

# THE BUTTE DAILY BULLETIN AND THE STATE COUNCIL OF DEFENSE

## Being the Testimony at the Time the Bulletin Staff Was Brought Before Stewart's Aggregation Previous to the Trial of Dunn, Smith and Daly on a Charge of Sedition.

(EIGHTH INSTALLMENT)

If there is any member who does not feel that way about it, I would be glad to have them say so. I am free to say that personally I don't like the editorial. I think it is unfair, untrue, unjust, and unwise, but that hasn't anything to do with the issue.

**MR. SMITH:** Well, then, Governor, will you admit from our standpoint that various actions by the Council, recited by myself, were unjust to the Bulletin Publishing Company, or appeared so?

**GOVERNOR STEWART:** No, I don't think so I don't think so.

**MR. SMITH:** In the case of the Council or its officers forwarding a protest to Postmaster General Burleson, without giving this staff of the Bulletin Publishing Company a hearing don't you think it was unjust?

**GOVERNOR STEWART:** No.

**MR. SMITH:** Don't you think it was jeopardizing the interests of the Bulletin Publishing Company?

**GOVERNOR STEWART:** No, because the numbers of your paper, the files of your paper would have to speak for themselves. It wouldn't make any difference what kind of allegation was made against your paper; if it was not borne out by the text of your articles, your writings, it would have no weight; it would fail. The fact that we merely sent that complaint forward would not in any sense jeopardize your mailing privilege, because the first thing that the postal department would do would be to look at your files. If your files had nothing objectionable in them, of course—

**MR. SMITH:** The point I am making, evidently the protest did fail and our files passed muster with the government, but, nevertheless, it appears to me that the Council didn't act justly by the Bulletin people. They didn't give them a fair show. They didn't give them a hearing before they forwarded the protest. It might have been that the protest would have acted otherwise. That protest came from some influential people who held a meeting at which the Bulletin was not represented, gave them no chance to defend itself.

That thing had occurred time and time again to the Bulletin staff, that they have been accused of this and that and everything in the catalog, without being given a hearing, and then you take exception to an editorial sentiment which springs from that treatment that we have received, and you won't acknowledge that the Bulletin staff has ever had any grievance at all, when a member of this Council and when the proprietors of the newspapers who signed that protest came out and stated on various occasions that we were I. W. W. chiefs, that we were disloyal, and so on, and so forth, and seditious, when the files of those papers that they accused of being disloyal, accused of representing I. W. W.'s, passed muster at Washington; and yet the Council forwarded a protest of those same people, and a member of this Council, running a paper, accused the staff of the Bulletin on the morning on which it appeared in this city for a hearing before this Council, accused them in black type, of being I. W. W. chiefs. That wasn't true it isn't true today; it can't be proven at any time; and yet no member of this Council will admit that the Bulletin staff has been unjustly dealt by.

That is what I would like to have each member of the Council answer me when they accuse members of the Bulletin staff of being I. W. W. chiefs, I would like to know what the member of the Council who published that in his paper based it on.

We have been quizzed considerably here this evening as to what we base our sentiments on. Our sentiments were based on those false statements concerning the Bulletin and repeatedly made, and no explanation has ever been given us, and since that hearing those accusations have been kept up in these various papers against the Bulletin staff. I want to state here, Governor, in regard to all those charges, any time the Bulletin staff gets a hearing they can prove that they are just as loyal and just as good citizens as the members of the Council or any other body of citizens in the United States. We haven't been getting that hearing, but we have been labeled as disloyal citizens, because I believe we happen to be working men promoting a daily paper which tries to promote the interests of the working men, and yet no member of the Council has yet admitted in this session or the former session that they were mistaken about the members of the Bulletin staff or the policy of the Bulletin.

**GOVERNOR STEWART:** Now, Mr. Smith, in the first place, it would not make any legal difference to you, and it would not have any effect upon the post office department for this Council to go ahead and give its judgment on the question of whether or not your articles were of such a nature as to justify the denial of your paper to

the mails by the postal department. The postal department reserves the right to pass on that question, and the postal department realizes in passing upon that question that if your articles are seditious and are bad that you cannot cure what is bad by explaining how you came to publish it. You can't send your paper out to your readers and say to them: "I publish this rotten stuff because, perchance, I was not given a square deal by one of the members of the Council." The post office department will not go into that. The question is, is your stuff bad or good, and if they decide your stuff was good and let you have the right to the mails, all well and good we abide by that. We didn't say it was bad. The stuff was put up to us by the newspaper association. We were asked in that resolution to send that stuff to the post office department, together with the resolution, and it was done without a suggestion by this Council as to what its views or the views of any member might be on the question, whether that stuff was bad or not.

Furthermore, at the time that you were brought over here you had published a scurrilous article about this Council, or about one member at least; in fact, all of the members I think, and you had misinformed and disadvised the public as to the personnel of the Council, accusing Mr. Kelly here of being the Kelly who had been mixed up in what you assumed to be some discreditable or disgraceful proceedings.

Up to that time this Council had done nothing. This Council had paid no more attention to the Butte Bulletin than to any other paper in Montana, until this editorial appeared, until this other matter was put up to us, and to do with what Mr. Campbell did as an individual, or as a newspaper had nothing to do with the case, and you have we sent the subpoenas to you. This Council had nothing no right to go to work and denounce this whole Council because, perchance, you didn't like Mr. Campbell. That is a matter between you and Mr. Campbell. If he has published stuff about you that is defamatory, that is actionable, you should go after him and not go after Mr. Lease, Mr. Sansburn, Mr. Logan, who knew nothing about your grievances and who knew nothing about what Mr. Campbell has said about you. These men were selected by me as Governor of the state of Montana, and last single one of them, without any knowledge of the part that he was to be selected. They were put on there to do their duty, and they have tried to do it. Because I might have made a mistake from your point of view in appointing men that you didn't like, you assume to condemn the whole Council.

Not only that, but in the condemnation of the whole Council, you assume to tear down the fabric of government that has been built up here by the legislative assembly of this state, in order to defend the people's rights and in order to prosecute this war. These men are not individuals; Mrs. Thompson is not Mrs. Thompson, but she is a member of this Council of Defense. They have an official capacity, and you intermingle their official capacity and their individual reputations in such a way as to destroy the usefulness and effectiveness of the Council of Defense. That is what you are doing and that is what we object to. You began that before the Council took any notice of you; before they had any official knowledge of the fact that the Butte Bulletin was in existence. That is my answer to you.

**MR. SMITH:** I would like to answer a point made by yourself.

**MR. CAMPBELL:** I want to tell you of the I. W. W. stuff. I think I have got a say in here just about now. All that I know about the news articles that have appeared in the Independent, so far as I am personally concerned, were justified by some one of my editors down there, from the fact, from the beginning, the inception of this I. W. W. trial in Chicago, the Butte Bulletin has certainly been a consistent supporter and booster and explainer for the I. W. W.'s down there, who are now found guilty. I want to tell you that I believe that article that you published in that paper, in which Mr. Dunn admits that he advised all of his readers that the State Council of Defense had no authority whatever, that nobody need pay any attention to it, that when he wrote that, when you published it, when Daly circulated it, that you are just as guilty of sedition as Bill Haywood is, and I hope to God that some one will prosecute you, because that is the very thing that Haywood is going to the penitentiary for right now.

I am willing any time anybody thinks I am guilty of sedition or disloyalty to stand trial. That is the reason I asked for a hearing. I am not trying to sidestep anything. I believe I have got certain rights and want to determine whether I have them or not. I simply claim

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MAJ. PIERRE VAN DUEREN



Maj. Pierre Van Dueren of the Belgian army, photographed on his arrival in New York. He has received the French Legion of Honor, the Croix de Guerre, the Belgian Order of Chevalier and Italian and Russian decorations.

### Maloney's Ton of Coal

By J. A.

The fathers of the city are met in high debate. As to who shall haul the garbage, and who shall pay the freight. The industrial grunts are handing out the dopes. The poor, overworked voters have given up all hope. The fathers of the city, they sit all night and day. Figuring out how under the sun to make the city pay.

Low Duncan saved the city a million and a half.

Poor old Bill Maloney couldn't save a sucking calf.

Low Duncan filled the coffers with shining hoops or kais.

But poor old Bill Maloney couldn't fill the city jail.

While the prices that the merchant charge separate us from our job.

And where is Bill Maloney now, with his full ton of coal.

The efficiency engineer has turned in his report.

And found the poor old city a half a million short.

The merchants are deep in the mire, their debts they cannot meet.

While the garbage of the city is rotting in the street.

The mayor called the council, hand-balled him to be there.

He called for all his wagons, he called for all his men.

Then up looked an old member, he spoke in his rage.

"I have worked hard for the city, I think I need a rest.

I have worked hard and faithful, no money have I seen.

A man who would stay on such a job is worthy in my eyes.

In my collar is to be worn in the smoke-house is no man.

The garbage can't get right in the street, nobody gives a damn.

When the weekly grocery bills come in, they give the housewife a pain.

And where is Bill Maloney now, with his full ton of coal?

Five times before the council George Toole has read the law.

Concerning proper ways to fill the treasury's gaping maw.

Five times the city council has risen up as one man.

And elected George Toole from out the room, and upon him placed the ban.

Then there came the mayor, his words were coarse and few.

If you refuse to pay these men, I'll buy of the whole blasted crew.

Then Charlie Swanson said to him: "I'll have you to understand I'm a member of the council and not your hired man.

And I don't care for you or any of your treas.

For you have put the city in a devil of a fix.

No one will work for the city now, they're too deep in the hole.

Put there by Maloney and his full ton of coal.

Bulletin Want Ads Gr. Results. Phone 52

## BOLSHEVISM

(Written for The Bulletin by K. D.)

At last we have learned of a solution for bolshevism. "That is what the 'Whiner' was talking on Sunday morning, March 2." The "Whiner" tells us that some great Czech or Bohemian by the name of Garga or such a name as that, has told our great allies that all that is necessary to destroy bolshevism is to send a big army over to Russia. Every country should send a big army and with the approval of the majority of Russian people they can keep that army in Russia for a few months and establish a "stable" government and that way they would save Russia from a terrible bolshevik and also the whole world.

Wow, that be lovely? It is useless to even take notice of such stuff any more, because we cannot expect anything decent from the junker or from the capitalist prostitutes. Any thinking man and woman knows what to expect from such a paper as the Butte "Whiner." But there are thousands of dopes and deluded fools among the working class, who never read anything but the poisonous capitalist sheets and they get their knowledge from those prostituted papers. For that reason it is duty of every thinking man and woman to try all they possibly can to enlighten those people.

According to the "Whiner," this Bohemian freak tells us that we must put down bolshevism by armed force. Did that monkey ever stop to think that in order to send the big army into Russia, we shall first have to build the allies must sell that army? And that the armies of the allies, just the same as the armies of all other countries are made up of working men and does he not know that at the present time there is an uprising on the part of the working class against the master class? And does he not know that the working class of all countries are after the same thing, that those terrible bolsheviks already have gained.

Now, you poor prostitutes, you junkers, you will not put down the working class movement in Russia with your armies, because your armies are made up of working men and your working men are starving already under your hypocritical Christian and damnable capitalist system, and so while you were able to send a few dopes from the working class over into Siberia to be killed and starved and frozen to death, you will not be able to send any more, because your pot is boiling and it is boiling terribly fast right before your nose and it is very hot. Look at your England, you prostitute are telling us yourself that in a few days there is going to be a nation-wide strike. Yes, and it is liable to be more than a strike. And look at your brother junkers in Germany. They can see the handwriting on the wall.

There are millions of working men and women today in the United States on the verge of starvation already and your soldiers are coming back from "over there," where they were fighting to make the world safe for democracy, and when they do come back into the United States instead of finding democracy, they will find hell. They will find that the master class has shut down the mines, mills and factories and they will find that the cost of living is so high that it is almost impossible for the working class with families to exist and they will also find that there are some communitaries still setting up, while the wages all over this country are going down. They will also find that in the United States of America democracy is only a mockery today. They will find that freedom of speech and freedom of the press is gone. They will find that there are thousands of millions and millions of papers in the United States, and they will find that those millions live in a greater luxury than did the czar of Russia with his nobility while the working class is in misery, and therefore you will not be able to use them to put down the socialist working class republic of the largest country on earth, the holy Russia. And now, in conclusion, I would like to tell those deluded working men and women, who do not read anything but the poisonous capitalist papers such as the Butte "Whiner," the Post and the Standard what the bolsheviks in Russia have done for the working class of Russia. They gave land to the working class; they gave the industries to the working class; or still better—bolshevik means majority in Russia. The bolsheviks are the majority of socialists who are the working men and working women, and they have organized themselves and took the possession of the land and industry and are operating them for their own benefit instead of for the capitalist and exploiters, and that is why you see so much horror about the bolsheviks in Russia in the capitalist press of this country.

Because Russia is a wonderfully rich country, and because it is the biggest country in the world, and because the exploiters and millionaires of the whole world had their eyes on that country, which was the land of promise for those animals in human form, there it was they were looking for exploitation. And now the holy horrors, these terrible bolsheviks, have spilled the beans. They said that instead of letting the international junkers come in there and exploit, let us operate the industries, and till the soil for the benefit. And they also have established schools, not only for the children, but for the adults as well, and they are doing everything in the interests of the working class.

Of course you hear of chaos and anarchy in Russia in all of the capitalist press. But they are not there to tell you what is the cause of all that. They are not there to tell you that it is the allied intervention that is the cause of chaos in Russia today; that had it not been for the foreign army in Russia, and had they, the allies, let Russia alone the bolshevik would have advanced Russia so high that it would have surprised the whole world.

But even though they have taken possession of the government, about 17 months ago, they have made more progress than any other set of men in the history of the world, with all the opposition of the junkers of the world. They have been successful in all of their undertakings; that it just simply made a master class of the world so mad and insane that they do not know what to do. Even in that circus, called the peace conference, the bolshevik are the only people who are in the way of the capitalist circus performers, such as Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Pincheon, Venozelos and the whole gang of capitalist politicians. But whatever the master class is doing or will do in the future one thing is sure the future belongs to the working class and the only way to assure that future is for the working class to organize as a class, and not as a craft, and then, and not until then will the working class of the United States be in a position to follow the bolsheviks of Russia.

"The Time Was Not Ripe"

(Last editorial written by Karl Liebknecht in the "Rote Fahne" (Red Flag) on Jan. 15, 1919.)

"Spartacus vanquished! Yes, Spartacus has been vanquished! The revolutionary proletariat is defeated. Hundreds of our best have been slain; hundreds of our most trustworthy have been thrown into prison. Yes, they have been defeated, because abandoned by the soldiers of the people, greedy on whom they most relied, and their power has been paralyzed by the weakness and indecision of their chiefs and leaders. Yes, they have been vanquished. It was a historical necessity to see them vanquished.

"Times were not ripe. Meanwhile, the struggle was inevitable, for it would have been a dishonorable defeat to surrender without a fight to the government forces, the questor's palace, this paladium of the revolution. Yes, we have been vanquished! But some defeats are victories, for some victories are bloodier than the worst of defeats.

"Every drop of blood of martyred dead will be a seed for a future combat in future victories. Through the living forces of the revolution every defeat incites new action. Out of defeat comes victory. The victors of today have accomplished their iniquitous deeds, for an iniquitous cause, whose doom they sealed. For, indeed, they are already prisoners of the same elements whom they used as a fighting weapon against us.

"The trench bourgeoisie of 1848 and 1871 opened their arms and took into their bosoms the assassins of the people; the German bourgeoisie has no need of them. They used as their defenders socialists of the majority group.

"Already the proletarians of the entire world respect, shivering with horror, those who dare hold out their hands to the international—their blood hands. The proletarian revolution will arise like a giant. The Spartacans have learned their lesson in today's defeat. They are cured of the fallacious illusions held about troops led by incapable and weak leaders; they are cured of the confidence placed in the 'independents,' by whom they were abandoned. Let us turn to ourselves, they fought for future victories.

"The password, 'the workers' emancipation must be the work of the working class alone,' received a new confirmation and far greater importance in the teachings of this week. We did not desert; we are still here, and we shall remain here. For ultimate victory will be ours, because Spartacus means light and spirit, heart and soul, the will of action through a proletarian revolution. Spartacus signifies all the miseries, all the yearnings of the proletariat for civilization. It stands for socialism and for universal revolution. Today you hear only the rumbling of the volcano. Tomorrow this same volcano will bury our enemies under its hot ashes and a flood of lava."



**OH BOY**  
The sheepest man we know is Chase. A bashful mortal he; Why, he's so shy he won't embrace An opportunity.



**SHE WAS WILLING**  
Yule-tide fast is coming, dear. If you my wife will be, I'll draw the cash and start right in To be your Christmas tree.



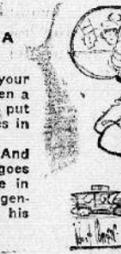
**NOT AT ALL UNUSUAL**  
I heard Mr. Suburban speaking most beautifully of his wife to another lady on the train just now. Rather unusual in a man these days. Not under the circumstances. That was a new cook he was escorting out.



**WOMANLIKE**  
She looks older than twenty-seven. Yes; but you see she can't change her looks as easily as she can her age.



**TWO OF A KIND**  
I suppose your husband when a baby used to put his little toes in his mouth? Oh, yes. And when he goes out with me in company he generally puts his foot in it.



**A FAIR DONOR**  
Ethel—Does she let her right hand know what her left hand gives? Jack—No, and she doesn't let her left friends know what her right friends get.



**A DEAD ONE**  
Don't you think the high cost of living affects me? I suppose that it does—almost as much as if you were living.