

## IT IS COMING.

### A ROUND MILLION WILL FALL INTO LINE UNDER THE NEW BANNER.

And March Forward With Steady Step Until the Republic is a Land of Free and Happy People.

In response to a telegraphic request, Eugene V. Debs wired the following article to the New York Journal, and since its appearance it has been widely copied and commented on: "The approaching special convention of the American Railway Union, to be held at Chicago, beginning the third Tuesday in June, promises to be one of the most interesting and important convocations of labor representatives held in recent years. There is no doubt that radical changes will be made, that the order will be vastly broadened in its scope, and that a progressive and up-to-date policy will be adopted. The members have long since realized that the old methods have been outgrown and that nothing more can be accomplished on present lines; and they have simply been waiting for the full effects of the great strike of 1894 to make themselves felt upon railroad employes, confident that it would result in ripening them for the great change which is now contemplated.

To organize for another strike were worse than folly. At present railroad corporations have things their own way so far as employes are concerned, and the latter might as well have no organization at all. If organizations are recognized or considered at all, it is only when they fully and unqualifiedly subscribe to the terms made by the corporations. Under such arrangements "harmony prevails and the best of feelings exist between the companies and their employes." In the meantime the capacity of all machinery is being increased and more and more business is handled with less and less men.

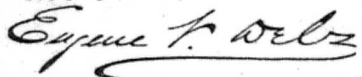
An army of idle employes, the federal and state soldiers and a subservient federal judiciary would perpetuate this state of affairs indefinitely. Fortunately, however, such object lessons are not wholly in vain. Thousands of railway employes and all other kinds of workingmen, who have been the victims of corporate supremacy, have been using their brains, and as a result they propose to adopt new tactics and by the application of common sense methods overcome the selfish, sordid gang who have monopolized the country and the fullness thereof, and place the people in possession of their own.

How is this to be done? By uniting the workers of the country in a grand co-operative scheme in which they shall work together in harmony in every branch of industry, virtually being their own employers and receiving the whole product of their labor. The country is ripe for such a movement, and I believe the coming convention of the American Railway Union will launch it. It is to be confined to no particular class of labor, but all who toil are to be admitted without regard to nationality, sex, color or previous condition of servitude. The primary work will be largely educational. Every problem relating to our social, economic, political and industrial life will be examined. Lecturers and organizers will take the field and enter upon a thorough canvass of every state in the union. Some of the foremost men in the reform movement will head the crusade and it is a foregone conclusion that it will grow more rapidly than any organization that has ever preceded it, and being founded in the intelligence of the membership the growth will be healthy and substantial, and it will not be long until this movement will be one of the determining factors in shaping the policy and destiny of the republic. Industrial co-operation as a basis of a higher type of civilization will be the principal object. It is impossible to enter into detail so far in advance, but these will doubtless adjust themselves at the proper time. Upon fundamental, bed-rock principles a round million of us are agreed. We shall unite all our energies to destroy the present capitalistic system and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth. Under the former, which is now in the last stages of "consumption," the country has been brought to the verge of ruin, and humanity has been degraded beyond the power of language to describe. To one whose sensibilities are not wholly dead a mere contemplation of the horror of our social life is sickening and shocking. The time has come for social regeneration and this is only possible through a new and world-wide change of system, and to inaugurate that change will be the purpose of the new movement to be launched soon in the great metropolis of the west.

Soon after the work is under way it is proposed to begin active operations in some western state. The state will be colonized by our people, the leaders will converge there, a full ticket will be nominated and we will undoubtedly have votes enough to secure complete control of the state government. We

will then establish the Co-operative Commonwealth, and the state government will be in harmony with it. The laborless thousands of the country will be invited to the state and given equal opportunities with all others to develop its resources and enjoy "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." There are several western states in any one of which all the unemployed of the country could, under sane conditions, not only provide for themselves but attain a type of civilization compared with which the present would appear like cannibalism.

From one state the new life will rapidly overleap boundary lines and permeate others, and thus the tide will sweep in all directions until the old, barbaric system has been destroyed and the republic is redeemed and disenthralled and is, in fact, the land of a free and happy people.



### F. F. PASSMORE ON THE WARPATH.

It would be lamentable if the Rev. F. F. Passmore, of Denver, ex-Metropolitan Episcopal minister in an open letter addressed to Rev. W. C. Madison, D. D., Ph. D., and presiding elder of the Greeley district, were the latter a half way decent fellow instead of a divine (?) follower of Belzebub. It seems from Mr. Passmore's open letter that this Methodist minister wrote an article over his signature captioned "The Christ Mind and the Christ Glory." Mr. Passmore is of the opinion that a man who has the Christ mind will tell the truth, an intimation that Rev. Madison, not having the Christ mind, is quite incapable of doing. Indeed, Mr. Passmore is of the opinion that if Madison so much as desired to tell the truth or do any other noble act, he wouldn't do it because they are afraid that the Methodist Bishop Warren, who lords it over Madison and the rest of the preachers who have had a "call" at so much a year to tell what they know about the "Christ mind and the Christ glory," would bounce them. Mr. Passmore—and he knows, for he has sat around the board—believes that Rev. Madison is a consummate sneak, and addressing him in his open letter, says:

You and the other elders of this conference go and sit in the shadow of Bishop Warren like the Mystics of India. And then you go out not to play the part of brave, courageous, conscientious men, but to damn the church, and oppress and enslave your fellow-men.

I am sorry for you, Brother Madison, but I have no hope that you will ever be a grand, brave, self-asserting man; you are a moral coward, and God has no place in the universe for a moral coward.

The Lord can't use you, my brother. Bishop Warren can use you, but God cannot.

As a matter of course, the Lord does not want a coward, a sneak, a hypocrite, and they don't "call" them to preach, but they get into pulpits nevertheless, and knowing where their bread and butter comes from, betray Christ with a kiss and pocket the swag. Mr. Passmore earned distinction and martyrdom, by espousing the cause of the poor, and by denouncing the Methodist clergy for running after plutocrats and neglecting their duties to the poor, and for this he flays them alive. He not only takes the small fry preachers in hand, but he scourges the big bugs of the church in a way that must set all the people of Colorado to thinking if it would not promote the glory of God, to keep away from the places where such gentle harangue the public for what they can get. He tells Rev. Madison and the rest, they are bad men, and says, "You presiding elders, with Bishop Warren and Chancellor McDowell, are bad men and the worst of it all is that you are doing all your infernalism and devilry in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ."

He told Rev. Madison, "You know that the churches in your district are full of sin and corruption, and you run round over the district and draw your salary, pass over these sins and try to make yourself believe that you have done your duty."

It appears that this Rev. Madison went into the real estate business and failed and carried down with him others who had confidence in his real estate ventures, if not in his religion. But Rev. Passmore reaches the climax when he says:

"You know, Brother Madison, that the Lord Jesus Christ said that such preachers as yourself and Bishop Warren were wolves in sheep's clothing. You also know that the lion, the dog, the fox and all other animals have some redeeming traits of character, but a wolf has none. The wolf is selfish, wicked, bloodthirsty, and worst of all, comes under false clothing—comes an enemy in the garb of a friend. This is the way it is with you elders. The land is filled with hungry men, women and children. The land is filled with drunkards. Four millions of people are stamping this wide, grand and once glorious republic! A few thousands are getting immensely rich, while millions are coming to poverty. Destruction is staring us in the face as a church and a nation; and you preachers have not only not said one word to bring about a better state of affairs, but you have actually joined hands, in a political way, with saloon men, gamblers, barons and the criminal classes to destroy this nation.

In this last quoted paragraph the whole story is told, told in terrible earnestness, told in a way that sinks the church to soundless depths of apostasy. It indicates the debauching power of money, which transforms ministers of the living God into hypocrites, and sends them forth, not to feed Christ's sheep but to shear them, and metaphorically transform them into mutton. We shall hope to hear from Rev. Passmore again and often.

## MAX S. HAYES.

### THE BRILLIANT YOUNG EDITOR OF THE CLEVELAND CITIZEN

Discusses "A Socialist's Ideal," and Makes a Telling Argument Against the Competitive System.

Max S. Hayes, whose excellent work as editor of the Cleveland Citizen has given him a wide and enviable reputation, is out in an article in the Cleveland World, captioned "A Socialist's Ideal," which we take pleasure in reproducing for the delectation of our readers. The article, embellished with a portrait of the writer, makes good reading, especially for those who are "on the fence" and are undecided which way to turn. Mr. Hayes, as Secretary of the Central Labor Union of Cleveland, no less than in his capacity as editor of the Citizen, the official paper of the organization, although a young man, has made fame in the labor movement by his aggressive, clean-cut policy and his uncompromising hostility to "labor fakirs" and "labor skates" of every species whatsoever, and under the administration of Hayes and his colleagues the Cleveland Central Labor Union has been purged of the last trace of this element, and, without injustice to others, may be credited with being the cleanest, most intelligent, courageous and progressive body of its kind in the country.

The article of Editor Hayes is as follows:

"I am in favor of the eight-hour day because I am a Socialist. The keynote of the Socialist movement the world over is a shorter working day, and every Socialist—be he a German, a Frenchman, a Belgian, an Italian, an Englishman, an American, or of any other nationality—is heart and soul in this grand altruistic and unconquerable movement.

Mulhall tells us that the British work-ers could supply all their wants in much less than four hours' labor a day if industry was properly organized; Atkinson, the well-known capitalistic statistician of this country declares that if all labor in civilized countries, worked but two hours in the 24 sufficient could be produced to enable all to live comfortably and in happiness.

Let me tell you what the eminent student of sociology, Prof. Th. Hertzka of Vienna, says in his celebrated work, "Laws of Social Evolution." Prof. Hertzka finds that with the present machinery in existence in Austria (by no means a highly developed country in that respect), it would require but 10,500,000 hektars of agricultural land and 3,000,000 of pasturage for all agricultural products for the 22,000,000 inhabitants. Should the 5,000,000 able-bodied men of Austria be engaged in useful occupations "they only need to work 36.9 days every year to produce everything needed for the support of the population of Austria," or "should the 5,000,000 work all the year, say 300 days, which they likely have to do to keep the supply fresh in every department, each one would only work one hour and 22½ minutes per day."

But to engage to produce all the luxuries in addition, Prof. Hertzka estimates it would require another million men, over 16 and under 50, and the 6,000,000 "could produce everything imaginable for the whole nation of 22,000,000 in two hours and twelve minutes per day."

Still we talk of working eight, ten and twelve hours a day!

But probably Mulhall, Atkinson, Karl, Hertzka, Mark and other scientists are crazy, and it is only the numskulls who have never given this subject five minutes' thought who know it all.

The fact is, the opponents of the short hour workday have no ground to stand upon. They can not be dragged into a discussion by a team of oxen, and merely content themselves with uttering the parrot cry, "Can't do it!"

Look at the tremendous development of machinery in this country in the last few years—far ahead of anything in the world. There is not a single trade that does not feel the effects of machinery. It is only necessary to take up the reports of the United States Commissioner Carroll D. Wright upon the subject to learn the tremendous development that has been going on in the industrial world. In the clothing, wood-working, iron and steel, printing, engineering, agriculture, and, in fact, in every branch of industry, the saving of labor compared with the last generation is marvelous. The superficial thinker will say that machinery opens new avenues of employment. Hobson in his "Problems of Poverty" shows that in 1857 there were 5,061,050 persons engaged in the five great staple branches of production in England—agriculture, textile fabrics, minerals, transport service, machinery and tools. In 1881, though the population had increased 9,000,000, the number of workers engaged in these trades numbered 5,213,518, hardly an increase.

Prof. Graham Taylor, of Chicago

Commons, after a thorough investigation, finds that "the economic effects of the introduction and operation of machinery to a vast class of working people are disastrous in the extreme."

Prof. Watkins says: "Labor-saving machinery saves labor; it does the same work with one-fifth, one tenth, one hundredth or one-thousandth the number of workers. It makes men unnecessary; it takes away the source of their living. These facts were disputed by the writers of 60 years ago, but they are now beyond all question."

I. M. H. Frederick, in the American Magazine of Civics, says that where formerly labor saving machinery opened up new fields for labor, "today the new mechanical devices create a very small demand for labor compared with that dispensed with," and the printing trade is cited for example: "The number of printers in the United States thrown out of employment by the introduction of type-setting machinery in the last year is estimated at about 4,000, and there is no corresponding demand for labor provided by this change." The machines are turned out by other machines, which are tended by women, boys or so-called unskilled labor.

On the other hand, we find the natural opportunities closed against the propertyless working class. Vast corporations and trusts are minimizing the cost of production and distribution, lopping off all useless labor and concentrating industry and human effort. The displaced worker can not go into another trade—all trades are overrun by idle men. He can not engage in business except on a large scale.

Now, our demand is that the hours of labor be reduced and work be given to a portion of the 4,000,000 unemployed laborers of this country. It is foolish to allow all that labor power go to waste—to fill our prisons, poor houses and insane asylums with it. We claim that the eight hour day or the six-hour day would bring about more prosperity in six months than all the tariff and financial cackling can in ten years. And we Socialists will struggle for the short-hour day upon the economic and political field until a victory is gained. We may go down in defeat, but the fight will go on until this planless, chaotic, capitalistic competition wage system is overthrown and a co-operative commonwealth is established.

Idealistic? Yes! The man or woman without an ideal ought to jump off the earth.

### WHEN GOLDBUGS DELIBERATE.

The New York Evening Post, a sheet owned and controlled by money sharks, is impatient. It wants congress to pass a law at once to establish irrevocably the gold standard and in its frenzy exclaims:

"Have you ever thought of it? We are subjecting our national honor to a daily debate at every director's table where a discussion is had about securities. In every broker's office, in every lawyer's rooms where loans are negotiated, in every home where investments are talked over, the possibility of a change in our standard of value lurks like a 'skeleton in the closet'."

But, fortunately, there are other places than those named by the Post, where the "national honor" is debated, where honest men and not knaves discuss standards in the interest of all the people, rather than for the benefit of Rothschilds, Shylocks, Judas Iscariots and others—native and foreign-born pirates who prey upon the people; who are bleeding to death, that they may increase their wealth.

### "I'LL DO WHAT I CAN."

Who takes for his motto, "I'll do what I can." Shall better the world as he goes down life's bill. The willing young heart makes the capable man. And who does what he can, oft can do what he will.

There's strength in the impulse to help things along. And force undreamed-of will come to the aid of one who, though weak, yet believes he is strong.

And offers himself to the task unafraid. "I'll do what I can" is a challenge to fate. And fate must succumb, when it's put to the test.

A heart that is willing to labor and wait In its tussle with life ever comes out the best. It puts the blue imps of depression to rout; And makes many difficult problems seem plain;

It mounts over obstacles, dissipates doubt, And unravels kinks in life's curious chain. "I'll do what I can" keeps the progress machine In good working order as centuries roll, And civilization would perish, I ween, Were not those words written on many a soul.

They seek the great forests, they furrow the soil, They seek no inventions? O' benefit man; They fear no exertion, make pasture of toil— Oh, great is earth's debt to—"I'll do what I can."

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

Grover Cleveland retires from office with no glory, except that which he has won by his shotguns and fishhooks. Whatever he may be as a fisherman, as a hunter he is a sneak. One who knows says when shooting "he hides in the tules, envelopes himself with a blind, puts out his wooden ducks, and shoots from cover the innocent little birds which he thus decoys." That's Grover—His diaphragm is not distended by heart development. If he were as good, as he is greedy, Americans would honor him, as it is, he is the most universally despised man on the continent.

## THE WAY OUT.

### ALTHOUGH THE NIGHT IS DARK THE DAWN OF CO-OPERATION IS NEAR.

Sylvester Kellher Discusses Conditions and Declares Education the Paramount Duty of the Hour.

A late issue of the "Rights of Man," published at Minneapolis contains an excellent article from the pen of our esteemed General Secretary, Sylvester Kellher, which deserves wide reading, and we therefore reproduce the article in full as follows:

"The situation throughout the country, in fact the world, cannot be viewed without misgivings as to what the future shall bring forth, and the interrogatory 'Where are we at' is often heard among the students and thinkers of the age. Our United States labor commissioner tells us that in the comparatively prosperous year of 1890 we had 3,523,780 unemployed. The reports of Bradstreet, and Dunn inform us that business failures for each week show a decided increase over the corresponding weeks of former years, while the daily press relates stories of destitution, starvation and crime that is appalling. How long can these conditions last? and what remedies are necessary to correct them is an important question for consideration at this time. The situation here differs but little from that in other countries; the wealth is rapidly centralizing in the hands of the few, while the masses are becoming poorer and poorer, with a very large proportion of them without any visible means of support.

The history of nations gone tells us what the result must be if we continue on present lines. Even were the fires of liberty extinguished, it would require more than "confidence" to feed, clothe, and shelter the millions who are being displaced by labor-saving machinery and improved methods. What a sad commentary upon our much vaunted civilization; that millions must starve because too much wheat, potatoes and vegetables have been raised, and go ragged because too many clothes have been made. In this country, where people have the right of suffrage, it would seem that relief from these cannibalistic conditions was a simple problem, but the corrupting influences of vast wealth in unscrupulous hands, and the high-handed piracy of corporations and large employers in the late election has prompted the query, and perhaps not without cause, "ballots or bullets, which?" To talk of physical force with that civilized and all-powerful weapon, the ballot, in the hands of all the people, seems an unreasonable and criminal proposition, but right and intelligence do not always prevail, and whether the one or the other method is employed, a change is an absolute certainty, and will come just so sure as the rivers flow toward the sea. Our hope lies in the intelligence of the common people, consequently their education is the paramount question of the hour; and that education which comprehends duties and responsibilities, no less than a knowledge of facts is what is most required to-day. Labor and other organizations afford great opportunity for this work and they should give time at each meeting for the discussion of conditions and methods, but the more thorough knowledge must come from reading; therefore the distribution of reform papers and literature is most important; and no individual or organization should lose an opportunity to increase the readers of this class of literature.

We must admit that the present conditions are a disgrace to a civilized people, and that the proper change can come, only when the people have a thorough knowledge of human affairs. The signs of the times indicate with unerring certainty that this knowledge must be acquired soon or it will be too late. When we agree that there is something wrong, and that a change is necessary, we look about for the proper remedy. So far as I am concerned I have solved the question to my entire satisfaction, and believe that our only hopes lie in, and will be realized with the Co operative Commonwealth; a system whereby production for profit gives way to production for use. The man is of more consequence that the dollar, humanity is greater than greed, and the whole people should be united in one common brotherhood, where the comfort and happiness of each will be the concern of all. Under such a system I cannot conceive of a single human being starving to death while there was a loaf of bread, or the wife, mother or children shivering or freezing while there was coal to be mined or wood to be cut. Banks where the officers can at will speculate with, and waste the people's money or deliberately appropriate it to their own use, would be supplanted by repositories, owned and controlled by the whole people, where there would be neither opportunity or incentive to steal; individual ownership of railroads and other public facilities, where mil-

lions of tribute are levied upon the people to pay dividends upon watered stock for the benefit of foreign and native shysters, would give way to a system where the whole people would have an equal interest and the sole purpose be the public convenience and welfare. Improvement in the production and distribution of wealth can only come with a greater application of associated effort, consequently the line of progress is the route by which the change will, and must inevitably come.

In the past labor has been content to advocate palliatives, but the only one worthy of consideration at this time is the "eight-hour movement." That a reduction in the hours of labor is absolutely necessary, is evidenced by the vast army of unemployed that are swarming the highways and byways in search of work. The surprise is not that labor should ask so much, but that it should be satisfied with so little. It is labor that produces all wealth, every dollar's worth in existence is the result of labor applied to nature's supply; but why should labor fill the world with wealth and live in want? Of what use are inventions if none of the comforts find their way into the homes of the producing classes? Every labor saving machine should be a benefit to the whole world; every improved method should shorten the hours of toil, and would if the instruments of production and distribution were owned and operated for the benefit of the whole people.

"The way out" is by an earnest study of social and economic questions, and the application of Socialism will be the result, where now the grasping, grinding greed for gain is dominant. Let crushed and bleeding humanity everywhere take heart of hope, for though the night of capitalism is dark, the dawn of co operation is near."

### MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT.

Josiah Quincy, mayor of Boston, has a paper in the March Arena, in which he discusses "Municipal development" on both sides of the Atlantic, in which it is shown that the socialistic idea is far more advanced in European cities than in the United States. It does not matter in the least what terms are employed, indicative of progress, whether "development" or "evolution" the fact stands that municipalities, and in numerous instances national governments, are doing that which socialism demands, taking possession of certain enterprises hitherto in the hands of private corporations and conducting them for the benefit of all the people.

Mr. Quincy is exceedingly guarded in his expressions. He favors socialism in municipal affairs, though lacking the courage, as yet, to commit himself altogether to the coming inevitable. He says, however, that "the question whether or not such public service as lighting by gas or electricity, and passenger transportation in the streets, should be entrusted to corporations or performed directly by the municipality, is one which is giving rise to a great deal of discussion in this country, and the sentiment in favor of municipal ownership is unquestionably growing. The fact that franchises and locations in the streets have been so universally given to private corporations in our great cities, and that an enormous amount of capital has been invested in their securities, makes any attempt to inaugurate the European practice of public ownership, with operation either directly by the city or under a lease from it, exceedingly difficult. But aside from the question of dealing fairly with vested interests, there seems to me to be no reason why an American city should not take up any service of this character which may be recommended by business and financial considerations. There is no principle that stands in the way, for instance, of the municipal ownership and operation of an electric-light plant. It is purely a commercial question in each particular case. The electric-lighting business in particular, with the present improved dynamos and engines, is one which a properly organized city ought to be able to conduct for itself with some economy and advantage."

Socialism is quite content with such endorsement of its views relating to municipal ownership. It is socialism in municipal affairs, and is coming to stay.

### ERROR.

In the beautiful poem of Ellis B. Harris, entitled "Plea of the Socialist," which appeared in our issue of April 1st, there occurred an annoying error. In the second line of the tenth verse the word "bust" should have read "lust." The error was doubtless noticed by our readers, who will understand and appreciate this correction.

### CAPITA TAX.

Capita tax is due from members May 1st, and returns from local unions must be made so as to reach the General Union on or before May 20th.

### BE CAREFUL OF PROMISES.

"We must not promise what we ought not, lest we be called on to perform what we cannot."—Abraham Lincoln.



PAPERS.

MY CANADA.

My Canada, I love thy hills,
Thy waters broad and rivers grand.
Thy beauties rare each true heart thrill

Though I may roam in lands afar
While wandering on life's weary way,
The while I'll yearn for thee, bright star,

My Canada, I love thy homes,
Thy prairies broad and forests deep:
Thy mountains high, whose icy domes

My Canada, my Canada,
Where freedom's lamp burns ever bright,
God's love and mercy be thy stay,

By the lake and stream and sunlit bay
With maple boughs low bending o'er.

There is but one real ownership—the
right of a man to himself.

There is no wealth outside of man, for
it is his desire to use the products of
nature that gives them value.

Property rights, therefore, consist in
the right to prevent human life from its
legitimate ends to pamper the appetites
and lusts of the property owner.

The vested right is a privilege to possess
the withheld earnings of labor.

Profit is the difference between what
a man gets and what he earns.

Rent is the tribute a man pays to the
one who has seized the land that right-
fully belongs to him who occupies it.

Interest represents the amount paid
by industry for permission to trade its
product, and indicates the value of the
special privilege given by the govern-
ment to money sharks.

He who steals, whether legally or not,
forfeits his right to own even what he
earns.

There is no fool like an old fool, be-
cause his folly has become chronic.

There is no slavery so pitiful as that
which is proud of its fetters, for it de-
notes the death of manhood.

The trust is no worse than the steam
engine, and the business man who would
suppress it is no better than the mechan-
ic who would smash the machine;
both the machine and trust are good if
used for the benefit of the people, but
both are evil if permitted to use the
people for themselves.

Socialism is an actual fact; the only
question is whether it shall be a social
despotism or a social democracy. The
trust is the socialism of capital, and its
unit is the dollar; in it money votes
and money rules.

The universal trust and the universal
social democracy must soon confront
each other; the collision is inevitable.

The conflict between the man and the
dollar admits of no truce nor palliation,
we can not serve God and Mammon.

The interest of capital and labor are
antagonistic and admit of no compromise,
for the right to take even the
smallest fraction of another's earnings
carries with it the right to take all.

Competition makes of labor a curse
where it should be a blessing, and
brings with disgrace that which should
be the pride and glory of man.

Free labor is as joyous and sponta-
neous as the song of a bird or the
speed of a deer, and is the best expres-
sion of a man's individuality.

Slave labor is a curse because it is
neither sustained by love nor induced
by hope, but is driven by the lash, and
can hope for no reward but the relief
offered by death.

He who works because it is congenial
to him is a gentleman and an artist,
though he may be but a hewer of wood,
while the man who works because he
has to, is a drudge whether he uses his
brain or his hands.

As to Paternalism.

Mr. Editor:—A copy of the TIMES of
April 1st has been handed me, which
contains the following, in an editorial:
"it is the socialistic idea finding expres-
sion in the demand for the municipal-
ity to become paternal to the extent of
owning and operating water, gas, street
railway and electric lighting plants,

rather than permit them to be owned
and operated by soulless corporations."

Do you hold with the ordinary adver-
sate and defender of the quasi-public
corporation that such corporations are
not strictly public employers while op-
erating these plants, but private individ-
uals engaged in private business. If you
do not so hold, then why is there more

paternalism in national, state or municipal
operation of these plants through
their general agent, government, than
in their operation by special agents, the
private corporations. A substitution of
agents does not change the nature of
a principal's business. The paternalism,
if there is any, is in the public corpora-
tion doing these things in any manner
whatever. As it requires the exercise
of the state's power of eminent domain
and an exclusive control of certain public
property to furnish said railroads,
canals, wagon roads, street railways, tel-
egraphs, telephones, water, gas and
electric light plants, and as no private
individual, corporate or sole, can have
such exclusive control, or exercise the
power of eminent domain, except as a
public agent and for a purely public
purpose, it is plain that if we are to
have the benefit of these public utilities
at all the nation, state, or municipality
must provide them, and that there is as
much paternalism in providing them in
one way as in another.

No paternalism has been avoided by
employing private corporations to per-
form public functions. Every franchisee
is in law a contract between a public
corporation as an employer, and private
individual or corporation as an employe.
Anyone may manufacture, mine, farm,
buy, sell, lend and borrow without any
special authority to do so from the govern-
ment, but no one can build or operate
a railroad, telegraph, street railway,
water or lighting plant without such
special authorization. Generally speak-
ing, the state ought not to do for the
people anything which they can do for
themselves without her interference,
and she ought to do those things neces-
sary to be done which cannot be done
without her interference. Fifty years'
experience with contracting public
functions to private individuals and cor-
porations has shown that it is against
public policy to do so in this country,
yet in changing to direct government
management of public business we are
behind almost every other nation in the
world.

So, let us remember that though a
gold-basis civilization is bad enough, it
is at least much better than a church-
basis civilization. Our lowest and most
hoggish citizens are better than those
insane hermits and monks. Our worst
city is better than their best monastery,
and step by step we are leaving those
medieval conditions behind.

In the name of Christ and God and
religion they defaced paintings and de-
stroyed statuary; they burned every use-
ful book and tore up every valuable
parliament; they snarled a bit and
gnawed at all the props of civilized life,
as if they were the swine that Christ
sent the devils into.

In the year 1297 people believed they
had a high degree of civilization, though
to-day we assert they had none at all.
The frog always calls the tadpole a bar-
barian, and the tadpole calls the jelly
speck a savage. When Columbus ran
into a small island he thought it was a
continent; but for 200 years after Colum-
bus this great continent was still an un-
explored wilderness.

So in these modern times we fancy we
have already established an industrial
civilization, when the truth is that we
are no further advanced than the United
States was in 1750. We've got it all to
get. As yet our cities are only settle-
ments—they are rafts, not steamers.
We must not forget in our boastful patri-
otism that it takes more than a crowd
of people to make a city. Our great in-
dustrial centers are only Indians' camps
on a large scale—a conglomeration of
makeshifts and patches.

So long as Business or Ecclesiasticism
rules, there can never be a truly great
city. Business says, "The object of life
is to make money," and Ecclesiasticism
says, "The object of life is to get to
heaven, and no city worthy of the name
can be built up on these principles. The
object of life is, live to learn, to
love, to create and to enjoy."

No one can be passionately attached
to a clump of tenements and workshops.
The only question that men ask of any
city to-day is, "Can I get money there?"
They don't inquire about scenery,
health, morality or enjoyment.

Go through the tenement district of
one of our cities on a rainy day, and you
will say that not even a Byron or a
Schopenhauer could describe the ugliness
and desolation. Look at the hideous
back yards, the dreary labyrinth of
clothes lines; the rickety ash barrels;
the damp, clammy bricks, with malarial
sweat oozing from their pores; the lean,
fornicats, sneaking and dodging about
like a squad of detectives; the battered,
unpainted fence; the grimy window
panes; and all the rest of the accumu-
lated ugliness. In the tenement-house
portion of New York, where 650,000 peo-
ple "live," there is only one bath tub to
6,000 people, or about 105 altogether.

How can we expect fruit when we
plant our human saplings in such a desert?
There ought to be a special legal
code for the slums, and whenever a
criminal proves that he was born and
"educated" there, the judge, on behalf
of society, should beg his pardon and
grant him a pension for at least five
years.

Is it any wonder that our national
hero is Fitzsimmons when all classes of
society are feverish with the ferocity of
pugilism; and when the masses are
crowded together into tenement styes
and stables? A city should be some-
thing more than a scramble and mad
rush of cattle around a haystack.

If you have a pharisaical friend who
is satisfied with civilization as it is, take
him out to the city dumpheaps and let
him see the swarms of ragged children
rooting like swine among the garbage.
Ask him how he would like to send his
children to such a kindergarten.

At a meeting of ministers lately held
in New York one doctor of divinity
gravely declared that God is only using
the earth as a "breeding ground from
which to populate the universe," and
that the 50,000 people, half of them chil-
dren, who die every day, go to populate
the stars. The profound and brilliant
explanation of course makes present
conditions quite satisfactory, for any old
manger will do to get born in. If it be
true, then doubtless all deadly grade
crossings and unhealthy tenements are
ordained of God to transplant us as soon
as possible to the planets.

A much-needed society, called the
Anti-Noise society has been recently
formed in New York. It aims to gradu-
ally prohibit the unnecessary noises of
our city streets, to do away with the
deafening iron and coal wagons, the
yelling hawkers and ragmen, and the stupe-
fying roar of machinery. All these
noises consume nervous force and pre-
vent the brain from doing its work.

When vehicles and trains are made
for use and enjoyment, and not for prof-

it, many inventions will be adopted to
decrease the rattle and roar and infernal
din. Instead of the jolting rattle and
bang of the trolley car, we shall have
the easy, silent motion of the Pullman
coach.

If a child's top can be made to music-
ally hum as it whirls, why cannot the
wheels of machinery and trains also sing
a song instead of howling and rasping
like a headache factory? Sets of reeds
can be inserted in almost all wheels, and
every passenger coach might have its
automatic organ or music box.

As soon as business is organized and
all the people are inside the trusts, there
will be time and money for all this and
more. America is not poor; it can
spend two millions for a ball and three
millions for a prize fight. The appropria-
tions of the last congress amounted
to over a thousand millions. We have
enough of everything, except common
sense.

Our cities should be our homes. What
are streets but hallways? What are
houses but rooms? What is citizenship
but housekeeping? What is politics
but the science of family life.

Some day we shall choose a city just
as we choose a friend, and love it with
a larger love. We shall have not only
a health department, but a beauty de-
partment, a music department and a
reception department to welcome all
strangers. Cheap transit will empty
the tenements, and public ownership
will transform business into a sane and
orderly production and distribution of
commodities. Every city will be chang-
ed from a camp of transient hucksters
and confidence men into a federation of
happy homes. We shall realize at last
that Enjoyment, and Beauty, and Kind-
ness are the ripened fruits of life, not
Business, not Religion, not Labor, not
Ownership.

BURNS CAPTURED THE MEETING.

The Chicago South Side Daily Star of
April 14th gives an interesting account
of a meeting which was called in the in-
terest of the railroads but fortunately,
through the presence of Brother W. E.
Burns and others, was directed into
proper channels and took action against
the railroads and in the interest of the
people. It appears that the meeting
was called by the Rev. P. M. Flannigan
with the object of declaring in favor of
the repeal of the anti-pooling section of
the inter-state commerce law. Just why
this reverend gentleman is so profound-
ly interested in railroad corporations,
and just how he gets the notion that
they are so weak and impotent that they
must rely upon the ministry to protect
them against the oppression of the peo-
ple, are matters which the reports fail
to make clear to us. The statements
made in his own behalf by Rev. Mr.
Flannigan certainly throw no light on
the subject. He surely knows that rates
and wages bear no relation to each other
on railroads. To increase rates and re-
duce wages at the same time has been
notoriously the policy of many railroads,
and if Mr. Flannigan is under the hal-
lucination that he can help railroad em-
ployees by giving his influence to the cor-
porations he is not unlike the fellow
who sought to sharpen the wolf's fangs
so he might better be able to protect the
lambs.

Director W. E. Burns of the A. R. U.,
hearing of the meeting, put in an ap-
pearance at the proper time on the pro-
gramme and what followed is told in the
Daily Star:

W. E. Burns, the A. R. U. organizer,
supported by a small army of followers,
captured the meeting held at Werkmeister's
Hall, at Fifty-fourth street and
Wentworth avenue, last evening, and
brought it to a sensational climax by
the passage of a resolution declaring for
State ownership of railroads, presented
by Michael Haley, the well-known Popu-
list politician. Rev. P. M. Flannigan, of
St. Anne's Church, who called the meet-
ing with the object of declaring that the
anti-pooling section of the interstate
law should be repealed, was in a minor-
ity at the close of the gathering after
Burns had made an appeal to the crowd.
The meeting at times reached a fever
heat of excitement and taxed the power
of E. W. Adkinson, the chairman, to
preserve order.

Father Flannigan made the opening
and principal address of the evening,
declaring that if the railroads were given
power to pool their earnings prosperity
would soon be restored. "I know the
subject is unpopular," he said, "but I
have given it much thought and believe
that I am right. I propose to satisfy
you that the stand I have taken is right,
and what is right will always be popu-
lar. The inter-state law was passed for
good reasons. Unscrupulous railway
managers were making the traffic stand
all that it would bear, and in many cases
more. The people complained and the
law was passed in response to public
opinion. It was supposed to be a cure
for all public evils. Since its passage it
has done no good. It was passed in
anger and without due consideration.
It aimed at one class and miscarried.
It protected the public against unscrupu-
lous managers, but not against the un-
scrupulous shipper."

Father Flannigan went on to illustrate
the disastrous result of rate wars which
he said were caused mainly by the
prohibition of pooling. Secret cutting of
rates, he said, had destroyed legitimate
competition. He denounced promoters

and speculators who built roads into
territory where not needed solely for
stock jobbing purposes, and declared
that existing conditions had led to the
bankruptcy of most of the railroads.

"The railroads lose their revenue and
they cannot afford to pay wages," he
continued. "What is the result? Men
are laid off by the thousands and wages
cut wherever possible. Permit the rail-
roads to pool, stable rates will be restored
and prosperity will return. We can have
high tariff, low tariff or any other legis-
lation, but prosperity will not return as
long as the railroads are crippled. Do
as I want and instead of poverty and
suffering we will have abundance of
work and business will boom. Let us
change and have a new era of prosperity
at once."

THE A. R. U. MEN ARRIVE.

While Father Flannigan was talking
the A. R. U. men arrived in large num-
bers and packed the rear end of the hall.
It was then made known that Organizer
Burns had made arrangements to cap-
ture the meeting, and his friends clamored
loudly for a speech by him. Chair-
man Adkinson, however, called on
William Dillon, who endorsed warmly
the stand taken by Father Flannigan
and depicted the evils of rate wars.
When he concluded the A. R. U. men
again called lustily for Mr. Burns, but
the chairman introduced Hugh O'Neill,
who spoke on the merits and demerits
of the inter-state measure from a legal
standpoint. Meanwhile a committee
composed of Father Flannigan and
Messrs Dillon and Lundin had been ap-
pointed to prepare a report. Then the
chairman announced that Mr. Burns
could have the platform, and he mount-
ed amidst the enthusiasm of his
friends.

Mr. Burns delivered a bitter diatribe
on railroads and railroad managers. He
facetiously addressed the audience as
"fellow stockholders." "I supposed from
what the previous speakers said that
you were either stockholders or bloated
bond holders," he continued. "You
must certainly do something to help
these poor railroads." Mr. Burns then
took a s'ap at Father Flannigan, by
quoting Daniel O'Connell's statement
that he took his religion from Rome but
his politics from the people, and pro-
ceeded to argue that watered stocks
were the cause of railroad distress. "I
worked at railroading until 1894," he
added, "and know what I am talking
about. Since then I've had three
square meals a day."

"You're in luck," shouted Theo. Jef-
ferson Curry.

"But how many haven't?" continued
Burns, who proceeded to denounce "the
money power of Europe," Cleveland,
the newspapers, the legal fraternity and
the judiciary. "I ask you not to pass
any resolution favoring the railroads,"
he said, "You ought to get up a meet-
ing and denounce them."

THE PRIEST REPLIES.

Father Flannigan, who had listened
to Mr. Burns, promptly replied.

"I want to say that I never took my
politics from Rome," he said warmly.
"I am an American citizen, and take
just as much interest in the welfare of
my country as any man living. I have
a perfect right to have an opinion on all
political and economical questions, and
I will always assert it when necessary.
I am as firmly convinced of the truth of
my position as ever. No man has worked
harder than I for the wives and families
of the victims of the strike of 1894. I
was not consulted about that strike, but
after it was over and the results known
I did not complain, but went to work
night and day to relieve the distress it
entailed." (Applause.)

The report of the committee was then
read. It called for the amendment of
the inter-state commerce law to permit
pooling. At this juncture Michael
Haley took the floor and made a speech
attacking the Rock Island road, and
declaring that all corporation property
should be seized by the state and paid
for at its actual value. He added that
the human race was the slave of capital
and every child attending school was
born in slavery. He produced a resolu-
tion calling for government ownership
of railroads.

The chairman put the committee re-
port to the meeting, and the A. R. U.
men voted it down vociferously. Then
Mr. Haley's motion was put.

"I move that it be amended by in-
cluding all corporations," said an A. R.
U. man. This excited protest. The
amendment was withdrawn and Mr.
Haley's motion went through with a
whoop.

BREVITIES.

Major McKinley has taken out a policy
of \$50,000 on his life.

The union printers of Council Bluffs
get all the city printing.

Prosperity has struck Kansas, and as a
result, jack rabbits sell for a cent apiece.

Oregon cultivates prunes on a large
scale, having 25,000 acres devoted to that
fruit.

"Private Dalsell" is braying like an
ass, to make himself or itself a "Public
Dalsell."

Phil Armour can can meat, but he
can't sell it, owing to the boycott placed
upon his cans.

Detroit is to have a wood workers' co-
operative establishment. The co-opera-
tive commonwealth is coming.

The city of Liverpool has adopted the
socialistic idea of owning its street rail-
ways. All Europe is waking up.

By a whereas and a resolution, barbers
have disappeared from Kansas City, and
only "tonorial artists" and a striped
pole remain.

Upon the announcement that 600 rab-
bits had been secured for the poor of
Wichita, Kansas, hundreds of the poor
called in carriages to secure their share.

The election of McKinley no doubt
has set a vast army of people at work,
but so far as heard from they are men of
the republican persuasion hunting for
office.

Chicago tanneries have combined to
usher in an era of prosperity by reduc-
ing the wages and increasing the hours
of labor of their employes. They are
testing the hides of their men.

Grover Cleveland is not going to
"tour the world." At least, not until he
graduates from the Princeton "divinity
school," when it is possible that he may
join the Salvation Army and do a little
slumming.

Woman suffering as well as woman
suffrage has struck Colorado, an adver-
tisement having appeared in a Pueblo
paper, thus: "Wanted—By a competent
woman a place to work for her
husband's board."

There is talk about introducing a
"voting machine" with which to con-
duct elections. There were in operation
last November, according to the "re-
turns," 7,104,749 of these machines, who
elected McKinley and placed the trusts
in power.

Russell Sage, of New York, worth at
least \$50,000,000 recently loaned his
brother, Elizus Sage, residing at Chonna-
fron, Ills., \$50, and to secure the payment
of the loan, took a mortgage on his
brother's homestead. When Russell
dies and joins his friend, Jay Gould, he
ought to be protected by a suit of fire-
proof clothes.

A GOOD MAN.

ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

My lord Fat Purse was a very good man,
He had houses and land galore,
And with each new day he had some new plan
For aiding the needy and poor.

He gave to the churches, he gave to the homes,
He gave to the tramps by the way,
Yet the terrible curse in the land grew worse,
And the poor grew poorer each day.

My lord Fat Purse was troubled and sad
That his thought and toil seemed vain,
"But I do what I can," said this very good man,
"To ease the want and the pain."

'Tis the will of heaven that some shall be rich
And many be poor, I see,
I can do no more than to give from the store
That a just God gives to me."

Yet acres and acres of fertile soil
Lie idle under the skies,
While my shrewd lord waits and holds his
estates

Till prices of land shall rise,
Which are selfishly grasped by one;
Lies wealth for many—free gifts from God
Like the wind and the rain and the sun.

Food in the ocean and food in the soil,—
Free gifts from a hand divine,
And who dare hinder the fisher's toil,
Or say, "Lo, the sea is mine?"

Ah, my lord Fat Purse, no wonder the curse
Of poverty hangs like a pall
When you hold by fraud the lands which God
Has meant for the use of us all.

A New Rubber Foot.

An improvement has been made recently in
artificial feet which seems to leave nothing more
to do in order to produce as nearly a perfect
counterfeit of the natural member as it is pos-
sible for human ingenuity to secure.

The original rubber foot with stiff ankle joints
was a vast improvement over the old style of
wooden feet with articulating joints. The rubber
reduces the shock and gives an elasticity of
movement, while the absence of the ankle joint
removes the old clanking and the uncertainty of
movement incident to this mechanism.

Subsequently Mr. A. A. Marks, the original in-
ventor of rubber feet, introduced an improve-
ment which while very simple was of great value.
It consisted simply of a longitudinal canvas, in-
serted from heel to toe near the bottom of the
foot, the result of which was that the toe was
drawn back to place and kept from mashing or
turning up. This foot with the canvas brace was
the standard for 15 years, but is now superseded
by what seems to be the last possible change that
can be made for the better.

The new invention consists of the insertion of
a mattress of canvas in which is embedded side
by side a layer of narrow, flat, steel springs. The
canvas holds them in the pocket, in which they
slide freely, but the ends are capped with metal
to prevent their perforating the rubber and leav-
ing their proper bed.

The rubber which rests above this mattress is
spongy, containing, therefore, a large percentage
of air, increasing the lightness and also the flex-
ibility of the foot. Further, just above the pos-
terior end of the mattress in the heel there is a
large air chamber so arranged that it cannot
burst, and thus preventing the heel from mat-
ing or falling in elasticity.

The operation of this steel spring mattress is to
throw the toe back as it is bent in walking, and
thus to materially assist in locomotion.

This mechanism has been submitted to the
most severe mechanical test, and found to be so
durable that after being tested equal to 10,000
miles of actual walking to show no signs of giv-
ing away.

By this improvement the foot is also lightened
and now weighs from eight to 16 ounces less than
any other made, varying according to the weight
of the person wearing the limb. A. A. Marks,
70 Broadway, N. Y. is the sole proprietor of this
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can be made for the better.

The new invention consists of the insertion of
a mattress of canvas in which is embedded side
by side a layer of narrow, flat, steel springs. The
canvas holds them in the pocket, in which they
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to prevent their perforating the rubber and leav-
ing their proper bed.

The rubber which rests above this mattress is
spongy, containing, therefore, a large percentage
of air, increasing the lightness and also the flex-
ibility of the foot. Further, just above the pos-
terior end of the mattress in the heel there is a
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LABOR EXCHANGERS.

AN EFFORT TO CIRCUMVENT USU- RERS WHICH IS FULL OF HOPE.

The Labor Exchange Movement is Making Encouraging Progress—A Settlement of the Financial Question on Practical Lines a Possibility.

[Special Correspondence.]

Economists and labor reformers may differ widely on many essential points, but upon one principle, I think, they all agree. It is this—that labor creates all wealth and that wealth should belong to those who produce it. They may differ as to what constitutes labor, and as to the methods of securing to labor its legitimate results, and as to the future organization of labor, and what laws or repeal of laws is necessary to bring about a condition of equity. But all will agree that there is no other possible source of wealth than the application of man's intelligence, energy and skill to the natural resources of the earth—in other words, labor applied to land. Natural resources cannot properly be "owned" by anybody. They are found here with no signs of a title and no marks of human workmanship upon them. They could not be replaced by man, and no one person can show any reason for holding them from others. The gifts of nature are not "property." Only when labor has been expended upon them can they in justice become any one's property. This is conceded, I believe, by most advanced economists. But from here the paths diverge.

Of late it seems that the attention of interested people has been turned to financial affairs as promising the readiest remedy. It is quite apparent that the monopolized money now in use is not a good medium of exchange—that it retards instead of facilitating exchange. It allows speculation, usury and schemes of all kinds by which "something for nothing" can be gained. Our present financial system is a complicated piece of machinery by which the medium of exchange is manipulated, managed, distorted, until quite beyond the comprehension of ordinary man, and results in vast accumulations for the few, and miserable poverty for the many. Instead there ought to be a simple method of equitable exchange between the producers that would require no laws, no wonderful legislation that common mortals cannot possibly understand.

The idea that something of the kind can be instituted seems to be springing up in different minds and different places just now, as a new invention or discovery often inspires various minds simultaneously without any collusion between them when the time is ripe for it.

Perhaps the first idea of the kind published is the plan of the mutual bank. Its form as put forth by its advocates today is the result of the work and elaboration of several minds, but was first suggested by the French economist, Proudhon. It proposes to issue notes on personal property, which shall circulate as a medium of exchange. Any one can capitalize his wealth and put it to use. Its advocates say that it would reduce interest to a minimum, promote production (since there would be no other use for capital but to invest it in production) until it would finally result in capital competing for laborers instead of, as now, laborers competing with each other for a chance to work, to such a degree that the wages of labor would be all they produced. The plan is one that the closest investigation fails to find a flaw in if once it could be put into operation. But the laws of the land which prohibit free banking seem to stand in the way of its being established. There seem to be no men wealthy enough who would be willing to run the risk of imprisonment for its sake. But the time will come, no doubt, when it will be tried. As yet there is none in operation, and its practical workings cannot be judged.

But the idea of a new medium of exchange by which the monopolized money of civilized countries may be entirely ignored is finding lodgment in many minds. There are several undertakings of the kind. People issue notes on their personal property, which answers the purpose of money in the vicinity where they are known.

Sometimes one person will make himself or herself a central head for the exchange of products between a large circle of business men and producers who use no money, simply paper checks or notes. One large fruit grower in California saved his whole crop by using the check system. He paid his laborers in checks, and these checks circulated at par among the merchants and grocers in the city near them. They were redeemed by the fruit grower in dried fruit, wine and vinegar later on. In the meantime the checks had passed as money, facilitating a great many transactions that else could not have been completed.

A society has been quite recently organized called the Mutual Accumulative society, with a purpose similar to the above, but it has not had time to develop its plan of working.

But the movement that is most widespread and is accomplishing the most practical work is the Labor Exchange association. It seems to thrive in the west much better and faster than in the east. There are in operation throughout 25 states of the Union upward of 200 branches, with a membership of over 10,000. California is in the lead in the work, Washington and Oregon pushing it close and Colorado bringing up a good fourth. They have established canning factories, tanneries, flouring mills, brickyards, sawmills, gardens and fruit farms that are in successful working order. On the Pacific coast they own and run a steamer for the carrying of produce, and another is being built. A railroad is under consideration which will be started within the year. The wealth

already created and the idle men put to work can hardly be estimated. The Labor Exchange checks circulate as readily as money wherever a good branch is established. In Denver some 18 or 20 stores outside the branch will take exchange checks at par.

The association was chartered in 1890 in the state of Missouri. It has put raw material to use that would not have been used. It has given work to idle men and made them self supporting. It has promoted "trade" and given an impetus to business. For its own members and for those willing to take its checks it seems to have solved the financial problem. It has simply gone around the blockade which the financiers of the country have made. It deals with products, the things that people need only, ignoring legal tender money entirely.

"But," it will be said, "the idea is nothing new. It is merely returning to primitive barter. Even the savages understood it, and pioneer farmers practiced it in the early days when cash was scarce."

It is primitive barter, but it is also something more. Even if it were nothing more it would be an improvement on the financial schemes which course society today. Primitive people were in a great many things nearer equity and justice than we are at present. While they all lived rudely and with less comforts than poorly paid workmen of the present, perhaps no one suffered from want while a few devoured gluttingly the luxuries of their time. When pioneer farmers exchanged "days' work" with each other, traded produce and purchased nearly everything they bought with something they had raised, there was little inequality among them, and all had "as good as there was going." A sort of standard of equivalents was adhered to, and little or no speculation was practiced.

But of course the practice of carrying products around and of keeping accounts in one's head was cumbersome and inconvenient. Men have caught from civilization an easier method of carrying out an old, natural and just principle. Produce may be stored and pieces of paper representing their value may safely be carried around in one's pocketbook.

Apparently a great many people in the western states have found the plan a good one. For some years the farmers and small business men have been feeling the stringency of the "hard times," the growing scarcity of money, the consequent stagnation of business, until at last they began to grow desperate. They made one last unsuccessful struggle politically in a fight for free silver. Balked at every point by the financiers whose interest it is to keep money scarce and precious, they are all experiencing a vague but deep desire to do something that will place them out of the power of the wily capitalists. It is as though they had turned aside from the whole arrangement of monopolized money and gone to work to find a way out among themselves. The farmers had plenty of produce which they wanted to exchange for other products of labor, the miners had coal, the home manufacturers had goods, the merchants' stores were full, the soil was rich, and the depths of the earth teemed with minerals, all kinds of raw material abundant, and thousands of hands longed to be busy with them. The people have said in substance: "We will cease waiting for capital to come and start us going. We will do without their restricted money. We will create and exchange among ourselves and let the great financiers manage the money system as they please. We will manage so that we need not be concerned no matter what they do."

Seemingly they are succeeding. More and more branches are being formed every day, and more people are inquiring into the plan. It antagonizes no man, injures no one, does not interfere with any one else's plan of reform, troubles no one who does not choose to be interested in it. It is worth while for working people to look into it.

There is much yet in the way of complete success. The cost of transportation is still a perplexing problem. The circle is not yet complete—that is, all the trades and manufactures necessary to civilization are not represented in the association. But the Labor Exchangers do not seem to be discouraged by that fact and believe that they are fast working around to overcoming these obstacles.

It may be possible that after all a new construction of society may grow up and flourish underneath the old corrupt shell, until when the time comes the old systems will fall away decayed and useless, without commotion or violence. It would be a matter of great rejoicing if this could be so. A violent upheaval of society has long seemed inevitable. Nothing but some co-operative effort of the people in this line can save us from it. Let us hope it may.

LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

Denver.

Charity Not a Cure.

In an editorial review of the work performed by its relief bureau the New York Journal wisely says: "In the presence of poverty such as the relief bureau grappled with in a great and wealthy city there is a paramount duty to perform, and The Journal has not been unfaithful to it. When people were sinking under want and cold during the earlier storms of the winter and this newspaper dispatched supplies of food and fuel everywhere in wagons, and while the relief bureau later did its office of mercy, The Journal took occasion to enjoin upon the thoughtful the obligation of realizing that, though no humane man can reconcile it with his sense of right to withhold charity from the starving, the truth remains that charity is no cure for poverty. It is incumbent upon every one who is not content to live for himself alone to ask if the social conditions which sink multitudes in penury while a few are gorged with wealth are just conditions, rational conditions."

SHIFTING BURDENS.

A "RADICAL LABOR MAN'S" VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT OF TAXATION.

He Finds Fault With Both the Protectionist and Single Tax Schools and Wants to Know How We Are to Get Rich by Paying Out All the Time.

[Special Correspondence.]

The question of taxation is one that always has an interest for the economic student, and the method and modes of levying taxes occupy a great deal of space in economic writings. From the old time question of the easiest way to distribute the burden to the modern protectionist or single taxer is, however, a great leap. Formerly the taking of the people's money for public uses was a thing to be done economically. At best it was an evil, but some modern writers hope for good out of the evil. So it is no longer a problem of revenue, but a magical means to make us all rich. Strangely enough, the two principal schools of economics that look to taxation as a means of enriching a people split on the method. The upholder of a protective tariff says the imposition of his form of revenue raising is all that keeps the wages of labor above that paid the European laborer, while the single taxer is of the opposite opinion—is, in fact, a free trader. Neither doubts but that taxation will make us all rich (the latter makes the more extravagant claims), but they differ as to the particular tax which should be imposed.

Those of us who know very little of political economy cannot see how paying out something will help us. In fact, we almost suspect that the very paying out is what makes us poor. And were the amount coming in increased and that going out decreased we would be better off.

But, exclaim the taxationists, we fine the foreigner who sends his goods here so he will stop, and we fine the landlord so he will drop the land. To place a tax upon rent, leaving only so much as will encourage the landlord to collect it, cannot help the landless. We can have land now if we are willing to pay the rent thereof. We need not wait for reform in taxation. What the landless want is not a change of landlords from the individual to the state, but the abolition of landlordism and the throwing open of land—in other words, the freeing of it. But the speculative value of land is far in excess of its rental value, and the throwing open of unused land will bring down rent, say our friends. Very true, but we can do that now. We can go now from the land we are using and lease unused land, paying the owner the annual rental value, and our going from the present locations we occupy to unoccupied ones would have exactly the same effect on rental values as a tax thereon. The saving of one of the items of rent and taxes that are now twain can do but little good to labor. Today one-sixth of all the wealth produced goes to government. Those who paid tithes in Bible times or those who laugh because a Mormon gives a tenth of his produce can content themselves with the fact that we pay nearly twice as much and for a very much poorer service.

If paying taxes could make us rich, we would all have been wealthy long since. To say that taxes and rent are two burdens that can be reduced to one argues the possibility of "going the game one better" and having a plan of taxation not on land according to its value, but on vacant land. Remove all the indirect taxes, all the taxes on improvements and finally all those on occupied land. Then put them on the land that is held out of use and keep increasing them until the monopolizer of vacant land is compelled to drop it. Then land monopoly and government will check each other until both are abolished. Burdens cannot be made lighter by shifting them. They must be lifted.

HENRY COHEN.

The Union Label and the Public.

Among other things which the Social Reform club of New York has been trying to do has been to disseminate information and to influence public opinion favorably on the union label question. The great public which is in trades unions knows much about union labels and their effectiveness in strengthening labor organizations and improving the condition of the laborer. But the larger public outside the trades unions knows nothing about it, probably has never heard of the union label.

John N. Bogert, secretary of the Greater New York Label league, thinks trades unions have passed through a siege of trials, overcoming many faults and evils in their struggles from weakness to strength, and that the union label must pass through the same ordeal. The label has been made a power for improvement in three trades—the cigar makers, the haters and the printers—and has been adopted by 14 other unions. It has its defects against which we must strive, but it stands for a much wider interest than that of the union which issues it. In the case of the bakers it is a matter of general public interest when it is a guarantee of cleanly conditions and when, as in the clothing trade and cigar trade, it is a guarantee against child labor and prison manufacture.

A Union Label City.

Danbury, Conn., will soon be the banner union label city of New England. Union label cigars, whisky, beer and hats have long been the rule rather than the exception in the local retailing establishments of that city. But the union men have recently taken a distinct step forward by resolving that they will refuse to patronize any clothier who does not carry a stock of goods bearing the label of the United Garment Workers. Dealers have formally been notified of this action by the secretaries of the various unions.

LABOR AND THE CHURCH.

A Clergyman's Attempts to Solve Their Present Relationship.

Rev. J. W. Malcolm, pastor of the First Congregational church, delivered a discourse on the subject, "Why Do the Various Labor Organizations Have Strong Prejudices Against the Churches? Is There Reason For Them?" In part he said:

I find workmen, men who are members of the unions and workmen outside the unions, who say emphatically that they believe in Jesus Christ, believe in his doctrines, believe in his broad sympathy with the poor, with the toiling, with the burdened, the obscure, the oppressed and the discouraged, and would like to go to a church where the members were like this Christ, where they could find a welcome and a home-like feeling. But they say we cannot find such a church in this city, and therefore it is we stay at home. And this is why we do not believe that the churches at all represent the founder of Christianity.

Another representative of toil says plainly but kindly: "The business conditions are such, the shut downs and cut downs come so often, the lay offs and the running on part time count so much, the rent is so high, the coal and kindling cost so much, the clothes for my wife, children and myself for our every day wear amount to so much that we can't get any Sunday clothes, and we've got feelings as well as other people." Do you blame the churches for this state of things? We ask. No; the blame is we have too many people for the work. Wouldn't you like to have some of the church people help you to clothe the children for the Sunday school? No, sir; we don't want only what we can earn. I won't have my children take anything like beggars. We've got feelin's, if we hain't got money.

Another toiler says bluntly: "Your churches don't meet us; they don't care anything about us; they don't take our side in the fight for a better chance; they take more interest in people who have money; they are on the side of the money power; they have given the throw down to some of our people who used to go to them."

Another says: "Jesus was on the side of the poor; the churches are on the side of the rich."

Another says: "The churches talk about getting religion and getting the soul saved. We want a chance to get something to live on and a show to get the body saved first." Another says boldly: "Your churches are not doing anything for the cause of labor. If you all banded together to help us in the fight for fair play, we could win in four years, but you don't do it." And still another says: "You ministers don't talk like Jesus Christ, and you are afraid to, and the churches won't let you. We know where we are welcome and know we are not wanted in the churches." A labor leader says: "Yes, we believe in Jesus. We believe that he called things by their right names. We believe that he preached about things in this world and not all the time about things to come after we are dead. What does he think of \$100,000 churches on fine avenues, filled with people of pride and fashion and fortune, while within a stone's throw thousands of women, innocent children and honest, saving, hardworking men are hungry, ragged and heartbroken?"

But let us now step inside the churches and talk with laboring men inside the fold. Here, then, are the representative mechanics, educated men, members of the church in good standing, men of good character, of temperate habits, men of health, men of skill, two of them machinists, one a carpenter.

"Gentlemen, what have you to say about the church as regards the cause of labor?"

"Our friends, sir, are in the church, and we believe that the church is a great power in changing the feeling of the community toward this matter."

"Do you think that the church could do more for the cause of labor than she is doing?"

"Yes, and she will do more. But you see the trouble is that bosses, foremen, the superintendents and the employers of men today find laborers so plenty that they seem to think that a man has no particular value. When I came to this city seven years ago, says one of these, I could find a job in three hours most any day. Now I have been living on promises for three months. And then when a man gets a good job he is all the time afraid of losing it. Men who have been with concerns for years are dropped with less than a day's notice and can get no reasons why. It is a bad state of things, but I do not see that the church can do more than to keep on preaching the gospel and trying to change public feeling."

To Make Farmers of Printers.

A proposition has been made to Typographical union No. 6 of New York through James B. Connell, one of its oldest members, which he says is for the benefit of all connected with the organization, both employed and unemployed. The proposition is that the union can have for the asking 5,000 acres of land in Potter county, Pa., a few hours by rail from New York, upon the following conditions:

That 1,000 of the 5,000 acres shall be held by the union free for the use of any of its members in good standing for one year, the balance to be sold in plots not to exceed 15 acres each. The development of the land is to be under the direction of a practical and up to date farmer. The land, Mr. Connell says, is worth \$25,000, and the donor, whoever he may be, offers to give \$10,000 in cash provided a like amount is given by the union toward the development of the land, \$1,000 to be paid down and \$500 paid monthly thereafter. Not more than 100 members of the union are to be provided for during the first year, but 100 additional members will be provided for annually thereafter.

To Railroad Men.

How To Find Out.

Fill a bottle or common glass with urine and let it stand twenty-four hours; a sediment or settling indicates an unhealthy condition of the kidneys. When urine stains linen it is positive evidence of kidney trouble. Too frequent desire to urinate, or pain in the back, is also convincing proof that the kidneys and bladder are out of order.

What To Do.

There is comfort in the knowledge so often expressed, that Dr. Kilmer's Swamp-Root, the great kidney remedy, fulfils every wish in relieving pain in the back, kidneys, liver, bladder and every part of the urinary passages. It corrects inability to hold urine and scalding pain in passing it, or bad effects following use of liquor, wine or beer, and overcomes that unpleasant necessity of being compelled to get up many times during the night to urinate. The mild and the extraordinary effect of Swamp-Root is soon realized. It stands the highest for its wonderful cures of the most distressing cases. If you need a medicine you should have the best. Sold by druggists. Price, fifty cents and one dollar. You may have a sample bottle and pamphlet, both sent free by mail. Mention the RAILWAY TIMES, and send your full postoffice address to Dr. Kilmer & Co., Binghamton, N. Y.

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NEW YORK CITY. CHICAGO, ILL. NEWBURGH, N. Y.

THE ARCHER.

W. F. SMITH.

There are those who sit in splendor, throned amidst the fruits of toil.

Taken from the hand of labor, without price, as lawful spoil.

From all such I turn in sadness, and my tearful eyes behold.

Those who made this wealth and splendor, dying now from want and cold!

Those to whom the earth in gladness yields her wealth and treasures grand.

Starving, dying, for the values made with their own willing hands.

Hearts that feel, and hands that labor, most do elevate the race,

Founding cities, building railroads, giving trade and commerce space.

Hearts that feel for human sorrow, hands that open for the poor,

Most do brighten every morrow, most the erring do restore.

To all such "The Archer" cometh with a kind assuring smile.

Bidding every soul that loveth justice to be firm awhile.

For the day when mammon's triumph seems to him the most assured

Comes the whispered note of warning not to be misunderstood.

Millions now are all in motion, like the troubled ocean's breast,

Forming into bands of Brothers, to relieve their sore distress.

And it is to aid the movement for the mustering of the clans

That "The Archer" comes among you, and with wide extended hands

Both to help, and to extort you to be firm and true and brave

'Till the hosts of mammon scatter, 'till he calls no man his slave.

When the soil we love and cherish yields to labor all her store,

Then our mission will be ended and our struggles all be o'er.

WHERE'S THE SNOW?

We're waitin', jest a waitin' For the comin' of the snow.

For the jinglin' o' the sleigh bells Where the cutters come 'nd go;

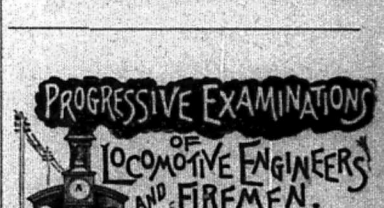
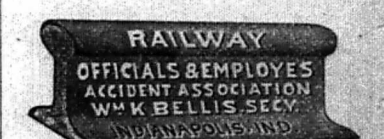
But we're gettin' mighty weary O' these half-winter summer days.

'Nd we're longin' for a snowfall 'Nd the rushin' o' the sleighs.

Broadaxe remarks that "in a recent court examination John D. Rockefeller declared that he was the real owner of a piece of property held in the name of the Baptist church. This is one way of evading taxes. It beats any highway robbery act we ever heard of. How long will criminals of this stamp be allowed to be at large? Why not tax church property?"

Deafness Cannot be Cured by local applications as they cannot reach the diseased portion of the ear. There is only one way to cure deafness, and that is by constitutional remedies. Deafness is caused by an inflamed condition of the mucous lining of the Eustachian Tube. When this tube is inflamed you have a rumbling sound or imperfect hearing, and when it is entirely closed, Deafness is the result, and unless the inflammation can be taken out and this tube restored to its normal condition, hearing will be destroyed forever; nine cases out of ten are caused by Catarrh, which is nothing but an inflamed condition of the mucous surfaces. We will give One Hundred Dollars for any case of Deafness (caused by catarrh) that cannot be cured by Hall's Catarrh Cure. Send for circulars free.

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