

# "WE MUST HANG TOGETHER, OR WE WILL HANG SEPARATELY."

"And when a class has murdered in the past and has lied and perjured itself as that class has lied and perjured itself, we are very right in doubting that class when it says that men like Moyer and Haywood are guilty."—Jack London.

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This is Number 540

# Appeal to Reason.

J. A. WAYLAND  
FRED D. WARREN  
Managing Editor

IF IN NUMBER 541 ON YOUR YELLOW LABEL YOUR TIME EXPIRES WITH THE NEXT ISSUE  
Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., April 7, 1906

No man is great enough or rich enough to get this paper on credit or for a longer time than paid for. It is published as an advocate of International Socialism, the movement which favors the ownership of the earth by ALL the people—not by a PART of the people.

Entered at Girard, Kan., postoffice as second class mail matter.

## The Appeal Pleads Guilty....

**T**HE Appeal has been accused of taking advantage of this conspiracy of the mine owners to railroad innocent men to the gallows to promote the circulation of this paper. The Appeal pleads guilty to the charge. If I had the power of words to persuade the readers of the Appeal to give it a weekly circulation of 5,000,000 copies I would certainly wield that power to the limit. If 5,000,000 men in this country knew what the quarter of a million regular subscribers of the Appeal now know, there would be 5,000,000 working men who would be willing to lay down their tools on the day the capitalist class attempts to execute the Federation officials! Such an example of the solidarity of the workers would send the cold shivers chasing up and down the back of the frenzied scoundrels and paralyze industry from one end of the country to the other!

## The Appeal Under Surveillance.....

**D**URING the past three weeks the Appeal to Reason office has been under the constant surveillance of two or three of the "gum shoe" gentry known as Pinkerton detectives. This has caused the Appeal staff no uneasiness. Here is one place in the United States where everything is conducted above board. There are no secrets to keep from the public and if these gentlemen had come to the management like men and asked to be shown over the office, they would have been given the same courteous treatment as accorded any other visitor. If they had expressed a desire to read the letters coming to this office from every town, city and hamlet in the United States, it would have afforded me great pleasure to permit them to do so. They could have gone back to their masters and told them that the working class of this nation are aroused as they have never before been aroused. They are ready to give their lives, their property and their all to this cause. Men don't talk and act like the working class have talked and acted within the past few weeks unless they are in earnest. I tell you that when the 20,000,000 workers in this country make up their minds to do a certain thing, they have the power and the enthusiasm to do that very thing.

Doubtless these shrewd Pinkertons were much surprised at the activity displayed by the Appeal Army and the office force. The big press started at 1:45 o'clock, Saturday, March 24th, on the "Rescue Edition," and it has been running 24 hours every day since. The following is the record by runs:

Start made at 1:45 p. m., Saturday, March 24th.

300,000	5:45 a. m.	Sunday
600,000	8:20 p. m.	Sunday
900,000	10:45 a. m.	Monday
1,200,000	1:30 p. m.	Tuesday
1,500,000	2:30 p. m.	Tuesday
1,800,000	5:05 a. m.	Wednesday
2,100,000	7:30 p. m.	Wednesday
2,400,000	9:10 p. m.	Thursday
2,700,000	11:15 p. m.	Thursday
3,000,000	2:44 p. m.	Friday
3,300,000	5:10 p. m.	Friday
2,302,000	3:00 P. M.	SATURDAY

The forms on this edition closed at 3 p. m., Saturday, March 31st. The big press is still growing down below, eating into the Appeal's reserve pile of white paper. Orders for something over 100,000 copies remain yet unfilled. These orders came in late Saturday and will be filled promptly Monday morning.

It will interest the readers of this paper to know what the boys here in the office have been doing. Comrade Chapman, foreman of the press room, divided his force into four six-hour shifts and there has not been an hour's time lost since the big press rolled out the first copy at exactly 1:45 o'clock, on the date above mentioned. As I write this, the press is eating its way into the third million. When the 3,500,000 mark is reached the plates will be taken off and the forms for this issue will be put on.

Every member of the Appeal office force has taken hold of this work with the same vim and enthusiasm as manifested by the Appeal Army. It is a labor of love and duty. The time has flown all too swiftly and the days have been too short to accomplish the work laid out. Tired? Why, bless you, no! Not while human lives and the Greatest Cause that ever stirred the human breast is at stake!

Bring on your Pinkerton thugs—we will give them information which will cause their masters to stand aghast! We are making history. When the smoke clears away and the men and women who have worked so valiantly during this tremendous crisis take their well earned rest under the protecting arms of the Co-operative Commonwealth, they will be the heroes whose names and deeds will be sung by future generations.

## Governor Gooding's Bluff Called.....

**G**OV. GOODING, on March 22d, issued an invitation to the labor unions of the United States to send representatives to Boise and he would permit them to interview Orchard and Adams and thus convince themselves that he actually was in possession of evidence showing that the Federation officials were guilty. This proclamation sounded fair and reasonable and it cleared up any lingering doubt in the minds of many people that the Idaho officials were dealing fairly and were willing to make good.

Now comes the climax to this little game. It was called so quick that it made the governor's head swim, figuratively speaking. From nearly every industrial city in the land came the word that delegates representing every phase of trade unionism would start immediately for Boise in response to the governor's invitation.

Attorney for the state, Hawley, and Detective McPartland, step to the front and announce emphatically that no one will be permitted to see either Orchard or Adams until after the trial of the Federation officials!

## HAWLEY CALLS GOODING DOWN.

Boise, Idaho, March 23.—Governor Gooding's offer yesterday to protesting labor leaders of the East to permit them to interview Orchard, was promptly vetoed by Chief Prosecutor Hawley this morning. The letter emphatically declared no such thing would be permitted till after the trial of the Western Federation officials. After the district attorney's edict the governor gave it out that he had been misunderstood. He did not deny, however, that he said that if proper committees were appointed he would give them every opportunity to ascertain whether the state was justified in holding the accused Federation of Miners officials.

I stated," said the governor, "that if a committee of laboring men was sent here to meet the state authorities I would go so far as to arrange for them to meet Orchard and Adams in my presence and in the presence of their attorneys and let them hear from Orchard's and Adams' own lips that they had made a confession implicating Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone and Simpkins and St. John in a number of murders."

The reports sent out from New York that John C. Chase would head a delegation of 120 representatives of trades unions to accept Gov. Gooding's invitation to visit Boise and listen to Orchard's confession were premature. A telegram just received from Chase states that Gooding refused to receive them, claiming that the New York union men are not representative of the trades unions of the east. The Idaho state attorney, Hawley, has vetoed the governor's project, at the suggestion of McPartland. Thus falls with a dead, sickening thud another of Gooding's bluffs.

**REMEMBER THIS—**  
The Western Federation of Miners had everything to LOSE and nothing to gain by the murder of ex-Gov. Steunenberg—  
**WHILE—**  
The Mine Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance had EVERYTHING TO GAIN and nothing to lose by assisting some diabolical crime on the shores of the Western Federation.

## THE BIG COAL STRIKE.

As this issue of the Appeal goes to press (March 31st) there is every indication that the big coal strike will be on before this paper is in the hands of its readers. The Appeal has pointed out repeatedly that the coal strike was inevitable because it was courted and sought by the coal operators. For months the operators have been piling up millions of tons of coal in anticipation of this event. In the event that there was no strike, there would have been a virtual lockout. The operators have determined on the stamping out of the United Mine Workers. This fight is to be to the death. At present every advantage is with the operators. With millions of tons of coal on hand, with their coffers bursting with wealth stolen from the miners, with the big consumers of coal equipped with oil-burning apparatus, with the approaching summer season, when coal is but little used, the miners are up against the hardest and most one-sided fight they ever engaged in.

There is no presidential campaign this year. The politicians will view the struggle with more or less indifference, except as it affects a few individuals in the districts where the strike is on. The 1906 strike was settled by the politicians, as was the strike of 1902. The latter was a national congressional campaign year, and the republicans wanted to carry the election. This year they are indifferent. It would not matter much if the democrats carried the lower house. The approaching panic and industrial depression could then conveniently be laid on the divided congress and the responsibility laid on the president's shoulders and the democratic house. The miners will necessarily have to fight their battle this time alone. One of the very apparent facts which has stuck out in this coal situation has been the accurate knowledge on the part of the operators that a strike was inevitable. On the other hand, the miners were in doubt as to the outcome.

## THE COUNTRY PRESS MOVING.

Here's an announcement from the Galena, Kan., Republican that will interest Appeal readers, and give them a suggestion for work at home. Says the Republican, a sprightly weekly local paper:

**NEW DEPARTMENT.**  
In keeping with many other of the progressive papers of the country, the Republican has this week arranged for a certain portion of the paper wherein the Socialists can publish their news. This space was contracted the same as we would contract with a merchant for so much advertising space, and is edited by and under the control of the Galena "beast" of that party. The editor of the Republican is now responsible for anything which may appear in that department of the paper, but contracts the space that a certain class of our population may have reading matter representing their belief in a home paper.

This is followed by an announcement by the editor of the new department of Socialism:

"We are sending sample copies of this issue to every local in Cherokee county. Consider carefully the good we can do by means of this paper in arousing our locals to action for our fall campaign. Co-operate with us by sending statements of local work, and, as the Republican is a representative county paper, we feel that it is not asking too much of you to become a regular subscriber. Let us hear from you. Address all communications to Socialist Department, Galena, Republican."

And here are a couple of letters in this morning's mail from brother editors which indicate how the heaven is at work:

"Some one has kindly sent me the Appeal to Reason and I am enjoying it very much each week. It looks to me that about the only hope humanity has for amelioration from the yoke of capitalism, is Socialism. Thousands are being converted every day and it is only a question of time when there will be a line drawn that divides the two classes, the masters and the slaves, unless something is done to ward it off. Enclosed find 25c for which please send me the two pamphlets named in the enclosed clippings."—Edwin G. Erler, editor Lawler, Iowa, Dispatch.

"You, no doubt, recollect my having written to you before and I want to say that I have experienced a change of heart since my last letter to you. I am on the verge of being converted to Socialism. Some one is sending me the Appeal and I am making good use of the same. You are doing a good work for this country. I have studied and read up on the subject and my editorials are stirring up the county. You will hear from me again."—W. A. Bruss, Elmore, Minn.

Twenty thousand editors in this United States are now reading the Appeal. I could fill a dozen pages with comments, both for and against Socialism, every week from these exchanges, but space forbids. I am truly gratified at the indications of the break from the old parties manifested in many quarters by these moulders of public opinion. Both the writer of this and Comrade Wayland at one time edited country papers in old Missouri—republican papers, mind you—and probably would be doing so today, had not some agitator upset all our preconceived notions.

## BUNDLE RATES.

The regular bundle rate of the Appeal is 20c per 100 copies. A 5c rate, however, has been made on the Colorado-Idaho special issue. For 500 copies, \$1.00; for 1,000 copies, \$1.75; for 2,000 copies, \$2.50; for 3,000 copies, \$3.25. These rates will prevail until May 1st.

## THE FIRST DAY OF MAY.

Arrangements should be made at once in every industrial center for a great May Day Labor demonstration. This is labor's International Holiday. This year will find labor and capital lined up solidly in battle array and it will prove an auspicious occasion to make propaganda for Socialism. Appoint committees at once and arrange for a demonstration on a more gigantic scale than ever before in the history of your city.

## SOCIALISTS WIN!

Report just to hand that comrades of Mystic, Iowa, have almost completely swept the political field in that city. Out of mayor and four councilmen, they elected the entire ticket, with the exception of one councilman. Mystic is a coal mining center, and the boys have given the enemy a run for their money for several years, but this is the most complete victory yet accomplished.

## STRONG WORDS FROM HEARST.

The Appeal is glad to know that the Hearst papers have taken up the Moyer-Haywood case. After a strange silence of more than a month, the New York Journal devotes the greater part of its editorial page to a statement of the situation, from which the Appeal reproduces the following:

"It is a case of national and of international importance. It is so grave that the principles involved far exceed in importance even the fate of the workers whose lives are threatened. It is a case of organized capital against human life and liberty."

"This nation has seen American citizens taxed and robbed by organized capital—despite public protest."

"It has seen men robbed of their constitutional rights by state issuing injunctions at the command of corporations owning the courts."

"But we have not yet seen innocent men sent to the gallows to oblige organized capital."

"And if that sight is to be witnessed in America, it will not be because of this newspaper's failure to put the facts before millions of American men—men able to prevent such a horrible judicial crime—if manhood is in them."

"The governor of Idaho, having got these men in his power by illegal means, now disgraces himself and his state by declaring them guilty of murder in advance of any trial."

"It is known to what extent the mine owners own him. And it is known how deeply those mine owners desire the conviction and the hanging of labor leaders whom they have not been able to conquer in many fashions."

"If by any chance the men are guilty—and we do not for one moment believe that they are—this newspaper will be first to announce the fact, upon presentation of evidence, and to demand their punishment by hanging. For the man who would injure the cause of labor by cowardly murder should be put out of the world. He is the vilest, most dangerous criminal."

"On the other hand, these men shall not be railroaded to the gallows on the perjured testimony of a purchased liar and self-confessed misfit. If there is manhood in America to protest, these men, that gave their strength and their fighting courage to defend their fellow-workmen and the interests of the American ballot, shall not be hanged for a crime of which they are innocent, in order to oblige cowardly corporations that would suborn perjury and commit 'legal' murder in order to cut down the wages of ten thousand workers."

"Capital is powerful, and manhood has at times sunk pretty low in America. But we have not yet reached, let us hope, the stage of hanging the innocent to oblige enthroned capital."

## "IF THE OFFICIALS DECREE."

It is announced from Telluride that the trial of St. John will be postponed until after the trial of the Federation officials in Idaho, "provided the county officials decree to try St. John for the assassination of one of the four or five non-union men who lost their lives through the work of the inner circle."

The indictment under which St. John was returned from Idaho," says the Denver Republican, "accuses him of the murder of a man in which others beyond the circle took part." Gradually the mine owners are being forced to admit that they have no case against St. John. To understand what sort of a man St. John is, I want you to read in this issue the story from the Idaho Falls Post. You will get a better mental grasp of the situation.

## No. 537.

The demand for No. 537 of the Appeal still continues at high pressure. No. 537 contained the first authentic account of McPartland's shady criminal operations in Pennsylvania and Kansas, and hundreds of letters from different parts of the country have been received confirming the statements made in that issue of the Appeal. It should be circulated as extensively as the "Rescue" number. New plates have been made and after this week, orders for No. 537 can be filled promptly. Extra copies 40c. per hundred.

## "To Hell with the People," Says Gov. Gooding of Idaho.

From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, March 21.  
"Arrayed against Haywood and Moyer, the mine owners' Association of Cripple Creek, by the individual mine owners in nearly every western Federation camp. These men have unto their disposal, and to incur the intensest red of such an organization is to court trouble of the worst sort. That is what Haywood has done, and it is entirely within the range of possibilities that he may be the victim of a conspiracy quite as far-reaching as that outlined in Orchard's confession."

From the New York Journal, March 24th.  
"The Governor of Idaho, having got these men in his power by illegal means, now disgraces himself and his state by declaring them guilty of murder in advance of any trial. It is known to what extent the mine owners OWN HIM. And it is known how deeply those mine owners desire the conviction AND THE HANGING of labor leaders whom they have not been able to conquer in many fashions. Capital is powerful, and manhood has at times sunk pretty low in America, BUT WE HAVE NOT YET REACHED, let us hope, THE STAGE OF HANGING THE INNOCENT to oblige enthroned capital."

Firm Determination of the Mine Owners to Railroad the Federation Officials to the Gallows Plainly Apparent.

By George H. Snow, Staff Correspondent, OISE, Idaho, March 28.—Unless some unforeseen contingency arises Comrade Eugene Debs can begin preparations to follow Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone into eternity. I believe Comrade Debs gave utterance to the declaration that "if they hang Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, they've got to hang me." Well, unless the unexpected happens, those three men are going to hang. From the present outlook, McPartland's prophecy that "the Federation men would never leave Idaho alive," is going to be made good. Everything is cut and dried, the frame-up is complete, there is hardly anything left to do now but to go through with a mock trial, in which the attorneys for the defense will be permitted to cut no figure, and proceed to the execution.

"But suppose union labor, and the working people of Ada County strenuously object to these men being hung?" was asked of Governor Gooding in the corridor of the Idaho hotel, in Boise.

"TO HELL WITH THE PEOPLE."  
"To hell with the people. What do I care for the people? If any of those unionites try to raise trouble I will call out the military," replied the governor.

There you have the situation in a nutshell. Backed by the armed power of the state, the Mine Owners' association, banking for a taste of human blood, is going to end the life of the three imprisoned men, peacefully by due process of law if it can; if not that way, then Cripple Creek experience will be repeated in Canyon and Ada Counties, the district will be declared under martial law, and the outrage will be consummated.

NO SHOW FOR THEIR LIVES.  
When I first investigated the situation in Idaho I thought the men would have a show for their lives. Recent developments, however, have dispelled that illusion. The county, district and state authorities are deliberately going to ignore public sentiment, and, despite any protest that union labor might make, they are going to hang these men. A. M. Simons was nearer right than I thought when he wrote: "They are going to legally murder these men unless such a sentiment is aroused in the East that they dare not do it." But despite the sentiment that may be aroused, the men are going to hang anyhow. The overwhelming majority of the people of the United States may clamor for justice, and demand that these men be given a square deal, but it will do no good. The people are going to be ignored as completely and as absolutely as though they had no existence. Mere clamor, resolutions of denunciation, or an aroused public sentiment will not stay the hands of the "gory-beaked vultures" who are bidding their time to bring Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone to the gallows. That statement can be put in anybody's pipe and smoked to a queen's finish.

FACTS WARRANT THIS CONCLUSION.  
Not only does the situation on the face of it, warrant my making that prophecy, but the facts and conditions behind the situation point to no other conclusion. While Attorney Richardson will not admit it, I have reason to believe that he views the affair in about the same light that I do. It is an awful prophecy, a terrible conclusion, but I can arrive at no other.

JUDGE SMITH A MERE TOOL.  
Judge Smith, in whose court the trial will occur, is a republican, and an appointee of Governor Frank Gooding. I have been told once I have been told a hundred times that he could never have been elected to the office. He was

appointed about a year ago to take charge of a new district that had been created, one of the counties of which is Canyon County. His term of office will expire with that of Governor Gooding's this fall. Since this case has arisen he has been in constant conference with the governor, Detective McPartland, and the attorneys for the prosecution, from whom he receives instructions regarding the methods of procedure. While his name is Caldwell, he spends much of his time with governor Gooding in Boise.

GOODING AND SMITH CONFER.  
He had a long conference with the governor at the Idaho Hotel the night preceding the morning on which he ordered that the three men be separated and confined in separate jails. Gooding, Smith and McPartland took the elevator of the hotel and went to the Pinkerton detective's room, where the three men were clustered for a number of hours. It was then that the plot was arranged whereby the prisoners were to be given the alternative of either returning to the penitentiary, or being separated and confined in different county jails.

MOYER'S HEALTH MUCH WORSE.  
Moyer has been practically a physical wreck ever since he spent 101 days in close confinement in the Telluride jail two years ago. He is afflicted with an extreme case of asthma, and it is very difficult for him to breathe. This affliction has reached his lungs and as a result he is the mere shadow of his former self. About the only way he can breathe is to sit up in bed propped with pillows. Since his recent imprisonment this malady has increased in intensity and of late he has been a very sick man.

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT.  
When the consultation between Smith, Gooding and McPartland occurred, it was decided to separate Moyer from his companions and place him in solitary confinement. No one should be permitted to see him thenceforth except the jailer and McPartland. He was not to be tortured by either being beaten with whips, knocked to the floor repeatedly with a club, hung up by the thumbs, or branched with a red hot iron—the favorite methods of extracting confessions from prisoners, employed by the Pinkerton Detective Agency—but it was calculated to place him in solitary confinement, where he could not see the light of day and where he could not hear the sound of a human voice. Day after day should be permitted to elapse during which time no news of the outside world should be allowed to filter into the cell. He could pace the narrow limits of his darkened cell, wrapped in the solitude of his own thoughts. He could clinch his fists in rage, or stretch forth his arms in supplication, but it would bring him no relief. He could cry aloud and pray for the liberty of death, but his prayers would fall on unheeding ears. No one should be permitted to behold his anguish but his jailer and the infamous man who has sworn that neither he nor his companions should ever leave Idaho alive.

McPARTLAND HIS ONLY COMPANION.  
No, it was decided at the conference that he should not be corporally mistreated. He would merely be locked in a narrow, dark cell and left to his own thoughts and the agonizing pain of trying to catch his breath. McPartland should visit him occasionally to inform him that his fortune was made if he will sign a certain confession admitting that the "inner circle" existed, and that Orchard was its tool. McPartland would further inform him that the working class, in whose interests he had sacrificed the best portion of his life, had deserted him and had left him to his fate, that, innocent or guilty, he was going to hang, unless he chose to save himself, and incidentally make a good round sum of money, by signing the confes-

sion. Such were the tactics that Smith, Gooding and McPartland decided to inaugurate to strengthen the state's side of the case. It was believed that physical pain added to the confinement would finally break Moyer's mind, and that he would at last consent to attach his signature to the document. That done he would be dispatched in his cell as soon as prison conditions, combined with slow poison, could accomplish the work.

JUDGE SMITH'S DECISION.  
Ten o'clock, Tuesday morning, March 28th, Judge Smith ascended the bench in the court room in Caldwell, prepared to spring the alternative on the unsuspecting defense. Before doing this, however, he answered the petitioner's application for bail by denying the application. He overruled the demurrer, and then proceeded to the business in hand. Meanwhile the prisoners pleaded "not guilty."

"Mr. Richardson," announced the court, "I have taken considerable pains to find out prison conditions in the county jails in this district and I discover that they are all unsanitary and unsafe places in which to hold your clients. At my own expense I went all the way from here to Boise to see the warden of the state penitentiary and ascertain from him whether or not it was practicable to keep the prisoners there pending trial. He informed me that he would like to see the men returned to the state penitentiary. He said that he would give them better treatment than he has hitherto accorded them, and would put them apart to themselves where no one would molest them or make them afraid."

SMITH'S BOGUS FEARS.  
"The reason I am making this statement is that the men must be taken from their present place of confinement. I have been reliably informed that an attempt would be made to rescue them by their friends. It is said, also, that they are in danger of their lives at the hands of the citizens of this community. The Canyon County jail, as you well know, is a flimsy affair and could be kicked to pieces with very little effort. For these reasons I must say that it will be necessary to carry the men back to the penitentiary or else they will have to be separated and placed in separate jails. You can take your choice. Please retire a few moments and talk the matter over with your clients, and let me know which they prefer—the penitentiary together, or separate confinement in different jails."

IMMEDIATE TRIAL REFUSED.  
A cool, cynical smile pervaded the countenance of the judge as he hit the defense this unexpected blow. Attorney Richardson was visibly disconcerted, and Haywood half rose in his seat as if he was going to speak. The words of Judge Smith were so sudden and so entirely unexpected that for a moment the court room was still as death. But 77 length, the attorneys withdrew to an anteroom to confer with the prisoners. At the expiration of about five minutes they re-entered and took their seats.

"If it please your honor," began Attorney Richardson, "my clients have been arraigned and have pleaded not guilty to the charge against them. We demand an immediate trial."

Judge Smith was not asleep. "That request," Mr. Richardson, cannot be complied with. This court is about to adjourn. Next Tuesday a term of court in my district convenes at Wallace. The jury for this term has been paid off and discharged."

"Then I wish to make a re-application for an order admitting my clients to bail in the face of your refusing to give them an immediate trial," announced Richardson.

"I would suggest that you present your application in the regular manner," replied the court.

"I will do so," replied Mr. Richardson, "but I would like your decision upon it now, if your honor please."

"Your application is denied," announced Judge Smith.

"Each of my clients desire to preserve an exception," said Richardson. "The necessary instructions were given the clerk."

PROSECUTION'S FIRST CARD.  
"Now, in the matter of the penitentiary," said Mr. Richardson, "each and every one of my clients vote strongly against being removed to that institution. They are satisfied with the jail here and object to being taken anywhere, but, as your honor has announced, that if they will not consent to be taken to the penitentiary you will see that they are separated and that one of them only shall be allowed to remain here. I wish to petition the court that the man who is to remain here be Mr. Moyer."

"Mr. Moyer has for years been subject to asthma. He has for years been in poor health. The climate of Idaho does not agree with him. He became very sick while at the penitentiary. Had he remained longer in that institution I have no doubt he would be a dead man today. Since his exchange to the jail here he has much improved. He is getting better. He wants to stay here."

"Mr. Richardson," replied the court, "the jail of Ada County is just as sanitary as the jail here. The conveniences for caring for Mr. Moyer are as good there as here." Then turning to the sheriff Judge Smith continued: "Mr. Sheriff, notify Mr. Moyer to be ready to depart on the noon train for Boise. He is to be transferred to the county jail of Ada County for safe keeping. Which one of the prisoners of the two remain-

ing are to be taken to Weiser I will decide tomorrow morning. Is there any other business to present, gentlemen?"

EVERYTHING PRE-ARRANGED.

The entire transaction was dispatched with such celerity and machine-like precision that the crowded court room didn't grasp the significance of the affair until it was all over and the spectators had filed onto the sidewalk outside. It was then realized why the order of the judge had been too lenient in his treatment of the men. They had been accorded too many privileges. They were living next door to sunshine and fresh air. Through the window grates of the little jail they could see the town, the prairie and the foothills beyond. In the morning it was their delight to watch the sun rise, and in the evening late they had been accustomed to bid his slanting rays a last good night. These blessings were hateful to the Mine Owners' association and the state authorities, and they determined to strike them out. It was hoped by the prosecution that Richardson would fall into the trap and consent to the return of the prisoners to the penitentiary in solitary confinement in an unwholesome cell. To lure them into the trap the court made all manner of precious promises. Judge Smith assured the prisoners that they would be given plenty of exercise and would be treated better than they were during their former imprisonment.

EVADING THE CUNNING TRAP.

But the men knew the treachery of Judge Smith's words. They knew he was lying in everything he said. Behind that smiling exterior they could see the villain standing with the whip-lash of persecution ready to apply it to their backs and bleeding hearts. They had tried his promises once and found and experienced treatment worse than any meted out to condemned felons. With an unanimous "No," they decided to submit to separation rather than undergo further brutality at the hands of the cowardly warden of the penitentiary.

NO MERCY FOR MOYER.

Prepared for this emergency, Judge Smith immediately gave the order, in the face of Attorney Richardson's eloquent plea for Moyer, that the president of the Western Federation of Miners make ready to leave for the Ada County jail on the noon train. The order was executed forthwith, and Moyer, today, lies incarcerated in a cell in the town of Boise, subject to the visitation of the fenshish monster who swears that he shall never leave Idaho alive.

PROSECUTION'S HOPE IN DELAY.

Before court adjourned the question of the time of the trial was taken up and considered a moment. The attorneys for the defense pleaded and demanded a speedy trial. The prisoners were anxious and impatient to have the whole thing over as soon as possible. But in the face of the fact that Judge Smith had it in his power to send a substitute to attend to the Washington County court and proceed to a hearing of the Federation case at once, he announced that it would be impossible for him to get to the trial of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone before May 15th and 16th. "Any time between May 15th and September 1st of the current year" was the decision of the court in the matter. From the present outlook it appears that the case will go to trial about June 1st. Judge Smith had not received his instructions when to set the trial, so he could render nothing definite on that proposition. If an immediate trial were granted McPartland's game of harrassing and sweating Moyer would be broken into and that could not be tolerated at this time.

THE CALDWELL JURY.

I have already outlined the make-up of the grand jury that brought in the indictment against the Federation men, but that the situation may be perfectly clear I will risk repetition in order that there may be no mistake in the matter. With the exception of the foreman, the men were all farmers and sheep herders. Eleven of them were pronounced republicans. One of them is financially obligated to the forman. Several others are in debt to Governor Gooding for favors rendered in the way of minor loans, and for special privileges of minor import. Two of them are related by marriage to one of the attorneys for the prosecution. All of them, without exception, are prejudiced against union labor, declaring that union men are anarchists, who ought to be either shot in the back for treason against the government, or else run out of the country. Personal investigation discloses that all of them are regular subscribers for the Boise Morning Star, the newspaper which has been conducting the prosecution against the defense, and that they accept the editorial utterances of that sheet as statements of truth and fact. This paper, be it remembered, is the personal and political organ of the governor.

BANKER MOSS, FOREMAN.

A. B. Moss, the forman of the grand jury, is a banker and capitalist. He is a money lender, and there are few men in Canyon County who are personally free from his dictatorial influence. It is a known fact that when he was selected to act as foreman he was consulted as to who should assist him in bringing in an indictment. Only those men who knew he could handle were permitted to sit in the grand jury box.

NO CHANGE OF VENUE.

It has been suggested that Attorney Richardson may make application for a change of venue, alleging it will be impossible to secure a fair trial in Canyon County. Judge Smith has already declared himself on that subject, saying that justice can be meted out to the Federation criminals as effectively in Canyon County as in any other county in the state. There is no doubt that Attorney Richardson's application for a change of venue will be denied.

MCPARTLAND'S PLANS.

The general opinion among the union men with whom I have talked is that McPartland will throw several hundred thugs into the Boise and Caldwell communities at the commencement of the trial. A disturbance will be raised by some of these thugs, and Governor Gooding will feel compelled, for the preservation of peace, to call out the militia and declare Ada County under martial law. This will effectively prevent the twenty-five hundred trade unionists in Boise from either attending the trial or

doing anything to save the lives of the Federation men. This act of placing Ada County under martial law will have the desired effect of thoroughly subduing the citizens of Canyon County. They will fold their hands, smother their feelings and quietly submit to the mock processes of law that will eventuate in strangling the lives of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

CALDWELL FOR FAIR PLAY.

I have been in this district nearly three weeks. I have conversed with hundreds of citizens of all classes. I have investigated the lives and characters of Gooding, Smith, Borah, Hawley, Moss and all the other men implicated in the conspiracy to take the lives of the men who have been placed at the head of the Western Federation of Miners by approximately eighty thousand votes. I have watched the legal processes already experimented with, and have studied the situation as carefully as I could, and in the light of my investigations I can see nothing left for the American working class to do but to get ready to celebrate the martyrdom of the three men who have been falsely charged with crime. The sentiment of the community is clearly for justice and fair play, but the Mine Owners' association of the two states—an organization of wealth and power that could buy this community a thousand times over—is for the death penalty. The state officials and the prosecuting attorneys and the petit jury are going to override public sentiment in this matter by seeing that the commands of the Mine Owners' association are obeyed.

A JUDICIAL RAPE.

Another factor, entering into the situation, which points out that the state means to take no chances in its collusion with the Mine Owners' association to secure the death penalty for the Federation men is the fact that Judge Smith has charged the regular venire, selected by the jury commissioners at the commencement of the term, and will place in the hands of the sheriff a list of names of men from which the petit jury will be drawn before whom the case will be tried. In this state, as in every other state of the union, it is the custom for the county commissioners, at the beginning of a term, to draw up a regular venire of men from which all petit juries must be selected to try all criminal cases during that term. In Canyon County the commissioners had completed their work. Regardless of political affiliations, business standing, religious differences, or anything else, venire had been made up from good citizens in the community.

SOME STRAIGHT TALK.

Robert Hunter in New York Journal. "When a crime of this sort is committed upon one is to suspect—men who have hitherto proved themselves innocent of the commission of crime, or men who have hitherto been proved guilty? Do we doubt the word of men who, under most trying circumstances, have proved their innocence beyond question, or do we doubt the word of the men who, under the most favorable circumstances, have been beyond question proved guilty? Many previous attempts have been made to fasten criminal conspiracies on the Western Federation of Miners. Immediately after the Sun and Moon explosion at Idaho Springs, immediately after the attempt to wreck a train on the Florence and Cripple Creek Railway by drawing the spikes from the track, and immediately after the murder of thirteen persons by an explosion in the Independence railway station, these being the three most notorious cases of violence during the course of the strikes which began in 1902, serious attempts were made to convict the officers of the Federation. All these attempts were failures. No member of the Western Federation has been convicted of any crime since the strikes began. On the other hand, many detectives in the employ of the Mine Owners' association have been sent to prison convicted of crimes ranging from larceny to homicide. "Although the whole machinery of justice is in the hands of the mine owners, although Moyer was kept in a bull-pen for three months without trial, and although indictments have been drawn in large numbers and with endless repetitions against the officers of the Federation, the court records show only a long succession of failures to convict and of failures even to carry the cases through to the point of a verdict. "Union men are again accused of a most outrageous crime. And, as they have in previous instances shown themselves innocent, I am convinced they will also show themselves innocent in this instance. "But two friends, in whose word I have absolute confidence, have gone to Denver especially to investigate this matter and both report that there is a conspiracy on the part of the mine owners or of their agents to hang these men in order to disrupt the union. This is strong language, but when an association has been caught doing that sort of thing before, one begins to believe it may again be guilty. "This is the story of a previous confession of a similar character: H. H. McKinney, in December, 1903, made a confession to a detective of the Mine Owners' association charging three prominent members of the Western Federation of Miners with having been active participants or accessories before the fact in two attempts at train wrecking. "Later he repented and made another confession, stating that he had been promised immunity from punishment, \$1,000 in cash and transportation for himself and family to any part of the world if he would make it appear that the three innocent men were implicated in this terrible crime. It was finally proved that McKinney and agents of the Mine Owners' association had themselves committed these crimes. (See Carroll D. Wright Labor Troubles in Colorado, pp. 188-190.) "When an association offers a man, known to have committed an outrageous crime immunity from punishment, a thousand dollars in money, and transportation to any part of the world, provided that he will bear false witness against perfectly innocent union men—so that they can be imprisoned or hung—that association is capable of anything. "It looks from such light as we have on the present case that the mine owners are up to their old methods, namely, of conspiring to implicate innocent men because they are union men."

THE JURY TO BE FIXED.

Before such a jury Mr. Richardson and Mr. Darrow, with all their wonderful gifts of eloquence, may plead, but they will plead in vain. Alibis may be established, facts may be adduced to prove that it was absolutely impossible for Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone to have entered into a conspiracy to murder anybody, the innocence of the accused may be perfectly apparent to everyone who keeps in touch with the case, but eloquence, alibis, facts and apparent innocence will not affect that jury one whit. The jurymen will sit as stolidly indifferent to argument and conditions as did the czar and his bureaucracy on the memorable day in January, 1903. That jury will be fixed, and will have its mind made up before the first scintilla of evidence is produced.

TO PRECIPITATE TROUBLE.

That Governor Gooding expects to precipitate trouble during the trial is evident from his recent inspection and overhauling of the state militia. During the past week he has had many talks with Col. John McBurney, in command of the state militia, and arrangements are being perfected to call out the troops at a moment's notice. An inspection of the militia has been in progress during the past two weeks, and was completed last Thursday at Nampa by Major Lorenzo P. Davison, of the regular army. There are eleven companies at the following points: Payette, Nampa, Sand Point, Genesee, Julianna, Grangeville, Blackfoot, Idaho Falls, Rexburg, St. Anthony and Weiser. The nearest company to Caldwell is at Nampa, nine miles distant, and the Payette company, in the same county, is about forty miles distant up the railroad. Either of these companies could be dispatched to the scene in an hour or so. The companies are supplied with army regulation equipment in uniforms, tents, and camp outfits. In addition to the militia, the regular army of the United States has a regiment quartered in barracks near the outskirts of Boise. Half a dozen rapid fire machine guns have been received here for the United States troops within the last three days. These guns are now being tested and made ready for a possible emergency.

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In his physical make-up, Frank Gooding is anything but prepossessing. He is short, stocky, thick-skinned and thick-headed. He has a square-built head on a pair of gruff shoulders, and his hair is frowzy and inclined to a reddish hue. His eyes are very small, very shiny, nearly black, cold and cruel. They are what are known as heady eyes. As McPartland is almost the counterpart of King Richard Third, so is Governor Gooding a fairly good re-creation of England's notorious Judge Jeffries. And, besides, Gooding is an Englishman, having been born and raised in that historic island.

Gooding is not a learned man, either at law, science or literature. He possesses no traits of personal refinement and knows not the meaning of the word esthetics. In many respects he resembles his infamous fellow conspirator, James McPartland. In Idaho he is regarded as a close, calculating, energetic, unscrupulous commercial proposition, ready to turn a dollar at any time, regardless of the means employed. I can hardly believe, after talking with the man and carefully considering him in many different attitudes in Boise, that he would deliberately take the initiative in plotting a cold-blooded murder. I do not believe that he belonged to the original "inner circle" that instigated Steuenberg's assassination. I think that after the crime was committed he immediately jumped to the conclusion telegraphed to Senator DuBois, and that he was then worked upon by McPartland, Crump, Floyd Thomson and other Colorado worthies until he was finally persuaded and influenced into making that conclusion permanent and thereafter becoming its champion.

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In addition to these crimes, Gooding is charged with a number of others, some of lesser while others are of greater magnitude. These charges are made principally by trade unionists and Socialists, and they have never been denied. The two deals referred to in the preceding paragraph, however, were so public in their nature and so scandalous in their conception and execution, that the state press generally took the matter up and gave it a pretty thorough airing. The publicity, apparently, never phased the governor, for he still retains his seat, does business in the state house, and now has the infamous audacity to come out and publicly condemn and prosecute men who for years have been and deserved the confidence and respect of eighty thousand metalliferous miners in the United States and British Columbia.

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THE WOMAN'S COMBINATION.

- What Happened to Dan, by Kate R. O'Hare. \$1.25
Why White Ribbons Should Be Worn, by Victor G. Kimbert. .25
Woman and the Social Problem, by May Wood Simons. .25
Socialism and the Home, by May W. Kerr. .25
Rebel as Large, by May Beals. .35
Special interest to women, retail price. \$2.35
Special. To all orders promptly filled. The books and pamphlets will be sent postpaid for cash. \$1.00

APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kan.

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THIS MAN SPEAKS HIS MIND.

"It is this feeling justified by facts, which your actions in this case furnishes an illustration, that intensifies the belief among the working class that there is one law for the rich and another law for the poor."—James T. Smith, former State Labor Commissioner of Colorado.

The following letter, written by former Labor Commissioner Smith of Colorado, tersely and pertinently sizes up the situation and nails Gov. McDonald to the cross. This letter should be read in every trade union hall in the United States: Denver, Colo., March 8, 1906. "Sir—As you are the recipient of public letters, and I daresay private ones, newspaper comment, etc., approving and disapproving your action in extraditing the Western Federation of officials, Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, without giving them an opportunity to defend themselves, an additional expression of opinion on this subject is not out of order. "My personal acquaintance with you, extending over a period of twelve or fifteen years, convinces me that acting in accordance with the impulse of your nature, you would not be unfair or unjust to anyone. That you allowed yourself to be unduly influenced by the bitter and implacable personal enemies of the accused men into absolutely denying them their legal and constitutional rights is credit to your heart and still less to your head. "Before the law one citizen is supposed to be the exact equal of any other citizen. Any citizen charged with the commission of a crime is not supposed to be guilty until he has an opportunity to prove himself innocent, but the law presumes that he is innocent until he is proven guilty. Therefore, the treatment accorded Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone should have been precisely the same as that given any other person charged with a criminal offense. None of their legal rights should have been denied them. Candidly, governor, had requisition papers from another state reached your office asking for the extradition of Mr. Moffat, Mr. Cheesman, Mr. Kountze or John F. Campbell, any or all of these men, would you have conferred with the officials from abroad or at home to keep the matter of their impending arrest a secret from the men named; to have arrested them late Saturday night; prevent them from communicating with their friends or attorneys, and hustle them out of the state by the first train Sunday morning? It is certain that you would not have treated them or any other member of their class as you did Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone. A pauper is entitled to the same legal right as a millionaire. How, then, can you excuse or justify your action in railroadng the Western Federation officials out of the state when you would have thought of so doing had the men complained of been members of the seven-figure class? "All these men, would you have collected, of which your action in this case furnished an illustration, that intensifies the belief among the working class that there is one law for the rich and another for the poor. "It will not be seriously claimed that Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone could not have been taken into custody during the day as readily as late at night. Moyer and Haywood spent the day preceding their arrest in their office in the Pioneer building, while Mr. Pettibone passed the day at his store on Court Place. "Personally, I believe the men under arrest and extradited to be innocent of all participation in the murder of ex-Governor Steuenberg, and that this fact will be made manifest when they come on trial. This, however, is only an opinion, and, as such, is entitled to no more consideration than the opinion of one who believes them guilty. I am content to let the case be tried on its merits in the courts, and only hope that justice will be done, let the result be what it may. "It would appear that there was a thought underlying your action that affects the contents of the book, 'THE Abuse of the Marriage Relations,' explaining the origin of most chronic diseases. Price 25 cents. You cannot collect on this book until you have read it. This book should be in the hands of every father, mother, son and daughter, and economic conditions demand this. For an additional 25 cents we will enter your name for a three (3) month subscription to 'THE PATENT SECURED OR FREE. RETURNED' with a copy of the book, 'I Dare You' to ignore the contents of the book, 'THE Abuse of the Marriage Relations,' explaining the origin of most chronic diseases. Price 25 cents. You cannot collect on this book until you have read it. This book should be in the hands of every father, mother, son and daughter, and economic conditions demand this. For an additional 25 cents we will enter your name for a three (3) month subscription to 'THE PATENT SECURED OR FREE. RETURNED' with a copy of the book, 'I Dare You' to ignore the contents of the book, 'THE Abuse of the Marriage Relations,' explaining the origin of most chronic diseases. Price 25 cents. 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# A Story of Western Heroism

By Charles G. Sumner in Idaho Falls, Idaho, Post.

His story is not one of fiction. It is one of fact—a drama wherein the actors were of flesh and blood, the scene vividly real, the situation one of intensity.

It was inspired by an incident in connection with the Steuenberg arrest. The location is Telluride, one of Colorado's greatest gold camps, and a town of some three thousand people, with as many more working in the various mines throughout the district. The little city is comfortably nestled near the head of the San Miguel valley, and it is but a few minutes' walk to the foot of the beautiful Bridal Veil falls, while those of Ingram and Cornet are always before the eye. It is a picturesque spot and one of surrounding natural beauty. Giant peaks covered with perpetual snow rear their majestic heads thousands of feet above the little vale.

For years it was all in all entitled to the happy patronymic of "Peaceful Valley." But with change of time, new people, new ideas, came revolutions in the established order of things, and from the trying year of 1900 to the present the Telluride district has been largely noted for internal troubles, strife, turmoil, and exciting events.

In these years some things happened in Telluride against the laws of God and man, which created contempt for constituted authority and the statutes, aroused dormant passions and inspired enmity in moral hearts, stirred evil minds, influenced sentiment, and infected some of the best men in the world with an absolute hatred for either flag, country or constitution.

It was for a time an arena of industrial strife. The exact reason for this is inexplicable. Labor organizations and employers have been on amicable terms for years.

But one day there came a clash between the two factions on the contract system of handling ores in the great Smuggler-Union mine. The active period is a story of itself, and that memorable third of July is branded in letters of fire on the minds of those who moved through the fury of the day. The Miner's union won the strike. It cost the lives of two or three men on each side. The sentiment of the community was with the miners, but thereafter was an undercurrent of feeling of hatred in many respects, and the spirit of opposition seems to have been fostered from that incident.

Managers and union officials maintained a semblance of fairness in business transactions, but in some instances each knew the true feeling of the other. The president of the union, whom I will call Vint, was subjected to considerable secret attack. In performing the duties imposed upon him by the confidence of 3,000 men he was compelled to visit one or another of the mines every day.

Notwithstanding mutual agreement, Vint was all but forbidden the Smuggler-Union premises, and from manager down to shift bosses he became a favorite theme for vilification, and doubtless Vint returned the sentiment with ardor.

This widening chasm between employer and employe grew. It undermined life-long friendships and shattered many ideals. Social amenities were forgotten and relations were strained, common pleasantries were ceased and street courtesies were obliterated.

Then a phone message came to town one day which horrified the entire population. The writer was one of the first to receive the message, and soon the "mile road east of town was filled with running horses, carrying excited riders to the mouth of the Bullion tunnel.

The mass of Smuggler-Union buildings at the mouth of the Bullion tunnel was afire, and four hundred and fifty men were entombed in the workings.

The panic and consternation was indescribable.

Men forgot their animosities in the mad ride to be upon the scene of terror. Horses were at a premium, and never were animals pushed to the utmost as in that wild scramble up two tortuous miles of mountain trail to the mine.

Three horses had been provided for the writer, and the first few men on the ground witnessed a spectacle that caused the blood to run cold.

A great column of smoke was rising from the burning buildings, and owing to the draft was pouring almost its entire volume into the mouth of the Bullion tunnel.

The emotions of those who contemplated the possible fate of the entombed men caused gray hairs to come on that day.

Vint's black horse outdistanced all others. He grasped the situation at a glance.

Foreman Hutchinson, with twenty-five men, had hurried down from the Tomboy mine.

He saw Superintendent Edgar Collins and a handful of men in the futile attempt to extinguish the fire.

Most of the pipes were frozen up. It was November. The water would have been useless in any event. Water was not needed.

Smoke must be stopped from going into the tunnel.

But one man had come out that way, and, gasping for breath, stated the mine was about filled with smoke and gas.

It was a day of heroes.

Vint and Hutchinson, running to a burning building half filled with dynamite, took two boxes and ordered the men to remove the rest to a place of safety.

Rushing through the blinding smoke and into the tunnel mouth the two men deposited the open boxes of dynamite, and almost stifled, fixed the fuse, staggered out, moved the crowd back, applied the match, and got out of the way.

The white streak of smoke from the burning fuse, as it ran through the darkest blaze, was watched by eager, silent men until it disappeared beyond the tunnel entrance.

An instant, then a deafening roar.

When the cloud of black became scattered it was seen that the shot had done its work.

The tunnel was blown in, and the smoke from the fire was rolling up the mountain side instead of into the mine filled with humanity.

It took eight minutes to accomplish this measure of safety, and it doubtless saved the lives of most of the miners, as the volume of smoke was stopped, and

## THE WESTERN FEDERATION.

Miners' Delegates Demand the Western Association—Facts Cited.

To the Editor The News, Indianapolis:

Sir:—We were somewhat surprised to read your violent attack upon the Western Federation of Miners, which appeared in your editorial columns of March 19th, and, believing, as we do, that you are not fully acquainted with the facts in the matter, we would, therefore, kindly ask your indulgence to present our views on this question, which have been gleaned from practical experience and from a personal acquaintance with the leaders and policy of the Western Federation of Miners.

You state that wherever the Western Federation of Miners has been represented, there have been riots, kidnappings, assaults, dynamiting and murders. This is a very broad and injurious statement, and nothing could be further from the truth or the policy of the Western Federation of Miners. Their mission is one of education and their methods of procedure have always been along peaceful lines, and we challenge any person to produce evidence that this organization has ever countenanced violence or lawlessness. On the contrary, they have officially condemned every lawless act perpetrated in the labor troubles of the West, and have even gone so far as to offer rewards for the apprehension of the criminals, and in this respect this organization has a clear record, as none of their members have ever been convicted of crime, although numerous attempts have been made by the Mine Owners' association to convict members of the Western Federation of Miners for alleged crimes.

Each and every member indicted, when brought to trial, has been acquitted, and this in the Colorado courts, dominated, as they are, by the corporate interests which have plundered the people, stolen the governorship and debauched the legislature of that fair state. Notwithstanding the insults and the abuse which has been heaped upon the members of the Western Federation of Miners by the military deputies and thugs employed by the Mine Owners' association, the fact remains that, for every violation of law of which they have been accused and indicted, scores of instances can be cited wherein those in the direct employ of the Mine Owners' association have been the guilty parties. In proof thereof we refer you to the following crimes countenanced by this diabolical capitalist organization, who seek to poison as defenders of law and order, and who cry for the blood of innocent men, viz.:

The incarceration of Charles H. Moyer in the military bull pen at Telluride, Colo., for a period of 103 days, his only offense being that he was president of the Western Federation of Miners and zealously guarded the interests committed to his care.

The assault on A. H. Floaten for no other crime than managing a co-operative store patronized by union miners.

The chaining of Harry Macki to a telegraph pole at Telluride by deputies and militiamen for six hours in the face of a blinding snowstorm for no other cause than that of refusing to obey their command to work on a cesspool.

The cowardly assaults on organizers Chris Evans, William Farley, James Mooney and William Wagoner, of the United Mine Workers of America.

The attack upon the latter organization is ample proof that there is no distinction drawn between the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers of America.

Another outrage perpetrated by the plant tools of the coal companies was the dynamiting of the homes of the striking coal miners at Newcastle, Colo. This damnable conspiracy was executed at dead of night, when the miners and their families were in bed, and very little effort was made to bring the guilty parties to justice. Numerous other cases of a similar character can be produced if necessary, but for lack of space they can not be mentioned in this article.

However, it is evident that the only original organization in the West is the Mine Owners' association. But, screened as they are by the protecting arm of a debauched judiciary, it is impossible to convict them of these dastardly outrages or secure impartial treatment from a subsidized press.

Again, in the letter part of your article you state that we do the cause of labor a very great harm by sympathizing in the slightest degree with the Western Federation of Miners, it being, as you say, a criminal organization. We desire to register an emphatic protest against such an unqualified statement.

We claim it to be incumbent upon all lovers of liberty and justice to extend all possible aid and assistance in order that they may not be the victims of an other foul conspiracy on the part of the Mine Owners' association and Citizens' Alliance, whose attitude in the past has proven that they have no regard for human rights or liberties.

Trusting you will publish this statement of facts, we remain, respectfully yours,

FRANK J. HAYES,  
JAMES MOONEY,  
A. F. GIERMER,  
EDWARD WILLIAMS,  
J. J. WARD,  
W. H. JAMES,  
PAT CARROLL,  
E. S. McILLOUGH,  
JOHN WALKER,  
WILLIAM WARDEN.

Delegates to the United Mine Workers' Convention, Indianapolis, March 21, 1906.

## THE SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS.

From the hundreds of resolutions sent to this office from every branch of the labor movement I select for publication the following, as indicative of the spirit which pervades the country at this time. One expects the Socialist local or the I. W. W. local to take such action, but these come as an encouraging surprise to those who have been battling in the front ranks. They show that the rank and file of the trade union movement in this country and the farmers are with the Western Federation in its fight against plutocracy. It spells victory for the workers:

From the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, No. 273, of Connecticut, O.:

"Resolved, that the unheard of methods employed in the arrest and imprisonment of the Western Federation officials was un-American and not in harmony with the true American spirit which is supposed to give every man, of whatever occupation or station in life, a square deal, and that we believe the officials of the W. F. of M. to be innocent of the crime charged against them and consider them the victims of the foulest conspiracy ever conceived in this so-called land of the free.

"Resolved, that we extend to these brothers of toil our heartfelt sympathy and pledge to them our financial support if such be necessary."

The Dill Local Union, No. 1746, Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, at its regular meeting in Dill, Okla., March 16th, 1906, in sympathy with and recognizing the oppression of the laboring class, adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, that the members of Dill Local Union, No. 1746, of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, believing in the principles of equity, justice and the Golden Rule, on which our order is founded, hereby condemn the recent kidnaping of Messrs. Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone and St. John, officers of the Western Federation of Miners, from their homes and friends in Colorado and their transportation into the state of Idaho without trial, and we extend to them our sympathy and moral support.

"We also recommend that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Indian Union Signal, Shawnee, Okla., and the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kas., for publication."—R. W. Dazey, Pres., P. W. Hamilton, Sec-Treas.

From the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Freeport, Ill.: "Believing that the arrest of Pres. Moyer, Sec. Haywood and Geo. A. Pettibone, members of the executive committee of the Western Federation of Miners, at Denver, Colo., on a charge of complicity in the murder of ex-Governor Steuenberg, in Caldwell, Idaho, on Dec. 30, 1905, is a plot of the mine owners and the Citizens' Alliance to destroy the Federation of Miners by murdering its leaders, therefore, be it

"Resolved, that Team Drivers' Union, No. 387, I. B. of T., of Freeport, Illinois, condemn the action as unjust, cowardly, un-American and only worthy of the hirings of that contemptible coward known as the Citizens' Alliance;

"Resolved, that while this union does not defend crime, it does believe all men are equal before the law and should be granted a fair and impartial trial;

"Resolved, that we are opposed to taking the evidence of men who are self-confessed murderers;

"Resolved, that these resolutions be spread on a page of the minute book of this union and that a copy be sent to the Rockford Union Record, of Rockford, Ill., and to the Appeal to Reason, of Girard, Kansas."

MUSIC FOR SOCIALIST MEETINGS.

Appropriate music adds wonderfully to the effectiveness of our public meetings. Songs that breathe the spirit of the movement will not only entertain the gathering audience, but will utilize the time to advantage that would otherwise hang heavy on those who arrive and must wait. Moyer's "Songs of Socialism," revised and enlarged, will supply the songs and music desired. It contains 112 pages of lively songs set to music, for only \$2.25, postpaid. Single copy, 25 cents.

Merrie England contains all other books of the nineteenth century. Just as good now as ever. Postpaid, 10 cents. Just as good now as ever. Postpaid, 10 cents.

# THE TOWN OF CALDWELL.

The Mine Owners' Association is depending upon the ignorance of the country people to convict Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone of the crime of assassinating Steuenberg. This scheme could easily be knocked in the head by education.

CALDWELL, Ida., March 22.—Before discussing the nature, membership, objects and purposes of the Western Federation of Miners and the Mine Owners' association, it were well to turn the calcium on the town of Caldwell, where the trial is to occur, and understand something of the temper of the people of that community. This place was the home of ex-Governor Steuenberg. Here is where he was known and loved. And he was loved by the people of Caldwell and vicinity. It must not be supposed that because he sanctioned the bull pen outrages of the Coeur d'Alenes, plotted and instigated by an understudy and not by himself, that the ex-governor was without friends. He was loved and honored by the people among whom he lived and was liked generally by the farmers and sheep men through the southern portion of the state.

STUENBERG WELL LIKED.

In his life he was a great, open-minded fellow, hearty and cordial in his actions and manner of speech, and, while he would not refuse to accept money in a political or business deal that could be said not to square with a Christian's conscience, yet it was not said of Frank Steuenberg that he could be bought with bloody money, or that he could be handled every time by the corporate interests of the state. His character was so unlike James McPartland's that an attempted comparison were odious. It is believed by many union men here in Caldwell that conditions in the Coeur d'Alenes were misrepresented to him when he endorsed the mine owners' call for troops. He is not blamed so much for that action as for permitting the troops to remain after the reasons that called them forth ceased to exist. It is said that he was a sick man many months during the Coeur d'Alene strike and that he was not in immediate charge of the government at that time. Hence, his fellow townsmen do not charge the bull pen outrages to any disposition on the part of Steuenberg to persecute union men so much as they do to his ignorance of conditions and his illness during the strike. At least, such are the stories circulated by his friends today.

A PASTORAL PEOPLE.

Caldwell is a small town of perhaps two thousand. It is in the center of the sheep raising district, and there are numberless farms flourishing all around, made so by reason of the irrigation system recently installed. The people, therefore, are a pastoral people, come here from Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, Ohio and other eastern states. There is no predominance of nationality, but they appear to be simple country folk from the farms and rural communities of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys. There are no manufacturing enterprises or other industries in the town employing large bodies of men, and, as a result of this absence of wage earners, unionism is not very strong. The people mostly own their own homes, the merchants perform their own labor, and the sheep and cattle men and the farmers are, nearly all, independent property holders.

ANTAGONISTIC TO UNION LABOR.

It is a rule, as experience in the older states proves, that this class of people are generally antagonistic to union labor. The farmer who gets up with the sun and works far into the night ordinarily does not like to see the wage-earning workingman demand and secure the eight-hour day. He considers miners' wages of three dollars a day as

exorbitant and outrageous. Believing himself to be free and independent in his farm relations, he imagines that the labor union deprives him of initiative and the liberty of advancing on his own hook. However inconsistent and foolish this position may be it is the common attitude of the farming class toward organized labor. This belief, too, is nourished and developed for all it is worth by the literature that is put into the farmers' hands. The country weeklies of the nation, for the most part, entertain similar views and these papers constitute most of the reading material of the farming class. What is said here in regard to the farmers is emphatically true about the sheep and cattle men of the West.

PREJUDICE ONE OF THE FACTORS

Such are the people who inhabit Caldwell and vicinity. They are simple, unsuspecting, honest country people, who do not understand the trade union movement. I don't believe it were possible to directly bribe twelve men, picked at random, here, to deliberately return a verdict one way or the other. They are naturally disposed to be fair and square about any proposition, and would like to see justice done. But they possess their inherent prejudices against the unions, and this will be one of the factors in deciding the fate of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

THE BOISE STATESMAN.

Most of the people here subscribe for and read the Boise Statesman. That sheet has steadily, persistently and insidiously tried to work up a sentiment of guilt toward the Federation men, especially among the farmers, sheep and cattle men, from among whom the jury will be drawn. Most of the resident townspeople condemn the editorial policy of the Statesman, and are prejudiced, but it is a hundred to one that the jury men will be selected, not among persons who discern the animus of that publication, but from among farmers and sheep herders who know only that their friend and ex-governor, Frank Steuenberg, was foully assassinated and that officers of the Miners' Union are charged with the responsibility of the deed.

VIGOROUS WORK NECESSARY.

Such is the situation as I find it in Caldwell and surrounding country. In Boise the trade union movement and its sympathizers and friends are very pronounced in their declarations in favor of the Federation men. Public sentiment in all the large towns of the state is clearly with the miners' union. It is only among the farmers, sheep and cattle men that adverse opinions are expressed. It appears to me that money could not be better spent than in flooding Canyon County with Socialist and labor papers from now until the trial begins. A vigorous campaign of education should be started right now and be kept up until the day dawns when the lawyers will commence to select a jury. I would advise that the Socialist party send four or five of its ablest speakers and let them commence to educate these farmers and ranchmen in the fundamentals of Socialism and trade unionism. School house meetings could be held in every town and country precinct at least every other night from now until the first of May. Attorneys for the prosecution could be challenged to debate the issues involved, street meetings could be held, halls could be hired, and the prevailing ignorance could be dissipated. The Mine Owners' association is depending upon the ignorance and the prejudice of the country people of Canyon County to convict Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone of the crime of assassinating Steuenberg. This scheme could easily be knocked in the head by education.

—G. H. S.

# STORIES ABOUT ADAMS.

A Correspondent for the Salt Lake Herald Digs Up Some Interesting Information.

As an indication of the weakness of the mine owners' case, the following story, printed in the Salt Lake Herald, March 19th, is offered. Read this story of Adams, and imagine men like Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone using him as an accomplice! That Adams is crazy is apparent from a reading of the following account:

"Park City, Utah, March 18.—Steve Adams, alias Steve Dickson, alias Adam Stevens and numerous other aliases, who is now before the limelight in Idaho as a confessed accomplice of Harry Orchard in numerous escapades wherein the lives of others were sacrificed and planned to be sacrificed, was in Park City during the spring and part of the month of June, 1905, and during his stay here he got his name on the criminal docket of the city justice's court. The fellow came here, he said, from Colorado, in company with a woman of numerous matrimonial adventures who at that date was playing an engagement as the wife of Adams.

"After securing a small house on Woodside avenue and starting to keep house, Adams secured work at the Daly-West mine. He was there but a short time when, on the 13th of June, 1905, while the family of Arthur Hooper were away on the Miners' Union excursion at Lagoon, Adams, or Stevens, as he was known, made a successful effort to get into jail by robbing the Hooper house of its furniture.

"His SANITY QUESTIONED.

"The fellow's sanity was questioned not a little while he was here, as this piece of thievery and numerous other little things seemed to point quite strongly to a weakness in the reasoning power of the fellow. His robbery was made in the middle of the day, and he deliberately carried the furniture so stolen from one house to the other in the presence of the neighbors. When Hooper arrived he had the fellow arrested, and for a little while it looked bad for Adams, as there was thoughts of sending him up for housebreaking.

"However, his wife made such a talk to the complaining witness of her poverty and absolute dependence upon Adams for a living that the charge was finally reduced to petit larceny, and upon this charge before Judge W. S. Lockhart, Adams was tried and sentenced to pay a fine of \$50 or fifty days in the city jail.

"THREE PALS GOT HIM OUT.

"During all this time three men, who came here with Adams and his wife, interested themselves more than ordinarily to secure the fine, and before the trial secured counsel for their friend. These three fellows went under a variety of names while here, and they with Adams left town just as soon as he got out of jail.

"After Adams was put in jail his attorney advised that he tell the court his true name, and at the trial Stevens confessed that his true name was Stephen Adams.

"TALKED OF MANY CRIMES.

"Before the trial of Adams he talked quite freely of his life and experiences, and to several he stated that he had been in Cripple Creek all during the trouble there; that he had been on the floor to find the cache. One glass stopper has been found, which Adams thinks belongs to one of the small bottles."

# "The Treason of the Senate!"

As Graphically Portrayed by David Graham Phillips.

The heavy and ever heavier taxes of "the interests" are swallowing the rents—swallowing the prices of food, clothing, fuel—all the necessities, all the necessary comforts of life.

"The interests" hiring, the Senate, not only forbids lifting these taxes, but, to the contrary, levies fresh taxes for its rapacious master.

It is for this reason—and mainly for this reason—that property today is rapidly concentrating in the hands of the few—that the little children of the masses are being sent to toil in the darkness of the mines, to work in the unhealthfulness of factories, instead of being sent to school.

It is the Senate that has stolidly, stubbornly determined to allow no legislation that is not either helpful to or harmless against the railways—no legislation on the subject of corporations that will materially interfere with their profits—no revision of the tariff unless it secure for the already over-fattened "interests" fuller and freer license to loot.

Here you have, in a few words, the whole story of the Senate's treason.

Read this stinging, uncompromising exposure of political corruption, in the April

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