

## LABOR DAY 1895

## IN MAGNITUDE AND SPLENDOR IT EXCEEDS ALL OTHER

American Holidays, and Stands in Colossal Grandeur a Protest Against Despotism and for American Liberty.

A prince can make a belted knight,  
A marquis, duke and a' that;  
But an honest man's aboon his might  
Gilds him, he mauna fa' that!  
For a' that and a' that,  
Their dignities an' a' that,  
The pith o' sense and pride o' worth  
Are higher rank than a' that.

Then let us pray that come it may—  
As come it will for a' that—  
That sense and worth o' a' the earth  
May bear the gree and a' that;  
For a' that and a' that,  
It's comin' yet for a' that,  
That man to man the warld o'er  
Shall brothers be for a' that.

—Robert Burns.

To do even meager justice to the thousand celebrations of Labor Day, September 2, 1895, is confessedly conspicuous in the list of the impossibles.

It is now thirteen years since a grand labor demonstration in the city of New York suggested a holiday to be known as

## LABOR DAY,

and eight years ago, in 1887, the state of New York made the first Monday of September of the years as they come a legal holiday, and now, of the forty-four states in the Union, twenty-five have followed the example set by the empire state, and have made the first Monday of September Labor Day, and on June 26, 1894, the

## CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

declared as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, That the first Monday of September in each year, being the day celebrated and known as labor's holiday, is hereby made a legal holiday, to all intents and purposes in the same manner as Christmas, the 1st day of January, the 22d day of February, the 30th day of May and the 4th day of July are now by law made public holidays."

Like the men who

"Rounded Peter's dome,  
And girded the aisles of Christian Rome,"  
legislatures and congress in legalizing Labor Day as a holiday builded better than they knew. It was a case in which some "divinity" was engaged in shaping the ends of labor to resist

## TYRANNY AND DESPOTISM

when they should rear their hideous heads in the United States of America, and threaten the perpetuity of the republic and the liberties of the people.

In glancing over the papers from ocean to ocean, from Canada to Mexico, from gulf to lakes, the mind becomes bewildered with accounts of Labor Day celebrations. All of the celebrations of old time-hallowed holidays crowded into one could not compare with the grandeur of the demonstrations which everywhere met the eye on Labor Day, 1895. The nation stood dumb with amazement as multiplied thousands marched in procession with banners and music. Even labor itself could scarcely realize the majesty of its power, the invincibility of its hosts aroused and unified for the great work of redeeming the land from the unspeakable curses which its enemies are studiously and unrelentingly inflicting. In the presence of such demonstrations the nation feels new assurance that the

## LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE

are not to be exiled by the introduction of Russian methods of government. Everywhere Labor Day gave corporations and courts, the money power and those who wield it in the interest of the rich against the welfare of labor and the peace and prosperity of the country, to understand that a mighty mustering of labor is going forward, and that resistance to oppression is the battle cry, and that it is the part of wisdom to heed the alarm bells of Labor Day.

In all the great centers of population and in cities of less pretension in wealth and population, Labor Day was celebrated as never before. For once, at least, labor caught a glimpse of its destiny. It grasped the truth that a conspiracy had been formed and was in operation to enslave it; to rob and degrade it; to wrest from toilers unalienable and constitutional rights; to reduce it by decrees of courts, clubs and guns to the most debasing vassalage; to fix its status as it is defined in India, Russia and other despot-cursed lands, and it gave warning that a time had come to call a halt. In the progress of this conspiracy workingmen had been arrested and in defiance of every constitutional right, imprisoned without a trial, by a judicial despot. Russian methods had been introduced. Jails were transformed into bastilles into which workingmen had been thrust to placate the enemies of labor. This being true, what more natural, what more in consonance with the "eternal fitness of things" than that on Labor Day the thoughts of workingmen should be turned to

## WOODSTOCK PRISON?

In that American bastille they saw men incarcerated to placate the enemies of labor. They saw Eugene V. Debs, Sylvester Kelher, Louis W. Rogers, Martin Elliott, Roy M. Goodwin, Wm. E. Burns and James Hogan, the victims of as

damnable an outrage as was ever perpetrated on the American continent. They read in the doom of these representatives of labor their own destiny should they offend the corporations and become the victims of their malice, and on Labor Day they gave corporations and courts to understand that they would not be enslaved, and as a result Woodstock prison on Labor Day became the converging center of the thought, not only of workingmen, but of liberty-loving Americans in every walk of life.

On August 22d the sentence the despot Woods imposed upon Kelher, Rogers, Elliott, Goodwin, Burns and Hogan expired, and they were liberated, leaving Eugene V. Debs, the President of the American Railway Union, alone in the glory of suffering for as noble a cause as ever inspired men to do and dare all things for suffering humanity.

We say, "alone." No, not alone! Ten millions of men in spirit, at least, keep him company, and on Labor Day they burdened the mails and the wires with messages of love, of confidence and cheer, and his associate prisoners, had they not gone, would have shared with him the ceaseless ovation.

## DISPATCH FROM DEBS.

On Labor Day, by request, Mr. Debs sent the following telegram from Woodstock jail to the Chicago Record. It tells the public how things proceeded in Woodstock jail on Labor Day:

MCHENRY COUNTY JAIL, WOODSTOCK, ILL., Sept. 2.—This has been an eventful day at Woodstock jail. Early last evening telegrams expressive of sympathy and good will began to come in and these have continued steadily through the entire day. In addition to these messages an unusually large quantity of mail found its way to the jail. It is needless to say that most of these communications were reminders that Labor Day had arrived and was being celebrated throughout the length and breadth of the land.

## HUNDREDS OF MESSAGES OF CHEER

The widespread interest of not only the laboring classes, but of the common people in every walk of life, in the decision of the federal court committing the officers of the American Railway Union to jail for contempt of court, was made apparent in the messages of sympathy and cheer for the prisoners which poured in from every part of the country. Condemnation of the decision of Judge Woods, which may be accepted as the voice of American labor, was freely expressed. Trial by injunction was on trial to day before the tribunal of the common people, and if the hundreds of resolutions adopted in all the states of the union where workingmen met in convocation may be accepted as expressing their sentiments, this form of law will not be tolerated on American soil.

## SUPREME QUESTION OF THE HOUR.

In to-day's celebration which was in all regards the greatest national demonstration of labor yet seen, the abrogation of the right of trial by jury was justly esteemed the supreme question of the hour. Multiplied thousands of good citizens not identified with the laboring classes are profoundly concerned about what they regard as the encroachments of the federal courts upon the constitutional rights of citizens, and these are much in evidence in the telegrams which have found their way to Woodstock jail.

The messages come from all the states in the union and from nearly all classes of people. The trades which have thus voiced sympathy and protest include railroad men, farmers, cigarmakers, shoemakers, brickmasons, machinists, hodcarriers, carpenters, miners, telegraph operators, clerks, tailors, printers, sailors and all classes of skilled and unskilled labor.

## CHAMPION OF THE OPPRESSED.

A few messages, hastily selected, may be of interest:

"Trenton, N. J.—The People's party of New Jersey, in convention assembled at Trenton on Labor Day, sends greetings to Eugene V. Debs, champion of the oppressed and victim of the violation of the American constitution."

"Milwaukee, Wis.—The organized laborers of Milwaukee, assembled at Shooting Park, heartily sympathize with the champion of liberty and humanity."

"Seattle, Wash.—By resolutions adopted at mass meeting to day we are with you."

"Watertown, N. Y.—You haven't got as many friends as Judge Woods has enemies."

"Muncie, Ind.—American glassworkers extend sympathy to yourself and associates and denounce the action of the courts."

"LIGHT OF THE CROSS ON PRISON WALLS."

The following was received from Mr. W. W. Erwin, the famous St. Paul lawyer who defended the prisoners in the contempt cases:

"Sons and daughters of puritan and cavalier in this republic will suffer death before they yield the rights of conscientious liberty. The holy light of the cross is shining over your prison walls. Fear not. God is over all. Vox populi, vox Dei. For one I prefer the boycott to the bonfire or barricade."

"LaCrosse, Wis.—We are with you in your incarceration and denounce judicial usurpation of which you are a victim."

"Grand Labor Council, Denton, Tex.—We forever stand by you in the great cause."

"Trade and Labor Council, Fargo, N. D.—Your imprisonment is a flagrant violation of the constitution and worthy only of the Czar of Russia and should be condemned by every liberty-loving American."

"Camden, Me.—We are with you, 10,000,000 strong."

"Dover, N. H.—All hail to the workers who answered the call of distressed humanity."

"Hodcarriers Union, Watertown, N. Y.—We are with you heart and hand."

"Bakers Union, Rockford, Ill.—We are with you. Your cause is just."

"Bricklayers, Watertown, N. Y.—Be of good cheer. The masons are with you."

"Barbers Union, Watertown, N. Y.—We are all thinking of our true friend in Woodstock jail as we break in line."

"Drummen, Buffalo, N. Y.—Your cause is as solid as Gibraltar."

## DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE

I am glad my colleagues are again at liberty, but I regret that they could not have been here to have shared in the great satisfaction afforded by these numberless expressions of sympathy and regard. As a matter of course I am not presumptuous enough to accept these testimonials to myself personally.

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## HISTORY.

## GRAPHIC PEN PICTURE OF THE GREAT PULLMAN STRIKE

In Which the American Railway Union Aroused the Nation to a Thoughtful Consideration of Alarming Evils.

[From the Chicago Chronicle, September 1.]

While books have been written on the great railway strike of 1894 and the industrial conditions that brought it about have been exhaustively treated in magazines by theorists and political economists; while the decision of the supreme court which resulted in the imprisonment of the leaders of the workingmen in that memorable struggle against corporate power has been discussed and criticized from every point of view and on every plane of thought, Eugene V. Debs, the one man best calculated to discuss the situation from the laboring man's standpoint, the man who has had long, bitter nights of thought in his prison cell to arrive at an opinion, has not up to this time given to that great mass of the public which looks on him with veneration, any extended review of the greatest industrial revolt this nation has ever seen. He has at times in brief interviews given his opinion on some particular point, but not even during the dark days of the conspiracy trial in the federal court did he offer any statements which might tend in the eyes of the federal authorities to palliate or condone the offense against the peace of the state which they had alleged against him.

To-day he presents through the *Chronicle* a review of the stirring scenes through which he passed last year, and which will fill many a page of the next history of this republic. His utterances are calm and dispassionate, as becomes a man of the temperate character and exceptional qualities of mind which Eugene V. Debs possesses. He does not rail against Judge Woods, who thought it his duty to send the directors of the A. R. U. to jail. He has no personal quarrel with George M. Pullman. Indeed, he points out that all his remarks are directed against Pullman's Palace Car Company, and not against its president.

## RECALLED BY LABOR DAY.

The celebration of Labor Day tomorrow brings vividly to mind all of the occurrences of last summer, and makes the story told by President Debs, of the A. R. U., especially pertinent. Hundreds of thousands of workingmen know Eugene V. Debs only through what his friends call unfriendly and biased newspaper reports of his sayings and doings. They see him only through the glasses of his enemies, who often seek to distort and misconstrue his words and deeds to his detraction. Thousands do not know what his ideas on the great strike really are. They know but little as to his plans for the future and those of his confederates, and to these he speaks.

A jail sentence, whatever may be the opinion as to its justice, has not changed in any particular the ideas of Mr. Debs. If the intention was to teach him respect for the law it fell short of its purpose, for his imprisonment has not planted in his mind respect for the law under which he was sentenced. If it was intended to punish him for what the authorities of the government construed as misdeeds it failed, for his incarceration has not been to him a punishment, for it raised him to the rank of a martyr in the eyes of organized labor, and if the court thought to restrain him in his chosen life work by holding forth the terrors of a felon's cell, too, was a failure, for he intends taking up the work where he laid it down just as soon as the barred doors are opened and he steps forth a free man once more.

His days have been spent in hard work, study, writing and thought. Previous to the time he was sent to McHenry county jail he had given much attention to economic subjects and the struggles of a few leaders of thought to burst the trammels of caste which they hold wealth has wrought in this country. But his time was so largely occupied in the actual work connected with the presidency of the American Railway Union that his opportunities for study were limited. Therefore the jail sentence was an invaluable aid to him. When he was thus shut out from the field of active endeavor the work devolved upon other hands and he was granted an opportunity to study. He surrounded himself with the works of the most advanced thinkers and writers on the subjects dear to his heart and made their thoughts his own. There was no interruption to his study. Day after day he pored over the books and stored his mind with the wisdom of great men. That his colleagues in jail, the directors who were imprisoned with him, might gain the benefit of this learning and put it to practical advantage at the end of their terms of imprisonment, he formed a study class, a debating lyceum.

Lectures on the subjects under consideration were delivered. Every moment was profitably employed and when the railroad men, who a few years ago saw

nothing in their future save the daily round of toil to which they had become inured, were released last week each was a political economist, well versed in the subject and ready to go forth and spread doctrines he had imbibed in the McHenry county jail. And go they did. To-day each of the seven is in some part of the country carrying on the work mapped out during the long nights in the cell room when the eight heads were together, and which would not in years have attained its perfection of system and detail had not the present apostles been granted the opportunity they were to study, to think and to plan for the ultimate elevation of the working classes.

And now that he is left alone Mr. Debs is keeping up the work. No time hangs on his hands, and at times he glances over the work laid out before him on the big pine table and wonders how he will ever finish it. There is hardly a labor paper in the land to which he is not a contributor. Articles on labor problems for the *Arena* and other magazines consume much time, and he is collecting and editing a mass of data on the strike and its results which he hopes some day to put into shape for publication. He will not say that he is going to write a book. The modesty of the man is one of his chief charms. He merely says that he is getting the material together while the opportunity presents itself, and at some time it may be arranged into book form. He says he realizes that a good book might be prepared from all the evidence at hand, but he will not say that he is the man to write it. Every newspaper in which he finds anything pertinent to the matter which has engrossed his time for the last few years is carefully preserved. Clippings are sent him by friends in the labor world and they are added to the collection, which has reached an enormous size.

The hardest work done by the postmaster of Woodstock is handling the mail addressed "Eugene V. Debs, McHenry County Jail." In every pouch that is opened in the postoffice is a packet of letters for Mr. Debs. They come from every corner of the country and the variety of their contents is marvelous. From twenty to fifty letters a day come to the president of the American Railway Union, and by far the greatest number bear messages of sympathy and hope. Thousands who have never seen him during his incarceration bear witness to their disapproval of the sentence of the court which condemned him and his colleagues to jail. Not a day passes without bringing a word of cheer from some man who had just read or heard something of Debs and was moved to write to him. These letters show the trend of popular opinion, and the solitary man in his prison cell feels strengthened and encouraged by each missive.

## HAS MANY NAMESAKES.

And the mail brings funny requests. Thousands of babies all over the country have been named Eugene V. Debs, and in each case the overjoyed father sends Mr. Debs a letter telling him of the honor conferred on him by having a squirming, squalling mite of humanity named for him. Some of these fathers write in advance and ask for Mr. Debs' middle name, that no mistake may be made at the font. Now and then a picture of a small and wide-eyed baby, who is to struggle through life as Eugene V., is inclosed. To all of these Mr. Debs sends acknowledgements, so that much of his time is consumed in correspondence.

Just now he is working to aid in saving the life of a boy to be hanged in Kansas, on October 16, for murder. He is a very young man, this murderer—a mere boy, it appears—and in some trivial quarrel he killed a negro two years ago. His name is Clyde Mattox, and he lived in a little Kansas town with his mother, a widow. Since the killing he has been in jail, while the courts and juries wrangled over taking his life.

Two juries disagreed, but on the third trial the jury found him guilty and sentenced him to hang. Then his mother issued an agonized appeal to the mothers of America to aid her in saving her boy. She set forth all the extenuating circumstances which surrounded the case and begged every mother who loved her own son to do what little she might to aid her in saving her boy. The appeal was extensively circulated in the press and came to the notice of Mr. Debs. He made inquiries by mail, and having learned the circumstances of the case he wrote an article for the *RAILWAY TIMES* in behalf of the boy and his frantic mother. This appeared over his signature, and was very widely copied. A few days ago he received a letter from a girl in Sacramento who said that she had read the article in a local paper and remembered Clyde Mattox as a schoolmate. She thanked Mr. Debs for the efforts he had made in behalf of the boy and begged to know what she might do, offering all she could spare of her earnings to help in the struggle for a life.

## PRAISE FOR THE SHERIFF.

For Sheriff Eckert who is in charge of the jail, Mr. Debs has the warmest words of praise. Everything that may

[CONTINUED ON SEVENTH PAGE.]

## J. KEIR HARDIE.

## THE GREAT ENGLISH LABOR AGITATOR VISITS WOODSTOCK

And Discusses Labor Topics From English and American Points of View.

The *Chicago Chronicle*, of September 5th, published an account of J. Keir Hardie's visit to Woodstock prison September 4th, together with a number of Chicago's representative labor leaders. "It is so seldom," says the *Chronicle's* dispatch, "that residents of rural districts like Woodstock, who live contentedly in their quiet homes, not caring who owns the land so long as they get their portion of the food that nourishes and the pleasure that invigorates, see a real, live socialist that it is not strange that a ripple of excitement was created here when it became known that J. Keir Hardie, the English socialist, together with Oscar Neebe, of Haymarket notoriously, also 'Tommy' Morgan, the champion of workingmen's rights, and Hardie's private secretary, Mr. Smith, had dropped off of a morning train bent on a visit to Eugene V. Debs, the incarcerated champion of the interests of railway employees. Many necks were craned for a look at the distinguished visitors.

"On the spire of the public school house floated the flag of our country, guaranteeing equal rights for all and special privileges to none, and on all sides could be seen evidences of peace, prosperity and plenty, as these social agitators wended their way to McHenry county's little jail to greet and cheer, if cheer be needed, the president of the American Railway Union. When the visitors were admitted to the cozy little jail, they found Mr. Debs minus his coat, as the weather was very warm, and dressed in a light suit, with a cool, colored summer shirt. They were greeted very cordially by the railway leader and immediately their conversation turned to labor matters and the condition of the laboring men in Europe and America, a sort of comparison of industrial notes.

## VISITORS TAKE A DRIVE.

"As Mr. Debs considered these men his guests, and as Mr. Hardie was desirous of taking a view of a typical country town, Mr. Debs provided him with a conveyance after the visitors had taken dinner at the Hotel Woodstock, and sent his amanuensis along as driver, and the noted Englishman took a view of the splendid farming lands for which McHenry county and northern Illinois are noted. As they passed a field of yellow corn the conveyance was suddenly stopped, Keir Hardie stepped out, jumped the fence and plucked two golden ears amid expressions of supreme delight, labelled them 'Woodstock' and declared that he should take them back to England as mementos of his trip. Driving back to the jail, the guests bade Mr. Debs good-bye, and with such expressions as 'We will get 'em after a while, Mr. Debs,' and a wave of their hats they were whirled to the depot and took the 4:20 train for Chicago.

"A reporter for the *Chronicle* called on Mr. Debs after the departure of his guests and to the inquiry, 'What are your impressions of Keir Hardie?' Mr. Debs responded as follows: 'I was at once favorably impressed with the gentleman. His manner is affable and pleasing, and I greatly enjoyed his few hours' visit. Those who imagine Mr. Hardie an unreasoning extremist do him a great injustice. I found him to be quite the opposite: Moderate in his views, temperate and even gentle in his language, quiet and dignified in his manner, he impresses me as a true type of a gentleman and an honest, sincere and practical reformer. Aside from his Scottish accent, and perhaps his dress, there is nothing to indicate the appearance of the foreigner.

## DEBS' VIEWS OF HARDIE.

"Mr. Hardie is a socialist of the constructive school. He has clear and well defined views upon the existing social and industrial disorder and also as to the remedy that should be applied. He believes that in the march of industrial evolution the wage system will disappear and that it will be supplanted by the co-operative commonwealth. His views are broad, liberal and comprehensive. He is in no sense a narrow man. He appeals not to force or violence, but to reason and intelligence. He is a student of men and affairs. In the little time he spent here he inquired into and investigated the minutest details. He was not long in introducing himself to some of the prisoners and inquiring into their cases. He asked questions and the answers were noted by Mr. Smith, his companion and secretary.

"I was especially impressed by his tenderness and humanity. A little incident bears testimony of his having the same heart qualities which prompted his immortal countryman, Robert Burns, to sing in love and pity to daisy and mouse. An advance agent of the locust brigade had been captured and was singing his lay in a bottle in which he had been placed. Hardie quietly disappeared and in a few moments returned with a perforated cigar box, pre-

pared with his penknife and half filled with grass, and carefully transferred the locust to his more comfortable quarters. A few vigorous notes from the insect bore expression of its gratitude. I concluded that a man who had solicitude about the comfort of an insect could be safely trusted not to wantonly injure his fellow man.

"In the fortnight the English reformer has been in this country he had gathered a vast and varied fund of information. Nothing seems to escape him. He has already familiarized himself with our politics, the rise and fall of parties, and the drift of political events. And so with the American industrial movement. He recited in a most interesting manner the struggle of the industrial classes in England and declared that in all essential particulars their experience was similar to our own.

## ACCOUNTING FOR HARDIE'S DEFEAT.

"It has been urged with a view of discrediting the little Scotchman that if he had not been a disappointment to his constituents he would have been re-elected to parliament. I can readily account for his defeat. He was too true to himself to subvert his own personal interests. He would neither cater nor compromise. In what he believed to be right he was as unyielding as granite. Such men, pure and incorruptible, are no more successful in politics in England than in the United States. Mr. Hardie will remain in this country during the next three months, and I earnestly hope that he will be greeted with large audiences everywhere. The working people, especially, whether they agree with him or not, ought to give him the benefit of a hearing. He is capable of instructing as well as interesting his hearers. He has a story worth hearing and knows how to tell it. There is no vanity or self-pride about this reformer. He is the embodiment of the principles he advocates. He is in the best sense a self-made workingman. He is of and for the common people and his heart throbs responsive to their welfare.

"A great deal has been said and written about the salaries of labor leaders in this country. A great many people affect to believe that they are in the labor movement simply for what there is in it. These critics will be obliged to exempt Mr. Hardie from their indictment. He not only relinquished his salary voluntarily, but refused to accept any compensation for his services in the cause. The visit of John Burns last year and the visit of Keir Hardie this year will have a strong tendency to create reciprocal relations between the social reformers of the old world and the new, and I shall not be surprised to see the agitation carried forward on an international basis in the near future."

## ON WITH THE DANCE.

The American Indians have a number of dances, as for instance, the "ghost dance," the "war dance," and the "scalp dance," and just now the supreme court savages, are engaged in the "prison dance," or the judicial "scalp dance." "Government by injunction," remarks the *Lima, Ohio, Sentinel*, "is making such a profound approach to absolutism as to excite the most profound admiration of the czar of Russia. Judge Baker, in enjoining the striking railway men in Indianapolis, forbid them even to advise men to strike, warning them that at his option he could fine them \$1,000,000, or imprison them for 1,000 years. Why stop at that? Why not establish the knout and make Alaska a penal colony, a la Russia? On with the dance! Let plutocracy do its worst. Let the screws continue to be turned—pressing harder and harder upon the people, but by and by a change will come, and when it does, God pity some infernal scoundrels on the bench in this country, who are, to-day making justice a mockery, for they are not likely to find it anywhere else." Not a "profound approach to absolutism." No, not "approach," for the government has reached the grand central goal. It's got there, iron crowned, and iron sceptered and iron shod, and is dancing the scalp dance around Woodstock prison. The savages, having broken away from their constitutional "reservation," are on the war path. The chiefs, from Injunction Billy to Spotted Tail, are tricked out in feathers and paint, bear teeth and eagle claws, and the scalp dance proceeds with whoops and yells, which make the stuffed eagle they carry, to symbolize power, lower its tail and stick its head under its wing, and wish it had been hatched an owl. Thus the scalp dance proceeds. But after a little bit, the scalp dance will cease. Injunction Billy, Spotted Tail, Hole in the Ground, Sitting Dog, Buffalo Chip, Barking Wolf, Skunk Eater, Hairy Spider, Bigbug and Pony Legs will have all their plans frustrated. In the meantime, on with the dance.

Pop is a handsome eight-page illustrated Populist paper just issued at Cleveland, Ohio. Its illustrations are first-class, and it says right things in the right way and at the right time. Pop ought to live long and prosper amazingly.

A fool, when he consults a mirror, sees his own worst friend.



## TERRE HAUTE.

## LABOR DAY AT THE HOME OF EUGENE V. DEBS.

His Letter to his Old Neighbors and Friends Arouses Enthusiasm in the Multitudes.

Labor Day at Terre Haute, the old home and native city of Eugene V. Debs, was celebrated in grand style. Among the notable incidents of the day was the reading of a letter from Debs, which touched the hearts of the vast assemblage, which went wild with applause.

The letter was as follows:

"In responding to your request, I am disposed to recite a page of what all Christendom proclaims 'sacred history.' There existed some 2,500 years ago a king clothed with absolute power, known as Darius, who ruled over the Medes and Persians. He was not an usurper like William A. Woods, the United States circuit judge. Darius was royal spawn. All the people in Darius' empire were slaves. The will of the king was absolute. What the king said was law, just as we find in the United States of America that what a United States judge says is law. Darius, the Persian despot, could imprison at will; the same is true of Woods the despot. There is absolutely no difference. Do I hear an exception? Allow me to support my indictment by authority that passes current throughout the republic. Only a few days ago the venerable Judge Trumbull, one of the most eminent jurists and statesmen America has ever produced, wrote these burning words: 'The doctrine announced by the court in the Debs case, carried to its logical conclusion, places every citizen at the mercy of any prejudiced or malicious judge who may think proper to imprison him.'

"This states the case of the officers of the American Railway Union in a nutshell. They violated no law, they committed no crime, they have not been charged nor indicted nor tried, and yet they have been arbitrarily sentenced and thrust in jail, and what has happened to them will happen to others who dare protest against such inhumanity as the monster Pullman practiced upon his employees and their families.

"More than 2,500 years have passed to join the unnumbered centuries since Darius lived and reigned, and now in the United States we have about four score Darius despots, each one of whom may at his will, whim or pleasure imprison an American citizen—and this grim truth is up for discussion on Labor Day.

DARIUS' ISSUES AN INJUNCTION AGAINST DANIEL.

"It will be remembered that during the reign of Darius there was a gentleman by the name of Daniel whom the king delighted to honor. The only fault that could be found with Daniel was that he would not worship the Persian gods, but would, three times a day, go to his window, looking toward Jerusalem, and pray. This was his crime. It was enough. The Persians had a religion of their own. They had their gods of gold, brass, clay, stone, wood; anything from a mouse to a mountain, and they would not tolerate any other god. They had in modern parlance an 'established church,' and as Daniel, like Christ, would not conform to the Persian religion, 'the presidents of the kingdom, the governors and the princes, the counselors and the captains,' or, as in these latter days, the corporations, the trusts, the syndicates and the combines, concluded to get rid of Daniel, and they persuaded Darius to issue an injunction that no man should 'ask a petition of any god or man for thirty days save of thee, O king,' and the king a la Woods, issued the decree. But Daniel, who was made of resisting stuff, disregarded the injunction and still prayed as before to his God. Daniel was a hero. In the desert of despotism he stands forever as some tall cliff that lifts its awful form, Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm; Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread, Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

"But the bigots triumphed for a time. The king's decree must stand, and Daniel, as a penalty for prayer, must be cast into the lions' den, and the bigots, the plutocratic pirates and parasites of that period, thought that would be the end of Daniel. They chuckled as in fancy they heard the lions break his bones and lap his blood. They slept well and dreamed of victory. Not so with the king. He knew he had been guilty of an act of monstrous cruelty, and in this the old Persian despot was superior to Woods. The king could not sleep and was so pained over his act that he forbade all festivities in his palace. In this he showed that he was not totally depraved. The king had a lurking idea that somehow Daniel would get out of the lions' den unharmed and that he would overcome the intrigues of those who had conspired to destroy him. Early in the morning he went to the mouth of the den. Daniel was safe. His God, unlike the supreme court, having found Daniel innocent of all wrongdoing, locked the jaws of the lions and Daniel stood before the king wearing the redemption crown of truth, more royal than a princely diadem. Then the king, who had been deceived by the enemies of Daniel, the sycophants and

vermin of power, gave his wrath free rein and had them cast into the lions' den, where they were devoured by the ferocious beasts.

"History repeats itself. I am not a Daniel, but I am in jail by the decree of an autocrat. I appealed from one despot to a whole bench for justice and the appeal was unheeded. I and my associates were innocent. There was no stain of crime on our record, but neither innocence nor constitution was of any avail. To placate the money power, the implacable enemies of labor, we were sent to prison, and here alone, contemplating the foul wrong inflicted on me and my associate officials of the American Railway Union, with head and heart and hand nerved for the task, I write this letter, to be read on Labor Day to friends and neighbors in the city of my birth.

"It is not a wail of despondency nor despair. The cause for which I have been deprived of my liberty was just and I am thrice armed against all my enemies. To bear punishment for one's honest convictions is a glorious privilege and requires no high order of courage.

SAYS THE PEOPLE ARE WITH HIM.

"No judicial tyrant comes to my prison to inquire as to my health or my hopes, but one sovereign does come by night and by day with words of cheer. It is the sovereign people—the uncrowned but accepted rulers of the realm. No day of my imprisonment has passed that the bars and bolts and doors of the Woodstock jail have not been bombarded by messages breathing devotion to the cause of liberty and justice, and as I read and ponder these messages, and as I grasp the hands of friends and catch the gleam of wrath in their defiant eyes and listen to their words of heroic courage, I find it no task to see the wrath of the sovereign people aroused and all opposition to the triumphant march of labor consigned to oblivion; and as an evidence of this from every quarter come announcements that the American Railway Union is growing in membership and strength, destined at early day to be, as it deserves to be, an organization which by precept, by example and principle will ultimately unify railroad labor in the United States, and make it invincible. There is a mighty mustering of all the forces of labor throughout the country. Labor is uniting in one solid phalanx to secure justice for labor. When this time comes, and coming it is, peacefully I hope, no judicial despot will dare to imprison an American citizen to please corporations. When this time comes and coming it is as certain as rivers flow to the sea, 'Bullion & Boodle' will not rule in congress, in legislatures and in courts; legislators and judges and other public officers will not be controlled, as many of them now are, by the money power. There is to come a day, a labor day, when from the center to the circumference of our mighty republic, from blooming groves of oranges to waiving fields of grain, from the pine lands of Maine to the Pacific coast, the people shall be free, and it will come by the United voice and vote of the farmer, the mechanic and the laborer in every department of the country's industries.

THE ORATORS OF LABOR.

"I notice in your letter that you say, 'we have been unable to get a representative labor speaker for our Labor day celebration,' and here let me say that on Labor Day all men who wear the badge of labor are 'representative speakers,' not 'orators,' perhaps, as the term is accepted to mean, and yet orators in fact, from whose lips fall 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn,' coming warm from the heart, they reach the heart and fan the zeal in a great cause into the flame that sweeps along like a prairie fire. It has been the good fortune of labor to produce from its ranks men who, though unlearned in the arts of oratory, were yet orators of the highest order if effect instead of fluency is considered. It is the occasion that makes the orator as it is the battle that makes the veteran. Marc Antony said, 'I am no orator like Brutus,' but when he showed Caesar's mantle to the populace of Rome, and pointed out where the conspirators' daggers had stabbed Caesar, the oratory of Brutus paled before his burning words. And every man, however humble he may esteem himself, may on Labor day hold up the constitution of the United States and point to where the judicial dagger stabbed liberty to death, and make the people cry out for the re-thronement of the constitution—and Terre Haute has a hundred such orators.

"I write in the hurry and press of business. Before me are a hundred letters demanding replies. I pass them by to respond to an appeal from my home, and in fancy, as I write, I am with you. I am at home again. My father, bending beneath the weight of years, salutes me. My mother, whose lullaby songs nestle and soothe in the inner temple of my memory, caresses me; her kiss baptizes me with joy, and, as if by enchantment, 'Years and sin and folly flee And leave me at my mother's knee.'

"In this mood I write with the hope that the celebration at Terre Haute will inspire renewed devotion to the interests of labor, and with a heart full of good wishes, I subscribe myself, yours fraternally, "EUGENE V. DEBS."

Among the speakers on the occasion, was United States Senator Daniel W. Voorhees, than whom the country has produced no statesman who has more

thoroughly comprehended the vicious policy of the plutocrats and the money power. The Senator's manly words relating to the imprisonment of Mr. Debs and his associate officials elicited the wildest applause. He said:

"I consulted with Debs' counsel when the case was before the supreme court, and I know that Debs is suffering a penalty that the constitution does not warrant. A lawful imprisonment must be preceded by an indictment and trial by a jury. A ranker, grosser and blither piece of injustice never blotted the pages of our federal judiciary. I am the last person to be responsible for William A. Woods, because I opposed his confirmation by the senate. I did so because he is a narrow man. He has plenty of ability but he lacks the underlying principles of honesty. I have no fear in denouncing the decision of the supreme court. I denounce its decision in the income tax case, which will be as odious as the Dred Scott decision."

Such expressions in the supreme hour, when the U. S. judges are Russanizing the government are calculated to arouse the profoundest reflection and to exert a salutary effect upon legislation, designed to restrain the despotism of the U. S. Judiciary.

The declarations of Senator Voorhees, places him alongside of Thomas Jefferson, who dared repeatedly to express his convictions that the supreme court would eventually destroy the republic and establish a centralized despotism.

## DEBS IN PRISON.

"Perhaps a third of the men whose names make history what it is have passed a period of their lives in prison," says the *Twentieth Century*. "It might almost be said that the incarceration of many celebrated characters was the foundation of their fame. There is, for example, John Hampden, John Bunyan, Richard II and Mary, Queen of Scots. Indeed, it requires a high order of mentality and rare fortitude to endure imprisonment with dignity and credit. The jailed man is thrown utterly upon himself. Lock a poor chap in a cell who is densely ignorant, and he may go mad in time. The intellectually improved and inclined have within themselves, as the Latin proverb says, riches of which no gaoler can deprive them. The mind stored with a life time of reading and self-improvement can sustain itself almost anywhere. The most eminent of the world's psychologists agree that imprisonment is the truest test of men.

Debs and his associates, therefore, need never fear that their detention in Woodstock jail will ever lessen their influence with men whose good opinion is worth having. Surely no convicts ever demonstrated their superiority to their accidents more thoroughly than they. The lives they now lead are sermons. These men have made their imprisonment the most effective rebuke to the tyranny responsible for it. They have organized themselves into a little community with laws which each member takes a personal pride in observing. In the mornings, they pass the time in study and discussion. They have two hundred books of the highest class of literature. These are read and pondered. Debates are arranged and social topics considered in a way that vindicates their taste and their intellects. In the evening there are drills and athletics. The prisoners have made a university out of a jail.

The authorities agree that never in their experience have they dealt with more tractable and obedient prisoners. The convicts have voluntarily established for themselves a discipline far more severe than the state establishes for them. In not a single instance have the men shown anything but intelligence, honor, capacity and respect for each other and themselves.

Such, then, are the criminals whom our laws find it necessary to put in prison. Let us consider the other side of the picture. Do the capitalists who had these men locked up ever think of using their freedom as well as their victims employ their imprisonment? Could the judges whose decrees sent them to a cell ever pass hours so well? Could any set of men in power anywhere in the world vindicate human capacity for self-government and self-control as nobly as Debs and his associates are doing it?

It is more than likely that the punishment of these men will prove to themselves and to the cause they battled for so bravely a blessing in disguise. "In the reproof of chance lies the true proof of men." This period passed in jail has enabled the men to show the stuff they are made of. Not a working man in the land will fail to feel more respect for this labor leader as a result of the trial he is passing through so grandly. Only the really capable can turn the attack of an enemy into an instrument of victory. The capitalists of the country have sought to make a trap for Debs, and he has turned it into a pedestal. If anything were needed to confirm the high opinion in which this leader has been justly held by every toiler of the republic, the imprisonment he endures so gloriously would afford it.

Two elephants in a parade quarreled over a peanut, knocked each other down, injured their keepers and frightened the people. Admiral Porter said "a pin is worth fighting for if it involves a principle." Elephants and men as well as "mice and men gang sit agree."

## NURSING A SKUNK.

A Preacher Rescued from Starvation by Workmen Turns Traitor.

A story of treason always possesses features which attract attention, and when a preacher turns traitor to professions and to friends, any write-up of the skunk is sure to have a wide reading. In this line the *Representative* says that some years since there was a railroad strike in the good city of Minneapolis, and conspicuous among those who took the part of the workmen was a half-starved clergyman by the name of

REV. L. G. POWERS.

He was, says the *Representative*, fierce, fanatical and abusive in his advocacy of the cause of the men; and the men having few defenders from the professional class, and still fewer from the clergy, took the emaciated advocate of human rights to their bosoms and hearts, and soon after when a vacancy occurred in the Labor Bureau, established by the legislature as part of the permanent administration of the state government, the reverend radical was pushed forward by the workmen and made commissioner of it.

Here was an opportunity for the reverend vagrant to evince a decent respect for the men who had rescued him from rags and filth, but being a Judas by nature he deserted his friends and professions. Every time the reverend gentleman drew his salary he saw with increasing clearness that he had a "soft snap," and that his first duty was to try to keep it. And so he cut off his hoofs and trimmed his horns, and softened the glare of his anarchistic eyes, and the hoarse bellowing of the bull of Bashan died away in the soft and gentle cooing of a milk white turtle dove. He perceived clearly which side of his bread was buttered. He recognized the fact that the

LABOR BUREAU

was a machine to work the workmen in the interest of the g. o. p. and the plutocracy, and he determined to keep his place if active servility could accomplish it. And so he proceeded to cook up a lot of garbled statistics to show that the people of Minnesota were pre-eminently prosperous and happy; that there were no debts or discontent worth speaking of, and "that everything was lovely and the goose hangs high" in the pure, upper air of serene contentment. And all this in the face of the census of 1890, which showed that there were \$197,000,000 of mortgages on real estate in this pleasant commonwealth, with its 300,000 voters, and in the face of the state auditor's report that 1,500,000 people in Minnesota paid every year \$13,000,000 of taxes, while it would puzzle them to say what they got in exchange for that enormous sum.

All this inspires melancholy reflections upon the infirmities of human nature. If Mr. Powers had continued in Minneapolis making street corner sermons in behalf of the workmen, with his belly so empty that you could trace the vertebrae of his back bone among his vest buttons, he would be to-day an honest man, advocating free silver, and an abundant currency; but, as Lowell says,

"A merciful Providence fashioned us hollow On purpose that we might our principles swallow."

And Powers was deadlily hollow when plutocracy began to feed him, the pap ran down into the very calves of his legs, and in six months there wasn't anything left of the original street preacher except the hide.

## THE RAILWAY TIMES AND E. V. DEBS.

The *Workman* in a recent issue says that the Labor Day edition of the *RAILWAY TIMES* is truly a work of art. The first page is printed in colors, with scenes of the great Chicago strike, and altogether there are sixteen pages, filled with half tone photo-engravings, of actual scenes in Woodstock jail, with biographical sketches of the martyrs to the cause of labor who were imprisoned therein, and with excellent articles by the editor—Eugene V. Debs, and others. The paper contains full page advertisements of some of the largest and best firms in this country, and everything about it indicates that the organ of the American Railway Union is in the most prosperous condition. Eugene V. Debs is a bigger man today than the monkey judge who sentenced him to jail.

The members of the various railway organizations have been somewhat disturbed by recent rumors regarding Eugene V. Debs which editor J. A. Wayland thus settles in his labor reform paper, the *Coming Nation*, published at Tennessee City, Tenn: "The courtiers and advocates of the monopolies, organized corruptionists and bribers of officials, in order to prejudice the working people against any man who would teach them of their rights and how to get them, have circulated reports in A. P. A. lodges that Eugene V. Debs is a Catholic, and then they have spread among Catholic workmen that he is a member of the A. P. A. Both these reports are absolutely false of which I have personal knowledge. Mr. Debs has proven by his self-sacrifice and devotion that he is broader than any creed, that any injustice should be rebuked whether it applies to Protestant or Catholic. Justice knows no creed, no color, no century."

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## HOGAN AT SALT LAKE.

## THE A. R. U. DIRECTOR DELIVERS THE ORATION OF THE DAY.

September 2d at Utah's Favorite Resort, "Labor Skates" and "Cheap Politicians" are Squeezed.

The following report of labor's celebration and the speech of Director Hogan is reproduced from the *Ogden Review*: Monday, September 2, was the day of the laboring people and was fittingly celebrated by the labor organizations at Salt Lake. Several hundred went down from Ogden and they were joined by several thousand from Salt Lake.

The boating in the lake was fine and thousands spurted in the briny water.

There were games of all kinds and everybody had a good time.

James Hogan delivered the oration of the day. He was introduced by R. G. Sleator, of the Salt Lake Typographical Union, in a few elegant and appropriate remarks, and spoke as follows:

## MR. HOGAN'S SPEECH.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—We have assembled here for the purpose of celebrating Labor Day. We may feel grateful to our masters, the plutocracy, for this opportunity to meet and breathe this air made fresh and pure by mountain crags and snow-capped peaks. I must say that I am truly delighted to greet such a magnificent audience, coming as I do, not a pleasure seeker who has spent his vacation at Bar Harbor or Buzzards Bay, but a culprit who has purged himself of contempt of court by three months imprisonment at Woodstock, Ill. I shall ask you to devote a part of your time to day to a hearing of our case, which we have not been able to present before to you, for the reason that the news-gathering and distributing agency, known as the Associated Press, is owned by the same power that owns, controls and operates every function of our government from president down. It has a peculiar and selfish interest in publishing news always favorable to the plutocracy.

In considering this question one is compelled to ask: "Is this 'the land of the free and the home of the brave' or is it the land of the plute and the home of the slave?"

I will now briefly renew the history of the A. R. U. and the great strike of last year. In June, 1893, the A. R. U. was launched upon the labor sea. The objects of the organization were to protect the rights and wages of railway employees. Prior to its organization the General Managers' Association was formed for the purpose of reducing wages. According to its own record introduced in court by us in our defense in the case in which we were charged with conspiracy to obstruct the passage of the United States mail, it is proven that the General Managers' Association had conspired to reduce wages one road at a time, and if the employees struck upon one road all the other companies would send men and equipment to assist the road upon which the strike occurred. The reduction of wages went on from one road to another. Some of the employees engaged in the train and yard service belonged to what is known as the "Old Brotherhood." They called upon their grand chiefs, such as Arthur, Sargent and Clarke, who invariably used all their influence to force the employees to accept the reduction. This angered the men and they began to leave the "old brotherhoods" by the thousands and join the A. R. U., which was forced into the battlefield while it was yet in its infancy. The wages of the employees of the Great Northern railroad had been reduced from 10 to 30 per cent. between August, 1893, and April, 1894. Two or three successive reductions had been made. The old brotherhoods failed to do anything to prevent the reduction, so the employees swarmed into the A. R. U. and desperately demanded that through their wages be restored. A strike resulted in which the A. R. U. won, restoring \$146,000 per month in wages to the employees of that system. Then followed the great Pullman strike, which was the greatest struggle ever made in the interest of starving toilers. You want to know something about Pullman. I will try to describe this tentacle of our modern plutocratic devil-fish. Pullman was a carpenter. When Chicago was being built Pullman and another man were engaged as contractors in moving buildings to make room for larger ones. The idea of building sleeping cars did not dawn in the brain of Pullman, but in that of his partner, Pullman, like all of his class, is as shrewd, but not nearly as brave as Jesse James or Sontag. Perhaps Pullman did not steal the patent right from his partner, but he appropriated it lest some one else might. Pullman organized the company which bears his name, some twenty years ago with an "alleged" capital stock of \$1,000,000. How much money was actually paid in can not be ascertained, but it is known that Pullman retained a majority of the stock in consideration of the patent right, which properly belonged to another. With the advent of the sleeping car came a tremendous increase in travel for pleasure and health as well as for business. Pullman charges high rates and pays starvation wages to his employees; the porters receiving from \$10 to \$25 per month. If any of the equipment or supplies, such as towels, combs or brushes, are lost or stolen, twice or three times the actual cost is deducted from the porter's pittance of pay. By pursuing these methods, together with all the wonderful increase of travel, as the population grew and the country developed, the dividends accumulated, and in order to deceive the public the company increased its capital stock from year to year, until, according to the testimony of Pullman himself, before the strike commission last September, it represented \$36,000,000, upon which it paid an annual dividend of 8 per cent. and had accumulated an undivided surplus of \$25,000,000. Pullman's company, not satisfied with the sleeping car industry started a plant for the manufacture of all kinds of railway and street cars. While the treatment of the sleeping car employees was vicious, it was saintly compared with that of those at Pullman's shops. Pullman owns Pullman town. All the land, the houses, the streets, the water, the light, the schools, the hotels and the church are owned by Pullman. Pullman never did pay big wages, but when the panic of 1893 came along Pullman joined the procession by closing up the shops

for six months. When he opened them again wages were reduced 33 1/3 per cent. House rent, which had not been reduced, accumulated during the six months' shut-down. A certain amount of this back rent was deducted each month from the wages of the employees. Skilled mechanics drew as little as 2 cents, 8 cents and 16 cents for two weeks' work after having the water and rent deducted. Men are known to have fainted at the work bench. Children were barefooted, ragged and hungry. Women were seen to peer from behind half-opened doors not having clothing fit to be seen. The employees flocked into the A. R. U. and after a time sent a committee to Pullman. The committee was discharged and the next day every employe, male and female, walked out on a strike. The officers of the A. R. U., including President Debs, tried to postpone the strike until the union would be stronger, but to no avail. Five or six attempts were made to have Pullman arbitrate, but he coldly maintained that there was nothing to arbitrate. In June the convention of the A. R. U. met at Chicago and after investigating the Pullman strike decided unanimously not to handle any Pullman cars unless Pullman would arbitrate. The General Managers' association met and decided to stand by Pullman. The employees refused to handle Pullman cars and were discharged. Then all the employees in all branches of the railway service struck. And as far as the railroads were concerned the strike was won. At this juncture a new phase of the question presents itself. It was not expected that a government of, for and by the people, as ours was supposed to have been, would openly and wantonly assist the railroads in helping Pullman to starve his employees. In this we were mistaken. As soon as the General Managers' association found that they were whipped, they ran to the government for help. You know when Grover, the fisherman, was inaugurated, he took an oath to uphold the constitution of the United States, but he winked the other eye and appointed as attorney general one Olney, a director of the Boston & Maine railroad, which is the system of railroads that embrace all the New England states. The first thing that Railroad Attorney General Olney did was to instruct all the federal judges in the various judicial districts in which the strike occurred, to issue injunctions restraining the A. R. U. from holding meetings, in short, forbidding the men to strike. The one served upon us in Chicago, read in part: "To Eugene V. Debs, the American Railway Union, and all others: You are hereby enjoined and commanded not to counsel or advise with the employees of the aforesaid named roads by letter, telegram or otherwise by which they might leave the service of their respective employers." Now you see this constitution of the United States which Cleveland swore to maintain, but which he has trampled under foot, in its thirteenth amendment which cost the war of the rebellion, says: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the accused shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States." Again in the first amendment, it says: "Congress shall make no laws abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." Now, if Congress has no power to enact laws by which the freedom of speech may be abridged we should ask why a judge, who is only supposed to enforce the laws enacted by Congress, should usurp power to abrogate this constitutional right. There was no trouble until this injunction was issued. Olney then took another step. Through him the federal troops were ordered to Chicago. The governor of Illinois protested, according to the constitution, which in section 4 of article 4, with reference to this subject, says: "The United States shall guarantee to every state in the Union a republican form of government and shall protect it from foreign invasion," and upon application of the legislature or of the chief executive when the legislature is not convened, from domestic violence." Up to the time when the federal troops appeared in Chicago there was no violence. The troops came to Chicago July 3d, but the rioting did not begin until July 5th. During the controversy between Governor Altgeld and President Cleveland about the troops being sent, not only without the request of the governor, but in spite of his protest, the people became very angry. Then the only thing to do was to divert public opinion by inciting riot, burning cars and laying the blame upon the strikers. Detectives were employed and furnished with money to buy beer and make speeches advising violence. No Pullman cars were burned, however, nothing but old cars, worn out in the service, were burned. Then the press all over the country began to teem with accounts of the lawless and destructive mob. But the real purpose was to divert the public mind so that Cleveland's action in sending the troops would be overlooked. When this injunction was first served upon us President Debs went to two of the best attorneys in Chicago and sought advice. The attorneys said to go right on as we were doing; that we were doing nothing unlawful. In a few days we were arrested for contempt of court; not for violating any law. The constitution of the United States declares: "The accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial before an impartial jury." Our attorneys demanded a trial by jury, but it was refused. We went through a farce-comedy trial, during which the judge slept a part of the time and looked wise the rest. President Debs got six months and the rest of us three months in the Woodstock prison. An appeal was taken to the supreme court, but that body merely evaded the issue. Our sentences expired August 22d. President Debs' sentence will not expire until November 22. He is to day behind prison walls, not because he has broken the laws, but because a federal judge, acting as the willing tool of plutocracy, in defiance of constitutional rights, has sent him there. He is not there as a culprit or criminal, although the punishment is the same, but as one whose heart and brain went out in love and sympathy to the robbed and ragged victims of Pullman's greed for gold.

A word about this injunction. The injunction is a decree of the judge. It does not have to be based upon law. Laws and constitutional rights go down to death in the wake of this vicious discovery. How was this system of government by injunction inaugurated? Quite easily. There have been two political parties in control of the government for half a century or more, the republican party and the democratic party. The office seekers of both these parties are ambitious. It takes money to carry

on a great campaign. The plutocracy knows this. The big corporations, such as the railroads, the Standard Oil, the sugar trust, the meat trust, and all the rest, contribute money to the campaign funds of both parties. Jay Gould stated it very clearly when he said: "When I am in a republican state I am a republican; when I am in a democratic state I am a democrat; when I am in a doubtful state I am doubtful, but I am always an Erie man." He was at that time president of the Erie railroad. By contributing this money to the political campaigns they control and map the policy of both parties, and whichever party wins the corporations come in and demand that their men be appointed to office. You see, they go on the theory that "if they don't catch 'em a-goin' they catch 'em a-comin'." This is why you find that all the judges and district attorneys were corporation lawyers. They have no interests in common with the people. They belong to the corporations whose contribution to the campaign fund secured their appointment, and it is from this source that the injunction issues.

We have a nation which was founded by the blood of revolution. It was that revolution which proclaimed the Declaration of Independence. It was that revolution which gave us the constitution of the United States. The world had never seen such men of genius and sterling manhood as were produced in America during the period of the revolution. They handed down to posterity a treasured legacy of constitutional liberty such as no people of the world had ever enjoyed before. In addition to this they gave us a nation of illimitable resources within whose boundaries the population of the earth could be supported. Under such favorable conditions one would expect to find a happy, energetic people who would be continually planting the standard of human rights a league onward, until their brothers of the world would all be free from the tyranny of kings, but unfortunately this is not the case. We have the lines of caste drawn as sharply in the United States as in Europe. While our kings do not wear the crown or bear the sceptre, yet their power is just as great as those who do. We have palaces for our kings. Vanderbilt has his summer cottage called the "Breakers," which only cost \$3,000,000. Baron de la Pullman has four castles, one at Chicago, one at Thousand Isles in Quebec, one in Italy and one on the Atlantic coast known as "Castle Rest." George Gould has yachting races with Albert Edward Prince of Wales. We have our Huntington, our Rockefeller, our Armour, our Swift, our Field and their consorts. Then we have our blessed bankers, who are given a monopoly of the money of the nation, but who do not like paternal government except for bankers. These foot-pad kings own the associated press and control all the large dailies. They have an invincible string around the neck of nearly every editor. The editor, generally speaking, is the man Friday of plutocracy. He wraps himself up in the stars and stripes and sings patriotic airs while the people are lured from their posts of duty until the ship of state is foundered upon plutocratic shoals.

This is an age of machinery and invention, supposed to relieve the human race of toil. Every day new machines are being invented. A machine can do more work, live on coarser food, wear fewer clothes and complain less than man, hence the plute prefers the machine and thus labor is being supplanted by it in shop, mill, mine and on the farm. I saw a machine in Oregon last fall that cuts, threshes and sacks sixty acres of wheat per day. The small farmer can not compete with that machine, so his mortgage is foreclosed and he becomes a tenant or a tramp. The linotype is supplanting the printer, who is forced to join the ranks of the unemployed, of whom there are already an army of 5,000,000.

These are the conditions of to-day, and if you do not awaken and take your rights the rising generation will find a still worse condition. The plutes do not want to hear about these things. They are perfectly satisfied to take nine-tenths of all your produce and say nothing more about it. They say "If you are hungry, why starve, but don't annoy us. We are having a good time. On with the dance!" That is why we were sent to jail. We interfered with their dance. That is why Debs is peering through prison bars at Woodstock to day.

With Rothschild and the American bankers in full control of our money, large tracts of our land in the hands of foreign syndicates, the trusts and combines in possession of every human necessity, men displaced by machines and the machines owned by the plutocrats, women in rags and poverty within the sight of plenty, children of ten years of age with faces of forty, 10,000 suicides in the year 1894, is a condition of affairs of which Goldsmith must have been thinking when he wrote

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

In connection with the great strike of last summer the administration and the courts have trampled under foot three several provisions of the constitution of the United States in order to put what they believe to be a quietus upon organized labor, and every democrat and republican in both house and senate voted to sustain the act. The populists only voted solidly against it.

The present situation is gloomy. You ask "What are we going to do?" We are going to organize and agitate. We are going to persevere. Think of Columbus amid the dangers and gloom which surrounded him during his long voyage upon unknown seas, when this great asylum for the oppressed of Europe was discovered. Starvation and mutiny threatened his very life, but he did not turn back. The following poem dedicated to him by Joaquin Miller, should give us hope and encouragement in this great struggle for the right:

"Behind him lay the great Azores,  
Behind the gate of Hercules,  
Before him not a ghost of shores,  
Before him only shoreless seas.  
The good mate said: 'Now must we pray,  
For lo! the very stars are gone.  
Brave Adm'r! speak: what shall I say?'  
Why, say, 'Sail on! Sail on! Sail on!'"

"My men grow mutinous day by day;  
My men grow ghastly, wan and weak.  
The stout mate thought of home, a spray  
Of salt waves washed his swarthy cheek.  
'What shall I say, brave Adm'r, say,  
If we sight not land ere dawn?'  
'Why, you shall say at break of day,  
Sail on! Sail on! Sail on!'"

They sailed and sailed, as winds might blow,  
Until at last the blanched mate said:  
'Why now not even God would know  
Should I and all my men fall dead,  
The good mate said: 'Now must we pray,  
For God from these dread seas is gone.  
Now speak, brave Adm'r, speak and say—  
He said: 'Sail on! Sail on! Sail on!'"

They sailed; they sailed. Then spoke the mate:  
This mad sea shows its teeth tonight:  
He cut his lip, he leaved in wait,  
With lifted teeth, as if to bite.  
Brave Adm'r, say but one good word:  
What shall we do when hope is gone?  
The words leapt as a weapon's word:  
'Sail on! Sail on! Sail on!'"

Then pale and worn he kept his deck  
And peered through darkness. Ah, that night,  
Of all dark nights, and then a speak—  
A light! A light! A light! A light!  
It grew as starlight gleamed unfurled!  
It grew to be time's breath of dawn.  
He gained a world; he gave that world  
His grand lesson: On! and on!

We are going to do as Columbus did. We are going to repudiate the two old Philippine twin parties, and embrace with all hail the young, promising and thrifty party that comes fresh from the people whose name it bears. A party that believes in the declaration of independence. A party that believes that the United States can live and prosper without the consent of any or all of Europe. A party that believes that the people should own and operate the railroads and telegraphs for their own benefit, instead of that of plutocracy and European shlylocks. A party that believes in government banks and money issued without the intervention of bankers. A party that will launch its craft upon this desolate sea of competition and sail on and on until the inviting shores of "The Co-operative Commonwealth" is reached. There everybody will get the full reward of his toil. The machines shall be used for the benefit of all. The hours of labor shall be reduced. All will have plenty. There will be plenty of time for recreation and amusement. Plenty of time to study nature and her laws. Human rights shall take the place of our present cannibalistic, wealth adoring system. Plutocrat and pauper alike shall disappear. Love and peace and human happiness shall permeate the very atmosphere.

After Mr. Hogan had finished speaking, Louis Schevzinger introduced the following resolution:

AN OUTRAGE DENOUNCED.  
WHEREAS, It is a self-evident fact that plutocracy and European shlylocks are in control of the government of the United States, which was founded by the blood of the revolution; and whereas, during the past year through the administration of the courts, have trampled under foot the constitutional rights of the people by using the federal army to shoot and intimidate the strikers; and by substituting a system of government by injunction for our constitutional form of government by the people, and by sending Eugene V. Debs and his fellow-officers of the American Railway Union to prison for contempt of court in refusing to obey an unlawful injunction without the guaranteed right of trial by jury. Therefore, we, the labor organizations and our sympathizers, in a meeting assembled at Salt Lake, do hereby denounce the administration and courts for their action in connection with the Pullman strikes, and pledge our full faith and confidence to Eugene V. Debs, unjustly and unlawfully imprisoned at Woodstock, Ill.

The preamble and resolution were adopted.

## THE PULLMAN BOYCOTT.

Once lived a man whose name was George  
Whose other name was Pullman:  
He built a city of his own  
And called that city Pullman.

In Illinois he built great shops  
Beneath our stripes and stars,  
And in those shops skilled workmen built  
The famous Pullman cars.

Then Pullman told his right hand man  
He thought it would be funny  
To grind down all these workmen  
And save a lot of money.

In Pullman's town the men must live  
And pay to him their rent,  
For houses, light and water, too,  
Which barely left a cent.

In Pullman's stores the men must buy  
Whatever they desired,  
If one should dare to buy elsewhere  
He surely would be fired.

It seems this human fiend desired  
These men his slaves to be  
And tried to run a private monarchy  
In this land of the brave and free?

'Tis plain these men were sore oppressed  
And knew not what to do,  
So they brought their case to E. V. Debs,  
The President of the A. R. U.

Then E. V. Debs he says, says he,  
'I have a pretty notion  
That I can tie up Pullman cars  
From New York to the Pacific ocean.'

The general managers laughed and said  
They'd "like to see him do it."  
Although he might kick up a fuss  
He never could go through it.

Then over the wires the message went  
From Chicago to Puget sound  
Leave Pullman cars just where they stand  
Nor let a wheel go round.

Till every man who was discharged  
Is fully reinstated  
And every man back in the place  
That was by him vacated.

Then railroad men throughout the land  
Of high degree and low  
Declared they would strike for justice and right  
And starve if it must be so.

'Twas then the moneybags procured  
That supreme hell-hatched injunction  
Hired thieves and thugs and U. S. troops  
To shoot without compunction.

Our leaders soon they sent to jail;  
To him fair trial denied;  
Our members soon blacklisted were  
And scattered far and wide.

Though we have suffered from the strike  
Our courage is unfailing;  
And, brothers, I believe the time will come  
When 'twill not be us who are gnashing teeth  
And walling.

The working men from this time on  
Will show the plutes some tricks;  
Elect Gene to the chair (that's where he belongs)  
In eighteen and ninety-six.

A Member of No. 98,  
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON.

There is a lake in Wisconsin where  
once a year the fish called cisco abound.  
They appear for a few days and then  
vanish. When the cisco come the circo  
fly, the food of the fish, comes; they  
meet as by appointment, and they van-  
ish together, the fly in the circo. Of  
course I am reminded here that the  
goodness of nature in thus feeding the  
fish is at the expense of the fly. I note  
the exception and go on.—Rev. Myron  
Reed.

The Osar of Russia has expressed to  
the American ambassador, great surprise  
upon hearing that the coal mines of the  
United States are worked under condi-  
tions, in many regards more shocking  
than his penal mines in Siberia.

The bard of Avon had an idea that  
honesty was the richest legacy a man  
could receive or bestow. That's not the  
des of the United States supreme court.

## LABOR DAY 1895.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

They voice devotion and fidelity to a cause in which I have the honor to be an humble representative. My time has been so fully occupied since early this morning that I have not been able to make any acknowledgments. My heart responds to each kind word and each cheering expression.

## FUTURE RADIANT WITH PROMISE.

The ordeal of the last fifteen months has been a trying one, but it is not without its compensations. The demonstration to-day triumphantly vindicates the declaration that labor is unifying its forces throughout the country. They realize the gravity of the situation; they comprehend the drift of events. Henceforth Labor Day is to be the popular holiday of the nation. I feel the thrill and inspiration of the hour and the future is radiant with promise.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

## MORE TELEGRAMS.

The representative of the Chicago Tribune at Woodstock wired his paper the following:

WOODSTOCK, ILL., Sept. 2.—[Special.]—A stream of letters and telegrams for Eugene V. Debs has been pouring into Woodstock all day from every section of the country. The messages began coming last evening, when five telegrams expressive of sympathy and good will were received from Buffalo, N. Y.

Early this morning the deputy sheriff brought in an armful which consisted principally of letters bearing good cheer and condemning the decision of the court by which Debs and his associates were committed to jail. Then began the delivery of telegrams in bunches of half a dozen and upwards, which are still coming in steadily at this writing. A few selected at random run as follows:

John Cherry, President Typographical Union, Newark, N. J.—May this ray of Jersey sunshine help illumine the cell of humanity's friend, Eugene V. Debs, to whom every member of Typographical Union sends love and admiration.

Locomotive Engineers, South Chicago, Ill.—Stand undaunted. By united action industrial slavery shall be abolished.

Typographical Union, Watertown, N. Y.—We extend sympathy and protest against your unjust imprisonment.

Retail Clerks, Watertown, N. Y.—You have our sympathy.

Trade and Labor Council, Detroit, Mich.—While deeply sympathizing with you in your confinement, we look forward with happy anticipation to the day of your release, when you can go forth doubly armed with experience and knowledge to fight the battles of labor.

Organized Labor of Detroit.—With you to a man and take the means of sending you greetings on Labor Day.

POINTING TO WASHINGTON.  
Cigarmakers, Rockford, Ill.—In '94 in Woodstock, in '97 in Washington.

Switchmen, St. Louis.—Woods, Woodstock, White House.

Col. J. B. Maynard, Indianapolis.—My heart is in my hand as I write. Yours always.

Dr. Fred S. Smith, Edinburg, N. D.—Accept congratulations. America has got a citizen courageous enough to look the plutocrat down by the Court of General Managers' last resort.

Joseph H. Schweizer, Chicago.—This year the plutocrats put you in jail; next year the people will put you in the White House.

Dr. Koller, Cleveland, O.—Trial by jury to every American citizen. Trial by every American citizen to the violators of our constitution in 1896.

J. B. Swan, Camden, Me.—Your trials we deplore, but victory is in store.

The Twentieth Century, New York City.—The Twentieth Century sends greetings and pledges you a loyal support in the fight for Woodstock.

Knights of Labor, Cleveland, O.—Your incarceration has given the cause of justice the greatest impetus of the age.

J. H. Lynn, Watertown, N. Y.—Dauntless leader, gallant son, tried to buy you, can't be done. Trying to crush you, again they will fail; proud of you in Woodstock jail.

Functional Association of Los Angeles, Cal.—Fraternal you.

Walter A. Shumaker, attorney, St. Paul.—From the tyrant's dungeon the holy light of liberty shines brightest.

THE COMING NATION, Tennessee City, Tenn.—Cordial greetings and congratulations. You are held in contempt by law-making courts, court-owning corporations, and the haters of liberty everywhere. It is the coronation of a great nation.

Spring Valley.—Labor day demonstration unanimously tenders sympathy to you in the common cause of labor.

Seattle, Wash.—Mass meeting of 5,000 people adopted resolutions of confidence.

M. McDonald, Willmar, Minn.—The genius of American liberty still lives.

Franklin Union, Chicago.—Congratulations! We have no sympathy to offer, as we believe you to be the happiest man in America.

J. B. Barnish, Hersey, Wis.—Victim of bought judge, you have my heartfelt sympathy. God bless you.

Miners' Union, Jacksonville, O.—We hereby condemn in the strongest language the decision of the court sending you and your associates to jail and congratulate you upon your manly stand in the interest of the common people.

A. R. U., Donald, B. C.—Sympathy for Debs and contempt for the supreme court.

W. B. Woody, Kingston, Ind.—Every patriotic heart is with you at Woodstock.

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Cleveland, O.—Our heartfelt sympathy is with you and we condemn the action of the supreme court in the Debs confinement case as unwarranted, unjust, and a menace to our constitutional liberties.

## GREETINGS FROM A. R. U.

A. T. Kohl, Cleveland, O.—The grand demonstration here shows conclusively that workingmen love liberty. The A. R. U. is gaining strength.

of usurping vipers, in reverberating tones, louder than seven thunders, or seven Niagaras, that American liberty shall not perish from the earth without such a struggle as earth, heaven or hell ever witnessed since Satan laid waste the fair fields of Eden.

It is well. When corporations and courts and the military machine combined to Russinize America, to send liberty bludgeoned and bleeding to prison, they did not count upon the resisting power of an aroused and outraged people; and unless the corporations, the plutocrats, the money power, one or all, which constitute the government—democratic, republican, plutocratic, anything but a government of the people—in stupidity, outlast all the asses since the days of Balaam, they will change their policy, for Labor Day has written the decree of the people that they will not be enslaved.

## THE BOYCOTT.

The proposition of James R. Sovereign, general master workman of the Knights of Labor, to boycott national bank bills, has been productive of comment and criticism throughout the country. It has been said that the boycott, as a weapon to beat down wrong and maintain right is of Irish origin and is out of place in America. It is doubtless true, that the term "boycott," was imported from Ireland, but the principle involved is not of Irish origin. Captain Boycott, of County Mayo, Ireland, was not the first contemptible puppy honest liberty-loving people have ostracised, as a penalty for tyranny. Indeed, the boycott was practiced in America more than a hundred years before Captain Boycott made himself infamous by acts of vulgar despotism. For twenty years prior to the declaration of independence, the American colonists were ceaselessly boycotting laws passed by the British parliament, designed to enslave them, as also the agents of the English government, sent to the colonies to enforce the obnoxious acts, among which the "stamp act" aroused universal resistance. A few passages from the history of the times, demonstrates that the boycott is of American and not of Irish origin.

In Massachusetts the people hung and burned in effigy one Andrew Oliver, the proposed distributor of stamps in that colony. In Rhode Island effigies of stamp distributors were hung and burned with mock funerals of liberty dead, and demonstrations in honor of "liberty revived." In New York, Lieut. Governor Calden, who prostituted his office to secure the distribution of stamped papers, the people denounced and erected a gallows and hung him in effigy "with a stamped bill of lading in his hand, and he was compelled to give up the stamps and those which arrived subsequently, and they were given to the flames. In Philadelphia, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia and South Carolina similar demonstrations of hostility were made—stamps were destroyed and those who had been appointed their custodians, were compelled to resign and surrender the stamps. There was no compromise. It was a choice between liberty and slavery; between the sovereignty of King George and the sovereignty of the people.

To show to what extent this liberty-loving people carried their boycotting policy, they met in town meetings and "agreed to purchase no article of English growth or manufacture, but such as were absolutely indispensable."

In this, it is shown that the boycott is an American idea, and an American weapon, and that it is interwoven in the struggle for independence. Indeed it was the boycott of the stamp act and the tools of the British government commissioned to force the outrage upon the people, more than any other one thing, that brought on the war of the revolution.

The boycott is pre-eminently the weapon of liberty. To order a boycott is to call attention to special wrongs and outrages perpetrated by individuals or corporations, that cannot be reached as effectively by any other means within the scope of individual rights.

It may be true, as is claimed, that Mr. Sovereign's order to boycott the bills of the national banks, will not immediately result in ridding the country of the colossal curse of national banks, controlling millions of capital and other millions, in the form of deposits, which enables them to purchase courts and congresses and cabinets. It will require time to arouse the people to a sense of the enormity of the national bank curse, but it will eventually be done, and Mr. Sovereign's order will serve as an important end in hastening the time when the incubus will be removed.

Kentucky is the Battle Ground in the fight for reform this year. Both the old parties are supporting the gold standard, while the People's Party alone clings to the faith of the fathers. If you want to keep up with the hottest campaign ever waged in Kentucky take the *Kentucky Populist*, state chairman Jo. A. Parker's paper. 10 cents for the campaign, including one issue with full election returns, or \$1.00 to election, 1896. Address Kentucky Populist, Paducah, Ky.

## Personal.

Anyone knowing the address of Mark C. Burke will do a great kindness by communicating with the undersigned. When last heard from, some time ago, he was running on some railroad out of Memphis, Tenn.

JOHN W. KING,  
Box 47, Jefferson City, Mo.



## THE RAILWAY TIMES

PUBLISHED BY  
THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION  
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TERRE HAUTE, SEPTEMBER 16, 1895.

## THANKS AND GRATITUDE!

In behalf of the American Railway Union and its imprisoned officers, we return profound thanks for the resolutions and other evidences of sympathy and fraternal regard passed by all the labor organizations and in all the states of the Union. We regret that space prevents us from publishing these resolutions and declarations in full. A hundred page paper of the size of the RAILWAY TIMES would not be equal to the task. A perfect snow storm of sympathy swept the Woodstock Jail and headquarters of the order. The resolutions embrace every trade and calling known to human activity and are practically numberless. They uniformly voice sympathy and good will and bear overwhelming testimony that the American Railway Union stands for something which has the admiration and approval of American labor. From our hearts we thank each union, each society and each individual who made us the recipient of kindly remembrance on Labor Day. The RAILWAY TIMES feels the obligation resting upon it and assures organized labor that henceforth, as in the past, the American Railway Union will be found on the side of labor battling with all its might for all the rights of all the workers of the world.

## SUPREME PROSTITUTES.

Mr. H. H. Bryant, of Somerville, Mass., has been indicted and held in the sum of \$500 by a U. S. grand jury, for addressing a postal card to the bench of the supreme mastiffs at Washington bearing the superscription, "To the Prostitute Judges of the Supreme Bench of the United States, Washington, D. C." The postal card contains Mr. Bryant's views as follows:

"After Judas had done his dirty job he had enough manhood left to return his bribe and then forever put himself beyond human sight. His example is worthy of your serious attention. Private income from land is unmixed injustice as the same springs from public effort, and is beyond the reach of private endeavor. No doubt that millions are needed to support their lordly establishments in various parts of the world and their luxurious harems that float upon the seas. But millions have always been a curse to all people in all times—a deadly and far-reaching rot to the entire gamut of morals, both public and private. You illustrate one phase of that rot.

Evidently, Mr. Bryant, in addressing the emined automatons as "prostitutes" had no reference to lewd women, but rather to the fact that the supreme bench had, for base and unworthy purposes, prostituted their positions to exempt rich men from contributing a fair share of their wealth for the support of the government. The superscription, was doubtless in violation of the postal laws, but the writer's conclusions are strictly Jeffersonian.

## FOR A TRUE FRIEND.

Rev. W. H. Carwardine, Pullman, Ill., has been a true friend to the order. All through the great strike he stood by the men with unfaltering courage. He could not be awed into silence. He is above the corrupting influence of gold. He has suffered much on account of standing by the suffering poor. We are informed that his church is \$400.00 short at the close of the conference year, largely because of his espousing the cause of the poor and friendless. This amount should be made up at once by the friends of Mr. Carwardine in the ranks of labor. Contributions from 25 cents upward are in order. For himself Mr. Carwardine asks nothing. He simply asks that his church be sustained while he is devoting his life to humanity. Labor owes Mr. Carwardine a debt it can never pay. Now is the time to show that his services have not been rendered in vain. A mere trifle from each will meet the demand and enable him to continue his philanthropic work. Direct contributions to Rev. W. H. Carwardine, Pullman, Ill.

## PRAISE OF A. R. U. OFFICERS.

The Cincinnati A. R. U. men, representing three unions of that city, met on the Sunday before Labor day and wired the following warm greeting to Eugene V. Debs: "Although you are a prisoner, deprived of your liberty by a rotten administration of justice at the bidding of the railroads and their servants, the judges, the common people are today worshipping at your altar. The seed you have sown will soon bear fruit. The time will come when labor will get its rights or take them. You are to the laboring men an honest, fearless leader. You will yet pilot them to a harbor of safety just as the star guided the wise to the crib of our Lord at Bethlehem. God bless you."—New York World.

Mr. BALFOUR has concluded to continue the management of American finances.

NATURE is never penitent, but it is always trying to make amends for mistakes.

If labor wants to cut a pathway to better conditions it must sharpen its tongue.

HENRY C. CALDWELL, an upright judge, is spoken of for president, and he is for free silver.

A WORKINGMAN who shares his last potato with another starving workingman doubles his poverty.

LI HUNG CHANG, it is said, wants to change the Flowery Kingdom to a despotism like that now enjoyed by Mellian man under Grover I.

We have about 2,000 copies of Labor Day edition on hand. If you want any get your orders in soon as we are shipping every day and these will soon be exhausted.

A DELEGATE to the convention of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, says the ears of the federal judges would make good aprons for horse-shoers.

THERE is on exhibition in London a representation of the "American cow," with Rothschilds sucking her udder dry, and exclaiming "Mine Gott! dot ish goot!"

VOLTAIRE was never so happy as when he compared himself with kings. If he were living now and should compare himself with the U. S. supreme court he would go into spasms of delight.

THE Countess de Castellane, nee Anna Gould, daughter of old Jay, pays—as Ben Franklin would say, too much for her French whistle—the count \$200,000 a year; besides, she has to furnish \$300,000 for a palace. The whole business is the evolution of a mouse trap.

THE Vanderbilts are perfecting a scheme to control the passenger steamers on the Hudson, and thus compel persons who patronize their conveyances whether by rail or river to drop a few dollars into their slot machine. New Yorkers felicitate themselves with the idea that the Vanderbilts can't gobble the river, which is by no means certain.

EDWARD EDWARDS a former employee of the Union Pacific railroad, lost his job during the Pullman strike and returned to England. He writes that when he applied for a position there he was informed that he could not get work on railroads in England because he had been placed on the blacklist in America. Is plutocracy international?

THE introduction of the Spanish bull fight for the delectation of a certain order of civilized savages, creates far more bellowing than did the transplanting of human bull-fights from England. Possibly civilization is advancing, but a sweat shop in any of our great cities is immensely more debasing than all the bull fights—beasts or men—that ever transpired.

"REV. PASSMORE," says the *Saturday Critic*, "has been preaching the gospel at Denver, Colorado. He preached the creed as preached by Christ. He followed the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. All this did not suit his hearers, who wanted sermons with all Christianity expunged, so he has been tried by the elders for 'unministerial conduct.' Money has got its grip on the church as well as on the government."

OLD Wanamaker, the pious pirate of Philadelphia, who prays like a pharisee, and preys like a pirate, has a son who is doing "Yurup" in princely style, having given a \$20,000 banquet in Paris recently, which made the frog eaters go into high jinks spasms and exclaim, "He's a dandy." To get this money old Wanamaker has a thousand employees, whom he robs of about \$2.00 a week, each, at least \$100,000 a year. It is quite likely that old John's boy will get there in advance of his piratical daddy.

THE Rothschilds, supposed to be lineal descendants of Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Christ for a small sum of silver, or of Aham, the thief who stole an ingot of gold and two hundred shekels of silver, and are now running the financial end of the United States government, take little stock in divine providence, but, considering Grover Cleveland the most profitable single goose they ever plucked, have expressed a desire to celebrate the next Thanksgiving day Grover appoints. They say: "Dem bonds! Mine Gott, dem bonds! Grover ish a dandy."

A STRANGER, sauntering along the shores of Buzzard's bay, noticed a stalwart looking fellow with a club in his hand, and a pistol sticking out of his hip pocket, and beyond, sitting on a rock, was a huge specimen of humanity, reading a newspaper. The stranger asked the man with a club and pistol, if he could tell him who the big fellow was. "Why do you ask me?" queried the man with the club. "What is your business here? where are you from? what is your name?" The stranger indignantly replied, "None of your d—d business." "Well," said the man with club and pistol, "You face right about and go away. That big fellow is Grover Cleveland, the president of the United States, and I am guarding him. Right about air, and git."

## LABOR DAY.

In the immediate past the question has often been asked, "What does Labor Day signify? What great achievement of American toilers does it commemorate?"

Up to Labor Day, September 2, 1895, we remember of no sufficient answer to these interrogatories having been given. Elsewhere in this issue of the TIMES the statement is made that only thirteen years have elapsed since the term "Labor Day," was coined. It is but as yesterday that men began to talk of a "Labor Day" as a holiday, and these years have been fruitful of untold miseries inflicted upon American toilers by their enemies.

If, hitherto, men have been embarrassed when interrogated as to the significance of Labor Day we conjecture they will be free from perplexity in the future when asked the import of Labor Day, since, whatever may have been the original purpose, whether social or festal, in the processes of evolution, Labor Day has come at last to stand, like the Fourth of July, for liberty and independence, and it is now, by virtue of the fiat of American workingmen, a day set apart for the expression of the best thoughts of the nation regarding the perpetuity of the unalienable rights of man, voiced in the Declaration of Independence, July 4th, 1776.

Labor Day is not set apart for partisan harangues. In saying that labor *per se* knows no party nor creed is stating a great truth, but it is also true, nevertheless, that labor must better its conditions by the invincible power of the ballot, if it would avoid the sanguinary arbitrament of the bullet and the bayonet.

If the ballot is to be the weapon to decide questions relating to the welfare of labor, workingmen must, of necessity, affiliate with some party. They must affirm their purpose to better their condition by legislation, in so far as legislation may remove or modify the wrong of which they complain. Hence everywhere the declarations of labor day were to the effect that all hopes of reform center in the ballot.

The ballot is the one thing, and the only thing that represents the sovereignty of the people, and Labor Day, in declaring fealty to the ballot, gave to it glory and renown, and if workingmen wield it in the interests of reform, in the interest of good government, wise laws and a faithful administration of wise laws, their ultimate emancipation from debasing conditions is assured.

In this connection, it is worth while to say, that while Labor Day will, as it ought to do, retain its social and festal features, they will from hence forth be subordinate as compared with the more important purpose of massing the united forces of labor for creating better conditions.

Henceforth, Labor Day stands for liberty, for independence, for equal rights, for just laws—organic and statute. If constitutions are defective they will be amended, or new constitutions will be enacted by "We the people," who by the overmastering power of the ballot will crush the "money power" and restore the government to pristine purity. The power of the ballot will be used to restrain the despotism of the federal judiciary, and restore the right of trial by an impartial jury under due process of law. In a word, Labor Day, henceforth stands as a protest, forever increasing its power against a governmental policy designed to create and maintain a centralized despotism in the United States as odious as that of Russia.

## NOT A WINNING CARD.

Persecution is not a winning card, from the persecutor's point of view. Shutting Eugene V. Debs up in prison has neither silenced his voice nor hindered his work. On the contrary, it has advertised him and it has led to an inquiry into the justice of the cause for which he has been imprisoned. His imprisonment is in itself an exposure of the mercenary and unjust methods in which law is administered in our land. Viewed all around, the imprisonment of Debs, whilst unpleasant to him personally is perhaps one of the best things that could have befallen the cause of labor. A reporter of the *Chicago Journal* gives the following summary of the work being done by the imprisoned leader and his colleagues.

The interest in the railway union order has become very strong throughout the country within the past few weeks. Hundreds of applications for charters for local unions from Maine to California have been received at the Woodstock jail and the majority are accepted. Over 200 local unions have been put in in the last two weeks and several hundred others are being considered. Men are at work on the Great Northern, Canadian Pacific and Northwestern railroads and the Woodstock prisoners will be kept busy for some months in following up the work of these organizers.

As the reporter left the jail yard, Mr. Debs said: "Come around in about two months and I will tell you what I propose to do when my sentence expires."—*Coming Nation*.

THE "gold reserve," Cleveland's pet panacea for financial ills, is again going to the bow-wows and the sharks will soon be demanding more bonds. Cleveland and Carlisle ought to go out of office rich.

## ON THE HILL AND IN THE VALLEY.

The church, in some inscrutable way, is producing, now and then, a priest or preacher, men after the style of John the Baptist, who, because he rebuked sin, lost his head—men who dare denounce plutocrats as Christ denounced Pharisees, regardless of penalties. These robust reformers are not numerous; we could count them all on the fingers of one hand, but they are grand men and are doing what they can in a time when religion as it is taught in the churches is the baldest farce that ever disgusted upright men.

Among these bold crusaders against rotten religion, is the Rev. F. F. Passmore. His sermons are iconoclastic. He finds all sorts of gods fixed up in aristocratic sanctuaries and worshipped with pagan devotion by Christless christians, and proceeds to knock them down, in a way that must create ceaseless explosions of joy in heaven.

Rev. Passmore finds the church about as rotten as the supreme court, an aggregation of plutocratic men and women, who have no comprehension of the difference between the devil and the Nazarene. There religion is made up of pride, prunella, satin, varnish and veneer. As a result, the Rev. Passmore tears down from over their heads their gilded temples, punctures their sham worship and lets in floods of light. In a sermon recently preached in Denver, he gave the people to understand the situation. He said:

"Great churches in whose pulpits stand men sending forth peals of impassioned oratory for the pleasure of a few rich and favored, and never a word for the thousands of poor, hungry and cold of humanity, who have been brought to this distress by the very men who are sitting enraptured by such eloquence, is about as far from being the true spirit of Christ as heaven is from hell. Some women and children picking up coal in the rich city of Denver to keep from freezing, while other women and children in the same city are worshipping (?) God in a \$250,000 Methodist church only a few blocks away, with the added luxury of soul-enraving music from a \$30,000 organ. Does any sane man, saint or sinner, believe for a moment that either of these pictures—the one on the river or the other on Capitol Hill—are the products of true Christianity? If the people in the bottoms were not so poor, the people on the hill would not be so rich. If the people on the hill were not so rich, the people in the bottoms would not be so poor. Yet we have D. D.'s and schools of theology that are teaching that both these conditions are the results of Christianity. Can we hope to change these conditions while Bishop Warren and the other chief watchmen and shepherds are living in fine mansions in Denver and University Park, are clothed in purple and fine linen, and are faring sumptuously every day?"

The twin pictures, one on the hill, and the one in the valley by the river, tell the story of what the church is doing—gives the reasons why the people, the masses, turn away from the church and treat it with deserved contempt.

The corruption of the church, its degeneracy, its false pretensions, its phariseism, its greed for display, attracts universal attention. Rev. Passmore is dealing with these manifestations of ungodliness with tremendous force. It is the intention to kill or cure the church, and every blow the courageous advocate of true religion strikes is in that direction. It is to be hoped that he will cure it of its infirmities and make it worthy of respect.

I have seen men and women standing in line waiting their turn to go in and see the niche in the wall where Robert Burns was born. The June day I was in Ayer there were hundreds of pilgrims—mostly Americans—all come to see where a poet was born. People will go up the Clyde, land at Glasgow, a mighty city, and inquire at once, "When can we go to Ayer?" A man is more than a city. The Burns cottage is a good rendezvous. You cross the ocean, land at Liverpool, and your ship companions for seven days separate and go every way. Go to Ayer and wait around, and you will see them again. They will arrive. This is a purely sentimental journey. Robert Burns discovered no fountain of the Nile; he made no path in the Dark Continent. He did not force the frozen gates of the Arctic sea. He invented no labor-saving machine. He cornered no necessity of life. He was a song maker. He did in words what Millet and Landseer and one of my neighbors have done with a brush. He glorified the commonplace. His sympathy swept the whole circle of life from a homeless field mouse and wounded rabbit to "Mary in Heaven." He has been dead about 100 years, but people go from Colorado to see where he was born.—*Rev. Myron Reed*.

## AWAY GOES THE JEWELS.

Mrs. Leland Stanford has a collection of jewels, including the famous Empress Eugenie diamond necklace, all valued at \$500,000. These jewels Mrs. Stanford has concluded to sell. The jewels represent a portion of the stealings of her distinguished husband, and if sold, the money will be devoted to the Stanford University. The modern idea is to rob and then win immortality by giving the booty to a church, or a college. "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

## BUGLE CALL.

Ever sounding "forward! forward!" No retreat our leaders know, List the call to Labor's battle, We can hear the bugles blow. Good must ever come by travail: That we term advancement is Rising up to higher levels Gained by sombre Calvary. Better far a martyr's portion While the floods of life are strong, Than to live with hoary temples Countenancing a social wrong; Better far that battle thunder Shake the continent and wave, Than to leave to coming ages But the portion of the slave. Better far to be a Spartan, Guarding Freedom's narrow slip, Than to be the great king's menial, Goaded on by sword and whip. What if Truth be not victorious, Are not its Thermopylae Portents of the fall of Error, Glorious signs and prophecies. Leave the shackled past behind us, With its children, want and crime. "Forward! forward! ring the bugles, Welcome then the crucial time. And if death should come, quick-hissing, From a rifle's smoking lip, Short the passage of the toiler To the realm of martyrship. They who fall are not forgotten, We who love them bend and weep Over mound bestrewn with rose s, Where our hero brothers sleep; They who fall are not forgotten, He who knoweth who are His, Watches by the martyr's pillow Through the long eternities. To the living, crown of laurel: To the dying deathless fame; To the ages coming after, Freedom, both in fact and name. What an age is ours, brothers! Labor's friend and foe man all Meet to-day in deadly battle: "Forward!" let the bugles call.

PULCHER, WIS.

Hugh J. Hughes.

## COMING EVENTS.

The New York *Mercury* sees the shadows, and says:

If the people of this country are not to be slaves,

They must organize to oppose the money power.

That is a contract that will be difficult of execution.

It is foolish to belittle the contest with the money power.

Combined capital is an enemy hard to vanquish.

Reformers should not underestimate the battle that is impending.

That battle must be fought and victory over gold won by some means.

If it cannot be done without revolution, then revolution must come.

There are but two alternatives: Whip the money power, or accept slavery for the masses.

Men may cry peace and conservatism, but there is no peace nor conservatism but leads to dishonor and slavery.

Every one is in favor of a peaceful political revolution if possible.

The country can be carried by a peaceful revolution and a president elected.

The tug of war is to come when the seat of the reform president comes on.

The *Mercury* verily believes that the money power will prevent a man representing the masses from taking his seat as chief executive regardless of the number of votes he may receive.

It is well in time of peace to prepare for war. That war will come at the very next inauguration day. If the masses of the people expect to inaugurate their president they must be in a position to do it; peaceably if possible, but forcibly if necessary.

## A POEM

That will Prove a "Holy Terror" to Plutocracy.

J. A. Wayland, late editor of the *Coming Nation*, said editorially:

"You will see below a notice of a heroic poem for sale at 10 cents for eight copies. Besides being worth more than the money, I give this ad because the author, a philosopher; has been for years an inmate of a public eleemosynary institution, or in other words, a public charge on account of being nearly blind. But being a pauper is no disgrace in this age of the world. I have had many letters from him, not one hinting at a financial favor, but urging on the fight for human liberty. He has a keen pen, a deep insight, and is one of the best read men on economic history in the country. I ask you to send him ten cents for his poem and get it into labor organizations. The author would be a power but for his poverty. No philosopher like him should be permitted to remain in such duvance. I do not often ask any favors, but I do ask you to buy his little work. It will do good in more ways than you will readily grasp."

The foregoing appeal relates to the war-like poem, "Organized Labor's Bomb shell; a Call to Arms; the Key-note of the Coming Crisis." Address the author for it: Emory Boyd, New Britain, Conn.

## THE RAILWAY TIMES.

The RAILWAY TIMES is the official journal of the American Railway Union. All the officers and directors of the union and the editor of the TIMES are in Woodstock jail; they were never given a trial, but are serving their sentence for contempt of court.

The TIMES is published semi-monthly and is one of the best reform papers in the country. Its staff of contributors embraces the best writers and correspondents of the age. Each friend and sympathizer of labor should subscribe for this valuable paper and keep posted on reform matters. The subscription price is \$1 per year; 50 cents for six months and 25 cents for three months. All subscriptions should be addressed to RAILWAY TIMES, Terre Haute, Ind. We do not hesitate to say that each subscriber will get full value for the investment. —*Pargo Commonwealth*.



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ALL THE HITCHER



## DIRECTOR ELLIOTT

SPEAKS TO A MULTITUDE AND IS  
CHEERED TO THE ECHO.

He Says Workmen Should Vote for "Mollie and the Babies" and the "Dollar of Our Daddies."—A Stately Gathering.

One of the largest crowds that ever congregated in Forest City Park, and the largest that ever attended a Labor Day celebration in Cleveland, came together to listen to the speeches, take part in the games and have a general good time. Some labor "skates" and old party politicians were there with their tack hammers, boodle and jag-juice, but they didn't stay long. The workmen of Cleveland have one of the very best and most progressive central bodies in the country and they did not propose to appear to be in partnership with spendthrift tools of old party candidates and it took only a short time to have the loud-mouthed boodlers ejected from the grounds. A commendable action, indeed.

At 2 o'clock there were over 8,000 people upon the ground. After a selection by the band, Mr. Robert Bandlow advanced to the front of the platform and introduced Mr. Elliott, the orator of the day, whose speech as reported in the *Plaindealer* we reproduce below. As Mr. Elliott arose to make his address he was greeted with a tremendous outburst of applause. When quiet had been sufficiently restored for him to be heard, he said:

Mr. Chairman, Sisters and Brothers:—I assure you I appreciate this welcome you accord to me. I can assure you I deem it an honor to be requested to be the speaker of this occasion. I am not presumptuous enough, however, to arrogate to myself the honor of this applause. Rather, it is intended for the cause I represent, and for that noble friend of labor who to day lies incarcerated in Woodstock jail, Eugene V. Debs. [Loud applause.] I am not here to-day to stir up a little temporary enthusiasm. I would rouse you to a sense of your wrongs, so that you might enjoy the fruits established by the men who died for this country's welfare. You must organize and study the great economic questions of the day. This organization must go on in the hamlets, cities and the country. Organization is not alone for the people of Cleveland, but for the oppressed all over the world. View with me for a few moments some of the events preceding the great Pullman strike. Come with me to that convention of 350 delegates that gathered in Chicago. A committee from the town of Pullman, that suburb of hell, came and said 12,000 men, women and children were starving there. Starving in the free United States of America. Starving in the midst of plenty. And I want to say to you here, despite the repeated assertion of the subsidized and perverted press, that President Debs did not arrogate to himself the authority to say what the railroads should be compelled to do.

"After listening to the pitiful tales of this committee after the fullest deliberation, after repeated attempts to secure justice for these oppressed people, then did the 350 delegates, representing 150,000 railroad men, say that if it be that the people of Pullman town must starve, then not a wheel should turn, not a man should assist Pullman in his work until justice be done. To day, my friends, instead of rejoicing, every man should wear a band of mourning on his hat, to commemorate the death of liberty in this country."

"I was a member of the committee that went to Pullman to investigate the reported condition of the people. I saw little children implore their fathers for a crust of bread. I saw women so poorly clad that they dared not leave their homes without the blush of shame coming over their faces. I saw big able men actually emaciated and weak with hunger. I saw men draw the sum of 25 and 40 cents as all they had coming for two weeks' work, when their rent, fuel and water tax was deducted from their pay. When we reported this to the convention the members arose as one man and declared that, if necessary, every railroad in the country be tied up rather than aid Pullman to bring such misery and suffering to free born American citizens. [Applause.]

"They say that Debs wore a crown and held scepter. This is false. He simply obeyed the representatives of the 150,000 members of the American Railway Union when he called his men out. You know what followed, what happened to President Debs and his associates. You know that the grandest friend that you have in this country lies behind prison bars to-day. My friends, you must arouse yourselves from that spirit of indifference. You who are here to-day must arouse the mass. Either this or allow all your liberties to be filched from you. You need not take my words for this. Listen to the opinion of a man who, to-day, is not in politics, who cannot be charged with trucking to the mass for votes, a man who served for fifteen years in the senate of the United States, an associate of Abraham Lincoln, and a supreme justice of the State of Illinois. That man is the Hon. Lyman Trumbull. [Applause.]

"Listen to his warning, his words of bitter denunciation of the federal courts and their encroachment upon the rights of the people. He truly says the court to-day assume powers which they would not have dared to do in the early days of the republic. He terms them the sappers and miners who, if not checked by legislation, will undermine the foundation of this country. When a man like as men what you propose to do about it. In behalf of your children, your wives and your homes, let this warning arouse you. Let a movement of education be started here to-day which shall prevent the removal of liberty from our shores. Look around you. Despite the report in the daily papers of returning prosperity, do you find a condition of plenty? No! In New York alone, as proved by recent investigation, 100,000 men and women work for \$1.50 as low as 25 cents a day. In one instance a husband, wife and two children were actually found tolling from 6 A. M. to 11 P. M. for 30

cents. Think of raising children under such conditions to be a credit to the United States. I say to you in these children you are raising the 'Huns and Vandals,' in the words of McCauley, 'who will pull down the fabric of the American republic.'

"You know what was done to the directors of the A. R. U. The usurpation of power of Judge Woods, who enjoined us from doing what was wrong and then arrested us for not doing it. You know how he acted as judge and jury, and how he found us guilty, and sentenced us to jail. You know that the constitution of the United States, article 6, says every man charged with a crime is entitled to a trial by a jury of his peers. This was denied us. You know how we took the case to the supreme court, and the result. If I were to have told the workmen of this country before this that the supreme court of the United States could be influenced by corporate power, or that they would not stand on the bedrock of justice, they would have laughed at me. But at last the mask is thrown aside. They plainly say there is no right for you, no justice, nothing but work, and trials, and hard knocks for labor. Seven men are incarcerated in battle, denied the constitutional right of a trial by jury, and the supreme court sits idly by and says it cannot interfere. There was a time in France when the kings and dignitaries spoke the same way. You know what followed. I pray God to-day that the same may not happen in this country. I live and pray that the people will be aroused; that they will say to the corrupt judiciary of this country that the people still rule. [Applause.]

In your trades unions you must have a higher ideal than a mere increase in wages or the reduction of the hours of labor. You must take up the study of the questions of the day. There are other great problems. Millions are being displaced by machines. Do you propose to let these people starve? What is the remedy? The public ownership of these machines. Is not the machinery that is owned by the government well managed? Cannot a poor man buy a stamp as cheaply as the millionaire? Can you buy a railroad ticket as cheaply as the rich man? No. They will make you pay three cents a mile; the man who has lots of money rides for two cents; the millionaire, the judiciary, the legislators ride on passes, and they tax you to carry these deadheads about. [Applause.] I say the institutions in this country that are to-day managed in the interests of all the people are those run by the government. Yet if a man argues for the government ownership of monopolies, he is called a Socialist. The day is not far in the future when it will be an honor for a man to raise his right hand and declare he is a Socialist." [Applause and cries of "long live Socialism."]

The speaker here referred to Gov. Altgeld, quoting from his message on the silver question. He indorsed the governor's words that the act of 1873 was the crime of the century and he implored his hearers, when they again voted, to vote for "Mollie and the babies, and the dollar of our daddies." In conclusion, he took another parting shot at the judiciary. He said: "The growing influence of wealth are corrupting the judiciary. There is Judge Taft of Cincinnati, who said in Detroit a few days ago that Debs and his colleagues should be hanged. Doubtless Judge Icarot consoled himself with similar words when he had betrayed Jesus Christ. Here in Cleveland you have Judge Ricks. The striking down of the right of trial by jury means that the seventy federal judges of this country are the rulers. Yet, my friends, I am not without hope. I have an abiding faith that the great American people will prove equal to this great question. I believe the day will yet come when the sun shall no longer shine upon a nation of serfs and slaves, but a nation of free men, when truly there shall exist the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God." [Loud and prolonged applause.]

Commenting upon Director Elliott's speech the *Cleveland Citizen* says:

The event of the day was the feast of thought that comprised the principal feature of the celebration. Bro. M. J. Elliott was at his best and outdid himself. To be appreciated his address should have been heard, for lack of space prevents us from doing justice to his masterly speech, every word of which seemed to sink deep into the souls of his hearers. His closing words will find an echo in the hearts of his hearers, never to die out.

His reference to the mighty work to be done by the labor organizations of Cleveland and the United States and the way it was received convinces us that Labor Day 1895 will not soon be forgotten.

## LABOR DAY IN EVANSVILLE.

Coming Events, in its account of Labor Day celebration at Evansville, Ind., says: The following resolutions, presented to the Central Labor Committee were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, Eugene V. Debs, now in jail in Woodstock, Ill., sent there by the maladministration of judicial power in the hands of a plutocratic judge, whose only purpose is to serve the money power of the country in defiance of all sense of justice and equity; and

WHEREAS, Eugene V. Debs and his co-workers in their fight for suffering humanity against the grasping, grinding, avarice of George M. Pullman, have been cast into prison, being denied a fair and impartial trial by a jury of their countrymen, which is unprecedented, unlawful, un-American, therefore be it

Resolved, That we, as law abiding citizens of this free republic of the United States of America, as united men and workmen enter our earnest protest against such maladministration of justice, such iniquitous practice of the law, such vile sympathy to the money power by a corrupt and prostituted minister of the courts of justice, such as Woods has proven himself to be in his unjust sentence of Bro. Debs and his associates

Resolved, That we deplore the conditions that give such power in the hands of microcosms and inhuman monsters as Judge Woods and his ilk; and right here we solemnly pledge ourselves as workmen and American citizens to right these wrongs and change these conditions at the ballot box before it is too late when the rights granted us by our revolutionary fathers are denied us by curtailment of our voting privileges.

Resolved, That we voice the sentiments of Ella Wheeler Wilcox in this instance that The wheel has come when men with hearts and brains Must rise and take the misdirected reins Of government, too long left in the hands Of aliens and lackeys. He who stands And sees the mighty vehicle of state Hauling through mire to some ignoble fate, And makes not such bold protest as he can, Is no American.

Respectfully submitted,  
J. H. CARROLL,  
ED. SCHREIBER,  
Committee.

## PORTLAND, OREGON

WORKINGMEN UNDER THE AUSPICES OF  
THE K. OF L. ASSEMBLY 918,Celebrate Labor Day at Portland, Oregon,  
with Songs, Resolutions and Addresses,  
Breathing the Spirit of '76.

The Knights of Labor and other organizations of workmen celebrated Labor Day at Portland, Oregon, by a meeting held in Park Theatre, which was presided over by Master Workman Ballard.

The stirring song "Debs Behind the Bars," had been set to music and was superbly sung by Mrs. Evans, accompanied by Mrs. Carlisle, at the piano. Mr. W. A. Starkweather, a member of the Farmers' Alliance, delivered an address, in which banks and bankers received special and scathing attention.

The order of the Knights of Labor to boycott the national banks was indorsed by the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, After careful consideration of said call, the reasons upon which it is based, the relief it promises by compelling the bankers to partially loose their hold upon the masses, and

WHEREAS, When we realize that the national banks are responsible for the destruction of the greenbacks, the payment of the bonds in coin, the funding acts, the demonetization of silver, all the corrupt financial legislation in this country for the last 30 years, and the consequent present deplorable condition of the masses, we eagerly grasp at any meritoriously proffered relief, and

WHEREAS, When we see the growing desperation of all parties to these conditions, the classes representing wealth desperately fighting for the supremacy, the masses crying aloud for relief, using every peaceable effort and educational means to secure justice from the brazen tyrants, who, blinded by the most ungodly selfishness and impudence known to man, turn a deaf ear to all complaints, we feel that it is time that the people arose en masse and purge this country of its corruption from center to circumference through the ballot box if possible, but if necessary demands through extra measures, which time will rapidly develop; therefore be it

Resolved, That we cheerfully, eagerly endorse and sustain Mr. Sovereign's proposition and hereby express our willingness and determination to contribute to its effectiveness as far as lies within our power; and be it

Resolved, That in connection with this boycott we adopt every legal method known to oppose and abridge the unrighteous power of our national bankers who from behind their piles of gold defiantly say "the people be damned," and be it further

Resolved, That this boycott should be the means of electrifying the dormant energies of the people, result in an aggressive campaign, and convince them of the importance of combined, harmonious action not only against the bankers but on all the issues of the day at the ballot box in 1896.

The imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs and his associate officials of the American Railway Union, was up for debate, and the action of the meeting was such as to leave no doubt as to the sentiment of workmen and members of the Farmers' Alliance along the Pacific slope. The preambles and resolutions were as follows:

In the imprisonment of president E. V. Debs and other officers of the A. R. U., we recognize the crowning act of plutocracy in whose interest Judge Wm. A. Woods, under the avowed purpose of maintaining the law imposed by the federal courts and upon which the coming monarchy of the United States is based, condemned E. V. Debs and his associates to jail. This monumental action to the everlasting reproach and disgrace (in the minds of the people) of Judge Woods, was sustained by the U. S. supreme court and seconded by the national administration, bristling with bayonets and shotted guns, prepared any moment to shoot down the sons of toil and poor of earth, because they protest against the accursed, galling oppression of despotic tyrants whose selfish acts are committed only in the interest of monarchists and the power, and

WHEREAS, The present condition and tendencies of the hour are such as to create alarm in the minds of the thinking masses, they see and feel the cords of despotism tightening around them, they realize that a servile submission to the privileged classes or moneyed monarchists, robs them of the manhood which nature gave and vastly increases the struggle to live; therefore be it

Resolved, That the battle between the classes and the masses be opened at once, based upon the first law of nature, viz.: "self-preservation," and enter an effective protest at the ballot box regardless of past party affiliations, and by the supreme power of their votes proclaim their full emancipation from the obnoxious yoke which monarchists would fasten upon them, thus issuing an injunction bearing the seal of the sovereignty of labor that judges will respect, legislators heed and executive officials obey;" and, be it further

Resolved, That we hold in utter detestation the unwarranted action of Judge Wm. A. Woods, and condemn the U. S. supreme court and the national government for sustaining the same. We unhesitatingly relegate Judge Woods to the rear to receive the maledictions of the people, be cursed and kicked into the obscurity enjoyed by Judges Jenkins and Ricks, who were previously conspicuous for kindred acts, were denounced for them, and so far as the people are concerned are dishonored and unknown.

These resolutions were unanimously and enthusiastically adopted by the meeting, after which the meeting was addressed by Mrs. Alice Tregaskis.

From first to last the speaker held her vast audience, and frequently elicited such applause as bore testimony that her words touched the hearts of all. She spoke as follows:

MASTER WORKMAN, KNIGHTS OF LABOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I am not an orator, but like thousands of other women and men to-day my pen and tongue are devoted to living speech, by a sense of the injustice that is everywhere about us, and I believe with millions of others that James R. Sovereign and Eugene V. Debs, are two of the most sublime, impressive and enduring characters of this century—two glorified figures in the van of an advancing civilization. They stand out to-day against the black background of the misrule, tyranny and wrong of this age, like two blazing headlights amidst the gloom and blackness of an impenetrable night, and it was indeed a night of almost impenetrable gloom that had gathered about the Knights of Labor, when, fortunately, for our order the insignia of supreme knighthood fell upon the shoulders of James R. Sovereign—and it found him ready for his work. Straightway he lifted up his loyal arms to bear our burdens. Straightway he bared his faithful breast to fight our battles. He lifted up his voice in our behalf and he has scorned with ineffable scorn the sleek hypocrites and cunning trickeries of the bankers and the money changers; yes,

he has slogged from their covert the poisonous reptiles that are striking a blow at this republic—the dangerously rich who in collusion with the bankers are converging every force toward a military despotism in the interest of a favored few, instead of a republic, which in the beginning was meant to be a free government for a free people. He has made a brave and a progressive fight for the dignity of labor—and more, when he assumed direction of the affairs of our order he found it weakened by internal dissension and outward strife, because in the Knights of Labor, as in every other secret body of organized workmen, there are now and then, Judases who would willingly sink the sublime principles of Knighthood in the selfish sea of their own personal greed and ambition, petty spite and envy, personal malice, cowardice and slander. But, lo! James R. Sovereign laid his firm and gentle hand upon the elements of dissension and discontent and straightway from sea to sea and land to land, hearts and hands were cemented in a union of brotherhood, firm, fervent and enduring. Upon the ruins of an almost dismembered order he has upbuilt one of the grandest organizations under the sun—one that will write its record upon the history of this century in letters of everlasting light, and one that will be read with a glow of impassioned thanksgiving just as long as liberty lives, and there are men and women with brains to think and hearts to feel.

Side by side with him, in the hearts of his countrymen, stands his peer and compeer—his friend and fellow worker, Eugene V. Debs. Though much we may love to dwell upon the self-sacrifice and heroic lives of these two men, we know full well that no stately array of gracious or gentle words can be wreathed into a tribute to them that will add one ray of lustre to the halo of their imperishable fame. Brave and faithful, tried and true, Eugene V. Debs sits to night in the shadow of prison walls for no reason save that his heart, unlike the hearts of the Carnegies and Pullmans, could soften at the sound of hungry little children, crying for bread. He sits in the shadow of prison walls a living example of the strength, tyranny, despotism and infamy of the money power that rules this land to-day from petty justice courts to the supreme court of these United States—for mark you, the courts of to-day are but the mouth-pieces of the money power and the courts of Portland are no exception to the rule as many of you know by bitter experience.

Of the depravity of the courts in all ages, no less a stat sman and jurist than Charles Sumner has said: "Judges are but men and the record of the courts in all ages is one of perjury and perjury." Aye, friends the blackest crimes of history have been perpetrated under their sanction. It was a judicial tribunal which condemned Socrates to drink the fatal hemlock; a judicial tribunal which forced the gentle hearted Nazarene to walk barefooted over the pavement of Jerusalem and then had him hanged between two thieves. Think of it. It was a judicial tribunal which condemned to the cross the greatest reformer the world has ever seen, though he too, like many a blacklisted man to-day, was a pitiful tramp with nowhere at night time to lay his tired head, but with a heart so infinitely tender and humane that it broke in sympathy with the woes and heartaches of mankind. It was the judiciary which pierced with cruel nails those divinely gentle and loving hands that were never outstretched save in blessing and compassion for suffering humanity. It was a judicial tribunal that enforced the tortures of the inquisition, and later on, during the reign of terror in France, condemned unflinchingly innocent victims to the guillotine. 'Twas the judiciary that lent its sanction to the atrocities of the fugitive slave law, and even to-day the old party toadies who worship judges and love to do them reverence must smile sometimes, as they remember that it was a judicial tribunal, surrounded by all the pomposity of the courts and the law, which made witches of our puritan forefathers, and then had them hanged for being witches; but then, in the august mind of an august judge there seems to be little difference between the blood curdling (?) crime of being a witch and that of being president of the American Railway Union. But, friends, it was left for the courts of this age to add the crowning act of infamy and stupidity to their past record by "injunctioning" Eugene V. Debs behind the bars.

Is there a man in this audience so short sighted as to think it was the strike that occasioned his arrest? Long before the strike was thought of by the American Railway Union the money power, alarmed at the gigantic force that was arraying itself against them, determined that an object lesson of the strength and mercilessness of that power must be made manifest to those who rebelled against their mandates, and accordingly, one of the most fearless, intrepid, clear-headed, lion-hearted, honest and humane men among the great army of toilers, was destined, by them, months before the strike, to be the objective victim and it was he, humanity's friend, Eugene V. Debs. The strike was but the opportunity for which they were waiting to fasten their poisonous fangs upon their prey, and the instrument of their dastardly work was well chosen indeed in the person of that scab upon the judicial ulcer, that lackey mouth-piece of the money power, Judge Woods, and these corporate thugs and free-boaters would not have been satisfied with a sentence of six months imprisonment for Debs had they dared, yes dared to have him hanged instead. They are only waiting and watching now to lay their restraining power, upon our fearless Sovereign, the Sampson, who is leading the hosts so successfully against their banking strongholds. Oh, if there is a member of the American Railway Union within the sound of my voice, let me add my entreaties to those of their beloved president, as he stood in the sunlight of freedom which was to be the last for him in many months, and stretching out his loyal arms to his fellow workers entreated them to "keep their lodge fires burning and not to disrobe themselves of their mantle of courage and manhood, even in the hour of seeming defeat and disaster. With him I entreat you to keep your lodge fires burning brightly in your hearts and in your assembly rooms, for although your beloved president sits at this moment in the gloom of prison-bars and bars you need not despair since all over our beautiful land to-day from millions of loving and loyal hearts his name has been breathed with the pathos of a benediction, and with that benediction a protest sullen, silent, deep and potent has been breathed against the injustice of his incarceration.

The people are protesting. Will the money power that rules this land heed the protest and hesitate in their encroachment upon the individual rights of citizens under the flag? God grant they may, because in the conflict now on between the dangerously rich and the starving poor the people mean to have a peaceable settlement at the ballot box, unless the greed of the money power forces wrong and injustice against them to a point which is the limit of human endurance; then if bloodshed follows that blood must be upon the heads of the insolent, heartless money power that forces the fight. From this moment every pulse beat of the American people awakes them onward toward the impending crisis of '96. When that time comes, if you are freemen worthy to be free, you will cast a vote and compel a proper count of that vote with your lives if needs be, because that vote must determine whether this is to be a free people under a free flag or a nation of white masters and white slaves. If you are indeed freemen worthy to be free you will cast a vote that will avenge the indignity and dishonor done your friend and fellow citizen, Eugene V. Debs.

Tombstones commemorate as many  
vices as virtues.

## AT BIRMINGHAM.

LABOR DAY GRANDLY CELEBRATED BY  
WORKINGMENAt Alabama's Great Industrial Center.—A  
Pittsburg Orator Arouses  
Enthusiasm.

Labor Day brought out an army of organized workmen at Alabama's great industrial city, and the day was celebrated with becoming ardor and enthusiasm.

The Mayor of Birmingham introduced Mr. Thomas Wisdom, of Pittsburg, as the orator of the day who, among other good things, alluded to the military and said:

"I will take my own sons, and go out and fight for the government when it is right, but when it comes to scab soldiers I am not in it [Applause.] It is not the province of man to take up arms against his fellow man. I hope the day will come when the militia and such nonsense will be dispensed with. One of my sons started to join the military. He rigged himself out and was about to leave home for the army. I asked him if he hadn't forgotten something. He examined himself and said he had not. I said: 'Yes you have, if you join the military you must take your trunk, for you are no longer a son of mine.' He didn't join. [Applause.]

The speaker, alluding to the Pullman strike and the imprisonment of the officials of the American Railway Union, said:

There is a man now languishing in an Illinois jail because the railroads are organized against labor. He is suffering because of humanity for whom he advocated justice. That man is Eugene V. Debs. [Thunderous applause.]

The speaker touched lightly on Judge Woods, and said a few words about his actions on the bench.

Again, referring to Eugene V. Debs, he said: Let's all pray that he may come out able and strong to build up a great federation. [Applause.]

Speaking of men being posted on their professions, the orator said some men go to their employers and demand increased wages, and on being asked why they made the demand were unable to give a reasonable explanation. Such men do not deserve the advance. They should be posted before making the demand.

In closing, the speaker said: We want equal rights, equal opportunities, and I undertake to say that when that day comes organized labor will prove equal to every emergency. [Applause.]

After the speaker retired, Mr. Williams offered a series of ringing resolutions as follows:

Men have never made a fight braver than that which labor has waged against the aggressions of capital. History will never tell the sublime sacrifices of the struggle. We have asked for our own simply—not for mercy, and are met even now, after many a costly battle lost and won, with imperious contempt from these lordly masters of the land, where fear for person or pocket does not deter them; and the conflict has but begun. Now, WHEREAS, The laborers of our country have seen the wife and little ones grow pale with hunger, while their bread winner is ground to worse than death between the blacklist and the scab; and

WHEREAS, We recognize that corporate power knows no mercy and no law; that they own the courts; yea, the very government in its highest functions; and that their hands are red with blood through cruelties worse than war; and

WHEREAS, We see a sovereign state invaded with national troops over the protest of its governor, in defiance of law, and free American citizens, our brothers of the American Railway Union, prosecuted by the government on demand of this same money devil, upon a process so weak that they were glad to shut it on to a side track and secure conviction, without a jury, on a charge of contempt of court—a cowardly avoidance of the true issue; all, telling us in language plain that we are slaves; and

WHEREAS, The tendency of United States supreme court decisions of late years has been to centralize the powers of government at the expense of the state and citizens; and

WHEREAS, Capital to-day can, and does at will, control the enactment or execution of any law, even if in order to accomplish it they must buy a supreme court; therefore

Resolved (1), That civil government can rest in safety only upon wise law impartially executed, and none can break law with impunity without danger to all.

Resolved (2), We denounce the venality of the people's representatives of these latter days, and demand the passage of a law that will secure in operation rights to the employee equal to those enjoyed by the employer. Until then strikes will prevail, and strikes are, dangerous, for idle hands make desperate hearts, and we are not disposed longer to remain the football of tyranny.

Resolved (3), That the imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs and his associate officers by Judge Woods for contempt of court was not justified by the circumstances; was a stretch of judicial prerogative and a cowardly abuse of power, and we denounce said Woods as the infamous and corrupt tool of his purchasers, the railroad corporations of Chicago.

Resolved (4), To Eugene V. Debs our loved and honored leader, we send our warmest greeting on this, our anniversary day. Prison walls may shut out the free sunlight and bound his footsteps, but we tell him that he walks his prison cell knighted in the hearts of his brothers, and his very name shall live a pride and inspiration to brave and honest deeds wherever labor fights for home and human rights.

Resolved (5), That the imprisonment of Debs and his brother officers is the first gun of the most tremendous conflict ever waged in the western world. If corporate power shall win it means bondage for labor and monarchy for state. It therefore touches every patriot in the land. We are conservative, but knowing our rights to the last gasp, now and forever, we are determined to maintain them.

Resolved (6), That we, the workmen of the Birmingham district, unanimously indorse the above resolutions, and that a copy be sent to Eugene V. Debs and the *RAILWAY TIMES*.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted amidst great enthusiasm. The organized workmen of Birmingham, Alabama, are alive to every demand of labor and are quick to resent any invasion of the rights of labor. The Birmingham Trades' Council, in session August 25th, to arrange for Labor day celebration, passed the following resolutions unanimously and with great applause.

WHEREAS, The encroachments of monopolies upon the rights of labor have steadily become more and more oppressive, and

Court making it possible for any tyrant judge to send men to prison for daring to exercise the natural and rightful privileges of citizenship which our forefathers have guaranteed us as peaceful citizens of the republic, and especially denounce the judicial system which imprisons men without a trial by jury.

Resolved, That we regard the incarceration of E. V. Debs and the directors of the American Railway Union as cruel and unjust in the extreme, and we do not hesitate to pass these resolutions, as they are in accordance with our conscience and principles.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the president, Eugene V. Debs, at Woodstock jail and the general office of the American Railway Union at Terre Haute.

Such resolutions indicate the trend of labor thought throughout the country, and revive languishing hopes, that in the future our liberties will be restored, and that labor, unified, will be redeemed from slavish conditions which now disgrace the land.

## THE A. R. U. IN BUFFALO.

In the Buffalo *Evening Times*, of Aug. 30th, the following interview with secret organizer Conshafter is printed:

For the past three months secret organizer J. N. Conshafter, of the American Railway Union, has been in Buffalo recruiting members for local branches of the organization.

By diligent work organizer Conshafter has enrolled several hundred local railway men, and the establishment in Buffalo of one of the strongest branches in the country is now assured.

The presence of Mr. Conshafter here was unknown to any but the men whom he interviewed. The utmost secrecy was observed by him in the work of organizing, and the fact that several hundred men have already joined the Union just leaked out.

There has never been a strong organization of the railway men in Buffalo. Last year an attempt was made to form a Union here, but the project fell through. Organizer Conshafter has been very successful thus far, however, and expects to have 2,000 members enrolled before long.

With a view of aiding in the work, Director Elliott of the A. R. U., one of the seven officers who were recently released from the Woodstock jail after having served their sentences for contempt of court, will arrive in Buffalo the early part of next week. Several meetings at which he will speak have been arranged.

Organizer Conshafter's movements were conducted so secretly that it was with some difficulty he was found by a *Times* reporter.

"You ask why we are organizing in secret?" he said in answer to questions. "Well, we are obliged to do so. We hold no meetings and will not until Buffalo is thoroughly organized."

"If we met regularly the railway companies' spotters could watch our doors and get the names of the men 'who belong to our order, thereby securing information about our movements from time to time. But we are on the alert and avoid giving them any chance at the men. I do the obliging where I chance to see the men who want to join. Many have come to my office, but the most of this work is done at their homes and while they are at work."

"We are now very strong in Buffalo, and as soon as the membership reaches 2,000 we will establish our various unions and discontinue the practice of organizing in secret, as we will then be strong enough to ask for recognition. The work of further increasing our membership will then be done in the usual manner. We are not organizing to inaugurate a strike, but far from it; that is the very thing we wish to avoid."

"All we will ask of the railway companies is proper treatment which has so long been due the men. We believe that when the railroad corporations realize our full strength that discrimination of the men and the constant reduction of wages will cease."

"In the past the railroads have refused the men the rights which the law gives them. Men who were suspected as being members of the A. R. U. have been discharged, and no reason assigned for their dismissal save unsatisfactory services, and in most all cases the men were known to be trustworthy and fully competent."

"The railway companies know the A. R. U.'s strength as it comprises all employees from train dispatcher down to the engine wiper, and they have tried all sorts of schemes to retard our progress. But we are making rapid headway in face of all their opposition."

"One of the first questions which is now asked of a man when seeking employment on a railroad is, 'Are you a member of the A. R. U.'"

"If the answer is in the affirmative he is told they need no man. If he be a member of any of the old railroad labor unions he is told they do not object to membership of them. Those who are posted on the labor question as far as railroads are concerned, know the reason well. It is they fear no dictation at their hands as their strength is nominal."

Our motto is 'One for all and all for one,' the application of which has so successfully brought the men into line. Fast defeated strikes and fizzle settlements made by Grand Chieftains, have educated the men as to the proper course to pursue in the future. They realize by dear experience that the only thing left for them to do is to unify in one order under one leadership. A leadership which does not give the leader authority to settle difficulties behind closed doors, giving turkey to the corporations and buzzard to the men."

"The A. R. U. will remedy these evils and elevate the men to the standard their position entitles them."

## UNIFY.

The A. R. U. sounds the tocsin,  
Is labor ready to reply  
By marching solid to the rescue—  
Then unify.  
Unify is our shibboleth,  
Hear you, men, the battle cry?  
Rally then round Labor's banner,  
And unify.  
Faction is the foe of labor,  
United, every foe will fly;  
Would we win in Labor's battle—  
Then unify.  
United we're invincible,  
There's no foe beneath the sky  
To resist the march of labor,  
If we unify.  
Then up and at 'em, men of toil,  
You may every foe defy,  
If your banner bears the motto,  
"Unify."  
—David Stiglitz.



## PAPERS.

## OH! FREEMEN BUT IN NAME.

BY G. L. MCKEAN.

Oh! freemen but in name you are;  
Your power of sovereignty is gone.  
Free speech, the right to congregate  
In public place are e'en denied  
By those who once were public servants called.  
The sanctity of homes, if they be poor,  
Is outraged under plea of search for arms;  
And protests 'gainst the anarchistic ring,  
Who in the name of statute law  
The fundamental charter brazenly defy.  
Are answered with derision, if at all.  
The daily press, that in the elder Bennett's time  
Stood as the bulwark of your rights,  
Is now, so has a poet truly sung,  
An "Ever-bubbling spring of endless lies."  
But whose the blame that you your birthright  
lost?  
The sacred flame could not have died  
Upon the altar of freedom's consecrated shrine  
If you the fire had fed with watchful care.  
Whist! you were groveling in the earth for wealth,  
Or shouting yourselves hoarse with factious cries  
At behest of some wily demagogue,  
The light of liberty were flickering out;  
And in the place where freedom's temple stood  
A fane to mammon rears its gilded dome.  
You cannot Nature's laws escape.  
She greater power gives to those alone  
Who their initial force are quick to wield.  
She brooks no trifling with her gifts,  
And e'en the strength inherent in her sons  
She takes from those who exercise it not.

Arouse you then without delay,  
Ere from your reach all power has passed.  
Rebuild the altar that is overturned;  
And e'en with your life exhausting breath,  
If that high sacrifice you needs must make,  
Rekindle once again the fire of liberty.  
Your grandfathers shed their blood for you,  
That you might gain the freedom you have lost.  
You owe as much in turn to those  
Whom you have brought into the world.  
Push on; gain step by step the right of way.  
If foes confront you, all peaceful means exhaust.  
But their opposing you may overcome.  
But closely press, while never backward turn.  
And let a call to arms be freedom's last resort.

## Progression.

BY LEE FERRILL.

Every inch of the ground must be strongly contested upon the introduction of any sort of advanced movement, whether scientific, religious or political, no matter how glaring the old abuses. When the apostle Paul's religion was presented, the shrine makers said that he was "turning the world upside down" and had him put in prison. They finally put him to death with all the rest of his co-workers. So it has been all along the line even up to the present time. If a preacher steps out on this great labor movement the masses will rise up in their might with a cry "gone off into politics." An incident of this kind occurred in Arkansas. It is perhaps only one among the hundreds that have occurred, but I refer to it as I happen to know about it personally. The labor party organized and was contesting every inch of the ground in the county and succeeded in electing the representative. This brought down the wrath of the old parties so that schemes of every sort were resorted to and they succeeded in killing off the representative and got him back into democratic ranks (dead you know.) The laborers rallied and called out a minister that lived on a farm near the county seat who was making a powerful effort to build and organize a church—a man who was loved and esteemed for his work and the purity of his life. As a result of his ability he had the building fairly under way, relying on the promises made to him by the representative and other leading politicians for financial assistance. At this time the labor party called a mass meeting of the county and had a picnic and the people were out en masse. At the appointed hour this farmer preacher delivered a very touching and logical address. That was enough; the old party leaders said they would never pay a dollar to a church when the preacher turned politician and in that case they were as good as their word, as I afterwards learned. They said they must stop his mouth; yet the labor party moved on just the same but, the church lagged. Finally a labor paper was started and began to unearth some of the dark doings of the two old parties and as a result the editor was fined for contempt of court. This is but one instance in a single county. We are having these battles all over this wide domain so that every inch of the ground must be contested. "Let us stand shoulder to shoulder and hand to hand" and arm ourselves for the conflict for the greatest good to the greatest number.

## The Fear of Want.

BY J. R. ARMSTRONG.

In the thirty five years of my checkered existence I have at no time felt the fear of want as keenly as I do now. Not for myself but for the wife and little ones that lean upon my strong right arm for their defense and support. Every day of my enforced idleness finds me brooding uncannily over my misfortune, because I am conscious that profit, interest and rent never cease exacting tribute whether I work or not. Every day of idleness means so much of the future mortgaged to a shynock. Fear of want is the great stimulus to every activity, good, bad and indifferent. A few years ago, one of my acquaintances, a man of bright intelligence and soberness, who through lack of political position was thrown out of employment. He wandered the streets of the city, in which I reside, in quest of employment of any kind. Day after day he trudged about begging for work, for the sake of his wife and three children, but all his begging and seeking met with the bitterest disappointment. Heretofore his voice had been raised against the encroachments of plutocracy and now he must suffer for such a sin. I remember seeing the poor downcast martyr standing on a corner, nervously clutching at the lapel of his coat, muttering something to himself after pacing the dreary streets all day in quest of employment. "Hello, George! you look sad old fellow, what are you thinking about?" "I'm done for, by heavens! can't get a lick of work of any kind; just look at my shoes, my soles and me are about to part company and my wife and family are in bad shape." "Well, George, that is just the shape I am in, exactly; no work and no prospects of any." A tear stole down the poor fellow's cheek, his lips quivered and he turned up a side street and disappeared. Being in poverty myself I could not lend a helping

hand to this brave man and I did not even know of a person who could, outside of a few soup kitchen advocates. At this stage of a man's experience one would almost think the crime of theft a virtue.

And when we consider that millions of human beings are plunged into this hopelessness it is really appalling. A few days after I parted company with this poor downcast man I was informed that the poor fellow had taken suddenly ill and died. Died of despair! What other fatality than this had quenched this noble spirit? And are there not thousands more just like him quietly succumbing to the cold, cruel, merciless, ravages of industrial exploitation and plutocratic greed? The fear of want! what a disease that is, and how painful to be borne! Here in the heart of progressive civilization with nature unbowed in her productivity millions of men, women and children are absolutely within hailing distance of death by starvation. Something surely must be wrong with our ideas and practices that such a condition obtains? Yes we are simply living a lie, a black venious unmitigated lie! Living in every phase of human activity that "To the victor belongs the spoils," and the most cunning and the most rascally competitors are the ones that gain possession of the world and all its immeasurable resources.

"Pervert in business serving the Lord," that is my motto said Wamaker, and down goes the wages of his sewing girls to make up the deficit caused by the \$25,000 fund which he contributed to the Republican campaign. "Pervert in business!" outshining in glaring advertisements all opponents in his line of business; cutting down prices of goods and making the "sweating hell" more intensely hellish in their torture of poor innocent women. "Pervert in business!" cornering the money and bankrupting a nation and fattening the potter's fields. Yes the fear of want will always exist unless the cause of it be removed, and that can only come through just legislation and the economic democracy of the nation. Can the people be taught this lesson? or will they rush heedlessly and blindly on to ruin and death. Will the logic of events not teach the erring what is best to do to flee from this nemesis, or will the oppression of plutocracy continue to goad poor humanity to such a degree that it will turn on its pursuers and wipe them out?

## DEBS IN JAIL.

Lo! the judge has paid his vow,  
Sons of toil in shame must bow—  
See your chosen leader now  
Unjustly cast in jail!  
How can freemen tamely stand  
Meekly kissing Shynock's hand  
While E. V. Debs, that hero grand,  
Goes down six months to jail?  
Lawless trusts may break the law,  
Private forts give hint of war,  
But workmen must stand in awe  
When courts their rights assail.  
Wages may be cut in twain,  
Children cry for bread in vain,  
But freemen (?) ever must refrain  
From strikes—or go to jail!  
"Law and order" nothing less  
Than a mask for lawlessness,  
Echoes from a hireling press!  
To make the people quail!  
Sterling manhood—grander far  
Than the grandest Pullman car—  
Yet called by judges to the bar  
To go, untried, to jail.  
Champion of the rights of man,  
Strong to do and brave to plan,  
Though now beneath a tyrant's ban,  
Thy cause can never fail!  
Workmen will soon unite,  
Led by thee in freedom's fight,  
And labor reach her grandest height  
When Debs comes forth from jail!

C. A. SHEFFIELD.

## The Surest, Safest, and Speediest Way Out of Our Sad, Starving Slavery.

MR. EDITOR:—The quickest and surest and, therefore, the best plan to bring "peace on earth" is to carry out the divinely ordained law of labor, by a service for a service, and this cannot be done by means of a corrupt legislature, and a possibly corrupt President!!! Nor by ballots or bullets, as all these are under the command of king gold coin, but it can be done by "The Labor Exchange," which will undermine the power of money, the cause of all corruption and will enable labor to own all that it produces, instead of being robbed on all sides by those who do nothing to improve themselves, their neighbors, the state or the world. The plan of "The Labor Exchange" enables everyone just where they are now, to help in this great work of redemption, by becoming one of us. The only obligation required is as follows:

"In consideration of the rights, privileges, benefits and protection conferred upon you as a member of the Labor Exchange Association, and to the end that the property of the association upon which the safety of said benefits is based may not be sacrificed at reduced value by forced liquidation in legal tender money, hereby promise and agree that for any article or articles of merchandise and moneys that you may deposit in the keeping of, labor and services that you may perform for, or for any certificate of deposit that you may hold on said Labor Exchange, you will accept as sufficient compensation thereof merchandise, property, labor, or services of equal value, and relinquish any rights and liens which may have resulted in your favor and against the property of the Association by reason of said deposits, labor or services."

And the only fee, one dollar; no dues, no assessment—one dollar for life membership and those out of work and out of dollars may join and pay their fee in labor or goods.

A member of "The Labor Exchange" is quite at liberty to earn his living under the present unsatisfactory system, unless something better offers in "The Labor Exchange." We must, however, get as many members as possible at once so that we may form the circle necessary for a grand success, as, of course, we require every branch of industry carried out, from pin making to coffee growing. It is a world-wide system.

All labor unions should join at once. If every working man will do so, we have accomplished the revolution so easily needed.

"The Labor Exchange" will quietly and peacefully, but surely, undermine the money power and in shorter time than any other method that has been or can be devised. Let us put all our energy

into work for "The Labor Exchange," which will provide "service for service," then those who will not perform a service which is of use to his neighbor, will have to do as our Father intended, viz: starve, and thus help, by their death, the better development and uplift of the race, which their useless and, therefore, wicked, vicious lives have only hindered. We have the *Scribes*, the monopolist press; the *Pharisees*, the self-righteous robbers of labor; the *priests*, the parsons who worship mammon and side with scribes, pharisees, usurers and lawyers; the *usurers*, the bankers, landlords and landlords; and *lawyers*, against us, but just as soon as the toilers take well hold of "The Labor Exchange" ideas and put them into practice, will these "generations of vipers" have to find some useful occupation or give employment to the grave digger, and the whole library of laws may be abrogated and burned as pestiferous matter, leaving us the good old Bible as our only law book. This book of books is now (to the everlasting disgrace of Californians) prohibited to our public scholars in this, the most corrupt state of the corrupt United States.

Full particulars of "The Labor Exchange," can be obtained by reading "Trials and Triumphs of Labor," by S. B. DeBernardi. Pray give us the benefit of your powerful influence in propaganda work for this great and far-reaching cause.

J. ALFRED KINGHORN JONES.  
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

## The Lesson of Labor Day.

MR. EDITOR:—I desire, through the columns of your paper to indulge in some plain talk to working people in reference to the management of Labor Day celebrations here and elsewhere.

Either through the ignorance or venality of managing committees we often witness on such occasions the disgusting and abnormal spectacle of pettifogging lawyers or "boodles" politicians occupying the platform as speakers of the day. This practice has become too common to be allowed to continue without a protest from the working class who have been thus betrayed and insulted by those who have been entrusted with the management of public labor demonstrations. This insult to the intelligence of the labor element is absolutely inexcusable and should be resented by working people simply by staying at home on such occasions, thus emphasizing their disapproval by their absence.

These orators, who are accustomed to no useful labor whatever, will not advocate your cause. They will give you an abundance of taffy about the "dignity of labor," etc., advising you to be content with a fair share of labor's product, but whose personal interest prevents them from announcing the true labor gospel, viz: "Labor (of hand and brain) produces all wealth, and should own it." When labor shall receive its full share there is nothing left for the drones. Let them work or starve.

Under the existing unjust system of social economy there are two distinct classes of people, and the line of demarcation is so broad and plain that none need be in doubt as to where he belongs. To one class belong all who are employed in useful labor of either hand or brain, who create all useful commodities, and are the wealth builders of all nations. This is the industrial class that lives by labor. The other class is composed of useless people, who "toil not, neither do they spin," yet are "arrayed in purple and fine linen." They live upon the "fat of the land," yet they do no useful work of any kind. They assume to be capitalists and managers of the industries, and who are so eminently successful in their management as to absorb about 90 per cent. of the product of labor, and hence become wealth owners by downright robbery of the working people in their employ. These are the "drones" in the human hive, who make no honey yet grow corpulent by gormandizing on that gathered by the working bees. These useless people compose the robber class. Now I want to say that between these two classes there is an irrepressible conflict; that the fight is on now and must be fought to the finish. The robber class is seeking to reduce the industrial class to abject slavery. Through chicanery, bribery and fraud they have seized all departments of our civil government; have captured the executive; have corrupted the courts; have prostituted the army to the vile purpose of subjugating discontented workmen; have imprisoned our greatest labor leader simply for contending against tyranny; have denied the right to trial by jury, that great safeguard against judicial despotism, and trampled in the dust that great bulwark of personal liberty, the writ of habeas corpus.

Yes, the fight is on, and there is no middle ground between the contending forces. Let us stand together as one man and contend for our rights. Let us weed out the traitors and put none but workmen on guard. Be true to our cause and rely only upon our own efforts, for "He who would be free must himself strike the blow," and rest assured that the end of this damnable system of piracy will come in the near future, and a reign of justice and equity will be ushered in when labor shall receive its full reward and thieves and robbers be unknown.

J. R. BACKUS.

TERRE HAUTE, IND.

## A Single Issue.

MR. EDITOR:—I was impressed as never before with the fact at the great auditorium meeting held here Labor Day that Mr. Debs could now be in the senate instead of in jail, and there could be no supreme court to reprimand if all workmen would unite on the one issue of direct legislation. Whatever may be our differences, whether we be socialists, single-taxers, prohibitionists or seventh day adventists, if we favor representative government we cannot consistently oppose direct legislation. It is the one and only means of submitting all questions of public concern to the proper authority for approval or rejection. Let us unite on this single issue and the earth is ours. If we reject it we may depend upon it the future will be a perpetual hell, not only for us but for our children's children in spite of treasonism or any other ism.

Adopt this issue and it is possible that the best of all reform will be submitted for a fair and impartial trial. Otherwise we may talk and talk till we are gray and bald and capital will still dominate the earth.

Respectfully,  
HENRY E. ALLEN.

CHICAGO, ILL.

## THE IMPRISONMENT OF DEBS.

AFTER A TOWN'S "EXECUTION OF MONROSE."

Come hither workmen! and for a time remain.  
I hear the roaring winds rush from the wintry plain;  
There's shouting in Chicago; there's war within the blast;  
Old fads look upon me, old forms go trooping past;  
I hear the engine shrieking amidst the din of light,  
And my dim spirit wakes again upon the verge of night.

'Twas Debs that led the working host through wild Chicago's woe,  
The time the railroad kings gave battle to their cheated foe.  
I've told thee how the sons of toil fell 'neath the bayonets tore.  
And how the federals smote them close by Michigan's shore;  
I've told thee how they shot starved men and tramped them as felons,  
But never have I told thee yet how Debs to jail had gone.

By trickery he was sold to foes of mean and thoughtless shame;  
I charge thee, men, if e'er thou meet with such as did the same—  
Be it in the working shop, or yet within the bank,  
Stand they in wretched garb alone, or backed by lawyers' rank,  
Face them as thou wouldst face the men who wronged thy leader's renown;  
Remember of what class thou art, and vote the scoundrels down.

They brought him up before the court, hard bound with legal sham,  
As though they held a lion there, and not an unarmed man;  
They set him high upon a seat: the rich sat far below,  
They opened all his letters there to pale his noble brow;

Then as hyenas slipped from leash, they cheered the princely throng,  
And laughed the note with glee and shout, and bade him pass along.

But when he spoke, though pale and wan, he looked so great and high,  
So noble was his manly front, so calm his steady eye:  
The wealthy robe forbore to shout, and each man held his jargon,  
For well they knew the hero's soul was face to face with prison;  
And then a joyful tremor through all the plutocrats ran,  
And some that came to scoff at him, scoffed as only scoundrels can.

Had right been there with justice pure and honest Lincoln's by,  
That day though sad Chicago's streets had peened the tyrant's cry:  
Not all their troops, with deadly gun nor might of moneyed men—  
Not all the thieves of honest toil could have accused him then:  
Once more his foot on freedom's earth had trod as free as air,  
Or truth and all that bore its name, had laid around him there.

They told him rise that he might hear within the solemn hall,  
Where once the nobler men of yore reigned amidst their truths, all:  
But there was dust of vulgar feet on that polluted floor,  
And other judges filled the place where good men sat before;  
With savage glee came wealth to read the unjust doom,  
And then upon the mighty Debs in the middle of the room:

Now, by my faith in workmen and by the place I bear,  
And by the toiler's honest cross, that waves above us there,  
Yea, by a greater, mightier pledge—and, oh, that such should be!  
By that dark stream of honest blood that lies 'twixt you and me,  
He had not sought by aiding men a name of such renown,  
Nor hoped he, in his prison days, to win a martyr's crown.

The moment dawned full darkly: the sentence was put down,  
And made a mighty sob resound, that shook the gloomy town:  
The thunder of the just arose; the fatal hour was come.  
Yet mid the wall came shouts of joyous delirium:  
There was gladness in the air, and misery, sadness and despair,  
And young and old, and rich and poor, came forth to see him there.

Oh, God! that gloomy prison! how dismal 'tis to see  
The great tall looming wall, the iron bar, the moaning tree!  
Hark! hark! it is the rush of feet; the bells begin to toll:  
He is coming! he is coming! God's mercy on his soul!  
One last long peal of mingled passion; he's on the way,  
And the glorious sun once more looks down on this, an unjust day.

He is coming! He is coming! Like a hero to his doom  
Came the toiler's friend from the partial court to the prison tomb.  
There was glory on his forehead, there was luster in his eye,  
And he never spoke to workmen, but what they could rely;  
There was color in his visage, though the cheeks of all were wan,  
And they marvelled as they saw him pass, that great and goodly man.

A beam of light fell o'er him like a glory 'round the shaven,  
And he walked the dusty pavement as it were the pass to heaven;  
Then came a shout from all the crowd, 'twas as stunning thunder roll;  
Then silence's hush of dreadful awe, for fear was on every soul.  
There was another roaring cry, a hush, and then a groan;  
The dark portals clanged to their place; the work of hell was done.

Victor Shearer.

## A MESSAGE FOR DEBS.

A message for Debs. No word perdue,  
Flash it to Woodstock jail!  
Say to him there's a heroic crew  
That still for the ship make sail;  
Tell him the flag at the masthead flies,  
The wreckage is cut away,  
And the scudding clouds from azure skies  
Give hope of a brighter day.  
Tell him we keep with the union fleet  
With contempt for pirates, rank,  
Who scourge their victims with black-list sheet  
And make them walk the plank.  
We all look with scorn on Plutus' fort,  
That under our stripes and stars,  
And under the name of the supreme court  
Keeps Eugene behind the bars.  
Say when he's ready to take command  
We'll await him at the quay.  
Then bend our sails for the pirate band  
That now blocks the open sea.

Ellis B. Harris.

## A Man Who Thinks.

MR. EDITOR:—In speaking of the deplorable condition of the laboring masses of the United States, it is very strange to me that the toiling masses and the voting power did not see the result of plutocratic administration from the very hour that Grover Cleveland was elected president of the United States. It is a very plain fact, that from which experience teaches us, that it makes no material difference to the laborers of this country which of the old parties are in power as they are both in the same boat as regards justice and wages. I do not believe so long as the voters of this country elect to the presidency a millionaire or a man who will pass on bills for money, their condition will be any better. Capital has been so combined in the last fifteen years that there is practically but two classes of people the rich and poor or in a better term, masters and slaves. I for one would like to see wage earners on an equal basis with capital in any capacity—equal rights, free speech, quit work when you please and vote for Eugene V. Debs for president of the United States in 1896.

Yours fraternally,  
CHAMPAIGN, ILL. CITIZEN

## Farmers' Alliance Protest.

We are gratified to record the following resolutions in denunciation of the late supreme court decision by which the officers of the A. R. U. were imprisoned:

WHEREAS, Sentence was passed on Eugene V. Debs and others without a trial by jury of his peers, and

WHEREAS, We believe such a sentence is unjust, despoil and contrary to the spirit of our institutions; destructive of liberty and sets a precedent for the suppression of labor organizations by the courts of the country, which seemed to be controlled by the corporations, and

WHEREAS, If trial by jury can be set aside by the higher courts and citizens be subjected to the despotic ruling of a prejudiced or venal judiciary our free institutions are at an end; therefore be it Resolved, That a trial by jury as an usurpation of power and unworthy of a court organized as an institution to mete out justice; be it further Resolved, That we denounce the present national administration for ordering the arrest and imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs and his companions to prison for one year without a trial by jury as an usurpation of power and unworthy of a court organized as an institution to mete out justice; be it further Resolved, That we denounce the present national administration for ordering the arrest and imprisonment of Eugene V. 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## HISTORY.

(CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.)

be allowed without infraction of the laws is granted to the prisoner, and indeed all the prisoners in the McHenry county jail receive the best of care. A jail guard in the county jail in Chicago would have a spasm could he see the dinner brought into the prisoners yesterday. Fried chicken, corn on the cob, cantaloupe, potatoes, bread and butter and coffee are not so bad, even if they are eaten behind barred doors and by the uncertain light which filters in through grating which serves as a walk. Around the staunch, brick edifice is a yard inclosed by a high wall with a barred gate, and out here on the lawn Debs is allowed to exercise when the narrow limits of his cell room do not allow sufficient play for the exuberance of his spirits. For he feels well and he looks well. Plentiful exercise is an excellent antidote for the fatigue caused by the brain work he does every day, and he is not slow to take advantage of the opportunity offered for keeping himself in excellent health. He pounds a punching bag for a little while every day and takes long walks up and down the corridor. Out in the open air he takes exercise which keeps the glow of health in his face and makes his step light and springy. He lives upon terms of intimacy and social equality with the sheriff's family and is never treated as a prisoner except at night, when he is locked in his cell at 10 o'clock until the next morning.

Ever since the other A. R. U. prisoners were released last Thursday, Mrs. Debs has been in Woodstock and spends most of her time at the jail. She does not intend that her husband shall be lonely though he is alone in the jail, and she will be near him nearly all the time that he has yet to serve. She is a large, splendid looking woman, one of dignified manner and yet with a charming air which attracts a stranger at once. She has unbounded faith in her famous husband and thinks that he will be a notable figure in the future history of the country. As might be expected, Mrs. Debs is well read on the subjects in which her husband is so vitally interested and can hold her own remarkably well in a talk on economics. On the night that Debs was arrested last year, Mrs. Debs arrived in Chicago. She came in response to a message from her husband, and was not surprised that he was arrested, as he had told her that he expected to be.

As the train pulled into the depot a newsboy rushed up, shouting an extra, "All about the arrest of Debs."

"Who is this man Debs?" asked Mrs. Debs of the little gamin.

"Oh, he's de guy wot leads de strikers," was the comprehensive answer and Mrs. Debs went on her way to meet her husband.

## FAVORITE IN WOODSTOCK.

Mr. Debs has many callers. There is hardly an hour of the day that some one does not drop in to exchange a word with the far-famed labor leader. Not only Woodstock people have come to know him during his stay in jail, but visitors from all over the country make the long journey from Chicago to have a little chat with Eugene V. Debs and talk about it when they get home. He has a most hearty way of greeting his callers. No ordinary hand-shake is that of Debs. As his visitor walks toward him he smiles with pleasure and raises his right hand to the height of his shoulder as though he were going to smite his caller to the floor. Then the hand is rapidly brought down, and with a smack meets that of his visitor, which is then warmly clasped between both of Mr. Debs' hands and shaken for several seconds. It imparts a glow to the most indifferent visitor to be thus fraternally greeted, and a kindly feeling for the tall, studious looking man is at once created. He is a fluent and instructive talker on almost any subject, but more especially on that subject so near his heart, the Pullman strike and the resultant boycott of the Pullman cars. He has written so much and thought so much and read so much about the circumstances surrounding this world famous case that every detail is as ready in his mind as though the events occurred but yesterday. Whatever subject of conversation may be introduced in that long, brightly lighted cell room, the talk seems to naturally drift to the great problems which are being discussed by those who seek to break away from orthodox forms and customs of the social world.

## BELIEVES IN CO-OPERATION.

The co-operative commonwealth, that dream of so many writers in every age, is a favorite subject with Mr. Debs. To this subject he has given much thought and he firmly believes that a co-operative commonwealth, where every man has an equal chance from the moment of his birth, will yet supplant the present form of government. The change, he thinks, will doubtless be brought about by peaceful agitation and by the education of the mass of the people to the good things they are missing. It will, of course, be violently opposed by the money power, he says, for this form of government would eliminate capitalist monopoly. Every hint of advance, he points out, of change which would tend to loosen the hold of monopoly from the heart of the country is fought. Those who preach the new doctrines are branded as traitors or anarchists, and the theory is described as treason. But Debs thinks that in the fulness of time the eyes of the people will be opened and they will realize that this cry is raised by the corporate powers of capital when they are scared, and when they fear that some tithe of the tribute they have wrung from the people may be reclaimed.

And thus the talk goes on in the cell-room while visitors listen respectfully and the prisoners on the other side of the bars gaze in awe at the learned man with whom they have the honor to be imprisoned. When asked to give a review of the entire case as it appeared to him after three months of life in jail, Mr. Debs smiled and said briskly:

"Well, I suppose I might as well begin at the beginning."

DEBS STATES THE CASE—WRITES OF THE PULLMAN STRIKE.

The American Railway union did not receive much public notice till the big

strike occurred on the Great Northern system, April 13, 1894. The wages of all the employees on the system had been reduced from 10 to 40 per cent, aggregating, according to the statements of the officials of the road, \$146,000 a month. The old brotherhoods acquiesced in the reduction, because, as assumed, they felt themselves unable to cope with the powerful corporation. At this juncture our policy of united action, which distinguishes the American Railway union from the class brotherhoods, came into boldest prominence. Under the auspices of the new order all the employees, from conductors and engineers to wipers and call-boys, in every department, quit the service of the company. This was an innovation which attracted attention in all parts of the country. The employees were jubilant and the railroad companies were alarmed. The strike lasted eighteen days, and on May 1 it was settled by arbitration and practically everything contended for by the men was conceded.

To show the fairness of the order it need but be stated that the board of arbitration was composed of twenty-one millionaire merchants and manufacturers of Minneapolis and St. Paul. Every man on the board was an employer of labor and yet we did not hesitate to commit all our interests to their hands.

## START OF THE PULLMAN STRIKE.

A few days later, on my return to Terre Haute, I was informed by the vice president that the Pullman employees who were members of our order had serious grievances and threatened to strike. I immediately advised him to do all in his power to avert a strike, and this he did as the employees themselves testified before the United States strike commission. Their wages had been repeatedly reduced, but their rents and other fixed charges remained the same, and notwithstanding they were getting deeper and deeper into the debt of the Pullman company every day. At the time the strike occurred, on May 11, they were indebted to the Pullman company for the one item of rent alone \$70,000. We felt that the victory on the Great Northern would have a tendency to stir to action men on other roads, and that in some places there might be undue eagerness to strike. We were especially anxious, for the good of the order, to prevent any further strike, feeling that we could secure justice by arbitration, as had been done on the Great Northern, with the difference that the difficulties should be arbitrated before instead of after the strike, and in pursuance of this policy everything possible was done to restrain the Pullman employees from striking. They acted on the advice of Vice President Howard, until an incident occurred which precipitated the strike without his knowledge or the knowledge of any other officer of the order.

## BREACH OF FAITH CHARGED.

The committee which had charge of the employees' grievances had secured an interview with Mr. Pullman. He promised that these grievances should be investigated. The following morning three members of the committee were laid off. This resulted in the spontaneous stoppage of work and the great Pullman strike was on. There was a deliberate breach of faith on the part of the Pullman company, and it was resented by the employees laying down their tools and leaving the shops.

It will be seen that the charge so often made, that the strike was instituted by labor agitators is utterly false and absurd. Shortly after the strike occurred I was called to St. Paul and I stopped over at Pullman to make a personal investigation. I visited the houses of the employees and talked with them in person, as also with their families, and found a condition of affairs there which no language can describe. It was perfectly clear that the employees had been methodically plundered. They had been ground to atoms between the upper millstone of reduction and the nether millstone of extortionate living expenses. Some of the employees apologized to me for not being able to introduce me to their families, as their wives had not clothing enough to make them presentable. The money I had in my pockets I gave away in charity and I had to borrow money in Chicago to take me to St. Paul. I am entitled to no credit for this, for I would have a heart of stone had I left with a dollar in my pocket. That awful spectacle of squalid wretchedness, hungry children and poverty indescribable was well calculated to sow in any human breast the seeds of the greatest strike the country has ever known. And all of this, be it remembered, at a time when, according to the sworn statements of Pullman officials, there was a surplus of \$25,000,000 in the vaults of the Pullman company.

## POWER OF THE COMPANY.

The fact was established before the strike commission that rents at Pullman were fully 25 per cent higher than elsewhere. An enormous profit was derived on the water supply received from Chicago. While no order compelling employees to deal in Pullman stores was issued, it was well understood that failure to do so was not to the interest of the employee. Pay day came every two weeks, and the rent money was deducted whether a dollar remained for the family or not. There are checks still in existence ranging from 2 cents upward representing two weeks' work. The debt of the employees to the company represented an unbreakable bond of slavery. Many people have asked why the employees did not leave the place if these conditions prevailed. The answer is they could not leave because they were virtually mortgaged to the Pullman company. Living expenses exceeded wages, and the indebtedness grew larger day by day. Many employees were thus working for the Pullman company for less than a bare living. Instead of having a little over at pay day there was a deficit, and the employee found himself in a condition of slavish dependence from which there was no escape.

## PURPOSE TO CRUSH COMPETITION.

It has been contended that the Pullman company accepted contracts at losing rates for the sake of keeping its employees at work. This contention is not supported by the facts. It is admitted that losing contracts were accepted, but the purpose was to crush out competition, and this could be effectually done because the Pullman company was getting a large part of its work done practically for nothing. The loss on the contracts was more than balanced by the excessive rents and other forms of extortion.

The Pullman company was chartered in 1867 with a capital of \$1,000,000. It

increased in six years, from 1883 to 1889, from \$13,000,000 to \$25,000,000, or an average of \$2,000,000 a year. In 1894, when the strike occurred, it had increased its capital stock to \$36,000,000, and on this enormous capital it paid a quarterly dividend of 2 per cent, amounting to \$3,880,000 a year. With this showing, aside from financial considerations, the employees were smarting under numerous petty grievances, which combined, amounted to insufferable despotism. The indignities put upon them by petty bosses were outrageous. It is but just to Mr. Pullman to say that he was probably in utter ignorance of many of the wrongs his employees suffered. In what I have to say here I do not discuss Mr. Pullman personally. I deal with the general policy of the Pullman company in relation to its employees.

## NOTHING TO ARBITRATE.

On June 12, thirty-one days after the employees struck, the regular convention of the American Railway Union met in Chicago. That convention would have been held if the Pullman strike was never heard of. It had been ordered for that date and was not by any means called especially to consider the Pullman strike. It was composed of about 425 delegates, representing in round numbers 125,000 railroad men. One of the matters which came up early in the convention was the grievances of the Pullman employees. A committee was appointed to investigate and called on the officials to see if an amicable adjustment could be effected. Mr. Wickes, of the Pullman company, objected to the committee because it was partly composed of others than Pullman employees. Another committee was at once appointed, consisting solely of Pullman employees, and they were told by Mr. Wickes that the company would run its business to suit itself; that it had nothing to arbitrate. In the meantime Mr. Pullman went east to spend a period at the seashore.

A great many delegates visited Pullman to make a personal investigation. All came back impressed with the magnitude of the wrongs done the employees and resolved that something must be done at once to rescue the unfortunates from such a tyrannical and pauperizing condition. The convention was not disposed to act hastily. Every effort which could be conceived was put forth to end the trouble. There was no desire to extend it. When it was seen that the Pullman company would entertain no proposition looking to a settlement, it was proposed by some delegates that it was then their duty to their suffering brothers and their families at Pullman to refuse to handle Pullman cars. This sentiment found immediate favor. In my speech before the convention I appealed to the delegates, in view of the unfortunate industrial condition of the country, to pursue a conservative course. I said:

## CONSERVATIVE COURSE ADVISED.

"There is danger in extremes and defeat lurks in discord. Nor is this all. However paradoxical it may seem there is, nevertheless, an element of danger in prosperity and against this we will find it the part of wisdom to guard with sedulous care. Present conditions are fruitful of manifold defects and deficiencies, which are annoying and constitute grievances, which, while productive of injury and vexation, are far below the plane of gravity which demands any resort to extreme measures for redress or adjustment. Industrial conditions are at present of a character which demands a constant exercise of the virtue of patience and forbearance when difficulties are encountered, which under other and more favorable circumstances would demand the interposition of the order."

It will be noted that decisive action was not taken until the eve of adjournment, and this action was confined exclusively to Pullman cars. There was no intention to stop trains, to quit work in shops, or to do any other thing, except not to handle Pullman cars. I can cite scores of instances where men proffered their services to haul the mails and other trains, but in each case the offer was declined in accordance with the policy agreed upon, that unless Pullman cars ran all traffic should stop. One word from the General Managers' association would be sufficient to compel Pullman to settle with his employees. This word was not uttered. Why? Because the General Managers' association courted the opportunity to clash with the A. R. U. When the delegates decided not to handle Pullman cars the General Managers' association held an emergency meeting. Mr. Wickes, Pullman's chief in command, was present. It is a little singular that when these general managers were put upon the stand in the conspiracy trials last January not one could remember the object of that emergency meeting or why Wickes was there.

The resolutions adopted by the general managers about this time clearly defined their policy. They resolved, among other things, that Pullman cars should run. In other words, they would back the Pullman company in starving its employees to death, while at the same time they would wipe out the American Railway Union. The triumph of the union on the Great Northern when it was but ten months old had alarmed them. They viewed its marvelous growth with grave apprehension. They probably thought it would be comparatively easy, since they were solidly united, to crush out the American Railway Union at so early a stage of its existence. They greatly underestimated the power and extent of the order. I have it upon good authority that they felt perfectly able to snuff out the order without much more difficulty than if it were a candle.

## SUFFICIENT NOTICE GIVEN.

The delegates, it should be observed, gave five days' notice in regard to the handling of Pullman cars, and the action was unanimous. This remarkable feature of the proceeding should not escape notice. In that entire body of 425 delegates, on the whole the most intelligent body of railroad men I have ever seen, there was not a single one who dissented. They were so strongly imbued with the wrongs and sufferings that had been borne by the people of Pullman that their sense of humanity prompted them to the action they took. Upon this point the most conservative, who are found in all bodies, were radical. They could do nothing less without forfeiting all claim to human sympathy.

In the annals of the world there is no sublimer exhibition of self-sacrifice. They estimated 14,000 starving men, women and children of more consequence than the running of a few palaces. Their action requires no apology

from me or from anyone else. As professor Herron, the eminent theologian, said: "The time will come when they will stand monumental in history for their love and devotion to their fellow-beings."

It may be well at this point to introduce the report of the United States strike commission. It is still fresh in the minds of the people. It declared, after exhaustive investigation, that the employees had been grossly mistreated; that the officers of the A. R. U. were opposed to the strike, and that the General Managers' association was not only an unlawful but a dangerous body. A question of grave import is, what was the policy of the order in reference to the railroads and to the public?

## OBEDIENCE TO LAW COUNSELED.

No scintilla of evidence has ever been introduced to show that any violence or infraction of the law was at any time contemplated. In all the addresses issued I counseled obedience to the law, and my associates did the same. We believed, as we still believe, that men had a lawful right to quit work. More than this we never claimed. If the companies could operate their trains, their right to do so was never questioned. That there was violent interference to some extent is not denied, but it has never been traced to the A. R. U. There was abundant opportunity to do so during the conspiracy trials, but the prosecution utterly failed to make a single point.

For the first few days after June 26, when the railroad strike began, everything was peaceable and orderly, and not until the railroad companies began to swear in deputy United States marshals by the thousands was there any serious trouble. Four thousand of these were sworn into service at the request of and paid by the railroad companies. Just here let me quote from the official report of Chief of Police Brennan:

"Another source of annoyance to the department was the conduct of the deputy United States marshals. These men were hastily gathered, largely from the scum and refuse of the lowest class of the city's population. While there were honest men among them, a large number of them were toughs, thieves and ex-convicts. There were also some strikers sworn in. Several of these officials were arrested during the strike for stealing property from the railroad cars. In one instance two were found under suspicious circumstances near a freight car which had just been set on fire. They were dangerous to the lives of citizens on account of their careless handling of pistols. They fired into crowds of bystanders when there was no disturbance and no reason for shooting. Innocent men, women and children were killed by these shots."

I aver that nearly all the rioting, car burning and lawlessness generally is traceable to this source. The facts overwhelmingly support the averment. The railroad companies had everything to gain, the employees everything to lose. If the employees, because of hostility to Pullman, had been bent on the destruction of property, why did they not destroy palace cars instead of stock cars? The query is exceedingly pertinent. When the rioting began and cars were fired public sympathy which is all powerful, turned against the strikers and that instant their cause was lost. From the riot to the injunction is but a step. From the injunction to the jail is but another step. In this way it is quite easy to defeat a strike. Until violence began the strikers were triumphant and this would have been the ending but for the deputy marshals who incited the trouble, which was deemed sufficient to justify the interference of the courts, the jailing of the leaders at every point, the calling out of the army and the breaking up of the strike. As a matter of course the A. R. U. never started out to antagonize the government. It is singular, however, that in no single instance in the history of the republic have the authorities ever interfered on the side of workingmen. When their great powers have been invoked it has always been in support of the corporations and on the side of property against human life.

## CLAMOR FOR PROSECUTION.

There was a general clamor for the prosecution of the leaders of the strike. The corporations insisted that the conspiracy should be punished to the full extent of the law. The A. R. U. were indicted for conspiracy. It was deemed a very easy matter to convict them and send them to the penitentiary. The trial began January 24. All of the evidence of the prosecution was presented to the jury. The defense then began to tell its story, and as the tale was unfolded a perceptible change was visible on the faces of the jurors. The tide was rapidly turning against the prosecution. An unconditional acquittal became painfully apparent. There were scores of witnesses yet to testify, and the truth, the whole truth, was about to be disclosed. At this supreme juncture the only real misfortune befell us. A juror was taken ill. The defense sought by all the means at their command to have the trial continued. They agreed to wait till the juror got well or to continue with eleven jurors or to subpoena another, or do anything else to reach a verdict. The prosecution strenuously refused to proceed. They were ignominiously defeated and knew it. It would not do for such a verdict to go on record. It would be in ghastly conflict with the sentence of Judge Woods which committed us to jail upon practically the same issues. Since the trial I have received authoritative proof that the jury was practically unanimous in the opinion that there was no case. It is most unfortunate for us that this verdict was not put on record, but this does not lessen the moral effect of the vindication.

## EXONERATED BY THE COMMISSION.

The United States strike commission had exonerated us and had put the corporations in the pillory. A jury of our peers, after hearing all the evidence, would have found us not guilty, and yet we languish in jail, not for having committed crime, but for alleged contempt of court. By two duly constituted bodies we were tried and our cause investigated, and in each case the verdict was equivalent to acquittal, and yet we occupy felons' cells.

In the face of this I do not see how any fair-minded man can avoid the conclusion that constitutional rights in this country are nothing more than a hallucination.

Reverting again to the strike, it should be borne in mind that the Pullman company set at defiance the whole city of Chicago. An appeal was made to the city council and that body appointed a

committee to call on the Pullman company to ask them to consent to arbitration. This committee, of which Alderman McGillen was chairman, was authorized to make this proposition: That the Pullman company should select two representatives, the judges of Cook county two more and these four a fifth, to inquire into the matter as to whether there was anything to arbitrate, and if this board found there was nothing to arbitrate the employees agreed to return to work in a body. The employees did not even ask to have a representative on the board. The Pullman company rejected the proposition with scorn. Suppose the company had made the same proposition and the employees had spurned it. What would have been the public verdict? Would not the whole country have condemned the strikers? Then what must be the enlightened public verdict in relation to this company? The Pullman company were afraid to have that investigation made. They knew that if it were made there would be disclosed a state of affairs that would have horrified the country. I wish to state that all through the conspiracy trials Judge Grosecup acted with eminent fairness. He seemed desirous to get at the real facts and to have even-handed justice meted out.

## WHAT THE DECISION MEANS.

As to the effect of the adverse ruling of the supreme court resulting in our imprisonment, it will in its ultimate result have the same effect upon the money power that the Dred Scott decision had upon the slave. Stripped of all extraneous matter the decision means that workingmen, while ostensibly having the right to organize, have not the right to exercise the legal functions of organization. In other words they are compelled to submit to any conditions their employers may impose, because if they quit in concert, and such cessation of work results in the interruption of the mails or interferes with interstate traffic, the fact of the workingmen having united is construed as conspiracy and they are held accountable by the court for all acts of omission or commission that may result. The effect of this will be to destroy the usefulness of organization in so far as the fundamental, pivotal object, which is united resistance, is concerned.

Judge Trumbull says: "The doctrine announced by the supreme court in the Debs case, carried to its logical conclusion, places every citizen at the mercy of any prejudiced or malicious federal judge who may see fit to imprison him."

Knowing this, railroad employees will certainly not quit work if any judge can by the injunction process declare them guilty of contempt, and put them in jail for three to six months. The workingmen of the country realize the gravity of the situation. The dangerous encroachments of the federal judiciary are now more clearly comprehended since Judge Woods committed us to jail and the supreme court declined to review the decision, claiming that the lower court had complete and final jurisdiction.

## TRIAL BY JURY DENIED.

So far as my colleagues and myself are concerned, the imprisonment is of little or no consequence; so far as the principle involved in our incarceration is concerned, it amounts to everything, for the reason that if the right of trial by jury can be abrogated in the case of one citizen and he can be arbitrarily thrust into jail, so can all others. And hence every safeguard of our much-vaunted civil rights is destroyed and no citizen is secure. Some of the most eminent jurists of the country declare that the constitution has been violated and that a federal judge, district or circuit, can now enjoin any man from doing anything, lawful or unlawful, and lock him up in jail, guilty or not guilty. He issues the injunction, hears the evidence, pronounces the sentence, thus constituting himself judge, jury, plaintiff and executioner. Between this man, who in respect to the citizen has supreme power, and the czar of Russia, there is not the slightest difference. In each case the citizen is the helpless victim of autocratic whim or caprice.

When all the people fully comprehend the situation they will act. There is a higher power than the supreme court, and some day that court will find itself at the bar of the tribunal of we, the people.

## EXAMPLE OF THE CORPORATIONS.

On this proposition all labor harmonizes. Every trades union in the land has declared itself, has cried out against this monstrous assumption of power by one man. When I am again allowed my rights as a citizen I intend to take up the great work where I laid it down. We hope to bring about a unification of all labor, a harmony between unions, for all are working to the same end. In seeking thus to combine all classes of labor we simply follow the example set by the corporations. We feel that if they had the lawful right to combine their tremendous power to reduce wages, to blacklist employees, the latter had the same power to unify their forces for mutual protection. If such a combination is unlawful, if the courts construe it to be a conspiracy and against public policy, then let the corporations who initiated the proceeding abolish it. The one necessitates the other. On our part we acted purely in self defense. What possible hope would the employees of any road or system have against such a colossal alliance as is represented in the General Managers' association? They would be ground to atoms.

And therefore the work must go on. But to avoid the spies and sneaks who fatten on the misfortunes of the toilers and who are quick to report the name of every man who joins an association to better his condition, the work will hereafter be carried on in secret. No engineer need know whether his fireman is a member of the A. R. U. And it will be spread until it becomes the strongest union in the world, for there are 800,000 railroad men eligible. Every man who served his term in this county jail is now a worker in the field, stronger and better equipped for the fight than if he had not been here. We will carry on the work, even unto the end.

I have had ample time for retrospective reflection, but had I to do it again I would not change my course in the slightest degree. I did what my head prompted and my heart approved and I have no regrets. I would do all I did and as much more as I could on the same lines if a hangman's noose instead of a felon's cell confronted me. The losses, the sacrifices and the sufferings incident to the strike will dwarf into insignificance in comparison with the monumental blessings which will flow from it when the last chapters shall have been written.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

## THE MILITARY

## ARM OF THE GOVERNMENT USED BY THE UNITED STATES

To Enforce Injunctions, for the First Time in the History of English or American Administration of Law.

The following address was delivered before D. A. Knights of Labor, 220, at Brooklyn, N. Y., on Labor Day, 1895. It is a well digested presentation of the progress of despotism in the United States and deserves a careful reading. The speaker, among other things, said:

I have said that this federal procedure in the Debs case was extraordinary. It is the first time in the history of English law that the Chancellor has called upon the military arm in aid of the injunction writ.

No one will be found to deny that the court swung far away from and beyond all methods heretofore known. And the effect is to make a court of equity a criminal court. Courts of equity never have had any jurisdiction over crimes. It nullifies the indisputable right to jury trial. And these things are done under the assumed necessity of suppressing violence. But it is apparent that such craftiness of jurisdiction in the federal courts, such exercise of arbitrary power by administrative officers, and the growing tendency at every juncture to use the military arm are caused by a deep distrust of the people—their capacity for self government is doubted. If there are men who are afraid of the people—afraid of trial by jury—afraid of our cherished guarantees of civil liberty, it is because they see the stalking ghost of their own misdeeds rising up to confront them. Mirabeau said that "when the people complain the people are right." It is well to call to mind that this abnormal use of the injunction writ did not stop the strike. The federal troops were called out to aid the court but the writ was powerless for its purpose. The troops could have done all that was done without the writ. Let us put down lawlessness, but let us insist that the primary cause of lawlessness shall be destroyed.

The supreme law breaker is to be found away up in the social scale, among the rich and powerful. It is he who wrecks railroads, corrupts legislators, purchases votes, and by every device of legal chicanery, intrigue, and villainy, through partial laws and perverted construction of courts, usurps the machinery of government and turns it against the people. This is the essence of tyranny, whether it comes through the forms of law or over and in defiance of law.

"And thus they clothe their naked villainy with Old, odd ends, stolen out of holy writ, And seem saints when most they play the devil."

There are natural differences between men and these no laws can remedy. There are unnatural differences made by law, and these it is our business to remove. Now is the time, through peaceful methods, before it is too late and wrongs become festering sores. We cannot afford to wait until the passions of a great multitude burst forth in flame and terror. The great corporations, the wealthy syndicates, and the mammoth trusts, are to-day the governing power of the nation. President, governor, judge and legislator are but the instruments of men mightier than any federal lord or Roman satrap. Caesarism has come to the republic, without imperial trappings, without Roman cohorts, disguised in the image of liberty—but remorseless, insatiate and powerful in its way as Caesar or Hannibal.

But Caesarism was not possible in Roman days without the degradation of the masses. Neither is it to-day. The danger is not all in the powerful. The working man, the struggling toilers who comprise the mass, these must bear their share of the responsibility for the shameless desecration of free government. If the power has slipped away from them it is because they in swinish ignorance and perversity have consented.

The proudest right of an American citizen is a free vote. It is an amazing fact that in years past the purchasable vote in our large cities, and in some of our oldest states, decided the election. This is what makes Caesarism possible, and this is what darkens the horizon of the future.

No people can be free who do not desire freedom, and no people can desire freedom whose instincts are too sordid to rebel against the corruption of their most dearly bought rights.

And now, in conclusion, let me say that the commercialism of the present day is naturally allied to the monarchial spirit and sustains itself by the monarchial method. It is the projected shadow from the ages that are gone. And I believe it to be only a shadow. The substance of liberty will live. You and I may help to keep it alive, but not by violence. He who invokes disorder as a remedy for social or political ills is an enemy to the human race.

The sordid instincts of man are all the time sleeping. Civilization has toiled up too many steps to be thrown back into chaos. In organization for political discussion and action, we may advance the social wellbeing and create a public sentiment for wise and just measures of legislation. It is a time of trial for democratic institutions. But our government will stand. Neither the storms of anarchy nor the subtleness and more dangerous attacks of corporate power to undermine the superstructure will prevail. Let it be our boast that we are American citizens, and let us set our faces against disorder and seek for a better social life and a better administration of government through peaceful and constitutional methods.

There is no danger from the lower classes in this country—the danger comes from another source. The so-called lower classes are only to be feared when made dangerous by injustice. There needs to be a great movement of the people in organized political action. It will come and its inspiration will not be hostility to wealth. It will strike for just legislation, for the restoration of public rights, and the preservation of private rights and opportunities which belong to all from being appropriated by a few. It will strike against the falsehoods and hypocrisies of the old political parties. It will strike for new paths and new ideas and new men who will lead us forward to new achievements for humanity. The difficulties which threaten our peace and the dangers which menace the permanence of our government are but the foam of the waves, which are bound to dash themselves to pieces on the eternal rock of our massive superstructure, built on the indistructible idea that "the people's will must govern."



## A FIREMAN

### WOULD LIKE TO KNOW THE REASON WHY

The Locomotive Firemen's Magazine Has No Word of Sympathy for the Imprisoned Officers of the A. R. U.

WATERTOWN, N. Y., Sept. 5, 1895.

Editor Railway Times:

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:—I ask for just a little space in your valuable paper to enable me to shake hands with Brother "82" of Minneapolis, who voices the sentiments of many of the members of this section. His words have the proper ring, and I wish to state that the brothers of 212 are asking why the Locomotive Firemen's Magazine does not say one word for a worthy brother who is behind prison bars, for no crime, but because he tried to release starving toilers from the iron hand of monopoly?

When we have paid our hard earned money to carry on a fight which was sanctioned by our Grand Master and the other big chiefs and were defeated, our Grand Master told us the money was not lost. We had shown our enemies that we were equal to any emergency when struggling for the good of our great brotherhood. And we consider the money spent to establish a brother's innocence before the courts in the same light, but we notice that not one move is made, nor one kind word said in the columns of our Magazine for the saviour of our brotherhood, who for thirteen years was the brains of the grand lodge and who made it possible for the men who followed him to draw fat salaries from the brothers who have hardly enough to pay grand dues for this year of our Lord.

Why is it that the Magazine does not speak out for a brother who is being persecuted and imprisoned for doing exactly what our protective department tells our grand officers to do in case of trouble with our employers.

Such ingratitude is what makes our members weak, and fail to put in an appearance on meeting days.

Brother "82," you feel as I do and many more. You like protection that protects, and not protection in name only.

We read in our Magazine how we should help the Telegraphers, the Train men, the Trackmen. We are told that they will be a power, etc., and at the same time our grand officers are maligning the A. R. U. and asserting that it is "made up of dagoes," etc. At the same time our Magazine is advocating federation to get strength to live, but does not mention the American Railway Union, which has more strength than all of the old orders combined.

We have tried to express our views in the Magazine on this subject, but our communication failed to get into print. The waste basket is the place for expressions of honest convictions, and it must be full of them. I hope we will have a chance to read them in the paper that weighs a 40 lb. sledge, instead of a tack-hammer. Hoping for the right kind of federation among workmen as solid as the "General Managers' Association,"

I am yours in the cause of labor and liberty,

FAIR PLAY.

### LABOR DAY 1895.

It was grand and glorious.

It was labor's coronation day.

It was liberty's resurrection day.

It was an American and not a Russian day.

Labor Day 1895 rang a thousand liberty bells.

Workingmen felt the inspiration of their sovereignty.

It was a warning to the American plutocracy to be cautious.

It sounded notes of alarm and plutocrats will do well to heed them.

It recalled the time when the down-trodden masses of Paris beat down the bastille.

It made Woodstock prison the focal center of thought of all liberty loving Americans.

It grasped the constitution, and said: "Henceforth, trials by an impartial jury must be had."

It recalled the memories of the glorious times when the American colonists defied King George.

It was a day when men could repeat the old Latin proverb *vox populi vox dei*—a day when the voice of the people was the voice of God.

### IN MEMORIAM.

At a regular meeting of Vancouver Local Union No. 430, of the A. R. U., held July 17th, 1895, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, It has pleased the Divine Ruler of the universe to call from our midst our beloved brother, C. F. Richardson, who departed this life June 27th, 1895. Therefore be it

Resolved, That in his death this lodge has lost a faithful member, and his family a loving husband and father.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of our deceased brother; a copy be sent to the Railway Times for publication, and that they be duly entered in the minutes of our lodge.

COMMITTEE

### WE DON'T PATRONIZE.

Union workmen, workingwomen and sympathizers with labor have refused to purchase articles produced by the following firms. Labor papers please copy:

Werner Printing Co., Akron, Ohio.

The following is a list of books published by this firm: "Encyclopedia Britannica;" "Americanized Britannica, known as the Belford Clark edition;" "Werner Educational Series;" "Wild Beasts and Reptiles of the World," by P. T. Barnum; "Glimpses of the World," by J. L. Stoddard; "Photographs of the World's Fair;" "Napoleonic Albums," by Stoddard; "Werner Universal Educator;" "Unvarnished History of the World," by I. S. Clare; "Fallow's Encyclopedia Dictionary;" "Webster's Dictionary;" or Peale's Reprint; "Ellis' History of the United States."

S. Ottenberg & Bros., cigars.

Geo. Ehret, lager beer.

Jackson Brewery, lager beer.

Studebaker Bros. Manufacturing Co., carriages and wagons.

St. Louis Brewers' Association, lager beer.

Pray, Small & Co., shoes.

American Biscuit Co.'s biscuits.

Meyer, Jonnassen & Co., cloaks.

Washburn-Crosby Co., flour, Minneapolis.

School Seat Co., furniture, Grand Rapids.

Pfaff Brewing Co., Boston.

Yocum Bros., cigars, Reading, Pa.

Boston Pilot, Boston Republic.

Glendale Fabric Co., East Hampton, Mass.

Hopedale Manufacturing Co., Hopedale, Mass.

A. F. Smith, shoes, Lynn, Mass.

Hamilton-Brown Shoe Co., St. Louis.

Daube, Cohen & Co., clothing, Chicago.

Mesker Bros., St. Louis.

Clement, Bane & Co., clothiers, Chicago.

Hackett, Carhart & Co., clothiers, New York.

### MILWAUKEE K. OF L.

MR. EDITOR:—At the last meeting of District Assembly No. 108, K. of L., the following resolutions were adopted and ordered sent to your paper for publication:

WHEREAS, That true and patriotic friend of humanity Eugene V. Debs, was sentenced to prison for opposing soulless corporations, on a trumped up charge of disobeying a tory injunction issued by a judge, whose blocks of five political history is a stench in the nostrils of all honest men, and whose elevation to a judicial position is an insult to good citizenship, and a danger to the existence of popular government; therefore, be it

Resolved, By District Assembly No. 108, Knights of Labor, that we protest against the manifestation of usurpation and anarchy by federal judges in depriving men of their liberty, without having been tried by a jury of their peers as guaranteed by the federal constitution, which usurpation, if permitted to be used as a precedent, will be the cause of the destruction of our republic, and placing on its ruins a money aristocracy with despotic powers, which to prevent it behooves all men who love justice and liberty to lay aside any and all political differences and unite at the ballot box in electing members of Congress who will see to the erection of a bar against judicial treason being placed upon the fair face of our common country; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this District Assembly and that a copy thereof be sent to the *Journal of the Knights of Labor* and the *Railway Times*.

FRANK PLANTHABER,

Sec'y D. A. No. 108, K. of L.

MILWAUKEE, Sept. 2, 1895.

### REMEMBERED BY KENTUCKY POPULISTS.

MR. EDITOR:—Yesterday at Ramona Park, near Paducah, I spoke to the Labor Day picnic and at the conclusion of my address, which was attentively listened to, offered the following resolutions which were adopted without one dissenting voice:

WHEREAS, Through the revolutionary usurpation of constitutional power, a corrupt and venal court, doing the bidding of unscrupulous and conscienceless corporations and centralized wealth, sentenced and imprisoned Eugene V. Debs and his associates, denying them the right of trial by jury, and substituting a one-man power, or despotism, in place of a free government; and WHEREAS, The life of liberty itself rests upon the sacred right of trial by a jury of one's peers; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we send greetings to the imprisoned, and condemn in unmeasured terms the unprecedented and unwarranted violation of the American constitution and of human rights, by which they were deprived of their liberty; and

Resolved further, That we think it is time for the plain people to unite at the ballot box and there to write another declaration of independence in this nation, that our liberties may be preserved inviolate.

Fraternally,

JO. A. PARKER,

Chairman State Central Committee

Peoples Party of Kentucky.

Paducah, Ky., Sept. 3, 1895.

### CONUNDRUMS.

Says the *Kansas Agitator*: "What is the use of having a congress and a supreme court at the same time? One creates and the other destroys. The money power can buy the supreme court easier than it can buy a majority of congress. It takes less of its filchings from the people to secure the favor of five aristocrats than two commoners. The court is the supreme menace to the liberty of the people. The commoners are responsible to the people. As a republic we will live without the court. With it, we will decay and die," or as old Lorenzo Dow said:

"You can and you can't,  
You will and you won't,  
You'll be d—d if you do,  
You'll be d—d if you don't."

### Her Accomplishment.

Lady Rhinestone—So you are going to marry an American heiress.

Lord Bustedshire—Yes.

Lady Rhinestone—What accomplishments has she?

Lord Bustedshire—She is worth \$5,000,000 in her own name.

## WOULDN'T HEAR HIM.

### EX-GOVERNOR THAYER CALLED DOWN BY INDIGNANT VETERANS

Who Would Not Listen to Denunciations of Gov. Altgeld and Eugene V. Debs by a Blatherskite.

An incident of the G. A. R. grand encampment at Louisville, Ky., is recited in a dispatch from that city under date of September 12, as follows:

"Ex-Governor J. M. Thayer, of Nebraska, was almost hooted from the platform at the grand army camp meeting at Phoenix Hill last night, which was participated in by a big crowd.

"After talking of war times and the flag, he suddenly shot off on a new tack and commended Grover Cleveland for calling out the United States soldiers to calm down the laboring men in Chicago a year ago. He called Gov. Altgeld an anarchist. He denounced Eugene V. Debs for everything under the sun.

"Thousands in the audience immediately sang out: 'Shut up!' 'Sit down!' Colonel Evans advanced to the front of the platform and asked the audience to give Governor Thayer a hearing. Silence reigned for a few minutes and he began again, but by this time the entire audience was in an uproar and there were cries of 'Take him away!' 'We won't hear him!' and he then left the platform."

During the Pullman strike some military ass, probably the ex commander in chief of the G. A. R., telegraphed Cleveland that 100,000 old war veterans would volunteer to go to Chicago and engage in the work of shooting workmen in the interests of corporations. This cobra fanged and hooded lie went unchallenged and had its effect. It covered the G. A. R. all over with obloquy. It was a foul stain upon its brilliant record. Millions of workmen didn't believe it; they couldn't believe it.

The war worn and scarred veterans denied the infamous slander. They had fought to preserve the union, to abolish chattel slavery, to perpetuate liberty, and not to create conditions for workmen in many regards more abhorrent than chattel slavery. They did not fight to establish the rule of corporations whereby labor could be cheated, robbed and degraded. But as an organization the G. A. R. had had no opportunity to brand the telegram to Cleveland as a vile, slanderous lie. This opportunity came at a great camp fire at Louisville, and the veterans were quick to seize it and beat back the lie to its native hell, and hold its author and those who dared repeat it up as targets for the ineffable scorn of all honest men.

Thayer, of Nebraska, thought he could win applause by denouncing Gov. Altgeld, the intrepid statesman and patriot, and Eugene V. Debs, whom fate selected for the honor of imprisonment, and that as a victim of despotism he might arouse the nation from its lethargy to a full comprehension of the perils which environed the liberties of workmen. But the Nebraska blatherskite, the degenerate advocate of corporate rule and ruin and wage slavery, learned, and the lesson was grandly taught, that the veterans would not listen to his vile and vulgar arraigning of Altgeld and Debs, and gave him to understand that the G. A. R. is not an organization to be used to murder workmen or to sustain despotic power, regardless of who the usurper and traitor may be.

All hail, veterans! In hushing the slanderous tongue of a parasite of despotism you made "Phoenix Hill" immortal, one of the sacred hills of the continent.

### CARL BROWNE AND THE COMMON-WEALERS.

Carl Browne and the Commonwealers, says the *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, celebrated Labor Day Monday evening at 225 New Jersey avenue, near the Capitol, Washington, D. C. A large crowd of workmen and women were in attendance. Carl Browne made a speech and was frequently interrupted by a detective in citizen's clothes until the audience became tired of it and sat down hard on the detective. The speaker paid glowing tribute to General Master Workman Sovereign and Eugene V. Debs, and read the following resolutions, which were almost unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The constitution of the United States distinctly declares that no citizen of the United States shall be deprived of his liberty without a trial by a jury of his peers, and yet Eugene V. Debs, a noble soul in the cause of humanity, was sentenced to jail by a court without such trial; therefore,

Resolved, By this mass meeting of workmen and women, of Washington, D. C., and commonwealers, that we are the people to rise up in their majesty and might and free him from unjust imprisonment it would only be righting the wrong in harmony with the constitution of the United States.

### GRAND SPECIMEN OF LABOR JOURNALISM

The *Railway Times* Labor Day edition was a grand specimen of labor journalism, though many of the best writers scheduled for contributions seem to have failed to send in copy. The paper contains many fine illustrations, among them being a group engraving of the A. R. U. directors and scenes in and around Woodstock jail. It also contains a report of the "trial" for conspiracy. If you have not read it yet, send 5 cents to the *Railway Times*, Terre Haute, Ind., and get a copy.—*Co-operative Age*.

### WOODSTOCK.

Might stands triumphant at the prison door Where the lone hero walks its chilly floor, Exulting in its ever ghoully glee That thought is seen but a white slavery. Right stands triumphant behind prison door, Though its lone hero walks its chilly floor; For might, accursed, must soon divided be And fall forever 'fore sweet liberty. Bastille, America's dark, cruel spot Which time can ne'er efface or ever blot From out the pages of the bloodiest act When tyranny signed its base compact Right imprisoned lies beneath bar and lock Defended by the prisoner of Woodstock Whose noble courage proved manhood's not dead Nor the spirit of our grand-sires fled Debs, Washington, Lincoln, the trinity Of holy America's chivalry. To thee the first we bow and hail thy name The grandest and the noblest of our fame. Manhood arise, behold the darkest deed Made possible by foul corruptions seed. Arise, though right lies beneath bar and lock Eugene V. Debs—the prisoner of Woodstock.

Murphy O'Hara.

### BEMIS BOUNCED.

Prof. Edward W. Bemis, late professor of political economy in the Chicago University, has been bounced because his investigations of economic questions led to convictions which required him to antagonize the prevailing plutocratic policy which dominates political, industrial, financial and educational affairs in the United States, as also, to a very great extent, religious affairs.

Professor Bemis, for the present, at least, is blacklisted. The plutocrats, who control the great universities of the country, will see to it that he remains out of a job until he recants, and if too much of a man to turn traitor to convictions, he may die, like an old spavined horse by the road side, before he will be invited to take the chair of political economy in any first, second or third rate institution of learning in all the land.

Professor Bemis was a profound student of economics upon a broad scale. He saw that certain plutocratic combines were obtaining possession of municipal franchises and robbing the people. He believed that cities should own their gas and water plants, thereby reducing the cost of light and water, and that whatever profits resulted from the business should go into the public treasury, thereby lightening the burdens of taxation. He believed that municipalities should not, by charter or any other form of contract, surrender their control of the streets, and that if cities could not operate street cars, those who obtained the franchise should pay liberally for it.

It is said that Professor Bemis did not indorse the Pullman strike, though he does believe in labor organizations. In opposing the strike he did not take the side of the railroads, though the plutocrats at the time entertained the belief that Bemis would so distort his conscience and convictions as to give at least a quasi indorsement of their infamous methods. In this belief the enemies of labor engaged Dr. Barrow's church in Chicago for the Professor to deliver an address, in which they expected he would denounce the strikers and applaud the General Managers' Association. But Prof. Bemis disappointed the plutocrats who were present in large force. He said:

"The railroads, too, are law breakers, and must be made to obey the interstate commerce law. They are, in fact, as much law breakers as the strikers."

This daring denunciation of the millionaires aroused intense indignation, and Marvin Hughitt, president of the Chicago & Northwestern railroad, striding to the pulpit, exclaimed:

"I consider that language an outrage. To imply that the railroads can not come into court with clean hands is infamous." And from that moment Bemis was doomed.

He would not recant, nor apologize, nor modify his denunciation of the law breaking and law defying plutocrats, the colossal pirates of the centuries, and the pirates determined that Professor Bemis should go, and he has gone.

John D. Rockefeller, who wants to go to the holy land to be baptized in the river Jordan, a la Jesus of Nazareth, gave of his hoode \$1,000,000 to the Chicago University, and determined it should not be used to educate the people in any way squinting toward the teachings of Christ, and a fellow by the name of Yerkes gave the university a telescope costing \$500,000 for the purpose not only of discovering stars, but to peep into Heaven to see if there are any expenient convicts sitting around with harps.

The bouncing of Bemis is an object lesson indicative of the trend of affairs. It has come to this at last, that honest convictions relating to the welfare of the people, are to be tabooed in all places where plutocracy rules. The men who dare to be true to duty and conviction are to be blacklisted and boycotted. There is to be a reign of intolerance and bigotry, and the government with its injunctions and guns and judicial watch dogs, is pledged to the plutocratic regime.

To resist this swelling tide of corruption, robbery and despotism, there comes into view the people. If unified and determined to rescue their rights and liberties, then victory does not admit of question. If distracted and factionized the present order of affairs will continue and steadily grow worse. There are, however, indications that the people have got about as much plutocratic despotism as they can stand, and that a change for the better is not remote.

## About Railroad Watches

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The first Crescent Street, a Gilt 15-Jeweled Key-Winding, was made more than a quarter of a century ago, being then the highest grade of Waltham 18 size. As the announcements of that time stated, the Crescent Street was "For Engineers, Conductors and Travelers; with Micrometric Regulator: a Great Improvement. The only full plate watch made in this country with hand setting on the back." Automatic machinery and mechanical experience have since responded to each additional requirement by those for whose purposes this movement was first constructed. The present Crescent Street is Nickel, Stem-Winding, 17-Jeweled; is officially adopted by railroad watch inspectors throughout the United States, and until the advent of the Vanguard, stood pre-eminent among railroad watches.

No other trademark is better known in any part of the world than that of Appleton, Tracy & Co. 500,000 of these watches are in daily use. This grade, which is also officially adopted as a railroad watch, contains every requisite for the most exacting service. Appleton, Tracy & Co. movements are made in both Nickel and Gilt, 17-Jeweled. At the Sydney, N. S. W., Exhibition in 1879, the Appleton, Tracy & Co. Watch received the highest awards on all points, over all competitors.

No. 35 and No. 25, first issued in 1886, are the highest grades of Waltham 18 size Nameless movements. They are 17-Jeweled and embody the features that have won for Waltham watches their distinctive leadership. The No. 35 and No. 25 movements sell upon their merits, which are more evident and acceptable to watchmakers than the fictitious value often claimed for goods of less established repute.

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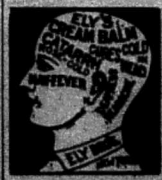
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