I will pursue him and use my best efforts to get him dis-charged. These fellows shall never earn bread and butter in California if I can help it. Against those men who did not take any active part in the strike I have nothing to say. I have no bitter feelings against them. When we need their help against them. When we need their help we will hire them again, for we do not we have no such consideration. I have use for fellows of that kind and do not intend that they shall make a living so long as they are within my reach."

The tigerish cruelty of these utterances was never excelled by any tyrant's ravings. The sentiment is one, however, which many a magnate fattened discretion of saying what they think pers of the city preserve these stories. is General Superintendent Fillmore's point of difference.

Another illustration of the lawlessness of capital, one not directly connected with their workmen, is furnished by the books of the Santa Fe road, which show seven million dollars paid to shippers in rebates in the last four years, in direct violation of the plain provisions of the inter-state commerce law. Concerning these repeated acts of lawlessness the Chicago Times pertinently asks:

Will any of the officials of the railroad be indicted for this colossal law-break-ing conspiracy? Is the matter to be brought to the attention of the federal grand jury? Will that eminent counsel to corporations, the attorney general of the United States, take action against the insolent violators of the law? The attorney for the Santa Fe took a prominent part in the proceedings against Debs and others for violation of the inter-state commerce law. Did he go into court with clean hands or had he guilty knowledge of the way in which his corporation was violating the same

And of this same road, in its relation to its workmen, the Kansas City Journal savs:

It is claimed by the strikers that the Santa Fe Railroad Company has begun to blacklist those of its former employes who joined the American Railway Union and took part in the recent strike. It is said that four of the Santa Fe men applied for places with two other roads and were refused on the ground that the Santa Fe Company had announced that their records were bad. The strikers claim, too, that the Santa Fe Company has notified the present Argentine employes that they must withdraw from all labor organizations within thirty days or forfeit their back pay and consider themselves liable to

discharge.

The cruelty with which striking miners have been treated, and the system if the facts could only be made all hazards." known. It is the misfortune of the oppressed, that only the oppressor's side of every story reaches the eye and ear of our too thoughtless, too selfish people. The destruction of the poor is their poverty," always. Now and then a truth or two concerning these things becomes public, and so horrifies that public that men straightway forget it as fast as they can. For this reason bear with a repe tition of a portion of the appeal of the Alabama miners, as it appeared in the New York World on May 31st.

A reduction of 25 per cent was offered at the Johns mine, where it is all negro labor. The miners refused. Then the superintendent, Llewellyn Johns, sent the bank boss into the mines to call a meeting inside to intimidate the men into accepting. They still refused. The boss went out and fastened up the entrance to the mine, saying that the men

would have to come to terms before they got out. The miners knew nothing of this until they came to the top of the mainway at knocking-off time, and they were forced to return to their places of work to get tools to break the barricade. About that time the miners' wives had found out what was going on and there found out what was going on and they collected in force with tools and made an egress for their husbands. The miners never retaliated in any form, but quietly accepted the indignities heaped upon them.

The next insult was an individual can-The next insult was an individual canvass among the men. In several instances if a man refused he was beaten
with a black snake whip, and if he ran
away he was fired at. These things are
spoken very lightly of by the press, but
we will refer you to the executive board
of the United Mine Workers of Alabama,
at Birmingham for substantiation. at Birmingham, for substantiation.

at Birmingham, for substantiation.

The company now have agents scouring the country for colored laborers to take the place of the regular miners. They have over 200 of them and are advertising for 1,000 more. They have some working at the Pratt mines heavily guarded by so-called men with winchesters. The miners had a meeting at Pratt today, having their wives and children with them. These guards notified them that they must leave in five minutes or they would fire into the children. Of they would fire into the children. Of course they had to go. We have no

While we do not object to peace officers in their proper capacity, we cer-tainly do not like the way all the armed force of the state are used for the benefit of the coal operators only, nor the flooding of our mining camps with the scum of the earth, acting as deputy sheriffs—the same class of thugs that Pinkerton took night to see that the strikers are where they want them."

Doubtless many of our good, kindhearted people, they who like to sleep well o' nights, will say with Gov. Nelson these things are not so, for slavery has been abolished in Alabama, and "under the laws of the state" the mine bosses could not pen their men in mines, could not lash their backs, could not employ guards who, on order, would shoot down women and children.

But we say these things are true, and many more things like them are true, not because the law permits or prohibits them, but because lawless capitalists order them, and a supine, cowardly people permits them.

Did not the Pennsylvania militia fire. upon orders of a mining boss, into a crowd of striking miners, killing and wounding scores of the poor wretches who were fleeing before them, as the death shots-all in the backs of the victims-proved?

Did not the regular troops of the United States army shoot and kill unarmed, peaceful citizens and helpless women in and around Chicago in this last July? Even one woman was shot as she sat singing hymns in her own house, on the toil of others subscribes. The in- at her organ. The files of the daily pa-

Gentlemen who cry "Peace, Peace!" when there is no peace, the sooner you realize the daring extent of the lawlessness of these capitalists now engaged in "subduing labor" the better for all of us.

Our Unbiased Courts!

Some months ago a workman was sent to prison for taking a pickled pig's foot to eat. Judge Dundy, of injunction fame, went that court one better and sent a man to the penitentiary for life for stealing one cent from a United States mail carrier. Not long since a Swede was sent to the penitentiary in Wisconsin for stealing about a dollar's worth of groceries. The Prison Mirror relates this:

An Indiana court recently sentenced a poor devil to two and a half years in the penitentiary for stealing a ham, notwithstanding his plea that he stole it for his starving family. The same court sentenced a defaulting county treasurer to three years imprisonment for stealing \$62,000. That is the kind of "justice" which builds up anarchy and brings courts into contempt with the American people. Such a judge is a greater men-ance to America than the most blatant anarchist, and should be dealt with accordingly.

As the winter comes on the hungry and freezing unemployed will naturally become more and more desperate. Men who are strictly honest under ordinary circumstances will give way to the keen pangs of hunger and steal something to

Will the judges before whom such "criminals" are tried consider the mitigating circumstances or will the jails and penitentiaries be filled to overflowing with the unfortunates? Without a doubt the lines will be drawn more closely than ever, and the pitiless lash of the law will fall with greater severity as lawless use of force to which their the powers that be instinctively feel the employers have resorted to drive them danger of the encroachments of miserback to work, would startle out of their able humanity. "Away with the wretches supineness every ignorant upholder of to the dungeon! The sacred rights of and believer in our present industrial private property must be maintained at

> The News-Reporter, of Omaha, has out its annual holiday edition, making a magnificent picture gallery of railway officials of 180 pages. The volume will be of especial service as a book of reference, and the enterprise of the News-Reporter is to be commended. One dollar sent to Arthur Brown, box 470, Omaha, will secure the book.

Where the Ax Didn't Fall.

Extract from report of Strike Com-Mr. Kernan-When the general cut in

salaries was made was your salary re-

Mr. Pullman—No. [Laughter.] Mr. Kernan—That of officials or supertendents or foremen? Mr. Pullman—No.

JUDGE TULEY CAUSTIC

[Continued from first page.]

Harrison express their approval of Clevestrikes by injunction. Both of those law gentlemen are known to be so strongly opinions upon this matter.

There are four articles upon the federal intervention in the late strike in the the extreme. current number of the North American Review, but only one of them touches the judiciary in putting down strikes however, under our present attorney-

missioner of railroads, forgets all about without his day in court? his former state-rights doctrines and kisses the hand that appointed him. He, junction which ran against the unknown however, ignores the inter-state com- mob no notice could have been given, or merce act and argues that while congress if given would have been of no effect, as could not under such circumstances call a mob has no sense, reason, or discretion; on the United States troops, yet it did but as to Debs, Howard, and other and could confer upon the president named defendants, notice of the appli such power under a section of the Uni- cation for an injunction could have been ted States statutes evidently intended given and they heard before condem for the suppression of the southern ku nation.

"organized rebellion." through which the labor organizations and other named defendants a rule to ernment," etc., and as the action of the issue. United States government enabled the railroads to triumph he also sings the and hearing the defendants upon the song of praise.

although not a lawyer, strikes the key-courts for Illinois. Why did not Olney note of the problem, when, in speaking direct application be made for the rule? of the regular army being marshaled in To issue the attachment for contempt to the field by order of the president to arrest and imprison the known defend enforce the injunctions, he says:

the inter-state commerce law, passed by court," while it may be legal was cercongress in compliance with the demand tainly unnecessarily harsh and oppresof the people of our country to protect sive. them against the greed and outrageous Workingmen appear to be peculiarly discriminations of the railroads can be unfortunate in being made the victims distorted to such a degree as to appall of a false construction of conspiracy its authors and promoters and made to laws. In England, in or about the reign do service as an instrument to oppress of Elizabeth, an act of parliament was the parties to whom it was never intended to apply—workingmen engaged persons who should combine or conspire in a contest to redress grievances?

sees the point as the people see it, and land for more than 200 years held work view of Reviews:

under control in the public interest, yet legal and regulating them by act of parthe railway managers have notoriously liament. and habitually violated its provisions. It would, therefore, be a strange reversal to destroy labor organizations.

federal government join hands with the used as a club to punish workingmen railway managers to destroy labor or and break up their unions. ganizations. It remains yet to be seen whether the Uuited States courts will proceeding has done more to bring the sanction such a prostitution of the administration of justice into contempt spirit and purpose of this remedial act than all his predecessors from the beginintended to protect the people against ning of the government. He should be the railways.

There can be no question that this inter-state commerce act is being used

unlawful combinations and conspiracies, court of the United States, with the conand gives the United States government | fident hope that they will not sanction the right to sue at law or in equity to the prostitution of the inter-state compunish and restrain them, but such merce law to a purpose so foreign to its general words should be construed with original intent and purpose. reference to the evils sought to be remedied and should not be applied to matters and subjects wholly foreign to the interest of the lawmakers.

No one can suppose for a moment that if it had been suggested that under the terms "unlawful combinations and conspiracies" the law could be used to suppress strikes it could ever have passed the house of representatives.

Sedgwick on Statutory Construction lays down the well-known common sense rule that "a thing which is without the letter of the statute, is not within the statute, unless it be within the intention of the lawmakers" and gives a number of instances where the rule was applied, among them the following:

An act of parliament provided that "every person who shall appraise any estate, real or personal, shall be deemed an appraiser within the act." Yet it was held not to apply to one who made an appraisal, but did not follow the business of an appraiser, and in Massachusetts where a statute of wills provided that "any person of sound mind might make a will," the court held that married women did not come within the statute. on the ground "that it was not the intent of the legislature to alter the

popular excitement, bring this question to the calm, cold logic of judicial consideration, the final judgment will be While Judge Cooley and ex-President that workmen engaged in a strike are not engaged in a "conspiracy" or "unland's acts, neither of them refer to this lawful combination" within the meaning new contrivance of suppressing mobs or or spirit of the inter-state commerce

Conceding that the law is applicable in favor of corporations as to detract to a strike combination which may effect very much from the weight of their inter-state commerce, yet the use that has been made of it in the injunction cases has been oppressive and harsh in

Several attempts have been made to enforce this act against trusts and unupon this question of the federal use of lawful combinations of capital (not, the judiciary in putting down strikes under our present attorney business was entirely different from the general), and the courts have uniformly first is by Gen. Nelson A. Miles, who looks at the use of the federal troops in junction or any restraining order prior work, or the manufacturers might quit work, while the rest of the country could from an army officer's standpoint, and to a final hearing of the cause. Why, in can see no reason why in any case of a in this case, should a preliminary industries. But when the railroads quit there was an end to all business. And when people realized how dependent they were upon the railroads it dawned upon them that it was parte affidavits, adjudge a party guilty Wade Hampton, United States com- of a penal offense without notice and

It is true that as to that part of the in

The proceeding was also unduly op H. P. Robinson, editor of the Railway pressive in issuing the writ of attach Age, can see in the strike nothing but ment for contempt prior to making and "revolution serving upon Debs. Howard. Keliher, proposed to obtain control of the governow show cause why such a writ should not

The making of a rule to show cause, service of such a rule, has been the es-The other contributor, Mr. Gompers, tablished practice of the United States place and wife and little ones are de ants without any notice given, and Is it not strange that the provisions of without the parties having their "day in

passed imposing heavy penalties upon "to falsely indict any person or to main-Mr. Stead, who also is not a lawyer, tain false pleas." The courts of Engsays in the current number of the Re- ingmen combining in trades unions or other combinations to obtain better On no strained construction of the wages or otherwise better their condilaw of conspiracy ought Mr. Debs or his tions as laborers were subject to the associates to be treated as criminals. penalties of that act, and it was not un-The inter-state commerce act was, in til late in the present century that the fact, not enacted to restrain labor. Its courts reversed their absurd ruling. object was to bring railway management. This led to recognizing trades unions as

Now, in the United States an act of congress intended and passed to punish of the purpose and spirit of the law if trust, railroad, and capitalistic combinthe federal courts should join hands with ations and conspiracies to the oppression the managers to use it as an instrument of the people is diverted from the original purpose of the lawmakers and by Attorney General Olney has made the judicial construction is sought to be

Attorney-General Olney by this court awarded a patent for this scheme of "government by injunctions."

It is no use to impeach him, as he inter-state commerce act is being used for a purpose that the lawmakers never thought of.

It is no use to impeach him, as he must be tried before the monopolistic, sugar-trust senate, but let the fight be they must not be. It is better to have It is true that the act refers to trusts, made in the courts, even to the supreme

The People's Right To Rule.

"Let all be free," said Jefferson "And all of equal rights! Who draws his sword with Washington For his own freedom fights. Not for another tyrant he Takes arms against misrule; He strikes for all men's liberty,

The test of real patriotism Is loyalty to this; Whose denies it, worketh schism And the true traitor is. Let every child of man be taught In every public school: For this our brave fore-fathers fought The people's right to rule.

The people's right to rule!

Not the rich only-educated -The English-speaking — no!
But "all men" equal are created —
Our sires proclaimed it so. Was Jackson cultured? Lincoln rich? Was LaFayette a fool? Nay, nations flourish ever, which The common people rule.

Establish this, whate'er you do: The rights of property Like other rights, are subject to The people's sovereignty.

There are no rights but rights of man;

The thing is but his tool; No right can be more sacred than The people's right to rule. — Miles Menander Daws

intent of the legislature to alter the relations between husband and wife, or the legal effect of that relation."

The writer of this believes that when the United States courts—certainly

Short contributions to The RAILWAY TIMES are acceptable. They should be upon the live questions of the day, and their length should never exceed a column and a half. Those less than a column preferred.

those of last resort - uninfluenced by The Single Taxers and the A. R. U. BY JOHN RUBEN

The great strike of the American Railway Union, being a cause of such mammoth proportions, has had many effects; but there are two which stand out above all the others. And though out above all the others. And though
the strike was a very costly one, both to
the men engaged and to the country at
large, the fact that these two points
have been made clear to the thinking
men of the land is well worth all it cost.
The first point which has been made so
plain is the necessity for the government
ownership of railroads. The single taxers have been advocating this for fifteen
years, but the week's strike of the years, but the week's strike of the American Railway Union and the consequent tying up of the railroads, made more converts than our whole fifteen years' work. It was then apparent to the most stupid citizen that the railroad business was entirely different from the go on with its duties. But when the railroads to regulate the charges for traffic when the roads were running as to stop traffic when they stopped. And many people have been wondering since the strike how they could have failed to see all this long ago.

The other point which has been made clear by the American Railway Union strike is the fact that labor and labor organizations must secure their rights at the ballot box, and not by the strike. Never did a strike take place under such favorable circumstances as this. The leaders were unquestioned in intelligence and integrity; all that any men could do they did. And the men were as staunch and true as any patriets who ever fought for home and country. The mere fact that so many men were ready to give up their jobs at a time when so many idle men were ready to take their places showed to what extent their devotion to the cause of justice went. Men talk about the bravery of soldiers, and poets sing of their heroic deeds, but the man who leaves his means of livelihood when idle men stand ready to take their endent upon him for their daily bread. is far more deserving. We had all this in the strike. We had the most heroic devotion to the cause, the best possible organization, and unquestioned leaderand yet the strike failed—failed rably. The men who willingly left miserably. The men who willing their work have since felt the hand of the General Managers' Associa tion; the men who thought to make life more tolerable for their loved ones now realize the terrors of the blacklist. China certain crimes are punished by putting the culprit's head through a hole in a board which is wide enough to prevent him from getting his hands to his mouth. He is free to go where he pleases, but he can get nothing to eat pleases, but he can get notating unless some one chooses to put it into his mouth. Such is the position of the blocklisted men in this country. They blacklisted men in this country. They are free to go where they like, but the blacklist prevents them from getting anything to eat; it prevents them from earning a livelihood for themselves and families at the only trade they know.

Now that the struggle is over, the van quished can calmly go over the various phases of the strike and profit by the experience. The striker should take Mr. Debs' advice to buy and study Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." In that great work he will find the whole situation carefully analyzed, strong and weak points carefully set orth. The strike is nothing more nor ess than a contest between physical forces, between dollars and dollars; the contest at the polls is between ideas, be-tween men and men. How foolish then it is to pit the few dollars of workmen against Pullman's millions, when they can wage the same battle at the ballot over any other citizen is the privileges granted him by law, that is granted him by the voters—by us. For us to give him the franchises, patents, and other special privileges and then attempt to control him by means of force is as absurd as for the United States ment to furnish its wards, the Indians, with all the modern appliances of war and then turn them loose to raid the

frontier settlements. the slow but steady gain there than to strike and loose your job. If there is anything in the whole realm of truths anything in the whole realm of truths which should not now be disputed it is that the labor problem cannot be solved by means of the strike. After generations of strikes, strikes involving the greatest sacrifices on the part of the men, and the highest intelligence on the part of the leaders, strikes carried to the very point of starvation in many instances the laborar is as much a victim stances the laborar is as much a victim. stances, the laborer is as much a of injustice today as he was six hundred

years ago.

The ballot-box is the place to strike.
Study the questions thoroughly; know your men. Do not support candidates because they are honest though stupid, or wise though dishonest. Pick men who are both wise and honest. You will make many mistakes. You will elect many unworthy men, men who will turn their backs upon you when elected and serve the enemy for a mess of pottage. But do not be discouraged; if one man But do not be discouraged; if one man fails be more careful next time. Beware of the perpetual office seeker. Beware of the man who gives all his attention to your individual wrongs—he is flattering you for selfish purposes. The only men who can serve you are broad minded men who see that your trouble is the trouble which afflicts all labor, and that permanent good can come only through the common cause of all producers.

The Last Straw.

This needs no comment:

OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 5. OMAHA, NEB., Sept. 5.

The Union Pacific issued a notice to all employes to in future abstain from any participation in politics, the discussion of any subject tending to that direction being prohibited. All men who are not willing to keep out of politics are requested to resign. — Associated Press Dispatch.

The laboring man who still votes the republican or democratic ticket ought to be visited by the fool-killer.



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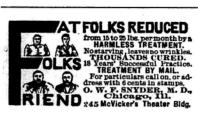
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One of the most entertaining and instructive articles called out by the recent strike was that written by Gov. Waite, of Colorado, to the Chicago Times, reviewing the course of Cleveland in sending troops to Chicago against the protest of Gov. Altgeld. He

The adoption of the constitution of the United States in 1789 was the result of a compromise between two contending parties. Alexander Hamilton of New York represented the strong government party, which desired a centralized government patterned after that of Great Britain, and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia represented the Democratic party, then called Republican, which insisted upon the general government exercising those national rights and powers only which should be specially ceded to it by the states. The contest was long and doubtful, and finally a compromise was affected, not giving to either was iong and doubtin, and many a com-promise was affected, not giving to either of the contending parties all they wanted, but creating a government whose duties and rights were supposed to be at least well defined. If there is to be at least well defined. If there is anything undefined or which may be considered as unsettled it is as to whether or not the government has the inherent power to take all necessary means to preserve its own existence or as to the right of secession, although that matter was not discussed by the framers of the constitution. This issue first arose under Jackson's administration when Calhoun insisted that South Carolina should nullify the revenue laws of the United States or practically secede from the union. It was settled by Jackson in favor of the union, but came up again after Lincoln's but came up again after Lincoln's election and was again decided against secession by the cival war. But there is nothing in the statement often made, and by many believed, that the doctrine and by many beneved, that the doctrine of the superiority of the constitutional rights, or the complete supremacy of the national government, was established as the result of that civil war. There were additional amendments made to the constitution of the United States, so far as those amendments clearly and legitimately change the relation of the states to the general government or of the citizens to the general govern-ment, they are entitled to and must be allowed their full effect. But I maintain that those constitutional amendments, instead of making our consti tution more monarchical or centralized threw new guarantees around and en-larged the sphere of civil rights. All the provisions which Jefferson and his compeers insisted upon and compelled to be adopted before the United States constitution was permitted to go into operation, exist in the amended instrument, and distinctly mark the bound-ries which define the powers of the eneral government and of the states,

te sphere.
t is true that the national governnt under President Cleveland within last month has sent its armies into ferent states without notice to or rest of the governors of those states,
has actually levied war, in some
staking the lives of citizens without
deplication of war or any riot or inrection known to the state authorities. t these war measures of the governthese war measures of the govern-tent are without precedent in our his-ory, and as a free people we have a right to inquire, and ought to inquire, as to the constitutional right of the general overnment to use or usurp any such

nd declare each sovereign in its appro-

President Cleveland has exercis se remarkable powers; it is but just t we should hear what he has to say justification or excuse.

When Gov. Altgeld protested against e state of Illinois being invaded by nited States troops until such time as had invoked federal assistance the

ederal troops were sent to Chicago trict accordance with the constitu-id laws of the United States, upon accordance with the constitunand of the postoffice department, struction of the mails should be i, and upon the representation of cial officers of the United States ess of the federal courts could recuted through the ordinary and upon abundant proof that acies existed against commerce the states.

above is the position of the Demparty as represented by the ent of the United States, and sused by the democracy. he following is from Gen. Harrison, te the president of the United States,

ate the president of the United States, and entitled to speak with more authority than any other person in the United tates for the Republican party. He was speaking of the action of the presint sending the army into Illinois hout notice to or request of the gover: "I do not think the president has seended his powers. On the other ad, I believe that there is no spot in United States where the United States where the United States where the United orders without asking anybody's conent, and that the enforcement of the was of the United States is the sworn thy of the president, and the army is a appropriate instrument to use in the inforcement of those laws where they are violently resisted and the civil officers are unable to deal with the situare unable to deal with the situ-

ation."

As usual Gen. Harrison speaks as a special pleader and not as a statesman. The issue was clearly defined. Gov. Altgeld protested against the president sending United States troops to Chicago to suppress domestic violence, without sotice to the governor or request from im, upon the ground that the state authorities were abundantly able to suppress any riot or insurrection, and that he federal officers had no authority in a premises until the state had atmpted itself to suppress domestic vioce and failed or had called upon the beral government for assistance. And spress domestic violence, without to the governor or request from pon the ground that the state rities were abundantly able to supary riot or insurrection, and that deral officers had no authority in remises until the state had atted itself to suppress domestic violand failed or had called upon the all government for assistance. And resident Cleveland and ex-Presiderison agree that in such case lice to or demand from the governantate is necessary, but that the ent of the United States upon a triple is necessary, but that the ent of the United States upon a triple is necessary. But the time is own officers to suppress to suppress the suppression of the states during the revolution, when unrestricted discussion at all times was not considered compatible with national safety.

But the aliec and sedition laws, however carefully drawn to keep within the

judge as to the existing emergency may invade a state at his pleasure with the military of the United States and even over the protest of the governor.

I maintain that this is a clear usurpation of power by the president and that there is not a single clause of the constitution of the United States which warrants such a use of the national troops. Certainly there is nothing in the late constitutional amendments, the thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth, which adds one tittle to the power of the president of the United States in this matter. President Washington had precisely the same powers under the consticisely the same powers under the consti-tution that President Cleveland now has, and besides he was a member of the congress or convention which made the constitution of the United States and

constitution of the United States and therefore may be presumed to have had knowledge of all the rights which that constitution was designed by its framers to confer upon the president. The only clause of the constitution on this subject is in follows:

"Art. IV. Sec. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature or of the executive when the legislature cannot be convened against legislature cannot be convened against domestic violence.

The above in connection with Art. X, constitutional amendment, "The powers not delegated to the United States by not delegated to the United States by
the constitution, nor prohibited by it to
the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people," confine the
power of the president in all cases of domestic violence in the states to the
specific authority mentioned in Art. IV,
Sec. 4, above quoted.

A case much more critical than the
present arose in Washington's time.
There was an actual insurrection against
the United States government, and the

the United States government, and the mountains of Pennsylvania resisted by force the collection of the revenue tax on whisky and drove the revenue col-lectors from the state. They organized in large numbers to resist the national government. The strikers in Chicago had not risen against any law of the United States nor organized for the purpose of waging war upon the national government. Whatever obstruction of the United States mails there may have been was a mere incident in a state riot.

Washington dealt patiently with the Pennsylvania rebels. He issued his proclamation to them, and finding it unheeded he decided to act. Now observe, he did not order federal troops into Pennsylvania, and he did not ignore the Pennsylvania, and he did not ignore the governor of the state. On the contrary he acted in concert with Gov. Miflin of Pennsylvania and made a requisition upon him as governor to call out the militia of Pennsylvania. He made a similar requisition upon Gov. Lee of Virginia and upon the governors of Maryland and New Jersey. The governors (excepting the governor of Maryland) appeared in person, leading the militia of their respective states, and the governor of Virginia was made com-

governor of Virginia was made com-mander in chief. Shay's rebellion, or the "whisky rebel-lion," vanished before this army of state troops, which numbered 15,000. Not a federal soldier was sent into Pennsylvania by Washington.

Contrast his procedure with the hasty

and inconsiderate action of President Cleveland. Washington, a military man, respected the law and the consti-tutional rights of the state. Cleveland ignores the law and humiliates the gov-

ernor of a great state.

During the administration of John Adams in 1798 an attack was made upon the freedom of speech and of the press to accomplish by act of congress purposes similar to those now sought to be not seed by the United States judiciary.

poses similar to those now sought to be enforced by the United States judiciary and military power.

The act relating to the punishment of certain crimes against the United States, or, as it is called, the "sedition law," provided that "any persons unlawfully combining or conspiring together to oppose any measure of the government of the United States or any of its laws, or to intimidate or prevent any officer under that government from undertaking or performing his duty, and any person that government from undertaking or performing his duty, and any person with such intent counseling or attempting to procure any insurrection, riot, or unlawful combination, were to be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor and punished by a fine not exceeding \$5,000 and by imprisonment not less than six months nor exceeding five years," and, at the discretion of the court, they wight also be held to find sureties for might also be held to find sureties for

write, print, utter or publish, or aid in writing, printing, uttering or publishing any false, scandalous or malicious writing against the government, congress, or the president of the United States, with the president of the United States, with intent to defame them or to bring them into disrepute, or to stir up sedition within the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations for opposing or resisting any law of the United States or any act of the president done in pursuance of any such law, or to resist or defeat any such law, should be liable to a fine not exceeding \$200 and imprison.

a fine not exceeding \$2,000 and imprison-ment not exceeding two years."

But this act of congress did not ignore the constitutional amendments securing the constitutional amendments securing civil rights to the citizen. It provided that no person should be arrested without a warrant from the president or some judge; when arrested he was entitled to a jury trial, and the jury was to be the judge of both the law and the fact. And the act further provided that any person prosecuted for writing or publishing such libel in his defense might give in evidence the truth of the matter contained in the publication might give in evidence the truth of the matter contained in the publication called a libel, and the jury had a right to determine also as to the libel both the law and the fact. This was essentially a mitigating provision of this obnoxious law, for at that time the English law of libel was the common law of the United States, or the unjust principle prevailed "the greater the truth the greater the libel."

letter of the constitution, violated its spirit. The act was instinctively recognized as a means in the hands of bad men to muzzle the press and free speech, and the federal party which adopted it, notwithstanding the great name of Washington and the hosts of other patriots who had rallied around that party, went to its everlasting doom as a political organization, and John Adams' administration was succeeded by that of Thomas Jefferson and by the Democratic party.

Thomas Jefferson and by the Dema-cratic party.
Said John Quiney Adams in 1836, thirty-eight years after the period of the sedition law, and when all local party rancor had disappeared: "The prosecu-tions under the sedition act did but ag-gravate the evils which they were in-tended to repress. Without believing that these laws were an infraction of the constitution, it may be admitted without constitution, it may be admitted without disparagement to the patriotism of Washington and Henry, or of the congress which passed the acts, that they were not good and wholesome laws, inasmuch as they were not suited to the temper of the people."

Rights of the People and of Corporations In speaking of the question of the rights of capitalists or corporations and laborers I wish to do equal and exact justice to all, but there is a principle which underlies every man's relation to society which merits our consideration, and repress may dissipate some of the society which merits our consideration, and perhaps may dissipate some of the fog which envelops the question. This principle is that "no man should exercise his own right to the detriment of arother." Years ago it was said by the railway companies: "We have built and are the owners of our railway lines. They are our property. We may use that property as we please. If we see fit to say that we will charge one man \$10 a ton for freight between certain points, and charge another \$20 for the same service, it is nobody's business but our own"—and so indeed for some years many courts decided, but when a nummany courts decided, but when a num-ber of such cases reached the supreme court of the United States, and were considered and decided as the "granger cases," that court decided that railway companies were common carriers and railways were highways; that there should be no discrimination between patrons; that public policy required that the rates should be uniform, and that the state legislatures in every state had a right to fix the fares and freights. had a right to fix the fares and freights. The inter-state commerce law was passed to accomplish that very desirable end This law has been openly violated and disregarded by the railway companies, but at the present time some of its parts, never intended to apply to labor, have been wrested from their true meaning to apply the labor of the labor

have been wrested from their true mean ing to apply to labor as "hindering commerce."

If congress were half as anxious to legislate for human rights as it has been to legislate for human rights as it has been to legislate for human rights as it has been to legislate for human rights as it has been to legislate for property it would not be difficult to provide that the franchises given to railway corporations should be has two artificial legs with rubble feet able to Europe and the old world we find the common people reduced to industrial slavery by just such a commercial and railway companies should not have the arailway companies should not have the ways as to fares and freights, and this principle has been established in our courts, although it may never be carried out to benefit the people, except by governmental control of the railways. So the rights of labor can never be justly determined while the employers may unite and organize and the men may not; while employers may dictate wages the subsistence of the great mass of labor and their families—engaged in a business in which the employers or capitalists have peculiae. a business in which the employers or capitalists have peculiar rights and privileges legislated in their favor, as is the case of the railway companies and manufacturers through their right of way and eminent domain and by the United States tariff—then the public have acquired such an interest in the question of wages in these concerns of public interest that a right to arbitration exists, which should be compelled by law. Pullman said he had nothing to arbitrate—that his property was his arbitrate—that his property was his own, and he should use it as he pleased. This is true to a certain extent, but the millions he has made have been acquired by a special monopoly which the their good behavior.

But the provision deemed most objectionable was the seventh section, which declared that "any person who should United States government is using all its power to enforce under the pretense of carrying out the inter-state commerce act contain the provision, in direct contradiction to the inter-state commerce act, that the road shall use no other

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[To be concluded in next number.]



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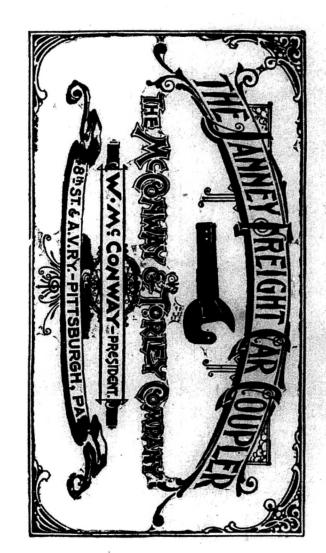


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