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GRIPSACKS,

TRUNKS,

1. Organization is today as wide as our boundaries, covering every State and all their industries. There are local and State labor parliaments; there are a score of trades possessing national organizations; there is the National Federation of Unions, and National Federation of Unions, and there is the order of the Knights of Labor, which embraces all productive vocations and extends over the whole country. The last named organization, at the opening of the present year, had the power of a quarter of a million of members, and its numerical strength will probably be double that before the close of the present month, when the multitude who have been waiting for the withdrawal of the quarantine against new assemblies shall have passed "behind the veil." Never in old times did such bodies exist anywhere, and they are formidable agencies that cannot be left out of account. Alma Polish for Ladies' Fine Shoes, Stock always kept full and

Subscription to the Observer. DAILY EDITION.

WEEKLY EDITION.

TWO OPPOSITE VIEWS.

THE LABOR QUESTION DIS-

CUSSED BY JOHN SWINTON

AND GEORGE WM. CURTIS.

The Aims and Purposes of the

Knights of Labor-"The Child

of the Earthquake That is Con-

vulsing and Transforming the

The editor of the World asks me

to attempt to forecast the "future of the present labor movement."

In seeking to do so, one must

glance at its predominant features, taking especial notice of those in

which it differs from previous move-

The discontent and the struggles of labor are everlasting, but latterly they have reached an unprecedented magnitude, and are raising appre-

hension if not alarm. The strikes and the unrest of other times are not

the revolutionary changes of the times. These are current forces,

to form a judgment as to their out-

There are several novel features of

the present labor movement which strike one at the first glance, more

especially if he turn his eye upon that unique organization, the Knights of Labor.

ITS SCOPE.

must be comprehensively

Commonwealth."

2. This also is a feature without precedent in any previous labor precedent in any previous labor movement. It approaches the solidity of military method. The rude hosts are rapidly acquiring discipline, and recruits who but yesterday were being put through the goosestep are today in full line, under the watchword of "obedience," with officers holding power through free and democratic election, by universal suffrage. For example, the order of the Knights of Labor is governed according to the Federal system under the authority of the General Assembly, which annually elects an der the authority of the General Assembly, which annually elects an executive board. De Tocquevills found the unit of our political system in the township, which has its correspondent unit in the Local Assembly, and just as in politics we ascend from the township to the county, the State and the Federal Union, with Congress and the Administration, so in this industrial organization the ascent is from the "local" to the "district," the "State" (recently provided for), and the "General Assembly," with the "Executive Board," The mechanism is systematic and solid. Its operation has been harmonious ever since its origin, seventeen years ago. I repeat that the present movement, thus exemplified, is in this respect also different from any other of time past.

past.

3. The present labor movement has a larger object than that of old unions, which confined their energies to the fixing of wages and trade rules. Look at the platform of any Central Labor Union, or of any State organization, or of the Federation, and look especially at the "Declaration of Principles" of the Knights of Labor, who are in the van. You will find that the latter is as broad as the comwho are in the van. You will find that the latter is as broad as the commonwealth, dealing not only with wages and hours of labor, but touching the land question, the financial question, the establishment of a cooperative system of industry, and the relations of capital. The workingman of America has discovered that these things concern him, and that he has power over them. Here again is a differencing feature of the movement of today from its prede-

from a maxim of Solon, runs thus:
"An injury to one is the concern of all." Here again is a feature of the The Charlotte Observer. present movement that gives it a power not before known to labor. ITS INTENSITY.

5. The intensity of the earnestness of the present labor movement is another of its predominant features. Those who watch its workings know that the hosts united in it feel that they are confronted by what the English call "brurning questions." I have, within the past few years, addressed hundreds of "labor meetings" here and there, at many of which the audience seemed to be possessed by the spirit of the conquering Saracens of the seventh century or of the Crusaders of the eleventh. This is not the mere effervescence of log-cabin campaign politics. It is a deep and mighty force, not to be overlooked.

175 HORAL FEATURES.

6. All the organizations of labor No Deviation From These Rules

6. All the organizations of labor are in some measure training schools for their members, and those who know the most about them will best appreciate their work as such; but, among the Knights of Labor, "education"—that is to say, schooling in the principles of the order—is the supreme and never-ending duty of all members. The methods adopted are known only to those who have taken upon themselves the obligations of membership, but the results may be discovered by any man who looks for them in the proper quarters. It is a lesson in high morals even to be made aware of the fact that four of the fleecing classes of modern know the most about them will best of the fleecing classes of modern society are proscribed as unfit to enter the organization. The educational features of this great body add stability to the present movement, of which it is the vital energy.

ITS AMERICANISM OF CHARACTER. 7. The present labor movement is 7. The present labor movement is not a "foreign importation," as Jay Gould implied in that Tribune interview which the World copied. The Order of the Knights of Labor was founded by an American of the old anti-slavery school, upon an American basis, and has developed according to the forms and instincts of American life. There has never been an organization like it in any part of Europe. It is American throughout in its system; and the massiveness and inclusiveness of its groundwork make it worthy of American ideals ism. and the unrest of other times are not at all comparable with what we now see, and neither the empiricism nor the repression once in vogue is applicable to existing conditions.

The present phenomena are produced by the tremendous social and industrial transformation that is believed to the comparable by the transformation that is believed to the comparable by the comparable of the compar industrial transformation that is being wrought by the development of
machinery, the concentration of capital the unparalleled growth of huge
cities, the advance of intelligence
among the masses, and the tendency
of the working millions to organize
for mutual defense and welfare under

Finally, the present "labor move-ment" is larger and deeper than the row view. It is the all-embracing social question. It is the volcanic energy of society under the forces of the depths. It is the child of the earthquake that is convulging and transforming the American Common-

I have gone over these features of the present labor movement in reply to your question as to its future, so that every man may on his own ac count reach a fair judgment. It must be evident that it is on a basis of abiding strength, not to be easily wrecked or subverted, not depend ent on any single man's policy or tactics. It has become far more formidable it covers greater issues formidable, it covers greater issues, and it has acquired a far greater moand it has acquired a far greater momentum than any labor movement of the past generations of mankind. If the Knighte of Labor and the other organizations were to disappear tomorrow, it would take on other shapes more to be dreaded by the enemy. It is a necessary movement for the salvation of the under world, working along the lines of the unconscious will, and is not to be repressed. It will gain its ends somethow, for the need of them has entered into the common heart, and they ed into the common heart, and they are within reach of the common hand, which is sure to find a way of grasping them. It is resorting to all sorts of crude devices to get them. It is trying politics in a fifful way, and is trying politics in a fitful way, and it is trying the resources of organization, including colossal strikes, with all that the word implies. Be assured that it cannot be turned back, for that way is the pit. It is doomed to advance, for that is the way of life. We can aid it by legislation, but we cannot stop it. We have no force that can overcome it, for it is itself the controlling force. Louis Napo leon once boasted that he could frighten France with a "whiff of grapeshot," but he did not thus boast when the grape had full play in 1871. Now and always, let vain threatenings be abjured, and let every man whose hopes are bound up in the peaceful development of our young democratic republic seek for ways of peremptorily righting the wrongs that have turned it out of its proper course.

that have turned it out of its proper course.

The demands of the labor movement, which are today proclaimed from the housetops and striven for by the organized forces here spoken of, have their root in that primeval law of equality proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence and in that familiar triology of common rights which Jefferson put as its preface.

After all, no more than the editor of the World can I forecast the out come of that ever-swelling movement which is taking on shapes more and more menacing to the usurpers, who bestride our country and have selzed the resources that by right of nature and virtue belong to the disinherited millions.

LIBERTY AND LIGENSE.

The Present Labor Movement Bound to Lead to a Reaction-Extreme Counter Movement on the Part of Employers Inev-

operative system of industry, and the relations of capital. The workingman of America has discovered that these things concern him, and that he has power over them. Here again is a differencing feature of the movement of today from its predecessors.

ITS MUTUAL HELPFULNESS.

4. The exemplifications of this feature in recent years have been as surprising as they are novel. The local assemblies of the farthest West and South give the full measure of service to their brethern of the farthest hast and North. They all join hands is aiding an approved strike, in raising supplies, in the boycott, in defending any brother who suffers on their account, and for such other objects as get the approval of the Executive Board. There have been not a few cases of mutual aid that may well confound the pessimists. For example, in his letter at the late Southwestern railroad strike Vice-President Hoxie said it had grown out of a supposed wrong to a single member in Texas. The statement was inaccurate, and yet the motto of the Knights of Labor, which is copied The great strike in the Southwest,

tions upon a fair ground. Intelligent and coolsheaded leaders like Mr. and coolsheaded leaders like Mr. Powderly have seen, of course, from the beginning the possibility of such movements among employers. United action and boycotting and all for each are methods as open to employers at to employes. A combined lockout against a combined strike would be an indescribable disaster. But no employe or union of employes will suppose that, in a contest so desperate as that which a general strike would involve, the employers would not resort to the most powerful would not resort to the most powerful

would not resort to the most powerful weapons at their command.

The unions of employes assume to decide that kind of labor employers shall entage and what wages they shall pay, how they shall direct the labor which they hire and to whom they shall sell its products, and all other details of the business. They assume to command laborers to leave their work without knowing why, to forfeit the chance of resuming it, and to abandon the support of their families and trust to a committee or an association to keep them from starving. There is no such despotism in the world as such a system, and there are no slaves so abject as such a scheme produces. It is the annihilation of liberty, and naturally it invites counter-organization. The question which is raised by the Southwestern strike is one of the most important possible. The vital necessity portant possible. The vital necessity of uninterrupted railroad transport and the enormous amount of money invested in railroads make a suspeninvested in railroads make a suspension of railway traffic a national calamity. That such a calamity should depend upon the whim of an irresponsible body of men wholly unknown to the law is simply anarchy. It is the end of confidence, of regular industry, of regard for law. Such a situation must end, unless society is to be dissolved. Honest men who live by wages, and who honestly acquisece in this system of blind obedience to an unknown authority, can see that in the contest which that authority may provoke the final result does not depend upon numbers. Destruction of all the railroads in the country, total suspension of railroad country, total suspension of railroad traffic and the massacre of all rail-

road officers would end neither in in-creased employment nor in higher wages. It would end in terrific re-prisals and in a common catas

The Knights of Labor sometimes hoycott a newspaper. But if the newspaper interest in all its branches ployment, paper-making, ink-making, machine-making, printing, refusing absolutely to employ any man in any branch who had any connection with the Knights of Labor, who would suffer most? Riots would not remedy the situation for the boycotted work-men. men. Destruction of property would merely confirm the lockout, exaspermerely confirm the lockout, exasperate passions, and postpone peace. The moral judgment of the community would pronounce against the instigators of the trouble, as it has pronounced against the Southwestern strike. These tremendous reprisals are sources to which employers have not generally turned. But the demands of the Knights of Labor to supersede lawful government, to dictate to every man what he shall do with his own, to permit all great enwith his own, to permit all great en-terprises and industries to be prose-cuted only as they shall choose, will not be tolerated in a free country and by a free people. There is no excuse for such attempted tyranny in this country, where Knights of Labor are oters and can influence legislation, and where there is no public sympathy for corporations and great associations of organized capital, but the strongest disposition to favor labor and the laboring man. Nothing has shown this more plainly than the friendly tone of the press towards the Knights of Labor until the recent events in Missouri, which have revealed so clearly the scope and tendency of the situation that, except in a few demagogue sheets, which are the worst enemies of honest labor, the condemnation is universal. But its character should be understood. It is not condemnation of the union and where there is no public sympa-It is not condemnation of the union of any body of men lawfully to demand what they hold to be their rights and dues, and to refuse to work except upon certain terms. That is not denied. What is condemned is the union of any hody of men to interfere unlawfully with the rights and property of others.

The M. E. Church on the Labor

At the session of the New York Methodist Episcopal Conference yesterday, Bishop Hurst presiding, resolutions on the labor question were adopted. The preamble recited that the labor question is the conomic problem of the age, and on that account cannot be ignored by the church, or left for solution to communists, anarchists or socialists. The gospel is recommended as a safe guide in labor disputes. The membership of the Methodist Church, it is stated, is composed largely of workmen, and consequently the ministry is deeply interested. The resolutions assert that capital and labor are not to be estranged or arrayed against each other. Labor should be rebuked when it tenrorises capital; capital must be denounced when it oppresses labor. Workingmen have a right to organize labor unions as much as capital has to combine in corporations, but society must conmuch as capital has to combine in corporations, but society must condemn trades-unions when they are despotic in their method, and denounce corporations for tyrannical acts towards employes. Strikes are deplored as a check to investments, hurtful to trade and injurious to workingmen. The demands of workingmen for fair wages and reasonable hours are approved. Arbitration is recommended, and the arbitration bill now before Congress is approved as a step in the right direction. It is recommended that working women be paid in the same ratio as men. The paid in the same ratio as men. The Saturday half-holiday is declared a necessity, but the opening of muse-ums on Sunday is objected to.

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