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Appeal to Reason.

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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.

THE TRIAL AND ITS MEANING

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

PERHAPS the most unfortunate thing about the trial now in progress in Idaho from the working class point of view, is that so few understand its true meaning, its real significance, its full import. It is one of the strange freaks of history that its makers are not to be understood by their contemporaries, but that they, especially the greatest among them, must die ignominiously and wait for succeeding generations to interpret their works and do them justice.

When John Brown was put upon trial in Charlestown, Va., forty-eight years ago, few people, extremely few, understood its meaning, and although half a century has passed and the fiercest civil war in history, of which that trial was but the prelude, has been fought, the great mass of the people has not yet awakened to its significance and another century or more will be required before the strike at Harper's Ferry and the trial at Charlestown will be understood in their larger meaning, as written in subsequent events, by the American people and the world.

Ralph Waldo Emerson was one of the few who understood that historic trial of half a century ago, the trial of a despised agitator and hated insurrectionist. His prophetic eye pierced the future as he said: "John Brown will make the gallows as glorious as Jesus Christ made the cross." The coming centuries will vindicate the presence of the Sage of Concord and the gallows upon which John Brown, the liberator, perished will be kept green with wreaths of immortelles by the countless children of freedom.

The outcome of the pending trial is awaited with equal concern by the czar of Russia and the president of the United States. They at least understand in some measure the vital issue that is involved and the widespread influence the outcome will have upon their respective countries.

When the czar of Russia expressed his imperial approval of President Roosevelt's characterization of Moyer and Haywood as "undesirable citizens" he not only added his testimony to the world-wide interest in the trial, but unwittingly recognized the international class struggle of which the trial in itself is but the merest incident.

It is this very fact—a fact of the supremest importance—that the capitalist powers are striving by all conceivable means to conceal from the working class; upon their success in so doing depends the consummation of the conspiracy to destroy organized labor and rule the wage-slaves of the western mines and smelters with a rod of iron for years to come.

The trial now going on, viewed from any comprehensive standpoint, is anything but a murder trial. In the war between labor and capital in the Rocky Mountains during the last thirty years—sometimes in pitched battles and again in guerrilla fashion—hundreds have been slaughtered, but not all of them combined have created a tithe of the furor aroused by the taking off of Frank Steunenberg, the particular murder which lies at the foundation of this prosecution and which must be understood in at least its essential features to account for the world-wide interest it has awakened.

Hundreds of miners have been killed under circumstances quite as cruel as the assassination of Steunenberg, but who can pronounce the name of even one of them?

Why was no great reward offered for their slayers? Why did not the legislature of Idaho appropriate \$100,000 for the conviction of the murderers of these miners? And why did the governor of that state not lay snares to kidnap the supposed instigators of these crimes? Or the president of the United States pronounce them "undesirable citizens"?

Ah, that is the point! Why were the hundreds of workmen slain so inconsequential and easily forgotten, while the killing of Steunenberg has aroused the whole universe?

The answer comes of itself. Frank Steunenberg belonged to the ruling class. As governor of Idaho he had served that class with peculiar fidelity. As a retired capitalist he was identified with that class. Had he been killed while still a union printer under precisely the same circumstances scarcely anyone outside of Idaho would have ever heard of it and by them it would soon have been forgotten.

With Frank Steunenberg it was different. He was dear to the hearts of the mine and smelter trust and the lumber trust and the Standard Oil trust. He had served them loyally in a grave crisis and under peculiarly trying circumstances. Elected as a union man and supported solidly by the Western Federation of Miners upon the express understanding that he was and would continue to be a true friend to organized labor, no governor of any state ever served the master class with more seditious servility than did Frank Steunenberg, the supposed union man, as every old miner in Idaho knows to his sorrow. It is not now necessary to dwell upon this feature of the case. The record is there and will speak for itself now and for years to come. The mine and smelter trust and its organs declare it a record of honor, but it must be remembered that their testimonials are based upon services received and it would be strange indeed if even an octopus without conscience failed to vouch for those who conserve its interests.

It is not that these sharks had any particular love for Steunenberg. Not at all. They have no love for anybody, for the reason that they are incapable of love. They devour; they do not love. And when they are not devouring the working class they turn on each other. But Steunenberg had become one of them and the attack upon him was an attack upon the capitalist ruling class and could be made the excuse for a formidable assault by the whole capitalist administration, state and national, upon the strongholds of labor unionism, the only menace to the undisputed sway of the corporate brigands.

Steunenberg amounted to something—he was not a workman. He was a capitalist and had been the governor of Idaho for the capitalist class. Having so basely betrayed the union workmen who elected him, rewarding them with bullets and bullets, the presumption was natural that they had a hand in his death, but why they should have waited seven years to avenge their grievances has not yet been explained.

We are not now interested in any theory or motive relating to the assassination, but only in showing that this case is not a murder case at all. That at bottom it is a secret plot to destroy organized labor and that it is this, and this alone, that gives it national and international character and significance.

Had David H. Waite, the grand old governor of Colorado, been assassinated, as he was often threatened, would the mine and smelter trust have turned heaven and earth and two governors turned kidnapers to punish his suspected slayer?

Had John P. Altgeld, the greatest governor in all the union, been murdered by his enemies, as they swore he should be, would the Standard Oil company have set all its vast machinery in operation and President Grover Cleveland, a twin Roosevelt, applied all his administrative powers to apprehend the culprit and bring him to justice?

Had it been William D. Haywood instead of Frank P. Steunenberg, what capitalist governor would have been in the least concerned: what legislature would have changed the organic laws of the state to punish his alleged assassin; what capitalist daily papers would turn black in the face denouncing editorially the atrocity of the crime?

Everything connected with this case, from the perjured affidavit in which it had a legal (?) inception, the gubernatorial conspiracy, the secret arrest, the midnight kidnaping, the special train, the Pinkerton "confessions," the special acts of the legislature, the denial of habeas corpus, the princely treatment of Orchard, the Taft invasion, the support of the national administration, the concerted cry of the capitalist press from New York to California, the ravens—everything upon it proves conclusively, in detail and on the whole, that all the powers of capitalism are behind the prosecution and that it is folly to expect justice when all the machinery of government has been primed for the one specific purpose of pronouncing death upon the leadership of organized labor and carrying the sentence into execution.

Nevertheless, there is plenty of room for hope. The capitalist powers may commit crime without compunction, but they are not fools. They are wise enough to know how far they can go and when to call a halt.

They did not dream of the uprising of the working class that has swept across the country like a tidal wave. They can not yet realize that one hundred thousand indignant and protesting working men and women thronged Boston Common and made the welkin ring; that fifty thousand marched through the streets of New York and thirty thousand through the streets of Chicago proclaiming their fealty to the heroic leaders on trial in Idaho.

This it is that is making itself felt in the trial and will continue to be an increasing factor until the final outcome. So far as the alleged "fair trial" is concerned, when the ruling powers make up their minds to commit murder they scruple at nothing, and since they control the legislative and administrative machinery it is an easy matter for them to commit their crime "legally," according to "the forms of law," and thus satisfy the feeble-minded, who are quite prepared to see even their best friends hanged by the necks until they are dead, provided the ropes are of the legal length and the proceedings bear the "legal" trademark of the capitalist regime.

So much for the scruples of the ruling class. But as already stated, they have sense, if not scruples. They have their fingers upon the social pulse and know precisely how it is beating.

Will it pay? Is the only question with them.

Will it pay to convict innocent men? What will be the consequences? That is what they are asking themselves from Rockefeller down. They hate "Bill Haywood" as the devil hates a white soul and for the same reason.

"Bill" Haywood has been bravely fighting for his class. They know it. He is no murderer. They know that. He is loved and honored by millions of his fellow-workers. They know that, also. To hang him would make him a martyr and a hero, precipitate a conflict and a million of aroused workmen would spring from the soil fertilized by his noble blood to avenge his cruel death.

The working class of the United States may not comprehend the full meaning of this historic trial, but they are sufficiently awake to its significance that they will watch it eagle-eyed from day to day and from hour to hour, no matter how far it may be prolonged, until the end, and their vigilance and determination will not relax until justice has been done, and in that hour their fellow-workers will walk forth free men.

ONE MILLION DOLLARS

Would not serve the Appeal so effectively right now as ONE MILLION subscribers. If you want to help the Appeal, please do not send donations in money, but send us SUBSCRIBERS.

I would like to hear personally from every Army comrade who sent the Appeal a list of subscribers in 1906—but who has not helped so far this year. The Appeal needs the loyal support of every friend at this time. Surely the need is greater today than at any time last year.

The latest is Adj. Gen. Bell's startling confirmation of the Appeal's story printed two years ago that the state militia of Colorado had been "fanned out" to the Mine Owners' association. At the time this story was printed by the Appeal it was branded as a "sensational lie," by the capitalist press, and, strange as it may seem, this opinion was shared by some of our very esteemed Socialist contemporaries. But we bear no ill will—time is a great vindicator.

President Roosevelt has gotten into another disgraceful squabble with Dr. Wm. J. Long, the writer on wild animals, calling him a fakir and a liar. It is an edifying spectacle to see the president in his daily role as a fish-woman. Never before has the office of chief executive been filled by a vulgarian and common scold. Theodore Roosevelt has lost his dignity, if he ever had any, and seems to be losing his mind. Anyway, he is becoming an unmitigated nuisance and ought to have a guardian.

Under the most favorable possible circumstances Wm. D. Haywood will have to be tried by a jury composed of his enemies—his political if not his personal enemies. No Socialist, that is to say no representative of the working class, will be permitted on the jury. This makes impossible a trial by a jury of his peers. The jury will at best be hostile to the economic doctrines of the defendant, regarding them as false, pernicious and dangerous to society, and it would have to be something more than human to be free from prejudice and bias under such circumstances.

The Switchmen's union, in national convention assembled at Detroit, declared itself in unequalled terms respecting the kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and voted a liberal amount for their defense. This action is characteristic of the switchmen and their union. They represent the most militant, aggressive and progressive branch of the railway service, and they have never been known to turn their backs upon their fellow-workers when a helping hand was needed. The switchmen can always be counted on to squarely toe the mark of duty.

The dispatches inform us that "the interstate commerce commission has asked for a transcript of the evidence taken at the coroner's inquest over the bodies of the Shriners recently killed in the Southern Pacific wreck in California." Had an equal number of section men or coal miners been killed, no such transcript would be asked. Two days after the wreck it would have been forgotten. But the Shriners were rich men and capitalists and that makes the difference. The killing of the working class is a necessary part of capitalist production and excites but little attention.

President Roosevelt's repeated denunciations of Moyer and Haywood, the yet untried and unconvicted Western Federation of Miners' officials, as undesirable citizens is arousing the highest indignation, not only in labor circles, but among all fair-minded people. Universal protests are being raised against the president's injudicious utterances as to these men on the eve of their trial for their lives. Such an expression of opinion in advance of the hearing of the case by the man at the White House is a flagrant violation of every rule of decency, of all laws of justice, propriety and fair play. For the last fifteen months organized labor has demanded a fair and impartial trial of the accused. Will they get it? After the unwarranted utterances of the president this has become more doubtful than ever.—The Carpenter, Indianapolis, Ind.

William D. Haywood will be forced to submit to a trial by a jury of his political enemies. It was for this very reason that President Roosevelt backed ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky in his fight, and the republican governors of Indiana have ever since refused to honor requisitions for his return to Kentucky, from which he is still a fugitive. The plea of these eminent republicans, and the only plea, has been, and is, that Taylor would be tried by democrats, his political enemies, and that it was impossible for them to do him justice. This was their logic applied to Taylor, the republican. Why will it not also apply to Haywood, the Socialist? If upon the theory that a man's political enemies can not try him fairly Taylor is justified in resisting the processes of the law, why not Haywood? If Taylor can not get justice in Kentucky before a jury of democrats, what show has Haywood in Idaho before a jury composed of republicans and democrats is one of spoils only, but between them and Socialists it is one of principle, and there is positive and irreconcilable antagonism between them. Not a single juror will be permitted to sit in judgment upon William Haywood who belongs to his political party. Only his avowed political foes will be accepted as qualified to determine his innocence or guilt. We want this point to be clearly understood and made part of the record.

Tea Spillers and Tank-Tappers.

In its issue of May 4th Judge, the well known illustrated republican weekly, has an editorial captioned "The Tea Spillers—An Example for the Tank-Tappers," embellished with a cartoon of Roosevelt with a huge sledge hammer in his clenched hands smashing the Standard Oil property at a furious rate. The opening sentence of the editorial is as follows:

"The fathers of 1773 made no progress in their fight with the Tea Tyrants until they took to spilling the tea." This is followed by the advice that "this is not a work solely for the government. Every vigilant citizen must become a tank-tapper."

The article boldly advises citizens to attack the property of the Standard Oil Co. It is full of insinuations, open advice to the people that the only escape from the tyranny of Standard Oil is by tapping its tanks as the revolutionary fathers spilled the tea into the harbors of Boston.

The very title of the article implies insurrection and advises lawlessness and crime. Had it appeared in the Socialist Appeal instead of the republican Judge, Roosevelt's minions would already have swooped down upon it and confiscated its editions and the editor would now be under bonds to answer for inciting lawlessness, and sending threatening matter through the mails. Indeed, the Appeal is indicted and the editor is under bond this very moment for an alleged offense that is insignificant compared to this broad, open advice to the people that the only escape from the tyranny of Standard Oil is by tapping its tanks as the revolutionary fathers spilled the tea into the harbors of Boston.

So far as the advice is concerned it is idiotic drivel, the foam of a feeble mind; akin to the sweeping back of the tides with a broom, but it serves its purpose by making a hero of Roosevelt, the republican Don Quixote, who is pictured as smashing the trusts that paid his campaign expenses.

Judge, the republican organ we are discussing, doesn't mean what it says. Of course not. It knows how foolish the people are and precisely how to work upon their ignorance; how to make itself appear as patriotic and its candidate for president as a hero. Judge is but a pimple on the plutocracy. It is not opposed to trusts. It is itself a trust tool, and attacks trusts as Roosevelt does, in a very Pickwickian sense, and with no more intention of disturbing the "rights" of corporate capital than of cartooning itself as a hypocrite and false pretender.

If Judge were honest, instead of knavish, it would advise the people to take the wealth they produce instead of destroying it.

We have the Judge editorial carefully filed away for future reference.

What the Robbers Get.

"The Socialist will tell you that the rich live by robbing the poor, but they neglect to tell you that the poor get all the money they are robbed of."—Philadelphia Record.

The brilliant ass who penned the above choice bit of rot is worthy of the wisdom therein displays. Money is so much to him, and so continuously in his muddled mind that he can conceive of no robbery unless some one is robbed of coin or bank notes. Inasmuch as there may possibly be another such chump somewhere within reach of this paper I will say for his benefit that the rich become rich not by robbing the poor of their money but by robbing the poor of the greater part of what their labor creates.

The poor have nothing but their labor power. They are forced by necessity to sell that labor power to an employer for less than the value of its product. Like the woman who is robbed of virtue through selling her soul to get the means of sustaining her body, the rich rob the poor by taking advantage of their necessities to get their labor for a price less than the value of the things it produces. If you have the understanding you can understand.

Capitalist Justice.

Characteristic of the "justice" meted out in capitalist courts is the case reported in the following dispatch:

"Hammond, Ind., May 26.—A pathetic sight was witnessed in Hammond court today when Frank McGeary, of Crown Point, was taken through Hammond for Michigan City to the state prison there to serve from one to three years for the 'sensational' case of apples valued at fifty cents. The case was tried last week at Crown Point and McGeary, who is a poor fellow, was found guilty and sent to the state prison. He is now in the state prison at Hammond, Ind., and is expected to keep his family from starving."

It would be difficult to conceive of a greater crime than to send this poor old man to the penitentiary for taking an apple for his starving child. In all the history of chattel slavery there is no parallel to it. Only in capitalism is such inhumanity possible. Sioux savages would commit suicide before they would thus maltreat one of their own number. Capitalism creates starvation and then punishes it as a crime.

Creek vs. Christian.

The red man of the forest is being educated in the ways of "Christian" civilization, as witness the following:

"In the midst of occasional disclosures of land frauds in the west, comes the startling report that the Creek nation, has sent the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions for the redemption of its title to the property on which Henry Kendall College stands, offering to trade."

What a burning shame the real Christian must feel under this disgraceful indictment from his heathen! wards! It has been so since the first civilized (sic) buccannier landed on the shores of the new world. Even religion is reduced to traffic and under his cloak fraud does a thriving business. Poor Lo! His forests are stolen and he is cheated out of his lands by alleged Christian-gentlemen who proclaim that Socialism will destroy religion and ruin the country.

SHERMAN BELL'S BOMBSHELL



SHERMAN BELL knows the dark secrets of the "Inner Circle" of the Mine Owners' association. Now that they are through with him they have thrown him on the scrap-heap, as they have Peabody and others they used to do their dirty work. But Sherman Bell will not be thrown down and kicked into oblivion. There is fire in his eye and he is after the mine owners in general and Bulkley Wells in particular. Bell already has Wells cringing like a cur; and he has the mine owners in whispered anxious consultation. They did not think he would peach. They thought they knew him. But they didn't. Bell has thrown a few shells into their camp and there is great consternation among the kidnapers. Bulkley Wells, one of the principal mine-owners, now cuts a contemptible figure. He is supposed to be a soldier and he is—a tin-horn cadet. Sherman Bell calls him a liar and a cur; and he proves himself both by crawling

ing at Bell's feet. Below are some of the hot passages Bell snorts out in his defiance:

"I will hand out some bombs which will make them all (the mine owners) sit up and take notice."

"I will get on a train for Boise, where Moyer and Haywood are, and when they hear I'm coming Wells and his friends will get above the timber line on the bare rocks and stay there."

"I couldn't trust any of them (the mine owners); they had to put it down black and white for me."

"Wells is so far past the limit that it is frightful to think of the things that are true about him."

"I have a whole vault of things to spring in rapid succession on 'ese people."

"I never kidnaped anybody in the night."

"I will put these people out of business."

If Sherman Bell withstands the blandishments of the mine owners and fearlessly tells the whole truth about their damnable conspiracies to crush the Western Federation and their hellish plots to commit murder and assassination the prosecution now going on in Boise will be paralyzed and the whole country will stand aghast!

Sherman Bell knows the whole truth about the blowing up of the Independence depot platform.

Let him tell it all. The record of the mine owners is black with crime and red with the blood of its countless victims.

GENERAL BELL'S STATEMENT

Has Legal Documents to Prove that the National Guard of Colorado Was Fanned Out to Mine Owners.

"The kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone and hustling them to Idaho at night on a special train was not a square deal. I do not believe they had anything to do with the murder of Frank Steunenberg. It looks to me like a cowardly outrage."—Gen. Sherman Bell, Adjutant General of Colorado under Peabody.

Associated Press Dispatch.

Denver, Colo., May 30.—"Gen." Bell threatens to drive "Gen." Bulkley Wells and the mine owners' inner circle "up above the timber line and keep them there on the bare rocks until they home-stead the claim."

Continuing his expose of the mine owners' conspiracy to wipe out the Federation as a measure of revenge on "Gen." Wells, who criticized Bell's work as commander-in-chief of the state guard, Bell offers to fight a duel with Wells or any other man. He offers to go to Boise and scare the mine owners out of their wits.

Bell tells many interesting things and is ready to tell a "thousand more," each backed up by documentary evidence.

He proves by legal documents, signed and sealed, that the Colorado National Guard was fanned out to the mine owners and that they sneaked out of this agreement, making it necessary to borrow the money in Chicago to pay the soldiers for breaking up the homes, stores and families of the mine diggers and their families.

The Documents.

The Rocky Mountain News publishes facsimiles of the documents and signatures by which the state soldiers were "fanned out," practically authorizing an independent military power within the state.

Debs and the Trial.

The readers of the Appeal know that Eugene V. Debs was scheduled to attend the Idaho trial as one of its special representatives. There has been a temporary change of program, not due to either Debs or the Appeal. Debs was to leave for Boise on Thursday, May 23d; his grip was packed for the trip when a letter came from the counsel for the defense earnestly requesting him not to come on the ground that his presence would inflame the public, prejudice the jury and jeopardize the lives of the defendants. A consultation was held and it was concluded that neither Debs nor the Appeal could afford to assume such a responsibility. In event of Debs' disreputing the advice of the defendants and their attorneys and possible conviction, the responsibility would surely be placed upon his shoulders. Regardless of his personal inclination, therefore, and of the Appeal's strong desire to fulfill its obligation to its readers, it was decided that for the present, at least, Debs would remain away from Boise and continue his work in his present capacity;

That this is treason under the law is admitted.

It is evident that Wells has no desire to engage in a struggle with Bell, for he issued a very conciliatory statement in Boise in reply.

Wells, former adjutant general, by questioning the integrity and soldierly efficiency of Bell, the military dictator of the Peabody regime, has shaken away the ashes from a fire smoldering, but dangerous, and Bell's anger and pride blazes forth like the revived tongues of flame from a furnace.

Wells charged in his biennial report that Bell's bookkeeping was as nothing, that the record of his administration finances during the Peabody war was not first class, and that the guard, when it was turned over by Bell to his successor, was in a disorganized condition. Bell answered in this fashion:

The Reply.

"Wells has started this thing by untruthful statements against my record. I now throw down the gauntlet and anyone who desires may pick it up. I will deal the cards, and anyone who wants to may get in the game."

"Here is a contract, signed by Bulkley Wells for his mining company, but repudiated by him, which shows what kind of a man makes these lying charges against the administration of my office."

"This is only the first item in what I will show to the public if these people, or any others, want to start anything. I will hand out some bombs which will make them all sit up and take notice."

Calls Wells a Pinhead.

"My record has been good. I have kept my word with all people, just the same with the Haywoods and Moyers as with the Mine Owners' association. That is more than these mine owners did with me. And especially this man Wells. He is a pinhead; a cadet."

"If they want to start anything more I will get on a train for Boise, Idaho, where Moyer and Haywood are, and when they hear I'm coming Wells and his friends will get up above timber line on

and, knowing the situation as well as he does, the efficiency of his service will lose little, if anything, on that account. The capitalist press has already begun lying about the incident. It seems highly elated that Debs is not to be at Boise for the Appeal. Among other things it is stated that Debs has been forced to leave Boise. As a matter of fact he has not been there at all. It is also stated that he was to be paid hundreds of dollars per week to report the trial for certain capitalist newspapers. This is absolutely untrue; he was not to receive a penny from any such source.

It should be distinctly understood that it is not the mine owners and their minions who are keeping Debs out of Boise. Not all their threats could have accomplished this. Only the solemn request of the attorneys for the defendants themselves, based upon the highest personal consideration, could have done so.

The incident, unpleasant as it is in preventing the fulfillment of a promised duty, is highly complimentary to the Appeal. It shows which way the wind blows. The Appeal is so offensive to the

The charge of Sherman Bell, ex-adjutant general of Colorado, that the National Guard of Colorado was fanned out to the mine owners of that state for use against the miners, while startling to the general public, is by no means new to the readers of the Appeal.

As much as two years ago the Appeal repeatedly made this same statement, based upon investigations made by an Appeal representative on the ground. At the time this disclosure was characterized as one of the Appeal's "sensational" stories.

This and similar incidents show that the "sensational stories" of the Appeal are sensational in the fact that they contain the news and facts in advance of other publications—in this instance as much as two years before "safe, sane and conservative publishers" make the discovery.

the bare rocks, and they'll stay there long enough to take out homestead claims from the government, and be able in after years to prove up on them and swear they never left the place. They won't take a chance on coming down.

Is Square?

"Because I know that I've given everybody a square deal in my fighting, I am not afraid of any of them. Yes, I fight, but it's on the square with me. I don't lie."

After making written promises to pay the soldiers and using them as their own employees, Bulkley Wells and the other mine owners broke their agreement. Bell gave out the document proving this beyond a doubt.

"Yes," Bell admitted, "this kind of an agreement was made with the mine owners and interested capitalists in the Cripple Creek and Trinidad trouble, as well as in the Telluride military movements, before troops were ordered out. I couldn't trust any of them. They had to put it down in black and white with me, for the protection of my men. What makes me mad is that they didn't live up to their written contracts. I am willing the Telluride document should be printed, because it proves who and what this man Wells is who wants to tell the people that my administration of the office of adjutant general was not as good as his. What do you think of him? He is so far past the limit that it is frightful to think of the things that are true about him."

Vault Full.

"I have a whole vault full of things to spring in rapid succession on these people if they are trying to make me the 'fall guy,' which they have tried to do on many occasions when I was doing my duty and when they and everyone else knew it."

"But I can say this: I never jobbed Moyer or Haywood or anyone else. When I fought, it was in the open as a man, under military orders, or as head of the National Guard, going ahead in whatever fight I was in. I never kidnaped anybody in the night. I just walked up to them and snatched my fingers, which I will continue to do as long as I live, whether they be Haywoods or mine owners. I will see that I get a square deal."

"I don't ask anyone to help me. I trust God, but nobody else, let me tell you that, in any of these bunches. And I make my word good and stand ready for all comers."

Fears President Will See It.

"My record can't be injured by such statements, except that what I don't like is that this attack on me in the Wells report goes to Washington and is filed in the war department as a permanent record. The charges against my administration are not true. Any charges by anybody against me are lies, and I can put any man on the stand who makes any charges against me, and prove by his own evidence that he is a liar."

Start Something.

"Now let anyone else start anything and I'll keep on after he wishes it was finished. That goes, and furthermore, and for all time, I don't fear anyone. I will put all these people out of business who try to put any blame on me. This Western Federation business I was in will look like a little amusement in comparison to what I will do to any and all persons, mine owners or politicians, who try to give false evidence about me or try to work off in this Haywood trial anything more than is met in line with a square deal. I am at all times ready to keep anything going that anyone starts against me or against a square deal."

"The Appeal and Debs as its special writer are not disgruntled. No personal glory was sought at Boise, nor any selfish advantage, since the case first began. The Appeal has stood for Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone solely because it believed them true to the working class and the victims of an infamous conspiracy. That is its position today. The motive for the discrimination at Boise is understood and allowance made accordingly, and when at a later time the correspondence is published it will be seen that the Appeal has in fact been exceptionally honored and that the "feeling" against it in certain capitalist-controlled circles in Idaho is the highest possible tribute to its fidelity and power."

The Switchmen's Union of North America, which held its biennial session in Detroit last week, voted to contribute \$200 to the defense of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

QUESTION BOX

What is the cause of the antagonism which seems to exist between the Socialist party and the Trade Union of the country? ... Whatever antagonism may exist...

THE PARTY

California—George H. Goebel, national organizer, will enter California for an agitation campaign about June 1st...

NEVADA

The Goldfield Miner's union has in the past six months felt the need of a publication to give publicity to the side of labor in the struggles that have been waged...

General Party Notes

At a recent special parliamentary election in Belfast, Ireland, the Socialist candidate narrowly failed of election...

Rich Rascals

The stealing of millions of dollars worth of mineral and timber lands in the western states is gradually coming to light...

United States senator

One ex-United States senator. A man reputed to be one of the wealthiest men in the world...

A railroad man known from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Two of the wealthiest lumber barons in the United States...

Numerous smaller fry, including railroad officials, coal operators and men at the head of fuel companies...

These men, whose names, for obvious reasons, cannot be made public before the grand jury acts, it is declared here will surely be indicted by the evidence which is now in the hands of the United States district attorneys in half a dozen western states...

The United States senator named in the list, though indicted, is not a defendant, but a prosecutor; engaged just at present in prosecuting workmen in a court of justice...

DEFENSE FUND BOOK COMBINATION. Most of the comrades know by this time that the federal authorities have indicted Comrade Warren, managing editor of the Appeal...

To meet the expenses of this case and also to provide a sort of permanent fund with which to whip plutocracy to a standstill in all its prosecutions against the paper...

RAILROADS AND REFORM. Comrade N. A. Richardson is known to every well read Socialist in America and to many abroad as the author of "The Introduction to Socialism" and "Methods of Acquiring Possession"...

Because the government refused to provide pensions large enough, every sailor and marine worker in France walked out June 1st, and every ship was tied up and could not leave...

The stories sent out by the Associated Press from St. Louis, Idaho, relating to the Appeal are manufactured from whole cloth and have no foundation in fact...

"President Roosevelt has discovered that there is no law under which Harrison can be persecuted. Thus has another trust been busted and another party scalp added to the belt of the buster...

From Chicago comes the report that the railroads centering there will soon reduce their working forces to the minimum and that this will throw a hundred thousand workmen out of employment...

ONE MILLION DOLLARS

Would not serve the Appeal so effectively right now as ONE MILLION subscribers. If you want to help the Appeal, please do not send donations in money, but send us SUBSCRIBERS.

THE BUNDLE BRIGADE

The Bundle Brigade is the backbone of the Appeal Army. It is composed of the scouts and sharpshooters who are constantly on the alert for an opportunity to round up some one for Socialism...

THE BIG TEN

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The Red Flag at Chicago

The Moyer and Haywood demonstration at Chicago gave the capitalist class a distinct shock not only in the "Windy City" but throughout the country...

The red flag feature which characterized the parade was the particular thorn in the capitalist flesh. But for this the capitalist dailies of Chicago and the Associated Press would probably have made no report of the affair at all...

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WATCH IT CLIMB

APPEAL TO REASON

By States

Table showing subscription statistics for Appeal to Reason by state, including columns for State, Off., and Total.

THE report this week is certainly gratifying, viewed from any angle. A net gain of nearly 4,000 indicates that the Appeal Army never sleeps.

Bell's Challenge to Wells. General Sherman Bell continues his expose of the mine owners' conspiracy to wipe out the Western Federation of Miners.

At the time advertised in this column, that action did not change the situation—the Standard Oil had only borrowed the public money with which to pay its private debt, but it still owed the debt.

Proceeding with his defiance to Bulkley Wells and the rest of the kidnapers, General Bell says: "I will get on a train for Boise, where Moyer and Haywood are, and when they hear I am coming Wells and his friends will get up above the timber line on the bare rocks, and they'll stay there."

Mr. Debs, who was never charged with any crime, is now being held in the United States Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas.

FINANCIAL COLUMN

BY THE FINANCIAL EDITOR.

In the issue of May 4th it was stated in this column: "New York is at the present moment in a very critical condition, and I predict that before May 10th it will be the scene of another panic, worse than the one of March 14th, which will be followed by industrial depression, plainly felt by the general public before the end of May."

On May 9th there was a severe decline in stocks, but not one that could be correctly termed a panic. Instead, there was something much more ominous than even a much greater decline in prices would have necessarily been.

They evidently had no idea that they could get the money in the United States for these issues, for the day before they were "placed before the public." H. H. Rogers went to London. His object in going to London, so he is said to have stated, was to punish those who sold copper short on him when he was fighting gallantly for breath on March 14th.

As I told you recently, the panic of March 14th was caused by the inability of the Standard Oil to repay some \$70,000,000 of money which it borrowed in London. When the time came to pay, the Standard Oil was compelled to throw stocks on the market regardless of what they would bring, and in so doing, to decrease the values of railway securities some \$2,000,000,000 in a fruitless effort to raise \$70,000,000.

Convertible bonds. There's magic in the name—that is, there may be to the average citizen, but the London banker is no "average citizen." London didn't secure and maintain its position as the money center of this planet by buying every gold brick carried to town.

ROSEY. Is almost down and out of it. He is using the United States secret service to hunt down every one that doesn't shout for the cowboy—but in a little while the secret service will be inadequate for the job.

Chicago, May 27.—Between 50,000 and 100,000 men will be thrown out of employment by the railroad strike in the country during the first week in June, according to the "Deseret News," which has been the chief cause of the railroad strike to reduce their payroll at the beginning of summer.

"Gen." Bulkley Wells, Millionaire Mine Owner of Colorado, Kidnaped of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, Mob Leader at Telluride, according to National Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, and High Cockerator of the Mine Owners' Association in the prosecution of the trial now in progress in Boise, was his chief military renown (sic) in his assaults upon defenseless women and children.

"Wells is so far past the limit that it is frightful to think of the things that are true about him."

ONE MILLION DOLLARS. Would not serve the Appeal so effectively right now as ONE MILLION subscribers. If you want to help the Appeal, please do not send donations in money, but send us SUBSCRIBERS.

Stirring the Capitalist Press. It is rarely that the capitalist press quotes from a Socialist paper or makes any mention of it, the uniform policy being to ignore the Socialist press and treat it with silent contempt.

It seems to me now that the Standard Oil has decided to leave the ring. Some little fighting in a desultory manner may be done, but it will likely be of small effect. I consider the question as now definitely passed from the domain of pure finance into industry, and that the shutting down of industries will proceed with accelerated speed.

The New York Press, New York World, Philadelphia Ledger, Literary Digest and Current Literature have recently copied freely from and commented upon the Appeal. The Deseret News had a violent editorial of a column on the Appeal, and the Los Angeles News the same, the former advocating its suppression in the interest of peace and order.

For his labors in this respect he merits, and will receive, the consideration of Socialists when his hour of trial arrives—and the clock is now striking the hour. In so far as his actions in turning over the public treasury to the banks is concerned, it amounts to little if the present system is to be continued, while if it is not, the system is the greatest menace to private property that could exist when the time comes for the change.

In Delaware the Appeal's circulation is the smallest per capita in the union. The whipping post still flourishes there. In Oklahoma its circulation is the largest per capita and the socialist tendencies are so strong in that territory that the constitution it has adopted bars its admission to the union.

accords all its contemporaries equal credit, and earnestly hopes the working class will realize more and more the value of the press and support it by all possible means so as to develop all its mighty powers for its mighty mission.

Choosing the Jury. Under the laws of Idaho the sheriff has practically the power to choose the jury that tries a man for his life. It is true that he does not select the particular twelve men who compose the jury, but he does select the venire from which the twelve men must be drawn.

There is scarcely room for doubt that working people are avoided with purpose in making up the jury. If Haywood is to be tried by a "jury of workmen," he should be tried by a jury of workmen, but in any event the class to which he belongs should be fairly represented in its personnel, and if it be denied him the jury cannot be regarded otherwise than as a packed one, no matter what Judge Wood or Sheriff Hodgins may claim for it or for themselves.

From the above it would seem that Judge Wood expects Haywood to rely wholly upon Sheriff Hodgins' integrity. He does not deny that Sheriff Hodgins has the power to select the jury, or to exclude workmen, or that he has excluded them, but simply avers that he has confidence in his integrity. This being the judge's view, it would serve the same end and simplify matters by dispensing with the formality of a jury entirely and having the sheriff himself decide as to the guilt or innocence of the accused.

"Current Literature" for June opens with an illustrated article on "Both sides of the Moyer-Haywood case," covering eight pages. It is a fair and impartial exposition of the case and well worth reading. The reader is given the essential facts without coloring and allowed to draw his own inferences.

THE MARKED PARAGRAPH. Always have a supply of Appeals on hand. Mark interesting paragraphs and send them to the editor. The marked article if paragraphs are marked, the editor will send you a copy free of charge. If the article is marked, the editor will send you a copy free of charge.

THE APPEAL STUDY CLUB

American History for the Workers. Lesson 24.—Rise of Northern Capitalism.

URING the twenty years before the civil war an industrial revolution was taking place throughout the northern states. Although there were other significant mechanical transformations, the greatest mechanical advance of this period was the introduction of the railroad, and it is around this invention that the most important events turn.

Prior to 1840 railroads were built simply to connect some two definite points, and not as parts of any system. Some times they formed links in a canal system or other means of water transportation. Ordinarily they ran from one city to a neighboring one, and each important place was a "terminal."

The effect of the telegraph was by no means confined to the new effectiveness which it gave to railroading. It meant that for information space had been practically annihilated, and that a whole nation, or indeed a whole world, could now think together. It made possible bargaining and financial transactions at a distance and revolutionized whole systems of commercial and industrial procedure that had endured for centuries.

The telegraph, which had come fairly into use by 1847, revolutionized the methods of business. Heretofore the custom of the merchants of Pittsburg, Buffalo, Cleveland and Cincinnati, and all the larger interior towns, was to visit New York once a year and select their stock of goods for the coming year.

So it was that the foundation was laid for a new stage in American railroad history beginning in 1850. A. T. Hadley, in his work on "Railroad Transportation," describes this period as follows: "After the year 1850 railroad construction in New England diminished, while in other parts of the country it increased rapidly.

It will be noted that while the early lines were short links between two cities, those built in the years from 1850 to 1860 took on something of the nature of modern systems. The previous railroads had simply helped travel over the Alleghenies, or around them, or connected eastern trading centers. These later systems welded a civilization together in all directions.

THE DIFFERENCE. Dear Comrade Warren: You're all right, since now you wear the government strap—bear the unimpeachable impress of federal inspection. There's just this difference between the government meat inspector and the government mail inspector. In the packing houses (so we are told), the inspector approves meat that is rotten, and in the post office (as we know), he condemns men who are sound. But they can't see you!—You're Red, Walter Hurt, Cincinnati, O.

important revolution ever undergone in that branch of industry. Many important inventions were patented in other lines of industry at this time. Elias Howe, Jr., patented the first sewing machine, September 10, 1836, and by 1860 111,263 machines were in use, valued at \$4,247,820.

The first important petroleum well was drilled at Titusville, Pa., in August, 1859. "Before the close of the year 1860," says Bishop, in his "History of American Manufacture," "the number of wells and borings was estimated to be about 2,000, of which seventy-four of the larger ones were producing daily, by the aid of pumps, an aggregate of 1,165 barrels of crude petroleum, worth at twenty cents a gallon about \$190,000."

One of the places where this lack was most strikingly shown was in the condition of the postoffice. Mails were still carried only in the daytime. Not until 1860 do we find the report of the postmaster general describing an "experiment" which was being made with a night mail between New York and Boston. The methods of distributing mail which are the most characteristic features of our present postal system had not yet been worked out. All distributing was done in the postoffices. The railway mail car was as yet undreamed of. If the reader will try to work out a system by which mail is to be distributed with 18,000 postoffices, the number which existed in 1850, he will begin to comprehend the confusion and delay which would result. Each large city would receive each day letters intended for a large percentage of these offices. Manifestly it could not keep 18,000 mail bags separate and place in each one the letters designed for each office. In the early days all mail going in one direction was placed in a single pouch, and each intermediate office opened the pouch, sorted over the mail, took out what belonged to it, and sent the pouch on. Already this plan had been far outgrown and another had been evolved, only a trifle less clumsy.

Not only was the postal system inefficient, its charges were so high as to put 1845 the minimum rates for letters were as follows: Under thirty miles, six cents; under eighty miles, ten cents; eighty to 150, twelve and one-half cents; 150 to 400, eighteen and three-fourths cents; over 400 miles, twenty-five cents. Much of what makes up modern business was absolutely impossible under such a system. There were few lines in which a great national industrial life could develop. The city and surrounding neighborhood was still the unit for practically all lines of industry.

Yet within these local limits small capitalism had developed to considerable importance. Throughout the northern states the small capitalist, the petit bourgeoisie, had become the ruling class. In opposition to these there was also arising a wage-working proletariat. This class was being recruited by the first important wave of immigration.

The revolutionary movement that swept over Europe in 1848 sent thousands of revolutionists to America, especially after the "Eighteenth Brumaire" of Louis Napoleon, and the reaction under the Holy Alliance.

Even more important in contributing to the army of immigrants was the potato famine in Ireland in the same year. This started the tremendous army of Irish workmen and women that has been flowing almost steadily ever since. These immigrants and the native wage-workers began to show signs of class solidarity in the formation of the second important labor movement in America. This movement reached considerable importance in the decade under consideration. Its nucleus was largely the Iron Moulders' union, under the presidency of William Sylvius, who must always be looked upon as one of the great pioneers of the labor movement of this country. A National Labor union was formed, with Sylvius as its president, and several national conventions were held.

To sum up: The years from 1850 to 1860 saw the rise of the small capitalist class as the ruling force throughout the northern states. It saw the growth of class-consciousness in that class and the desire to control the powers of government. We shall next watch the points at which its interests came into conflict with the chattel slave owners and the growth of the antagonism of interests which led to the civil war.