Pittsburg State University
Pittsburg State University Digital Commons

Electronic Thesis Collection

9-2015

"Arouse, Ye Slaves!": The Bill Haywood Trial, the Clash of Organized Labor and Capital in the West, and the Influence of the Appeal to Reason

William Toombs
Pittsburg State University

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.pittstate.edu/etd

Part of the United States History Commons

Recommended Citation
Toombs, William, ""Arouse, Ye Slaves!": The Bill Haywood Trial, the Clash of Organized Labor and Capital in the West, and the Influence of the Appeal to Reason" (2015). *Electronic Thesis Collection.* Paper 57.

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Pittsburg State University Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Thesis Collection by an authorized administrator of Pittsburg State University Digital Commons. For more information, please contact dlwhite@pittstate.edu.

“AROUSE, YE SLAVES!”: THE BILL HAYWOOOD TRIAL, THE CLASH OF ORGANIZED LABOR AND CAPITAL IN THE WEST, AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE *APPEAL TO REASON*

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

WILLIAM TOOMBS

PITTSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY

PITTSBURG, KANSAS

September 2015

“AROUSE, YE SLAVES!”: THE BILL HAYWOOOD TRIAL, THE CLASH OF ORGANIZED LABOR AND CAPITAL IN THE WEST, AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE *APPEAL TO REASON*

WILLIAM TOOMBS

APPROVED:

Thesis Advisor: _____
Dr. Kirstin L. Lawson, Dept. of History, Philosophy & Soc. Sci.

Committee Member: _____
Dr. John L.S. Daley, Dept. of History, Philosophy & Soc. Sci.

Committee Member: _____
Mr. Randy E. Roberts, Dean of Library Services

“AROUSE, YE SLAVES!”: THE BILL HAYWOOOD TRIAL, THE CLASH OF ORGANIZED LABOR AND CAPITAL IN THE WEST, AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE *APPEAL TO REASON*

An Abstract of the Thesis by
William Toombs

The trial for the murder of a controversial ex-governor of Idaho represented a watershed moment in American labor history, especially in the West. The accused, three men who had been involved with the leadership of a predominantly western labor union, had been questionably extradited from Colorado to Idaho, causing a firestorm within the pro-labor forces. This public uproar and denunciation eventually caught the attention of sitting President Theodore Roosevelt, who became an unexpected and unwanted mouthpiece for concentrated capital. Ultimately, as this case came to occupy almost every major newspaper in the country, it illustrated the fierce and deadly clashes between powerful special interests and organized labor in the twentieth century American West.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	ASSASSINATION OF EX-GOV. FRANK STEUNENBERG	1
II.	KEY EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE TRIAL	16
III.	THE CONTROVERSIAL ARRESTS OF THE WFM “INNER CIRCLE”	33
IV.	THE HAYWOOD TRIAL	56
V.	CONCLUSION	82
BIBLIOGRAPHY		86

ABBREVIATIONS

IWW – Industrial Workers of the World

MOA – Mine Owners' Association

WFM – Western Federation of Miners

CHARACTERS

Adams, Steve: Accused criminal and accomplice of Harry Orchard

Borah, William: US Senator-elect; special counsel for the state of Idaho

Boyce, Ed: WFM President

Brown, Harvey: Baker County Sheriff at the time of Steunenberg's assassination

Darrow, Clarence: Counsel for the defense; famed attorney

Debs, Eugene: Contributor at the *Appeal to Reason*; famed labor leader

Gooding, Frank: Governor of Idaho (1905-1909)

Hawley, James: Lead counsel for the state of Idaho

Haywood, Bill: WFM secretary-treasurer (1902-1908)

McParland, James: Pinkerton detective

Moyer, Charles: WFM president (1902-1926)

Orchard, Harry: Confessed murderer and criminal; agent of MOA and WFM

Pettibone, George: Former WFM member; Denver businessman

Roosevelt, Theodore: President of the United States

Richardson, E.F.: Lead counsel for the defense legal team

Shoaf, George: *Appeal to Reason* correspondent on location in Boise during the trial

Simpkins, Jack: Accused WFM member who was never found

Steunenberg, Frank: Assassinated ex-governor of Idaho

Taft, William H.: Governor General of the Philippines during the Coeur d'Alene strikes and Secretary of War during Haywood's trial

Warren, Fred: Managing editor at the *Appeal to Reason*

Wayland, J.A.: Founder and editor of the *Appeal to Reason*

CHAPTER I

THE ASSASSINATION OF EX-GOV. FRANK STEUNENBERG

On the evening of December 30, 1905, Frank Steunenberg, the former Populist-leaning Democratic governor of Idaho, approached the side gate outside of his Canyon County home and inadvertently set off a crudely assembled homemade bomb, causing a mortal wound. The culprit, Canadian born Harry Orchard, almost immediately admitted to committing the crime, but later, acting as the state's key witness, shifted the blame from himself to the leadership of a regional mining union. Claiming to be acting on the orders of a few rogue union leaders, Orchard's eventual revelations into the insidious acts of these union men resulted in the arrest of four individuals, the prosecution of three, and a trial that gained global notoriety. Although the men faced accusations for over "thirty, sixty, or seventy other atrocious murders," the murder of Frank Steunenberg almost exclusively occupied and remained the focus of the trial in Boise.[1] This horrific event, which occurred in the small town of Caldwell, Idaho, kicked off one of the most important judicial cases of the early twentieth century and was particularly noteworthy in the ongoing struggle between concentrated capital and organized labor in the region.

[1] Jack London, "Something Rotten in Idaho, November 4, 1906" in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 118.

Louis Adamic, a notable authority on contemporary labor issues, states that, "unquestionably the most significant incident in the war between the have-nots and the haves in the first decade of the twentieth century was the Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone case at Boise City, Idaho, in 1906-1907."[2]

In part, what makes this case significant is the notoriety, popularity, and public positions that the main characters of this saga held or came to hold after the trial. As U.S. Congressmen, governors, presidential candidates, and powerful labor leaders, these individuals carried significant public weight. No doubt, this weight helped contribute to the importance of this case and heavily influenced how the media covered the trial. In comparison to the majority of the contemporary media, the *Appeal to Reason* differed drastically in composition, style, targeted audience, and sympathetic leanings. While most newspapers and periodicals had arguably a very strong pro-big business and anti-union viewpoint, the *Appeal* aggressively supported labor unions and attempted to educate the working class to organize more effectively. This dissimilarity greatly contributed to how the "Little Old Appeal," as its closest friends referred to it, successfully covered and, in some particulars, influenced the development of the case.[3] In addition, these differences between the *Appeal* and the bulk of the nation's newspapers reflected a larger national public battle; one that grew so intense it allowed the assassination of the former and relatively unknown Rocky Mountain state governor to

[2] Louis Adamic, *Dynamite: The Story of Class Violence in America*, Rev. ed. (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1963), 143.

[3] J.A. Wayland, *Leaves of Life: A Story of Twenty Years of Socialist Agitation* (Girard, KS: Appeal to Reason, 1912), 3.

initiate the greatest national public battle to date between the forces of organized labor and big business.

The Conspirators

Born Albert E. Horsley on March 18, 1866 in Ontario, Canada, Steunenberg's assassin Harry Orchard had such a common childhood in Northumberland County that his neighbors and friends would likely not have assumed he would grow up to lead such a notorious life. Orchard had a limited education and spent most of his young adult life working various labor-intensive jobs, gambling, and frequenting numerous establishments of ill repute. Eventually, he ended up in the mining districts of the western United States where he did all he could to amass substantial wealth, preferably with as little hard work and in as short a time as possible. At the same time, he labored to garner a respectable amount of local popularity and influence.[4] Naturally, Orchard associated with and attempted to join any organization that supported and cultivated his narcissistic personality. After working for some time in the northern Idaho mines, Orchard attached himself to the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) and, by his own admission, also worked as an undercover agent of the Mine Owners' Association (MOA).[5] Furthermore, on behalf of the interests of organized capital, Orchard

[4] Clarence Darrow, "Summation for the Jury, *State v. Haywood*, pp. 5255-5494," in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 181-83.

[5] Harry Orchard, "Autobiography," in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 146-51; Peter Carlson, *Roughneck: The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood* (London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1983), 119.

crisscrossed the states of Colorado and Idaho presenting himself as a union man but secretly acting as a spy and subversive agent for the purpose of framing the local unions and weakening their support among the public. It was during his time in the Coeur d'Alene mining districts of northern Idaho that Orchard first encountered Frank Steunenberg. Exposed firsthand to Steunenberg's authoritarian governing tactics and probably having witnessed neighbors being marched off to crudely assembled "bullpens" and starved by the repercussions of a martial law decree, Orchard's reasons for hating Steunenberg steadily grew until reaching their apex in late December 1905.[6]

Rather than a desire for exacting revenge on behalf of the pains and sufferings of others, however, the real motive behind Orchard's violent actions might be more closely tied to selfishness. Many people who were familiar with the circumstances surrounding the case, especially those on Haywood's defense team, argued that Orchard's financial failure in 1897 was the real source of his motives.[7] Orchard had owned a 1/16 share of a mine, dubbed Hercules, in Coeur d'Alene, but personal financial instability forced him to sell that interest to his partners. Soon thereafter, the mine "had struck the ledge" and virtually overnight became one of the largest, most productive mines in the West.[8] If

[6] William Haywood, *Bill Haywood's Book: The Autobiography of William D. Haywood* (New York: International Publishers Co., Inc., 1929), 68.

[7] David Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters: The Story of the Haywood Trial* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 1964), 122.

[8] Haywood, *Autobiography*, 94.

Orchard had held on to his shares long enough to see the mine become profitable, he would have been worth at least half a million dollars.[9]

Ed Boyce, the WFM president at the time, directly benefited from the mine's success, and subsequently left the working class ranks along with his family to become millionaires in a posh Portland, Oregon community. Orchard, in contrast, wandered throughout the mining districts looking for work. This turn of fortune very well may have caused Orchard to resent the WFM and its leadership. It potentially led him to begin to devise a plan to exact revenge on not only those that profited from his failure but also on the governor whom he blamed for his current financial predicament. Nevertheless, it was during one of Orchard's wandering tours of northern Idaho mining camps that he met the key defendant of this case, William Dudley Haywood, a notable miner, socialist, and labor organizer known affectionately as "Big Bill."

Big Bill Haywood was nine when he first went to work in the mines in Utah, landing the job largely because his stepfather was the superintendent. Completely blind in one eye due to a self-inflicted wound as a youth, Haywood grew up constantly having to prove himself and fighting for what little he had.[10] Although Haywood, like Orchard, had little formal schooling, he was a studious reader and very eager to learn, making his downtime in the book-filled mining camps particularly enlightening. As a young adult, Haywood was not only a miner but also dabbled in ranching and homesteading near the border of Oregon and Nevada. It was during his time as a cowboy that he met and

---

[9] Clarence Darrow, "Opening Statement to the Jury, *State v. Haywood*," in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 172.

[10] Haywood, *Autobiography*, 12.

married "Nevada Jane" Minor in Pocatello, Idaho. Partially due to his wife's failing health and the lack of homesteading prospects, Haywood returned to the mines and took a more active role in local union politics. His career as a full time labor organizer, however, did not start until he suffered another physical accident; he crushed his hand in a mishap with a large mine car. With the financial support of local miners, Haywood spent much of his recovery attending various local miners' union meetings and attempting to organize as many regional miners as possible into a local union chapter.[11] Within a relatively short time, Haywood had distinguished himself as a valid organizer and had served as a delegate to several WFM conventions. Eventually, Haywood earned the support of enough delegates to win a position on the WFM executive board, and he served as the secretary-treasurer until being relieved of his duties shortly after his trial in Boise. Likewise, George Pettibone and Charles Moyer, also later linked to the murder committed in Caldwell, served in key leadership positions within the WFM and garnered a similar reputation to Haywood among the labor rank and file.

Charles Moyer, the president of the federation from 1902-1926, had a long history of criminal activities, imprisonment, and involvement in conspiracies against organized capital and the state.[12] Although fiercely radical and reactionary as a young labor organizer, Moyer had steadily tempered as he got older, and he continued to advance within the union, eventually holding many key leadership positions. Moyer's steadfast and, at times, cold temperament remained intact during his incarceration in Idaho from

[11] Ibid., 61-70.

[12] For example, Moyer was an instrumental union leader during the Colorado Labor Wars and was arrested multiple times during this ordeal for illegal activities.

1906-1907; this would become important in the growing tension between the fiery tempered Haywood and the more mild Moyer while they shared a jail cell.[13]

Unlike Haywood and Moyer, George Pettibone was not an official member of the WFM's executive board at the time of his arrest. Largely through his union and WFM connections, however, Pettibone had transformed himself into a prominent Denver businessman and he served in an advisory role to the executive board. Serving in this capacity, Pettibone encountered dozens of individuals loosely related to the mining districts with a WFM presence, most notably Harry Orchard in late 1904.

The Assassination

According to Harry Orchard, the plot to assassinate ex-Governor Steunenberg originated in August 1904 at Pettibone's Denver home. Here, Big Bill Haywood directly requested that Orchard travel to Wardner, Idaho and meet up with a local union contact who would assist in tracking down and killing the former governor.[14] The purpose behind the union leaders' desire to assassinate Steunenberg, if one was to believe Orchard's testimony, was in retaliation for the Governor's extreme authoritarian actions taken during the Coeur d'Alene strike of 1899.[15]

After a brief visit to northern Idaho in late November 1905, Orchard checked-in to the Saratoga Hotel, in downtown Caldwell, Idaho, using the alias Tom Hogan. The

---

[13] Joseph Conlin, *Big Bill Haywood and the Radical Union Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 79.

[14] Harry Orchard, *Haywood Case*, 147.

[15] Thomas Brooks, *Toil and Trouble: A History of American Labor* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1964), 116-17.

Saratoga was a known hangout for Steunenberg, who was president of the Caldwell Idaho Bank at the time, and noticeably becoming an important sheep rancher in the state. Playing the role of a prospective sheep buyer, Orchard stayed in town for roughly five weeks, noticeably not making any progress in securing some coveted sheep but instead making significant strides in gathering intelligence on Steunenberg. Spending most of his time in the backroom of the hotel's parlor gambling and imbibing with local businessmen and patrons, Orchard covertly observed Steunenberg's after-work routine.[16] The Saratoga proved to be the ideal location for Orchard to plot the governor's demise, as it was not only Steunenberg's chief hangout but also the location of a bustling social scene where a travelling businessman could be privy to all sorts of local gossip and information. For the former Populist politician, this type of social environment proved to be deadly.

Usually stopping off at the Saratoga after a relatively uneventful day at the city's largest bank, Steunenberg would sit in the lobby in a favorite rocking chair where he would have a non-alcoholic beverage while either reading the newspaper or talking with local prominent business leaders and citizens about daily news or state politics.[17] Frank Steunenberg was an easily recognizable figure in Caldwell, and his notable habit, picked up by the media during his Populist-led gubernatorial campaign in 1896, of wearing a small gold button instead of a tie made it almost unlikely that Orchard would confuse the governor with someone else. In addition, if Steunenberg's wardrobe, seat, or distinctive

---

[16] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 60.

[17] Richard Boyer and Herbert Morais, *Labor's Untold Story: The Adventure Story of the Battles, Betrayals and Victories of American Working Men and Women* (Pittsburgh: United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, 1955), 158-59.

profile did not give him away, his unmatched popularity and the residents' habit of still calling him "Governor Steunenberg" left no doubt that he was Idaho's once-controversial chief executive. Never confused about Steunenberg's identity or distracted from the planned assassination, Orchard likely intended to strike once the best opportunity presented itself. Steunenberg never discussed business with the prospective sheep buyer and only had one brief meeting with him. The former governor was a virtual sitting duck once Orchard marked him for assassination.[18]

Like most winter afternoons in Caldwell that month, that of December 30 seemed to be relatively uneventful, and there was little to suggest that this small Idaho city would soon be at the center of a nationally relevant criminal investigation. The 30th was a Saturday and, as the Steunenberg's were devout Seventh Day Adventists, the former governor had put off completing a business transaction until after sunset, when his Sabbath ended.[19] Ironically, Steunenberg's business that day was a renewal of his life insurance policy, worth $4,500, that was set to expire at the beginning of the year. Thus, he strolled into the lobby just after dark, sat in his favorite chair, and began to read the newspaper while waiting for his appointment to arrive. After Steunenberg completed his business, he stayed for a few minutes to chat with his brother, friends, and fellow patrons.

Meanwhile, Orchard had been gambling most of that day and had retired to his room shortly before Steunenberg had arrived at the Saratoga. Orchard had so cluttered his room, a typical single unit, with crudely assembled and unused bomb making materials that if any person were to inspect his enclave they probably would have

---

[18] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 60.

[19] Ibid., 59.

thwarted the assassin's plans. In fact, a few weeks before, Orchard had attempted to assassinate Steunenberg on two different occasions, yet, for one reason or another, he had not followed through.[20] Now his cluttered room and excess bomb making materials most likely began to highlight those failures and engendered some level of desperation. Just before supper, Orchard began moving towards the common dining room, where local patrons and temporary residents alike ate in a vibrantly social environment. As he descended from the second floor, he noticed the ex-governor sitting quite contentedly in his rocking chair, seemingly without a serious care or problem in the world and definitely in a better financial position than Orchard had ever experienced.[21] For Orchard, this perceived offense, coupled with the grievances related to Steunenberg's tenure as governor and the failed assassination attempts, demanded resolution; the time to act came in the closing hours of 1905.

Without wasting much thought, Orchard headed back to his room to fetch his bomb making material. After hastily grabbing his dynamite, blasting cap, fishing wire, and other tools, he raced back downstairs, careful to cover these materials with an overcoat and newspaper.[22] Like any somewhat successful criminal, Orchard must have attempted to exude the persona of a calm and unsuspicious character as he passed fellow patrons in the hallway and foyer. One last look at Steunenberg, who was still sitting in his beloved rocking chair, confirmed for Orchard that the time to execute his mission was

---

[20] Ibid., 60-61.

[21] Luke Grant, "The Idaho Murder Trial," in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 12.

[22] Orchard, 150.

upon him.[23] He hurried as fast he could to the Steunenberg's residence, using both the heavy snowfall and darkness to approach the side gate without alerting anyone.[24] Tying the fishing string to the gate door and blasting cap, which was attached to a few sticks of bundled dynamite, Orchard made sure to place the bomb in such a "devilish" way that whoever first opened the gate would not walk away unscathed.[25] After he finished his work, Orchard slipped back onto the main block undetected. A feeling of accomplishment must have washed over him as he chose not to run but to stroll leisurely back to the Saratoga in the heavily falling snow.

Probably figuring that Steunenberg was still socializing in the Saratoga lobby, it must have been a great shock when the pudgy assassin spotted his intended target walking towards him down the same sidewalk. Orchard continued on the same path, possibly hoping for a generic acknowledgement from the former governor or maybe wanting one last look at the man he undeservingly blamed for his current financial situation. Nevertheless, no acknowledgement came, as Steunenberg probably barely noticed the other pedestrian.[26] The heavy snow covered the bomb, fishing line, and the entire top half of the gate quite well, giving the ex-Governor of Idaho virtually no chance to spot the booby trap before detonating it. Perhaps letting emotions override his previous display of levelheadedness, Orchard watched Steunenberg disappear into the snowy darkness, and then he took off in a sprint towards the Saratoga. Just after 6:30 pm,

---

[23] Ibid., 150-51.

[24] Ibid., 151.

[25] Conlin, *Big Bill Haywood*, 53.

[26] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 59.

Frank Steunenberg arrived at his home for the last time. As he approached the gate and tripped the fishing line, he fell violently into the side lawn. Although Steunenberg had a huge hole blown into his side, a noticeably mortal wound, he held on until neighbors, family, and friends, among them future United States Senator William E. Borah, were able to carry him into his house. Sadly, still confused about what had just happened, one of Steunenberg's final coherent questions before expiring was, "who shot me?"[27]

The Immediate Aftermath

Immediately after the explosion, the scene outside the Steunenberg's residence was chaotic and unsettling. He had suffered a direct hit, and because of the fresh snow on the ground, the blood appeared that much gorier. A young Borah recounted this horrific scene later, referring to the bloodstained white ground both at Steunenberg's funeral, where he gave an emotional eulogy, and during his closing arguments in the Haywood trial.[28] This event not only shook the future United States Senator to his core but also put the entire state of Idaho into an initial state of confused panic.

Orchard had not quite made it back to the Saratoga when he heard the explosion. As curious residents made their way past him towards the suspected scene, he continued to head for the hotel in a less suspicious speed. Probably to assist in calming his nerves, Orchard stopped off at the bar and ordered a shot of whiskey before going to his room. The bartender, short on staff and comfortable with Orchard, asked for his help in doing

---

[27] Boyer and Morais, 159.

[28] William E. Borah, "The Awful Story" in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 163.

some minor tasks, which Orchard happily agreed to do. As news of the ex-governor's death flooded into the Saratoga, he unsuspiciously finished helping the bartender and then returned to his room. Knowing that his absence at the dining hall would arouse suspicion and understanding that he was essentially a foreigner without any concrete plan as to his next move, Orchard started to straighten up his room and change for supper. Moving with great haste, Orchard inadvertently set off a blasting cap in his only jacket. However, the assassination of Steunenberg had caused such a commotion in the hotel that no one had heard this small blast, and Orchard made his way down to the dining room wearing his jacket with a freshly burnt coat pocket.[29] He was able to insert himself into the social frenzy without exciting any substantial suspicion. Although Orchard was an outsider, the patrons and residents who had become familiar with him in the past five weeks did not peg him for the murderer, at least not until Orchard himself elicited this type of unwanted suspicion.

Here, historians have differed in their explanation as to why and how Orchard came to be the primary suspect in Steunenberg's murder. One argument, generally used by those suspected of pro-union biases, pits Orchard as a determined agent of organized capital who had intended to be caught as part of a larger plan. Those that argue this particular case almost always point to the fact that Orchard made no real attempt to escape, even during the initial chaos that made him virtually invisible to authorities.[30] His goal of being arrested, of course, may have been primarily fueled by the desire to seek personal revenge and by a narcissistic desire to gain national notoriety. Another

[29] Orchard, 151.

[30] Boyer and Morais, 158-60; Adamic, 143-44.

explanation, usually attributed to authors with a pro-capital bias, attributes Orchard's arrest to a vigilant public and a fast-acting, determined police force.[31] For example, local law enforcement quickly blocked much of the city off from any potential escape. This, coupled with the cooperation of bands of private citizens conducting their own investigations, ensured that the perpetrator had no viable way of escaping once the public became organized. In addition, upon hearing of Steunenberg's death, current governor Frank Gooding not only immediately left Boise for Caldwell on a special train but also secured a $10,000 reward for the capture of the assassin.[32] Irrespective of Orchard's true motive, on New Year's Day, 1906, local authorities arrested him at his room in the Saratoga and charged him with murder. At his arraignment, Orchard hinted that he had the support of a powerful and influential entity; the hint naturally aroused more speculation and interest.[33] This statement, coupled with Orchard's arrest, the reward money, and his personal, albeit weak, connection to the WFM, kicked off the most crucial investigation and subsequent labor-related trial in the early twentieth century.

This study describes the most significant developments and aspects of the Bill Haywood trial in the context of the ongoing struggle between organized labor and capital in the West during the Progressive Era. The coverage and tactics of one media source alone, the *Appeal to Reason*, carried more influence on the trial than any other media entity involved. The *Appeal* played a significant and crucial role in influencing how

---

[31] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 60-61.

[32] Adamic, 143; Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 59-60; Boyer and Morais, 160.

[33] Carlson, 87.

other media sources covered the trial, how the public interpreted it, and how the Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone case ended. In addition, the *Appeal* simultaneously contributed to the rise and political effectiveness of organized labor during this stage of its ongoing struggle with big business in the western United States. The *Appeal* invested crucial capital in the struggle and also contributed by providing a widespread forum for union issues, employing nationally influential spokespeople to espouse its views, supporting various labor factions and issues, and uniting different labor interests under a single, universal cause for the duration of the trial. While the case immediately caused local and specialized interest, the event carries deep significance and relevance to an assessment of the overall growth and expansion of organized labor as a whole during the Progressive Era.

As the primary purpose of this research is to illustrate the overall influence of the *Appeal* in the Haywood-Pettibone-Moyer affair, an evaluation of the significance of this ordeal in relation to the class struggle in the West is essential. Moreover, this event, the first trial of an accused "inner circle" member, marks a significant watershed moment in American labor history. Because of the outcome of the Bill Haywood trial, organized labor assumed a more respected and powerful social position than it had held during the labor struggles of the late nineteenth century.

CHAPTER II

KEY EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE TRIAL

Scheduled to be the first of three projected trials, the Haywood case was also the third important trial since the American Civil War to have nationally relevant political overtones, and the first of the twentieth century to place radical labor leaders in the national news spotlight.[1] As this case represented such a significant marker in the struggle between organized labor and capital in the West, the events that turned these special interests against one another and influenced public opinion are worth examination. Without reflecting on the events that created an environment of hostilities and tension, any analysis of the first trial, or the entire ordeal for that matter, would be incomplete. The Haywood trial did not originate with the assassination of ex-Governor Steunenberg in late 1905 but instead had its roots in the northern Idaho mining districts in the 1890s and in the Colorado labor wars in 1903-1904. Likewise, the *Appeal to Reason*'s interest in the whole affair did not start with the assassination of Steunenberg or even with the arrest of the WFM inner circle. Instead, the socialist-labor press's interest in the case had a connection to the ongoing class struggle, especially in the West, and the influential war between organized labor and capital during the Progressive era. During

[1] Elliot Shore, *Talkin' Socialism: J.A. Wayland and the Role of the Press in American Radicalism, 1890-1912* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 176.

an early stage of this battle in the mining districts of northern Idaho, Governor Frank Steunenberg engaged in controversial actions that would arguably lead to his assassination.

Steunenberg's Election

When Frank Steunenberg successfully ran for governor of Idaho in 1896, he was a relatively poor man. However, with a solid background as a publisher of a weekly local newspaper on the Snake River and having served a term in the state's lower chamber before he was thirty, Steunenberg overcame his initial financial handicap to become very influential in state politics. Without the financial backing or personal wealth most candidates for higher office garner before running, Steunenberg relied heavily on securing the votes and public support of those in a similarly beleaguered financial condition. Most of Steunenberg's initial support came from outside his own official party, mainly from the state's Populists. The Democratic Party only lent its support after Steunenberg had become popular enough among the state's miners to create a competitive fusion candidacy. Demographically, this gave Steunenberg an edge over his opponent in the volatile mining districts of northern Idaho and, with a substantial population of well-organized miners supporting his candidacy, a solid political advantage in the north.[2] In addition, with the majority of small-scale agriculturalists and Democrats, mainly the unpopular Mormon sheep ranchers, supporting his fusion candidacy, Steunenberg eventually received the financial backing that was necessary to embark on a

[2] Conlin, *Big Bill Haywood*, 30-31.

grueling campaign.[3] Thus, despite the Republican Party stranglehold on the new state's political scene, Steunenberg won two consecutive two-year terms for governor largely from the support of the state's miners and their fellow laborers.

The Populist-Democrat, or Popocrat as fusion candidates were often called, could count on the support from the miners and laborers, especially those with union ties, in his two gubernatorial races because the previous Republican-dominated legislature and administration had failed to address working class concerns through effective legislation. Steunenberg's background as a longtime member of the International Typographical Union, even continuing this affiliation long after becoming a successful sheep rancher, buoyed his support among organized labor in the state, and he easily became the fourth governor of Idaho in 1896.[4] Despite his own family's as well as the majority of the state's support for the Republican Party, Steunenberg's ability to not restrict his political strategy to any one ideological position allowed him to build a solid coalition among laborers and big business alike.[5] Most likely, this strategy sat well with the miners of northern Idaho who by in large represented the epitome of rugged individualism that encompassed a significant portion of western communities and shaped the philosophical development of young men in the new frontier.

After Gov. Steunenberg's election, this loosely connected coalition began to demand starkly disparate policies and actions for the state's most daunting legislative tasks. Initially, Steunenberg continued to espouse the views advocated by organized

---

[3] *Appeal to Reason*, March 17, 1906.

[4] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 35.

[5] Boyer and Morais, 158.

labor, yet acting as a representative of the entire state and not just a certain demographic, he sought the most practicable compromise in any contested situation.[6] This willingness to cooperate and concede created a rift between Steunenberg and his most loyal supporters, the Populists, who had used national momentum to place similar populist-minded candidates in influential elected positions across the country.[7]

The brand of Populism that spread throughout the Great Plains, much of the South, and even the Mountain West in the late nineteenth century focused mainly on the growing divide between the rich and poor. Widespread corruption and monopolization of economic and political power led many people in these regions to demand collective assistance and relief. In addition, the increasing divide between the classes, exorbitant freight rates, falling commodity prices, expensive credit, and mass public and private debt caused Mountain West voters to look outside of their traditional party alliances to find a solution for their perilous condition. Grass-roots organizations hatched a wide range of ideas from antimonopoly rhetoric to fiat money. Some of these organizations eventually formed political bonds that were strongest at the state and local levels, but less successful on the national platform. As this movement continued to build strong political support throughout the Progressive era, it generally carried heavy influence in shaping local, state, and national elections and policy. Frank Steunenberg's governorship was no exception to the rule, as he generally owed his position in statewide higher office to this very powerful and influential movement. Nonetheless, even if Steunenberg had the

---

[6] Ibid.

[7] A good introductory background on the swell of populist-led state governments – legislatures and executives – is in Robert McMath's *American Populism: A Social History 1877-1898* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993).

support and loyalty of the most influential interests in the state, he still would have inherited the strained and uneasy peace of the Coeur d'Alene mining districts.[8]

Strikes in the Coeur d'Alenes

Similar to the many western mining camps that had already experienced the initial financial boom common to the mid-nineteenth century, the Coeur d'Alenes shifted from an individualistic economy in the 1880s to one increasingly dependent on the investment of big capital by the turn of the century. Subsequently, most of the individuals and firms that could afford such a substantial investment were located in urban centers, often in the northeast and in Europe, and this undoubtedly led to a growing suspicion among the westerners that a foreign or unaffiliated takeover of their resources was taking place. Because of this heavy influx in capital investments, the northern Idaho mines began to employ new technological advances that almost immediately transformed the mines' efficiency and, consequently, erased the need for large numbers of skilled workers. This shift transformed the mining communities of northern Idaho; what had once virtually been a symbol of a classless society composed of independent prospectors became a society divided among the same distinct socioeconomic classes found in the urban Northeast.

---

[8] For more on Populism, see: Peter Argersinger, *Populism and Politics: William Alfred Peffer and the People's Party* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974); Gene Clanton, *Kansas Populism: Ideas and Men* (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1969); Lawrence Goodwyn, *The Populist Moment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Michael Kazin, *A Godly Hero: The Lie of William Jennings Bryan* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006); Robert McMath, *American Populism*; Scott McNall, *The Road to Rebellion: Class Formation and Kansas Populism, 1865-1900* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988); Jeffrey Ostler, *Prairie Populism: The Fate of Agrarian Radicalism in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, 1880-1892* (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1993).

About a year after Andrew Prichard and Bill Keeler discover gold in the Coeur d'Alenes, it became increasingly more difficult for a prospector to get lucky sifting through a pan of gravel scooped from the streams.[9] As prospectors moved from creek to creek near the Coeur d'Alene River seeking better claims, they came across large deposits of galena, or sulfide of lead, often mixed with zinc and silver, and many of the larger operations quickly recognized the value of the previously unnoticed minerals. These large ore deposits, often entwined in recalcitrant rock, needed large amounts of capital to invest in more modern technology, and many of the smaller operators went out of business. Not only did shafts and tunnels need to be built, but the mines also required tracks, hoists, explosives, concentrators, and a large base of paid laborers.[10] According to notable environmental scholar Victor Ferkiss, "these new developments in technology were accompanied by, and to some extent occasioned by, radical changes in the American social system," as the Coeur d'Alene region's mining history represents.[11]

Along with an emerging class warfare, the Coeur d'Alenes also experienced the first mass unionization of its mining districts in response to a universal wage cut, from $3.50 to $3.00 a day, imposed by the mine owners in 1887.[12] This initial unionization process focused on the small locals and essentially formed fraternal organizations, but in 1891, a federation of several smaller unions established the Coeur d'Alene Executive

---

[9] J. Anthony Lukas, *Big Trouble: A Murder in a Small Western Town Sets Off a Struggle for the Soul of America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 99.

[10] Ibid., 100.

[11] Victor Ferkiss, *Nature, Technology, and Society: Cultural Roots of the Current Environmental Crisis* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 83.

[12] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 12.

Miners Union.[13] In that same year, the formation of the Mine Owners' Association (MOA) provided another obstacle in the labor problems of the state's northern mining districts and became another barrier to practicable compromises the following year.

Shortly after the creation of the MOA, its leadership sought the counsel of Pinkerton detective and famed union antagonist, James McParland. The MOA leadership was looking for an effective strategy to limit the influence and effectiveness of the regional miners' unions, and McParland suggested employing a fellow agent as an undercover spy to infiltrate the organization's leadership and gather vital intelligence.[14] McParland, in fact, had played a similar role with great success during his investigations of the Molly Maguires in the coalfields of Pennsylvania during the 1870s. He believed an ex-cowboy named Charles A. Siringo was a solid choice for the Coeur d'Alene operation. Siringo later validated McParland's endorsement, as he served successfully as the state's key witness during the subsequent trials of the accused labor conspirators. Nevertheless, as the identity of Siringo remained secret until well after hostilities had boiled over to a full on conflict in the Coeur d'Alenes, his employment had little influence on instigating the larger struggle.

The crises that occupied the northern Idaho mining district in 1892 originated on January 1, when the mine owners ceased operations. They claimed this measure was necessary because of the higher freight rates instituted by the railroads, and they closed their mines indefinitely. Despite the massive layoffs, the mining communities seemed relatively calm and peaceful, and after a long winter without wages, the mines reopened

---

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 13-16; Haywood, *Autobiography*, 62-63.

April 1. Upon reopening, however, the mine owners instituted a new pay scale, essentially a pay reduction, and the miners responded by striking. Quick to act, the MOA hired strikebreakers and attempted to bring them into the district, but with many small communities composed mainly of union sympathizers, this proved to be a difficult task. To halt the strikebreakers from doing any actual work, the miners did anything from blocking the "scabs" as they tried to get off trains or enter towns. When that failed, they sabotaged transportation and sent non-union men to distant locations such as Pendleton, Oregon, over 200 miles away.[15] In addition, union sympathizers also occupied influential local elected positions; George Pettibone, for example, was a justice of the peace in Gem. These elected officials presented little, if any, resistance to illegal activity committed by the miners. As the spring gave way to the summer, hostilities in Coeur d'Alene reached their apex.

On July 11, a gun battle began outside of a mill in Gem, Idaho, where armed miners overran strikebreakers and MOA agents to take control of both the mine and community. This action kicked off a series of tumultuous events in the Coeur d'Alenes, prompting the MOA to appeal to the governor of Idaho for assistance. Governor Norman Bushnell "N.B." Willey responded to the pressure of the MOA on July 12 by disregarding the weak and inefficient state militia and instead appealing directly to U.S. President Benjamin Harrison for federal troops from nearby Fort Sherman to put down the insurrection. Willey also declared martial law in the region. The insurrection died out within a day, but the governor continued a military occupation of the area until mid-November of that year. Meanwhile, federal troops rounded up, arrested, and jailed all

[15] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 15.

remaining union men in makeshift camps dubbed the "bullpens," detaining these men without formally charging them or providing opportunities for trials. In part to deal with the sheer volume of detainees, these large facilities were crudely assembled two-story lumber structures in which conditions were primitive at best; the inhabitants received limited medical treatment, privacy, food and water, and sanitary resources.[16] Dependent families struggled for survival during those four months of martial law, as the detainees were generally the sole providers for their families.[17] Although hundreds of miners served time in the bullpens, only the few individuals accused and convicted of leadership roles actually served any prison time for their role in the clash.

Among those few union-affiliated miners who actually went to court, Ed Boyce and George Pettibone were the most relevant to the Haywood trial. The legal teams that represented each side in this affair also would play significant roles during the inner circle's trials in 1907. For example, James Hawley, the prosecuting attorney in the Haywood trial, represented the miners, while Fremont Wood, future presiding judge in Haywood case, served the interest of the state. Despite the fact that MOA's undercover agent, Siringo, served as a key witness for the prosecution, Pettibone and Boyce received minimal terms and each served less than twenty-four months. Pettibone went to a federal penitentiary in Detroit, while Boyce and other union offenders served their sentences in Boise. It was during Boyce's time in the Ada County Jail that his chief legal counsel, Hawley, suggested that Boyce and others attempt to organize a large union of miners for

---

[16] Haywood, *Autobiography*, 62.

[17] Dale Fetherling, *Mother Jones the Miners' Angel: A Portrait* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974), 74.

the entire west. Thus, ironically, the idea and fundamental purpose of a greater organization, the WFM, was cultivated in the jail cells of the county courthouse where less than twenty years later, the fate of three prominent members and possibly the entire organization waited in a cloud of uncertainty. In addition, this affair brought about a significant shift in the leadership of the state, as a coalition of Populists and Democrats -- among them Boyce, who was elected to the senate after serving his sentence in Boise -- seized control of the state legislature. Among their first acts was to further defund the already ill-armed and ill-trained state militia, making it virtually impossible for it to respond adequately to a similar insurrection.

There are mixed accounts as to how peaceful things were after the military occupation ended, but whatever peace there was did not last long. A U.S. House of Representatives' investigation and subsequent report on the status of the Coeur d'Alene troubles suggests that a state of active hostility existed in the district from 1892-1899, especially against the region's largest company.[18] The temporary truce disintegrated, largely because of a series of wage reductions and the refusal of mine owners at the Bunker Hill and Sullivan to negotiate with the miners. The result was a strike declared by the Wardner union on April 23, 1899. Hostilities boiled over six days later when the world's largest concentrator, a piece of machinery costing an estimated $250,000, exploded after Harry Orchard personally lit the fuse to over 400 pounds of dynamite.[19] The concentrator, chiefly responsible for the pulverizing and washing of the crude ore in

[18] House Report 1999, *Coeur d'Alene Labor Troubles*, 25, in David Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 34-36.

[19] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 34.

order to prepare it for the smelting process, was the backbone of any large mine. The blast, heard from over twenty miles away, kicked off another period of military occupation in Coeur d'Alene that eventually ended with the first defeat of the WFM.

On the evening of April 29, 1899, Gov. Steunenberg heard about the situation in Coeur d'Alene and immediately sent a telegram to President William McKinley requesting federal assistance in the northern part of the state. Like Governor Willey before him, Steunenberg disregarded the state's militia, which was ill equipped to handle the well-armed miners, and instead he implored McKinley to send federal troops. To justify this request, Steunenberg cited the fact that the available Idaho military units had volunteered to serve in the Philippines and that he was certain only 500 or so federal troops would be necessary.[20] In addition, Steunenberg emphasized the volatile situation in the Coeur d'Alenes by declaring that Shoshone County was in a state of insurrection, stressing to the president the need to act swiftly to suppress the miners. President McKinley ordered several companies of black soldiers from the 24th Infantry Regiment stationed in Brownsville, Texas, to the northern Idaho mining districts. This action itself was controversial, however, as closer units were available. Many critics, including Bill Haywood, contended that the order was most likely meant to start a sort of race-based clash between imprisoned white miners and their black guards.[21] To give credibility to this conspiracy theory, Haywood states in his autobiography that a white officer circulated a letter to the wives and children of the jailed men asking them to entertain the

---

[20] House Report 1999, *Coeur d'Alene Labor Troubles*, 7-8, in David Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 34-36.

[21] Adamic, 126-27.

soldiers in order to receive special treatment.[22] Nonetheless, the miners did not resort to racial violence. They were more upset about the governor's reimplementation of the bullpens and his use of a new policy, dubbed the "permit system," which required each miner to sign an affidavit stating they did not belong to the WFM or had committed a crime on the 29th before they could return to work.

Upon hearing from his special representative in Gem, Steunenberg declared martial law on May 3; one day after the federal troops had arrived. Similar to the situation that occurred seven years earlier, many miners had fled to nearby states, mainly Montana, before the troops arrived. The troops summarily arrested the remaining miners along with several elected officials and imprisoned them all in bullpens. At least three county commissioners and the sheriff of Shoshone County were removed from office and replaced by friends of the MOA.[23] In addition, strikebreakers from as far as Joplin, Missouri went to the Coeur d'Alene mining districts in an attempt to weaken the WFM presence in the state. The governor's policy of requiring miners to participate in the permit system completely weakened the WFM and all but erased the organization's influence in the state. All of Steunenberg's actions – requesting federal troops, declaring martial law, and instituting the bullpens and permit system in northern Idaho – caused many pro-labor entities to condemn the former labor-backed governor and to advocate his political destruction.[24] Moreover, on the Idaho senate floor, state senator Boyce, an obvious advocate and champion for organized labor in the region, even accused

---

[22] Haywood, *Autobiography*, 87.

[23] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 37.

[24] Carlson, 55-56.

Steunenberg of having direct involvement in the dynamiting of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan.[25] Likely attempting to shed light on what Boyce interpreted as unlawful tactics in northern Idaho, he may have gotten carried away with this accusation, as no credible source has been found linking the governor to the dynamiting of one of his state's most profitable and productive companies. Nevertheless, the events in Idaho in 1892 and 1899 not only served to put a target on Steunenberg's back but also influenced the future handling of similar situations.

Labor Wars in Colorado

The bloody labor wars in Colorado that occurred in 1903-1904 originated with the workers who were fighting quite effectively for meaningful legislation – mainly an eight-hour work day. This type of organized push for an eight-hour law started in 1894, shortly after the first Coeur d'Alene incident, and continued well into the next century. Despite the public's support for such a law, the state legislature failed to act and instead shifted responsibility to the state supreme court, which in turn deemed such a proposal unconstitutional. The court stated that the state legislature could not "single out the mining, manufacturing and smelting industries of the State and impose upon them restrictions with reference to the hours of their employees from which other employers of labor are exempt," without violating the "constitutional inhibition against class legislations."[26] With the events in Idaho possibly influencing its actions, the Colorado state legislature introduced and passed similar legislation in 1899. Colorado's Supreme

[25] William Gaboury, "From Statehouse to Bull Pen: Idaho Populism and the Coeur d'Alene Troubles of the 1890's," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (January 1967): 19.

[26] Lukas, 218.

Court responded predictably by declaring the new statute unconstitutional without an amendment to the state constitution. Doing just that, the state's laborers and miners alike got an eight-hour work day law placed on the ballot in the general election of 1902, and it passed with overwhelming public support, 72,980 to 26,266. Despite the presumed victory for the pro-labor forces, the state legislature failed to pass any relevant bill during its next session and, in response, miners of the state went on strike on July 3, 1903.

Although the mining districts in this strike were not violent and appeared to be relatively peaceful, the mine owners requested the presence of the state militia in early September of that same year. Understandably, both sides had reason to seek a quick and mutually beneficial settlement, as 24 million dollars in gold came from the Cripple Creek region every year.[27] With the governor's approval, on September 5, martial law was declared in the towns of Telluride and Cripple Creek, with eventually over 1,000 soldiers stationed in each town. As in the Coeur d'Alenes, bullpens were erected and hundreds of citizens were detained without cause or trial for several months. The conditions in these makeshift jails were not good, as multiple detainees were exposed to diseases like small pox, insufficiently fed, and riddled with pests during their detainment.[28] In early December, the governor deemed the entire county of Teller in a state of insurrection and kept the military occupation in place until April 12, 1904. Peace did not last long, as less than two months later the labor wars of Colorado arguably reached their apex.

On June 4, 1904, a small railroad depot at Independence, near Cripple Creek, exploded, killing thirteen men and sending the entire area into chaos. Again, state forces

---

[27] Boyer and Morais, 146.

[28] *Appeal to Reason*, April 30, 1904.

cracked down on the miners, and mass round ups of suspected labor sympathizers ensued. Although there were no arrests directly linked to the depot bombing, it is widely believed that Harry Orchard and his accomplice Steve Adams set off the bomb and then escaped. Some union miners were sent back to the bullpens, while others were deported to distant parts of the state as well as to other states such as New Mexico and Kansas.[29] The Colorado labor wars of 1903-1904 cost the state of Colorado millions of dollars. During this struggle, forty-two men lost their lives, 112 were wounded, 1,345 were arrested and detained in bullpens, and 773 were deported from the state or their communities.[30] The notable loser in this struggle was the WFM, which virtually disappeared from the controversial mining districts of the state, as it had in Coeur d'Alene.

Founded just after the Coeur d'Alene strike of 1892, in Butte, Montana, on May 15, 1893, the WFM came on the scene in Colorado as an ambitious and publicly active organization. Fully immersing itself in that state's eight-hour work law, the WFM sided with the common worker and provided the financial and political power this movement needed to sustain a long and bitter campaign.[31] In addition, the WFM, under the watchful eye of the military, organized effectively the regions farmers, ranchers, lumbermen, prospectors, and hunters/trappers in support of the striking miners in the Telluride and Cripple Creek districts. This organization also provided the more aggressive and destructive elements of this struggle the opportunity and reasoning to resort to malicious

---

[29] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 54.

[30] Boyer and Morais, 142-45; Carlson, 76.

[31] Ibid., 151.

and detrimental tactics to secure victory, as the use of dynamite, attributed largely to the WFM, became associated with the Colorado labor wars.[32] Moreover, as groups and organizations, notably the WFM, MOA, and the Citizen's Alliance, continued to operate aggressively in the unstable mining districts, some in a more destructive manner than others, the struggle progressed to one of the bloodiest labor disputes in American history. The leadership of the WFM, however, deserves an independent review over all others involved in the affair as they arguably had the most amount of influence in shaping the state's labor wars.

Of those in leadership positions within the WFM, Bill Haywood and Charles Moyer emerged from the 1903-1904 affair in Colorado as leading champions of labor in the West. Moyer, for example, travelled to the troubled districts several times and on one of these visits was detained as a "military necessity."[33] On a separate occasion, Moyer found himself arrested and detained for flag desecration in Telluride, and was also beaten and assaulted by MOA quasi-officials outside of a Telluride saloon. Moyer did not suffer this beating alone. The organization's secretary-treasurer Bill Haywood also suffered somewhat the same fate, although he fought back and shot his assailant three times at close range. Haywood's active involvement in Colorado, according to labor journalist Peter Carlson, essentially was a one-man struggle against the executive, judicial, legislative, and military branches of the state of Colorado.[34] His actions in the state, and

---

[32] Peter Orth, The Armies of Labor: *A Chronicle of the Organized Wage-Earners*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), 74.

[33] Boyer and Morais,

[34] Carlson, 67.

subsequent notoriety that came from his public exposure placed Haywood at the top of labor's leadership and provided him the platform to continue his fight on behalf of all laborers of the West. This made this previously relatively unknown disabled miner the most recognizable mouthpiece of anti-organized capital, and it made him a prominent member of the WFM.

The Colorado labor wars of 1903-1904 and the strikes in the Coeur d'Alenes in the 1890s contributed to the popularity of the Haywood trial and greatly influenced the process of the case. The importance of these events was sufficiently summed up nearly eleven months before Steunenberg's murder by the *Coming Nation*, which stated, "when the history of the Colorado struggle is written and viewed through the perspective of time, it will be found that the horrors of Russia have been outclassed."[35] Furthermore, the background of these labor struggles in Idaho and Colorado indicates why the WFM inner circle gained the reputation for committing terrorist acts against the union's enemies and property and why these leaders immediately rose to the top of the list of likely murder suspects. In addition, this assumption and persecution arguably led the *Appeal* to cover the arrest and the trial of Haywood *et. al* symbolically, illustrating its developments in terms of general class warfare. This context kept the trial relevant in any community where a clash between organized capital and labor was active or simmering.

[35] *Coming Nation*, January 28, 1905. The reference to Russia is likely related to the Kishinev pogrom and the violent and deadly anti-Jewish riots in the province.

CHAPTER III

THE CONTROVERSIAL ARRESTS OF WFM'S "INNER CIRCLE"

The local investigation in Caldwell that led to Harry Orchard's arrest and detainment in early January 1906 initiated a series of controversial events that eventually ended with the separate arrest and subsequent prosecution of members of the WFM "inner circle." Suspicions of this organizations' involvement stemmed from the private and controversial confession Orchard made to famed Pinkerton detective James McParland while imprisoned in a Boise penitentiary. Using Orchard's confession to justify his suspicions that the WFM leadership in Denver had orchestrated the revenge killing of Steunenberg, McParland first persuaded and then plotted with the high-ranking state officials in Colorado and Idaho to extradite and criminally charge the WFM inner circle. Eventually McParland and representatives of the two states settled on charging the inner circle with various felonies relating to unsolved crimes in the western mining districts and communities, including the murder of the ex-governor.[1] The manner of and legal justification for the extradition caused quite an outcry among the public and supporters of organized labor; the controversy culminated in the Idaho Supreme Court

[1] James McParland, "Pinkerton Reports: Boise, Idaho, January 10, 1906" in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 67.

and the U.S. Supreme Court hearing the arguments over the legality of the extradition several months before the start of the Haywood trial in May 1907. In addition, the news coverage of these contentious and case-related events contributed significantly to the public's overall perception of the affair and helped shape the further developments of the case. The *Appeal to Reason,* in particular, significantly influenced both developments in the trial and how the public perceived its meaning and overall importance.

The *Appeal to Reason*, the creation of the widely respected "one-Hoss" editor Julius Augustus Wayland, started in a small building in Kansas City, Missouri in 1895. Despite great efforts, its finances remained shaky.[2] On more than one occasion, Wayland personally had to invest a substantial amount of capital simply to keep the publication operational. Nevertheless, despite the *Appeal*'s early struggles in Kansas City, it maintained a respectable number of subscribers and readers and, rather than shut down the entire operation, Wayland decided to relocate. Likely as a result of the heavy recruitment by Populist Congressman E.R. Ridgely and after roughly three months without a new release, the *Appeal* resurfaced on February 6, 1897, at its permanent home in Girard, a small southeastern Kansas community. In this rural location, the *Appeal* experienced great success and soon built a list of dedicated subscribers.[3] Content in the *Appeal* reflected Wayland's transition from a pragmatic Republican, then briefly Populist, to a committed Socialist, and the publication espoused socialistic solutions for all problems confronting the laborers and disenfranchised citizens. The ideological jump must not have bothered Wayland greatly, as the tenets of populism and socialism –

[2] Wayland, *Leaves of Life*, 42.

[3] Shore, *Talkin' Socialism*, 83-84.

particularly the restriction of unfettered capitalism – coincided well with each other. The *Appeal*'s strategy in covering the labor wars in Colorado and circumstances in Idaho did not stray from this position and its efforts to exact change grew stronger with every confrontation. Wayland's employees, friends, and ideological colleagues likely played a considerable role in crafting the *Appeal*'s strategy for covering developments in the Haywood trial.

Many noteworthy labor leaders began to associate themselves with the socialist press in Girard, and they placed great pressure on the *Appeal* to lead the charge in the labor crusade despite its isolated location. Wayland's old populist and contemporary socialist connections placed the press in direct contact with some of the most influential people of the era. The *Appeal* had no shortage of heavyweight backers, including labor advocates like Mother Jones, Annie Diggs, Mary Elizabeth Lease, and Eugene V. Debs. This high-powered support helped elevate the platform on which the *Appeal* operated from a small, mainly rural audience to one seen and respected in every corner of the country.[4] The *Appeal* used this expanding support to take on the interests of big business as well as the elected officials it deemed to be an obstacle to elevating the status of the working class. It made a concerted effort to educate laborers about their own plight and convince them of the benefits of socialistic principles meant to liberate their communities. Thus, when news of the controversial arrest and extradition of members of the WFM leadership reached Girard in early 1906, the *Appeal* responded by presenting the affair in the spectrum of the ongoing struggle between the working class and

[4] Wayland, *Leaves of Life*, 38.

organized capital.[5] This garnered widespread support among the American working class, which essentially viewed the Haywood trial as emblematic of the class struggle.

The *Appeal*'s coverage of Orchard's confession, McParland's investigation, and the coordinated extradition of Haywood and company was significant. The leaders at the socialist press, for example, took a proactive position early and utilized the national popularity of one of its main contributors, Eugene Debs, to reach an estimated four million readers with a single edition.[6] In addition, the *Appeal* also relied heavily on vigilant onsite reporting, a passionate base of salespersons, and the loyal following of an estimated 292,920 subscribers to spread its coverage of the trial to countless numbers of everyday Americans.[7] Further, the *Appeal* was able to increase not only their subscriptions numbers by over sixty thousand during the trial, but also their expected readership numbers throughout the trial.[8] Undoubtedly, this extensive effort, coupled with the controversy surrounding Orchard's confession and the succeeding events, affected the Haywood *et. al* case. The controversy about the WFM inner circle's arrest and detainment and, more importantly, the *Appeal's* coverage of those events influenced both the trial and public perceptions of it.

After Orchard's arrest and arraignment, the investigation shifted from a small-scale local inquiry to one involving larger regional entities and multiple complex

---

[5] Shore, *Talkin' Socialism*, 106, 175-76.

[6] Haywood, *Autobiography*, 206.

[7] *Appeal to Reason*, January 21, 1905.

[8] The *Appeal* sent their newspapers to other presses free of charge in hopes that others would use their writings. In addition, the *Appeal* also sent their papers to every public library with the hope of expanding their readership.

conspiracy theories. This shift was fueled by the large reward offered for the arrest and conviction of all parties involved with the murder of Steunenberg. The state of Idaho, for example, offered $10,000 on top of the Steunenberg family's offer of $5,000. The compensation of $25,000 put forth by a local citizens' committee, organized on 31 December 1905, was the most financially lucrative.[9] In part, this financial incentive is what caught the attention of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency and ultimately led to its employment by the state of Idaho. The agency's top official in the West, James McParland, took command of the investigation when he arrived in Boise on 10 January 1906, and he quickly began the daunting process of convincing a hardened and habitual criminal to confess to his crimes in full.

The detective rose to national prominence after he infiltrated the American Molly Maguires – an Irish secret society believed to be located in the coalfields of Pennsylvania – and successfully got several members of the gang tried in court for their alleged crimes and publicly executed. The crimes the Molly Maguires were accused of committing included murder, kidnapping, arson, and extortion, to name only a few. McParland provided the state's key witness testimony and proved to be quite valuable to his boss, Allen Pinkerton. However, some of McParland's methods and the truthfulness of his account received serious scrutiny and cast a shadow of doubt as to the accuseds' actual guilt. McParland used his work in this case to advance his career, despite the amount of controversy that followed him in virtually every case.

McParland's background as a famed detective and enemy of radical unions earned him almost no supporters among the regular members of organized labor or in the labor

[9] Adamic, 143; Boyer and Morais, 160.

press. Perhaps because of this reputation as a fighter of organized labor, McParland's career and life background, except for his involvement in the demise of the Molly Maguires, was suspiciously absent from the press during any phase of the Haywood case. The *Appeal*, however, provided a plethora of critiques of McParland's past and put forth a distinctively different, yet convincing, analysis of the detectives' character. While other news sources tended to focus on McParland's professional success in Pennsylvania, the *Appeal* honed in on his private life and exposed elements of a deeply controversial past. For instance, a staff correspondent at the *Appeal* shed light on the fact that McParland had lived for some time in Parsons, Kansas at a "notorious resort for criminals called the Grand Central Hotel."[10] In this type of hostile environment, McParland supposedly thrived and eventually earned the off-putting reputation as being a "Napoleon in crime."[11] This insinuation likely influenced the estimated 5 million readers the *Appeal* claimed to have in mid-March.[12] Moreover, the *Appeal* did not stop with a few comments on the detective's controversial past but continued the onslaught on his character and reputation for the duration of the Haywood trial. The fact that the *Appeal* chose to discredit McParland's reputation brought the integrity of Orchard's confession into question. Nonetheless, the *Appeal*'s coverage of McParland's questionable past was not the only factor that contributed to the public's distrust of the confession.

Orchard's own actions during his first few months of detainment, coupled with McParland's manipulation and control of the investigation, also invited skepticism about

---

[10] P.M. Eastwood, *Appeal to Reason*, March 17, 1906.

[11] *Appeal to Reason*, March 17, 1906.

[12] Ibid.

the fragile mindset Orchard may have had at the time of his confession and muddled the perception of its validity. Orchard's guards frequently moved him within and between jails during his incarceration, and because of the case's notoriety, Orchard spent most of his time in isolation. Arguably, this extensive isolation made him quite impressionable, as he reportedly struggled with melancholy during his stay in various ill-equipped cells at the Canyon County jailhouse. In addition, during his first week of detainment Orchard received visits from Frank Steunenberg's widow, and without much resistance, she convinced her husband's assassin to convert to the Seventh Day Adventist Church.[13] Orchard's willingness to convert and accept the temporary companionship of the woman he made a widow, further suggests that his mental state was quite vulnerable and easily manipulated. Therefore, when McParland arrived in Boise and assumed command of the investigation, he encountered a compliant prisoner.

Almost immediately after arriving in Idaho, McParland met with the state's chief of justice and governor to discuss the investigation as well as the future the Pinkerton detective envisioned for the case. McParland made it known early that he believed Orchard "was the tool of others" and that he wished to move Orchard from the county jail to the state penitentiary to avoid allowing influence from his assumed accomplices regarding his cooperation.[14] Although this move took some convincing as well as the private sanction of the justices of the state's highest court, Idaho officials approved the requested transfer. Thus, Orchard moved from his minimum-security facility in Canyon

---

[13] Conlin, *Big Bill Haywood*, 66-67.

[14] James McParland, "Pinkerton Reports, January 10, 1906" in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 67.

County to Idaho's largest and most secure prison, where he was under twenty-four hour watch and housed in the penitentiary's death row.[15] This treatment negatively affected Orchard's psyche, as he went days without the shower, shave, and exercise to which he had become accustomed in Caldwell. By the time McParland first met Orchard on the afternoon of the 22nd, the prisoner had moved beyond the comfortable and arrogant persona he demonstrated during his arraignment and was, instead, a nearly broken man.

McParland and Orchard's first meeting took place in the warden's office, where the two privately discussed the benefits of Orchard turning state's witness and fully cooperating with the investigation.[16] Supposedly, McParland lectured Orchard about past cases in which the primary actor in a crime confessed their role in full as well as provided information on where their orders originated. McParland anticipated Orchard would implicate the most influential leaders of the WFM as the source behind his actions. On January 25, after a handful of meetings, Orchard gave the full confession McParland expected; he fingered key members of the WFM in several murders and domestic terrorist attacks against individuals and property in the West.[17] According to McParland, although he mentioned complete amnesty during their discussions, at no point did he offer or guarantee any form of legal protection to Orchard in exchange for his full cooperation and confession. However, once Orchard began cooperating with the state, he did receive special treatment; for example, guards moved him from his cell on death row

[15] Orchard's new home was located just outside of Boise in a relatively newly constructed prison, equipped with guard towers and isolated from town and large populations.

[16] Ibid., January 22-February 2, 1906, 69-89.

[17] Ibid. 73-81.

to a small cottage on prison grounds.[18] The *Appeal* seized upon the fact that there was no other source to authenticate McParland and Orchard's account of their initial meetings. The *Appeal* quickly pointed to McParland's past to further exploit his, as well as his employer's, history of manufacturing various aspects of their investigations in order to achieve the ends in which they desired, as in the Molly Maguire convictions.[19] This questionable record, coupled with the particulars of Orchard's full confession, undoubtingly caused suspicion.

The details of Orchard's private confession, especially his assertion that he had an accomplice who would corroborate his accusations against the WFM inner circle, eventually ended up discrediting the claim rather than validating its core elements. However, during this first phase of the investigation, Orchard's confession and its initial corroboration by his accomplice proved effective enough to have three residents of another state extradited to Idaho. This accomplice, Steve Adams from northeastern Oregon, supposedly had accompanied Orchard on several of his past criminal escapades on behalf of the WFM. Orchard had promised McParland that if given the chance to be alone with Adams in a cell for a night, he would convince him, without using violence, to confess in full as he had done.[20] Needing another source to corroborate Orchard's testimony in order for a conviction according to Idaho law, McParland sent an associate

---

[18] Boyer and Morais, 163.

[19] *Appeal to Reason*, March 17, 1906.

[20] McParland, "Pinkerton Reports, February 9, 1906" in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 100-01.

to detain Adams in Baker County and then send him by train to Boise.[21] Authorities tracked Adams to his uncle's ranch outside of North Powder, Oregon, with the cooperation of the county's Sheriff Harvey Brown, who had identified Orchard as a primary suspect shortly after the Steunenberg assassination.[22] Once Adams reached the Idaho penitentiary, Orchard delivered on his promise and successfully convinced Adams to implicate not only himself but also the WFM core leadership in the murder of Steunenberg. In exchange for his cooperation, Adams and his family received special accommodations while they awaited the trial.[23]

After Orchard's confession, McParland also began to coordinate with high-ranking state officials from Idaho and Colorado to extradite the WFM inner circle to the "Gem State" to face murder charges. Governor Gooding and Chief Justice E.C. Stockslager gave McParland their full support and confidence as they cooperated with his investigation. For example, at McParland's request, the governor of Idaho promised to visit Orchard at the penitentiary in order to buoy his spirits and counsel him on how to mislead his expected WFM attorney. When selecting the lead prosecuting attorneys, Gooding even considered the detective's input on the matter.[24] The chief justice provided McParland with unparalleled legal advice throughout the initial phases of the investigation and secured the support of his fellow justices in the prisoner transfer request

---

[21] Carlson, 101.

[22] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 60-61; Conlin, *Big Bill Haywood*, 65.

[23] Carlson, 102.

[24] McParland, "Pinkerton Reports, February 9, 1906" in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 101; Carlson, 88.

the Pinkerton agent deemed necessary. McParland designated the role Idaho needed to play during the extradition and selected the appropriate level of support the state needed to provide throughout the operation in order for it to be successful. McParland also promised the state of Idaho a contribution ranging between twenty-five and fifty thousand dollars from the MOA in order to cover the travel expenses.[25] On February 15, the District Attorney for Canyon County filed a sworn complaint against the WFM inner circle charging that Haywood and his accomplices were in Caldwell at the time Steunenberg died. This controversial sworn complaint became known as the "perjured affidavit," especially among pro-union historians, yet, according to Idaho law it was legal as the accused represented "principals in the felony" and therefore were not required to be present during the crime in order to be accused.[26]

If the level of cooperation and trust McParland had enjoyed in Idaho aroused organized labor's suspicions, his manipulation of Colorado government officials while working for extradition confirmed them. As the head Pinkerton official at the agency's Denver branch, McParland met many of the state's leading law enforcement and elected officials during his tenure in Colorado. His agency maintained a positive professional relationship with many of these state officials, and the groups often cooperated with each other when their interests intersected. Accordingly, when McParland arrived in Denver with Orchard's confession and the state of Idaho's "perjured affidavit," he sought an audience with the state's governor, Jesse Fuller McDonald, and a supreme court justice in

[25] Carlson, 94-95.

[26] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 65-66.

order to convince these officials to extradite swiftly.[27] McParland likely wished to keep his intentions within a small circle of trusted officials in order to reduce the probability of information leaks, which would alert the WFM inner circle and allow them time to seek sufficient legal counsel to fight the extradition. The officials read McParlands's report of Orchard's confession, which indicated both past and future WFM plots to assassinate key Colorado state government officials. Ever since the start of the Colorado Labor Wars two years before, many in the state government had wished to rid Colorado of the WFM completely and, having read what McParland had put in front of him, one of the state's justices, Luther Goddard, now predicted a "death knell" to the organization if its leaders could be convicted.[28] With the hatred of the WFM at its highest levels since the Colorado labor wars, McParland received the complete support of the state's top official, so he proceeded to select the team that would conduct the extradition.[29]

With the approval of Gov. McDonald and Justice Goddard, the skillful manipulation of the Denver County Sheriff, and the careful selection of two deputy sheriffs to accompany the detainees across state lines, all but assured McParland's success. The two deputies were selected based on the likelihood that neither would tip off the press or a pro-labor attorney, who would have probably attempted to serve the state with a writ of *habeas corpus*.[30] On February 15, the governor of Colorado, likely

---

[27] McParland, "Pinkerton Reports, February 9, 1906" in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 103-07.

[28] Ibid., 104.

[29] Ideally, the extradition proceedings should have been coordinated through the state's attorney general office. The attorney general would then evaluate the legality of the charges and decide its merit.

[30] Ibid., 103.

attempting to legally justify his actions, cited the "full faith" clause of the U.S. Constitution, illegally accepted the extradition papers of Bill Haywood, Charles Moyer, George Pettibone, and Jack Simpkins, and sanctioned the extradition without sending these legally required documents to the state's attorney general.[31]

Despite the controversy surrounding the legality of such an extradition and the concerns of those involved with its coordination and success, the plans proceeded. Almost immediately, however, the plans changed as Moyer was spotted heading to the train station to secure passage to Kansas to meet with a local union. Likely not wanting any member of the inner circle to leave the jurisdiction or warn the others, the state decided to take them all at once. Moyer's arrest at the train station occurred first, while Pettibone's, at his Denver home, happened last. Haywood, arrested in a boardinghouse with his sister in law, did not resist arrest. Although he demanded to see a warrant, he remained compliant throughout the entire process; he never saw the warrant. Because of the security risks the captives presented, they were shackled, housed, and transported separately during their wait in Denver. The prisoners went from the county jail to a nearby hotel and then off to the train station at approximately six in the morning, each with their own small detachment of law enforcement agents. Boarding a special train on loan from Union Pacific, the prisoners and their guards left the city without incident, and to celebrate, the officer in charge served everyone, including the prisoners, plenty of whiskey.[32] McParland openly rejoiced at the operation's success and publicly announced

---

[31] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 66; McParland, "Pinkerton Reports, February 9, 1906" in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 108-09.

[32] *Appeal to Reason*, March 10, 1906; Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 68-69.

that the inner circle "would never leave Idaho alive." This cold-blooded statement understandably angered those in the labor press, which referred to it constantly throughout the trial.

The *Appeal's* next publication focused on the larger issue of state corruption and the powerful special interest group's stranglehold on the government stating, "Colorado is a second Russia and no person is safe who opposes the rule of the capitalists."[33] The paper claimed that the prominent citizens of Denver universally denounced this extradition as an "outrage on law and order" and a symbol of the ongoing war waged against organized labor in the West.[34] This analysis played into the *Appeal's* overall objective of convincing the public that this case was not merely an isolated incident or simply an attempt to punish a rogue union sect, but another attempt to eradicate organized labor. In addition, the *Appeal* also took offense to the way Haywood and company were arrested without a warrant, detained without being allowed to seek counsel, and shackled until outside of Denver. It cited General Buckeley Welles' perception regarding the prisoner's flight risk as the justification necessary to interpret the operation as a crusade against the WFM.[35] Despite the general's belief that the detainees were a minimal flight risk, he still had to prevent an attorney or law enforcement agent from boarding the train with a writ, which would essentially free the prisoners. Because the distance from Denver to the Idaho state line was well over 500 miles by rail -- and the train needed to make routine stops -- someone boarding the train

---

[33] *Appeal to Reason*, February 24, 1906.

[34] Ibid.

[35] *Appeal to Reason*, March 10, 1906.

with a writ remained a serious threat. In response, Welles and company took plenty of precautions.

The train stopped at only isolated locations for water and other supplies, avoiding towns and large cities where it could. When it could not avoid these large towns, like Cheyenne, Wyoming, Welles ordered that the train continue forward at a rate of speed fast enough that a man could not board the train. The trip progressed without many difficulties, although a tense moment occurred when the train crossed into Idaho and had to make a short stop in the pro-mining community of Pocatello. Several years earlier, Haywood had married Nevada Jane in Pocatello, and guards likely feared an armed attack by labor supporters. Nothing serious occurred, and the train arrived peacefully in Boise later that day. However, the stop did create enough of a panic that state authorities wasted no time transporting the prisoners to the penitentiary with extra guards and security.

Haywood and his companions first stayed in the Idaho penitentiary outside of Boise, and then, because Canyon County was where the trial was to take place, the prisoners moved to the small jail there. The change of venue did not last long, however, as the prosecution successfully petitioned the state legislature to have the trial moved from Caldwell to Boise and the new inmates transferred back to the state prison. Haywood described this move as some "hocus-pocus of the law," and many of his supporters probably perceived this action in similar terms.[36] Most likely Haywood and the others hoped to have the trial in a nearby county, preferably Washington, largely because of the prejudices against the WFM inner circle that were prevalent in Canyon

[36] Haywood, *Autobiography*, 197.

and Ada County.[37] Boise had a larger concentration of Republicans than any other city in the state and, as the city's largest newspaper was among the first to accuse the WFM of orchestrating Steunenberg's murder, it was an unfriendly place for the inner circle.[38] Housing the accused in the state penitentiary's death row while they awaited trial was also prejudicial, and we cannot know how much this affected an already negative public perception of the case. After all, Orchard, a confessed mass murderer and lifelong criminal had been moved to a small cottage by the same authorities. With Orchard potentially facing more charges, at least more than the WFM inner circle, this level of favorable treatment turned many towards the camp of organized labor.

Likewise, members of the WFM inner circle developed their own strategy for swaying public opinion to their advantage. The labor organization's response, for example, proved to be quite successful in motivating its regular members to donate over a quarter of a million dollars to secure an adequate legal team to represent the inner circle against the interests of big capital. Members of that legal team included E.F. Richardson of Denver, who became the chief counsel of the defense, and the extremely popular Clarence Darrow, who provided essential support as Richardson's second. With decades of relevant legal experience between the two, the WFM inner circle stood a good chance in court. The suspicions and controversy surrounding the legality of their extradition received the initial scrutiny of the defense's legal team. Both sides expected to argue their case in front of the highest courts, and the ruling to influence public perceptions nationwide. Nonetheless, without the *Appeal's* publication of the most controversial

---

[37] *Appeal to Reason*, April 6, 1907.

[38] Boyer and Morais, 160.

article regarding the entire affair, the case might not have generated much public attention at all.

On March 10, nearly two weeks after the WFM inner circle arrived in Boise, Eugene Debs, writing on behalf of the *Appeal*, submitted his now famous article, "Arouse, Ye Slaves!," to the paper's managing editors. This article immediately created a buzz at the *Appeal*, as its publication might prove catastrophic for all involved.[39] Wayland and his editor Fred Warren discussed the potential results of printing the piece with the final decision resting on Warren's shoulders. Most inflammatory was Debs's call for an armed insurrection of "a million revolutionists, at least" to stop the potential "murder" of the accused inner circle.[40] In response to McParland's prediction that the inner circle would not leave Idaho alive, Debs had gone on to threaten the lives of the governors of Idaho and Colorado, and typical of socialist fashion, the lives of their friends in Wall Street as well.[41] In addition, Debs suggested that the laborers of the country prepare for a "general strike… as a preliminary to a general uprising." Wayland, writing in the same edition, implored the "sleeping slaves of America" to wake up and become aware of their brothers' plights before taking up arms.[42] Although nearly a month passed before any repercussions from this article occurred, the piece gained

---

[39] George Brewer, *"The Fighting Editor" or "Warren and the Appeal": Biography of Fred D. Warren* (Girard, KS: George D. Brewer, 1910), 51-53.

[40] Eugene Debs, "Arouse, Ye Slaves!," *Appeal to Reason*, March 10, 1906.

[41] Ibid.

[42] *Appeal to Reason*, March 10, 1906.

international recognition for the *Appeal*, making it look like an influential and powerful press.

Due almost exclusively to the radical language and rebellious rhetoric found in the “Arouse, Ye Slaves!” article, the Canadian government banned the paper’s circulation.[43] Girard’s postmaster informed the managing editors of the ban on April 10, but the press did all it could to sneak copies over the Canadian border thereafter.[44] The *Appeal*’s ban in Canada undoubtingly influenced the international perception of the case, as the repercussions of the trial did not exclusively concern the status of American organized labor, but that of unions globally. Moreover, without much knowledge of the potential recourses the *Appeal* had, the ban seemed that much more likely to be permanent. Realizing that this ban may not be as perpetual as the editors originally assumed, Fred Warren went to Ottawa two weeks after its implementation in order to garner resources and counsel to maneuver successfully through the Canadian legal system. This act soon paid off; the Canadians lifted their ban on the *Appeal* two weeks after Warren’s visit to the capital. Likely, this predicament might have been solved sooner, but the *Appeal*’s leadership was so completely consumed with another matter that the Canadian ban had gone neglected.

That other matter was the "Rescue Edition." After the Debs article reached millions of readers, the press in Girard made headlines again with its “Rescue Edition” published on March 24. The paper’s leadership considered the strategy, to “putforth [sic]

---

[43] In addition, the requested criminal act spelled out in the “Rescue Edition,” to kidnap William Taylor, also played a large role in the Canadian ban.

[44] Brewer, 59.

a campaign to send the miners version of the case to local newspaper editors" to be "the most effective strokes it has made in the war of the working class against the capitalist class."[45] The *Appeal* sought to utilize its base of twenty-five thousand salespersons nationwide, known as the "Appeal Army," to distribute over one million copies of the edition and reach an estimated three million readers. The "Appeal Army" responded by securing 1.35 million orders for the edition within the first day, potentially exposing the paper's ideology, analysis, and arguments to over double that figure. Thus, the *Appeal* continued to keep the heat on the prosecution to continue to justify their every move. More importantly, the paper kept the pressure on the public not to allow the interests of organized capital to influence their opinion of the extradition and detainment of Haywood and company. The *Appeal* gained tremendously from this international exposure and quickly became the most powerful weapon at the disposal of the working class.[46]

Two days after the Debs article went to print, the Idaho Supreme Court heard the opening remarks regarding the defense's request that the state of Idaho serve and execute a writ of *habeas corpus* for the WFM inner circle, thus allowing them to post bail and leave their jail cells. Although Moyer alone had his name on the docket, he represented the entire group, as one successful writ would essentially guarantee a similar outcome to the other two. Regardless, the justices unanimously rejected the request because the accused were already in Idaho and they could not challenge the legality of their extradition while detained in the state. In a lengthy opinion, the court stated that, "the question as to whether or not a citizen is a fugitive from justice is one that can only be

---

[45] *Appeal to Reason*, March 17, 1906.

[46] *Appeal to Reason*, March 24, 1906.

available to him so long as he is beyond the jurisdiction of the state against whose laws he has transgressed."[47] With that ruling, the hope that the WFM inner circle had of walking free without a trial all but evaporated. Despite the failure of the defense to convince the justices to grant their request, the court somewhat validated the defense claim that the extradition was illegal. The justices implied as much when they officially denied the writ request citing that the defendants were already in Idaho, not that the arrest and transfer were legal, and therefore their extradition became legally insignificant.[48] Likely, the defense expected the justices to deny their request as the lead investigator, McParland, had built a strong relationship with the chief justice and earned his support. Their ultimate goal may have been to force a justification from the justices that would create more doubt and suspicion surrounding the integrity of the case. If so, when the U.S. Supreme Court heard the case in late 1906, the same strategy was in place.

The U.S. Supreme Court case, *Pettibone v. Nicholls*, began at the start of the October 1906 session and concerned a writ of error stemming from the Idaho Supreme Court judgment in March. The oral arguments for the case lasted roughly two months and concentrated mostly on the specifics surrounding the legality of the warrants.[49] Despite Darrow and Richardson's efforts, their arguments failed to convince the court that authorities of two states acted unconstitutionally. On December 3, the Supreme Court issued its decision to uphold the lower court's ruling in a landmark 7-1 decision,

---

[47] Lukas, 277.

[48] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 71-72.

[49] Congressional Record, "Right of Asylum in Another State," in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 57-59.

with Justice McKenna giving the dissenting opinion. Justice McKenna's dissent produced much fodder for those in the labor camp and gave justification for the claim that the two Rocky Mountain States had committed a felonious abduction. Many in the pro-labor camp empathetically denounced the majority's decision; one laborer in a mass meeting of coal miners in southeast Kansas likened the ruling to the Dred Scott decision and predicted a "rebellion of the working class" to follow soon after.[50] Others demanded a constitutional amendment that would require the Supreme Court justices to win an election by national popular vote, thus potentially weakening their overall authority. Irrespective of these reactionary and largely unrealistic demands, the *Appeal* sought to create a legal conundrum and create an event in which friends of organized capital would be placed in a situation similar to Haywood *et. al*.

The *Appeal*'s response to the Supreme Court ruling, known as the "Kidnapping Edition," was its most bold and aggressive of the trial and perhaps even more inflammatory than Debs' "Arouse, Ye Slaves!" article. According to firsthand accounts, Warren suggested that the paper should offer a reward to any person who kidnapped the controversial and fugitive ex-governor of Kentucky, William Taylor. According to accounts, this former Kentucky governor had been directly involved with the murder of a political rival and fled the state before he could be prosecuted. After confirming with the local postmaster in Girard that printing such material and mailing it would not be considered a crime, Warren proceeded to have twenty-five thousand circular letters mailed to the "Appeal Army" with a detailed inscription in red ink offering one thousand dollars to the person who "kidnaps ex-Governor Taylor" and returns him to Kentucky

[50] *Idaho Daily Statesman*, January 21, 1907.

authorities.[51] Further, in early January, the socialist press again placed on the first page of its publication the same offer and reward, providing a lengthy explanation as to why they involved themselves in the matter at all.[52] The *Appeal* meant to show that the law was not equal and occasionally serves the interests of the most prominent while ignoring the working class. The Wisconsin legislature echoed as much when it declared its condemnation of "the kidnapping" of the inner circle and passed a joint resolution asking for the United States Congress to investigate the matter on behalf of the working classes.[53] Nonetheless, the editors understood the risk, and when authorities came to arrest the person responsible for sending "scurrilous, defamatory and threatening matter through the United States mail," Warren assumed responsibility.[54] Thus, as the *Appeal* fought for the labor interests in Boise, it also simultaneously faced the legal struggles of one of its own prominent and essential editors at home.

While the controversial arrest, extradition, and detainment of the WFM inner circle and the *Appeal's* aggressive coverage significantly influenced the public's perception, the extreme measures taken by the authorities to secretly detain and transport the accused labor leaders, among other perceived offenses, intensified backlash from the labor press. This backlash ignited a spirited movement by the *Appeal*, one that called for the public to prepare an armed response if the prisoners in Boise were condemned to die. As a result of Debs' article, the Canadian government temporarily banned the *Appeal*, yet

---

[51] Brewer, 77-79.

[52] Appeal to Reason, January 12, 1907.

[53] Appeal to Reason, February 23, 1907.

[54] Ibid., 79.

despite this brief setback, the American public continued to read and share the publication. In addition, the dispute over the legality of the extradition resulted in two similar cases reaching the U.S. and Idaho supreme courts before the murder trial commenced. In both instances, the extradition was upheld and the WFM inner circle remained in the Idaho penitentiary. Not respecting the outcome of these higher court cases, again the *Appeal* responded with a controversial but popular response; one that provided a national platform for its future articles. Thus, when Haywood's was slated to be the first case heard on May 9, 1907, the *Appeal* had the audience and support to significantly influence the proceedings.

CHAPTER IV

THE HAYWOOD TRIAL

After months of uncertainty and several postponements, Bill Haywood's trial was slated to begin on 9 May 1907. The first of three similar cases, its ramifications promised to affect organized labor in the region profoundly. Due in large part to the unknown details of Orchard's private confession, the three accused men faced felonious charges and accusations for over twenty crimes including the murder of Steunenberg. Although the severity of the other crimes at least matched that of Steunenberg's murder, the focus of the trial never strayed from the former governor's assassination. The most notable representatives from each legal team sought to concentrate on the Steunenberg assassination probably because of the governor's high profile and the likelihood that they, either the defense or prosecution, could secure a favorable verdict from the jury. In part, this assumption developed, at least in regards to the prosecution, because a large portion of the populations of Ada and Canyon County were not wage-laborers, but small-scale agriculturalists or businessmen with no union ties. The defense, on the other hand, sought to exploit the socioeconomic status of the mostly self-employed rural population and liken their own plights and financial struggles with that of the working class union leaders. In addition, the WFM inner circle stood to benefit the most from the state's brief political history, mainly the support for Populist-minded candidates in the late nineteenth

century and the political, personal, and professional isolation many Idahoans experienced if they were unaffiliated with the state Republicans. Nonetheless, this combination of political alienation and past support for populism in Idaho made accurately predicting the outcome of the Haywood trial that much more difficult.

Despite the assuredness of a conviction, many involved with the prosecution of the case argued before and during the trial that more factors than simply a coerced confession or a detailed synopsis of the past grievances and crimes committed by the federation were at play. For example, the Populists' success in the state stretched further than electing three federal officials, a governor, and sixty-eight state legislators during the height of the populist movement. Its most important contribution was the ideology it spread, which after several years had most likely seeped deeply into the political conscience of many Idahoans and was evidently still quite relevant during the first quarter of the twentieth century.[1] As the *Appeal to Reason* suggested, "the People's Party has run its course, performed its mission and helped prepare the way for a party of scientific principles" and undoubtingly contributed to the overall political education of the state's electorate.[2] Subsequently, significant aspects of the trial, mostly related to jury selection and composition, the atmosphere in Boise during its eleven-week summer duration, and its coverage by the media, were influenced by the populist sentiment that was embedded in Idaho politics and culture for over a decade. This somewhat favorable opinion of the broad tenets of Rocky Mountain West Populism, mainly general governmental assistance and protection against the powerful reach and influence of

---

[1] Gaboury, 16.

[2] *Appeal to Reason*, April 30, 1904.

concentrated capital, played a crucial role in determining the fate of the WFM inner circle in Idaho. However, with many new settlers arriving in Idaho at the start of the twentieth century and coming from predominantly Republican states such as Iowa, Illinois, and Ohio, the state's political makeup virtually shifted overnight from moderate to Republican-dominated.[3] Further, this political shift provided the national Republicans with an opportunity to influence not only the state's elections but potentially the outcome of the trial as well.

As most of the state's influential offices were up for grabs in 1906, the election season played a significant role in how the case developed in Boise prior to the start of any relevant trial. Both the Republicans and the MOA needed control of the state government; a concern that stemmed in large part from previous election cycles where despite the heavy influx of Republican voters moving into the state, twice William Jennings Bryan, the strong advocate from the populist wing of the Democratic Party, carried Idaho. If the Republicans lost political power, feared Governor Gooding, the entire "Haywood affair would go up in flames."[4] According to George Shoaf, a "war correspondent" from the *Appeal*, there was a real threat to "overthrow republican domination" in the state, especially if the base that supported Bryan's presidential bids threw their support behind the Republican's opposition.[5] Further, for all parties involved, the election season became a significant test to measure the popular support for the trial

---

[3] Lukas, 40.

[4] *Appeal to Reason*, August 11, 1906.

[5] George Shoaf, "The Political Aspect of the Situation," *Appeal to Reason*, March 31, 1906.

in Idaho and to help determine how much support the state's Republicans had lost because of the controversial measures taken by their administration.

Well before the trial commenced, top national Republicans attempted to sway popular support in Idaho towards the elected officials who had engineered the extraditions and were to face reelection in 1906. Led by the Theodore Roosevelt administration, countless nationally prominent politicians made their way to the Gem State and stumped for various Idaho Republicans looking to maintain or, in Borah's case, gain an elected office.[6] Among the most notable and recognizable of these figures was Secretary of War William Howard Taft, who spent his time crisscrossing the state on behalf of Governor Gooding's reelection campaign and imploring Idaho voters to support the man who championed "law and order."[7] Taft's position reflected the same attitude that many in the two main political parties had held almost a decade before, at the time of the Coeur d'Alene strikes. In that instance, discontent had given way to the rise of populism. This type of fear mongering was sure to arouse suspicion and animosity towards those who defended the accused labor leaders, as many would probably begin linking the crimes committed in northern Idaho and Caldwell with the tactics of populism and organized labor across the globe.[8] In addition, Gooding and other Idaho Republicans campaigned exclusively at times on the strength of the state's case against the accused on

---

[6] Borah was actively courting various members of the Idaho state legislature as well as nationally prominent politicians for their support in sending him to Washington as the junior senator from Idaho.

[7] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 83.

[8] In fact, James McParland and the Pinkerton agency had already begun making these connections shortly after being assigned to the case and hired by the state of Idaho a year before.

most, if not all, charges, and they clearly expected public support. Idaho socialists, on the other hand, believed that despite the Republicans' harsh rhetoric and claims, public enthusiasm and support in their state was not with the old political parties but, rather, those who stood up for the laborer. They sought to actively exploit this development.[9] Moreover, according to those at the *Appeal*, the Roosevelt administration was simply using this case to "head off socialism," which for many, including J.A. Wayland, had replaced populism as the doctrine of choice.[10] In the end, despite the efforts by state socialists and some narrow escapes in certain races, the Republican Party was generally victorious on Election Day and so remained in power for the duration of the trial.

The Republicans' most prized victory was placing enough supporters in the state legislature that the party's more conservative members tapped young Bill Borah to fill the state's vacant United States Senate seat.[11] Borah had all but proclaimed his deep interest in serving in the upper chamber in the several months preceding the general election, yet he remained cautious about making this desire publicly known to avoid upsetting some of his party's senior legislators. Instead, Borah crisscrossed the state on behalf of one Republican or another and preached about the positive tenets of law and order in the state. He concentrated almost exclusively on the details of the Haywood affair, and he attempted to play to the strengths and morality of the involved GOP officials. This strategy proved quite successful -- every candidate for whom Borah had stumped won his

---

[9] *Appeal to Reason*, September 26, 1906.

[10] *Appeal to Reason*, June 6, 1906.

[11] William Borah decided not to take his appointed senate seat until after the conclusion of the trial as to not create a perceived or actual weakness in the prosecution's case.

election handily. Despite the efforts of many former populists in the state to undo the Republicans' grip on state affairs, their ideological cousins, the socialists, lost every significant race they were in despite a record turnout at the polls.

The socialists of Colorado also made a significant splash during their state elections. With many in the state turned off politically by the governor's involvement in a controversial extradition, the state Socialist Party sought to employ a remedy to the state's woes by nominating Bill Haywood for governor. Although still imprisoned while awaiting trial, Haywood graciously accepted the nomination and began campaigning for governor of Colorado from his jail cell in Boise, Idaho. Not without influential friends, Haywood's campaign received the endorsement and support of the *Appeal*, who without much hesitation began raising funds for his election while providing a platform for him to reach his potential constituents.[12] Imploring Colorado voters to "vote as you protested," the *Appeal* was almost certainly responsible for the impressive showing Haywood had on Election Day. He received over 16,000 votes, placed forth, and walked away with over 7.8% of the vote, despite being detained over five hundred miles away and not stepping a foot in the state during the campaign.[13] Without the support of such an influential organ to espouse his ideas or thoughts on key policies and agendas, Haywood would most likely have never received the support of such a large number of voters. Although the election of Haywood would have created great national buzz and severely complicated the trial in Idaho, the recanted confession of Steve Adams proved to be more significant.

---

[12] *Appeal to Reason*, July 14-21, 1906.

[13] *Appeal to Reason*, July 28, 1906.

After Steve Adams had corroborated the confession of Orchard and moved into a cottage on prison grounds with his wife and children, it seemed as if the prosecution had a solid case against the WFM inner circle.[14] However, attorneys for the accused, mainly Clarence Darrow, sought to unravel Adams' suspicious confession by appealing directly to his wife's uncle, James Lillard, hoping to have him persuade his nephew-in-law to recant his story. In fact, it was on Lillard's ranch in Baker County that Adams had lived and worked before being apprehended by authorities and it was this close connection and relationship with Lillard that Darrow sought to exploit. Without much convincing, likely because he believed Adams was innocent, Lillard agreed to visit his nephew-in-law in the Boise penitentiary. Shortly after his uncle's visit, Adams redacted his previous incriminating statement and alleged McParland and the MOA orchestrated the whole affair; he further claimed that McParland threatened violence if Adams did not comply.[15] Shortly after this revelation and after securing a writ from a local judge, Adams was removed from the cozy penitentiary cottage and temporarily released. Adams' freedom was short lived, however, as he was rearrested on charges of murder in Wallace, Idaho, and held for Shoshone County officials.

Despite the repeated appeals by the WFM inner circle for a speedy trial, the prosecution and state successfully maneuvered around their request and postponed Haywood's trial until after Adams had his date in court. Moreover, the Adams trial in

---

[14] Adams' residence at the prison cottage would be highly debated as to its true meaning. The defense argued it was a way of coercing Adams into sticking with his confession, while the prosecution linked the stay to prisoner safety and a precaution against witness tampering.

[15] *Appeal to Reason*, September 15, 1906; Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 85.

northern Idaho pitted the same legal teams that were preparing for the Haywood case against each other in their first relevant showdown of the entire affair.[16] Facing double homicide charges related to the disappearance of an out-of-state logger and strikebreaker, Adams' trial previewed, likely according to the *Appeal*, the central issue of the upcoming Haywood trial: Would a state populated mostly by rural agriculturalists and wage-laborers convict a fellow laborer at the assumed request of a powerful special interest in the region. Additionally, this case also symbolized the still significant political affiliation many in Idaho's mining districts maintained since the height of the populist movement, mainly their reputation of being the "hammer" of populism in Idaho.[17] For example, a local populist-minded reverend of Wallace strongly suggested that the sinister actions of concentrated capital, represented in this instance by the Spokane Lumber company, caused the disappearance of the logger; this claim seemingly stemmed from the ongoing struggle by local laborers and regional corporate management to control the state's vast natural resources.[18] Regardless of this claim, the populist-minded sentiment in the region proved more than the prosecution team could handle, as it failed to convince the almost all farmer jury to convict Adams.[19] Furthermore, those concerned with the financial health of the relatively new state had another reason to squawk at their state's leadership when the bill for the Adams trial came in at just over $25,000; a remarkable $2,000 a

---

[16] Interestingly, both James Hawley and Bill Borah had faced each other in the county previously, when they represented the interest of cattlemen and sheepherders, respectively, during a murder trial.

[17] Garboury, 16.

[18] *Appeal to Reason*, March 9, 1907.

[19] The jury deadlocked 6-6 and were released by the judge on March 9.

month went to James Hawley alone, the state's chief prosecutor.[20] Darrow later suggested after the trial's conclusion that, "beyond this case, out of this court-room, out in the world, the greatest fight in the world – the fight between the capital and the labor of this country – is being waged, of which this is but a manifestation."[21]

Another stage of this intense battle, however, also took place before the Haywood trial and concerned the "fighting editor" from the "little ole *Appeal*." Stemming from the controversial proposition put forth by the leadership at the *Appeal* to kidnap the fugitive ex-governor of Kentucky, Fred Warren was arrested on May 8th and faced federal charges in the District Court of the United States for the third division of the district of Kansas.[22] Potentially due to the *Appeal*'s "Populistic brand of socialism," many in the capitalist and establishment camps, including President Roosevelt, believed the press was "a paper which not only practices every form of malignant and brutal slander, but condones and encourages every form of brutal wrongdoing."[23] Thus, when Warren signed off on the now famous kidnapping reward, he placed himself on the front lines of the battle between those that championed a "matter-of-fact application of socialist philosophy" and those that espoused the importance of a strict interpretation of law and order.[24] This same type of squaring off also took place in Boise, where populism, and now more prominently

---

[20] *Appeal to Reason*, April 13, 1907.

[21] *Appeal to Reason*, March 16, 1907.

[22] The ex-governor of Kentucky was wanted on charges of murder and had fled the state before being arrested.

[23] David Nord, "The *Appeal to Reason* and American Socialism, 1901-1920," *Kansas History* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1978): 76.

[24] W.J. Ghent, "'The *Appeal*' and its Influence," *The Survey* 26, no. 1 (April 1911): 24-25.

socialism, not only meant rejecting the authority of the two traditional political parties but also symbolized the working class and its struggle to assert economic sovereignty. This symbolism resonated with many in the working class who resided within the Rocky Mountain States. It meant more than simply another theatrical political showdown but instead stood for a final defense of their personal liberty and autonomy. Nonetheless, the Warren case once again placed the *Appeal* on the front lines, a position it not only desired but also whole-heartedly had sought out since the start of the Haywood trial.

Despite the Warren trial being "a long chain of vexations delays," the *Appeal* utilized the opportunity to spotlight the hardships the foes of organized capital faced if they dared speak out against any injustices and inconsistencies in the law.[25] The socialist-labor press kept the issue at the forefront of their readerships minds for months after both the Haywood and Warren trials ended and constantly referred to their prosecution whenever making an argument concerning the lopsidedness of the current legal and political system. However, once the expected guilty verdict came in for the Warren case, which entailed a $1500 fine and six-months at hard labor, a political conundrum arose that threatened to oust the national Republicans from the majority congress. Possibly fearing any long-term backlash from the working class or a collectivization of journalists, behind the principle of a free press, acting unfriendly to the White House, the Taft administration pardoned Warren the day before his sentence was to begin and reduced his fine to $100. Although the Warren trial did not reach its conclusion until a few years after the Haywood trial had ended, it suggests how personal and intimate the larger struggle between these two powerful and influential forces had

[25] Ibid., 26.

become. As the trial date neared, the president of the United States even weighed in publicly, although not necessarily intentionally, on the significance of the case to America's collective wellbeing. But his argument also had a personal tinge.

Union Pacific Railroad president E.H. Harriman made a public claim that Theodore Roosevelt had "begged" the railroad executive to raise campaign funds for his 1904 presidential campaign. This effectively gave credence to the rumors that Roosevelt and the wealthy special interests were in cahoots. Roosevelt responded with a letter detailing his own account of their official dealings as well as a shocking characterization of Harriman.[26] As part of his long response to Harriman's claim, Roosevelt compared Harriman's reputation for buying off state legislatures and courts to the acts Haywood and company were accused of committing in Idaho and Colorado. Stating that "a cynicism and deep-seated corruption which makes the man uttering such sentiments, and boasting, no matter how falsely, of his power to perform such crimes, at least as undesirable a citizen as Debs, or Moyer, or Haywood," Roosevelt attacked the railroad executive's believability.[27] Roosevelt chose to touch on the subject of corruption and monopolization of economic and political power by railroad tycoons and the like, a populist argument, as a way to discredit the genuineness of Harriman's claim. Although the intent of the letter is debatable, the response from labor and those affiliated or concerned with the Haywood, Pettibone, and Moyer case was outrage.

The media and public outrage stemmed mainly from the timing of the statement's release, the weight such a comment would hold with any potential juror in Idaho, and the

---

[26] Lukas, 459-60.

[27] Theodore Roosevelt, *Sherman Letter*, retrieved from Lukas, 460-61.

perceived contempt the president of the United States had for a few radical labor organizers. Some of the media outlets focused their coverage on the somewhat embarrassing observation that two of America's most powerful and influential men were airing their private dealings and personal grievances, vanity, and insecurities for the entire world to read.[28] This type of media coverage represents a form of popular culture sensationalism; it appealed to only to those who might be amused by the bitter infighting among his rich oppressors. The larger newspapers that potentially limited their readership to the few who were interested in highbrow politics left a significant void for the dissemination of substantive material.

Led by an aggressive and combative *Appeal*, pro-labor unions and presses responded to the Roosevelt-Harriman spat with similarly harsh rhetoric and enthusiastic public displays of their utter dissatisfaction. The most notable and popular contributor to the *Appeal*, Eugene Debs – also named as one of these so called "undesirables" – denounced the president's comments as "black and damnable" and likened Roosevelt to a "barbarian" and "enemy of the friends of this republic."[29] Other radical and liberal presses soon followed suit and began a relentless attack on the timing of the release of the president's remarks and the potentially deadly influence they might exert on an Idaho jury. Further, the *Appeal* continued to apply pressure to the Roosevelt administration as it constantly highlighted the president's connection to the elite mining, financing, and transportation interests of the United States, while comparing these rumored financially

[28] Lukas, 462-63.

[29] *Appeal to Reason*, April 20, 1907.

lucrative relationships with the plight of the working class family in the urban ghettoes.[30] This strategy was successful. The public began holding demonstrations that illustrated both its support for the accused and hate for Roosevelt's comments. Students at some of the major universities of the country spoke out against the "undesirable citizen" comment and President Roosevelts' lack of remorse for stating such a volatile, controversial, and potentially lethal comment about the inner circle. Across dozens of campuses, students donned buttons reading, "I AM AN UNDESIRABLE CITIZEN." The action eventually became mainstream, with "tens of thousands of men and women" wearing these buttons during the entire duration of the trial.[31] Additionally, hundreds of marches and public demonstrations in support of the labor leaders occurred just before the start of the Haywood trial.

In Boston, New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, union supporters and anti-Roosevelt protesters flocked to the streets and public spaces to express their support for the accused. In the relatively unaffiliated labor town of Boston, estimates range from 100,000 to 200,000 demonstrators occupying the Commons. In New York, anywhere from 160,000 to 300,000 marchers made their way past 5th Avenue with banners reading, "ROOSEVELT CAN SHOW HIS TEETH – WE ARE NOT AFRAID. WE STAND BY OUR BROTHERS IN IDAHO."[32] During these marches, there were as many signs critical of President Roosevelt as supportive of the labor leaders.[33] In Chicago, numbers

---

[30] *Appeal to Reason*, April 13, 20, & 27, 1907.

[31] Adamic 149.

[32] Lukas, 480; Haywood, 205; Carlson, 108-9; Adamic, 150.

[33] Lukas, 473.

of labor supporters topped out at just over 100,000; similar numbers of protesters gathered in San Francisco and other midsized urban cities.[34] This amount of public support for the accused members of the inner circle and laborers in general, illustrates the opinion of a large demographic who were unhappy with Roosevelt's comments and the plight of the American worker. Without this strong show of public support for the contemporary symbols of organized labor in the US, media coverage of the affair may not have been as aggressive and widespread and the Haywood case may not have had such national significance. Nevertheless, as enthusiasm for the start of the trial increased across the country, the atmosphere in Boise proved to be just as stressful and volatile as what some of the larger urban cities would have seen if they were in a similar situation.

Boise, a town of 18,000 people including temporary residents, became a city of almost double that population overnight. Over 54 representatives of newspapers and periodicals, headquartered in both North America and Europe, moved into town, and a self-designated "labor jury," which would publicly render their own verdict, formed.[35] Because of the seemingly unwavering obsession locals and visitors shared over the high profile murder and trial, some reporters openly referred to the city as "murdertown," as social and economic life in Boise had come to rely on the public attention and sudden influx of visitors.[36] Without much of a law enforcement infrastructure in place, however, residents and visitors alike began to speculate about the possibility of an armed insurrection, led by radical labor sympathizers and thugs descending on the quiet,

---

[34] Carlson, 109.

[35] Carlson, 110.

[36] Boyer & Morais, 167.

picturesque Rocky Mountain state capital. In fact, rumors of such an event had started as early as the controversial extradition of the inner circle, and they only increased as the trial date neared. Officials in Ada County were on high alert and extremely sensitive to the movement of large numbers of labor supporters in and around the city. Because of the perceived vulnerability of the local armory and supply depot – and the constant stream of seemingly credible rumors identifying these particular posts as targets – local officials ordered guards to patrol the area twenty-four hours a day until well after the trial.[37] In addition, in an effort to restrict the First Amendment rights of pro-labor supporters and trained activists, the mayor of Boise banned public speaking of any sort, including that of a religious nature, for the entirety of the Haywood trial.[38] After local business leaders and officials had openly discussed their concerns that the measures would not be enough to ensure the protection of property and resources, a citywide curfew was instituted just after jury selection had concluded. The local officials' acts were understandable in light of previous cases involving organized labor and the more radical factions of their organizations.

The temporary residents in Boise were not all peaceful, law-abiding spectators; a large number of them were former and current union radicals. Fears that these veteran agitators would stir up memories of the Coeur d'Alene rebels were understandable, and mayor John M. Haines, the successor to Hawley, most likely believed that his aggressive attempts to control the situation were in the best interests of city and state. If, for

---

[37] The most common rumor involved the theft of large quantities of gunpowder and dynamite, which would inevitably give any rebellion fuel to last indefinitely.

[38] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 110.

example, the Ada County Courthouse expected to witness even half of the attendees that some of the more notable labor-oriented cases of the nineteenth century experienced, that would represent a crowd of nonresidents larger than the state capital's total population.[39] Each day, the courthouse steps averaged 1,000 interested onlookers who were hoping to catch a glance inside the courtroom or hear key testimony.[40] Despite the seemingly never-ending wave of thousands of bystanders and spectators – some even being famous actors and authors – the most important collection of individuals in the county were the twelve jurors that made up the all-male jury.[41]

Placing Roosevelt's comments aside, the most difficult task still out there for the defense, and to some lesser extent the prosecution as well, was to locate a body of qualified potential jurors who had not already made up their minds about the case. These jurors could not have opinions so entrenched that they would reject any new and substantial evidence. Not surprisingly, the defense and prosecution each had completely different strategies about what their perfect type of juror would look like and how they would be an asset in the jury room. The defense attempted to find anyone with a prior background in the Idaho mines or even land one of the few agriculturalists who had some relationship with the early Farmers' Alliance and their collectivist philosophy.[42] The prosecution sought men primarily from business and banking backgrounds, those who would most likely never sympathize with the plight of the radical union leader or see

---

[39] Orth, 14-15.

[40] *Idaho Daily Statesman*, June 8, 2014.

[41] The notable people in attendance included Gifford Pinchot and Ethel Barrymore.

[42] Lukas, 414.

justification in their terroristic acts.[43] Further, both legal teams were required to follow the "California system of jury selections," which essentially entailed the state filling the jury box with potential jurors, who were then subjected to questioning from both legal teams.[44] Typically, under this particular system of jury selection, the defense has ten peremptory challenges and due to the state's control of choosing potential candidates, the prosecution only has five.[45] However, with a little bit of suspected politicking and bribing in the Idaho legislature, McParland and company were rumored to have been the leading crusaders in getting a bill through the Republican legislative branch. This legislation, passed with majority support on May 7, 1907, allowed the prosecution and defense an identical number of challenges.[46] Despite this obviously unjust tampering by state officials – and by the Pinkerton agency, which had an undercover operative employed by the legal team – the jury selection ended without much incident.[47]

Although the defense griped publicly that the chosen jury had virtually zero union ties, all of the jurors had some sort of an agricultural background and seemed to fit with the old populist sentiment that was rampant in Idaho over a decade earlier.[48] Thus, if

---

[43] In his autobiography, Haywood referenced the jury selection process and Darrow's effort of dismissing all of the bankers in the county as, "like killing snakes."

[44] Ibid., 526.

[45] If a peremptory challenge is used, the potential juror in question is immediately removed without cause. The 2:1 advantage the defense typically holds can be utilized as quite an effective tool for an experienced attorney.

[46] Lukas, 530-31.

[47] Ibid., 535-37.

[48] Nine of the twelve jurors still maintained agriculturally-based employment at the time of the trial. The other three men worked in real estate, construction, and as part of a railroad construction crew.

Melvyn Dubofsky and like-minded historians are correct in their assessment of the Mountain West – that from 1890-1905 the region followed the Marxian pattern of development and therefore became ideologically Marxist – then the courting of farmers by the working-class into the Idaho populist movement was quite effective in creating long term social bonds.[49] Despite this potentially meaningful connection, however, not every friend of the accused interpreted the composition of the jury as beneficial. The *Appeal*'s "war correspondent," George Shoaf, wrote in late April that these men understood "little about unionism," shared a blind and toxic loyalty to the Republican Party, and could easily be influenced.[50] In fact, of the twelve jurors, there were eight Republicans, three Democrats, and one Prohibitionist, a mix that seemingly portended a guilty verdict.[51] In addition, all but one juror was over the age of fifty, leaving many interested onlookers and the press to reflect on the wise and noble looking jury that was entrusted to preserve tranquility in the wild West. Actor Ethel Barrymore commented to reporters that she admired the jury of farmers and ranchers, calling them, "the most wonderful looking men I've ever seen."[52] Wonderful or not, a trial with national implications awaited them.

On the morning of June 4, 1907, after an unusually long pretrial period for Idaho, the prosecution opened its case against William D. Haywood. Both legal teams had spent

---

[49] Melvyn Dubofsky, "The Origins of Western Working Class Radicalism, 1890-1905." *Labor History* 7, no. 2 (Spring 1966): 139-41.

[50] *Appeal to Reason*, April 27, 1907.

[51] Carlson, 113.

[52] *Idaho Daily Statesman*, June 8, 2014.

several months preparing and shaping their courtroom strategy, each eventually deciding to frame its arguments within the context of a class struggle and conspiracy. During the state's opening argument, James Hawley declared "the killing of ex-governor Steunenberg was not the primary object of this conspiracy but was only an incident of it and a part of their (WFM) general policy."[53] Clearly, Hawley's aim was to link radical unionism with the inner circle by placing the WFM at the center of a criminal organization that killed or silenced any foe to organized labor. The prosecution hoped to discredit any argument made by the defense that attempted to evaluate Haywood's past actions individually and not as part of a quasi-crime syndicate. For Hawley and company, the more the jury began to blend Haywood, terroristic acts, and the WFM together, the more likely it was that they would not separate the actions of two and would then see the murder as a revenge killing orchestrated by the organization's inner circle.[54]

Similarly, Haywood's defense team sought to focus on the conspiracy angle and the assumption that some large, well-financed organization had orchestrated the entire ordeal. The defense suggested, however, that this organization was not the WFM, but instead the MOA, which had played a significant role in coercing Orchard to point the blame on the inner circle in exchange for a lesser punishment.[55] Darrow hammered away at this during the defense's time for remarks and suggested that the prosecution's purpose was to destroy the 500,000-member union and pave the way for universal control over all

---

[53] Lukas, 550.

[54] Conlin, *Big Bill Haywood*, 60.

[55] Ibid., 61.

laborers.[56] The most likely reasoning behind this strategy is linked to the defense's hope that by championing what could be interpreted as a hardline populist sentiment, it might stir not only popular support for the defendants, but the opinions of an ideologically compatible jury. Further, the defense also pledged a considerable amount of time to criticize the prosecution for resting the integrity of their case on the supposedly McParland-engineered confession of an admitted murderer and life-long criminal.[57] In fact, it was both Adams' redacted confession and inconclusive trial, as well as Orchard's questionable character that presented the most difficulty for the prosecutors. Nevertheless, the state's star attorney, newly elected US Senator Bill Borah, may have allowed his own outside legal troubles to get in the way and disturb his focus during the trial.

William Borah's rise to political stardom had been nothing if not meteoric, especially for one so young. It started when he watched his father, a notable leader in the Presbyterian Church, debating his good friend Judge Silas Bryan, father to the eventual Populist firebrand William Jennings Bryan.[58] In addition, Borah's political rise can also be credited to the connections he made with very influential people including his father-in-law, former influential Idaho Governor William McConnell, and Theodore Roosevelt, father of Borah's mistress.[59] These connections were what led Borah to establish the most financially successful law firm in Idaho, which inevitably paved his route towards

---

[56] *Idaho Daily Statesman*, June 8, 2014.

[57] Conlin, *Big Bill Haywood*, 56.

[58] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 231.

[59] Lukas, 291.

higher political office. However, these same connections ended up enveloping the young attorney in a land fraud indictment that lasted the duration of the trial and threatened to imprison the senator-elect.

After the U.S. District Attorney in Idaho had begun prosecuting Borah and his business partners, the matter for the senator-elect reached such apocalyptic proportion that he considered resigning his seat, and he notified President Roosevelt of his intentions.[60] Roosevelt, however, persuaded Borah to retain his seat and fight these charges with all of the means at his disposal. Roosevelt likely was referring to the army of loyal and influential press corps members, representing papers ranging in size from the *New York Times*, *Emporia Gazette*, to the AP, that were spread across the country waiting to push the story in a Borah-friendly way.[61] Despite articles promoting Borah's innocence on a weekly basis, the labor presses, led by the *Appeal*, increased their literary assault and called attention upon the hypocrisy of a man charged with theft and dishonesty prosecuting wholesome American laborers.[62] By bringing to light the moral contradictions at play, the *Appeal* hoped to limit the effectiveness of one of the most skilled attorneys in the state and, by doing so, weaken the prosecution's overall efforts to convince the jury that Haywood and company were corrupt. Regardless, the indictment hung over Borah's head for the entirety of the Haywood trial and even affected his own

---

[60] David H. Grover, "Borah and the Haywood Trial," *Pacific Historical Review* 32, no. 1 (February 1963): 68-69.

[61] Ibid., 69.

[62] *Appeal to Reason*, April 20, 1907.

performance.[63] One man, however, who never seemed be affected by outside events was none other than Harry Orchard, the only man who had actually confessed to a crime he had committed.

When Orchard took the stand, he was forty-one years old. Despite his recent stint in a rural county jail and state penitentiary, Orchard walked into the courtroom looking like a respectable "Sunday school superintendent" and noticeably more presentable than the unkempt Haywood, who had also experienced a long detention.[64] Living up to the media hype and, more importantly, McParland's expectations, Orchard's testimony was concise, clear, wonderfully delivered and shocking at times to all who witnessed the performance. What seemed to surprise the most people, however, was both the endurance and composure exhibited by Orchard during his twenty-six hour cross-examination. During this weeklong endeavor, Orchard faced some of the harshest criticisms and questions the defense could muster, and throughout the entire process Orchard never wavered from his original testimony or offered substantive contradictions for the defense to exploit. The performance was nothing short of disappointing for the defense, which had hoped to break the witness' exterior and reveal an entire web of lies illustrating that the interests of big capital orchestrated the entire affair. Without the utter collapse of Orchard on the witness stand to blow the case open, the defense relied upon making Haywood seem more relatable and credible to the agrarian jurors.

Much like the testimony and cross-examination of Orchard, Haywood's turn at the podium ended with few significant events; he was well-prepared and appeared

---

[63] Lukas, 290; Grover, *Borah and the Haywood Trial*, 68-70.

[64] Lukas, 552-53.

controlled throughout his testimony, having benefitted from a few law courses he had taken while in prison. He intended on eventually becoming a partner at an Idaho law firm.[65] Moreover, during Borah's cross-examination, Haywood stood up to penetrating and incendiary questioning without losing his resolve or exposing a serious inadequacy within his testimony. Though there was clearly no sign of mutual admiration between Haywood and Borah, each did a service to their cause by not allowing the quips and barbs of the other to elicit an emotional reaction. Haywood reiterated his hatred and distaste for Borah after the trial by repeatedly referencing his ineffective line of questioning and describing the young attorney as a "responsible mouthpiece of the exploiting class."[66] Nonetheless, with the star witnesses down and after several defense witnesses had been arrested for perjury shortly after testifying, the state prepared to make its closing remarks.[67]

The prosecution's closing remark duties fell to the preoccupied Borah, despite Hawley's seemingly effectual management as lead attorney to that point. On a hot dry summer afternoon, Borah made a five and a half hour-long speech, peppered with instances of brilliance but noticeably ineffective with the jury. Reporters questioned this flat performance and hinted, "He was obviously not at his best" and clearly "preoccupied."[68] Borah had attempted to reshape the prosecution's strategy of tying

---

[65] Haywood, *Autobiography*, 198-99.

[66] Ibid., 85.

[67] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 161.

[68] Grover, *Borah and the Haywood Trial*, 68; Adamic, 151; Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 276.

Haywood with an organized labor conspiracy and instead stated, "this is not a fight on organized labor – it is simply a trial for murder."[69] However, repeatedly Borah referenced an "industrial warfare" or sanctioned Steunenberg's actions during the Coeur d'Alene strife, describing it as, "necessary in order to preserve the integrity of the State." The young attorney had clearly contradicted his team's argument.[70] On the contrary, the defense legal team withstood any notion of abandoning its strategy and continued to highlight the contradictions and inadequacies of the state's case.

Darrow, like Borah, was the man who would provide the bulk of his team's closing arguments and, like the senator-elect, would seek to use the spotlight for the furtherance of his career. According onlookers' reports, Darrow was as eloquent as he was forceful, and while the jury showed little emotion, it would have been difficult to not be influenced by the fiery and enthusiastic performance of one of the nation's brightest young attorneys.[71] Among the many memorable lines uttered by Darrow, the most moving was, "if you hang him you will crucify the labor movement of the world," perfectly illustrating the defense's taproot position throughout the entire trial.[72] So taken aback by the performance and quote, Haywood stated afterwards that he believed

---

[69] William E. Borah, "Closing Arguments" in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 160-1.

[70] Ibid., 162-3.

[71] Boyer and Morais, 169-70.

[72] Clarence Darrow, "Summation by Darrow: transcript of State of Idaho vs. Haywood" in *The Haywood Case: Materials for Analysis*, ed. Abe Ravitz and James Primm (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960), 484.

Darrow's closing remarks would go down in history as one of his greatest.[73] At just past ten o'clock on July 28, 1907, Darrow finished his closing statement and left the fate of his client, and subsequently the rest of the inner circle, in the hands of the jurors.

After Darrow had closed, Judge Wood provided the jury with sixty-five instructions, which according to some erred on the side of caution and strapped the jury with guidelines too rigid for a conviction.[74] The jurors accepted the long list of instructions and went into the deliberation chamber for what many believed would be quite a long time. However, at just before seven the next morning, a messenger arrived at both the prosecution and defense offices notifying the legal teams that the jury had reached a verdict.[75] With all important parties, minus the unreachable Bill Borah, assembled in the courtroom, the decision was announced to an eager public and press. After deliberating for only nine hours, the foreman read aloud that the jury found Bill Haywood not guilty on all counts.

The general press and friends of concentrated capital collectively went into an uproar, with papers like the *Chicago Tribune* declaring, "the verdict sets Haywood free, but public opinion has not cleared him." President Roosevelt stated that, "there has been a gross miscarriage of justice in my mind out in Idaho at the acquittal of Haywood; I suppose the jury was terrorized but it is not a pleasant matter from any standpoint."[76] Understandably, not everyone shared these negative views of the verdict, especially the

---

[73] Haywood, *Autobiography*, 216.

[74] Grover, *Debaters and Dynamiters*, 257.

[75] Carlson, 134.

[76] Ibid., 139; Adamic, 155.

allies of organized labor. Haywood maintained without organized labor's support and solidarity, he would not have been acquitted.[77] The jurors outwardly appeared to be celebrating their decision, as one juror asked Haywood to autograph an American flag, while the foreman as well as the only prohibitionist juror invited Haywood and his family to stay and dine at their homes before departing Boise.[78] Irrespective of the multiple and passionate views pertaining to the verdict, after over a year of detainment, Haywood was a free man and able to leave the state of Idaho on his own accord, proving arresting officials wrong when they predicted not a single member of the accused inner circle would leave the territory alive.

Haywood's legal vindication suggests that populist sentiment was still clearly embedded, although not outwardly visible, in the state of Idaho and that, as in other parts of the west, Rocky Mountain Populism resonated with agriculturalists. From the jury selection and composition to the "murdertown" atmosphere that enveloped Boise, almost aspects of the Haywood case had its origins in the most populist regions of the state. In the end, Haywood had not benefitted so much from a superior legal team, outstanding or harmful testimony, or good financial support so much as a local ideology that was sufficiently compatible with his own.

---

[77] Conlin, *Big Bill Haywood*, 84.

[78] Ibid., 75; Carlson, 135.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The Bill Haywood trial is arguably significant for several reasons, but its place in labor history as the first critical and truly indicative clash between the forces of organized labor and capital in the twentieth century is where it is most valuable to current and future historians. Further, viewing this affair against the backdrop of a larger regional class struggle provides insights on populism's residual effects in the Rocky Mountain states and agrarian communities elsewhere. This deep-rooted connection resulted in a small band of agriculturally connected men abandoning their political allegiances, blocking out the distractions brought on by national and international publicity, and analyzing the evidence as impartially as was humanly possible in such a highly charged situation. The result was a verdict more grounded in facts than conjecture. While hardly impartial in its coverage, the *Appeal to Reason* succeeded in countering the political right's undue influence by keeping the plight of the accused in the national dialogue. Its key contributor, Eugene V. Debs, advocated passionately and forcefully for the workingman, and that advocacy became the centerpiece of the *Appeal*'s controversial assault on foes of organized labor, irrespective of social class or political party.

Labor's struggle to achieve equal access to justice did not end on July 29, 1907 with Haywood's acquittal, but continued well after the primary actors in this story had left

the scene. The high profile of his murder trial made Haywood a legend among the organized labor crowd; a legend enhanced by his presidency of the Industrial Workers of the World 1915-1921 and flight to Bolshevik Russia in the wake of conviction on charges under the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918. This conviction came with a thirty-year prison sentence and after Haywood had exhausted every legal option, he fled country. He eventually died in Moscow. Fellow accused George Pettibone, also acquitted of murder charges for Stuenenberg, struggled to achieve control over his followers and never reached the national popularity that Haywood achieved. The state of Idaho dropped all charges against Charles Moyer prior to a trial of his own, but he died of cancer less than one year after Haywood's acquittal. Meanwhile, the defense's legal team, minus Edmund Richardson (d. 1911) enjoyed more professional and personal success than their clients did. Clarence Darrow went on to legal stardom, most notably while representing Dayton, Tennessee biology teacher John T. Scopes in the "Monkey Trial" of 1925 in a losing cause. Opposite Darrow was a prosecution led by his old populist/progressive idol, William Jennings Bryan.

Idaho's prosecutors garnered the greatest amount of post-trial success. Despite his legal troubles of 1907, William E. Borah went on to serve in the U.S. Senate for thirty-two years, most notably espousing isolationism, uncovering corruption of the Harding Administration, sponsoring a bill that created the Department of Labor, and supporting important New Deal measures despite his own Republican affiliation. The "Lion of Idaho" became a legend in his own state and a political force to be reckoned with in the US Senate. Borah's mentor and colleague, James Hawley, continued his legal career and eventually won a term as governor. Although Hawley later lost two separate bids for

Congress, he still maintained one of the most popular and prestigious law practices in Idaho and remained a constant advocate for the state.

Not surprisingly, Harry Orchard's life after the Haywood trial did not go well. He was tried and convicted for Steunenberg's murder in 1908 and sentenced to hang. At Judge Freemont Wood's urging, the Idaho Board of Pardons commuted the sentence to life in prison, largely because Orchard had cooperated so completely with the prosecution during Haywood's trial.[1] Although Orchard had penned his own accounts of the affair, no credible press paid much attention. Most moved on to other stories within a few weeks of the Haywood verdict and few covered the continuing class struggle between labor and management in the West.

The *Appeal* continued its assault on the agents of capital and industry -- first among a small niche of like-minded subscribers but by the conclusion of the Haywood Trial, with an international readership and matching high profile. Perhaps most ironically, a progressive Republican president, one who also fought monopolistic tendencies throughout his career, assisted their overnight growth most of all. Further, not only was the *Appeal* responsible for enticing Theodore Roosevelt to openly denounce the press and to publicly condemn the accused, they caused the trial to be conducted under the threat of mass violence. The *Appeal* consistently led the charge against monopolistic entities and the representatives of special interests while amazingly keeping previous, somewhat similar, grievances and events in the minds of the public. Without the *Appeal*'s involvement, Haywood and company might not have raised enough money to

[1] Orchard died in prison in 1954.

hire a competent legal team. Nor would their version of events have been on any front pages week after week for the trial's duration.

Still, the trial was not about one newspaper, one labor organization, or even one man. It was about a struggle for the workingman's survival and individual sovereignty in the western mining districts. Coverage of the ongoing clash between organized labor and concentrated capital in the West came to affect the entire nation, as did the even more volatile clashes that followed throughout the twentieth century. A comprehensive study of the Rocky Mountain West's labor issues is therefore essential to any serious examination of American West's nineteenth- and early twentieth century development as a whole.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Newspapers, Magazines, and Periodicals

Appeal to Reason. Girard, Kansas. 1903-1907.

Baker City Herald. Baker City, Oregon. 1907

Idaho Daily Statesman. Boise, Idaho. 1905-1907 & 2014.

McClure's Magazine. New York City, New York. 1906-1907.

Oregonian. Portland, Oregon. 1906-1907.

The Outlook. New York City, New York. 1906-1907.

Wayland's Monthly. Girard, Kansas. 1905-1908.

Manuscript Collections

J. A. Wayland Collection. Special Collections, Leonard H. Axe Library. Pittsburg State University, Pittsburg, Kansas.

Monographs and Articles

Brewer, George D. *"The Fighting Editor" or "Warren and the Appeal": Biography of Fred D. Warren*. Girard, KS: George D. Brewer, 1910.

Buck, Solon Justus. *The Granger Movement: A Study of Agricultural Organization and Its Political, Economic, and Social Manifestations, 1870-1880*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913.

This monograph was essential in understanding the agriculturalists of the West choice in politically, and at times financially, aligning themselves together against concentrated capital in the late nineteenth century. Moreover, this perspective provided a much-needed viewpoint into why an all farmer jury decided to side with a self-confessed

radical labor leader against the constant pressure of the federal, state, and local governments of the West.

Carlton, Frank T. *The History and Problems of Organized Labor*. Boston: D.C. Heath & Company, 1911.

Carlton's book focuses on the broader struggle and conflicts that organized labor in the United States had faced up until the first decade of the twentieth century. This text was of particular use to this thesis by providing another perspective on the issues organized labor faced in the realm of public opinion.

French, Hiram T. *History of Idaho: A Narrative Account of Its Historical Progress, Its People and Its Principal Interests, Volume I*. Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1914.

French's narrative of Idaho history only a few years after the conclusion of the entire affair, provides a bit of historiographical context to the case. French briefly describes the trial as significant in Idaho history as it had both national and international press coverage, attention, and speculation. Moreover, French pays more attention to Harry Orchard than any other character, not including Idaho politicians, in the entire text.

Ghent, W.J. "'The *Appeal'* and its Influence." *The Survey* 26, no. 1 (April 1911): 24-28.

One of the earlier evaluations and analysis about the *Appeal* and its unusual but seemingly effective way of creating a buzz and a sustainable readership, is Ghent's article. Although Ghent focuses a large portion of this short article on the Fred Warren affair – which linked to and stemmed from the Haywood affair – his overall analysis about the effectiveness of the press to gain public support and significant influence is important. Further, Ghent's article provides context to the historiographic element of this paper as it came a mere four years after the Haywood affair ended.

Hawthorne, Julian, James Schouler, and E. Benjamin Andrews. *United States: From the Discovery of the North American Continent up to the Present Time*. Vol. 8 & 9, *World's Best Histories*. New York: The Co-operative Publication Society, 1904.

This work largely provided an introductory background into the social ramifications of some of the key labor conflicts and events. However, this text did not provide any references or citations and I therefore was unable to locate some of the documents that supported many of the assumptions made about the labor movement.

Haywood, William D. *Bill Haywood's Book: The Autobiography of William D. Haywood*. New York: International, 1929.

Hunter, Robert. *Violence and the Labor Movement*. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1914.

Orchard, Harry. *The Confessions and Autobiography of Harry Orchard*. New York: The McClure Company, 1907.

Orth, Samuel P. *The Armies of Labor: A Chronicle of the Organized Wage-Earners*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921.

Wayland, J.A. *Leaves of Life: A Story of Twenty Years of Socialist Agitation*. Girard, KS: Appeal to Reason, 1912.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Monographs

Adamic, Louis. *Dynamite: The Story of Class Violence in America*. Rev. ed. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1963.

Adamic's text was particularly useful in understanding many facets of the Haywood et. al. affair and the labor struggles on the western frontier that influenced many of the key actors of this case. Adamic dedicates a considerable majority of his text to examining the case from the laborer or unionist perspective, while rarely giving credibility to alternate accounts of the pretrial, trial, and post-trial events.

Argersinger, Peter H. *Populism and Politics: William Alfred Peffer and the People's Party*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974.

This monograph provided a solid background into the demographics, struggles, causes, defeats, and victories of populism in the western half of the United States, particularly Kansas. It documents thoroughly the progression of the movement from a collective of farmers' alliances to a political powerhouse in some states and much-needed reformers in others. In addition, this text also provided some much-needed insight into the political landscape and struggles of some of the hotly contested state houses across the plains and Rocky Mountains.

Bissett, Jim. *Agrarian Socialism in America: Marx, Jefferson, and Jesus in the Oklahoma Countryside, 1904-1920*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.

This text covers the issues surrounding socialist support in Oklahoma among farmers and rural populations. Bissett references the *Appeal* throughout his book and relies heavily on their printed literature to indicate that Oklahoma socialism was distinct and different from other socialist camps across the country and mainly in the urban centers. This monograph really illustrates the amount of influence the *Appeal* had in rural agricultural communities, from Oklahoma to Idaho.

Bowles, Samuel, and Herbert Gintis. *Democracy and Capitalism: Property, Community, and the Contradictions of Modern Social Thought*. New York: Basic Books, 1986.

Bowles and Gintis' book covers the evolution of American democracy and capitalism through the spectrum of social classes. With this is mind, the authors explore the inconsistencies of social policy in America in relation to one's class status. The American ideal or dream – which arguably transforms into a different image for each social class – being something that most, if not all, Americans will never achieve, only chase.

Boyer, Richard O., and Herbert M. Morais. *Labor's Untold Story: The Adventure Story of the Battles, Betrayals, and Victories of American Working Men and Women*. 3rd ed. New York: United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, 1997.

This text illustrates the struggles of labor unions and the working class, from that perspective, throughout United States history. Boyer and Morais demonstrate how the struggles, riots, and turmoil by laborers in the early twentieth century is not much different from their counterparts in the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries. This text does provide some coverage of the Haywood affair, but the authors rely heavily on secondary sources that support the unionist version of class-on-class encounters.

Brooks, Thomas R. *Toil and Trouble: A History of American Labor*. 2nd ed. New York City: Dell, 1965.

Brooks' monograph provides a concise history of some of the major labor struggles in America from the late eighteenth to the mid twentieth century. Further, this text provided some essential background on the WFM, IWW, and union membership, before and after the Haywood trial. Moreover, this book illustrated some of the key policies and goals of the American labor movement in the Rocky Mountain West.

Carlson, Peter. *Roughneck: The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood*. London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1983.

This monograph was essential in garnering a preliminary understanding of not only the events that led to the trial but the actions taken, by several parties and entities, which led to the murder of the ex-governor of Idaho. Further, Carlson's text traced the life of Bill Haywood throughout the arrest and trial as well as his early labor organizing days in Idaho and Colorado. Moreover, Carlson's text provided context throughout this work, whether that be with the Haywood trial or with unionism and populism, broadly speaking, in the West.

Caro, Robert A. *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: Master of the Senate*. New York: Vintage Books, 2002.

Good coverage of the United States Senate during the tenure of William Borah, a leading character for the prosecution in the Bill Haywood trial. Although Caro largely focuses on the years relevant to Lyndon Johnson, he does give a thorough investigation into the preceding years of the Senate. Further, Caro's brief coverage of Borah's legal background provided credible insight into one of the prosecutions leading attorneys.

Clanton, Gene O. *Kansas Populism: Ideas and Men*. Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1969.

This text covers the People's Party in Kansas, how it achieved moderate success, its vision for the state, and what issues placed it in and eventually removed it from power. Clanton pays particular attention to the key figures of the Kansas populist movement, Annie Diggs, Jerry "Sockless" Simpson, and William Peffer. Further, this text provided solid context to understanding the populist movement among predominantly agrarian communities.

Conlin, Joseph R. *Big Bill Haywood and the Radical Union Movement*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969.

Conlin's monograph was very useful to this project as its focus ran parallel with the overall theme of unionism, radicalism, and socialism illustrated throughout the entire Haywood case. Conlin covers the trial in some depth and provides useful background information on multiple aspects of the trial. This book provided much needed insight into the trial, the labor struggle in Colorado and Idaho, and the political workings that greatly influenced the entire affair.

Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991.

Although Cronon's text focuses largely on the environmental aspect of the development of Chicago, it does provide a much-needed perspective about the emerging conflicts and issues between organized labor and concentrated capital in the western United States. In addition, this text also provided some early background knowledge into the emergence of some of the more predominant labor figures and organizations in the city.

Dallas, Gregor. *At the Heart of a Tiger: Clemenceau and his World, 1841-1929*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc., 1993.

Dallas's monograph provides context to both the trend of socialism that was becoming more prevalent in western universities and the meaning of the evolution of organized labor in the western world. This text provided solid context into why so many European newspapers covered the trial with such detail.

Edwards, Rebecca. *New Spirits: Americans in the "Gilded Age," 1865-1905*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Edwards' text covers key social elements and themes directly related to this project. Moreover, this book provided insight into various aspects of vital elements pertaining to the Haywood affair.

Ely, Richard T. *The Labor Movement in America*. New York: Arno & The New York Times, 1969.

Ely's book traces the labor movement in the U.S. in detail, and he pays close attention to the political and social dynamics the movements progression had across the country. This text provided good background knowledge on the labor struggles and conflicts of the west.

Ferkiss, Victor. *Nature, Technology, and Society: Cultural Roots of the Current Environmental Crisis*. New York: New York University Press, 1993.

This text provided insight into the impacts of technological advances on society and the transformation of social systems. Particularly, I used this monograph to provide a background on the mining techniques and industry of the American West and its evolutionary process.

Fetherling, Dale. *Mother Jones the Miners' Angel: A Portrait*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974.

Fetherling's text focuses on a socialist labor sympathizer and briefly discusses and retraces her relationship with the WFM and their accused leadership. Further, Fetherling also discusses the working and personal relationship "Mother Jones" had with various leaders and workers of the socialist and labor presses.

Goodwyn, Lawrence. *The Populist Moment*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Goodwyn's text provided context for the populist movement in the west and described how the labor movement coincided with the others' efforts. This book provided good background information.

Goodwin, Doris K. *The Bully Pulpit: Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and the Golden Age of Journalism*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013.

Goodwin's text provided a much-needed background into two key national figures that played influential roles throughout the entire affair, Taft and Roosevelt. Further, Goodwin discusses the relationship between Roosevelt and Taft during the Haywood trial, which places more importance upon Taft visiting Idaho to stump for the GOP candidates who were directly involved with the case. In addition, Goodwin's work also briefly discusses the actions and events of these two men in connection with journalism and how these two attempted to reform and control the press.

Green, James R. *Grass-Roots Socialism: Radical Movements in the Southwest, 1895-1943*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978.

Although Green's text focuses on the southwest, his analysis of the *Appeal*'s influence as well as the origin of the grass roots socialist movement was extremely valuable to this project. Moreover, Green's coverage of the development of the Oklahoma state constitution and how the *Appeal* arguably wielded the most influence among voters is unparalleled and a key aspect to this project.

Greenwood, Janette T. *The Gilded Age: A History in Documents*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Various readings related quite well with key aspects of this project. Further, this text was useful in locating other relevant secondary sources.

Grover, David. *Debaters and Dynamiters: The Story of the Haywood Trial*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1964.

Grover's text supplied much of the background for this project. Grover provides resources and citations to investigate as well as lays out a solidly defended thesis about the Haywood conspiracy and trial. Moreover, Grover's coverage of the political landscape in Idaho and Colorado pre-Steunenberg murder was essential in attempting to garner the background of some of the key characters of the entire affair.

Hicks, John D., and George E. Mowry. *A Short History of American Democracy*. 2nd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1956.

Hicks and Mowry's book was used to gain a preliminary understanding of both the labor and agricultural movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Further, this text briefly touched on some of the more well-known labor organizations as well, which provided a starting point into researching these bodies.

Horowitz, David A., and Peter N. Carroll. *On the Edge: The United States in the Twentieth Century*. 3rd ed. Belmont, Ca: Wadsworth, 2005.

This text briefly discussed the labor issues and legal battles of the west between organized labor and concentrated capital. Further, this text provided background information for the labor movement and conflicts in the western half of the country.

Kazin, Michael. *A Godly Hero: The Life of William Jennings Bryan*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006.

This text focuses largely on the political life of the populists' most popular and notable politician, William Jennings Bryan. As Bryan was quite popular in both Colorado and Idaho during his failed runs at the White House, this text provided a bit

more of an understanding into what about Bryan's message captivated and related so well with many rural agriculturalist and urban laborers.

Lukas, J. Anthony. *Big Trouble: A Murder in a Small Western Town Sets off a Struggle for the Soul of America*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997.

This lengthy narrative history provides a solid and very detailed background of all essential characters as well as the necessary historical information from the various regions' past. In addition, this text led me to many other resources and articles regarding key aspects of the Haywood affair – i.e., William Borah's speeches, James Hawley's political background, etc.

McMath, Robert C. *American Populism: A Social History 1877-1898*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

McMath's text provides an introductory history of populism in the American West and how this movement, although arguably crushed politically, never went away but evolved and became a part of many separate and distinct organizations, bodies, and parties. Further, McMath's estimation of the influence of populism during its height in the west provided a context moving forward in researching the popularity of key elements of this movement in the Rocky Mountain West.

-----. *Populist Vanguard: A History of the Southern Farmers'* Alliance. New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1975.

McMath's book focuses on the agrarian movement and organization of political, social, and financial bodies, by agriculturalists, in parts of the southwest and deep south. This text distinguished and illustrated the importance these collective bodies may have had in influencing the all farmer jury in Idaho.

McNall, Scott G. *The Road to Rebellion: Class Formation and Kansas Populism, 1865-1900*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.

This monograph concentrates on the history of Kansas populism from 1865-1900 and presents an overview of the state's political situation and the constant conflicts competing ideals experienced in Kansas. This text focuses heavily on local, state, and national elections as well as analyzing the mobilization of political parties in the state of Kansas. In addition, McNall discusses how these organizations and entities attempted to shape the state's future. This book is essential to this project as it provides a thorough account of statewide politics in Kansas, a state in which populism was arguably at its strongest.

Neet, Sharon E. "Variant editions of the Appeal to Reason, 1905-1906." DA diss., University of North Dakota, 1983.

Nugent, Walter T. K. *The Tolerant Populists: Kansas Populism and Nativism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963.

Nugent's book provided a solid background on the political influence and organizational strengths of Kansas Populists during their height just before the turn of the century. In addition, Nugent's text illustrated the hatred and disdain opposing political party members had for the People's Party in parts of the west, mainly Kansas.

Ostler, Jeffrey. *Prairie Populism: The Fate of Agrarian Radicalism in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, 1880-1892*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993.

This book concentrates on the height of American populism, focusing on the states of Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, from 1880-1892. Ostler provides a thorough analysis of politics in these three states, while concentrating on the issues that were the main driving forces in local, state, and national elections. Moreover, Ostler does not just focus on the dominant parties or third parties, but all relevant parties or movements that occurred in these prairie states. The issues Ostler sheds light on is the increasing freight rates, decreasing prices for farm goods, and the lack of either major party to adequately addressing these issues.

Pagden, Anthony. *Worlds at War: The 2,500-year Struggle between East and West*. New York: Random House Inc., 2008.

Pagden's text is an introduction to the stark differences between individualist and collectivist cultures. Further, the differences put forth illustrate why there was such a rejection of key elements of socialism, populism, and laborism in parts of the country, as a cultural fear of the "other" had significant influence on political affiliations, policies, theories, etc.

Schweikart, Larry, and Michael Allen. *A Patriot's History of the United States: From Columbus's Great Discovery to the War on Terror*. New York: Penguin Group (USA) Inc., 2004.

Schweikart and Allen's text briefly discussed key elements of this thesis – populism, socialism, the Haywood trial, labor movement, etc. – and was used as a more conservative, pro-capitalist perspective of these events.

Shannon, Fred A. *American Farmers' Movements*. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1957.

Shannon's monograph covers the agricultural movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and how a large number of western farmers came together to form collective bodies in an effort to strengthen their stance and position in an ever changing financial and political landscape.

-----. *The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860-1897*. New York: J.J. Little and Ives Company, 1945.

Shannon's *Farmer's Last Frontier* touches on the organization of farmers into collective bargaining bodies and the struggles and innovations of the years leading up to this development. Mainly, this text brought context to why so many western farmers resented the eastern monopolies and financial institutions.

Sherow, James. *Watering the Valley: Developments along the High Plains Arkansas River, 1870-1950*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990.

Sherow's text explained much of the culture of parts of the west and how communities welcomed populism and eventually socialism. Although, Sherow primarily discusses the legal and historical implications of water rights and the manipulation and influence over its usage, purpose, and ownership.

Shore, Elliott. *Talkin' Socialism: J.A. Wayland and the Role of the Press in American Radicalism, 1890-1912*. Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 1988.

Shore's text provided information about the culture and different dynamics of the *Appeal* and Wayland. Shore traces the press from its creation to its leader's tragic death. There is also a good amount of coverage of the Appeal behind the scenes during the Haywood affair and, stemming from this trial, the prosecution of Editor Fred Warren. Moreover, this work demonstrated quite well the notion that this socialist press and its editor played a critical and meaningful role in not only the rise of grass roots socialism in America but of labor issues across the globe.

Tomlins, Christopher. *The State and the Unions: Labor Relations, Law, and the Organized Labor Movement in America, 1880-1960*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Tomlins' book provided background on the legal aspect of the organized labor movement, illustrating more sophistication among the labor leaders than was played up during the Haywood affair. Further, this text really draws the comparison and differences of the more radical wings of the organized labor movement.

White, Richard. *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011.

White's text was useful in that it provided another perspective and critical analysis of the influence some of the capitalists elite exhibited in the early twentieth century in regards to legislation, policy, and national interest.

Journal Articles

Clements, Eric L. "Pragmatic Revolutionaries?: Tactics, Ideologies, and the Western Federation of Miners in the Progressive Era." *Western Historical Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (Winter 2009): 445-67.

Clements' article provided a much needed background and analysis of the WFM and their key leaders and policies. As the WFM played a central role in the whole Haywood affair, this article was essential to beginning to understand how the organization evolved and grew to influence thousands of members and supporters.

Conlin, Joseph R. "The Haywood Case: An Enduring Riddle." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (January 1968): 23-32.

Conlin's article explores the key nuances of the Haywood affair, the history and actions of the cast, historians' view of the event, and the inconsistencies of the timeline and accusations made by both the prosecution and the defense. Further, this article's examination of Steve Adams proved to be of particularly good use in attempting to relate this actor's obscure involvement in the plotting and murder of Steunenberg.

Dubofsky, Melvyn. "James H. Hawley and the Origins of the Haywood Case." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (January 1967): 23-32.

Dubofsky's article draws the historical connection between Haywood's legal team, led by Hawley, and their role and desire to play a significant role in the Haywood et. al. affair. This article was particularly useful in assisting in illustrating the importance political parties and ideologies played in influencing key members of this saga. Further, this article provided a necessary perspective on the history and status of populism in the state of Idaho during the northern mining conflict and Haywood affair.

-----. "The Origins of Western Working Class Radicalism, 1890-1905." *Labor History* 7, no. 2 (Spring 1966): 131-54.

In this article, Dubofsky focuses on the link between populism and working class struggles and issues in the western half of the United States. This article provided much needed insight into the political ramifications of Rocky Mountain West Populism and labor struggles in the region. Further, Dubofsky argument that laborers actively courted farmers and ranchers to join their causes, whether that be in the form of political or financial allegiances, gives a different perspective into influences on the Haywood jury.

Farmer, Hallie. "The Railroads and Frontier Populism." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 13, no. 3 (December 1926): 387-97.

This article mainly focuses on railroads and their owners being the driving force behind why many farmers deserted their old political affiliations and began to gravitate towards the populist movement. Although this article largely dismisses all other issues as chief driving forces behind populist popularity, it will serve as a good summary of how those financially tied to this form of transportation voted with the populists.

Fite, Gilbert. "Republican Strategy and the Farm Vote in the Presidential Campaign of 1896." *American Historical Review* 65, no. 4 (July 1960): 787-806.

This article exclusively concentrates on the political issues surrounding American populism and more specifically, how the Republican Party attempted to combat the third party when it came to agricultural or financial issues. Fite gives great insights into how the Republican Party addressed these issues at the national level, with the presidential campaign, and how this strategy impacted local and statewide races.

Fuller, Leon W. "Colorado's Revolt against Capitalism." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 21, no.3 (December 1934): 343-60.

Fuller's article provided much needed insight into the Colorado labor wars and the controversial and at times combative expansion of populism in the Rocky Mountain West. Although there is no mention of the murder of Steunenberg, some background and key information into other main actors – i.e., Haywood, Moyer, Pettibone, etc. – is here.

Gaboury, William J. "From Statehouse to Bull Pen: Idaho Populism and the Coeur d'Alene Troubles of the 1890's." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (January 1967): 14-22.

Gaboury's article was of great value to the part of this thesis that illustrated the years of the Steunenberg administration and the controversy that ultimately may have led to the ex-governor's death. Many of the main characters identified in this thesis are touched upon in Gaboury's text, which essentially provided crucial and previously missing information on the pre-trial background of these actors. Further, Gaboury pays particular attention to the start and expansion of populism in Idaho during its height and relates this to the start of trouble between organized labor and capital in the state.

Grover, David H. "Borah and the Haywood Trial." *Pacific Historical Review* 32, no.1 (February 1963): 65-77.

Grover provides an interesting angle to the Haywood affair by concentrating on the legal troubles Senator-elect William Borah was experiencing as the trial and preparations were well underway. Grover suggests that the reason Haywood may have escaped what seemed to be a solid conviction, is that Borah was preoccupied with his own affairs, which in his mind could have led to his political and professional destruction. This article was particularly useful when trying to illustrate the extracurricular activities of the trial might have played a larger role in the cases outcome than previously recognized.

Hicks, John D. "The Legacy of Populism in the Western Middle West." *Agricultural History* 23, no. 4 (October 1949): 225-36.

Hicks' article focuses on the ideological motivators that were behind not only the American populist movement, but the other competing ideologies as well. Hicks argues that the popular sentiment at the time among Americans from all backgrounds was their growing tendency to distrust and even loathe monopolies. For Hicks, the folks that supported antimonopolist policies all had in common their desire to have more federal government regulation on behalf of the common man. This article is relevant to the project in that it focuses largely on the motivating factors behind people joining the populist movement and espousing their basic ideology.

Holmes, William F. "Populism: In Search of Context." *Agricultural History* 64, no. 4 (Fall 1990): 26-58.

This article provides a great background on American populism in the Mountain West, Midwest, Southwest, South, and other populist strongholds in the country. Holmes relates the movement to many different causes and crusades that correlated well with populism, a Protestant revivalism/movement, republican traditionalist movement, and many nonfarm labor issues. Moreover, Holmes' article will serve as a very useful background into why populism was popular across very distinctively different communities and regions.

Kane, R. James. "Populism, Progressive, and Pure Food." *Agricultural History* 38, no. 3 (July 1964): 161-66.

In this article, Kane argues that the reason farmers gravitated towards populism was that the populist movement, along with their leadership, took on the previously exclusive farmer issue of pure food. This perspective is quite different from the other articles and it provides another explanation why farmers in certain regions of the country supported populist candidates and causes.

Milburn, George. "The Appeal to Reason." *American Mercury* 23 (July 1931): 359-71.

Milburn's article was one of the first to examine the *Appeal* and its place in American labor history. This article provides in detail the history of the press and socialism in the United States as well as some of the more influential actions of the *Appeal*. In addition, Milburn's argument that the *Appeal* played a significant role in leading socialism out of the theoretical realm and into the American mainstream is of particular use in helping identify its overall importance in influencing aspects of the Haywood trial.

Nord, David P. "The Appeal to Reason and American Socialism, 1901-1920." *Kansas History* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1978): 75-89.

Nord's article was very useful in helping define the impact of the socialist press and media, including the *Appeal*, in the development and expansion of American socialism across the country. Nord's position is that journalism historians largely ignored the *Appeal* up to that point and that the press influenced all levels of politics and policy.

Nord states that the *Appeal*'s largest contribution was being the "evangelistic propaganda organ for the left."

Preston, William. "Shall This Be All? United States Historians versus William D. Haywood et al." *Labor History* 2, no. 3 (Summer 1971): 435-53.

In this article, Preston discusses Bill Haywood's evaluation and place in American labor history and how historians have chosen to portray the former labor organizer and executive. Although this article would be of more use to someone writing about Bill Haywood's life and actions after the trial, it does provide some insight into how the entire affair – mainly his incarceration – influenced Haywood's latter years.

Shore, Elliott. "The Walkout at the Appeal and the Dilemmas of American Socialism." *History Workshop* Special American Issue, no. 22 (Autumn 1986): 41-55.

Shore's article provides a deeper and more intimate look into the *Appeal* and the operations and staff that kept the doors open during the early twentieth century. Its particular use to this work is that it gives an adequate look into the start of the press as well as some of the larger personalities that made it nationally known.

Stock, James. "Real Estate Mortgages, Foreclosures, and Midwestern Agrarian Unrest, 1865-1920." *Journal of Economic History* 44, no. 1 (March 1984): 89-105.

Stock's article focuses on the financial crises, mainly foreclosures and at-risk mortgages, as a direct correlation of Midwestern Agrarian unrest. He compares these crises in several different regions of the country as well as between rural, urban, and those farmers greatly isolated from towns, markets, and urban centers. This article is relevant in that it covers the financial motivation that caused farmers to support the populists extensively and how this translated into successes and failures of populist candidates in elections from 1865-1920.

Thompson, William Y. "Robert Toombs and the Georgia Railroads." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (March 1956): 56-64.

This article focuses on the distrust and legal disputes the state of Georgia had with the major railroad tycoons and companies that operated in the state. The importance this article has on this particular research project is that it provides a populist narrative where public distrust for monopolies or major corporations is profound across an entire state.

Turner, James. "Understanding the Populists." *Journal of American History* 67, no. 2 (September 1980): 354-73.

This article concentrates on the geographic location and isolation of those farmers that were the most susceptible and likely to turn towards populism and rejects the popular notion that all distressed farmers sought refuge in this movement. Turner's work is extremely relevant to in that it will provide a good context about the way more rural,

isolated farmers voted compared to the way agrarians who were closer to cities or markets voted.

Taft, Philip. "Violence in American Labor Disputes." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 364 (March 1966): 127-40.

Taft focuses on the conflicts and turmoil stemming from labor disputes and illustrates their importance by discussing some of the long-term ramifications of certain events. Taft's article provides a concise background into the conditions of the bullpens in Idaho as well as some of the conditions during the Colorado labor wars. Nonetheless, Taft's position is one in-line with those sympathetic to the laborer or unionist plight and he gives little credence to the argument that some laborers acted violently or criminally unprovoked.