

## MORE SOLDIERS.

SHALL THE STANDING ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES BE INCREASED.

Review of the Interview of General Miles—Large Standing Armies and Liberty do Not Thrive on the Same Soil.

The New York Journal recently obtained an interview from General Nelson A. Miles, on the subject of increasing the standing army. General Miles maintained that there were imperative reasons for increasing the army to three times its present strength and efficiency. The interview of General Miles was telegraphed, in full, by the Journal to Eugene V. Debs, President of the A. R. U., with a request to review it fully, so that the interview and review could both be published in the same issue. Mr. Debs telegraphed the following statement, which was published in the New York Journal, in connection with the Miles interview:

TERRE HAUTE, IND.—In proposing an increase of the standing army in his late interview at Washington, General Miles simply gives expression to his own well-known views and to the views of his predecessor, General Schofield.

Since the strike in the Summer of 1894 both have insisted that the peace and security of the country demanded a large increase in the standing army.

There are those who will agree with these renowned military chieftains, but they are decidedly in the minority. The American people, generally speaking, do not like standing armies, and are not inclined to cultivate the military spirit.

To come directly to the point, what is the purpose of General Miles in having the army increased?

Let us be perfectly frank in answering the interrogatory and avoid all ambiguous terms. General Miles says we have to anticipate "internal dissension" and be prepared for it. What is meant by "internal dissension?" The General does not leave us in doubt. He means labor strikes, though he does not like the use of that term.

In plain language the object is to overawe workmen who resist corporate greed and rapacity by organized effort, and, if need be, ally their hunger pangs and silence their protests with bayonets and bullets. There is no other internal dissension in sight, and the Hayes-Tilden incident is introduced simply as the ghost in the play, to arouse the nation to the frightful possibilities that are in store for it if the army is not increased.

Let it be understood that when the army is called out to interfere in labor disputes it is always for the purpose of subjugating and defeating workmen in the interests of capitalism. This has been the unvarying rule, and there is no exception to it. It does not matter that the employees were cruel, tyrannical and dishonest. It does not matter that the employees had been the victims of greed and piracy and had been reduced to starvation and goaded to desperation—the one duty of the soldiery has always and everywhere been to overwhelm them with force; shoot holes in their emaciated bodies and drain their veins with bayonet thrusts that a soulless corporation might without resistance gorge itself with the profits of their unrequited toil.

There is still another purpose in having more federal soldiers, and that is to entirely prevent what General Miles is pleased to call "internal dissension."

How is this to be done? Easy enough. The soldiers are to be quartered near the centres of population where large bodies of workmen are employed, and their very presence, with their murderous machine guns and their Krag-Jungerson rifles, will overawe and intimidate workmen; sap them of their manhood, and reduce them from the dignity of American citizens to the unresisting subservience of swine and sheep.

What then? The corporations may proceed with barbaric sway to cut down wages to the starvation point, and number their employees as ranchmen brand their steers, as is already being done in the large mills in Illinois and Wisconsin, and impose such other conditions as they may see fit, and the workmen have only to suffer and submit in silence. Victims of industrial piracy, they have only to work their lives out in wretchedness and despair that their masters may gorge themselves with all the luxuries of all climes, and if they attempt to resist the outrage in the way that has been the glory of the nation, the army is promptly ordered out with shot and bayonet to teach them by the quieting effect of bullets obedience to their masters.

This is the purpose, and the only purpose General Miles has in demanding an increase of the standing army. It is strongly intimated that President Cleveland will urge the passage of such a bill in his message to congress.

I do not doubt it in the least. It would be in perfect consonance with the plutocratic policy of his administration. But will the people, the great mass of liberty-loving American people, accept a policy which contemplates the subversion of their liberties and ultimately the overthrow of the republic?

That the proceeding, if unchecked, will culminate in a military despotism no man capable of reasoning from cause to effect can doubt. For the workingman it means a bayonet at his back to keep him at his task under such conditions as his master may impose, and he may contemplate the spectacle at his leisure. I maintain that there is neither necessity nor excuse for an increase in our army, and that such an increase would be antagonistic to the spirit of the constitution and at war with free institutions.

Large standing armies and liberty do not go together. They do not thrive in the same soil. One or the other must give way.

In his farewell address Washington, the father of his country, in alluding to the American people, said: "They will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are insupportable to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican liberty."

garded as particularly hostile to Republican liberty."

Here we have it upon the authority of Washington himself that overgrown military establishments are particularly hostile to republican liberty, and no true patriotic American citizen doubts it. It is not to resist foreign invasion, nor to defend against external violence that the army is to be increased. There is no danger in that direction. It is purely because of "internal dissension," which General Miles deems inevitable, knowing that the commercialism of the times which now operates through monopolies, syndicates and trusts, is grinding millions of workmen to atoms, and driving other millions to idleness and desperation. It is not surprising that syndicates cause "internal dissension," but he makes a great and grave mistake if he thinks he can ally trouble by being provided with soldiers enough to murder the hapless victims of man's inhumanity to man.

In these days men do not strike without good cause. If the public could and would stop long enough to examine into the cause of labor disturbances, the results would be far different, and there would be far fewer strikes; but the public has neither time nor inclination to hear the woes of the suffering people. The powers of government and society are against them. The press, as a rule, maligns and misrepresents them. The pulpit is silent. The courts, the army and nearly all officials are against the half-famished and wholly desperate victims of brutal corporate capital. In the treatment of the poor the doctrine of Christ is wholly ignored. The people see only the riot, and then they are ready to approve and applaud the killing of workmen by armed soldiers, who are themselves supported by the profits upon the unpaid toil of their victims.

The people do not know, nor do they seem to care to know, that back of this riot, and leading up to it, is a long train of abuses and wrongs which are borne in silence until submission is no longer possible, and that then only do the poor wage slaves abandon their employment and seek redress of their grievances.

General Miles says: "We should have a military organization capable of protecting life and property against internal attacks." In a time of profound peace this is a sad commentary on existing conditions. From whence are these attacks to come? From the lawless, criminal elements of society? There is not a state in the union that is not amply able to protect itself against the vicious classes. I doubt if there is a governor in the union who will assert the contrary. The state militia in the several states is and will be equal to every requirement, and this is in harmony with the American theory of government, save of those who favor a large standing army, who approve the course of President Cleveland in ordering federal troops into a sovereign state in defiance of the constitution and in utter disregard of the protest of the governor and of the local authorities. This is despotism pure and simple.

As for the rioting at Chicago during the Pullman strike, and the subsequent bloodshed, it occurred only after the arrival of the federal troops. This is a fact of easy verification. Had there been no federal interference, had affairs been left in control of state and municipal authorities, I doubt if a single life would have been lost or any serious damage to property have occurred.

I do not wish to unnecessarily sound any alarm bells, nor am I desirous of being sensational, but if the money power and its emissaries want to precipitate a fierce and bloody revolution in the United States of America, it cannot more certainly accomplish its design than by increasing the standing army. This will be the initial step toward the cataclysm. The American people are patriotic and peace loving, and if only half fed and half clothed they will be content. If disturbance and turbulence are threatened there is a cause for it, and rather than prepare to murder the unfortunate victims, it would be a thousand times more humane, more to our credit and honor, and more in consonance with our much vaunted Christian civilization to honestly seek to remove the cause.

Instead of General Miles' programme I would have the labor unions in every city and town in the country organize, equip and maintain a uniform rank, let them drill and learn all the movements and manoeuvres of military action, let them bear arms and know how to handle them.

Why not? The suggestion is strictly in accord with the letter and spirit of the constitution. They are the mainstay of the republic. They have fought and will have to fight all her battles. With the workmen of the country trained and equipped for action the peace and security of the republic would be assured.

*Eugene V. Debs*

THE WAY THE STATE KILLS. The nations of the earth employ various methods of killing culprits—as for instance—Spain chooses the garrote method—strangulation with an iron collar and performing the operation in public. Austria, Netherlands, Portugal and Great Britain use the gallows—public, except Great Britain. France, Saxony, Oldenburg and Denmark use the guillotine in public, while Hanover and Bavaria use the same instrument in private. Brunswick wields the axe in private, while Ecuador shoots in public. Italy don't kill. Russia employs musket, gallons and sword to kill offenders and the United States settles the hash with gallows and electricity—generally private. Switzerland uses the guillotine both private and public, while China's methods are "heads off," or strangulation with a cord. In the United States, the corporation methods of capital punishment include the blacklist and starvation.

The nation's supreme contempt for the supreme court is growing grandly.

## FOOD FOR THOUGHT.

MRS. CORINNE S. BROWN DISCUSSES SOME VITAL ISSUES OF THE HOUR.

A Paper Well Calculated to Set People to Thinking—Some Pungent Paragraphs in Reference to Redemption.

Mrs Corinne S. Brown has the following excellent paper in a recent issue of the Observer:

It is well that optimists are so by temperament, for certainly events and conditions are continually driving them into the bogs of pessimism. The best of them are kept dancing on the brink, straining every nerve to keep in sight the vision of the good time coming. This hopeful fraction of the community in looking for signs of progress and happy change, might easily have welcomed the organization known as the Woman's Educational Union; the name has a sound of promise—organized women being so in earnest and education being a synonym for progression.

But optimism received a dampening shower when months of the Union's activity culminated in a petition to the Board of Education asking that the bible be restored to the public schools; that ten or fifteen minutes a day be deducted from the meager study time of 200,000 children to listen to or recite words from a certain book which the petitioners deem holy. A small issue for the energy necessary to secure the signatures of 65,000 persons.

En passant it would be interesting to know how these signatures were secured. Were they all signed individually? Or did some zealous minister hand over his record of church membership to follow his own name on the list? Did an active Sunday-school superintendent receive *en masse* permission to sign the names of his scholars with his own? It is of some importance to know about this. The Jews of the city, an important factor in the business, social and educational world, would not sign such a petition; the Roman Catholics would repudiate it; the working men would scoff at it; the independent progressive thinkers in the church or out of it would have none of it; the submerged tenth would not be asked to sign it; are there 65,000 signers left?

The petition might have been endorsed if, with the subject, any mention had been made of the pressing needs of our public schools. But nothing was said about the lack of school facilities in the crowded portions of the city, no mention made of the discrimination in the care of schools in wealthy wards against those in the poorer wards.

The need of the kindergarten's training for the little ones, so many of whom have no training at all, was ignored, neither was there any protest against the herding of children into rented stores and basements, where they suffer from poor ventilation and inadequate accommodations. The necessity of truant schools to rescue those children accustomed to street life was forgotten and there was no suggestion that the standard of the teaching force be raised.

That the high price of school books retards the education of 10 per cent. of the children and prevents many from entering school was of no account to the Union, for no word was said about the question of free text books. That the compulsory education law is ignored, is a matter of indifference, and, also, that the compulsory education department is increasing the number of permits allowing young children to leave school for employment. Nothing was said urging practical lessons or problems in ethics to demonstrate that stealing, lying and bullying practices most common to children, are wrong.

No, the moral, sensible and necessary reforms were beyond the consideration of the Union, whose energy was wasted on a petition asking that the highest service of the state, the teaching service, be subserved fifteen minutes daily to the dogmatic direction of the smallest and least progressive part of the community. Surely the optimist might easily feel the stupor of despair creep over him at such pitiful evidence of regenerative force. Let the members of the Union take the bible from their eyes and learn something of the world around them. This holiday season is an appropriate time to begin. It is the anniversary of Him who first said, "Suffer little children to come unto me." Visit the dry goods stores and see what they are doing for the children, "for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

See the children driven here and there, dodging elbows and bundles, running their feet sore to answer clap, bell and call. Pry into their lunch rooms, learn how they get their supper, what they are paid for overtime, at what time of night they reach their homes, and the dangers they risk on the way.

Go through the alleys and note the newsboys and waifs pitching pennies and shooting craps. Visit the stock yards, the canning and candy factories. See the children standing ankle-deep in running water filled with rotting blood and refuse, in dark passages, working before unguarded buzz saws, breathing air made foul with stenching bones and hides.

Look at them piled one above another on shelves in cramped and unnatural postures. Learn that the future citizens of the state are being poisoned in tobacco works, deafened in boiler shops; are having fingers burned and clipped and limbs broken because of unguarded machinery. Find out that within fifteen minutes' ride, children are working button holes in your garments and curvatures in their own spines, treading foot-power machines and cultivating tuberculosis. Slaving in atmospheres filled with dust, down and steel filings. Go into the foreign world, next door to you, and see the children growing up in ignorance of that measure of protection, the English language.

After seeing these things go home and think. Your woman's heart will surely cry out against these conditions. Your woman's intelligence will tell you that bible reading will not cure things like these; that the children must be taken out of these places, must be fed, warmed, and loved before the truths of any book can teach them anything. Your woman's sense will tell you that the whole

community is the only party large enough and strong enough to stop this social suicide. Change your name to Woman's Self Educational Union. Read the bible less and the Illinois Factory Report more, and your next petition may be signed by sixty-five millions of people who are looking and waiting for intelligent redemption.

## A TRIBUTE TO EUGENE V. DEBS, FROM WOODSTOCK.

The Woodstock prison, a place toward which has been turned the thought not only of every laboring man in the union but also of every liberty-loving American, has at last unbarred its doors and Eugene V. Debs has been allowed to walk forth to freedom.

The infinite patience and grace with which Mr. Debs has endured his long and vicarious imprisonment and his unvarying courtesy and dignity of manner have strongly evidenced to the people of this locality the true nobility and manliness of his nature, and his beneficent influence has been felt beyond the four walls of the confining jail.

Although it was not included in Mr. Debs' sentence that he should be obliged to receive visits from every milk-shipper or cucumber-picker whose curiosity or sympathy might lead them to call, yet all whom the sheriff has admitted have been most cordially received by him.

To those who have been granted an interview he appears as one whose mind is above ordinary trifles, one who is an ardent student and an honest thinker—the latter a thing so rare among politicians as to elicit admiration even from those who believe him to be mistaken in his conclusions.

Listening to his conversation you are convinced that Mr. Debs is a born social reformer, one of the few among the great march of humanity who will undoubtedly influence the destinies of the people. His mind is filled with his great work and he is willingly giving the best thought of his life and the best years of his manhood to the championship of a class whom he believes to be wronged. With noble enthusiasm, he is laboring to advance the sentiment of human brotherhood and to guarantee a just equality of opportunity to all mankind; and you are forcibly impressed that he is one who, regardless of the consequences to himself, would have the courage to stand by his convictions.

During his long and lonely seclusion, Mr. Debs has had time for a broader and clearer view of the conditions of the hour, and for a consideration of the best methods for the consummation of his visionary ideal of a new and improved social order, which we sincerely hope is but a true reflection of a time to come.

He has been given leisure for a careful analysis of the true mechanism of our national system—a system whose increasing resultant seems to be upon the one hand an aristocracy of wealth almost beyond our English to describe, and upon the other, hunger and squalor and degradation equally beyond the power of speech; and he has been diligently studying this complex and alarming question of the classes and masses—this growing conflict between the power of monopolies and the increasing intelligence of the laboring man, this widening chasm, that all thoughtful students of history concede, must inevitably lead to a total reconstruction of modern society.

In his earnest investigation of these pressing problems of the day, Mr. Debs cannot but have enhanced the value of his future labors.

Enough such men as Mr. Debs, men of conscience and conviction, men who are ready to give their lives for right and progress, to give their liberty for freedom of labor and defiance to despotism, and this day of selfish civilization might yet prove to be the "dawn of humanity's golden age."

Like all reformers, while laboring for others Mr. Debs is, perhaps unconsciously, building for himself; and his many friends at Woodstock earnestly hope that this ladder which he is rearing may yet rest upon some lofty and honored eminence.

HARRIET BUNKER AUSTIN.  
Woodstock, Ill.

## THE LEATHER TRUST STRIKES.

It has struck against 15,000 men for the purpose of advancing the price of leather, and this, says the New York World, "is the ultimate object of all monopoly combinations. Their talk of combination as 'a means of cheapening the cost of product' is specious humbug. When they combine, it is in the hope of coercing the public and suspending the first law of fair trade—the law that it takes two to make a bargain."

## LABOR FEDERATION

CLOSES ITS DELIBERATIONS IN NEW YORK AND ADJOURNS.

Samuel Gompers Elected President to Succeed John W. McBride—Other Matters that Received Attention.

The New York convention of the American Federation of Labor has concluded its deliberations and adjourned. We reproduce the following account from the press dispatches:

Samuel Gompers was elected president of the American Federation of Labor this afternoon by a majority of eighteen votes over John McBride, his only opponent. The socialists voted for McBride.

The full list of officers elected is as follows: President—Samuel Gompers of New York city of the International Cigar Makers' union, in place of John McBride of Columbus, O.

First vice president—Peter J. McGuire of Philadelphia of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, re-elected.

Second vice president—James Duncan of Baltimore of the Granite Cutters' National union, re-elected.

Third Vice President—James O'Connell of Chicago of the International Association of Machinists, in place of R. Kenahan of Denver, Col.

Fourth vice president—M. M. Garland of Pittsburg, Pa., of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, in place of Thomas J. Elderkin of Chicago.

Treasurer—John B. Lennon of New York of the Journeymen Tailors' union, re-elected.

Secretary—Aug. McCraith of Boston of the Typographical union, re-elected. The special order of business for the afternoon was the election of officers at 3 o'clock and President McBride said he should have that matter brought on at that hour.

At 3 o'clock, according to programme, the doors were thrown open and the question of the nomination of officers was taken up. Vice President Duncan nominated for the presidency John McBride, the incumbent. He said he was the man for the office, and while he had been sick a part of the time of his term in office he had done good work. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Bramwood of the Typographical union.

Delegate Feuracht proposed the name of Samuel Gompers for president and in doing so urged the advisability of his election. This nomination was seconded by Delegate James J. Linehan.

On motion of W. O. Pomeroy the presiding officer called the roll of delegates. By order of the chair the roll was called for verification.

Gompers was elected by a majority of 18. The vote stood Gompers, 1,041; McBride, 1,022. Every socialist delegate voted for McBride.

Delegate Garland of the Iron and Steel Workers' Amalgamated association divided his vote, giving thirty for each candidate. Delegate W. B. Prescott of the International Typographical union voted solidly for McBride, giving him 191 votes. James Gelson of the International Printing Pressman's union, representing twenty-five votes, did not respond to the call, and his delegation was not recorded as having voted for either of the candidates. Three of the delegates, representing one vote each, did not vote. The Manhattan Musical Union, No. 6,352, represented by Robert A. Muller, with six votes, voted in favor of the western candidate, McBride.

The chair appointed a committee of three delegates to notify Mr. Gompers of his election and escort him to the platform. Mr. Gompers, on being introduced, said:

"There is no position on earth that I hold with as much sacredness, reverence and high honor as I do that of the president of the American Federation of Labor. I can plainly see the duty that confronts me. If my past has shown to you that your confidence is due me, all I can say is that I will do all in my power to keep up the past record. I am a trades-unionist, and as such will stand or fall for that principle, and I will try to prove worthy of the confidence you have placed in me. I hope you will join with me in one grand effort to place the federation on its proper plane. I will do what I can for the federation and earnestly ask your assistance."

Retiring President John McBride on being introduced complimented Mr. Gompers. He pledged his support to the federation, but added that never again would he accept an official position within the ranks of organized labor. He announced that he would do his duty as a private and endeavor by every possible means to bring about the amelioration of the condition of the working classes.

Peter J. McGuire was the unanimous choice of the convention for first vice president, and he was so declared elected. There were two nominations for the office of second vice president. Delegate O'Connell renominated the present incumbent, James Duncan of the Granite Cutters' National union. Delegate Weisman renominated C. E. Reichers of the United Garment Workers.

The vote was by roll call and resulted in favor of Duncan by a majority of 627. The vote was: Duncan, 1,366; Reichers, 739. Mr. Duncan's election was made unanimous upon the request of Mr. Reichers.

James O'Connell of the International Machinists' union was elected third vice president. There were three nominations for the office—namely, James O'Connell, Rody Kenahan and C. P. McCambridge.

The voting was: O'Connell, 1,235; Kenahan, 838; McCambridge, 1. The election was then made unanimous on motion of Delegate Kenahan. The next thing was the election of a fourth vice president. This office brought forth four nominations. They were E. H. Diehl, W. D. Mahon, Henry C. Barber and M. M. Garland. The first vote was a tie, inasmuch as it did not give a majority. The names of Diehl and Barber were then withdrawn and the contest then lay between Garland and Mahon. Another vote was taken, with the

following result: Garland, 1,001; Mahon, 951.

John B. Lennon of the Journeymen Tailors' union was unanimously re-elected treasurer, the secretary casting the vote.

A. McCraith of the Typographical union was re-elected to the office of secretary, the president having cast the ballot.

Joseph Buchanan, a labor writer, was then introduced and made an interesting address.

The question of sending fraternal delegates to the international congress of socialist workers at London next August was the first business taken up by the convention of the American Federation of Labor when it met this morning. The motion, which was pending when the convention adjourned last night, to refer the matter to affiliated bodies was lost, and a motion to lay on the table was carried by a vote of 52 to 10.

That part of the president's report which has been construed as recommending separate political action by wage-earners was taken up. Delegate Barnes of Philadelphia said that the time had come when some other means than strikes must be employed for the working classes. The socialist party, he said, is growing and would continue.

Delegate Gompers objected to the report. He said he was surprised to hear the socialistic delegates speak as they had on the floor of the convention of the Federation of Labor. Treasurer John B. Lennon also objected to that part of the report which reads: "While struggling under the wage system to the polls." He said he was not under the drudgery rule and no other honest man was.

Delegate Pomeroy offered a substitute for the report of the committee, declaring that the failure of the Denver convention to adopt the twelve planks as a political platform made it patent that the federation has no platform which can be called political. The substitute elicited a spirited debate and was adopted—1,676 to 214.

That part of the president's report that referred to the missions of trades unions was taken up next. Delegate Pomeroy offered a resolution regarding the requirement of unions desiring admission to the American Federation of Labor. A report from the committee on law favoring an amendment to the constitution providing that local unions not affiliated with the national union be excluded from the central bodies was under discussion when the hour for recess arrived.

Immediately after the afternoon session had convened Delegate Weisman moved that the convention go into executive session to hear the report of the grievance committee, because it had been said the committee had before kept matters of importance to the convention back until after the election of officers. The motion carried.

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## GETTING READY TO FLEE.

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Better see that there is no hole in your pocket, and that your joints are all oiled and ready to slip."

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THE NEW YEAR.

Ring out old shapes of foul disease; Ring out the narrowing lust for gold; Ring out the thousand wars of old; Ring in the thousand years of peace; Ring in the valiant man and free; The larger heart the kinder hand; Ring out the darkness of the land; Ring in the Christ that is to be.

—Thompson.

The bells are ringing joyously. A new year, 1896, is born. There are no mourners for the old year. Like Caesar, it came, it saw, it conquered and then died.

The new year has its train of votaries. It has something to give. What?

Time—365 days, six hours, six minutes and six seconds. That is the measure, no more, no less.

The year, like a stalwart man, stretches forth its arms that all may feel the pulse-beats of his heart.

Each pulse tells of a second gone. "Sixty seconds make a minute, sixty minutes make an hour, twenty-four hours make a day, seven days make a week, four weeks make a month, twelve months make a year." An endless chain.

Shakespeare said, "Make use of time, let not advantage slip," and that "like as the waves make toward the pebbled shore, so do our minutes hasten to their end." Time is to be used. Not to use it is to throw away what is more precious than gold.

Men talk about "making up for lost time." It is a delusion. Schiller said: "Threefold the stride of Time from first to last. Loitering slow the future creeps— Arrow-swift the Present sweeps— And motionless forever stands the Past."

If one gets behind time he will never catch up with the minutes that get away from him. The only possible amend for lost time is not to lose any more time. It is an easy matter when writing of a new year to be sentimental, to talk of "gentle spring" and delicious summer; of the seasons, of sunshine, shower and shade; of violets, and all the family of flowers; of orchards and their mellow fragrance; of dales and dells, springs and brooks; of birds and their melodies. Indeed, that is the general style, the idea being that there is something about the dawning of new a year that is immensely poetical, and, as a result, the practical is very generally tabooed.

We write for a class of readers who, generally speaking, take more stock in fact than in fiction, who are students of economics, of black lists, of wages, and no wages, of "progress and poverty," of life and living in their most serious aspects, and such men peer into the new year and dolorously inquire of each other if they see anything betokening an improvement in conditions? or if they hear any voice telling them the day of their redemption from bondage draweth nigh? And the reply is, "All is dark and silent, and we must wait and watch for coming events."

Thus it has been all along the ages. Will it be the same forever? The years that are past have written their teachings in imperishable characters. Men may, if they will, decipher them. The language of the years is not a dead language, neither Greek nor Sanskrit, and enables the reader to note how "history repeats itself."

In so far as labor is concerned the new year with its bells and balls has no significance whatever aside from the fact that it is popularly regarded as an incident in the flight of Time to make resolves. This is usually done very much like writing them on seashore sands, where the waves obliterate them as soon as they are written.

This doubtless will be done on New Year's day, 1896, the same as on former New Year-anniversaries. It is, however, pleasant to reflect that workmen can not, or at least ought not, to "be fooled all the time," and that learning wisdom from experience, they will, by voice and vote, adopt programmes of emancipation, that all discordant notes will be hushed into silence, and that voices unified and blending like the tones of many instruments in a grand oratorio, will demand and make A. D. 1896, illustrious by securing rights and justice long denied.

A HOLY WAR.

The Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid, is not only emperor of the Turkish empire but also Caliph, the recognized successor of Mohammed the prophet, and therefore at the head of the Mohammedan church in all lands except Arabia and Morocco. The present Sultan, not being an Arab, as was Mohammed, the Arabians regard him as a usurper, and in Morocco and Persia some sort of a son-in-law of Mohammed is at the head of the sect.

There is said to be now in the world 200,000,000 followers of Mohammed. Of these 5,000,000 are in Egypt, 40,000,000 in India and 20,000,000 in other English possessions—and there are vast numbers of them in some of the provinces of Austria—as also in the northern African colonies of France. Russia and Italy also have many subjects who are followers of the Prophet.

A holy war means the uprising of all the Mohammedans of all lands for the purpose of exterminating Christians and Christian missionaries and this holy war business is in the hands of the Caliph, the Sultan of Turkey.

In the mosque at Constantinople, is kept the green mantle of Mohammed, and all the Sultan has to do, is to take this mantle and hold it aloft towards Mecca and declare war against a foe. This done, the butchery begins everywhere throughout all lands where a Christian can be found to murder. Only dead Christians are regarded as good Christians by Mohammedans and especially the Turks—and it turns out that all the great (?) powers of Europe are afraid of this holy war—and none of them more than England, and Lord Salisbury is going to think seriously before he permits the Sultan to fling out the green mantle of the Prophet—not so much because it would mean the death of a vast number of Christians, but because Englishmen have invested largely in Turkish bonds, and a "holy war" or any other sort of a war with the Turks would be a slaughter of English securities.

As a result, the Turks will go ahead slaughtering Armenians, because aside from England's financial interests which constitute England's soul—the "great powers" of Europe if they should expel the Turks from Europe, Turkey would have to be divided, which would be worse than a "holy war"—for it would be a hellish war, in which more Christians would be slaughtered in a year than the Turks, even if left to pursue Christians, would kill in a century.

Such is the situation and it will be seen that the Sultan, with his green mantle, will win, as Turkey has always won in such struggles.

KEY-NOTES.

We hear much about "key notes," the "sounding of key notes," etc. The term is eminently suggestive.

A key note, aside from its musical significance, Webster says, is "the fundamental fact or idea; that which gives the key, as the key-note of a policy."

The attention of the country has been called repeatedly to the dismissal of Prof. Bemis from the Chicago University, controlled by Jno. D. Rockefeller, the Standard Oil Trust, the multi-millionaire—a saint of the Baptist persuasion, who not satisfied with his baptism in American water, contemplates a visit to the Holy Land, that he may be baptized a la Christ, in the Jordan.

Prof. Bemis, not having the fear of Rockefeller in his heart and soul, was in the habit of sounding key-notes in the interest of all the people, an economic gospel of righteousness—in which the ways and means of Rockefeller, Pullman, Carnegie et al. were not complimented in the style of parasites, lickspittles and the entire tribe of degenerate sycopants. Prof. Bemis rose to the full stature of a thoughtful, conscientious educator, doing honor to himself, to the American name, and to the University he represented. His honesty, his scrupulous regard for truth, was his crime in the eyes of Rockefeller, the oily saint who wants to be washed in Jordan.

Rockefeller has a feller in his university by the name of Harper, who sounds key-notes for his master. This Harper is President of Rockefeller's university and in discussing the dismissal of Prof. Bemis, sounded a key-note as follows:

"It is all very well to sympathize with the workmen, but we get our money from those on the other side and we cannot afford to offend them."

Harper's key-note is the fundamental note in the policy of the money power of the country by which workmen are to be ostracized and degraded, cheated and robbed, until their degradation is assured.

All the fountains of knowledge are to be poisoned, the school and the church are to be debauched until there shall be no key-note sounded in the interest of workmen, because educators and priests "get their money from those on the other side." Harper's key-note tells the whole story.

It is interesting to note how plutocrats divide the spoils of industry with working men. They say: "I'll take the turkey and you the turkey bizzard, or you take the turkey bizzard and I'll take the turkey." That's it every time.

GROVER CLEVELAND, when in a merry mood, calls his cabinet "tom cods"—and when a little irritated, "sheeps-heads."

THE RAILWAY TIMES.

We make no extravagant declaration in saying the RAILWAY TIMES has met fairly well every pledge it has made to the order of which it is the official organ, as also to its patrons, who, without regard to name or calling, are devoted to the cause of labor and the maintenance of constitutional liberty.

It may be said, because it is true, that the RAILWAY TIMES stands for the emancipation of labor from all its enthrallments, pecuniary, political and judicial.

It advocates advanced wages, because it glories in bright and happy homes, which can only be secured by honest wages for work performed.

How earnestly the RAILWAY TIMES has battled for the A. R. U. and for organized labor in every department of industrial affairs its readers know, and its record in the past may be accepted as a guarantee that its future will be as earnestly devoted to the advocacy of the principles and purposes of organized labor.

With these announcements, we feel at liberty to call upon every A. R. U. man, not only to send on his subscription, but to secure for the TIMES, one or more subscribers.

This we feel assured can be done with a small expenditure of time.

Take almost any issue of the TIMES as a sample copy, and in soliciting subscribers the average workman will at once see the merits of the publication and will willingly pay either \$1.00 for a year or 50 cts for six months, or 25 cts for 3 months subscription. They will want the TIMES and the more they read it, the more they will want it.

The larger circulation of the TIMES the more it can accomplish for the order. That being true, we call upon our brothers of the A. R. U. to put forth their best efforts to increase our subscription list.

We appeal to them to be earnest and enthusiastic in their efforts, and feel confident they will meet with the most gratifying success.

There are battles to be fought in the near future to be attended with victory or defeat, and the RAILWAY TIMES if accorded a circulation in consonance with the sturdy work its mission is to perform, so much the more certain will it be that impending struggles will be fruitful of victory.

With this view of the outlook neither overwrought nor fanciful, we invite every A. R. U. man to the rescue.

We believe they will come. We believe they have the required faith, hope and courage to put forth their best efforts to increase the subscription list of the RAILWAY TIMES.

"THE MAN OF DESTINY."

The Greater Age writing of Eugene V. Debs says:

Eugene V. Debs free. Think of it! A thousand plutocratic hearts are agitated at the thought, but their agitation is of a different kind than that which agitates the breast of the workman and the patriot.

The plutocrat is agitated because he sees in this brave, calm man one who may yet prove a Moses to lead the oppressed people out of the modern Egypt—the hell of industrial slavery and bondage to the plutocracy at the close of the 19th century.

The forces of Labor are deeply agitated because they are again to behold this man who is not for sale, but would rather go to jail than be untrue to them or the American people.

The laborer has been so many times sold out by so-called leaders that to at last find a man that really meant what he preached and willing to suffer for the truth has at first awakened in him profound wonder, then respect and then enthusiasm.

Eugene V. Debs is a man of honor, good judgment and great courage. He is widely known and greatly respected by the masses. There are other men just as good, just as honorable, and who would be just as true to the trusts reposed in them, but who have not been put to the test as has Mr. Debs, therefore who have not so much the sympathy of the masses.

So we say with the happy combination of Eugene V. Debs as the candidate for president, and the union of all who favor reform, the people will win next year, and we have not the slightest hesitancy in saying so.

Comrades the Greater Age is for Eugene V. Debs for president and for a union of all who are for victory and better conditions in 1896. How many of you are with us?

THE American Railway Union is an organization founded upon conquering principles and can therefore survive the shocks of battle. It is an organization of the future as well as the present and will yet blaze the way to victory. Unification of the whole railway service is the demand of the hour.

CHIEF JUSTICE FULLER, has been reported sick. If he has treated his own constitution as badly as he has the constitution of the United States, his condition must be deplorable.

EVERYBODY asks, "when will Shiras flop again?" The conundrum is not a difficult one. He will flop when there is boodle in the case.

It has been reserved for the United States to have a "cracked liberty bell," and through the crack, a good deal of liberty has escaped.

A COMET is coming with a tail 10,000,000 miles long, which is increasing at the rate of 1,000,000 miles a day—or was some weeks ago.

CORPORATIONS create poverty, poverty is the avant courier of crime, hence, the devil and the corporations are hell's Siamese twins.

If you are with us get at least one subscriber for the RAILWAY TIMES. Do it now.

WAR WITH ENGLAND.

As we write a war cloud is forming above the horizon. It is affirmed that both England and the United States have placed themselves in positions from which neither can recede; that "backing down" or "backing out" with credit is impossible. What is it all about? The question is asked a thousand times every day.

On the northern border of South America is a republic known as Venezuela, and adjoining it on its eastern boundary is a British possession known on the map as British Guiana. The boundary line is in dispute and has been for more than seventy years.

Venezuela is confessedly weak, while England is one of the most powerful nations on the earth, and in some regards the most powerful—especially on the sea. From time to time England under various pretexts has moved the boundary line outward, encroaching more and more upon the territory of Venezuela. Protests have been disregarded, arbitration absolutely refused, until now England claims about 40,000 square miles of Venezuelan territory—or about one-tenth of the entire domain of the republic, which includes the mouth of the Orinoco river. This territory England, proposes to take and occupy by force, regardless of claims and protests of Venezuela.

At this juncture the United States steps forward, and announces that England ought not to take this territory by force from a weak republic, but that the disputed boundary should be defined by arbitration; and this demand is based, not only upon the principle of fair play between England and Venezuela, but upon principles enunciated in what is called and known as the Monroe doctrine—which boiled down is simply this—that no monarchical power shall acquire territory by force or otherwise on the continents of North or South America for the purpose of colonization; that the two continents shall be held sacred for government by the people and not by monarchs.

The American territory they possessed when the Monroe doctrine was first announced would remain undisturbed, but no more could be acquired without the consent of the United States. And the reason why the United States announced the doctrine was that monarchical governments, set up on the American continents, would ceaselessly menace the free institution of the republic of the United States of America.

As a result we have the Venezuelan imbroglio. England proposes to take from Venezuela disputed territory. The United States invites England to arbitrate the boundary question. England refuses the request.

Hence, there must be found some peaceful way for England or the United States to recede, or war is inevitable.

Admiral Porter said: "A pin is worth fighting for if it involves a principle." The Monroe doctrine involves a principle, and the United States will fight as a last resort. Nothing is more certain to happen.

But a war with England will be no holiday picnic. All understand that. How much we may suffer, should war occur, is not estimated. Doubtless, immensely. On the other hand, how much would England suffer, and how would she suffer?

It is this question of suffering that is just beginning to dawn upon the American and British minds. The United States is self-supporting. England is not. More than one-half of England's food has to be imported. If the United States should issue letters of "marque and reprisal," and send out fleets of privateers, England's commerce would be swept from the seas in six months. If the war was prolonged, there would be no British empire in the western hemisphere, and there would no longer be the "morning drumbeat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circling the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England." These martial airs would only be heard half way round the whole earth, and possibly not half way. England has everything to lose, and nothing to gain, by locking horns with the United States.

THE UNITED STATES CLOTHING CO.

We have been favored with a special order by the United States Clothing Co. of Milwaukee, Wis., for two thousand copies of the RAILWAY TIMES of this issue for free distribution on the evening of January 8th at the mass meeting held under the auspices of the Federated Trades Council, to be addressed by Mr. Eugene V. Debs, President of the American Railway Union. These papers are given out to the workers of Milwaukee with the compliments of these enterprising clothiers, who by fair dealing have established themselves in the confidence of a large and growing patronage which includes a large number of workmen.

GROVER CLEVELAND was so much exhausted by writing his message that he had to quit the White House and go on a wild goose chase to the coast of the Carolinas to recuperate.

The great Santa Fe railroad was sold, December 10, to the bondholders, mostly "Hinglish you know," for \$140,727,849.07. Everybody else was wiped out.

A GREAT STRIKE.

Fully five thousand street car employees are on strike at Philadelphia. We have the following press dispatch in regard to the affair:

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 17.—The strike of the employees of the Union Traction Company, which was ordered last night by the executive committee of the Philadelphia branch of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees, and which action was subsequently ratified at a mass meeting of the men, went into effect at 4 o'clock this morning.

While the strike seriously affects every line controlled by the Union Traction Company, cars are being run on some of the divisions at intervals of half an hour or more.

The basis upon which the order for the tie-up was issued is constituted in the following demands, which were made by the Amalgamated Association in behalf of the employees of the various branches which comprise the Union Traction system:

- 1. That 10 consecutive hours shall constitute a day's work, not less than 30 minutes for meals, and for which the sum of \$2 shall be paid.
2. That all cars shall be vestibuled for the protection of motormen; said work to be done within a reasonable time.
3. That sweepers, snow-plows and trippers shall be considered as special work, and shall be subject to increased pay.
4. That no employee shall be discharged for belonging to this (the Amalgamated) or any other organization, except for just cause. That all men discharged by reason of their affiliation with said organization shall be immediately reinstated.

These conditions were sent to President Welsh, of the Union Traction Company, after he had declined to treat with the representatives of the Amalgamated Association.

The arbitrary action of the officials in not only declining to treat with President Mahan and the officials of the Union, but, like Pullman, in refusing to arbitrate has been condemned by the press and by all classes of people. The men are undoubtedly in the right and it is to be hoped that organized labor will stand by them staunchly to the end. At this writing the strike is still on in full force and the men are making a gallant fight.

NATURE'S GENTLEMEN IN THE RANKS OF BOOT-BLACKS.

We read that upon a time, not long ago, a gentleman going through a crowded part of the city of Glasgow, Scotland, noticed a pale faced little boot-black waiting for hire. Touched by the delicate look of the child, he thought he would give him the blacking of his boots to do. Accordingly, he gave the little fellow the signal. The boy at once crept lamely towards the gentleman, and, as he pulled himself along, was nimbly supplanted by another little bootblack, who was immediately ready to begin.

"What's this for?" said the gentleman to the intruder, somewhat angrily. "It's a' right," said the new comer brightly. "Jamie's just a wee while out o' the hospital, and the rest o' us take a turn about o' brushing for him."

Jamie smiled pleasantly by way of assuring the gentleman that his comrade's story was true.

The gentleman was so gratified by this act of brotherly kindness that he gave Jamie's friend a whole shilling for his work, telling him to give six pence to himself.

"Na, na," quickly replied this little hero; giving the shilling to Jamie and hurrying from the spot—"na, na, sir, none o' us ever take any o' Jamie's siller."

That little boot-black will be promoted to an arch angel position, while Geo. M. Pullman is where the "rich man pleads for a 'drop of water.'"

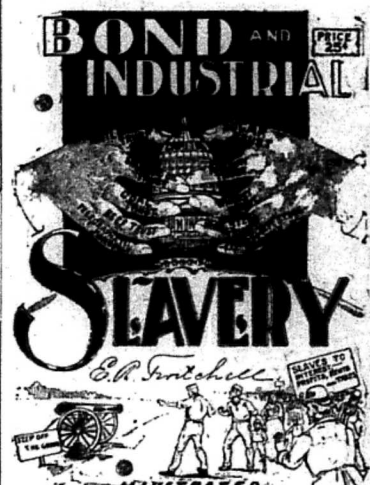
It is not probable, but possible, that congress will appoint a commission to count the stab holes the supreme court has made in the constitution, and report by "bill or otherwise."

If the government owned the railroads, the farmers would soon pay off their mortgages. The Populists are in favor of government ownership. How will farmers vote?



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PAPERS.

THE TOLLERS.

From their stations beside the looms, Out of the hot and the stifling rooms, Into the rush and the roar and the heat. The tollers are thronging with eager feet. "Who are these tollers," do you say? They are carbon and iron and water and clay. They are machines for the use of a day, Living, pulsing automata they. "Who are these tollers?" Would you know? The lowly born for the things below, Who dig and delve the long years through, And die, as the rest of the creatures do. "Who are these tollers?" MEN are they, Spirits entombed in prisons of clay, Panting and struggling, crying for day Are these but compounds of carbon and clay? "Who are these tollers?" Souls, like we Who reach our hands to the Deity, And in these again He is crucified, For these are the ones for whom Christ died. Hugh J. Hughes.

Night Cap Meditations on Current Thought.

After the spasmodic exertions of the day are ended and one's body is limp, ambitious and impotent, the mind sometimes falls into a meditative mood, and self-interrogation is frequently the result. What is life to me? What is its design, purpose and destiny?

I have worked faithfully for twenty years to master the cunning of a certain handicraft but I have never yet in the course of that period utilized that art and science for my own comfort. I toil incessantly in constructing sanitary apparatus for the use of people who boast of never soiling their fingers with toil. Enamelled sinks, water closets, marbleized wash basins, copper lined bath tubs, slop basins with elaborately ventilated and constructed waste pipes, I handle day after day, week after week, month after month and year after year, but none of these advantages I enjoy myself, because I cannot afford them. I am still young in years but I feel a sense of age creeping over me, and the buxom virility that once laughed through my physical system has entirely disappeared. Lead poisoning has gradually undermined my health and fierce "rushing" of contract work is perceptibly shortening my breath and haunching my back. Dozens of my senior shop mates are now lying in their graves, and they lived once just such a life as I am now living, and many of them scarcely lived to see fifty years over their heads. What does all this wear and tear mean, anyhow? Can anyone tell? I remember my dull and slavish apprenticeship; the years of long, dreary drudgery I worked for the pittance of \$1.50 a week to master the "plumbing trade." Over time to me in those days was never remunerated, and in connection with my usual duties of carrying a journeyman's kit to and fro, frequently weighing a hundred pounds, running up and down ladders with supplies, digging up choaked sewers and handling and breathing noxious abominations, I was obliged to "back cord wood," carry coal and be a general servant to the "boss's wife. All these things recur to my mind as I glance backwards and my blood fairly tingles with rage at the recollection. But what can the end of all this toil mean? Premature old age, disease and death? Or is there something unseen and inexplicable lying in the beyond for the "greasy mechanic" in shape of a reward for the life of painful, thankless drudgery he has lived on this "changeable footstool?" Are the words of Solon true that "no person can be happy until he is dead," that men so willingly submit to be exploited to the very grave? Did not the great Creative Essence that thrills into song the feathered creation and breaks through the blushing petals of the flower not also shape man's ear, eye and nostril for the appreciation of these sweet, inspiring beauties? Are not scientists, philosophers, painters and poets nature's guides to lead the human race from the lowest plane of animalism to the highest form of life? If not, there is a grave mistake somewhere. If so, what possible progress can the race make upward in the scale of being if nine tenths of human kind are compelled to slave for the one-tenth? This cannot be our destiny, surely!

Admitting, then, that this is not our destiny, the question then occurs, Why do we tolerate it? "Ah! there is the rub!" Why do we tolerate it? Our peerless poet, James Boyle O'Reilly, answered that question some years ago in the following language: "The masses are poor, ignorant and disorganized, not knowing the rights of mankind on the earth and never knowing that the world belongs to its living population, because a small class in every country has taken possession of property and government and makes laws for its own safety and the security of its plunder, educating the masses, generation after generation, into the belief that this condition is the natural order and law of God. By long training and submission the people everywhere have come to regard the assumption of their rulers and owners as the law of right and common sense, and their blind instincts which tell them that all men ought to have a plenteous living on this rich earth, as promptings of evil and disorder. The qualities we naturally fear and dislike in a man are those which insure success under our present social order, namely: Shrewdness, hardness, adroitness, selfishness, the mind to take advantage of necessity, the will to trample on the weak in the canting name of civilization. The qualities we love in a man send him to the poorhouse—generosity, truthfulness, friendliness, unselfishness, the desire to help, the mind to refuse to profit from a neighbor's loss or weakness, the defense of the weak."

"Our present civilization is organized injustice and intellectual barbarism. Our progress is a march to a precipice." What do you think of that exposition, my toiling brother? Is it not deplorably true? Then if you think it is true, what are you going to do about it? Stand idly by and not make one effort to transform such unwarrantable into more equitable and bearable conditions? Wake up, and lend your voice and what you can spare of your pocket book for the elevation of mankind. Help to circulate reform literature and dare to have the courage of your convictions! We are so apt to cower beneath the frowns of petty tyrants or fawn, hat in hand with drooping head, before their "lofty majesties," but ages will pass away before the dawn of justice will come if we persist in thus unmanaging ourselves.

Individual life is short at the longest, and millions of years may roll away before we reappear on earth, and perhaps we may never, so my comrades of industrial slavery, let us not waste our precious moments in lofty trifles, but let us study the inexorable laws of nature and the eternal laws of justice and truth! Study how the chains that link you and me to lives of endless and thankless drudgery can be broken. Let us at the coming election vote for such fearless, honest, intelligent and patriotic men as Debs, Altgeld, Caulder, Waite and others, who have in their make-up the fire and fervor of Washington, Patrick Henry and martyred Abraham Lincoln. Vote them into the most important offices in the land and instead of the "small class that has taken possession of property and government," we shall have economic democracy—equal justice for all. For the sake of the generations unborn, my toiling brother, I adjure you to give these thoughts your most earnest concern that when you leave the earth it may be better than when you found it.

Partyism and Government.

We all know that parties are essential in a republican form of government. Through them representatives are elected for all the public offices, and the legislators so chosen enact the laws that control the liberties of men. Therefore, parties are important, and responsible in no small degree for the conditions and happiness of the people. It is a prime matter that parties be sound on the grave questions that affect the general welfare of the people composing the parties.

Parties are a necessary means of obtaining a popular expression on the issues that affect the good of the government and the masses. In fact they are, or should be, a form of sentiment, for through them the suffragists speak their will on current and popular questions. The party platforms are presumed to be a condensed statement of the issues—a sort of non-committal vagary, a dose of dodging, if we may say so. But they are necessary and the best means of presenting the problems of the day to the whole people for discussion. Throughout the campaign they are either warmly supported or sneeringly held up to ridicule, owing to one's conception of or previous opinions upon the questions. Moreover, parties are essential as a means of correcting each other and preventing gross corruption that might infect it were it not for the good influence of open criticism. Of all methods of correcting evils, both existing and threatened, none quite equals exposure. Parties are unfriendly to each other, always at sword's points, and with the hope of profit at the ballot box correct each other by exposure of mistakes, blunders and schemes that mean only harm in the end. These things are not an unmitigated evil, though they are disagreeable.

It is assumed that the majority is right, and that therefore the will of the majority is supreme and should be observed by the servants chosen to the public offices. But is the majority right in all instances? It is within the memory of men where minorities have eventually come out triumphant, where they were right and the majority wrong. The political triumphs and reverses within the past few years show that the will of the majority changes on important public questions. It is hardly possible that it could be right on both sides of these great issues, so vital to its well being and prosperity.

In simple theory an educated majority is always right, and minority rule must be the exception. It is upon majority rule that our government is carried on. There is perhaps no better method of popular government, and we are proud in the belief that our government is the best under the sun. But blind devotion to party may, as a fact, lead both party and its adherents astray and work incalculable harm. Indeed, blind partyism is always wrong, when considered as an individual matter. No man should vote simply because his party directs him to vote. The vote should be cast from higher motives, those that pertain to the good of all. It is only by intelligence that governments are preserved. Adhering to a party or a cause for no intelligent reason is not to be thought of by men of advanced ideas. By so doing a voter may be led into error that, were he to stop and think, he would not commit. And every mistake in the voter counts against the government he would serve, and therefore, by indirection against the best interests of the voter himself. No sound thinking voter can afford to injure his government by his ballot, for in the end the legislative measures adopted hurt the suffragist. His taxes may be increased, his liberties in some degree endangered and possibly cut off, his medium of exchange rendered less trustworthy, his living expenses increased by monopolies fostered by the government, his rights to labor in his own way may be denied or abridged, confidence in the general government lessened, men induced to commit crime, poverty increased on every hand, and the general welfare irreparably injured.

It is no fair or honest government where partyism prevails. The vote is not an intelligent and considerate one. Bosses are licensed to take advantage of the demoralized situation and manipulate men who are situated and guided by their fatal partyism. They are "handed" to suit a base purpose, not a principle. They are hoodwinked by scheming rascals who care nothing for the right and all for self.

Further, by the tone of popular expression legislators shape laws, and in that expression be a partisan one instead of an intelligent one, the laws enacted in accordance therewith will naturally be partisan and harmful. Hence partyism is an injury and leads legislators astray; or perhaps they take advantage of it to help themselves to "fat takes." So it is plain that partyism maintains corruption. It is not a genuine sentiment of the people, and is not in accord with their best interests, for the legislation of partisans never rises above the source. Partisan legislatures generate partisan laws, of course. Then the government suffers from partyism. It declines in the estimation of the thoughtful, it loses in the opinion set upon it by other nations, it becomes a positive injury to the civic body, and it dwindles to a second or third-rate government. Confidence in it is weakened, needful legislation is neglected, important measures are shelved, and nothing is done for the masses, everything shaped for the party, and

things generally go by default. The disease of governmental consumption is contracted, and the nation's death is but a question of time.

There is no high standard of partyism, and the government is never what it would be did intelligence direct the popular vote. How many of us vote from reason and observation, instead of from party prejudice and party traditions, and the baleful desire to be consistent with our past vote record? How many of us "vote 'er straight" because our fathers did, instead of weighing the issues represented by the candidates of the different parties? This is unadulterated partyism. The opinion secured in this way by the ballot is no fair one, no honest expression, no candid and thoughtful sentiment, and the government is simply on a level with the partisan vote.

Therefore, "we must educate, we must educate, or we must perish by our own prosperity." Party ties tend to our own destruction. Let us open our eyes and see our best interests.

Our Crumbling Social System.

We are not pessimists, but like to look around without any spectacles on, blue, green, white or any other color. We can hardly fix our eyes, the mental ones, on any of our developments, without noticing some dreadful abnormality unknown everywhere else or in any other historical period. Some calculations have been made by the papers about the railroads hardly being able to transport the crops we have raised. Yet in proportion to population we have 4 or 5 times more railroad mileage and rolling stock than any other nation. Not only that, but experts have been telling us something about the poverty of our business methods in the handling of railroad transportation, by which so many trains often go partially empty or make poor time and the like, indicating that, if any thing, we have more rolling stock than we would need under careful management. That seems to be proved by the enormous cost of our railroad equipment, and the fact that we have often had enormous crops before, and have been transported without trouble. We seem to be in danger of being ruined, as a nation, because we produce too much, and have no means to employ our population, and those who have a chance to work become exhausted because working too hard, and the harder their labor is the less they obtain for their support, and so on and so on, until it looks as if we all lived in a large insane asylum called the United States.

Let us be specific in order to show that we don't exaggerate the situation. We have raised about 30,000,000 bushels of potatoes more than usual, 200,000,000 against 170,000,000, under less population in the latter case, and the prices in the East have dropped from about 70c, under the usual fair crop, down to 50c., all because about 12 per cent. larger crop than former good ones in proportion to population. And we hear that even in Maryland farmers were crazy to get at least 15c per bushel, while in other localities they let the potatoes rot in the ground. It does not pay to even feed any of the farm stock with the surplus potato crop. Did anybody ever hear the like of it in his born days? And remember that quantities of our farm land are deteriorating because of absence of manure, and so absence of stock. All because our industrial system crushes the farmers in the country as well as the workers in all towns and cities.

Now let us touch again the item of our last potato crop. Is the figure of 200,000,000 bushels excessive for our, say 14,000,000 average family groups? We know, from actual experience, that the families among the well to do consume not less than 30 bushels of potatoes per annum, besides enormous quantities of other vegetables the whole year around, few of which can be consumed by the working classes. Add to that the fact that not one-third of meat, eggs and milk is consumed by the working family in relation to what the wealthy one does. Potatoes being then one of the few principal items of food among the workers, their average consumption should at least be that of the rich, 30 bushels per annum. Multiply that by our 14 millions of families, and you find that a crop of 400,000,000 bushels should find a ready market at 70c per bushel, a price which would allow the farmer to flourish and become a free buyer of manufactured products, a price which all city workers could pay and flourish too, if our industrial organization was not the most infernal one ever devised.

The above illustration of the potatoes can be applied to almost every one of the articles most indispensable to the working classes in the three elements of food, clothing and housing. With all our bragging about that great wealth production of ours, the naked fact is we don't yet produce over 50 per cent. of what we should, to develop a healthy race, with physical as well as moral health, we mean. All our inability to suppress social evils arises from the great drawback of imperfect moral development with the bulk of the people whom we force to exhaust their vitality in a mere animal struggle to obtain that which will barely support the mechanism of animal existence, with no power left to evolve the thinking faculty in any symmetrical form. The writer has had his period of life when he could not do much of anything else but go on, year after year, intent on making both ends meet, always uneasy for the tomorrow, and so unable to think but selfish thoughts. As soon as that changed, and he could manage to live a somewhat normal life; then, to think correct unselfish thoughts became as easy as to eat, and drink, and sleep. And that comes not necessarily as the result of wealth accumulation, but as a question of mental peace because of a sufficiency with which to meet the normal needs. That is all; but that peace is just what our diabolical modern progress denies to most men, to some because of too much wealth, to others because of less than that they should have, to almost everybody because of the instability of everything under our present social maladjustments and their resulting mental disturbances with all classes of society.

Back of all the abnormalities we have mentioned there is yet something more fatal, in comparison with every other period of history. Never before had men been cheaper than today. In the good old times of southern black slavery, a healthy strong male adult was worth \$1,000, equal to \$2,000 today, when all our values are far more inflated than 50 years ago. Is there any employer who

would give today any \$2,000 for a healthy strong white man, even if our laws allowed us to purchase white flesh? Not even \$200 would be given for the best white slave. We can have them in plenty when we want them, by the day and the week, and can be dropped on the road next week or day, and we don't need to be troubled about them when sick. Man was at least a very important machine, before the discoveries of the last 30 years. And year after year new machinery makes men less and less indispensable.

The day is coming when about 20 per cent. of the workers will be able to produce all they may need to plod and drudge through life, while furnishing an abundance for about 1 per cent. to live in opulence; when the rest, about 80 per cent. shall have nothing to do but die, or wake up and see how matters can be fixed for all the children of men to have plenty. And our very wonderful inventions come to prove the possibility of plenty for all. That is what makes our age the most criminal of all. Under the old industrial status it was not possible to produce much more than what was actually the result of the potentialities of the time. Today we could produce 10 times as much as we are allowed, indicating that we need far more than in the good old times, because of greater responsibilities and duties to be performed. We then have greater social restrictions and more intense social sins than ever in relation to present conditions. Hence the greater discontent and deeper abnormalities, as we have indicated. It is the crumbling process of the old social system, and that includes our wage slavery, which must disappear, sooner or later. As long as it lasts, we shall be made to believe that wages rise. Yet, we can notice that such a rise never gives men enough to make them realize that they owe to themselves, to their fellow men and to their God.

And what are men without the intelligence in question, without ease enough to grasp all the problems of life? They are nothing but somewhat improved monkeys without tails, and wealth does not improve the brand, either. It makes the human monkey worse.

Well, let our social system crumble. The to-day has a to-morrow, and the truth is here by which to build up a much grander civilization than men ever dreamt.

A Batch of Letters.

BY "ARE KAY."

Last nite I retired to my vertuous couch, at precisely half past eleven, after eatin a rather light supper for that time uv nite. I paid my respects to 2 mince pies, a pair uv pige feet, some cold tongue, and a plate uv tripe, followed by half a dozen doughnuts and a couple or more uv glasses uv hot whiskey punch; and singler as it may seem, it didn't set well. I dreamed and my dreams wuzn't at all pleasant. Me that I had deceased, and wuz in the next world. It wuz a singler site that met my vizzion. The dividin line between this world and the next wuz a swift stream uv water, and every decessed spirit had to cross it. The water wuz suthin like that of the Dead sea. A man unencumbered with anything cood walk on it, but they snuk down in it if they wuz loaded, accordin to what they hed to carry. On tother side uv this Jordan wuz Heaven. The dominions uv His Majesty, Satan the 1st, wuz below, and to it a strong undercurrent flowed, which took all them ez wuz too heavy loaded to keep their chins above water. On the bank stood more than two milliyuns uv little devils, who flung onto the shoulders uv them tryin to cross, their failures and weaknesses and iniquities.

Judge Wood wuz the first that I saw enter the flood. He hed on a life preserver, labelled "Constitutional Rights," but a peert little devil stuck a pin into it, and it collapsed, the gas with which it wuz filled smellin horribly. Down he went, and ez he sunk, they commenced peltin him with packages labelled "Perjury," "Deceas," "Plewtoctas hiring," and sich and the Judge went under.

Old Jim Hill came next. The old gentleman didn't keep above water ez long ez a able bodied man could hold a bar uv red hot iron in his hand. He made one splash, when a weight labelled "Starvation wages," struck him and down he went. The gentlemanly and urbane devil who hed him in charge hed a big pile more uv ammunition to discharge at him, but that one wuz sufficient.

Grover Cleveland come next, I wuz surprised to see no one make a motion at him, but he sunk all the same. "We never waste effort" sed Satan to me; "he carries enough natural cussedness about him, all the time, to sink him, without plin any more on his shoulders. P. M. Arthur went in and to my surprise passed over in safety. Nothin wuz flung at him, for which I asked the reason. "Why," sed Satan "The poor old man isn't accountable. He commenced to talk many years ago, and keeps on talkin because he really don't know when to stop. I could hev snuk him, but the fact is, I wooden endure what the Engineer's Brotherhood hed hed to for the past few years for a dozen sich. Besides this I'm gettin more from Ohio now than I am really entitled to. I've a mortgage on two-thirds uv that estate. Olney came up next rather bold and entered the flood ez though he wuz sure uv goin thru all right. With a chuckle Satan motioned away the inexperienced devils, and sed "Leave him to me" and flung at him a package labelled "Attorney general's weakness," which took him down to his arm pits he struggled awhile and I thought would get through safe when a big package labelled "Chicago Riots 1894" struck him and he went down instanter, at which His Majesty drew a sigh uv relief. Seein the style uv men who sunk, I remarked unto him—"This late strikes has been a rather profitable thing for you." "Nothin to speak uv" sed he, "The leaders of the plewtoctas were, some uv em, honest and got through on that account, and the rank and file were ignorant wretches who ain't accountable no how." Why," sed he "do you think I use all the ammunition I hav? Not any them yooce, seen piled on were used because bein the last, they were on top uv the pile. "Any quantity uv your party escaped me. Them fellows who are yet votin for Democracy I'll never git, and the most uv em as alluv votes scratched tickets will dodge me. Their innocence protects them. It takes a modrity smart man to be vishus enuff to come to

me. he hez to hev sense enuff to distinguish between good and evil, and cussedness enuff to deliberately choose the latter, and brains enuff to do suthin startlin in that line.

"The Democracy are displayin a vigor I didn't think they possesed. I hev some hope, however, ef they kin only git strength enuff to elect the next President and re-establish plewtoctacy! The thought fills me with joy. The redcoosin uv the laborer to bondage agin wood give me a clean title to every last one who helped do it and there'd be slaughters and murders to satisfy several sich Satans ez I am. I'd help em ef I knowed how, but I can't improve on either their speakers or writers and ez long ez men will do my work gratis, I don't see the yooce uv interfeerin'."

At this pint a couple uv small imps tried to push me into the stream and in the struggle I awoke. My dream wuz over but the impresshun remained. "Kin it be" thought I "that we are doin the devil's work, and are to be finally rewarded in the manner I saw in my vission? ef so, hedn't I better quit and repent?" But I thought again that however it mite be for younger men it would be uv no use to me. I hed voted the straight ticket for thirty years and the ten or twelve years I hed to live wuz too short a time in which to repent uv sich iniquity. (To be Kontinued.)

Co-Operation Is Strength.

BY JAMES T. R. GREEN.

There are in this country about four million reformers, of all sizes shapes, and color. Almost every one of them is trying to square a circle called law. They want to acquire a condition through law. They want to educate several millions of ignoramuses (who are totally indifferent to everything but the dictates of their bellies) in the intricate problems of "practical politics," to the end that they may together overcome a million others possessed of almost unlimited power, and even greater cunning than all the rest combined—themselves included.

Brother, let me tell you a "hard pan" fact. Laws don't spring from the unfathomable depths of pure thought—not on this plane of life. Whence natural law arises we will not venture to discuss at present, but human laws are transparently the result of conditions, and not vice versa, as so commonly supposed. The natural, i. e., practical thing to do is therefore, to make the desired conditions, and the laws desired will follow as a matter of course.

Suppose those four million reformers were to contribute 25 cents each to a common fund. That is not probably one tenth of what they have already spent in political agitation. With that million dollars about 200 miles of railroad could be built. Build and operate such a road at cost, or thereabout, paying good wages. What would be the result? Every mile of road so constructed and operated would force the water out of another mile of railroad stock. And having no dividends on stock, or interest, on mortgage bonds to pay, no road as roads are now built, could compete with it. It could pay good wages and by doing so draw millions of workmen into the plan all over the country.

We are naturally so selfish that we can scarcely conceive what co-operation would do. From the present point of view it is lunacy—of course. With such a road we could create a small surplus continually, and devote that surplus to the purchase of more rails, and rolling stock. Both rails and rolling stock are now made and sold at little over labor cost. Millions of men want such work. Now, make one example, and this country would soon be honey-combed not only with railways, but co-operative everything. Our present co-operators are nearly all competing with farmers. Farmers are "in the soup" already.

Some time ago some one said, God is love. It doesn't matter in the least who said it, we see that it is true every day of our lives. God, we may consider as representing all force, and love the equivalent of harmony. It is only another way of saying that union is strength. Co-operation is union, is it not? And by co-operation we can bring about the same conditions that we seek to obtain through law, and destroy interest and rent. Work at cost, draw profits from the soil, exchange at par, get our profits in fact from nature, and not our fellows, and who could borrow either land or money (pay rent or interest) and compete? See the cat?

Now, what is our political situation? Dissention brother; little else. In fact our laws, and the processes leading up to them—our political agitation—are but bones of contention to honest men, and bonds of union for rascals.

The most pitiful, and disheartening sight it is possible to see is the blind infatuation of would be reformers seeking reform through legislation. The day for that is past. Suppose we were in power at Washington. Could we through legal enactments prevent greed and ignorance from selling and buying credit? What folly to think so. Law is powerful, but only to restrict; there is no positive good in it. It can confer nothing which was not previously ours, by natural right. We must get our profits from God, not from man, must make the latter practice unprofitable, therefore impossible. The way to reform is to reform. Present methods are leading us straight into a bloody revolution. Get a move on you brother. Don't let the "money question" paralyze your wits.

Giant and Pigmy.

BY BERNARD FINN.

It has been the labor of philosophers of all ages to find in man some distinctive peculiarity by which to distinguish him from the rest of the animal world. The results of those labors are found in such definitions as "the tool-making animal," etc. But there is, in my opinion, no attribute so peculiarly and eminently his own as that of making slaves. Man is, above all, a slave making animal. He has enslaved his fellow-man. He has enslaved the noble brute. God's creature he has placed under bondage, and even the universal mother nature itself is under the sway of the despot. His greatest achievement in this line, however, and the one which interests us most at this time, is the enslavement of labor. We will not pause to ask how labor came by his bonds but will pass on to ask why he remains in them. Why is labor a slave? seems to me the most important question of to-day. Why is this mighty power, mightiest under heaven, suffered to remain enthralled and degraded? In viewing the

length and breadth of this fair world its cultivation, its products, its laws and its government, we are everywhere confronted by labor's creations. He has made these things. He has made them; then whose are they? Surely the creator owns his creature, and yet labor is a poor, miserable, starved slave.

Let us look from the slave to his masters—his "betters"—men whose boast it is that they are "leisured" whose pride is the number of slaves they employ. What are they? Some of them bloated, senile old sensualist who cannot dress without the assistance of a slave. Some of them, the younger portion, effeminate dandies who would scorn to do a useful thing.

Why is the giant subject to the pigmy. Why does this mighty one of the earth allow his daughters to be degraded and his sons to starve, and himself to be bound like a beast of burden and forced to bear the burdens of the idle and proud? Because he is a fool is the true, unvarnished answer. A fool because, possessing power, he has not used it and disease has occasioned decay and incompetency. There is not in this fair earth a power so potent as that possessed by labor, but the head quarrels with the hand, the hand with the foot, and the whole body, instead of moving in one direction and having an intelligent idea of where it is going, is at variance with itself and its mind is distracted. The cause of this is money. Labor is valued at a certain standard, and the laborer who is a little higher in the scale than his neighbor thinks he is nearer to the "leisured" class and therefore "better" than the one a little lower down.

Money is the only consideration they think worthy. It stands out before their imagination like Macheth's dagger, and through its bright reflection is stained with "gouts of blood" the cry of the times is "Come, let me clutch thee."

Honor and virtue, honesty, freedom, all, are sacrificed for money. It is no matter that I trample on my neighbor, his home, his children, if I do it to gain money for myself. It is no matter if I throw thousands out of employment and into prisons, graves and brothels. Provided I get rich by these acts the world will proclaim me a "smart man," laborers will vote for me and I will become a president, an aristocrat, a "better." Riches are primarily begotten by labor, but if a man wants to be rich in money he must be selfish and avaricious, he must not only devote his whole life, heart and soul to this object, he must forget all else, and above all he must buy labor at a small percentage of what it produces, convert the residue into money and become rich. Become an aristocrat, a "better."

Unfortunate the country whose aristocracy is made up of such.

These are the men set before us as examples, and millions of the hungry poor try by their methods to overreach their fellows. A God! it is pitiful to see millions reaching after impossibilities. It is impossible for all to be rich, since to be rich means to make others poorer. But there are other riches than money. Money is the rock we perish on. Mammon is a false God. Seek first liberty and the unity of labor and all else will be added unto you. "Seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness."

While the poor try to emulate the rapacious methods of the rich in order to become a "better," and put into practice the motto "everyone for himself," so long will labor remain a slave. But just as soon as the poor realize that all money is the product of labor, begotten of it and belonging to it, then will the day of slavery be passed and each one who labors shall receive the full fruits thereof.

Then those who do not labor shall not eat, and the proudest aristocrat will be the most skillful laborer in God's vineyard.

Then will the tyranny of capital be at an end and the kingdom of Heaven at hand.

HOW'S THIS?

We offer One Hundred Dollars Reward for any case of Catarrh that cannot be cured by Hall's Catarrh Cure. F. J. CHENEY & CO., Props., Toledo, O. We, the undersigned, have known F. J. Cheney for the last 15 years, and believe him perfectly honorable in all business transactions and financially able to carry out any obligations made by his firm. WEST & TRUXAV, Wholesale Druggists, Toledo, O. WALKING, KINAY & MARVIN, Wholesale Druggists, Toledo, Ohio. Hall's Catarrh Cure, is taken internally, acting directly upon the blood and mucous surfaces of the system. Price, 75c per bottle. Sold by all Druggists. Testimonials free. Hall's Family Pills are the best.

BLOCK SIGNALS ARE ALL RIGHT! BUT ACCIDENTS WILL HAPPEN AND HAVE HAPPENED

Are you, reader, one of the unfortunate? Here's the only up to date artificial leg for \$50 to \$70. Important testimonials on file. Trusses, Elastic Stockings, Crutches &c. Catalogues free, write particulars. GEO. R. FULLER, Box 2169 ROCHESTER, N. Y.

THE WHITE HOUSE.—The Populists will capture it in '96. Bow the country down with Third Party literature. I will print your name and address on the People's Party Exchange List for a single time, and you will receive a large number of leading Third Party papers for reading and distribution. Write plainly, J. H. PADGETT, Lock Box 419, Esmis, Texas.

BLOOD POISON Primary, Secondary or Tertiary permanent! Cured in 15 to 30 days. We eliminate all poison from the system, so that there can never be a return of the disease in any form. Parties can be treated at home as well as here (for the same price and under the same guarantee), but with those who prefer to come here, we will consent to cure them or refund all money and pay entire expense of coming, railroad fare and hotel bills. Our Magic Remedy has been used in every case and never failed to cure. Since the history of this disease has been known, for but never finding a true specific for it, GOD has sent our Magic Cyphane to dis-cover this disease has always baffled the skill of most eminent physical clowns. We solicit the most obstinate cases and challenge the world for a case we cannot cure. \$500.00 CAPITAL behind our unconditional guarantee. Absolute proofs sent sealed on application. 100-page book free. HAVE YOU Colored Sores, Pimples, Copper Colored Spots, Aloes, Old Sores, Discharges, Hair Falling, White Scabs, Eruptions, etc., etc. Remedy, Temple, Chicago, Ill.

WHAT THEY SAY.

Platoerats—That workmen organize, hold conventions, whereas and resolve grandly, and then vote themselves asses every time.

That the time will come when all workmen will be tagged and numbered.

That in the not remote future they will be branded as ranchmen brand their steers.

The corporations, church, courts, congress and legislatures know what is best for the common herd, here and hereafter, in this world and the next.

That workmen haven't enough sense to get together and pull together for their emancipation.

That their envies, jealousies and interminable wranglings will forever keep one set of noses on the grindstone, while the other set turns the crank, like mules on a treadmill.

That the talk about an "injury to one being the concern of all," has no practical meaning nor practical results—just so much buncomb to tickle the boys.

That the more organizations the better for capitaliste, because with more organizations the more wrangling, and the easier to defeat them all.

That the only danger to capitaliste is found in the demand for unification. If that succeeds, up we go and our power ends right there.

"THE BANKER'S DREAM," by Thos. H. Proctor. 230 pages, 1895, illustrated, 25 cents. This book is a marvelous delineation of the moves made on the financial and political chess board of these United States, partly enacted and to be enacted in the immediate future.

The author calls it a fiction, which is the only joke he has perpetrated in the book. It is revelation: it is prophecy, true as gospel. The only deplorable thing about it is that it is too true. No such startling and truthful revelation of misgovernment has ever been produced in this or any other country.

Nothing under heaven can save this nation from the awful calamities outlined in "The Banker's Dream" except a resort to the people's coercive power, "The Flaming Sword," pointed out in the heroic poem entitled "Organized Labor's Bombshell, a Call to Arms; the Keynote of the Coming Crisis."

An Illustrated Reform Weekly. Have you ever seen a copy of Appeal to Reason? It is a phenomenon in the newspaper field. Fifteen thousand subscribers and only four months old. Fully illustrated with original cartoons, sharp as a Damascus blade, by the great cartoonist, Ryan Walker, showing up the monopolistic monsters that are reducing the people to serfdom.

Direct Legislation Edition. The Coming Nation of January 4th will publish in addition to the regular edition a "Direct Legislation Edition," which will have special interest for every school and variety of reformers.

The Book of the Impending Revolution. "The Banker's Dream," by Thos. H. Proctor. 230 pages. 1895. Illustrated. 25 cents. I will send this startling book and my poem, in line with it, "Organized Labor's Bombshell, a call to arms, the keynote of the coming crisis," both for 25 cents, or eight copies of the poem for 10 cents, postpaid.

Of battle ships and cruisers threatening Turkey in the Mediterranean sea near the Dardanelles, there are ninety-five: thirty-five battle ships and sixty cruisers. And yet the Turks go right along killing Christians as if they were so many rats.

The Golden Age remarks that "every man should read A Tale of Two Nations." But first read the tale of one nation, the American nation. It will suffice for a time.

"Bond and Industrial Slavery" is the "Uncle Tom's Cabin" of today. Buy it, read it and be ready for '96. See cut elsewhere.

A. R. U. RALLYING SONG. We have been in the battle and we've been in the storm— Huza! boys, huza for our order! In prison, and blacklisted, oppression we have borne— Huza! boys, huza for our order! But prisons do not fright us, injunctions do not scare, And while the fight is on, by all the gods we're there, And we'll rally round our standard resolved to do and dare— Huza! boys, huza for our order! The venom's curse of despots has been poured upon our head— Huza! boys, huza for our order! We have scanned the battle fields when friends lay prone and dead— Huza! boys, huza for our order! But we're not spineless cowards, our captain's voice we hear Ringing down the columns, from daring front to rear. Shouting, "Up and at em! victory is near!" Huza! boys, huza for our order! Prisons can not hold us, nor courts our courage tame— Huza! boys, huza for our order! Our zeal is only fam'd to a brighter, fiercer flame— Huza! boys, huza for our order! By all the gods of freemen, with uncovered heads we swear, And to the Great Jehovah we offer up a prayer, That however fierce the struggle, we may do a soldier's share— Huza! boys, huza for our order! To our beloved and gallant leader as one man we shout, "all hail— Huza! boys, huza for our order! For the rights of man he's stood, and was never known to quail— Huza! boys, huza for our order! We are coming to the rescue, our slogan blast resounds, From mountain to mountain, our rallying cry rebounds, 'Tis heard above the baying of the plutocratic hounds— Huza! boys, huza for our order! And when this labor war is over, as by and by 'twill be— Huza! boys, huza for our order! Round our camp fires we will gather and rejoice that we are free— Huza! boys, huza for our order! Then our flag without a stain will be kissed by every breeze, Then labor'll stand erect, not a man upon his knees, Crawling in the dust by plutocrats' decrees— Huza! boys, huza for our order! J. L. Stoddard, St. Louis, Mo.

Direct Government.

BY DR. S. W. BURSON.

Government machinery is divided into three parts, the legislative, the executive and the judicial. Our government is one in which the people rule indirectly. They have no authority to rule but only to choose who shall be their rulers. Thus they rule indirectly through their elected officials.

Direct government to be effective must provide for the three departments, legislative, executive and judicial.

This is done through two measures, viz: "Direct legislation," in which the people themselves, not their representatives, make the laws, and "the imperative mandate" by which the people may discharge any official, either judicial or executive, who shall fail in his duty.

"Direct legislation" consists of two measures, viz: "The initiative," which provides that a small number of the people to be affected by a proposed law, say 10 or 20 per cent., may by signature demand that the proposition be submitted to the people for their acceptance or rejection and "the referendum" which provides that any measure which may originate in the legislative body shall upon demand of a like small number of the people be submitted to the voters for their approval or rejection and their dictum shall be final.

Direct government then consists of (1.) The initiative. (2.) The referendum. (3.) The imperative mandate.

With such a government we should have in fact what we now have only in name, "a government by the people and for the people."

Under our present form of representative government the people are in the position of a farmer who has rented his farm to an undesirable tenant. The owner has lost all control of his property until the lease expires. The tenant is master and may abuse both property and owner as he may wish.

Under direct government the public is in the position of the same farmer when he hires a man to work his farm. He has full control of his property all the time and if the employe should be unsatisfactory he can be discharged and a new one secured at once.

To illustrate, supposing we were now enjoying the benefits of the reform under consideration and a number of people seeing the evils of private ownership of highways should desire to place them where they always were until the present century, in the hands of the people, how easily we could get signatures to a demand for a vote upon that question? Yet because we cannot now do so, we must submit to this and countless other evils.

We shall get no other reform until we get "direct government."

Helping the Poet Laureate.

The following communication from an A. R. U. man, who rides saw logs on the upper Mississippi instead of a winged mule, is published in the hope that it will aid somewhat to encourage a rising poet:

"MR. EDITOR:—I notice the following item going the rounds: England at last has a successor to Tennyson— Alfred Austin, aged 60, and said to be a poet. Now let him show his metal by getting up some rhyme on England's blurb of the Monroe Doctrine, the defeat of the Valkyrie, or the Marlborough title sale. If he can't make jingle out of such material, he's no poet and the world ought to know it.

It is to be presumed that Lord Salisbury knows his biz and made Mr. Austin Poet Laureate upon sound poetical principles, and that the "Valkyrie," "Monroe Doctrine" and "Marlborough title sale" in due time will be made to jingle for the delectation of Victoria, the House of Lords, the Commons and all Johnny Bulls, from Lands' End to John O'Groats. Why not? What is there that is difficult in the proposition? I am satisfied that Lord Alfred Austin, the new Poet Laureate, if tempted by boodle a la Woods of the United States Supreme court, could make New York's "400" and all the British aristocracy dance highland flings to the melody of his songs, touching up the subjects men-

tioned, and Billy K. V. has the boodle required to set Lord Alfred a humming. It may be some time in the future before the Queen's poet gets down to the work, and ad interim, permit a St. Anthony mill dam poet to shoot a few poetical saw logs into the columns of the Times as follows:

Lord Dunraven is a craven, Who bluffed with his Valkyrie, And he huffed and snuffed and Became a titled liar.

His yacht could sail a little bit, When a ten knot breeze would blow, But she couldn't snuff the breeze enough To knock the doctrine of Monroe.

If Billy K. puts up the dough, He can get a fairy tale, About the Marlborough-Vanderbilt Five million dollar sale.

How the gal got the title, And how the duke must have felt When he stowed away five millions, In his little "Vander-belt."

There is no doubt about it, Austin can do it; though If Billy wants a splendid job, He must plank down the dough. Alpha O'Mega.

Who is Responsible?

MR. EDITOR:—I have read the many good articles in the Labor Day edition of the RAILWAY TIMES, which I appreciate and commend. I also find very good articles in the issue of October 1st.

I object to the caption "Labor Day" because I regard it misleading. The article referred to starts out as follows: "At San Francisco, the Golden Gate, through which the heathen Chinese have come to impoverish and degrade white men, and introduce the era of wage slavery."

If the statement be true that the Chinese have come through the Golden Gate of San Francisco, to introduce wage slavery in the United States, it would mean that something like an 100,000 Chinese, who have located at San Francisco, have been able to introduce wage slavery in a country of about 70,000,000 inhabitants against their will.

What would you think of a people who would allow one Chinaman to introduce a system of wage slavery, and degrade 700 men who permit themselves to be thus degraded?

In my view of the proposition, it is not the one who is to blame, but the 700 who permit the introduction of wage slavery.

But if the Chinese are to be held responsible for our system of wage slavery who is responsible for the wage slavery existing all over the world?

Wage slavery is the rule in France, England Germany and all other countries of the world, where Chinese labor has not been the cause.

I think this is sufficient to refute the assumption that the Chinese have introduced wage slavery in this country.

Another assertion that the Chinese have impoverished and degraded white men, is a very weak excuse on the part of the white men for conditions against which they protest—while the fact is that laboring people are in the majority in all countries, and they have no one to blame but themselves for wage slavery.

They should demand and proclaim their rights, for they do not need to beg for them. Certainly not in a country like the United States where workingmen have the ballot.

If therefore the laboring people are robbed of the product of their labor by a small minority, it is not to their credit and they alone are responsible for whatever degradation their supineness has brought upon them.

A great many laboring men are always busy in cursing and even oppressing those already too much oppressed Chinese, and all other foreigners, and claim that emigrants are the cause of their misery, but which, when investigation is had, is found to be misleading, as the Chinese and all others coming to this country produce more than they consume—and therefore a great majority of them are themselves wage slaves and receive less than one quarter of the product of their labor—the balance going to the American capitalist—and the claim cannot be set up that we are over populated, as only one-fifth of the arable soil is now cultivated, which means that the country could, if all the land available was under cultivation, easily support a population of 350,000,000.

If a great many working people and mostly those who try to expound labor problems, would only throw away their narrow-minded nonsense and cease trying to blame the victims of oppression who have been degraded by ruling tyrants all over the world, they would find, notwithstanding the capitalistic system everywhere exists, that the human race, to a certain extent, is to blame for its own degradation.

ED. ARNAELSTEEN, LOS ANGELES, CAL.

Legalized Rascality.

MR. EDITOR:—There are certain fundamental propositions, of what may be denominated as "business," that stand alone as honest axioms; they need no propping up and they depend not on others.

For instance, we find the wheat room in the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, where wheat is sold "by sample" and such sample sales are "bona fide" transactions and play an important part in regulating the price of the "raw material." In several of the larger cities there are various publications called "Price Current," "Market Record," &c., &c., all doing what, under present conditions, might be termed legitimate business enterprises.

This is preliminary to a little roasting that I propose to administer to such readers of the TIMES as are in such an everlasting rush to get rich that they must needs speculate.

For some time past I have been receiving circulars from a gambling concern in New York advising me to try my luck "in speculation." It seems from the kind of literature sent out they are "commission stock brokers," with an office in Wall street. They "operate for clients" in "especially selected stocks" and keep their victims "advised" of what is the condition of the market. I notice another peculiarity about this concern, and that is that they do not make any mistakes; they always win. Wonderful!

They propose to operate for themselves, beginning Monday, October 25th, in St. Paul and Chicago Gas, and I have the distinguished honor of having been invited to participate. Gentlemen, I thank you. You may take it all back. I don't need any. It may be assumed, with reasonable certainty, that these whelps don't send out such literature

unless there are suckers who bite (occasionally, at least,) in the particular locality to which these are sent. Consequently it follows, if the assumption is correct, that there are suckers among the readers of the TIMES, for I find that other men, engaged in the calling among which the TIMES largely circulates, receive the same offers of "splendid inducements." Any man, it would seem, who had as much sense as God gave to goslings, wouldn't, under any circumstances, permit himself to be drawn into any such lecherous sort of work. This kind of "business men" are, in their own eyes, the salt of the earth. The fact is, they are dirtier than the scum of the dregs of the human family. (Their dupes are little better.) "They toil not, neither do they spin, (except to spin webs to catch suckers) and yet Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed as one of these."

Gambling with a roulette wheel, decks of cards, dice and various other devices is in many large cities prohibited by ordinance, but "stock operators"—"oh, that's different! That's not gambling! Oh, no; that's 'business'!" Doubtless these men thrive on what they are enabled to glean from the poor dupes that they find.

It is related that previous to one of the rebellions of Cuba several years ago all the female slaves, by mutual agreement, proposed certain measures to prevent any more being born into slavery in that fair land. I have at hand no means of verifying the statement, but true or not, it serves my purpose to point to what the white slave ought to do in this "business" cursed part of the world. They stumble along in rags and hunger, and curse the "times," and while their lips are yet warm with invective against the conditions under which they exist they go into a "stock operator's office" and buy a future or some other unknown and undefinable quantity.

One of the poets makes one of his characters say: "Oh, would some power the Gifflie gie us To see ourselves as others see us!"

and if it only applied here as forceful as it possibly could to the man about to plunge. If, poor fool, he could only see himself as his captor—I beg pardon—his agent, sees him. Perhaps this man has toiled amid the busy whirl of machinery all through a long, weary, winter's week, and on his way home with money that comes hard enough to him, God knows, he must needs "play the horses," "take a flyer in wheat," "bull the corn market" or speculate in stocks. And all for what? That he may get rich easy, get something for nothing. Ah, my friend, you can't do that; that's beyond you. Why do you rail at conditions that (in your judgment) are against you and then deliberately go and add to the enemy's stock of ammunition? Not only add to his, but deplete your own. Can these swindlers be legislated against? Not at all. Can they be suppressed, because they are nothing but gamblers? Never. What then can be done to choke the white livered thieves until they are black in the face? Let them entirely alone; contribute absolutely nothing to the support of them or their kin. Blackball every such scheme and get your friends to do the same. The manly man will be satisfied with what he produces.

E. B. MAYO, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

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