SEVEN IN ONE

SPEECHES BY

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I

JUDGE TRUMBULL'S ADDRESS.

First of all I desire to return to you my warmest thanks for this cordial reception, and I wish it were in my power to say something that would come up to the expectations which have been raised by the flattering manner in which I have been introduced to this audience.

In addressing you I do not do so with the expectation of being able to propose a plan for securing to capital and labor the just rewards of each and to employers and employees the adjustment of disputes that will be satisfactory to both, but rather with the hope of making some suggestions that may tend to avert the conflict between the rights of man and the rights of property which now threatens the peace of the country.

Most of the years of my manhood have been devoted to the public service, with what success or failure is for my countrymen to judge. The record is made up, and now near the close of life, with no ambitions to gratify and no purpose to serve other than my country's good, I come before you briefly to discuss the great problem of the age, how to secure labor its just reward, and thereby to the masses the right to live and advance.

In this land of plenty, the fairest of earth, with a soil and climate adapted to supply the wants of man, under a free and enlightened government, where
Every man is supposed to be the architect of his own fortune and entitled to an equal start in the world, why is it that a feeling of dissatisfaction and distrust prevails among the masses of our people? Is it not because they do not justly share, or think they do not justly share, in the division of what their hands have earned? This feeling is extensive and reaches among all classes of laboring people. Suffering as they think they do a common wrong, it is natural that they should become bound together by common sympathy. Hence the formation of labor unions. We saw it manifested in the recent strike, where in sympathy with one class of laborers who thought themselves oppressed, and who struck for better conditions, other classes in no way connected with them struck also.

Various schemes have been suggested to reconcile this controversy between employers and employes such as arbitration, and the control by the government of the great corporations of a public character. I do not intend to discuss these schemes or attempt to point out their inadequacy to cure existing troubles. They are subject to many objections and at best do not go to the root of the evil or the cause of the trouble which many think make arbitration or governmental control necessary. To remove the cause of discontent and suffering among the laboring masses and bring them into harmonious relations with their employers is the great object to be attained. How can this be done? We must first ascertain the cause of the trouble before attempting to remove it.

What is the underlying cause of the discontent of the laboring classes? Is it not the poverty and want they suffer by reason of the inadequacy of the pay they receive for the labor given? They see around them, in the possession of favored corporations and the pampered few, all the magnificence and luxury which accumulated wealth can bestow, while they toil and even suffer for the means, the God-given right to live. Is it any wonder that discontent prevails among the masses, and that they act in concert in the effort to improve their
condition, when such a state of things exists? The happiness of a people is the happiness of the individuals who compose the mass. Laws which open the door to large fortunes by devise, by inheritance, or by speculation have no tendency to promote the happiness of the people at large, and often not even the happiness of those for whose benefit they are made.

Why is it that the wealth of the country, ample for the comfort and happiness of all, is rapidly accumulating in the hands of a few? It is perhaps partly due to modern inventions which have taken the place of manual labor, and enabled one man, by means of capital and machinery, to do the work of many, thus leaving the country filled with laborers, but unable to find employment, and giving to capitalists who are able to purchase machinery the opportunity from the surplus of laborers to employ them at their own prices.

RIGHTS OF MAN ARE SUPERIOR.

But it is chiefly the laws of property which have enabled the few to accumulate vast wealth while the masses live in poverty. For many generations our laws have been framed with a view to the claims of property rather than the rights of man. For ages the money power has controlled legislation the world over, and, I am sorry to say, has exercised a controlling influence in our own land for many years. In the language of the declaration of independence: "All men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." If man has an inalienable right to life, then he has a right to the means which sustain life, and of which he cannot be justly deprived by laws which permit one man, or set of men, to so absorb the means of life as not to leave sufficient to sustain the lives of all. If man has an inalienable right to liberty, then he cannot be justly deprived of liberty by another who assumes the right at his mere discretion to abridge it. If man has an inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness, then he cannot
be justly deprived of that right by laws interposed in the way of its pursuit.

Do such laws exist? and if so, how came they into existence?

In Great Britain, whence we have derived most of our laws of property, the policy is to build up great estates. Hence by the laws of that country land descends to the eldest son, to the exclusion of the other children. The effect of this is to limit the ownership of land to a few persons. Thirty-four persons in that country own 6,211,000 acres of land. The duke of Sutherland is said to own 1,858,000 acres, and a few other dukes and earls own a great proportion of the land of the United Kingdom. What has brought about this wide difference in the ownership of land? Certainly the few who own the millions of acres, from which they derive revenue in some instances of more than $500,000 annually in rentals, have not earned these vast estates by their own industry, but on the contrary it is by force of statutory enactments that these vast estates have been accumulated and perpetuated in few hands.

VAST WEALTH OF A FEW FAMILIES.

In this country we have abolished the laws of primogeniture, by which the eldest son inherited the landed estate of his ancestor, but here vast estates are being rapidly accumulated in few hands, and this is especially true during and since the war of the rebellion. In 1880 there were few millionaires and few large fortunes in this country, but since then a rich class has sprung up, so that in 1890, according to reliable statistics, 10 per cent of the people owns as much wealth as the other 99 per cent. In 1890 there were 12,690,182 families in the United States, and according to Geo K. Holmes, in the Political Science Quarterly, 4,047 of these possessed seven-tenths as much as do 11,593,887 families. Think of it. One family possessing the wealth of 2,000 families in the country over! In the city of New York alone there is said to be five men whose aggregated wealth exceeds $300,000,000. How many hundred millions are held by various wealthy
corporations, coal and oil syndicates and other trusts I am unable to state. In each of the cities of New York and Chicago more than 100,000 men and women willing to work were out of employment last winter, many of whom must have perished but for charity's aid. These conditions another winter promise to be no better.

The richest corporations and persons on earth are probably in the United States. How have they accumulated their vast fortunes? Surely not by their own industry and thrift, but by the aid of statutes regulating the rights of property, generally statutes providing for the transmission of property by descent or by will, or the creation of monopolies.

It is only by virtue of statutory law that man is permitted to make disposition of his property by will, and it is only by virtue of statutory law that one person is permitted to inherit property from another, and it is by virtue of statute law that great corporate monopolies have been built up.

No man has a natural right to dispose of property after death, nor has one person a natural right to inherit property from another. As Blackstone says: “There is no foundation in nature or in natural law why the son should have the right to exclude his fellow creatures from a determinate spot of land because his father had done so before him, or why the occupier of a particular field or of a jewel, when lying on his deathbed and no longer able to maintain possession, should be able to tell the rest of the world which of them should enjoy it after him.”

Under Illinois laws the owner of real estate is permitted to lease it for an indefinite period and compel future generations who occupy it the premises to pay rent to unborn generations. Leases for ninety-nine years are quite common in Chicago. It is by no divine law that the occupant of land today is allowed to compel its occupant 100 years hence to pay tribute for its use. The statutes of Illinois have given to the owner of property the right to dispose of it by will—not wholly, but to a certain
If married, neither the husband nor wife can give away the homestead or dower rights of the other, nor can creditors, heirs, or devisees take from the widow her allowance.

MONEYS GOVERNS LEGISLATION.

The money power has governed legislation in all civilized countries for generations. It matters not what party is in power in the national or state governments of our own country, the money power has exercised a controlling influence in many instances in the shaping and administration of our laws.

If the accumulation of vast fortunes goes on another generation with the accelerated rapidity as during the present the wealth of this country will soon be consolidated in the hands of a few corporations and individuals to as great an extent as the landed interests of Great Britain now are.

What is the remedy for this state of things, which if permitted to continue, will make the masses of the people dependent upon the generosity of the few for the means to live. So far as concerns corporations of a public or quasi-public character and none others should exist, the remedy is simple. They are completely under the control of the legislatures, whence they derive all their powers.

It is entirely competent for a legislature to provide the manner in which the business of a corporation shall be conducted. It may provide that the directors shall consist of few or many persons, that a portion of them shall be taken from the employes of the corporation, selected by them, another part from the stockholders who furnish the capital for carrying on its business. It may provide that the employes shall first be paid from the revenues of the company a certain fixed sum, graduated according to the character of the work performed by each; that a fair rate of interest shall then be paid upon the capital invested, and the balance be distributed upon some equitable principle between the employers and the stockholders. In case of loss the stockholders would have to suffer, since the employe having a right to live, must in all cases receive his daily wages when dependent upon them for subsistence. This princl-
ple receives judicial sanction from United States Circuit Judge Caldwell, in a recent order entered in case of the Santa Fe railroad as follows:

"Ordered that the men employed by the receivers in the operation of the road and the conduct of its business shall be paid their monthly wages not later than the 15th of the month following their accrual. If the earnings of the road are not sufficient to pay the wages of the men as herein directed the receivers are hereby authorized and required to borrow from time to time, as occasion may require, a sufficient sum of money for that purpose. The obligations of the receivers for money borrowed for this purpose specified in this order shall constitute a lien on the property of the trust prior and superior to all liens thereon."

Under the powers inherent in every sovereignty government may regulate the conduct of its citizens toward each other, and, when necessary for the public good, the manner in which each shall use his own property.

IN THE LEGISLATURE IS THE POWER.

I do not undertake to specify all the provisions which it would be necessary to incorporate in a charter to secure to labor its just reward. All I attempt is to indicate the power which the legislature has in creating and controlling corporations.

Formerly corporations having special privileges were created by special acts, which the courts construed to be contracts between the granting power and the corporators, which once granted could not be repealed or varied by the granting power. The granting of charters to favored individuals, conferring upon them privileges not possessed by the general public, became obnoxious to public sentiment, and as a consequence general laws have been passed in this and many other states under which any three persons may become incorporated for any private purpose. This has become a worse evil than the old system of granting special charters. Under the general law enacted in this state twenty
years ago I am informed 27,200 corporations have been created.

Irresponsible persons are often induced, for a small consideration, to form corporations with a proposed capital of millions; to subscribe for the whole stock except a share or two, and, for a fancied, imaginary or worthless consideration, to issue to themselves fully paid-up stock, which is subsequently transferred to the real parties in interest, who expect thereby to escape personal liability if the concern is a failure, and to pocket the profits if a success. Business of all sorts is now to a great extent carried on in the name of corporations, in order that the proprietors may escape personal responsibility. How can the individual, who is personally responsible for his contracts, successfully compete with a corporation run by persons who incur no such responsibility? Doing business in a corporate name not only paralyzes individual effort, but leads to a concentration of capital—the great evil of our time. The remedy for this growing state of things would be to restrict the formation of corporations to such as are formed for public purposes, or such as the public have an interest in. Seventy-eight per cent of the great fortunes of the United States are said to be derived from permanent monopoly privileges which ought never to have been granted.

SHOULD LIMIT THE POWER OF DEVISE.

As before stated, the power to dispose of property after death by will is conferred by statute under certain limitations. Why should this privilege be given to dispose of more than a fixed amount of property to any one individual, say property to the value of not over $500,000 to the wife, of not more than $100,000 to each child, and of not more than $20,000 to any other relative, extending to the third or fourth degrees, and that the balance of the estate should escheat to the state, to be used by it for the support of schools, charitable institutions, the employment of laborers in making roads, and other good purposes.

The law now provides for the escheat of estates of persons dying without heirs.
The same limitations might be put upon inheritances where there is no will, and in this way the accumulation of vast estates by inheritance or devise would be checked, and property, especially landed estates, which by nature belong to all, would be more equally distributed. It should not be forgotten that the method of transmitting property from the dead to the living, is entirely derived from the state. If public policy requires that the state should give to the dying possessor no longer able to control or take with him his possessions the privilege of disposing of so much as may be conducive to the comfort and happiness of his surviving kindred, does it require that this privilege should be extended to his disposition of millions to the injury of the rest of mankind?

It is said that to limit the privilege of disposing of exceeding $1,000,000 of property by devise or descent would check enterprise and industry, as no man would struggle to acquire property which he could not leave to his surviving kindred, my reply is that man by his own thrift and industry is seldom able to acquire more than $1,000,000 worth of property. Fortunes exceeding that amount are usually acquired by speculation, trickery or some device by which one man takes advantage of his fellow man, and which, if not illegal, are immoral, or by members of privileged monopolies, trusts and syndicates.

**WOULD AFFECT ONLY A FEW.**

I do not mean to say that all great fortunes exceeding a million have been acquired by immoral means, but such as have are the exception, and to limit the privilege of disposing of more than a million by devise or descent, would not affect one in 10,000 of the people. In short, such limitations would tend to discourage not honest enterprise or industry, but stock jobbing, trickery, and other questionable methods of acquiring vast fortunes.

We have already abolished primogeniture, by which the eldest son, to the exclusion of all other children, inherits the entire landed estate of his ancestor, and
no one in this country at this day would think of restoring that right, although it still obtains in England. If limitations should be put upon the disposition of vast estates by will or descent future generations would look upon our present laws, which allow such estates to be perpetuated in certain families with the same disfavor with which we now look upon the laws of primogeniture.

Evasions of laws limiting the amount of property to be devised or inherited by conveyances during life could be prohibited in like manner as conveyances in fraud of creditors are now prohibited.

But how are these laws of property to be modified or changed? They are the result of centuries of organized injustice. Will the money power which now exercises such a controlling influence in national and state legislation consent to a modification or change of the laws of property by which great estates have been accumulated and perpetuated, and which, as a rule, are a detriment rather than a blessing to those to whom they descend?

A young man of 21 starting out in life with $100,000 at his disposal is better off and more likely to become a useful member of the community and a benefit to mankind than if left at the same age with $1,000,000 or $20,000,000 at his disposal.

A daughter when arriving at age with a sufficient income to support her comfortably through life is better off than if left with millions at her disposal to become a prey to some adventurer, or with which to purchase a title from some profligate scion of an effete nobility, and then a divorce.

MUST REMOVE THE CAUSE.

Neither strikes of the laboring classes, which array against them the money power and the governmental power which it controls, nor the governmental control of the great railroad and other corporations will remove the existing conflict between labor and capital, which has its foundation in unjust laws, enabling the few to accumulate vast estates and live in luxurious ease, while the
great masses are doomed to incessant toil, penury and want. What is needed is the removal of the cause which permits the accumulation of the wealth of the country in few hands, and this can only be peaceably brought about by a change of the laws of property.

The suppression of the recent strikes by governmental forces has aggravated rather than alleviated the discontent of the laboring classes. Whether the strikers were justly responsible for the riots and the destruction of property which followed their abandonment of work or not, no doubt many of them sympathized with the lawless element who committed the outrages.

The men of toil have no better friends than the governor of Illinois and the mayor of Chicago, and yet in the discharge of their bounden duty in suppressing rioters engaged in the destruction of property they were compelled to array themselves on the side of capitalists and corporations whose property was being destroyed.

The wanton destruction of property by lawless mobs cannot be tolerated, and the cause of honest labor suffered much by the lawless acts which followed the recent strikes. The condition of the laborer is not to be improved by acts that lead to lawlessness and deeds of violence.

Our fathers, denying the right of the British crown to levy taxes upon them without representation, at the end of a bloody war, after years of suffering and privation, made good their redemption from the exaction of the British crown. The laboring men of this country are driven to such extremity. They still have left the right of representation in the legislative bodies of the country. They are more numerous than the millionaires, and if they will but cease the strife among themselves it is in their power to control legislation and enact such laws as will secure to property the full protection to which it is entitled, to enterprise its just reward, and to the toiling masses the rights of men.

Forbidden by advancing years to cherish political ambition, I may, I trust, without the imputation of interested mo-
gives, be permitted to make some suggestions as to the policy pursued by the middle classes and the toiling masses to bring about such changes in the laws of property as, by giving equal opportunities to all, will check the accumulation of vast wealth by the few.

REFORM MUST COME THROUGH THE BALLOT.

If my voice could reach the people of the whole land I would say to the millionaire, in the language of scripture: "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches. Riches kept for the owners thereof are a sure hurt and a sore evil," "Love of money is the root of all evil," and in the language of the Savior of mankind to a young man of great possessions, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God." I would call upon the millionaires for heaven's sake to pause in their greed for more millions and unite in the passing of laws which, by securing equal opportunities to all, shall contribute to the happiness of all.

Lest the millionaire should not listen I would say to the men of the middle classes of moderate means, farmers and others, who, though they may not now, soon will feel the oppression of the money power, arouse to the danger that threatens soon to place you as fully at the mercy of corporate and individual wealth as the toiling laborers are to-day.

I would say to the laborers, now robbed of the just reward of their labor, and even compelled in this land of plenty and abundance to suffer hunger and cold, lay aside all manner of bickerings or disputes about minor affairs and assert your independence by going to the polls uninfluenced by money or those in authority, and cast a freeman's vote for representatives in congress and the general assembly who will be true to your interests and secure the enactment of such laws as will permit you to share in the wealth created by your toil, and to eat of the bread your hands have earned.

Send forth to the country and to the schoolhouses of the land apostles of free-
dom who will agitate for the rights of man, now fettered by the laws of property. A majority of law makers devoted to the people's interest will soon find a way to protect them against the oppression of the money power—if not in the way I have suggested, in some other way.

One wiser than any of us has said: "Give me neither poverty nor riches. Feed me with food convenient for me." Let us profit by the divine precept and so frame our laws as to secure to all food convenient for them, and to none vast riches unearned.

**GREAT BRITAIN AND THE SILVER QUESTION.**

I do not propose to discuss the silver question, nor is there occasion that I should. All parties favor bimetallism—it is only to its establishment that some object—and particularly, without the consent of Great Britain. I had supposed that these states were made free and independent and absolved from all allegiance to the British crown more than a hundred years ago, but in this it seems I was mistaken, and that there are those among us who think that congress should not proceed to perform its constitutional duty by coining money and regulating the value thereof without the cooperation of Great Britain. Let those who think so crook the pliant hinges of the knee to the money power of England. I, for one, acknowledge no such allegiance, but believe it the duty of congress to act independently and establish the value of coin as it existed prior to 1873, when silver was demonetized.

**JUDICIAL USURPATION.**

I desire to say a few words upon the encroachments of federal courts upon the constitutional rights of the people. Of late years the United States judges have assumed jurisdiction they would not have dared to exercise in the earlier days of the republic. They now claim the right to determine the extent of their jurisdiction and enforce such orders as they think proper to make. These federal judges, like sappers and miners, have for years silently and steadily enlarged their jurisdiction, and unless checked by
legislation they will soon undermine the very pillars of the constitution and bury the liberties of the people beneath their ruin.

To vest any man or set of men with authority to determine the extent of their powers and to enforce their decrees is of the very essence of despotism. Federal judges now claim the right to take possession of and run the railroads of the country, to issue injunctions without notice, and to punish for contempt by fine and imprisonment anyone who disputes their authority.

Congress some years ago passed an act limiting the powers of federal judges to punish for contempts, except such as are committed in their presence or by officers of their courts or in disobedience of some lawful order. But what protection does this afford the citizen when the very federal judge who issues the order passes upon its legality.

It is to be hoped that Congress, when it meets, will put some check upon federal judges in assuming control of railroads, and issuing blanket injunctions, and punishing people for contempt of their assumed authority. If this Congress does not do it, I trust the people will see to it that representatives are chosen hereafter who will.

For the Supreme Court of the United States, I have the greatest respect. It has always been presided over by great lawyers and great men, but even it is not omnipotent or infallible. It sometimes makes mistakes, as it did when it decided that corporate privileges, when granted and accepted, became contracts which future legislatures could neither alter or repeal without the consent of the corporators; but this error it subsequently corrected itself in an opinion written by the late Chief Justice Waite, a purer man than whom never sat upon the bench, wherein it was held that all chartered companies and monopolies engaged in business affecting the public were subject to public control.

That court made another mistake when in the Dred Scott case it decided that a man of African descent could not sue for his freedom in a Federal court.
but the people, who in this country are the sovereigns above all courts, corrected their error, and decided not only that a man of African descent could bring a suit in a Federal court, but that he was entitled to all other rights belonging to man, and this right hand wrote into the fundamental law that never hereafter shall slavery exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.
ADDRESS BY MR. DONNELLY.

AT CENTRAL MUSIC HALL, SEPT. 29, '94.

Ladies and Gentlemen: The committee informed me that there are a number here tonight who do not march under the banners of the People's party, but are here to learn something of our ideas. As they desire to learn of this movement, I shall address myself particularly to them. I am not come to call the righteous but the sinners to repentance. [Laughter.] I am glad to see this tremendous audience here tonight, and glad that they are here to listen and to learn.

I shall commence my remarks, or arguments, a good way off—I will commence at the planet Mars. [Laughter.] I hope gradually before the end of the evening to work my way back to Chicago and the rest of the earth.

Astronomers have recently had their attention called to this planet by peculiar phenomena that have been observed there, and they have been watching it through their telescopes, especially through their great telescope at the Lick Observatory at California, which is the largest telescope in the world. It seems that the people of Mars are far ahead of the people of the earth, and their astronomers have been trying to find out all about the people of the earth. It has been claimed that for years past, there have been triangular lights exposed on that planet, as if the inhabitants were trying to open up communication with the earth. The latest news from Mars
is the discovery of a great semaphore to be used in signaling with us. Thinking over these reports I got to musing on what must be the impressions formed of us by such an intelligent people as seem to inhabit that planet.

A little over four hundred years ago as they looked down upon this planet they saw the Atlantic Ocean a trackless waste without a single ship trying to explore its mysteries; then four hundred years ago they observed three vessels set out from the port of Palos and sail steadily westward until they landed upon our shores; then they observed the clearing and cultivation of the land; they observed cities growing—the building of thousands of large buildings and elegant mansions; and during the time they were watching this wonderful growth they saw several wars break out, but the country kept on advancing still further on the road to prosperity. But after a while

A CHANGE CAME OVER THE SCENE

they witnessed on our sphere. They saw a vast army of men marching on Washington, not an army of conquest, but an army of unemployed. [Applause and Laughter.] These men were not carrying weapons or Gatling guns nor even spades to clean out the capital at Washington, although that might have been a laudable undertaking. [Laughter.] They could see the mills stopping their work, the mines closing, the factories shutting down, the wheels of commerce standing still, men living on charity, and dropping on the wayside from weakness and exhaustion, and cries of distress on every hand. I can imagine the people or Mars asking themselves what had happened to our sister planet—the earth? And the multitude would say, it must be that the earth has ceased to produce; but the philosophers would say, not so, for they have just had one of the most abundant crops they ever had; then the people would say, it must be that the people of the earth have grown lazy and refused to work, but the answer from the philosophers would be, not so, for men are striving with each other for a chance to work, and were crying to employers, as Burns says, to give them leave to tell,
The people of Mars would probably arrive at the conclusion that the people of the earth had gone on a universal strike.

We need not go as far as Mars to find out the cause of the trouble. [Applause.] It would seem that when father earth produced such an abundance, every one should have plenty, and the country be prosperous. The period between 1880 and 1890 was one of the most prosperous this country has ever known; the growth of wealth was enormous and everything was prosperous until the election of that fat lump of humanity, Grover Cleveland. [Laughter.]

But what was the real condition of the country at the time of Cleveland's election? I will try and lay some of the facts before you, and will give you some figures taken from the census of 1890. Something of the great disparity in the distribution of the vast wealth of this country can be understood when we learn that the census of 1890 shows that 9 per cent of the population of this country owns 71 per cent of the wealth of the United States. The other 91 per cent are vainly striving to retain their meager share of 29 per cent of the country's total wealth. One fifth of one per cent own twelve billion dollars worth of property. Nine of the North Atlantic states during the last ten years, from 1880 to 1890 have increased in wealth three billion dollars. During the same period, twenty-one of the largest and most productive of the western states, including your own state of Illinois, increased their total wealth only one-half of that amount. The statistics show that while the population during that time in the twenty-one states alluded to had increased 25 per cent in the last ten years, wealth has increased 45 per cent and mortgages had increased 157 per cent.

This is a new land and ought to be one of homes, but what must be the outcome of such a condition as these mortgages show? You see something of it from another point of view. The statistics show that while the owners of land increased 21-2 per cent, renters increased 40 1-2 per
cent. In other words, twenty men lost their homes where one man gained a home. These are the conditions by which we are confronted and which the People's party is trying to remedy. You may call us cranks, and say we have wheels in our heads, and look upon us with contempt, but to that I will simply say that as an old republican I can remember when the name abolitionist was about equivalent to horse-thief. I believe I shall see the day when the men who are standing out for the principles of the People's party will be remembered as reformers just as the men who stood out against chattel slavery.

But I want to say to the men who regard us as cranks that the present state of things can not endure. The fool in King Lear says: "I have noticed that a man has only one nose and two eyes, and what he can not smell out he can spy out; and these are placed on the front of his face, so it must be his nature to go forward." Man's whole being is intended to go forward and to look forward. Thirty years has produced this trouble. If this whole thing has come about in only thirty years, what is to come in the next thirty years? [Applause.] This country, I am sorry to say, is divided into two hostile camps, those who have and those who have not wealth. Although both sprung from a common stock, still the more fortunate ones, I regret to say, look down with scorn and contempt on their less fortunate brethren.

This is not the worst of it. We have started on a new form of government. We started out originally with the idea that labor was honorable and that the people were free and equal. We established a system of free schools which instilled these principles of liberty and equality into the hands of the common people. You can not now reduce that people to the level of the European peasant except through the crucible of the most terrible revolution the world has ever seen. But God forbid that this should ever come.

WE DO NOT WANT WAR WE WANT PEACE. We want those evils into which we
have drifted to be wiped out by peaceful methods. Our People's party does not propose to reduce the middle class to poverty; our aim is to raise up the downtrodden to the middle class. [Applause.] In the time of King John of England there was little else than a king and nobility and a class of serfs. There was no middle class, no great mercantile class as there is in that country today. But the lower class forced themselves up in spite of king and nobles. The same thing is going on in this country today. No man can say that England is any worse off for this change which has been wrought in her social system, and I appeal to the rich men of our own country to stop and consider the tendency of their efforts to enslave the industrial masses. If they will examine the subject closely they will see that such a policy will eventually prove ruinous to themselves as well as to the masses of the people.

The People's party has considered these questions and has come forward with the honest purpose of restoring our social and economic conditions to a plane upon which they can be perpetuated. In the Omaha platform we demand an income tax to make the rich man pay a just share of the taxes of the country. [Applause.] What do the democrats do but steal that plank from us. [Laughter.] and make a law putting it into effect—the only sensible thing that party has done in the last twenty years. [Laughter and applause.] In that platform we decided that the people should have a circulating medium of at least $50 per capita. The republicans of Pennsylvania come along and declare that there should be at least $40 per capita. Well, we are willing to throw in the other $10. [Laughter and applause.] They have been trying to steal other planks from our platform. My friends, we are not a set of cranks, as you can see from this, we are statesmen. [Applause.]

There two things in this world that are confused by many people—wealth and money. These terms do not mean the same thing as most people suppose they do. Wealth consists of those things
which are necessary to man's existence; those things which he must have for his material wants, and for his comforts and pleasures, everything, in fact, that is necessary for the wants and desires of man.

NOW WHAT IS MONEY?

Money consists principally of two metals, gold and silver. You can not eat money; you could not convert them into a weapon of defense; you could not make them into plow shares and pruning hooks. They are metals which because of their scarcity and intrinsic value are generally called the precious metals. Because of their scarcity and the value they possess, the world has endorsed them as precious metals, and uses them as money. It is not generally known that within the present generation an effort was made to demonetize gold and take silver as the precious metal. This was done by the banks of Europe, Austria, Belgium and two or three other states. Then the famous Comstock lode was found, and immediately these same banks turned around and secured the demonetization of silver, leaving gold as the precious metal and standard of value. And why was this done? Simply to reduce one-half the stock of money of the world in order that it might have greater value. It did not make any difference which was demonetized, as reducing the money one-half would double the price. Any man can see it. If you will take the present stock of wheat of the world which is worth 50 cents per bushel, and destroy one-half, the remaining half will be worth one dollar a bushel. When they struck down silver they doubled every dollar in value. They also depreciated the value of all commodities. The value of farming land depreciated 33 per cent, and all other commodities in corresponding ratio. Bring this home to yourself. The wages of every workingman must be reduced. Manufacturers can not manufacture goods and sell on a falling market without reducing the wages of their employees. That is the condition in which we find ourselves today. On the other hand, all indebtedness has been doubled. You have to do twice as much work to pay your debts today as
you did ten years ago. For instance, ten years ago, wheat was worth $1 per bushel, and if a man owed a debt of $1,000 it would only take 1,000 bushels of wheat to pay that debt; now wheat is worth only 50 cents a bushel, and it would take 2,000 bushels of wheat to pay the same debt. [A voice: its a shame.] Yes, it is the most base and colossal crime of modern times. [Applause.] God in heaven should strike down these men who brought this calamity on the world.

When the bill which was passed by congress was taken to General Grant, and he was shown how it demonetized silver, he said he had never known of it until then. Blaine made the same statement. Only two men connected with that infamous transaction were willing to acknowledge that they knew what they were doing. One was Hooper of Massachusetts, and the other was that Mephistopheles of American politics, John Sherman. [Laughter and applause.] I read one of your papers this morning, and there I found the usual cry of the plutocracy for a “sound money.” I suppose they must mean a money which carries a sound with it—a sound of weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth. They talk continually about one metal driving the other out of circulation if they are coined on a ratio which would be equal if they were both money. Why, I ask, has not that happened in all these years during which the two metals have circulated together? But, they say, on a ratio of 16 to 1 silver is worth only one-half as much as gold.

**WHAT IS THE REMEDY?**

Open your mints tomorrow and begin to coin silver at the ratio mentioned and make it a legal tender for all debts, and that instant your silver dollar will be worth 100 cents. The signature of the president of the United States will furnish the remedy and the People’s party will elect such a president in 1896. [Applause.] When silver is remonetized I should like to know if there is a big enough fool in all Chicago—and from reading the editorials in some of your city’s papers.
one would judge that there are a few here [Laughter and applause.]—to sell $1,000 worth of silver for a cent less than that. If there is such a man, I would ask the court which is trying Brother Debs to take charge of him. I mean no contempt, however, by this remark. [Laughter.]

I feel toward that court like Thad Stephens told a judge who asked him if he meant to express contempt by his remarks to the court. Old Thad drew himself up and answered: "No, sir, I am trying to suppress contempt for the court." [Laughter and applause.]

It is claimed if we begin to coin silver at a ratio of 16 to one this country will be "flooded with silver from Europe." I don't know how you feel about it here in Chicago, but the land in Minnesota is thirsty twenty feet deep for just such a flood. But let us see if that is so. When wheat goes up one-half, one-quarter or even one-eighth of a cent in New York its influence is felt in Liverpool, and vice versa. Can you imagine under these conditions wheat worth 50 cents a bushel in New York while it is worth 100 cents a bushel in Liverpool. The same rule applies to silver. When you went abroad to buy 50 cent silver dollars do you think you would find any fools there who would sell them to you if the owner could bring them here and get 100 cents for his dollar?

WE NEED MORE MONEY TO CARRY ON OUR BUSINESS.

The increase of our gold during the last few years has only been twenty-five million dollars while the increase of population demands an increase of two-hundred and fifty million dollars. We can not be prosperous under such conditions. I think if the astronomers of Mars could see this condition of facts they would understand one of the causes which are reducing our people to poverty. [Laughter.]

Now, I want to ask what has either the democrat or republican party proposed as a remedy? [A voice: that is the question.] They are both like the physician who when asked what he was going to do for a dying patient replied: "Oh, con-
tinue the treatment.” [Laughter and applause.] But would you continue the treatment? A man in his right mind would get up and kick the doctor out of the house, and if there was any other doctor within reach who would give any other kind of a treatment, or suggest any other remedy, he would be employed immediately.

**WHAT REMEDY DO THEY PROPOSE.**

Carlisle tried to throw a sop to the South by coining a few silver dollars; but for every dollar he coined he took an outstanding silver certificate and tore it up, and when he got through we had no more money than we had before. The banks of New York have ruled the political parties on the subject of money. They are doing it right now. Whenever any new phase of the question comes up, Carlisle will run over to New York and find what they want there, and then he will tell Grover Cleveland, and Cleveland will come down upon it with his unlimited weight of avoirdupois and crush the life out of it, if it does not happen to accord with the views of the money kings in New York. [Laughter and applause.] These rascals are trying to reduce the people to slavery, but they can’t do it. The people are rising up on the farms, and in the workshops, and declaring that the government as it existed in the days of Jefferson, Jackson, and the other heroes, must be restored. You can do it, you laboring men, if you will bring your manhood, courage and honesty to bear at the polls. The only way they can defeat us now is by buying the votes of the laboring men with money and I want to ask you right here if you will let them do it. (A voice: No.) No, we will not sell our votes, and I want to say, that any man, or any leader who now espouses the populist cause who changes between now and election day, that change will brand him as having sold out his trust, (A voice: Good) and no matter who he may be, or what position he may hold, if he changes on that day, never again will we put trust in him. (Applause.)

Many have asked what would be the effect if money were made cheaper, and
became more abundant. I think I have already showed something of what the effect would be. We would have better times immediately. In France they have $50 per capita of a circulating medium, while we have only $4.97 for every man, woman and child. One hundred dollars per capita put in circulation tomorrow would bring us the best times this country has ever known, and the time will come, and that soon if you will prove true to the stand you have now taken up to the moment you put your ballot in the box, and send a representative to Washington who will represent the people and not the plutocracy. If we are ever to have good times in this country these calamity howlers and lunitics will have to take hold and run things for themselves. [A voice: "Why do you call yourselves lunitics?"] That is what the fools of the other parties call us; but I notice they are doing most of the howling now. [Laughter and applause.]

But, people say to us, you still retain the right to vote, and the men you elect make these laws you are now complaining of. To this I would say that it is not always the case that the men we elect make the laws which govern us. There never was an oligarchy more powerful, and ruled the country more in accordance with their own will than is this country

RULED BY THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT of the government. You ask how they do this? I will tell you how they do it. They take the statutes which the representatives of the people have made, and if there is anything in them which does not conform with their views, they pronounce them unconstitutional, and they are erased from the statutes. If you will let me say what laws shall stand I will govern the country. It is simply folly to say that this country is governed by representatives of the people when another class of men can step in and say what laws shall govern the people. There are three co-ordinate branches of government, the legislative, the executive and the judicial. I do not understand why the judicial branch of the
government are given the power to interfere with the duties of the legislative branch. It puts me in mind of France 200 years ago when any noble might obtain a lettre de cachet against a man and throw him into the bastile, where he was beyond all human help as long as the noble chose to keep him there, as no habeas corpus could reach him. Why, when that bastile fell by the vengeance of an oppressed people, there were found in those dungeons old men who from their long confinement, had actually forgotten what were their own names. But at last the French rose up in their might and threw down the bastile; and so will the people of this country rise up and throw down the power that oppresses them. [Shouts and applause.]

Then the judiciary have what they call the blanket injunctions. These are made to cover everything. If a law is in favor of plutocracy, they pronounce it constitutional; if it is against plutocracy, it is unconstitutional. A celebrated judge has stated that if a man in St. Louis were to come into Illinois and buy up enough votes in your legislature to pass a bill in favor of the railroad corporation, no difference how corruptly it was done, and even if all the members who voted for it were convicted and sent to the penitentiary, that bill would stand. There was no power that could declare it unconstitutional. The old English courts say that

**Fraud opens all doors,**

and a bill passed there by fraud, no matter what it is will not stand. It should be the same here. But down in Missouri they have actually got hold of some of the judges for upholding the people in their refusal to pay certain bonds which the railroads secured by promising to build certain roads, and they never built the roads. I can say I love this country and this government. Thirty years ago I showed my love for this government; but I say here tonight, that much as I love this government, I love liberty more. [Applause.]

The constitution of the United States formulates the rules under which our government works. The constitution
expressly says that the government of the United States shall not send troops into any state of the union without the consent of the governor and legislature of that state, or if the legislature is not in session, and cannot be called into session within a reasonable time, without the consent of the governor of the state, troops can only be sent into a state at the request of the governor and legislature; but last summer

TROOPS WERE SENT HERE TO CHICAGO, not at the request of the Governor of Illinois, but against the request of both the governor and the mayor of this city. The time is fast approaching, if we continue in this way, when every workman will have to carry a soldier on his back.

Thomas Jefferson, the author of the constitution of the United States, and the father of the democratic party could look down upon that party today he would be in much the same condition as the mother spoken of in Marmion where it says:

If the mother that him bear
If she had been present there
Would not have known her child.

We want no invasion of our soil; we want no man on horseback to ride roughshod over our liberties. Grover Cleveland sent the troops here; Harrison has said in a number of interviews that he would have done the same thing. We cannot get relief from either of the old parties. What we need is a new political party. Not a party composed of plutocrats, nor millionaires;

WE WANT A PARTY OF THE PEOPLE, with the spirit of 1776 with the courage of their convictions.

In conclusion let me say, be careful what you do. Do not create the impression that you are opposed to law and order. Rather show that you are the friends of law and order and opposed to everything and everybody who seeks to overthrow law and order. If you will do this and go at it with a proper spirit, you can carry Chicago at the election this fall. [Applause.] I will also say to you that we are going to carry Minnesota, and in 1896 we will place one of our
number in the White House at Washing-
ton. There is not an intelligent man
in this country but what sees that some-
thing is wrong. We are going to change
the doctor. [Applause.] Let us do
what we can to save this nation and
save humanity.

I thank you for your kind attention.
III

JOHN Z. WHITE'S SPEECH.

AT CENTRAL MUSIC HALL OCT. 10, 1894.

We have happened upon strange times. Never in the history of the world was the productive power of labor so great as now, and never in the history of the world did the lower class of labor in any civilized government find it more difficult to secure the necessities of life, with productive power that should ensure comfort, nay, luxuries to all, we find men and women seeking death in the waters of the lake as a relief from the awful struggle. You know this is true, and you know therefore, that something must be wrong. Something must be wrong when the productive power of labor is so great, and the extreme necessities of thousands of men, thousands of women and thousands of innocent children press them into poverty so deep that not only is spiritual life absolutely out of the question, but the moral perceptions are blinded and even the physical growth dwarfed. I have not overdrawn the picture. It is admitted everywhere that something is wrong. We have had two great political organizations in this country, the republican and democratic parties. To them has been entrusted alternately the powers of government. With what result? The republican party—no, that is not fair, there is no republican party, the whig party—you know the abolition associa-
clation was absorbed by the Whig party owing to the strength of the anti-slavery movement, and after that party had accomplished its work in that direction, it ceased to be a republican party and became the Whig party as of old. The abolition sentiment was the sentiment of liberty, the sentiment which proclaimed the equal rights of every man beneath the shining sun, and when the chattel slave was freed the abolition party died and the Whig party again resumed its way. When the Whig party found itself safely in saddle, in the possession of the most wonderful political organization that any free government ever saw, it was ruled by the sentiment that always controlled the Whig party, the determination through special privilege, through strictures on commerce to establish here in the United States the same conditions that have ruled for hundreds of years in Europe. This is the party that has foisted upon the people of this free government every monopoly, every restriction of commerce, every bond around the limits of free born men, every burden under which the American people have groaned, a system under which the masses have become poor, while on the other hand has such as never before disgraced the world. The great masses of the people trusted them long, but finally they rebelled, and in desperation they entrusted their sovereign powers to the democratic party, who declared that they would end this protective system.

What is protection? Here is a team of horses trying to draw a load of two or three tons of earth. They can hardly move it. The republican doctor comes along and says: "Your horses are lazy; what you want is protection, put on a larger load." Presently the democrat comes along, he says: "The republican medicine is absurd; the load is too heavy; take off some of it." That looks reasonable, and the liberty-loving, intelligent voters of the United States entrusted the sovereign powers of government in the democratic party's hands, and what did they do? They said they would take off a part of the load and they did.
called it tariff reform. I wonder if there
is a man in this audience, or in America,
who knows what tariff reform is? They
promised to readjust the tariff and they
have done so. They have taken the
duty off wool and they have put it on
sugar. They promised to reduce the
tariff and they have reduced it. They
have taken off a few spoonfuls of earth
from that two or three ton load and they
call it tariff reform.

This Wilson bill, or Gorman bill, or
senate bill—call it what you may—it is
the democratic bill. The democratic
party stands sponser for it. Now when
a little child goes to the stove and burns
itself, or I meet an adventurer upon the
street and he gets my confidence and
swindles me, we are not to blame because
we did not know any better. But, if
after being burnt once that child returns
to the fire and is burnt again, or if I
allow myself to be taken in by another
adventurer, then that child and I are not
blameless, but are absolutely foolish.
We have tried these other two parties
and have been scorched! We have
tried them and we have been swindled,
but if we are burned again, if we are
swindled again, it is our own fault. What
does the republican party promise for
the future? More protection, more
horses. What has the democratic party
promised? Does any one know? But
there is a party today, which has some-
thing definite to promise. There is a
party today, which proclaims the doc-
trine of “equal rights to all and special
privileges to none.” What are equal
rights? What do the words mean? They
mean that no man shall have a privilege
which another man cannot enjoy. That
what one private citizen may do legally
and lawfully, every other private citizen
may also do if he will. What is special
privilege? It is simply that some pri-
vate citizens may legally perform cer-
tain acts which other citizens are refused
permission to perform. If one man goes
into the grocery business he has no ad-
vantage over any other man who desires
to go into the grocery business; but if you
and I desire to put down gas mains in
the streets of the city of Chicago would
we be allowed to do so? Of course not. But Mr. Billings has that privilege. Can any man run a street car through the city of Chicago? No, but Mr. Yerkes may do so.

It is against these special privileges that we are warring. It is the fact that one man may engage in these enterprises lawfully while another may not, that makes it imperative, that the public, through the government, should carry on these kinds of business at cost for the benefit of the whole people.

The distinction is clear. Any business that may be thrown open on an equal footing to everybody can deprive no one of his equal rights. But any business which is of such nature that it cannot be thrown open to everybody, if allowed to pass into private hands, must of necessity establish a monopoly.

The doctrine of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none" forms the fundamental difference between this government and the governments of Europe. In Europe the policy is to build up privileged classes. Our government is based upon the opposing theory, that privileged classes shall not exist.

The street car monopoly and the gas monopoly are little one-horse concerns. They only steal seventy-five or one hundred millions of dollars; that is, we pay interest on that sum and get no equivalent in return, but we can pay that and not feel it. I have called your attention to these instances of monopoly to show the principle involved. But let us look further. The great monopolies of this country are established upon exactly the same footing as the street railway monopolies. They have received grants from legislatures allowing them to control a road across the country over which the commerce of the country must flow. Roughly speaking, half our people are in the town and half in the country. The people in the towns use these raw materials in manufacturing goods of various kinds and send them back in payment for the raw material and the food sent in. This exchange involves the use of highways, the railroads; for over them
this commerce must flow. If the law gives certain gentlemen absolute control of those highways, are they not in a position to levy tribute upon all labor in the country and all labor in the town? We have given the control of these great highways to private companies, and these private companies are now organized in an association known as the "General Managers' Association." This concern holds absolute control of these great highways of the United States of America, over which all our commerce must go. Now how does this affect us? The farmer must send his goods to market over these roads. The railroad company cannot say to the farmer, give me one third of your crops, but the railroad company goes to a legislature, gets a grant of the highway over which the farmer's crop must come to market, and then charges him rates about equal to one third of his crop. This surely robs the farmer. When the farmer is robbed his purchasing power is lessened. He cannot buy goods of the manufacturing centers. And when the manufacturer cannot sell he cannot employ you and me in his factories and pay us wages. He is compelled to discharge his employees. He is forced to increase the army of the unemployed, as a result you have a depression in business; you have falling wages, you have idle men, and so down all business goes down, for all business is dependent upon wages. When men do not get wages they cannot buy goods, and when they cannot buy goods the manufacturer cannot go on supplying a demand which does not exist. Some trace it all back to the unequal law which allows legislatures to grant private companies control of our highways. And this, ladies and gentlemen, is one of the monopolies which the People's party is pledged to abolish.

THE WAY TO DO IT.

And how are we going to do it? The railroads of the United States are capitalized at ten billions of dollars. If we have in thirty years been unable practically to reduce our debt of three billions, as it stood at the close of the war—taking into account the purchasing value of
the dollar then and now—how long would it take us to pay off the ten billion of dollars necessary to purchase the railroads of the United States at their present capitalization? So far as I know, there are two methods of getting at these monopolies. One is by violent revolution, overturning the government, and starting a new deal. I don't believe the American people are ready for any such operation. If they are, I am not. There is one other method. It is a business-like method; a method that all experience points out as the true method; and that is to get at the railroads indirectly—just as the railroads get at the farmers indirectly. We want the revenues that this monopoly wrings from the people, and we can get that revenue in the business-like way that all revenues are raised; in other words, we can concentrate taxes upon these monopolies. We can in that way absorb the earnings of the monopolies in every direction throughout the country. We can squeeze the water out of every railroad stock now floating upon the market, and when we have reduced them to their true value we can, if found desirable, buy the roads and run them for the good of the whole people at cost.

In this way we can attack effectually all the great monopolies, and when we have done this, if the people desire, we can conduct through the public agencies, such kinds of business as the people may determine to be monopolies in their very nature. But first exercise the power that the law gives, for the law itself says that the power to tax is the power to confiscate. That is the proper way. That is the only sensible way to overcome the monopolies that at present override all rights, override our legislatures, override our courts and force injunctions from unwilling hands, calling upon the federal bayonets to sustain the dignity of the law.

As suggested by Lyman Trumbull, back of all these monopolies rises the question of the rights of property, and that is the question which the American people must face. What are the rights of property?

Nothing but a conscious being ever had
rights, only men have rights; property has no rights!

The United States of America—what is it? A great farm, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Canadian border to the Gulf. This farm does not belong to the associated bankers of this country; this farm does not belong to the railways of this country; this farm does not belong to the real estate speculators of this country. This farm is ours. We, the American people, determine, through our sovereign majesty, how this great farm shall be conducted. We make the laws that regulate our money, we make the laws that rule and control the highways, we make the laws that rule and control our land tenure, and we have the power to determine how much revenue each and every monopolist shall pay into the public treasury.

THIS GOVERNMENT IS OUR GOVERNMENT

The American voter is the sovereign. He elects our presidents, our state legislatures, our common councils, and the voters are responsible for the laws which are made.

If the American people are so stupid that they do not know their rights, or do not dare maintain them, why are they fit for anything but slavery? No protective tariff is levied to oppress labor unless the people permit it! No grants are made to soulless corporations—to corporate cannibals—unless the people demand it.

If the American voters do not know enough to elect such men as will rid them of these monopolies, and right these wrongs, then they deserve but little sympathy.

Labor produces all wealth and law distributes it. If the law is equal and just the distribution will be fair and honest. If it is unequal and unjust the distribution will be unfair and dishonest. We must have a fair, square, honest deal, or we shall have a millionaire plutocracy which will be worse than negro slavery. The voters must choose; and if they choose blindly and foolishly they must not complain.

The People's party stands for "equal
rights for all and special privileges to none.” I am for equal rights. In my early days I was told this was the land of equal rights but I found that my teachers were mistaken. But it can be made the land of equal rights and the voters of the United States alone can do it. Only the sovereign will of the people expressed at the ballot box will ever rectify the wrong.

I do not ask any man here to vote for the People’s party or for any candidate on the ticket, but I do ask every intelligent human being here to recognize when he goes to the polls that his vote will tell one way or the other. Your vote will tell for monopoly or it will tell for equal rights. I only ask you this: If you are in favor of monopoly, if you believe in special privilege, if you think the American people are not capable of self-government, then cast your vote for either of the old parties. It makes no difference which, and you will get what you vote for. Only use intelligence when you cast your ballot. Know what you are doing. But if you believe in equal rights; if you believe that the time has come when the American people must assert their sovereign authority against the unequal legislation which has governed them in the past, and still rules with ever increasing power, then know that only at the ballot box can that stern determination be made effective.
SPEECH OF C. S. DARROW.

It is never easy for any of us to change our political and social relations, and it is with much reluctance and hesitation that I come here this evening to state in as plain a way as I can, why, from my standpoint those who entertain opinions and views such as I hold should no longer affiliate themselves with either of the two great political parties. (Applause).

This great meeting, together with the other public demonstrations that have been held by the People’s party, is one of the striking signs of a history-making day. These meetings that have come together spontaneously without fire works, torches or brass bands; without any great party organizations or great party leaders, are wonderful signs of a great change in human thought.

Buckle, the great philosopher and historian, said that there never was any great discontent among the people except from a good and sufficient cause. This meeting is but one of the evidences of the prevailing discontent and unrest in the industrial and social world today. In the presence of this multitude and many similar gatherings of men and women of thought and culture, it is unnecessary to prove that there is a cause for discontent; your presence here indicates that there is a cause. Yet there are those who close their eyes to the condition of their fellow men, and say America is as
prosperous as any country ought to be, and the people are as prosperous and happy as they deserve.

STATISTICS ARE UNNECESSARY.

I shall not quote statistics to show the great irregularities that exist in social conditions of our boasted land; these are patent to all who think. Every person of common observation knows that for the last twenty years wages absolutely and relatively have constantly decreased, that the struggle for existence has grown fiercer and harder day by day, that the great army of unemployed has rapidly increased each year; that the number of men and women anxious to fill any public or private place for the smallest pay, keeps wages at a starvation rate. (Applause).

All of us remember that last year in the City of Chicago tens of thousands were kept alive only by charity, and that in all the great cities of America as well as in country districts, the condition was the same. Already our charitable institutions are sending word to the world outside that no unemployed must come to Chicago during the coming winter, as we cannot care for our own poor and unemployed. All of this in a land made rich beyond exhaustion by the bounty of nature, and in a day when the use of machinery has increased the productive power of man twenty fold in fifty years. (Applause).

While the large majority of our people lack many of the comforts and most of the luxuries of life, our warehouses are filled and our mills are idle for lack of markets for their wares. It seems now as it did to Carlyle in England thirty years ago, as if some enchantment had cast its spell over the people of the land. (Applause).

Last year this country of prosperity was engaged in a discussion as to whether the World's Fair should be kept open Sundays, and the chief reason given in its favor was that the working people could spare no other time to go. It is a disgrace to a land and a civilization that the men who work are in such a condition that they could not spare a few days time from their toil. Of course those who
were not working people could attend any day they wished. Until the man who works can always find a chance to rest, and the man who does not work shall be denied the right to eat and live, justice must be a dream. [Applause].

The two great political parties which have so long governed, and mis-governed this country, [Laughter and applause]. that have constantly deceived the people by false issues, [applause] such as the currency and a ten or fifteen per cent reduction of the tariff, these two parties in this campaign have practically agreed upon two propositions. Both of these great parties practically admit the great injustice which the working people suffer and their sad condition at the present time, and both admit that the law is largely responsible for this misery and wrong. [Applause]. It is thought by them that it is no longer possible to deny the conditions that exist today; that it is no longer possible to claim that the people who are suffering under unjust laws are as prosperous and happy as they ought to be, and so each claims that the other is responsible for the condition of the masses of the land.

LET US EXAMINE BRIEFLY THESE CLAIMS.

That the people have long felt that the conditions were wrong is evidenced by the history of the last twelve or fifteen years.

For twenty-five years the republican party held complete political power in this country. Under their benign administration the aggregate wealth and capital in the American republic increased in the hands of a few at the expense of the people. [Applause]. Under their friendly protection these great trusts and other institutions were built up and the people were impoverished. Then the people, feeling the injustice without knowing or seeing the remedy, turned to the democratic party, and elected Grover Cleveland [hisses] president of the United States. They tried Mr. Cleveland as president for four years, and then forgetting what they had suffered, they turned for relief to their old enemy [laughter]. once more and elected Mr.
Harrison. [Hisses]. When they found the times were no better and had already forgotten the four years of the previous administration, they changed again. Well, you all know how well they like the last change. [Laughter and applause]. And now at the end of only two long years they are ready to change once more.

This weaving back and forth between the two old political parties shows that the people were aware of the fact that something was wrong in this land of ours; that they recognized the conditions under which they lived and were striving to get relief from one or the other of the old parties that had betrayed them so long. [Applause]. Many of them, and I amongst the rest, fondly believed that some of the pledges made in the democratic platform would be kept. We trusted them with our aspirations, with our votes, with the political destiny of this country. We trusted that it would make some effort to correct some of the abuses that had built up a country of masters and slaves. [Applause]. And in consequence, for a second time Mr. Cleveland was elected president of the U. S., and at the same time in order that there might no longer be any excuse for inaction on the part of the democrats they were placed in complete control of every branch of the government. With Mr. Cleveland there was inducted into office a democratic congress with a majority in each house, a majority that have proved themselves nothing but his servile tools, [laughter and applause] subject to the power and direction of a democratic president.

This president surrounded himself with alleged democrats as his advisors, and started out upon his career to fulfill the pledges he had made.

I do not mean to say that all the injustice we have suffered is due to the action of either political party. A large share of it is due to the great changes in the industrial world, during the last fifty years. (Applause.) We have built up great factories and pulled down small
shops; the large farms have swallowed up the little farms, and
EVERYTHING HAS TENDED TOWARDS CENTRALIZATION.

We have not changed our social lives to conform to our changed conditions. We have been trying to put new wine into old bottles, and there can be but one result, man has fallen a victim to the machines that he has made. We have not learned how to utilize all these cunning tools for the benefit of the human race, but they have been monopolized by the few and used to crush the weak and poor. (Applause.)

But while much and perhaps a larger part of the industrial conditions and distresses of today is due to these natural causes, still it could be remedied by man and law. A great part of this distress comes from the injustice and inequality of human laws.

When the last National Democratic convention met in Chicago, they did what all political parties do—they constructed a platform, and on this platform they went before the American people. I understand full well that a political party or a president, however well inclined, may not be able to do everything they promise, but when a democratic administration, overwhelmingly placed in power by the people on account of pledges to them, fails to perform one single pledge, I ask as honest men, can we longer give them our support? (Applause.) If the administration of the democratic party has stopped long enough in its

ALLEGIANCETO WALL STREET,

To give the workingmen one bit of encouragement, to give the workingmen the slightest attention—to give the workingmen one scrap of legislation,—I have failed to find that act. (Applause.)

The democratic convention declared that protection was a humbug. They declared for the remonetization and free coinage of silver. They declared themselves in favor of local self government and the independence of the state. (Applause.) They declared themselves against the growing power of monopoly
and trusts. It seemed as if everything was so plain that no man could be mistaken as to its meaning, and on this platform Grover Cleveland was elected, and at the same time there was elected a congress with about two hundred plurality, and a senate with eight or ten majority; and while this large number could not always be depended upon by the President, yet on any proposition there was a sufficient democratic majority to carry out the pledges made in the democratic platform. Yet within a few weeks of the time he came into power, and at the behest of Wall Street, he called a special session of congress to demonetize silver, instead of fulfilling the pledges he and his party made. A servile congress did his bidding as

PAYMENT FOR A FEW POLITICAL JOBS.

And at the request of Wall Street, a law was passed that placed this country on a single gold basis, so that a dollar's worth of indebtedness called for much more than a dollar's worth of cash. [Applause.]

When Mr. Cleveland was elected President a series of bad laws and long years of unjust conditions had reduced this country and the workingmen to such a condition that from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the northern border to the Gulf of Mexico, industrial armies composed of the unemployed commenced to march to Washington to try to get some legislation which would relieve their poverty and distress. Mr. Cleveland and his administration informed these men that there was no power in the Federal government to render any aid or succor for the distress suffered by the people under his administration. Instead of listening to them or trying to render them any aid, Mr. Coxey was arrested for not "keeping off the grass" [applause] and this has been about the bravest thing accomplished by the democratic administration. [Laughter and applause.]

But while they could not listen to Mr. Coxey and his industrial army, and declared that there was no power in the constitution to give them any help—and some way or other it seems these men
never could find anything in the constitution that would enable them to do anything they did not want to do, but could always find permission to do things they desired—while Mr. Cleveland informed these armies that he had no power to act in their behalf, at the same time, at the behest of Wall Street,

MOVED BY THE BIDDING OF LONDON,

He did find time and authority to listen to their request and comply with their demands, in violation of the platform on which he was elected, [applause] and contrary to the statutes of the United States for a hundred years, he found a way to provide that debts contracted to be paid in gold and silver should be paid in gold alone. [Applause.] These demands of the east were complied with, and the interest of the millions who labor with their hands, were trampled upon for the benefit of the few who own the property and credits of the world. [Applause.]

Within six months of the time the President was elected upon a platform in favor of bimetallism, we find him beginning to redeem the pledges of that platform by demonetizing silver. Within eighteen months from the time of the President's election, on a platform in favor of commercial freedom, we find the democratic senate using their votes and their power for the purpose of affecting the price of stock on Wall Street. [Applause.] We find them wasting their time while the nation was held in suspense, and all the business of the country paralyzed because of the uncertainty, and yet the country was compelled to wait while the senators speculated in sugar stock. [Laughter and applause.] Within eighteen months from the time he was elected upon a platform that declared against combines and trusts,

THE SUGAR TRUST HAD PURCHASED THE UNITED STATES SENATE

And their votes had been delivered for the cash. [Laughter and applause.]

But there was one cardinal principle of the democratic party which we supposed at least could be preserved. Since the American states came together and
formed a Federal Union, the people have held to and guarded the principle of local self-government. All that has been written is to the effect that the states are sovereign in everything except what they have ceded to the National Government. [Applause.] Within two years of its election, a democratic administration, against our Constitution, and in violation of its direct instructions, and in opposition to all legislation on this subject, had sent a military force into one of these sovereign states. [Great applause.] I cannot understand the indifference of the American people to this act, which I believe is the most important and the most dangerous act ever committed by any President since the formation of the Government. [Applause] Upon this question there is not the slightest chance for men to disagree; the Constitution of the United States expressly provides that the President shall be the head of the military force of the Government, and that he shall send the military into a State upon the request of the legislature of that state, or of the governor of the State if the Legislature is not in session. [Applause.] But there is no provision in the American Constitution, or in any amendment to the Constitution, or in any laws that have been adopted by the Federal Government that can be tortured or construed as conferring upon the President this right, without the request of those states into which the troops are to be sent. [Applause.] Not only did the President of the United States SEND AN ARMED FORCE INTO THE STATE OF ILLINOIS without the request of the Legislature or Governor, but he ordered them here against the authority and demand of the Governor of this state. [Great applause.] And when the Governor of Illinois [applause] who is a democrat [applause] asked the President to withdraw his troops, he was answered by the President saying that this was not the time to discuss constitutional questions, but a time for action. [Hisses.] I want to say that the President of the United States is as
much bound by the laws of the land and
the Constitution of the United States, as
the humblest citizen of the land. The
President's retort meant that the time to
discuss constitutional liberty was when
constitutional liberty was dead. [applause.] As well might you say that
when a man is accused of a crime, the
best time to determine whether he is in-
occent or guilty is by a Coroner's Jury
after his execution. [Laughter and
applause.]
I am not here tonight to complain of
any act of the Federal troops, for I be-
lieve these Federal troops acted with
great forbearance. [Applause.] I am
here to complain of the precedent estab-
lished by the President of the United
States. [Applause.] A precedent which
some day may furnish a door for some
ambitious ruler
TO RIDE OVER THE LIBERTIES OF THE
PEOPLE,
and the ruins of the Republic to a dicta-
tor's throne. [Applause.] To quarter
troops upon any people in time of peace,
is to destroy the trust the people have in
the stability of constitutional govern-
ment. By this act of the President, dis-
trust of the permanency of the liberties
guaranteed under the constitution, is
brought home to all thinking men. It
was the same action of which the British
government was guilty in 1770, when
they quartered their forces upon Boston
common. [Applause.]
Mr. Cleveland has an Attorney General
[hisses. He is a democrat [hisses.] Some
of you may know his name [hisses.] Your children will not [laughter and ap-
plause.] This Attorney General, who is
styled a democrat, because he is the At-
torney General for the Democratic ad-
ministration [A voice: And for the rail-
roads.] Yes, and for the railroad com-
panies [laughter and applause], found a
law that was passed in 1890 for the pur-
pose of preventing the aggressions of
the gigantic trusts of the country. Under
his eyes, if the Attorney General has any
eyes [laughter and applause], the Sugar
trust had polluted the Senate Chamber,
if it could be polluted [applause.] While
all the people of this country were calling upon the Attorney General to enforce this law against the trust, and to procure a conviction or its officers for the crimes of which they are guilty, this Attorney General of the United States,

IGNORING THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

and of his conscience—which is not very loud [laughter], passed by this act of the sugar trust and used this statute against the workingmen of Illinois [Great applause.] Against those men who were never intended to be included in the provisions of that Act. This act of Congress, which was intended to help the poor, was first directed against those whom it was meant to aid [applause] He invoked this law solely at the request of the great railroad companies for the purpose of helping their business by threatening and persecuting strikers.

He appointed as public prosecutor here in the city of Chicago a man who for years has been the counsel of the great railroad corporations, and for all the great trusts that have persistently violated the laws invoked. When the Attorney General made this appointment it was a travesty upon justice and an outrage upon the people of the land [Applause]. When the President of the United States lent his power and his attorney general to the railroads, he made this great government of ours

NOTHING BUT A RAILROAD POLICEMAN.

How does the democratic party of Illinois stand on this question? In their platform they indorsed both Cleveland and Altgeld. Where does the democratic party of Illinois stand, with Cleveland or Altgeld? [Cries: Altgeld, Altgeld.] How can the democratic party of Illinois support both Cleveland and Altgeld? A party going both ways is liable to pull itself apart (Applause.)

But if I were to take up all the things the Democratic party had not done (laughter and applause), I could probably say nothing about the Republican party or their policy. I always did like the democratic party, it was always a party of such grand and noble aspira-
tions—before election (laughter and applause.) The Persian poet, reflecting on his shortcomings, said:

"And yet repentance oft again I swore,
"But then came Spring, and rose in hand
"My threadbare penitence apieces tore."

It was easy for him to be good in the cold and frost of Winter, but when Spring came with its sunshine and budding life, it was another thing.

SO WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

It was an easy thing for them to be good when they were out in the cold and frost and looking through the windows at the Republicans nicely fixed inside—it was an easy thing for them to make good resolutions and declare what they would do when they got into power, but when they were inside—well then it was different, laughter and applause.

I have spent more time with the democratic party than it deserves.

NOW WHAT ABOUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

I assume that no rational person will vote the republican ticket, [laughter and applause], still if all the people who are not rational should vote the ticket, it will win. [Laughter and applause]. You have been voting the republican ticket for the last thirty years—that is one thing that is the matter with us. What are you going to do in the present crisis? The republicans are offering us the same remedies which have brought us to the condition in which we find ourselves today. They offer us only the old worn out, shoddy, barbarous system of protection. They promised us great things before, and the best they gave us was that great monstrosity in the way of protection which is commonly called the McKinley bill. [Laughter and hisses]. Any man who will help put that party back into power, with its system of protection is not worthy of the franchise. [Applause]. We are told that high protective duties help to improve the condition of the workingmen—that they redound to the benefit of the miners, mechanics and wage earners of this country. They have told us this for 30 years, what have they
done? (Applause). During these thirty years they have made the millionaires and built their mansions on the rags and misery of the poor. To return to them would be to return to your old master, and it can only end in industrial slavery. There is an old saying about the leopard not being able to change its spots, and we believe that this is the way with the republican party. At least they have promised us nothing better than what they have given us before. They would build up a high system of protection. It was through them that a vast empire comprising the public lands of this country, was given to the railroad corporations. Through them that the people of the United States were taxed to build the railroads, and then these railroads were donated to some one else. They have built up our protective monopolies, and with them have come our paupers and tramps. The republican party was once the party of liberty; it is now the party of industrial slavery. For the last twenty years it has been like certain kinds of soap and patent medicine—Doing business on its reputation.

But what about the Populists? [Great applause and cheering for several minutes]. They say we do not know what we want. Well, if we do not know what we want, we know what we do not want, Applause. and that is the next thing to knowing what we do want. (Applause.) After we get rid of the things we do not want we can agree upon the things we do want. (Applause.) They say we want to divide. We do not want to divide,

WE WANT TO STOP DIVIDING.

That is what has been the matter with this country for so many years. The poor man has been dividing with the rich man, and the rich have taken all. (Applause.) They also say that we are not patriotic. Patriotism has grown very cheap these later days, cheaper than almost any other importation that has come from the other countries of the world. (Applause). Most of the patriotism that we hear upon
the rostrum and at Fourth of July cele-
brations is very shoddy and very poor.
This is the patriotism that urges boys to
join the army solely that they may pro-
tect the property of moneyed monopo-
lists; this is the patriotism that is born of
dollars and has no other object except
the protection of vested wrongs. This
is the patriotism paraded by men who
have no respect for laws or constitutions,
except to use them for their own special
purposes and trample on them where
they stand in the way of their own self-
fish ends. (Applause.)

THERE IS ANOTHER SORT OF PA-
TRIOTISM.

That is broad and high; the patriotism
that teaches love of country is best shown
by devotion to the country's good, that
has so high a respect and regard for
native land that it hates injustice and
evil the more when found at home.
(Applause.) The love of country that
seeks to make the people happier and
better, that seeks for juster laws and
fairer and more equal conditions is a
patriotism worthy of honest men. Pa-
triotism is a natural instinct, is perhaps
more natural than it ought to be. It is
as natural for a man to love the land in
which he first saw the light as to love the
mother who gave him birth, and no great
body of men were ever disloyal to their
government unless their government
was first disloyal to them. (Applause).

But they say the Populists are crazy.
Men who cannot tell the difference be-
tween a government warehouse and a
national bank. (Applause). That a
sane man cannot support the platform of
the party. Perhaps this is so. I have
never examined the platform very closely
and I do not know and can not say
whether it is true or not, but I do say,
that the poorest way to judge of a politi-
cal party is by its platform; by their
deeds ye shall know them, not by what
they say. (Applause). True, the Popu-
lists are young and cannot point to many
deeds, but the other fellows can. (Laugh-
ter and applause). A platform is very
easily constructed to suit the need of any
political party who desire the people's
vote. All that is necessary to make a platform is a dictionary and a grammar, and you can get along without a grammar. (Laughter.) Platform promises are generally made for the purpose of entrapping voters into political parties, and not for the enunciation of great principles and doctrines upon which parties are willing to stand or fall. (Applause.)

I have spoken of the last National democratic platform adopted here in Chicago, scarcely a plank of which has been fulfilled and many of which have been expressly broken by the party called to power. The various platforms adopted by the political parties in the municipal elections in the city of Chicago have met with a similar fate. (Applause.) Not long ago the democratic party of this city adopted one of the broadest and wisest platforms ever formulated by a political party; a platform which declared in favor of a city ownership of gas and water and the control and management of all street car lines and like natural monopolies incident to city life. This platform declared expressly against giving further valuable franchises to the great corporations which today own and control substantially, all of our city streets. (Applause.) The people of Chicago triumphantly elected this platform and incidentally the mayor and aldermen promising to stand thereon. But no sooner was this administration inducted into office than these aldermen, standing upon the platform pledged to municipal ownership and control of all these franchises and public works, continued the sale of the people's streets in the shambles of the city hall, and a great public and a great press looked on unmoved at this spectacle and accepted it as the natural order of affairs. (Applause.)

It is well, also, to remember that political parties are often better than their platform as well as worse. In 1860 the republican party nominated Abraham Lincoln for President of the United States upon a platform declaring against the further extension of slavery, but not against it where it then existed, and this great standard bearer, both in speeches
and letters, and most of the orators during that campaign, pledged their words and their honor, to the protection of the institution of African slavery in the South; but in three years from that time in direct violation of the platform on which he stood, against the laws and constitution of the land, moved by the great force of public opinion, which when once aroused is as resistless as the sea, this President, in the face of all these laws and pledges and precedents, proclaimed that slavery should no longer exist within the jurisdiction of the United States. (Applause.)

It is a matter of little consequence to me what the Populist platform may contain. I believe the party is composed of men and women who desire a better land and a fairer day and I am willing to trust myself in their hands, and to believe that when they have the power

THEY WILL FIND THE REMEDIES

Which will afford the people relief, whether we now can see the proper way or not. (Great and prolonged applause.)

Political parties are judged by their tendencies and ideals, not by set creeds which must change according to the changing times and as new opportunities arise. The People's party and the People's platform alike agree that the wealth of this country, under unjust laws and unfair conditions has been rapidly passing to the wealthy few: That the land, the machines and transportation of the country is held within the absolute power of a small body of favored ones: (Applause.) That the land, the heritage of the people, must be reclaimed by those who have the right to use the earth. (Applause.) That the inventions of the wonderful brains of great men, now dead and gone, shall no longer be monopolized for the few but should be the common heritage of all (Applause.)

It may be, that looking at this question in advance, it is hard to find the proper road, but if we try to take and reclaim the privileges that the people ought to
RELICS OF BARBARISM.

It is especially said that the Populists are crazy upon the money question, because they declare for the equal coinage of gold and silver, and have even suggested government warehouses where money may be loaned on property produced by toil. Whether it is feasible or not for the government to loan money directly to the people upon the security of their lands and productions, I do not pretend to know, but this I firmly believe is true, that the use of gold and silver as money is the most pronounced relic that exists today of the barbarous ages of the past. (Applause.) It may be that a currency having no intrinsic value and that may be loaned upon the production of the factory and farm, will be uncertain in its value and amount. But the productions of the various kinds of labor can be arrived at with mathematical precision when compared with an estimate of all the gold and silver that may lie in the Rocky Mountains or in other portions of the earth which may or may not be brought forth to the light of day. (Applause.) Whatever may be the correct theory of money, certainly the use of gold and silver to perform the functions of exchange is wasteful and absurd. To say that a great amount of time and strength should be consumed for the purpose of digging gold out of the earth to serve no other use than that of exchange is a reflection upon the knowledge and intelligence of the age. (Applause.) The commercial world has outgrown this barbarous system of barter of former times. It has already invented drafts, bills of exchange and checks to take its place and while this may still be said to be based upon coin, the fact that they are used instead of gold shows some progress in this realm of economic thought. (Applause.) Only a small percent of the money used today is gold or silver and it must be obvious that in the days to come this

CHILDISH RELIC OF A CHILDISH AGE

Must drop completely out of sight;
that some day silver will be relegated to its purpose, of making spoons, and gold will serve its purpose, of filling teeth and curing sots. (Laughter and applause.)

The democratic congress has already endorsed one plank of the People's party, declaring in favor of an income tax and this stands out the sole piece of legislation to redeem the useless, worthless, promise-breaking and law-breaking administration since it was placed in power, and this small measure of justice was only obtained by the persistency of the Populists in the congress and senate of the United States. (Applause.)

Since the adoption of the People's party platform, most men have seen the justice of their demand for government ownership of railroads, telegraphs and the like. The only question now is, whether the government has the vitality to take control of these great natural highways, which are the arteries of commerce and without which civilization in its present form could not exist. (Applause.) The People's party also favor the taking by the State of all the mines now controlled by private persons for the use of private greed; they deny the right of any man to own or control the ore and coal stored in the earth so many ages since; they deny the right of any man or corporation to declare that this coal shall remain unmined while the people freeze except upon the terms these dictators may demand. Some day they will deny the right of any man to absolutely control or own any portion of the earth. (Applause.)

SOME DAY THEY WILL SAY

that as no one could determine the status of any human being before he came into the world, so he shall have no power to fix another's fate when he is dead and gone. (Applause.) This platform also declares that the people shall own all means of productions and distribution which they may elect. (Applause.) This plank, I believe, will some day be seen to be the vital one through which alone the blessings of the past may be shared by all. (Applause.)

The great industrial institutions of the
The present have come from wonderful machines born of man's brain. These great machines, which perform the labor of the human race, have seemed to make it necessary that all industrial institutions shall be operated by large numbers of men working together for a common end. This change in industrial life from the feudal times of long ago from the primitive productions of middle ages must be followed by the change of ownership of all these great industrial institutions by which life alone can be maintained. (Applause.) Unless invention shall, some day, take a different course, whereby individuals singly will be able to produce more than collectively, then a great advantage must always flow to the strong and wealthy who are able to manage and operate institutions calling for the labor of great bodies of men. The tendency of the present and the past in this direction has been so strong that in nearly all lines of production, in all methods of transportation and in the production of most of the necessaries and luxuries of life modern devices cannot be operated except in the hands of the powerful and rich. (Applause.) This great advantage flowing to capital HAS DESTROYED THE SMALL TRADES-MEN, the small mechanic, and is gradually reducing the industrial world to a position of master and of slave. (Applause.)

The productive power that comes of organization and that is only possible because of the genius of the Franklins, Fultons and Watts, who have been dead for years, this productive power ought to redound to the common good of all and under present methods of production this cannot serve the common good except by the common ownership of these great productive and distributive powers by which alone the people live. (Applause.)

In the past the kings and rulers have been taught that the people no longer exist for their benefit but their right to rule was a right to serve. In the future, the industrial kings must learn that these great changes in industrial life cannot be
utilized for them but that their power, as industrial kings is not the power use but the power to serve. (Applause.)

It may be that the platform of the party is not perfect. I presume that it is not. We may be out upon the sea in a leaky boat manned by visionists and cranks, that will sail but a little way before it meets the rocks and sinks forever from the sight of man. But as for me, I would rather sail upon a raft out into the wildest and most tempestuous sea, beneath the blackest skies, moved only by the desires and hopes of those on board than to rest securely in the staunchest ship, achor'd to the creeds and errors of the past. It may be that through fate and chance, if no way else, this raft will sail between the rocks and breakers of the sea, and land at last in a fairer harbor on a brighter shore, but the anchored ship must stand and rot while fastened to the moorings of the past. (Applause.)

It may be that we are dreamers, but the visions of today are the facts of tomorrow.

The world has never known its dreamers from its philosophers. The man whose narrow vision sees but today is considered the practical man of a practical world; the one who sees the future and has some vision of the changes time must surely bring is the despised dreamer of today and the worshiped seer of tomorrow. (Applause.)

Phillips and Garrison were the dreamers of fifty years ago, and now and henceforth they are the champions of liberty and the teachers and prophets of their day.

It may be that the land we seek is a far-off Utopia which lives only in the imagery of enthusiastic minds. But from the time, countless ages since, when the human race, weak and poor and helpless, first rose from the brute below, their best and wisest felt this dream which their rude minds could not conceive, and this misty far-off Utopian shore has lured this race across the dark and troubled seas of all the past to the civilization that we have today, and take away this dream, wild and unreal as it
may be, and the human race broken and disconsolate will turn back once more, and recross the dark and bloody way o'er which it came until it lands again in the savagery from which it sprung. (Applause)

But not all ideals are simply visions. We have made them real in the past, we will make them real in the days to come.

Forty years ago a slaveholding oligarchy proudly and disdainfully boasted that cotton was king and that no power could overthrow their vested privileges and law protected wrongs, but the voice of conscience and freedom, louder than the voice of oppression and slavery, proclaimed that not Cotton but the People were king. (Applause.)

Today the privileged institutions of America, fattened by unjust laws and conditions, boastfully proclaim that monopoly is king, but I think I hear a voice rising loud, and louder from the common people, long suffering and over patient, a voice which says in thunder tones, not monopoly but the People are king; and that these people, emancipated and aroused, will one day claim their own. (Prolongued Applause.)
HENRY D. LLOYD'S SPEECH.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is impossible for me not to be grateful for the honor and encouragement I have received at your hands. It is an additional honor that I am permitted to stand before you tonight, and occupy the same platform with the grand and honored old man you have just listened to, Lyman Trumbull. (Great applause.)

We have had something said here tonight about the history of freedom, but I predict that when the history of freedom is written the name of Lyman Trumbull will adorn one of its brightest pages. (Applause.) As Wm. E. Gladstone is called the "grand old man" of England, so will Lyman Trumbull in time to come be called the grand old man of America. (Applause.

Continuing, Mr. Lloyd said:

All our parties are reform parties. The democracy has been lowering the tariff ever since the government was established. They have done so well that their rates are higher in 1894 than they were in 1842. The republicans have been "saving the union" for thirty years, and the tramp, tramp, tramp, of a million men on the march still sounds through the country—the tramp of the tramp. The appearance at the polls of
a new party which was not known in 1889, and in 1892 in its first presidential campaign cast over 1,000,000 votes is a hint that a new conception of reform is shaping itself in the minds of our fellow citizens. They want reform that will reform, and they want it now. Reform that is reform, and reform in our time, not in our great-grandchildren's, is what the people need and what they mean to have.

Lafayette said in 1791 that it would take twenty years to bring freedom to France; in two years feudalism was dead. Our great Emerson said in 1859—within four years of the emancipation proclamation—"we shall not live to see slavery abolished." Jefferson, the young delegate in the house of burgesses of Virginia, in one year abolished entail, and primogeniture, and the whole fabric of aristocracy in that colony. The patriots pleaded for delay, for compromise. "Let our oldest sons inherit, by law at least a double portion." "Not unless they can do twice as much work, and eat twice as much as their younger brothers," was the reply of this great social democrat, and he finished his reform in the same session at which he began it.

No great idea is ever lost. The greatest of human ideas is democracy. It has often disappeared, but it has never been lost. We have democratized religion, and the humblest men have equal rights with all others to find the Almighty within themselves without the intervention of a privileged class. We have nearly finished democratizing kings, and we are now about to democratize the millionaire. Under absolutisms the people mend their fortunes by insurrection. Under popular government they start a new party. All over the world, wherever popular government exists with its provisions for peaceful revolution instead of violent revolution, the people are forming new parties—in England, France, Germany, Australia, as well as this country. This is the great political fact of our times. Some of these, like the distinctively workingmen's parties, are class movements. They are the
natural and inevitable reaction from class movements against the working-men. These parties all have practically the same object—to democratize the millionaire, and as Jefferson did when he democratized the provincial patricians of Virginia, to do it nearly as possible at one sitting.

The Evils of Concentrated Wealth.

A broad view of the reforms demanded by the new parties rising in Europe and America and Australia shows the substance of them all to be the same. There is nothing, Lowell says, that men prize so much as some kind of a privilege, even though it be only the place of chief mourner at a funeral. In all the great industries a few men are building themselves up into the chief places, not as mourners themselves, but to make their fellow citizens mourners. The millions produce wealth; only the tens have it. There is the root of the whole matter. The first and last political issue of our time is with its concentrated wealth. Not with wealth, but with its concentration, "Far-seeing men," says James Russell Lowell, "court the increasing power of wealth and its combinations as one of the chief dangers with the institutions of the United States are threatened in the not distant future." This concentration of wealth is but another name for the contraction of currency, the twin miseries of monopoly and pauperism, the tyranny of corporation, the corruption of the government, the depopulation of the country, the congestion of the cities and the host of ills which now form the staple theme of our novelists and magazinists, and the speeches of the new party orators.

Those faithful watchers who are sounding these alarms are ridiculed as calamity howlers. When strong, shrewd, grasping, covetous men devote themselves to creating calamities, fortunate are the people who are awakened by faithful calamity howlers. Noah was a calamity howler, and the bones of the men who laughed at him have helped to make the phosphate beds out of which fertilizers are now dug for the market. It was a calamity howler who said "Sweet
are the uses of adversity," and another averred that "Man was born to trouble as the sparks fly upward." There are thirty-two paragraphs in the declaration of independence; twenty-nine of the thirty-two are calamity howls about the wrongs and miseries of America under British rule.

The contraction of the currency is a terrible thing, but there is another as terrible—the contraction of commerce and work by stoppage of production, lockouts, the dismantling of competitive works, the suppression of patents and other games of business. The institutions of America, were founded to rest on the love of the people for their country; we have a new cement now to hold society together—injunctions and contempt of court.

And we see materializing out of the shadows of our great counting rooms a new system of government—government by campaign contribution. The people maintain their national, state, city, and local government at a cost of $1,000,000,-000 a year, but the trusts, and armour-plate contractors, and the whisky ring, and the subsidized steamship companies, and the street railways and railroads buy the privilege of running these governments to enrich themselves, to send troublesome leaders of the people to jail, to keep themselves out of jail. By campaign contributions of a few millions is thus bought away from the people, $1,000,000,000 a year. There are many marvels of cheapness in the market, but the greatest counter bargains in modern business are such as the sugar trust got when by contributing a few hundred thousand dollars to both parties, it bought the right to tax the people untold millions a year.

THE COMING REVOLUTION IS HERE.

We talk about the coming revolution and hope it will be peaceful. The revolution has come. This use of the government of all for the enrichment and aggrandizement of a few is a revolution. It is a revolution which has created the railroad millionaires of this country. To maintain the highways is one of the sacredest functions of the government,
Railroads are possible only by the exercise of the still more sacred governmental power of eminent domain, which, when citizens will the right of way takes their property through the forms of law by force—none the less by force, because the money value is paid. These sovereign powers of the highway and of eminent domain have been given by you and me, all of us, to our government to be used only for the common and equal benefit of all. Given by all to be used by all, it is a revolution to have made them the perquisite of a few. Only a revolution could have made possible in the speech of a free people such a phrase of a railroad king.

It is a revolution which has given the best parts of the streets that belong to all the people to street-railway syndicates, and power companies. It is a revolution which has created national bank millionaires and bond-millionaires, and tariff millionaires, and land-grant millionaires out of the powers you and I delegated to the government of the United States for the equal good of every citizen. The inter-state commerce act was passed to put into prison the railroad managers who used their highway power to rob the people, to ruin the merchants and manufacturers whose business they wanted to give to favored shippers. The anti-trust law was passed to put into prison the men who make commerce a conspiracy, to compel the people every day to pay a ransom for their lives. It is a revolution which is using these inter-state and anti-trust laws to prosecute the employees of the railways for exercising their rights as free men to unite for defense against intolerable wrong. It is a revolution which lets the presidents, and managers and owners of the railroads and trusts go free of all punishment for the crimes they are committing; which sends out no process against any of the corporations or corporation men in the American Railway association, while it uses all the powers of the attorney-general of the United States to prosecute and, if possible, to send to prison the members of the American Railway union. It is a revolution
which is putting the attorneys of corporations into ermine on the bench to be attorneys still.

It is a revolution by which great combinations, using competition to destroy competition, have monopolized entire markets, and as the sole sellers of goods make the people buy dear, and the sole purchaser of labor make the people sell themselves cheap. Last and deepest and greatest revolution of all is that by which the mines, machinery, factories, currency, land, entrusted to private hands as private property, only as a stewardship, to warm, feed, clothe, serve mankind, are used to make men cold, hungry, naked and destitute. Coal mines shut down to make coal scarce, mills shut down to make goods scarce, currency used to deprive people of the means of exchange, and the railways used to hinder transportation.

COUNTER REVOLUTION OF THE PEOPLE.

This is the revolution that has come. With local variation it is world wide, and against it the people are rising world wide in peaceful counter revolutions, in People's parties. It begins now to be seen generally, what a few have been pointing out from the beginning, that the working men in organizing to defend themselves have been only pioneers. The power which denied them a fair share of their productions was the same power which is now attacking the consumer, the farmer, and even the fellow capitalist. In organizing against modern capitalism the workingmen set the example which all the people are now driven by self-preservation to follow. The trades union of the workingmen was the precursor of the Farmer's alliance, the grange, and the People's party.

Chicago today leads the van in this great forward movement. Here the workingmen, capitalists, single-taxers and socialists have come together to join forces with each other and with the farmers, as has been done in no other city. It's meetings are attended here by thousands, as you see tonight. It is the most wonderful outbursts of popular hope and enthusiasm in the recent politics of this country. Chicago thus leads
In numbers and in enthusiasm and in promises of success, because it has led in boldness, and sincerity and thoroughness of reform doctrine. The working-men of Chicago at the Springfield conference, which was the fountainhead of this tidal wave, stood firm as a rock for the principle, without which the industrial liberties of the people can never be established—the principle that they have the right at their own option to own and operate collectively any or all of the means of production, distribution and exchange. They already own some; they have the right to own as many more as they want. This is the mother principle of the government we already have, and it covers a whole brood of government railroads, telegraphs, telephones, banks, lands, street railways, all the municipalizations and naturalizations in which everywhere the people are giving utterances to their belief that they are the only proper and the only competent administrators of the wealth which they create.

The declaration of independence of 1776 declared that the people felt themselves able to manage for themselves, the government, all of whose powers sprang from them. This declaration of 1894 is the proclamation of the next step to independence. The people have done so well that they will move forward again and manage for themselves some more departments of the commonwealth all of whose powers sprung from them. The democratization of the government, the democratization of collective industry—they are parts of one great upward emancipation. The American idea, says Emerson, is emancipation. The co-operative commonwealth is the legitimate offspring and lawful successor of the republic. Our liberties and our wealth are from the people and by the people and both must be for the people. Wealth, like government, is the product of the co-operation of all, and, like government, must be the property of all its creators, nor of a privileged few alone. The principles of liberty, equality, union, which rules in the industries we call government, may rule
In all Industries. Government exists only by the consent of the government. Business, property, capital, are also governments and must also rest on the consent of the governed. This assertion of the inherent and inalienable right, and ability, of the people to own and operate at their option, any, or all of the wealth they create is the fundamental, irresistible, and uncompromissable key note of the crisis, and with this trumpet note you can lead the people through any sacrifice to certain victory.

THINGS THE PEOPLE HAVE LEARNED.
Jefferson, one of his biographers tells us, was one of the most successful politicians of his time, because he kept his ear close to the bosom of the people. If we will do the same we will hear the great heart of the common people beating the world over with this new hope of coming to own their means of production and the fruit of their labor, and so for the first time in history owning themselves. The people always think quicker and straighter than the philosophers, because while the philosopher simply meditates, the people suffer. The people here tonight have learned in their marketing, in their cut wages, in their lockouts and search for employment, in the prices they pay for sugar, and coal, and matches, and meat, and hundreds of other things, and all other reforms—of the tariff, the banks, the land system, the railroads and the currency—would leave them still the slaves of syndicates which hold the necessities of life and means of production in absolute right as private property beyond the reach of all these reforms and with wealth which puts them beyond competition. Herein is the inner citadel of monopoly and "plank 10" is the battering-ram which will bring down its wall.

The cardinal principle, to which every candidate of the People's party of Cook county who seeks the support of the workingmen must subscribe, has been adopted in substance by the party in New York. The party in Connecticut in their last platform, show themselves ready for it. It will without doubt, be adopted overwhelmingly by the next
national convention of the People's party and under the banner of this principle—which is as big as the crisis—the party will move into the presidency, perhaps as 1896. It is not to parties that have produced the pandemonium of intermittent panic which is called trade and industry that the people can look for relief. To vote for them is to vote for more panics, more pandemoniums. Both parties have done good work, but their good work is done. The Republican party took the black man off the auction block of the slave power, but it has put the white man on the auction block of the money power to be sold to the lowest bidder under the iron hammer of monopoly. The Democratic party for a hundred years has been the pull-back against the centralization in American politics, standing for the individual against community, the town against the state, and the state against the nation. But in one hour here last July, it sacrificed the honorable devotion of a century to its great principle and surrendered both the rights of states and the rights of man to the centralized corporate despotism to which the presidency of the United States was then abdicated.

There ought to be two first-class political funerals in this country in 1896, and if we do our duty the corpses will be ready on time. "Are you going to the funeral of Benedict Arnold?" one of his asked another. "No, but I approve of it." We will not go to the Republican and Democratic funerals, but we approve of them. There is a party that the people can trust because in the face of overwhelming odds, without distinguished leaders, money, office, or prestige, it has raised the standard of a principle to save the people. The continual refrain of Mommsen, the great historian of Rome, is that its reformers were only half reformers, and none of its statesmen would strike at the root of its evils. By that mistake we must profit.

It is a fact of political history that no new political party was ever false to the cause for which it was formed. If the People's party as organized in Cook county is supported by the country, and
the people get the control of their industries as of the government, the abolition of monopoly will as surely follow as the abolition of slavery followed the entrance of Abraham Lincoln into the white house in 1861. Then we will have the judges and the injunctions, the president, and the house of representatives. There will be no senate; we will have the referendum and the senate go out when the people come in. The same constitution that could take the property of unwilling citizens for the railroads for the right of way, can take the railroads, willing or unwilling, to be the nation's property when the people come in. Then the national debt, instead of representing the waste of war, will represent the railroads and other productive works owned by the people, and worth more, as in Australia, than the bonds issued for them. The same constitution that could demonetize silver can remonetize it, or demonetize gold for a better money than either. The honest dollar will come in when the people come in, for it will not be a dollar that can be made scarce, to produce panics, and throw millions of men out of work, and compel the borrower to pay two where he received only one.

Women will vote, and some day we will have a woman president when the people come in. The postoffice will carry you telegrams and your parcels as well as your letters, and will be the people's bank for savings, and their life and accident insurance company, as it is elsewhere already. Every dark place in our cities will be brilliant with electricity made by the municipalities for themselves. Workingmen and women will ride for 8 cents and school children for 2 1/2 cents as in Toronto, on street-car lines owned by the municipalities, and paying by their profit a large part of the cost of the government now falling on the taxpayer. When the people come in politician corruption, boss rule, and boodle will go out, because these spring mainly from the intrigues and briberies of syndicates to get hold of public functions for their private profit. We will have a real civil service, the inevitable
and logical result of the demands of the
People's party, founded, as true civil-
service reform must be, on a system of
public education which shall give every
child of the republic the opportunity to
fit himself for public service. The same
constitution which granted empires of
public land to create the Pacific railroad
kings will find land for workingmen's
homes and land to co-operative colonies
of the unemployed.

There will soon be no unemployed
when the people come in. They will
have no shoemakers locked out or shoe
factories shut down while there is a foot
unshod, and all the mills and mines and
factories, the needs of the people require
the people will keep going. Every man
who works will get a living, and every
man who gets a living shall work, when
the people come in. These are some of
the things the People's party of Cook
county means. At the coming election
let every man and women vote—for the
women must vote through the men until
they vote themselves—let every man and
woman vote for those, and only for
those who accept this grand principle of
the liberation of the people by them-
selves. Let this platform get a popular
indorsement at the polls next November
that will advertize to the world that the
people have at last risen in their might,
not to rest until another great emancipa-
tion has been added to the glorious rec-
ord of the liberties achieved by man-
kind.
VI

ADDRESS BY MR. DEBS.

AT CENTRAL MUSIC HALL, SEPT. 29, '94.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—First of all let me thank you from the depths of my heart for the spirit that makes it possible to stand before this magnificent audience this evening.

I have the honor to represent in part the only organization of railway employees that is committed to the Populist party. For years I was a democratic partisan with thousands of my countrymen; but some time ago I made up my mind that if there was any hope for industrial emancipation, it must come through a new political party. (Applause.)

Last June, in this city, the American Railway Union organization, in a convention to which there were 350 delegates accredited, resolved, without one dissenting vote, to CAST THEIR FORTUNES WITH THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

While I am on this subject I wish to say that there are thousands of exceptionally good people here tonight, and elsewhere, who are opposed to labor organizations, principally, as I believe, because they do not understand their mission. They think labor unions are organized to inaugurate strikes, and strikes they think of only as disturbances and violence. But let me call your attention to the fact that we live under a striking government. (Applause.) And the man, here or elsewhere, who has not got the courage to protect himself and his rights does not deserve to be protected. Our forefathers had a strike at Lexington that was heard around the
world; and they had another strike at Concord, and also through all that path of gloom and glory from Bunker Hill to Yorktown it was a strike against tyranny and oppression, and

FOR LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE.

Labor unions are not organized to strike, but to protect their members and their rights, and they strike only as a last resort. That is the policy of the American Railway Union. We believe in using other remedies when there are other remedies that can be used effectually. It was only when all peaceable means had been exhausted that the Pullman strike was entered upon.

In the month of May I visited Pullman in person. I could not believe the reports I had heard of the condition of the men and women who labored there. I found that though the people worked hard and long and faithfully they were scarcely able to keep their protesting souls within their half-clad bodies.

One instance: A young woman worked at Pullman by the name of Jennie Curtis. You probably remember her as she testified before the National Labor Commission only a short time ago. She said her father had worked for the Pullman Company for the past 15 years; and when he died a year ago last August he was in debt $65 to the Pullman Company for rent; and only a few days after his burial she received a notice from that company that if she expected to continue in their service, she would have to pay that $65 in regular installments, and this she had to do from her own meager earnings. What do you think of that? (A voice: barbarous.) Wages were adjusted in some mysterious way so that all but enough to barely sustain life finds its way back to the Pullman Company.

Wages had been reduced three times during the past year. The Pullman Company, it should be known, owns every inch of soil in Pullman. (A voice: It's men too.) Yes, and the women and children. (Applause.) Not a free breath of air is breathed in Pullman. There is not a free man, woman or child in the whole place. Things had gone
on so that when the Pullman people struck they were indebted to the Pullman Company $75,000 for the one item of rent; they were sinking deeper and deeper into debt. It was only a question of time until Pullman would own them and their children and their children's children forever. They struck, and are free men again. (Applause.)

A great many people found fault against the American Railway Union for extending the strike to the railroad companies, and said the railroad companies had nothing to do with the troubles at Pullman. The railroads had virtually gone into partnership with the Pullman Company through their General Manager's association. Many of them had reduced the wages of their own employees, and they were all agreed to continue to reduce the wages of their employees. That is why the people of Pullman struck, and I honor them for it. The American Railway Union decided without a dissenting vote to stand by the people of Pullman.

It has been charged that the American Railway Union was the instigator of the violence and bloodshed that occurred in this city last summer, but such allegations are not supported by the facts. No violence has been traced to any of the members of the American Railway Union. We said from the beginning that if we were to win in this contest, we must win through organized effort and not through any act of violence. There are

NO FOLLOWERS OF THE RED FLAG OF ANARCHY
among the members of the American Railway Union. (Applause.)

But by experience the members of the American Railway Union have reached the conclusion that if they expect to do anything towards emancipating their fellow workingmen they have got to unify their forces and strike at the ballot box. (Applause.) Notwithstanding there are those who predict that the sun of our prosperity is soon to set in universal gloom, I am one of those who think that the signs of the times were never more cheering than now. (Applause.)
is universal unrest among the ranks of
the producing masses. They are doing
their own thinking instead of doing it by
proxy. Hitherto they have been satis-
**fied to let others do their thinking for
them. I believe with Fitch that it is
only here under the flag of 44 stars
where it is now necessary to press their
rags a little closer to their bodies that
they may not brush the silk apparel
that labor has made; where they must
walk wearily past the shadow of palaces
they have erected. They hear the cries
of the people who have been groaning
under centuries of injustice—centuries
of crime and oppression. They are be-
**ginning to realize that labor is the con-
**servator of all government—of all civil-
**ization. (Great applause.) Labor seizes
the ears and eyes of art; labor frames
and guides the black cavalry of com-
**merce; labor is the mover of all the
wheels of industry; why, then, I ask,
should not the laborer come to his own?
The mariner in the southern seas turns
his eye to the southern cross. Weary
and anxious he waits for the hour of
midnight and rest. As he watches it,
**omething begins to bend until finally it
points almost due north and south,
pointing from the north pole to the south
pole; slowly it begins to bend in the sky,
and although he hears no bells sounding
the hour, he knows that the hour of mid-
night is passing over and relief and rest
is close at hand. Let labor take cour-
**age. The cross is bending in the sky,
and joy cometh with the morning. (Ap-
plause.)

In this country there is no real excuse
for a man who is willing to work for his
livelihood being compelled to become a
mendicant and a beggar. There is no
real reason why there should be any
starvation in this land. Yet there are
from three to four million men begging
for an opportunity to work under the ex-
**isting conditions. The millionaire and
the mendicant are created side by side.
From the wants of the laboring man the
millionaire draws his abundance.

**HERE IS GOING TO BE A CHANGE.
Under our government there is no ne-
**cessity of feeling the effects of injustice.
There is not an ill but what can be righted by the ballot. That weapon can fall as lightly as the snow flake falls upon the sod and leaves a mantle of purity over all the earth, so can the ballot fall and obliterate these deeds of injustice. Hitherto the workingmen have been satisfied, and have felt that their allegiance was due to one of the old parties; but both of the old parties have turned to plutocracy. I do not believe it will be necessary for the people to wait another quarter of a century until they find this out. I believe this fall there will be a strike such as this country never saw before. (Applause.) They have prepared the shackles for the laboring man throughout the length and breadth of the land, but the people are awakening, and the day for the laboring man is coming. An independent, intelligent ballot is needed, and I believe we will get it throughout the length and breadth of the land for “the right is marching on”—labor is marching on. (Applause.)
SPEECH OF DR. EDW. Mc'GLYNN.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I am nothing if not a priest—a man called to speak, not of myself, but of God's truths. It was the ideal of my earliest childhood, and the earnest desire of my youth to dedicate myself to the service of the Most High and to be used by him for the service of man, (Applause), and I have never had the slightest temptation to tear myself away from the aspirations of my youth. Some of you may have come here out of mere curiosity to see a preacher on a political platform, and it may seem odd to you to see a priest standing on a political platform. If the principles for which this party is contending were the same as those ordinarily contended for by the old political parties I would agree with anyone who should criticise that I was entirely out of my place. (Applause). I am here as I have been time and again—not for a few years now—to work in the cause of my Master. It is not in spite of my priesthood that I am here, but because of my priesthood. (Applause). It is because the religion that is within me would not permit me to sit still and witness the horrid and constantly increasing evils that are apparent to all, and, worse still are justified or are attempted to be
justified in the name of sweet religion of God, and as being the will of the Most High, in the name of the law, which the great philosopher tells us is in conformity with the mind of God. So it is that any so-called law that is in conflict with the enlightened consciences of men, is no true law. Men can be and are compelled to follow it, but it is against the wisdom and intelligence of God.

I was for many years ministering for the masses—for Christ's poor—and preaching of the blessings of the kingdom beyond and of the blessedness of the country under which we live, and at the same time learning of the difficulties my congregation had

IN ORDER TO KEEP BODY AND SOUL TOGETHER.

While I preached to them of Christ's mercy I was constantly aware of the poverty and degradation by which they were surrounded on all sides. My life has, for many a year, been made a burden to me by the never-ending procession of men and women and little children coming to my door and, not asking for food, but asking for influence and letters of recommendations, and personally appealing to me to obtain for them an opportunity for working for their daily bread. (Applause.) It was my fortune to minister in the heart of the greatest city on the continent and to observe how they were gradually being ground down into a worse and despairing poverty. I was compelled to try to justify to myself and others the ways of God—to ask myself, can this be God's law? To ask myself with the increase of wealth is it right that there should be an increase of poverty? (applause) to ask myself, is it the law of the land and the law of civilization that the immense luxuries, the great theatres, the great public buildings, the enormous accumulations of wealth, the high culture and the great discoveries of science should, like the car of Juggernaut grinding the devotees under its wheels, be for the grind-
ing down of the masses? (Applause).

IF SUCH BE THE LAW OF CIVILIZATION

It is a bad, not a good thing. (Applause). Can this be the law of God? The religion that is within me would not permit me to answer that in anything but the negative. There can only be one answer to that by the man who believes in God, who believes in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. There can be no answer but the negative. (Applause). The misery of poverty and the necessary consequent shame, degradation, and crime, the crushing out of so many young lives—are not the result of God’s law but are in violation of God’s law. (Applause.) Poverty and misery are the symptoms of a disease—they show that the natural law has been violated. O, men, for God’s sake, do inquire what is the cause, where is the violation of the law, and after you find that out, apply the remedy. (Applause.)

I was thus impelled in spite of myself to overcome the great reluctance for going outside of the sanctuary to speak to my fellow men; but the multitude would not come to hear me before the altar and I was impelled to accept the invitation such as has brought me here tonight, in order to say to the multitude, for the multitude, are hungry for the truth of God, whatever else you do, have no quarrel with the natural and revealed religion. (Applause.) We are told in God’s word, by St. Paul, that the powers that be are ordained of God. But this does not keep us from seeing the defects of our present system of government, and that these defects are not a part of God’s plan, but come from the ignorance and cupidity of the men who sit in our councils of state. Everything shows that God designed that men should be happy; both the works and the Divine Word declare it, and I urge you not to have any quarrel with natural and revealed religion, but seek rather by pure purposes and deeds to right the defects of our existing system of government. (Applause).

I am glad to be here tonight to speak
in defense of the essential and cardinal principles of the People's party platform, (Great and continuous applause). I agree most cordially and heartily with what the other speaker here tonight has said about the two old parties. (Applause). Their difference seems to me to be the difference between tweedledee and tweedledum. (Laughter and applause). I never have asked the forgiveness of God for standing on this platform and I shall never ask forgiveness of man, demanding in the name of God, justice for all God's children. We do not want charity, we want justice. (Applause). Then some good religious men were afraid we were trying to subvert religion, and dig out of the decalogue and expunge from God's law one of the most important of the ten commandments.

“THOU SHALT NOT STEAL.”

I have said it and repeat it, that the right of property is a most sacred thing. But is it not monstrous that the People's party should be charged with being organized for the purpose of stealing when we are organized for the sole purpose of putting a stop to stealing. (Laughter and applause).

The zeal of the small politicians, and I might also say of the small theologians, (Laughter and applause), reminds me of the old saying of the crime of one who steals the goose from the commons, but what of the man who steals the commons from the goose? (Laughter and applause). I am not here to demand or encourage the stealing of geese, but to speak of the much greater crime of those who are stealing the commons. (Great applause). I think it no desecration of my priestly office to stand on such a platform and to speak of truth, justice and the rights of man and of the common fatherhood of God. (Applause.)

The essential principles of the People's party, and those of the old United Labor party in the state of New York are the nearest in their demands to the teachings in the preamble of the Declaration of Independence—the equal rights of men. We are all equal—equal
because we are members of one family, and take away this equality we are mere brutes. You cannot assert the equality of man without asserting the will of God. It is a religious proposition. These truths spring from the Creator, and a man whose heart is right takes them to himself. In that preamble, which seems to be inspired of God, we are told that the inalienable rights of men are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These are the gifts of the Creator to man and no power in heaven or earth can take them from us. They are called inalienable because they are the gift of the creator. Take away this equal rights of men and man sinks to the level of the brute and

HUMAN LIFE IS A COMPETITION.

It is then no longer a well ordered march seeking a goal God has established; there would be no further recognition of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man but everything would become a monopoly; we would no longer recognize each other as the children of one Father; we would no longer be governed by the Golden Rule: “Do unto others as you would have others do unto you,” but men would relapse into barbarism. How hollow would human life become; it would be a mere scramble of the animal for the necessities which sustain life; men would no longer labor in the cause of humanity, there would be no love of country or any feeling of patriotism; the law of human society is no longer. The larger love takes in the whole world but this is no longer so; it is no longer every man for himself and God for us all, but it is every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. (Laughter and applause. This is what the rule of our political parties would bring us to if it were not, or the people.

DO NOT ASK ME TO TAKE SUCH LAWS.

In the name of religion I stamp on them and spit upon them. (Applause.) Take away these fundamental laws of religion and what is more natural than that the big fish should eat the little ones. In the mighty deep there are great monsters that gulp down thousands of the
smaller fry at a single mouthful. It is the same among animals, the large and strong eat the small and weak. You might lecture the lion and the tiger but they would still continue to devour the lamb when they were thrown together; it is the nature of the beast. (Applause.) It is also the natural thing that the masses should be exterminated, that the strong should devour the weak, that the rich should feast on the poor. These things are just as natural as it is that the lion and the tiger should feast on mutton—it is the nature of the beast. (Applause.) You might lecture the tiger after he had satisfied his hunger on some defenseless animal about the cruelty of such an act, but I do not think it would have much effect upon him. The nearest approach to a qualm of conscience might be a little fit of indigestion, and when he was hungry he would go and do the same thing again—

IT IS THE NATURE OF THE BEAST.

Under the existing laws the rich will devour the poor because it is the nature of the beast. (Applause.) It is only by asserting the brotherhood of man which rests on the fatherhood of God that the workingman has any standing in this world. In behalf of the toiler and the weak and oppressed I am here to assert these fundamental truths which are based on revealed religion. (Applause.)

I am here to say to you working people, don't quarrel with religion, because without that you can never get the equality of men. You cannot assert the brotherhood of man without asserting the common fatherhood of God. The law of equality is God's law. I am only here tonight to suggest fundamental truths. The law of political economy must find its basis in the law of religion. If we are the children of God—if we are brothers, surely we have a right to walk this goodly earth together and no man has a right to enslave a brother. The law of God teaches us the equal rights of all men. Under that law the life of the child is just as sacred as the life of the greatest statesman or philosopher that ever lived; the life of the child of the poor man is just as sacred as the life
of the child of the rich man; the life of the beggar is as sacred as the life of a king, and we cannot take the life of the one without incurring the penalties of God's law any more than we can take the life of another—all are equal in the sight of God. (Applause.)

In the preamble to the Declaration of Independence we are assured of the equality of all men, and the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but how inconsistent this was at the time, and a century later the shackles were struck from four millions of human beings who were held as chattels and the principle of

LIBERTY UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

became an established fact. It was a great honor and credit to us that we did break the chains of those slaves although we were so long in doing so, and then it cost this great country thousands of precious lives and hundreds of thousands of money and thousands of millions of property which was destroyed, and all these things were visited upon us before the people would consent that the shackles should be struck from these slaves and the preamble to the Declaration should state a truth when it declared liberty to all, and now under that Constitution no man in the broad land can be held as a slave. (Applause.)

But there are various kinds of slavery. There is a slavery that is subtle and enslaves multitudes without their knowing it, and men are tightly held in its bonds and still boast of their freedom (Applause). This slavery is the industrial slavery. It comes from this fact, that while men no longer desire to hold their fellow men as chattel slaves, they have acquired the art of so levying taxes, and to so control the government and the money markets, and the great highways of transportation that they have created a bondage so that men will, and how they will they cannot acquire money enough to keep body and soul together, and are living in an unseemly manner, and are unable to properly educate their children or to provide them with the means of lifting themselves up onto a higher level. What can we mean in the preamble to the Decla-
ation by the pursuit of happiness which is guaranteed by our constitution if it does not mean the freedom to labor, to seek the higher life which labor should make possible? But as long as we are composed of bodies as well as souls, as long as we need elbow room in this world, it follows that we must have equal rights to those natural bounties, the air, the sunlight, the water, the land, in fact the natural bounties which God created as his storehouse of nature for the human race.

No one has a right to say in speaking of these gifts, "All this is ours, and we will do with it what we want, and will have those here we want." No man ought to be able to deny to his fellow man the right to toil (Applause,) to labor with brain and brawn for the betterment of his condition and for the supplying of his natural wants and for the natural wants of those dependent upon him. The right to labor with brain and brawn for these things is one of the inalienable rights that is guaranteed to man by the preamble to the Declaration. It is because of the failure to make good these declarations that we do not come nearer and nearer to our ideal. I would suggest to you the wonderfully beautiful law the creed of love for mankind.

The People's party platform is right and wise in demanding that what God gave to all the people should be administered by the people. It is the duty of the people of this government to protect the sacred right of all men to the pursuit of happiness. (Applause.) It is wise in demanding the restoration of the right to labor with mind and body without any one interfering with them. As long as we are composed of body a constant exercise of muscle is necessary. Because we are the equal of all men, does it not follow that we should enjoy the natural bounties which God has given us as well as other men.

What men produce, with their own hands is their property.

What God gave to all the people, it is the right of every man, woman and
child to enjoy. We do not believe in granting special privileges to the few where there is no adequate return (Applause). This is the doctrine of these Single Taxers. (Great applause). This is the doctrine that has been so ably explained and upheld by that great and courageous and noble hearted Henry George. (Great applause). Human society, civil government, the power to direct, to build up the power of law to protect the rights of the people and liberty in the pursuit of happiness come from God. The immediate deduction from these principles is that all law must be from, of, and by the people for the good of the people who are God's creatures. For the privileges each man enjoys let him render the full equivalent in service. (Applause). No man has the right to say with a sweep of the hand “All this is mine, and I will do with it what I please,” when he has not rendered to the state and to the people the full equivalent for the privilege; nor has any body of men together this right. The time has come to stop giving out these privileges and franchises.

We should say “these things are ours” not “mine.” (Applause.) It is our right under the preamble to enjoy liberty, and to be free in the pursuit of happiness. It is, or should be the aim of all governments to secure to the people these rights, and to allow no man to take them from them. (Applause.) This is what these single-tax men are striving for today. (Great applause.) Single-taxers should stand shoulder to shoulder with the men on this platform of the People's party for an equal division of the things which all men have a perfect privilege to enjoy. When special privileges are given for nothing, it is unjust. (Applause.) All franchises created by the people through the legislature should only be given for the people. (Applause.) If it has any value it is nothing short of theft to give away the people's wealth. (Great applause.)

But on the other hand we find the products of labor constantly increasing and
under the present condition the productions of labor will go on constantly increasing. Under these conditions we are aware that it is necessary to have a subdivision of labor, and this being the case the value of all property will be increased if we have

RAILROADS, TELEGRAPHS, ETC.

We must have some way for the man who produces what he does not want to exchange it for something another man produces which he does want. The man in Pennsylvania who is a miner can easily dig more coal than he wants, and the man over in China who is picking tea can easily pick more tea than he wants, but he must have some coal which the man in Pennsylvania has a surplus of, and the man in Pennsylvania wants some of the tea which the man in China is picking, so there must be some way to exchange the surplus products of each. I heartily agree with what has been said here tonight by Mr. Darrow. Absolute freedom of communication between the people of this country, and between nations is God's law of trade. (Applause.) It is barbarism to claim protection when one is actually being taxed. It is the duty of the government to protect the people—to protect them in the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges. It will be the first act of this great reform movement to abolish the railroad kings and

PLACE THE PEOPLE'S HIGHWAYS IN HANDS OF THE PEOPLE.

These privileges have belonged to the people from the beginning of time, and it should be duty of the government to protect them in this right. This right should not be taken from the people in order to create great railroad kings, and great monopoly kings. Applause.) These franchises should be in the hands of the people. But it is impossible that the people should be prosperous unless the money or medium of exchange shall possess quality from one year to another. There should be absolute equity of exchange. It is a robbery of the people to compel them to pay two dollars where they only bor-
rowed one. (Great applause.) When a man has borrowed four hundred dollars, his children should not be compelled to pay six hundred dollars or eight hundred dollars to cancel that debt, but four hundred dollars. (Applause.) I believe, and agree with Mr. Darrow that this can only be brought about by

RESTORING SILVER TO ITS PROPER BASIS.

It is only on such principles or equity and equality as marked out by the platform of the People's party that we can have the perfect commonwealth. (great applause.) It is only on such lines as these that we can have a perfect civilization [Applause] Cities have been buried fifteen to twenty feet beneath their own debris because they refused to acknowledge the brotherhood of man. They have gone on adding to the burdens of the people until they have fallen beneath their own avarice. The people will not stand being robbed by the greed of any monopolies; it is against the law of civilization. [Applause.]

We, as citizens of the United States of America, boast of our civilization. While we have much to be thankful for, we have not so much to be proud of. The Poplists, reformers, and these Single Taxers are the true Americans. (Great applause] These are men that are the true citizens, not because they can trace their ancestors back two hundred and fifty years to the Mayflower and Plymouth Rock, but because they are laboring

TO UPHOLD THE LIBERTIES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

That great man, Rufus Choate, has said of the preamble to the Declaration of Independence that it was but a string of glittering generalities. And so many people in the old parties have come to regard it today; but these men pledge themselves to make the pledges contained therein good, but not a string of glittering generalities. [Great Applause] They believe that the declarations therein are inspired by God, they are striving that these promises
may be fulfilled. The hope to make these truths the law of the universal kingdom which shall be established here on earth when all men shall have the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. [Applause.] I ask you to consider where we are drifting tonight. If we succeed in making good these declarations, this nation will go on increasing in greatness from generation to generation through the generations of the future; but if we do not make good these declarations, we shall go down into oblivion as we deserve for having sinned against the light of God’s day. [Great applause.]
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