

# MILES CITY MOB FAILS TO STOP MEET

## Farmers and Workers Defy Kaisers and Gather to Hear Wheeler, Martin and Horst Speak.

Miles City, Mont., July 29.—What should have been known as "Townley Day" at Miles City will now be known as "Miles Tuesday." The mob which tried to prevent the meeting of the farmers and workers failed to prevent the meeting and free speech for which the community is held.

A. C. Townley, president of the Nonpartisan league, did not arrive owing to the fact that he was held up in the Minnesota courts. What would have happened had he come to Miles City today will always be a matter of speculation. A gang of hoodlums were led over from the Miles City camp with free dances, etc. until this morning so that they could be used for the "rough stuff" planned for the day.

The gang started their work early this morning by meeting the train upon which Mr. Townley was expected to arrive. There were ropes in evidence and an atmosphere of impending hoodlumism. Dr. W. S. Swank, a veterinary surgeon of Miles City and a heavy farmer in the outskirts, who has been a sympathizer of the league for some time, was at the depot and after recognizing the situation decided that something must be done to prevent disorder. Dr. Swank went up town to see a judge and asked if protection could not be given to the league speakers for that day. He was told by the judge that he could protect himself, but that he could not protect a crowd. He then permitted one to carry a gun, if not concealed. Dr. Swank immediately got a gun and a holster. Another young cowboy farmer, A. N. Nickerson, of Mizpah, was in town with a gun and holster and at the depot no one knew that he was a league member as he had just joined recently.

Before the train pulled in, three deputies, appointed for the day from among the "roughs" in order to make the rioting more legal, approached Nickerson and without showing their stars or stating their authority, started to take Nickerson's gun away from him. They had recognized Nickerson as their boss, however, for Nickerson is far from being a coward, and recognizing the impostors in their true light and not knowing that they had been deputized, he gave one of the gang a stiff blow with his right. This stopped the trouble for a time as three in one is not enough of an advantage for the Miles City "hoodlums." The trio retired for reinforcements.

As no one arrived on the train, Nickerson went to his car and proceeded about some of his business. In the meantime all of the hired gunmen of the town had been stirred up. A group proceeded to hunt up Dr. Swank and arrested him for interfering with officers. His arms were presumed to have happened at the depot where Dr. Swank had witnessed the Nickerson affair but had not approached within 10 feet of the combatants. Dr. Swank was thrown into jail and held there for two hours. At the end of that time some one who apparently possessed the ability to feel shame, turned Dr. Swank loose. In the meantime had a dozen deputies took up the trail of Nickerson. He was found driving in his car and was ordered to halt which he did. The deputized constable of Miles City then drew a revolver into his stomach and another with a gun cocked at his head ordered him to give up his gun. Nickerson sat coolly with his hands on the wheel and told them if they wanted his gun they could take it out of his holster. A deputy then struck Nickerson a vicious blow over the head, cutting a gash over an inch long. Blood spurted all over the dazed

victim and puddled in the automobile. Nickerson was then taken to the courthouse, where laws of the state and common decency are habitually desecrated and jerked into the court room by the host of deputies. The sheriff of Custer county then appeared on the scene. Seeing Nickerson, with blood streaming down his face and pinioned securely by the arms of the law, the sheriff walked over and said: "There comes that of a Bolshevik" and with these words struck Nickerson a terrific blow on the face. In such hands is law in Miles City.

Nickerson was then permitted to wash his face before appearing before the judge. He was charged with "carrying concealed weapons." He was released on a \$1,200 bond given by two stalwart league farmers. The authorities then turned up Dr. Swank and re-arrested him on a similar charge and released him on a \$1,500 bond. Both men had carried their guns in holsters and Dr. Swank had even removed his coat to make impossible such a charge.

In the meantime crowds of farmers and ranchers arrived in town to attend the meeting and soon the entire place was covered with little knots of leaguers and league sympathizers, burning with indignation. They had been warned not to hold meetings within the city limits, and word was passed around by the opposition that the meeting would be given up securely. But with set teeth the farmers said that the meeting would be held some where if the speakers arrived.

At this time B. K. Wheeler, arrived from Butte, R. B. Martin, one of the foremost league speakers, came accompanied by Major Leo Horst, regent of the league from the United States army. The meeting was arranged on the edge of the city limits in Bender's park. Major Horst, in uniform, was the first speaker and at various times throughout his talk held up to ridicule the Miles City spirit of mob rule. He was answered each time with shouts of applause and hand clapping from the farmers and their wives. He described the highest form of autocracy as evidenced in Russia under the czar. "In America," he said, "we have democracy until we come to Miles City. In Russia an autocracy was expressed by the czar and the world in Miles City is the czar. WE WENT INTO 'THIS WAR TO FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY. NOW LET US HAVE IT'."

In referring to the Miles situation, Major Horst said that the spy system of the Anaconda Copper company was patterned after the Prussian form. He told the people that such conditions existed in Miles City because "they are afraid of your vote."

B. K. Wheeler, in his appeal to the large crowd to save the primaries, referred to the methods of the copper company in having its leaguers and their system of using gunmen in Butte. He said that the Miles City gang who mistreated men as Kropotkin should hang their heads in shame as they walk down the streets. "You voters," Wheeler drove home to his hearers, "who longer support men who took part in such a system as you got this morning," Wheeler, in paying his respects to Will Campbell, editor of the Helena Independent, stated that Mr. Campbell is alleged to have received \$18,000 a year for being patriotic during the war, as chairman of the Montana Loyalty league. "As a man of only 37 years of age, Mr. Campbell could better have served his country in uniform," Mr. Wheeler held up to scorn the "lip-slave patriotism" of such men as Campbell and various Miles City patrioters. "Such men who wish to put their hands on the public coffers, in election time come around and ask you on the back and call you by your first name. If you don't put them out of office, you deserve to be hit on the head with a gun." The statements of Mr. Wheeler were received with enthusiasm.

R. B. Martin, in the closing speech, explained various phases of the Nonpartisan movement and told of many of the North Dakota laws. He kept the crowd in good humor all the time. He told them not to worry too much about their persecutions in Miles City and said that history proves that a change will eventually come. He told of Loveloy, a prominent abolitionist who sold his land to the government by the blindly enraged citizens of his community. They wrecked his newspaper office and threw the printing press into the Missouri river. It was only a short time until the same community pulled the printing press from the river, set it up in the city hall, and built a monument to it. "It will be only a short time," said Mr. Martin, "until the children and the grandchildren of the present members of the Montana Loyalty league will be building a monument to A. C. Townley, and be going down to Wibaux to hunt up a piece of one of Townley's copper wires and place it in the monument with the spirit of the crowd as they were opposed to them, that they quickly withdrew from the gathering.

From every standpoint "Bloody Tuesday" was a great day for the Nonpartisan league in Custer county. Heretofore, abuse has been given only on outside league representatives but on this day the "reign of terror" was carried to the very heart of the city with the beating up and arresting of those of their own number, the liberty loving and law abiding citizens of Custer county are thoroughly aroused. There was evidence today of many of the old-timers and the cowboys swinging into line for decency and good government. They no longer are going to sit idly by and permit a few hoodlums and self-appointed czars to outrage all of the common laws of fair play and crush free speech and orderly assemblage in this community.

The successful ones are buying Thrift and War Savings stamps.

# Cause of Ireland Clearly Outlined by Mr. De Valera

On the way from Salt Lake to Emmon, De Valera went into the cause of Ireland from every viewpoint that his interviewers presented. He talked freely. There was no evasion of questions. He gave Ireland's side in every case. Summed up, he maintained that "there was only one Irish nation and that Ireland doesn't want English rule, good or bad."

Asked exactly what was his purpose in visiting America, he replied: "The main object was first to seek the official recognition by the government of the United States of the republic which has been established in Ireland by the will of the Irish people, secondly with the avowed principle of self-determination and secondly to inform the American people of the effect which the present covenant of the league of nations would have on such countries as Ireland which are held by the military forces of powerful neighbors against the expressed will of the people and to secure that America will not sign a bond to become a participant in this tyranny and the guarantee of its continuance."

"Would the Irish favor a league of nations except for Article X?" "The Irish people, speaking through their national assembly, voted in favor of a general league of nations, fundamental in principle and the acceptance of which would be the acceptance of the principle of national self-determination and the equality of right amongst all nations, small as well as great."

League of Nations. "Is it not true that a correct interpretation of Article X would not mitigate against Ireland?" "We must interpret Article X in accordance with the ordinary meaning to be attached to the words in the English language. It stands a proposition to guarantee the political integrity of such states as the British empire irrespective as to whether the possessors of these states have been justly acquired or not, and whether the nations which are held within the existing political group are within their own free will or kept there by brute force in order to satisfy imperial ambitions. The present conditions are to be perpetuated, whether just or unjust, whether they make for lasting peace or contain within themselves elements whose instability gives a certainty of future war. It is because the question to state that it is a guarantee against external aggression merely, and not against revolution from within. The Czechoslovak states did not win their freedom by revolution from within only, neither did the Jugo-Slavs. Read history. There is surely a single instance of where revolution from within, alone without external aid, was ever successful. The 13 colonies sought and obtained the aid of France, and Americans can decide whether they could have been successful without this aid or not. Article X, of the league of nations would cut off Ireland from such sympathy as the United States gave to the South American republics, as they gave to Cuba, as they gave to Hungary and Greece, and as they gave in the last war to Poland, Czechoslovakia and the rest."

Depends on Outcome. "Was President Wilson helped or hindered the Irish cause?" "President Wilson has expressed his sympathy for our cause, but objectively the answer to this question will depend on the outcome of the peace which I have to America."

"Will you seek a personal interview with President Wilson?" "If the objects for which I am in America can be furthered by an interview with the president, I certainly shall seek it. I am ready to give the president or congress any information they may require for the better understanding of Ireland's case."

Asked whether he would return to Ireland and whether he anticipated any trouble getting back, the president said: "I hope to return to Ireland. I do not bother anticipating trouble. I wait until it comes."

"Would Sinn Fein entertain any proposition short of complete independence?" "Sinn Fein at present is three-fourths and more of the Irish nation. We are representatives of the Irish nation to carry out the will of the Irish people not to dictate to them. At the recent elections the Irish people voted on the question of an independent Irish republic or inclusion within the British empire. Though the whole of Ireland is divided, the whole of the 32 counties districts were contested, only a bare 20 per cent of the total votes were cast for inclusion in the British empire. The Irish people will never sell their birthright to complete independence. They are a nation and independence is their right."

Unity of Irish. "What is the prospect of obtaining unity of all the Irish people?" "The Irish people are as united on this question as any nation is ever likely to be on such a question. I might ask what is the prospect of unity of all Americans on, say, the prohibition question? On a plebiscite of the Irish people there would probably be a minority of from one-fifth to one-fourth of the whole population in favor of continuing the present political conditions. There are few questions in which you will not find so large a conservative element with interests in the status quo. All progress, all democratic government even, would be impossible if a small minority are to be given the power to veto. Even in our conservative senate a two-thirds majority is regarded as sufficient for the gravest legislative actions, such as changing the constitution, and a majority of one is sufficient for all ordinary legislation. Is not a three-fourths majority or more enough in the case of the Irish people? In Bohemia 75 per cent of the population is German. None denies the right of the remaining 25 per cent of Czechs freely to determine their national destinies. The very considerable German and Germanophile population in Alsace and Lorraine; the 36 per cent of the population in Russian Poland who are non-Polish; the 33-1-3 per cent of the people in Herzegovina, Bosnia and who are Mohammedan, are

rightly not permitted to stand in the way of the national claims of the majority.

Only One Nation. "Would Sinn Fein be satisfied with separation from Great Britain and independence as a nation apart from Ulster?" "There is only one Irish nation which inhabits as its home since long before Rome was the island known as Ireland. That nation will never dismember itself or partition its home. Those who come into that island and live there, who will be given and are given the full rights of citizens, can claim no special privileges. What would be thought were the Irish in Lancashire or, better say, the Irish in America, if they were in a majority in a state or two, to claim to cut off those states from your country and become a part, say, of Ireland?"

"But, let us suppose the four north-east Ulster counties were cut off. What about the relatively larger minority of Irish nationalists who would be thereby separated from their compatriots in the rest of the island and who would suffer at least as many disabilities, being in a minority in the rest of the portion as the present minority would be in the whole of Ireland? Do you realize that there are more Irish nationalists in the city of Belfast than there are in the whole city of Cork?"

The solution of the Ulster question is for Irishmen to be Irishmen first, and after that to have any individual affection they may have for such other countries as they please. The spread of the national spirit in Ireland in the past brought unity between north and south. It is doing it again today. And if England's interference were removed there would be no serious minority question for an Irish state to solve. England has magnified this difficulty in order to provide a market for her exports, and what real difficulty there is one solely of English creation. As an independent state we will settle our minority question in full light before a watching world. There is no part of Ireland's case on which the American public are so ill informed as on this Ulster question. There is no part of English propaganda has made it its aim to create a false impression. Some examples:

Condition of Ulster. "There are nine counties in Ulster, and yet it is in only four of these that the unionists are in a majority. Still it is called the 'Ulster question,' giving the impression that the whole province is unionist. The four counties in which the unionists are in a majority are by no means homogeneous in opinion. There is only 1 of the 32 counties in Ireland which is as strongly unionist as the whole of Ireland is nationalist or republican. The minority in Ireland is scattered all over the island.

"Ulster is said to be rich and progressive. Within living memory the province of Ulster has lost one-third of its population. It is the sign of progress? Ulster is held for head not as rich as the province of Leinster. The valuation of Ulster in the census of 1911 is given as 3 pounds 8 shillings and 9 pence per head of the population. The per capita valuation of Leinster is given as 4 pounds 9 shillings 1 penny—nearly one-fourth as rich again head for head.

"It is pretended that the industries of Ulster would suffer under a free Ireland. We are anxious to build more industries, not to destroy those we have. The farmers of the south know that Irish industries provide a local home market, and, therefore, are in a better position for themselves. It would be their aim to encourage industries in Ireland, and not to destroy them."

Confessing Political. "In how far does the religious rather than the political element enter into the situation?" "The question is entirely a political question. In reality the religious question does not enter into it at all, except in so far as it is used as a shield for the political question, to which few lay eyes are directed. The statue of Robert Emmet, who was a Protestant, I did not ask myself what his religion was, but he was an Irish patriot. Wolfe Tone was an Irish patriot, the republican idea and he was also a Protestant. Mitchell, Davis Smith, O'Brien, Butt, Parnell, were all Protestants.

"The Irish Protestant patriots within the last century there are for more Protestants than Catholics. In our present movement there are large numbers of Protestants. When Emmet, Wythe was put up and was elected for Monaghan, the question was not asked whether he was a Protestant or Catholic, though the Catholics in Monaghan are in a large majority. In Wicklow, when Barry was put up and elected there was no question whether he was a Protestant or Catholic—the question was whether he was a good Irishman and stood for the Irish republic. Those who are against the republic through religious fears should show that their fears are reasonable or that they have grounds for their fears.

Full Equality. "In the republican proclamation of 1916, full religious and civil equality was given to all dwellers in the island. There has never been an attempt at drawing up an Irish constitution in which that was not given. The Fenian republican constitution gave it; and, of course, those protected by Emmet and Tone gave it. Even in our conservative senate a two-thirds majority is regarded as sufficient for the gravest legislative actions, such as changing the constitution, and a majority of one is sufficient for all ordinary legislation. Is not a three-fourths majority or more enough in the case of the Irish people? In Bohemia 75 per cent of the population is German. None denies the right of the remaining 25 per cent of Czechs freely to determine their national destinies. The very considerable German and Germanophile population in Alsace and Lorraine; the 36 per cent of the population in Russian Poland who are non-Polish; the 33-1-3 per cent of the people in Herzegovina, Bosnia and who are Mohammedan, are

not permitted to stand in the way of the national claims of the majority."



# BAIL IS WANTED WITHOUT FAIL FOR THE MEN WHO ARE IN JAIL

Hundreds of workers are literally rotting in the jails of this country because of their activity in the cause of Labor. Many of these victims of the world-wide class war are awaiting trial—and have been waiting for many weary months for the speedy trial guaranteed them by the United States Constitution. Others were tried and sentenced to terms ranging from one to twenty years during the period of war hysteria, and appeals in their cases are now being taken from King Capital drunk to King Capital sober.

Some of the prisoners have escaped by death, others are dying, many have contracted tuberculosis and other loathsome diseases, and all are suffering untold agony from close confinement in the fetid atmosphere, from insanitary and unhealthy surroundings, from poor and insufficient food, and from inhuman treatment accorded them by brutalized guards. Past attempts to secure bail for all of these workers in jail have not been attended with great success because of the lack of system. Individuals sought to secure bail for their personal friends, and failing to get the necessary amount they returned what had been collected, thus making their entire efforts fruitless. This was the condition facing the delegates from all the western district organizations of the Industrial Workers of the World when they met in conference on July 3 and 4 in Seattle. The delegates solved the problem by an unflinching means—

A Bail and Bond Committee was elected to systematize the work of collecting bail and a nation-wide drive has been started to secure the loan of cash, Liberty Bonds and property sufficient to gain the release of all class war prisoners. With practically no advertising Six Thousand Dollars were raised in the first five days. More than Two Hundred Thousand Dollars are needed to release those now being held for their labor activity.

Sums of Five Dollars and up are accepted as loans, and all cash, Liberty Bonds or property is tabulated in triplicate, one copy going to the person making the loan, another being retained by the Bail and Bond Committee, and the third being filed with the Trades Union Savings and Loan Association of Seattle, with whom all funds, bonds and property schedules will be banked.

Only those who have been proved loyal and trustworthy are being sent out as collectors. Everything possible has been done to safeguard this bail and bond fund, from the selection of the committee to the choice of the bank. A portion of the fund is being set aside to return loans on demand in case persons who have made them are forced to leave the country or have other reasons for making a withdrawal.

Bail will be used to release specified persons where that is desired, but otherwise the release will take place by a blind drawing of names, thus insuring fairness to all prisoners. By common consent the men in Wichita, Kansas, jail will first be released, as they have been held the longest and jail conditions are worse there than anywhere else in the entire country. This bail has nearly all been subscribed, and the men will be made accredited collectors when released, and their speedy release will help to set others at liberty.

No necessity exists for argument. Your duty is clear. If your ears are not deaf to a call from your class, if you feel that an injury to one is an injury to all, if there burns within you the faintest spark of humanity, you will see that the men do not remain behind the bars an unnecessary minute because you withheld your support.

**THEY ARE WILLING TO GIVE THEIR LIVES FOR YOU! ARE YOU WILLING TO LOAN YOUR DOLLARS TO THEM?**

Send all cash, checks and bonds to John L. Engdahl, Secretary of Bail and Bond Committee, Box W, Ballard Station, Seattle. Property schedules should be filed with Attorney Ralph S. Pierce, Room 607 Central Building, Seattle.

Butte Office, 318 N. Wyoming St., J. E. Williams, Bond and Bail delegate.

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"Child labor is the scarlet letter, the badge of shame, of the capitalist system. Capitalism is the only system in all the world's history that deliberately devours its own offspring."

"The ruling class may have its hoarded gold, which all too often becomes a curse to its possessors; the working class has its noble ideals, which beckon them onward and lead them upward."

"Enthusiasm is the holy fire that burns upon the altar of the soul and flames out into passionate service to the cause."

"The eyes of millions of wage slaves await to be opened. Don't waste time spitting hairs, but make every bit of your time and every atom of your energy count in awakening the slumberers and arousing them to action."

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Irishmen whenever they get the chance." Irish in War. "What percentage of the Irish fought in the army in the war? The Irish did not fight for anybody; they fought for principle. Those that believed in the professions of England that she was fighting for the freedom of small nations and consequently that she could not deny to Ireland the freedom she was fighting for elsewhere, joined England's armies in such numbers and as late as May, 1916, said: 'Irishmen of all creeds and classes, north, south, east and west have responded with alacrity, and with sub-devotion to the demand of the cause which appealed to them. They have shed, they are shedding today their blood, giving what best of all they had, sacrificing what they prized most, without stint and without reserve, in the trenches and on the battlefields, which will forever be consecrated to the memory of Ireland as well as to England and the dominions.' From Ireland alone it is estimated that over 200,000 joined voluntarily. Ireland would not permit herself to be conscripted by an alien parliament; and that for Ireland, a nation of four and a half millions, would correspond to about five million volunteers from America. The remnant of those who have come back now find that England cheated them and cheated their comrades whose bones lie from the Persian gulf to Dunkirk. 'We who did not believe in England's professions said to ourselves that if the fight was in truth one for our own small nation at home were contributing to that fight. We did not need to crusade abroad—the same fight was at our doorsteps. To us English imperialism is just as bad as German imperialism; and to us democracy has to be made sure within the confines of the British empire no less than within the confines of the German or Austrian empires. And we believe that America entered this war, not to strike down England's rival, but entered it for exactly what she professed to enter it for—freedom for all peoples everywhere and peace based on justice that knew no favorites—not even English favorites."

Dominion Home Rule. Asked about dominion home rule, President De Valera said: "England never intends to give Ireland anything that would be considered the name dominion home rule; that is, England would never give to Ireland a constitution such as that of Canada or Australia or South Africa. They imagine they will be willing to give up their title to