
IN THE
CIRCUIT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Complainant,

IN CHANCERY.

v.s.

EUGENE V. DEBS ET AL.,

Respondents.

Before Honorable William A. Woods, Circuit Judge, etc.

PROCEEDINGS ON INFORMATION FOR ATTACHMENT
FOR CONTEMPT.

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IN RE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, upon the
petition of the Receivers of the Atchison, Topeka and
Santa Fe Railroad Company,

PROCEEDINGS
AS FOR CONTEMPT.

v.s.

EUGENE V. DEBS et al.

EDGAR A. BANCROFT AND
JOHN S. MILLER,

Solrs. for Petitioners.

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IN THE
Circuit Court of the United States.

NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS.

United States of America,
Complainant,

vs.

Eugene V. Debs, George W. Howard, L. W.
Rogers, Sylvester Keliher, James Hogan,
William E. Burns, R. M. Goodwin, J. F.
McVean, Martin J. Elliott and The American
Railway Union,

Respondants.

IN CHANCERY.

Before the Honorable William A. Woods, Circuit Judge, etc.

Proceedings on information for attachment against the
above named respondents, for contempt.

ABSTRACT OF PLEADINGS AND EVIDENCE.

On the 2d day of July, A. D. 1894, upon the motion of complainant, an order of injunction was entered in the above entitled cause, restraining the respondents Eugene V. Debs, George W. Howard, L. W. Rogers, Sylvester Keliher, The American Railway Union, and all persons combining and conspiring with them, and all other persons whomsoever, ordering them absolutely to desist and refrain from in any way or manner interfering with, hindering, obstructing or stopping any of the business of the

several railroads named in said bill of complaint, and said order of injunction, as common carriers of passengers and freight between or among any states of the United States, and from in any way or manner interfering with, hindering, obstructing or stopping any mail trains, express trains or other trains, whether freight or passenger, engaged in inter-state commerce, or carrying passengers or freight between or among states; and from in any manner interfering with, hindering or stopping any trains carrying the mail; or any engines, cars or rolling-stock of any of said companies engaged in inter-state commerce, or in connection with the carriage of passengers or freight between or among the states; also from compelling or inducing, or attempting to compel or induce by threats, intimidation, force or violence, any of the employes of said railroads who were employed by such railroads, and engaged in its service, in the conduct of inter-state business, or in the operation of any of its trains carrying the mail of the United States, or doing inter-state business, or the transportation of passengers and freight between and among states, to leave the services of such railroads; and from preventing any persons whatever, by threats, intimidation, force or violence, from entering the service of any of the said railroads, and doing the work thereof in carrying the mails of the United States, or the transportation of passengers and freight between or among the states; and also from doing any act whatever in furtherance of any conspiracy or combination, etc.

It was further ordered by said court that said injunction and writ of injunction, should be in force, and binding upon such of said defendants as are named in the said bill, from and after the service upon them severally, of said writ, by delivering to them severally a copy of said writ, or by reading the same to them, and also should be binding upon said

defendants whose names are alleged to be unknown, from and after the service of such writ upon them respectively, by the reading of the same to them, or by publication thereof by posting, or printing; and that the same should be binding upon all other persons whatsoever who are not named in said order, or writ of injunction, and after that time when they shall severally have knowledge of the entry of such order, and the existence of said injunction.

The writ of injunction was served upon respondent Rogers on the 3d day of July, and upon Debs and Howard on the 4th. Debs was served at about twenty minutes before eight A. M., before he had risen from his bed. (Transcript of evidence, p. 805.)

Personal service was also had upon Rogers and Keliher. It was also in evidence that either a synopsis, or full copy of the order of injunction was printed in the daily evening papers of the city of Chicago, July 2d, and a full copy in the Herald, Tribune, Inter Ocean, Times, and other daily papers published in the city of Chicago in the morning of the issue of July 3d.

Information for attachment for contempt against the defendants Debs, Howard, Rogers and Keliher, was filed in said cause on the 17th of July, A. D. 1894.

The information charges, among other things, that on the 26th or 27th day of June last past, said American Railway Union, or its board of directors, or other officers, ordered all the members of said American Railway Union engaged in the service of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, in the transportation of the United States mails and inter-state commerce, to strike, or leave the services of said company, and that before said order of injunction was entered, similar orders were issued to the employes of other railway companies to leave

the service of said companies while so engaged in the transportation of mails and inter-state commerce, for the express and avowed purpose of preventing, hindering, and delaying said companies in the operation of trains engaged in the transportation of United States mails and inter-state commerce. That said orders were generally communicated by telegraph from the defendant Debs to the officers or committees of local unions located at the most important railway centers and cities; that such telegrams and orders were issued both before and after the entry of said order of injunction, and that the service of said writ or order did not affect or change the conduct of said defendants, relative to said strike, but on the contrary, that said defendants continued, notwithstanding the order of said court, and in direct and open violation thereof, to order the employes of all the railway companies, named in said writ of injunction, as well as other railway companies, to leave the services of said companies in a body, and thereby hinder, delay and prevent said companies in the discharge of their duty to the public, and especially in the discharge of their duties as agents of the government, in the transportation of the United States mails, as well as in the transportation and carriage of inter-state commerce.

Then follow copies of a large number of said telegrams and orders.

That in pursuance of said orders, said employes did leave the services of said railway companies.

The information further charges that, as the direct result of said orders and said strikes, there was exercised intimidation and violence upon the employes of said several railway companies; that employes who refused to join in said strike, and others who had been employed to take the places of said strikers, and were in the actual service of said companies, were assaulted and intimidated, and driven from their posts

of duty, either by physical violence, or threats of personal injury; that on the 5th, 6th and 7th days of July last past, said strikers, and others acting in sympathy with them, took forcible possession of some of the roads of said companies, within and adjacent to the city of Chicago, and by physical force prevented the passage of trains carrying United States mail and inter-state commerce.

The information further charges that said strikes were not ordered on account of any wrongful act of said railroad companies, or of their officers, toward the members of said American Railway Union, or other employes of said railroad companies, or either of them; but, on the contrary, the avowed purpose of said orders for said strikes by the directors of said Railway Union was to wrongfully and unlawfully establish a boycott against the Pullman sleeping cars, which said sleeping cars were used in great numbers by said railroad companies and trains carrying the United States mail, and passengers traveling at a great distance from state to state, and through the several states; and for the purpose of making such boycott effectual, said American Railway Union, including the defendants, ordered that no trains of cars of any kind or character, shall pass over the tracks of either of said railroad companies until the use of said boycotted cars had been abandoned by all of said companies.

The information charges that the board of directors of said American Railway Union, including the defendants, and its other authorized agents, assumed authority and power, and had full authority and power to order strikes and boycotts, and to discontinue the same. Also charges that the acts of said defendants, and other officers and agents of the American Railway Union, were willful and repeated violations of said order of injunction, and requests the court, in the consideration of such breaches of said injunction, that a writ of attach-

ment against the defendants, Debs, Howard, Keliher and Rogers, be issued, and that they be held to answer for said contempt.

The answer of Debs, Keliher, Howard and Rogers to the information admits that the American Railway Union is a voluntary association, with officers as charged in the information.

Allege the purpose of said association is protection of members and to secure adequate compensation for all its members for service performed by them.

Deny that the official management has direction and power to order or discontinue strikes. That this could only be done by vote of a majority of the members of such American Railway Union employed in the service affected by any such strike.

Deny that on the 26th or 27th days of June, or at any other time, the directors or other officers of the American Railway Union ordered its members to leave the service of the Illinois Central Railway Company, or any other company.

Allege that a majority of the members of said American Railway Union employed upon said Illinois Central and other railway companies did, for themselves, without any order, direction or control of the said union or its officers or directors, voluntarily determine by their vote that they would strike or leave the service of said railway companies, and that in pursuance of such vote they did, freely and voluntarily of their own accord, leave said service.

Upon information and belief deny that said employes so left said service for the purpose of hindering, preventing and delaying the operation of the trains of said railway companies engaged in the transportation of United States mails and inter-state commerce.

Admit the service of said order of injunction and publication in the daily papers, as charged in the information.

Admit the organization of local unions, extending over the north-west and through California, as charged in the information, but deny that said local unions conferred upon the American Railway Union, its officers or directors, power or authority to order strikes, but allege that strikes could only be ordered upon said roads by employes of said roads themselves, and that such employes were in no manner subject to the authority or control of said American Railway Union, its officers or directors.

Deny that orders to strike were at any time, or in any manner communicated by said American Railway Union, its officers or directors, to said local unions, or any of them.

The defendants deny that any one of the telegrams set forth in said information was sent or caused to be sent by them or any of them, or that they authorized or approved the same or any one thereof, except a certain telegram dated July 6, 1894, which said telegram defendants admit was sent or caused to be sent by the defendant Debs, as in said information alleged.

They deny that any other of the telegrams similar in form and character to those in said information set out were sent by the defendant Debs, or any of the defendants, with the knowledge, authority or approval of any one, or any of said defendants, at any time after the service of said writ of injunction upon said defendants.

Deny that employes of any of the railway companies named in said injunction were induced by reason of any telegram sent or caused to be sent by the defendants, or any of them, or by threats, intimidation, force or violence to leave the service of said railway companies, or either of them, or that the

transportation of the United States mails or inter-state commerce were in any way hindered, delayed or prevented.

Deny that they have knowledge, information or sufficient belief as to the commission of specific acts of violence in said information set forth, and upon information and belief deny that any member of said American Railway Union in any manner participated in said acts of violence, or any of them.

They deny that in violation of the order of the court they continuously issued orders or directions for employes of said railway companies or any of them to leave the service, as alleged in said information, or otherwise.

And deny that violence or unlawful conduct necessarily followed from the strikes of the kind mentioned in said information.

Allege that so far as said American Railway Union or the members thereof are concerned, said strike and all strikes of a similar character contemplate nothing more than the quiet, peaceable, and lawful cessation of work by such members.

Alleged that the officers of said American Railway Union at all times counseled and advised the members with whom they were in communication to at all times abstain from violence, threats and intimidation.

Deny that the board of directors of the American Railway Union, or its officers, at any time assumed authority and power, or had any authority and power whatsoever to order strikes and boycotts and to discontinue the same.

Admit that on the 12th day of July, 1894, the communication set out in said information was addressed to the railway managers, and signed by the defendants whose names are affixed thereto, but allege that so much of said information as implies or assumed any right, power or authority in said de-

fendants or either of them to discontinue said strike was unauthorized.

Defendants admit the sending of the communication to the Pan Handle yard men, as set forth in said communication, but deny that in and by said communication they exercised or assumed to exercise any power or authority over said men, but on the contrary that said communication was merely a request to said men to perform the acts therein stated.

Deny that Debs or any other of the defendants caused the interview of July 15th to be published in the Chicago Herald, and deny the truth of the statements therein contained.

Deny that the defendants or either of them in any manner or way interfered with, hindered, obstructed or stopped any of the business of the railroads mentioned in said injunction, or either of them as common carriers of passengers or freight between and among any of the states of the United States.

Deny that they or either of them in any manner interfered with, hindered or obstructed mail trains or express trains or other trains, freight or passenger, engaged in inter-state commerce.

The answer denies generally that the defendants were guilty of violation of the order of injunction in any manner or form.

Alleges that after the service of said injunction upon them they forthwith consulted competent counsel learned in the law and duly authorized and licensed to practice as attorney and counselor at law in the courts of the United States, and fully and fairly stated all facts to him, and were advised by him as to what they might rightfully and lawfully do in the premises without violation of the order of the court or contempt of its authority, and that they had since that time in all things proceeded in their acts and conduct in regard to

said strike, and the persons engaged therein in strict accordance with the advice of said attorney.

Defendants each for himself denies that he intended in any way to violate the injunction of this court or to act in defiance or contempt of its authority in any respect.

On the first day of August, 1894, the complainant filed its second information in said cause against James Hogan, William E. Burns, R. M. Goodwin, J. F. McVean and M. J. Elliott, substantially charging the same matters and things as are contained and charged in the information filed July 17th, and hereinbefore referred to.

This information further charges that on or about June 27, 1894, the officers and directors of the American Railway Union entered into a combination and conspiracy to bring about by their orders, their advice, their counsel and persuasion, the strike and boycott more particularly described in said original bill of complaint, and that the better to conduct the business of said combination and conspiracy, and to more effectively manage the vast number of persons being members of said American Railway Union, and others engaged in such combination and conspiracy, said officers and board of directors divided up the work of such management and direction among committees.

That under said arrangement and action of said board of directors, said Debs and Howard would have and thereafter they did have charge of said work of publication and publicity; said Rogers, Burns and Goodwin had charge of all meetings and speakers and the organization of lodges; and said Hogan, either alone or with others of said directors, had charge of such correspondence, and of the sending and receiving of letters and telegrams, or a considerable portion thereof.

The information further charges that each of said directors are responsible for every act done or omitted to be done by all

or any of the others of said directors, or officers or servants or agents, in connection with the business of said strike or boycott; also charges that by arrangement or agreement of said board of directors, said Rogers was to have charge of editing and publishing of a certain newspaper called the Railway Times, which was to be the official organ of the American Railway Union; that said official newspaper was published in the city of Chicago by the said Rogers, and that in and through said newspaper said directors counseled, encouraged and directed the members of said American Railway Union, and all other railway employes, including the employes of said railway companies named in said bill of complaint, to disregard said order and writ of injunction, and the orders and directions of the officers operating said railroads respectively.

The information further charges that said officers and directors in pursuance of said conspiracy, did on different dates in the months of June and July, 1894, cause to be sent each and all of the telegrams set out in the original information, to which the name of said Debs is attached, and also the several following telegrams, which are set out by copy; also many hundred other telegrams of like purport, and with similar intent and purport.

Then follow copies of telegrams sent to different places in different states, over the signature of E. V. Debs, between the dates of June 27th and July 29, 1894.

Charges that said defendants continued to send out by telegraph orders, directions and advice to the meetings of the various unions along the lines of railroads, directing and counselling them to continue said strike, and the various acts of interference with the operation of said roads, and that all of said directors have persisted in violation of said injunction, and in their said defiance of the order of this court.

The above named respondents filed their joint and several answer to said information substantially like, in form and substance, the answer heretofore filed by Debs and others.

Said answer alleges a conspiracy between the managers of the railway companies named in the bill of complaint and order of injunction, and allege that Pullman's company was a party to said conspiracy, and that many of the employes of the Pullman Company were members of the American Railway Union.

Alleges that a dispute existed between the Pullman Company and its employes, and that the railroad companies aided the Pullman Company.

Alleges that on the 26th day of June, 1894, a convention composed of delegates from the members of the American Railway Union throughout the United States was held in the city of Chicago; that the grievances of the Pullman employes came before and were considered by said convention.

Alleges that on or about said 26th day of June, the members of the said American Railway Union employed upon the various railway systems, named in said information, did voluntarily determine that their interests and rights required that they should quit the service of such railway companies as were engaged in such unlawful conspiracy, and in pursuance of such determination said members did for themselves freely and voluntarily quit the service of such railway companies, for the purpose and with the view of protecting themselves in their wages and condition of employment from the action of said unlawful conspiracy of said railway companies, and said Pullman Palace Car Company.

The answer admits on information and belief that the writ of injunction was published in the daily papers of the city of Chicago, and was served upon the defendants Debs, Howard,

Keliher and Rogers, but deny that they or either of them had any knowledge or notice of such injunction or of the contents thereof, for a number of days after the same was issued, and deny that as matter of law said injunction was of any force or effect; or that they were in any manner bound thereby, as alleged in said information, or otherwise. They deny that the directors of the American Railway Union, or either of these defendants, failed to desist or refrain in any degree from prosecuting any strike or enforcing a boycott, or from any acts or interference with the business of operating railroads, carrying United States mails and inter-state commerce.

The answer admits that the defendants did at divers times, by virtue of the authority on them conferred, as aforesaid, and not otherwise, counsel and advise certain members of said American Railway Union, quietly and peaceably to quit the service of said companies; also, that many persons who had been in the service of such railway companies did quit such service, but allege that such persons and each of them so quit freely and voluntarily, and of their own accord "as herein-after set forth."

Defendants deny that if the officers of the said American Railway Union had not, on July 3, 1894, or at any other time, caused or directed orders, advice or counsel to be given by them to any person, persons or class of persons, as alleged or otherwise, or counseled or advised the abandonment of the purposes entertained by the members of said American Railway Union, said obstructions and acts of violence or either of them would not have occurred, or that said railroad companies would have been able to then freely operate their lines of railroad, or perform their duties as common carriers in the transportation of the mails and inter-state commerce, but on the contrary they allege that obstructions of the business of said railroad companies, or either of them, by the so-called

strike, was occasioned solely by the free, voluntary and peaceable action of the employes of the said railway companies in quitting the service thereof for the purpose of protecting themselves in their rights and interests, and for their own purposes.

The answer denies that any or all of the telegrams set out in said information were sent or caused to be sent by the officers and directors of the said American Railway Union, "except as hereinafter admitted."

Denies that there was any specific division among the officers and directors of the American Railway Union of the business and duties of the organization, or of the labors occasioned by their relation to the strike, and deny that the work was divided in the manner alleged in said information.

The answer alleges that each and all of the acts done by said officers and directors, and by the defendants and each of them were done in pursuance of the authority conferred upon them by the members of the said American Railway Union, "as the same is hereinbefore alleged and not otherwise."

Deny that the defendant, Rogers, had charge of the editing or publishing of the so-called Railway Times, or that said Rogers caused said paper to be published in the city of Chicago, as alleged or otherwise, or that said paper encouraged, directed or advised the members of the said American Railway Union, or any other person or persons or class of persons to disregard the order of the writ of injunction.

The defendants admit and allege that the telegrams set forth in said information were sent by the defendant James Hogan, and allege that the same were sent by him for the purpose and with the intent of peacefully and lawfully counseling and advising men who had by reason of the grievances done or threatened to them, and by reason of the unlawful

conspiracy of the said railway companies and said Pullman Palace Car Company hereinbefore set forth, peacefully, lawfully and voluntarily quit the service of said railway companies, but they deny that in pursuance of said telegrams any employes of the railway companies, at the places to which said telegrams were directed or any of them, did quit their employment without any cause of complaint or claim of grievances against their employes, or did enter upon any strike, or join any combination or conspiracy, or did by their numbers, influence or threats of intimidation or otherwise, induce divers other employes to join the American Railway Union, or to assist said officers and directors, or any other person in any unlawful purpose as alleged in said information or otherwise.

Denies that said defendants or either of them intended to violate said injunction, and denies that either of said defendants is guilty of any of the acts charged in said information, or of any contempt of the orders of this court in the premises.

ABSTRACT OF EVIDENCE OF CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION AND THE POWERS OF ITS BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

"The American Railway Union will include all classes of railway employes separately organized, yet all in harmonious alliance within one great brotherhood.

"There will be one supreme law for the order, with provisions for all classes, one roof to shelter all, each separate, and yet all united, when unity of action is required. In this is seen the federation of classes which is feasible, instead of the federation of organizations, which has proved to be utterly impracticable." (Page 10, constitution of June 5, 1893.)

“ With this declaration of its purpose and with boundless
 “ faith in its conquering mission, the American Railway Union
 “ consecrates itself to the great cause of industrial emancipa-
 “ tion. (Page 14, *ibid.*)

“ Thoroughly organized in every department, with a due
 “ regard for the right, wherever found, it is confidently be-
 “ lieved that all differences may be satisfactorily adjusted, and
 “ harmonious relations may be established and maintained;
 “ that the service may be incalculably improved, and that the
 “ necessity for strikes and lockouts, boycott and black-list,
 “ alike disastrous to employer and employe, a perpetual
 “ menace to the welfare of the public, will forever disappear.”
 (Page 4, Constitution of July 20, 1894.)

CONSTITUTION OF JUNE 5, 1893.

SEC. 3. “ The board of directors shall be elected quad-
 “ rennially, and shall have general supervision of the organ-
 “ ization. * * * The Board shall at each of its meetings
 “ make special inquiry through its standing committees, and
 “ and various other sources, into the matter of protection as
 “ vouchsafed by the constitution to all members of the Order;
 “ and if it shall be found that any member has not been
 “ fully protected in all rights as an employe, such action
 “ shall be taken as will strengthen the Order where weakness
 “ prevails, and give efficiency to fully protect the rights of
 “ every member.

SEC. 5. “ A majority of the board shall constitute a quo-
 “ rum for the transaction of business.

SEC. 9. “ The committees of the Board, consisting of
 “ three members each, who shall be appointed annually by
 “ the president and vice-president, shall be as follows: Lite-
 “ rature and education, legislation and co-operation, media-
 “ tion, insurance, employment, finances and such others as
 “ may be deemed necessary.

SEC. 11. “ It shall be the duty of the president to preside
 “ over the meetings of the Board, and quadrennial meetings
 “ of the General Union. * * * He shall enforce the
 “ laws of the Order, sign all charters, circulars, reports and
 “ other documents requiring authentication. He shall de-
 “ cide all questions and appeals, which decision shall be final,
 “ unless otherwise ordered by the Board. He may, with the
 “ concurrence of the Board, deputize any member to perform
 “ any required service, issue dispensations not inconsistent with
 “ the constitution or regulations of the Order, and perform
 “ such other duties as his office may impose. * * *

SEC. 18. No moneys shall be expended, except by Board
 “ of Directors, and upon a voucher signed by the president
 “ and secretary.

“ SEC. 14. Any member having a complaint against his
 “ employer may refer the same to the Board of Mediation of
 “ of the union of which he is a member, and they shall
 “ promptly investigate the same; and if it shall be found that
 “ the member has a just complaint the board shall do all in
 “ its power to have the same remedied; failing in which they
 “ shall notify the president of the General Union, who shall
 “ authorize the most available member of the Board of Direct-
 “ ors to visit and meet with the local board and endeavor to
 “ adjust the difficulty; failing in which he shall call upon the
 “ president to convene the Board of Mediation of the General
 “ Union, who in turn shall, if their efforts prove fruitless,
 “ direct the president to convene the Board of Directors, and
 “ they shall have full power to proceed as they may deem
 “ prudent in securing a speedy and satisfactory adjustment of
 “ the difficulty.”

CONSTITUTION OF JULY 20, 1894.

SECTION 1. "This organization shall be known as the
"American Railway Union, and its headquarters shall be lo-
"cated at Chicago, Illinois.

"SEC. 3. * * * The Board shall at each of its meetings
"make special enquiries through its various standing commit-
"tees and other available sources, into the matter of protec-
"tion, as vouchsafed by the constitution to all members of the
"order. If it be found that any member has not been fully
"protected in all rights as an employe, such action shall be
"taken as shall strengthen the order where weakness pre-
"vails, and give it efficiency to fully protect the rights of
"every member.

"SEC. 7. The Board is empowered to provide such rules,
"issue such orders, and adopt such measures as may be re-
"quired to carry out the objects of the order, provided that
"no action shall be taken that conflicts with this consti-
"tution.

"SEC. 10. The Board shall have general supervision of
"the Railway Times and other publications of the organiza-
"tion.

"SEC. 11. The committees of the Board shall consist of
"three members each, who shall be appointed annually by
"the president and vice-president as follows: Literature
"and education, legislation and co-operation, mediation
"and insurance, employment, finance and such others as
"may be deemed necessary.

"SEC. 19. No money shall be expended except by order
"of the Board of Directors, and upon a voucher signed by the
"president and secretary.

"SEC. 20. Each state, territory and province of North
"America shall comprise a representative district, and for

"each thousand members (or less) in good standing at the
"time of the district convention, shall be entitled to one rep-
"resentative to the general union.

"Note. The District of Columbia shall be part of the
"State of Maryland.

"SEC. 21. Delegates to the district conventions shall assem-
"ble at the capitol on the second Monday in May in each
"year. They shall be empowered to adopt such measures as
"will bring about the advancement of organized labor, and
"also elect delegates to the quadrennial convention, as pro-
"vided in section 20.

"SEC. 43. The officers of the union shall consist of a
"president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, district repre-
"sentative, and such assistant officers as the union may deter-
"mine.

"The boards shall consist of a board of mediation and
"board of by-laws of three members each, and such other
"boards as the union shall authorize; and they shall be
"elected in the month of April to serve for a term of one
"year. All committees shall be elected by written ballot,
"unless otherwise ordered.

"SEC. 48. It shall be the duty of the board of mediation
"to promptly examine into all complaints of members; they
"shall be authorized to deputize members to assist in the per-
"formance of their duties, and only such members shall be
"selected as represent the class or department in which the
"complaint originated.

"SEC. 49. It shall be the duty of the representative to
"attend the meetings of the district convention, and file with
"the secretary a report in writing of the proceedings thereof.
"For his service he shall receive such compensation as the
"union may determine.

"SEC. 54. The board of mediation of each local union

“ shall elect a chairman. The chairman of the local board
 “ of mediation shall be a member of the general board of
 “ mediation of the system or line on which they are em-
 “ ployed. The general board of mediation shall elect a
 “ chairman and secretary. The general board of mediation
 “ shall meet on the second Tuesday of September of each
 “ year at the headquarters of the road on which they are
 “ employed for the transaction of such business that may
 “ emanate from the local board of mediation. All com-
 “ plaints and adjustments of a general character shall be
 “ handled by the general board of mediation. All com-
 “ plaints and adjustments must be taken up first by the local
 “ union; if accepted by a majority vote it shall be referred
 “ to the local board of mediation for adjustment; and, if fail-
 “ ing, the case shall be submitted to the general board of
 “ mediation, failing in which they shall notify the president
 “ of the general union, who shall authorize the most avail-
 “ able member of the board of directors to visit and meet
 “ with the general chairman of the board of mediation, and
 “ issue such instructions as will be promulgated by the direc-
 “ tors.

On the back of both the constitutions of June 5, 1893,
 and of July 20, 1894, is printed, “ The Railway Times. Pub-
 “ lished by the American Railway Union. Pithy, pointed,
 “ progressive, \$1 per year. Address Railway Times, 421
 “ Ashland Block, Chicago, Illinois.”

PROCEEDINGS OF A. R. U. CONVENTION.

*Admissions of Defendants and Extracts from American
 Railway Times.*

744

TESTIMONY OF WALLACE RICE.

During the month of June and July last, I was one of
 the reporters on the Chicago Herald. My duty after the
 convention opened was the care of the American Railway
 Union's convention, reporting that for the paper. I was
 at nearly every meeting there was—an occasional morn-
 ing meeting I missed. As a reporter for the Chicago
 Herald, and also as a delegate to the convention, repre-
 senting Local Union No. 356 of the American Railway
 Union, at Kensington.

745 I am still a member of that union.

Q. Did you attend the meeting of the convention of
 June 12, 1894, Tuesday? A. That was the opening of
 the convention. I was present at that session throughout
 the day; reported it for the Herald. Mr. Debs was the
 presiding officer throughout the convention, except at
 rare times when he yielded the chair. He made the
 opening speech at the convention from the chair; spoke
 at some length, half or three quarters of an hour. He
 said, among other things, that the American Railway
 Union was the first of the railway organizations that was
 properly constructed; all others had had blowholes in
 their armor; that it was built for war, and they would
 find no weakness in it when it came time to test the
 armament. I was there Thursday, June 14th, early in
 746 the morning and stayed all day.

747 [On Friday, the 15th, a discussion arose. The matter came before the convention on the report of the Pullman delegation. When that had been read, Mr. Brown, representing local union No. 208, Miss Jennie Curtis, representing local union No. 265, spoke. Then my best recollection is that Mr. Debs arose and in a very fervent address, advocated very strongly that active measures be taken to aid the Pullman people; that something in the nature of a boycott should be declared; urged this upon the convention very strongly; spoke enthusiastically for perhaps fifteen or twenty minutes. He said in conclusion that he would rather the Union should be wrecked in a cause so righteous than drag out a protracted existence idly; and sat down saying he awaited the bugle call to duty. An immense amount of excitement followed his speech, and delegates jumped up all over the hall, saying "not a wheel should pass through Texas or through the western territory generally," each state speaking for itself. The convention was quite wild.

749 On the 15th the convention appointed a committee to wait upon Mr. Wickes. They came back and reported that Mr. Wickes declined to treat with them, and recommended that the entire matter should be reported to the directors and officers of the American Railway Union, with full power to act. That resolution was passed by the convention on the 16th. I was present at the meeting of the convention held June 21st, the next Thursday. Quite late in the convention T. W. Heathcote, chairman of the strike committee at Pullman, came in and asked me if I could obtain the car of the convention for him, that he might ask for aid for the Pullman people who were starving. I went to Mr. Debs, who was in the chair, and the convention consented. Mr. Heathcote

then, in a very short speech, asked for aid. He was followed by Mr. Maguire, also a member of the strike committee of Pullman. Some one then arose in the convention and moved, which was seconded, that the membership assess itself five cents a week for the Pullman people until the strike should be ended.

750 George W. Lovejoy, one of the delegates, said that would be an insufficient amount. He was the chairman of the finance committee, and recommended that it be made ten cents a week. That was passed, as I remember, unanimously. When this was over Mr. Debs arose and for the second time advocated strongly the declaration of a boycott against Pullman. He spoke at some length. As a result of Mr. Debs' speech a committee was appointed by the convention, which waited upon

751 Mr. Wickes. My best recollection is that Mr. Debs and Mr. Howard appointed the members of that committee. A report was made in the open convention, which was to the effect that Mr. Lovejoy, who was chairman of the committee, and who spoke for it, went to Mr. Wickes' office and said: "Mr. Wickes, we have come to notify you that if the Pullman Company does not consent to arbitrate, a boycott will be declared upon your cars, to take effect at noon, June 26th." Mr. Wickes said they had nothing to arbitrate, and Mr. Lovejoy said: "Good-day" and went out, followed by the members of the committee. The report was adopted, and in accordance with the original resolution passed the day before, the boycott thereupon became operative, unless before the day set for the boycott they should consent to arbitration.

750 Q: I understood you to say at the time the headquarters were removed to Uhlich Hall the boycott was on

and the strike was on and all the trouble was on? A. Yes, it would have been the Monday following the 25th when the boycott went into effect that we went over there, I think; I am not entirely positive.

Q. What, if anything, do you know about the directors dividing up the work so that either of them or any number of them should have special charges? A. I was over there in the evening, pursuing my regular duties with other reporters, and Mr. Rogers came out
757 from the meeting in the inside hall—L. W. Rogers, the defendant. He had two or three sheets of paper, on which in typewriting were committees which he said had just been appointed at that meeting, and as I remember it Mr. Debs and Mr. Howard were the press committee, Mr. Rogers was in charge of meetings, James Hogan was in charge of correspondence, and there were a number of other committees which I cannot just remember at this time. These were pasted on the wall and remained there until my connection with Uhlich Hall ceased; it was there for a fortnight I remember distinctly.

760 Q. Did you have any conversation with Debs, or did he at that time (1 A. M., July 4th) refer to the injunction? A. The day of granting the injunction I had quite a long interview—published quite a long interview in the paper the next day. That was over in Uhlich's Hall, in the afternoon, between 5 and 6 o'clock. Mr. Debs ex-
761 pressed himself to the effect—he said: "I have done nothing unlawful; I have kept myself strictly within the provisions of Judge Caldwell's decision as laid down by him, and I shan't change my course of conduct in any way by reason of the service of this injunction."

Q. Did you have any conversation with him on Satur-

day July 7th relative to injunction? A. That afternoon I went over there, and in the evening when I had access to Mr. Debs I asked if there was anything new, and he said there had been another injunction served upon him, and it should not make the slightest difference in the manner in which the American Railway Union was doing its business; it had kept within the bounds of the law.

Q. In your conversation with him on the 7th—or did you have a conversation with him on the 7th, or with either of the directors, relative to the strike or the extension of the strike, and if so, state what it was. A. I
762 had from Mr. Debs and Mr. Howard together an account of what was to be done to extend the strike eastward; that I think was some little time afterward, perhaps the 10th; they told me that four men had been sent east, two on the Pennsylvania system, and two on other systems, for the purpose of extending the strike through the eastern country; and Mr. McVean, I was informed by them, was sent to Cleveland for that purpose at a somewhat later day.

800 TESTIMONY OF FRANK O. ANDREWS.

Q. On the 5th day of July did you have an interview with Eugene V. Debs, one of the defendants in this case? A. Yes, sir; the substance of the interview was that Mr. Debs said he was not afraid of any court or grand jury, as he had committed no wrong. That interview was had with Mr. Debs at Uhlich's Hall July 4th, and
808 published in the Inter Ocean July 5th.

Q. Was there anything said at that interview concerning the injunction that was issued on the 2d of July or the effect of the injunction? A. I think Mr. Debs

said he was not afraid of any injunction, as he had committed no wrong, or had done nothing to be enjoined against. I think Mr. Debs said that the American Railway Union would continue the fight on the same lines they had commenced.

701 TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM K. MACKAY.

I am a reporter on the Chicago Evening Mail. I had an interview with Mr. Keliher, one of the defendants in this case on the 25th day of June, at the doorway of his office, or rather at the doorway of the office of the American Railway Union, in the Ashland Block. I asked him something about the strength of the order, and the plans that were outlined for conducting the fight and boycott, and he informed me on that occasion, that on that evening they would hold a meeting over at the Empire Theatre, and get the views of the Chicago laboring men in general, on the strike, and that the following day the directors of the A. R. U. would meet and formulate plans.

702 On the 27th of June I had an interview with Eugene V. Debs. I asked him if the men would obey instructions, and he said they would. I did not enquire whom those instructions emanated from. I had an interview with Hogan I know, before the strike headquarters were removed from the Ashland Block up to Uhlich's Hall, which was a few days after the strike went into effect. Each
704 day there for probably a week, in my capacity of hunting up what was new in regard to the strike, I used to see the directors, and they would inform me that strikes had been ordered on this or that road, or had gone into effect on this or that road, so possibly Mr. Hogan on that occasion told me there were strikes on one road or another.

I had lots of interviews with Mr. Howard. Mr. Howard always contended the strike was going to win. On that day he said the strike was not fairly on yet, and that the American Railway Union had not played its trump card yet. That was the 28th day of June. When it did, this would be a strike beyond comparison with any
705 that had occurred before, and he said they were going to make Pullman come off the perch if they had to tie up all the roads in the country. I remember Mr. Goodwin saying on the 28th of June, or thereabouts, that the whole country would be tied up in a week, or words to that effect. These telegrams were kept in a room on
706 the west side of the hallway of the corridor in Uhlich's Hall building, on the second floor. So far as I knew, they were the headquarters of the managers of the strike.

Mr. Hogan showed me telegrams frequently. I stayed up there every day, from 9 o'clock, say, until 2 in the afternoon, and very frequently committees of three and four would come up to the headquarters and would seek audience with the directors, whoever was in session in a room, and as the result of that call, when they came up, we would receive information, either from them or possibly from some of the directors, that a strike had been ordered on this or that road. I had an interview with Mr. Debs, I should say, every day
708 during the strike. Mr. Debs' position, as I always understood it, was that the railroad men would all stand together, and that the strike on one road would not be raised until it had been raised on all roads; that meant that all the roads in the General Managers' Association would have to go in before they would raise the blockade on any one road. On that day (June 28th), I think, he explained his position to me in that way. In the afternoon,

about one o'clock, June 30th, he came out into the large hall that people used to wait around in—strikers and those interested in the strike. I had heard a rumor that the Calumet Terminal Line was to be called out. I asked him about it, and he said it would be; that the strike would go into effect on that road the following day. I can't say that he told me he issued an order, or would issue an order. He simply said it would go into effect.

709 About the second day of July I had an interview with Mr. Debs concerning a conversation that he had with Mr. Studebaker of Indiana. I asked Mr. Studebaker what he was doing at the headquarters. He said it was merely a personal matter with Mr. Debs. So at the first opportunity I asked Mr. Debs what his mission was up there. He told me he was talking about the strike. I said, "What opinions did you give him?" "Well," he said, "I told him on what conditions the strike would be called off." He said that they would call the strike off when the Pullman Company consented to arbitrate with their men, and when the railroad companies consented to take the strikers back without prejudice, and that the actions of the roads had been unanimous; must all go back at once.

712 The day after the injunction issued I had a talk with Mr. Burns; it was brief. I was assigned to see all the directors and officers that I could and get their opinions as to the injunction that had been issued the day before (July 2d). I saw Mr. Burns that day (July 3d) in the hallway; he was talking with a lot of other gentlemen. I asked him what he thought of that injunction, what they would do about it? Why, he said, they would simply laugh at the injunction; that the Railway Union knew its rights; that they had not done anything

wrong, had not interfered with inter-state commerce or mails or passengers; that they had simply called off their 713 men. He said they had not done anything contrary to the injunction; that they had a right to strike peaceably; had not interfered with inter-state commerce, the mails or passenger traffic.

From the Railway Times, Chicago, July 15, 1894:

"CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS CONTINUED, JUNE 22D.
PULLMAN COMPANY GIVEN UNTIL 12 NOON, JUNE 26TH,
TO ADJUST DIFFERENCES, AND IN EVENT OF REFUSAL
BOYCOTT ON CARS TO GO INTO EFFECT.

ELECTION OF DIRECTORS.

Eugene V. Debs, of Terre Haute, Indiana, fireman; George W. Howard, Chicago, conductor, etc.; Sylvester Kellher, carman, Minneapolis; L. W. Rogers, trainman, Chicago; James Hogan, Ogden, Utah, conductor; William E. Burns, engineer, Chicago, and R. M. Goodman, switchman, Kalispel, Montana, were elected by acclamation. J. V. McVean, conductor, Cleveland, and M. J. Elliott, B. of R. T., Butte, Montana, were elected by ballot. Salaries of officers fixed as follows, yearly: President, \$3,000; vice-president, \$2,400; secretary, \$2,400; editor Railway Times, \$2,400; directors, \$1,500 each, and in all cases traveling expenses actually expended.

TESTIMONY OF DEBS BEFORE LABOR COMMISSION.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID S. GEER.

613 I am a shorthand reporter, a member of the firm of Bennett, Geer & Brady; have been in the business of reporting about fifteen years. I look down a report in

shorthand of the statement given by Eugene V. Debs in the matter of the investigation of the United States Strike Commission, so entitled here. It was the statement he gave before Carroll B. Wright, as chairman, Commissioner Kernan and Commissioner Worthington. The paper which you have handed me is a correct statement of the statement made by Mr. Debs before the strike commission on August 20, 1894. I read my shorthand notes to the operator and read it over afterwards. It is a correct transcript of a part of his statement.

Witness read the testimony of Eugene V. Debs taken in the matter of the investigation by the United States Strike Commission August 20, 1894, as follows:

657 My full name is Eugene V. Debs; my age thirty-eight; my residence Terre Haute, Indiana; I am at present President of the American Railway Union, and editor of the Locomotive Firemen's Magazine; have been president of the union ever since it was instituted on June 20, 1893.

658 COMMISSIONER WRIGHT: Was the motion passed unanimously before the convention on the 21st day of June, declaring that unless the grievances at Pullman were adjusted within five days a general boycott would be declared against roads hauling Pullman cars; was it served upon anybody officially, or otherwise, in writing or verbally by the convention or its officers? A. No, sir, it was not served on the railroad companies, but it was left with the representatives of each road to serve that notice. There was no action taken on the part of the convention peremptorily, for the reason that the American Railway Union was not regarded favorably by the railroad companies, such courtesies as other organ-

izations have already received having been denied to the American Railway Union.

661 Q. It is said some inflammatory telegrams were sent, either by you or by your authority; how is that? A. Yes, I understand it is alleged certain telegrams were sent, but there was no telegram sent by my authority of an inflammatory character.

At the time the convention was held there was a young man, a delegate from Butte, Montana, by the name of L. P. Benedict. He was a typewriter and stenographer in the office of the auditor of the Montana Union Railway. He was made assistant secretary during the convention, and he was found to be so competent that he was employed as our regular stenographer and typewriter. When the trouble began there were thousands of telegrams and communications pouring in, and it was impossible for me to see them all personally, because I was out among the men, meeting with committees, meeting at different cities, and addressing meetings, and all that sort of work, so it was really impossible for all these telegrams that were coming in to come under my personal notice. So then the work was apportioned by the board to its members. This young man, Benedict, answered by instruction of the board some telegrams, and in other cases where the board was all absent, he answered the telegrams himself. Telegrams when he had answered others of a kindred character he would answer without instructions. This telegram was sent to his superior, in whose employment he had been at Butte, Montana, who wired him to know something about the conditions. It was an expression that they had used themselves, between themselves, a playful expression, "Save your money and buy a gun." It was

telegraphed to that superior, who understood the expression, and who wrote a letter that I can produce here.

664 On the second day of July I was served with a very sweeping injunction that restrained me as president of the Union from sending out any telegram or any letter, or issuing any order that would have the effect of inducing or persuading men to withdraw from the service of the company, or that would in any manner whatsoever, according to the language of the injunction, interfere
665 with the operation. This injunction was served simultaneously, or practically so, by all the courts embracing, or having jurisdiction, in the territory in which the trouble existed. It is understood that a strike is war; not necessarily a war of blood and bullets, but a war in the sense that it is a conflict between two contending interests or classes of interests. There is more or less strategy, too, in war, and this was necessary in our operation. Orders were issued from here; questions were answered, and our men were kept in line from here. At the time I was served with this injunction, all of the officers at all of the points which had headquarters, terminals of all these roads, were served with the same injunction, from sending out any telegrams or discharging the functions attached to their several offices.

667 Q. What action did the Union take during the troubles here concerning the employment of men not members of your Union? A. We treated them as if they were members in so far as we were able to control them; assured them that we would give them the same protection as we gave our own members, in event of succeeding, and what we expected to do if we succeeded was simply to restore the men to their positions. We assured these non-union

men that we would protect them so far as their positions were concerned.

668 As soon as the employes found that we were arrested and taken from the scene of action they became demoralized, and that ended the strike. It was not the soldiers that ended the strike; it was not the old brotherhoods that ended the strike. It was simply the United States courts that ended the strike. Our men were in a position that never would have been shaken under any circumstances if we had been permitted to remain upon the field, remain among them. Once we were taken from the scene of action and restrained from sending telegrams, or issuing orders or answering questions, then the minions of the corporations would be put to work at such place. The headquarters were demoralized and abandoned, and we could not answer any telegrams or questions that would come in. Our headquarters were temporarily demoralized and abandoned, and we could not answer any messages. The men went back to work and the ranks were broken, and the strike was broken up by the Federal court of the United States, and not by the army, and not by any other power, but simply and solely by the action of the United States courts in restraining us from discharging our duties as officers and representatives of our employes.

669 Q. What if anything did you do to ascertain whether your men were concerned in violence and have them report it to you? A. We did that to our committee which called at headquarters every morning and advised us. They were instructed to guard the company's property, if they were near it at all, and to apprehend anyone that might be caught destroying property. This instruction was given again and again to the central committee that went out

from headquarters. We said we knew that if there was trouble, if there was disorder and riot, we would lose, because we knew enough by experience in the past that we had everything to lose by riot and nothing to gain. We said the man who incites riot or disorder is our enemy, and we have got to be the first to apprehend and bring him to justice. So we called upon our men and advised them, urged them to do everything in their power to maintain order, because we felt and knew that if there was perfect order there was no pretext upon which they could call out the soldiers or appeal for the intervention of the court, and we would win without a question of a doubt; that it was only by disorder that we could possibly lose, and that disorder was not part of the policy of the American Railway Union any more than if there was a Fourth of July celebration here tomorrow and some drunken riot would occur, no more than that would be a reflection upon the patriotic participants in that celebration.

THE RAILWAY TIMES, July 2, 1894.

THE BOYCOTT RESULTS IN A BIG RAILROAD TIE-UP. SECOND AND FINAL MOVE AGAINST THE "JUKE"—HIS RECORD—ALL ABOUT THE STRIKE.

The boycott was ordered and Pullman given five days' notice. At noon of June 26th it was to go into effect, and railroad companies handled Pullman cars at their peril. There was to be trouble, and the directors prepared for it. Information as to how the men felt about it disclosed that all were ready for the word. * * *

It became evident now that refusal to switch Pullmans

was not quick enough work, and the switchmen were ordered out. At 4 P. M. the delegation from the road called at the headquarters and received definite instructions, and by 9 o'clock not a wheel was moving on the Illinois Central inside the city limits. An exception was made in the case of the Diamond special, leaving at 9 o'clock, as the passengers had purchased berth tickets; consideration for them was the moving cause. The night crews struck; ran their engines to the round-house at Burnside, and nothing but an occasional suburban went out. The Michigan Central trains using the Illinois Central tracks were also allowed to pull through unmolested, as they ran the Wagner cars.

Meantime there was considerable trouble at Grand Crossing. Early in the afternoon the towermen and switchmen quit, and when the St. Louis special, an hour late, reached that point, they found the gates down, and about 4,000 people crowded around them. After delay of half an hour, one Sowders, under police protection, lifted them, and she got through. The suburban trains were delayed at this point half an hour. * * * The gates were always opened by the strikers to let the Michigan Central trains through.

Meantime rumors of trouble kept the police busy hurrying from one point to another. In the Grand Central yard the trouble began at five in the evening by the switching crew refusing to handle a train of the Chicago and Great Western. Four roads ran into this depot; the Baltimore and Ohio; Wisconsin Central; Northern Pacific, and Great Western. The superintendent himself took charge of the engine and a detective fired for him. Numerous meetings addressed by officers in the evening. So ended the first day of the strike in Chicago.

During the day and evening dispatches poured in from points west and south. At Raton, New Mexico, the sleeper Ghent was cut off and side-tracked; at Como, at Northern Pacific shops, near St. Paul, shop men refused to work on Pullman cars. * * *

During the first day our friend, Grand Master Sovereign, put in appearance, and after consultation with directors, issued the following order:

'To the Officers and Members of the Knights of Labor everywhere, Greeting:

This is an official notice to inform you that the American Railway Union has declared a boycott against the cars and equipment of the Pullman Palace Car Company, taking effect June 26, 1894, as a result of the refusal of said company to arbitrate the differences existing between said company and their employes, or to entertain any proposition looking to an amicable adjustment. * * * It behooves you as members of Knights of Labor to render the striking members of the American Railway Union such assistance as can consistently be given in their fight against plutocratic enslavement. It will be borne in mind that the Orders of the Knights of Labor and the American Railway Union are affiliated, and are working together in unison and harmony in all things in which their material interests are involved. The time has come for unity of action. The sons of toil must stand together, shoulder to shoulder, in the great conflict which is now raging. There must be no dissension or division; unification is the one supreme demand. The American Railway Union stands ready at any and all times to reciprocate in any way in their power. In fact, the American Railway Union and the Knights of Labor are simply two divisions of the

great army fighting not only tyranny, but the tyrant as well. You are hereby urgently requested to not only prosecute with all possible power the boycott against the Pullman Palace cars, but all railway corporations aiding said Pullman Company. This is a fight between united labor and monopolistic corporations, and labor must win, cost what it may. The American Railway Union is aiding us in forming local assemblies of our order, and we owe them our united support in this struggle for the emancipation of the wage workers from the thralldom of greed and avarice. (Signed) JAMES R. SOVEREIGN, Grand Master Workman.' * * *

Circular sent out Wednesday to labor leaders and organization everywhere at least resulted in all cases in a 'hands off' reply, and in some instances a quiet 'push our way.'

The city has begun to feel the tie-up. Provisions, perishable stock suffering. Coal supply short and some tugs and engine rooms burning cord-wood. The Illinois Central is a great milk road, and its supply cut off makes that staple short.

FRIDAY. The Mobile & Ohio are not represented in the General Managers' Association; wired President Debs that they would not haul Pullmans till the trouble was over, and the road was released.

Meantime the members are pouring into the A. R. U. by the regiment. Meetings are held at dozens of places all over town, and the mail is loaded with applications. Uhlich's Hall on the north side is headquarters, and the board of directors is in continuous session. We have the main hall and three ante rooms, in one of which the officer force and correspondents are working day and

night. It is a misfortune not to be overlooked, that the telegraph bill is putting many ducats in J. Gould's boy's pocket."

THE RAILWAY TIMES, CHICAGO, JULY 15th.

BROTHERS AND FRIENDS, THE A. R. U. ASKS A HELPING HAND.

In the prolonged contest now on between corporate greed and tyranny on the one hand, and of labor on the other, fortune placed the A. R. U. in the place of honor, the front rank; backed by the endorsement of unified labor, it must not be allowed to fail. It is your fight as well as ours.

Our modest dues, owing to enormous membership, were fixed to meet running expenses, and met ordinary exigencies, but the long drawn out contest, involving necessarily constant calls on the reserve fund, has pushed us financially to a point that we must call on our reserve lines, and all true friends of liberty and justice for support. The A. R. U. needs money, needs it badly, and at once. What can you do, Brothers? If you can help us, remit to Sylvester Keliher, Secretary A. R. U., 421 Ashland Block, Chicago, Illinois. Some day when any of our sister organizations have to bear the brunt, call on us with the certainty of reciprocation. Fraternaly submitted to all of our friends and sympathizers.

For the American Railway Union.

EUGENE V. DEBS,

President.

SYLVESTER KELIHER,

Secretary."

"THE BIG STRIKE—ITS PROGRESS FOR FIFTEEN DAYS PAST—A SKETCH WHICH WILL DO FOR A BEGINNING—HOW FOUGHT—WHO IS FIGHTING—WHEN WON.

How is it run? The headquarters of the strike are at Uhlich's Hall. The modest space of the general office would not begin to let in a tithe of the crowd. At Uhlich's they have the main hall for speeches and general meetings; two big audience rooms where the boys can make themselves. Two small rooms for the office purposes and board meetings. The board is so divided up that each man takes a part of the work. Mr. Hogan's slogan, for instance, that ran along the wastes of Dakota and Montana during the Great Northern strike, is limited now to low voiced dictation of correspondence. Part of the board attend to outside matters. This leaves Debs and Howard free to watch the enemy. Rogers attends to the allotment of speakers and editorial work in the Railway Times, made necessary to set off the infernal lies of the majority of the Chicago press.

JULY 1ST. * * * Monon and Michigan Central patronize Indianapolis injunction mill. Sneezing on the part of strikers not prohibited. Philadelphia awakens a trifle—branch local of 265. The seven unions at Indianapolis discuss the question of boycott or not to boycott. Boston Central Labor Union endorse strike and protest against Olney's interference in the interest of corporations. Local at Battle Creek ties Grand Trunk into a tight knot.

JULY 2D. * * * Big day for A. R. U. in Chicago. Debs and others injured by Grosscup and Woods, incidentally United States corporation judges.

Dread penalties of the law were called down on the head of Debs and others for persuading men to quit work. These outrages were concocted by that scoundrel Olney at Washington, sent out to all the Circuit and District courts throughout the country. The flimsy pretense of this corporation climax of partially successful scoundrelism finds its base in the Inter-state Commerce Act, a laughing stock and absolute failure in times of peace. The reason of this law never contemplated the infamous uses to which it is put. It was aimed against the corporations themselves. It may be said here, finally covering the whole period of these annals, that, coming from all over the country, these object-lessons of judicial prostitution are served on the A. R. U. officers once or twice each day, and are so expected to continue. If photographed on the patent medicine plan the victims would run through all the phases of the expression before and after taking. The impossible feature of the whereas, wherefore, thereby, etc., is that the parties named are enjoined from holding the machine in contempt.

The day finds every road in Chicago crippled; a few trains are running, but the yards are congested. The police and deputies parade in every yard. In every place strikers are trying to persuade their comrades not to scab. Mischievous boys and hoodlums are pulling pins and delaying the action of the trainmen. Goslings in military trapping and United States marshals and sheriff's deputies cover the whole country.

F. W. Phelan, deputy in charge of strike at Cincinnati, was arrested, charged with obstructing trains on the Big Four. He could have secured his release by promise to cease agitating, and on refusal was held under \$2,500 bond to appear at the next Criminal court.

JULY 4TH. President Debs issued the following address to the public:

Up to this point the trouble was confined to the Pullman Company and its employes. How then did the strike extend to the railways? Let the answer be given in accordance with the facts. The day before the order of the delegates declining to haul Pullman cars went into effect the General Managers' Association, representing the principal western railways, met and passed a series of resolutions, declaring in substance that they would uphold the Pullman Company in its fight upon the employes; that they would haul Pullman cars, and that they would stand together in crushing out the American Railway Union. The resolutions in question were published in the city papers and can be referred to in substantiation of this averment. It will thus be seen that the railway companies virtually joined forces with the Pullman Company; went into partnership with them, so to speak, to reduce and defeat their half-starved employes. In this way the trouble was extended from line to line, and from system to system, until the crisis has been reached. The business of the country is demoralized to an extent that defies exaggeration. To say that the situation is alarming is entirely within the bounds of prudent statements. Every good citizen must view the outlook with grave concern. Something should, something must be done. The American people are peace-loving people; they want neither anarchy nor revolution. They have faith in their institutions; they believe in law and order; they believe in good government; but they also believe in fair play. Once aroused, they will not tolerate arbitrary and dictatorial defiance, even on the part of an alliance of rich and powerful corporations. * * *

We are open to reason and conviction, but we will not be cowed nor intimidated. Were we to sacrifice the multiplied thousands of wageworkers who have committed their interests to our hands, and yield to the pressure of corporate power, we would be totally unworthy of American citizenship. * * *

In the evening, pursuant to previous arrangement, delegates from over one hundred unions met at Uhlich's Hall; meeting with them was John McBride, President of the United Mine Workers; General Master Workman Sovereign, President Mahan of the National Union of Street Railway Employes, President Connell of the International Machinists' Union; President Prescott of the International Typographical Union; President Debs; Vice-President Howard; Secretary Keliher; and members of the board of directors of the American Railway Union. Thomas I. Kidd, General Secretary of the Machine Wood Workers, presided. The meeting was in session till 5 A. M., and agreed to strike on Wednesday morning if Pullman previous to that time still refused to arbitrate, or if not, if the general managers still refused to cut off the Pullman sleepers. * * *

Still debating in Buffalo and Cincinnati. Closed up tight at Ashley on the Chicago and Detroit. The firemen at Milwaukee resolve to walk out. Industrial Council at Kansas City approve the strike. Men on the Santa Fe at Galveston go out. Situation unchanged, and all firm, except uncorroborated report of weakening at St. Louis. * * *

JULY 9TH. * * * Not a wheel moving in Toledo. Riot threatened in Cincinnati if Frank Phelan, A. R. U. deputy is sent to jail for contempt. Militia ordered out.

Strike spreading east. Railroads at Denver furnish special car for brotherhood men not in A. R. U. to confer with employes south, and endeavor to get A. R. U. men back to work. There are certain spots in that territory that the brotherhood tools will find unhealthy to visit, and in none will they find A. R. U. boys prepared to scab.

JULY 10TH. * * * Eugene V. Debs, President; George W. Howard, Vice-President; Sylvester Keliher, Secretary, and L. W. Rogers, Director of the A. R. U. and editor of the Railway Times arrested on charge of conspiracy. * * *

News favorable to A. R. U. at all points where muskets are not in charge.

JULY 11TH. * * * Pittsburg still in a flurry. All men ready except the engineer who would rather cut labor's throat and his own than get off the box. During the day President Debs held a conference with Mayor Hopkins. Debs said that now, as always before, the A. R. U. was ready to arbitrate.

Uneasy at New Orleans, Anderson, Wabash and Knox, Indiana route. The Valparaiso Grand Trunk and Fort Wayne passenger train side tracked. * * *

C. S. McAuliffe, F. W. Archibald, John O'Rourke and others arrested for violating blanket injunction at Milwaukee. Telegraph manager compelled to produce telegrams to and from A. R. U. general office, before the Federal Grand Jury.

JULY 12TH. * * * The lying report that the strike was called off, called forth telegrams by the hundred, protesting against what was supposed to be a surrender. Roads moving passenger and some freight.

Plute press called it a licking as to us. Everything smooth, but they dare not take away the soldiers. It is difficult to make converts by timid advocates, if you meet a musket at every turn.

JULY 15TH. * * * Is the strike on? It am. From Chicago's big trade and labor assembly, with its one hundred and twenty thousand wage earners down all Chicago labor thunders it from the platform to Debs, "Go ahead." From St. Louis it comes like a wave. From over the whole land the churches have taken it up. Is the strike on to finish? You bet.

THE RAILWAY TIMES, CHICAGO, JULY 2, 1894.

JUNE 15, Afternoon Session.

The following sections from report of Committee on Literature were adopted as read; other sections referred to Committee on Legislation.

1. That the Railway Times shall be made a weekly newspaper as soon as deemed expedient by the board of directors.

2. That it shall be printed in a union house only, which shall be under the jurisdiction of the allied printing trades, and that it shall bear the union label."

728 THE RAILWAY TIMES, CHICAGO, JUNE 1, 1894.
ROGERS NEITHER DEAD, NOR YET EVEN ASLEEP.

The readers of the Railway Times must not imagine, because he does not appear frequently in its columns, that the editor, Mr. L. W. Rogers, is dead. This idea might have some color from the fact that in March he

left his desk a sick man. The idea was to take a needed lay-off for a month, get back the rosy color to his cheek, and at 'em again.

Circumstances prevented, and he will not probably be on deck permanently until after the convention, June 12th, instant. He had hardly got out of the harness when down South—whither he had gone—the railroad people down there wanted the organizer bad. He put in New Orleans, Vicksburg, Cairo, Birmingham, Algiers, and Memphis. By this time he thought he wanted another month, came home to see how the machine was working, and in three days was sent to Duluth, Superior and Hinckley, and from there called down to St. Paul to go into service on the Great Northern. His vacation for restful purposes was not vacating much. He was returned to St. Paul for the second round. From there to Milwaukee, where he put in on one night 427 Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul men. Then to Spooner and Ashland, Wisconsin; back again to help in the Pullman family quarrel; then to Wilmington, Delaware, to see how Mr. Pullman's people were getting along, and to home. He will get no chance to get in the original month before the convention, and as his work seems to have agreed with him, perhaps none at all. Meanwhile, while he has not been insisting that now is the time to subscribe, he has taken into the fold over six thousand members of the American Railway Union, who will be induced to take the Railway Times."

THE RAILWAY TIMES DAILY BULLETIN,

No. 22, July 9, 5 P. M.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION.

The existence of this Daily Bulletin is troubled and uncertain. All strike business is being carried on quietly ignoring the injunctions, and arrest is liable to occur at any moment. After this morning's proclamation we may expect anything. A meeting for the night has been forbidden. If this bulletin suddenly fails to appear, its fate can easily be guessed.

PLUTOCRATS OR PEOPLE.

Shall the people or the plutocrats rule? Are the corporations or the people the United States? These are the questions involved in the present struggle. It is no longer a railroad strike; it is an industrial rebellion against the unholy power of the plundering plutocrats. It is the united protest of millions of laboring people of all classes and callings against stamping out the liberties of common humanity. It is united and universal resistance to the onward march of the predatory rich, the legalized thieves of the nation. It is a struggle that is to determine whether a horde of monopoly lords can use the courts, the army, the prison and the gallows to establish a tyranny worse than that from which our colonists-ancestors suffered, or whether a free people shall maintain the simple rights of man.

ANOTHER INJUNCTION.

As the editor of the Bulletin stepped into Uhlich's Hall this morning Deputy Marshal Jones served the latest injunction, and politely enquired for the other di-

rectors. If this thing continues an injunction clerk will have to be added to the force to read and file such documents. This latest effort to strip from men their constitutional rights is from the notorious Taft, of Ohio. It is a little more sweeping than its predecessors, and says in clear terms that we shall not induce any employe to leave the service of the company. * * * It is a striking fact that these injunctions from the various states are issued simultaneously, and therefore by perfect understanding and concert in action, the difference in the time served here is exactly that represented by the distance to be traversed after being sealed in the respective courts. This, of course, is not conspiracy. It is done to help the sacred corporations. Where is Jenkins and Dundy? These are busy times for the railroads' hired men.

639

TESTIMONY OF HENRY O. SHEPARD.

My name is Henry O. Shepard; I am a printer and publisher at 212 and 214 Monroe street. We printed during the past summer a paper called the Railway Times. We commenced printing that paper about January first, and stopped the first of August; it was semi-monthly, I am quite sure. The American Railway Union paid us for printing that paper, usually in checks, I think. I can only state in one case by whom these checks were signed. That was signed by the secretary, Mr. Keliher, I think the name is, and Mr. Debs. That was the only check I ever saw that came for it. I should say that the edition, the number of copies I printed during June and July was approximately from two to five thousand. Originally some of the representatives of the Ameri-

can Railway Union came to our establishment, to agree with me as to the printing of that paper. The conversation was all had with Mr. Caldwell, the representative of our plant. I printed
 641 this paper (a paper given witness, entitled "Addressed to the Public," and marked for identification with the initials L. C. J). I printed it at the instance of the American Railway Union. I delivered the issues of the Railway Times which I printed for the American Railway Union, according to the orders that we had for them. I think we mailed some direct from our place.
 642 We would not distribute those through the country unless they furnished us wrappers and simply gave us information to do them up for mailing purposes, and supplied stamps and addresses and anything of that kind; we would certainly carry out any wish they might have in connection with it.

Q. What you did with the printed copies of this circular was what you were ordered to do by the American Railway Union? A. Yes, sir.

643 We have been in business as the Henry O. Shepard Printing Company five or six years; I am the president of the company. Pretty nearly acquainted with the larger jobs that are taken; pretty nearly all come under my jurisdiction.

Q. I will show you the number of July 2d and July 9th; were those printed by you? A. July 2d was printed by us; July 9th was printed by us.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN CALDWELL.

All through during the months of April, May, June and July I was the solicitor for the Henry O. Shepard Company. I know Mr. Rogers, but I do not know Mr. Debs or Mr. Keliher.

Q. Did you have any business arrangement or agreement with Mr. Rogers in reference to the publication of the Railway Times? A. I made an estimate on the publication and had it accepted. It was a written proposition, and we received a letter from the American Railway Union that the contract was awarded to us; I don't know who accepted it. I had no acquaintance with Mr. Rogers previous to that time. I prepared the estimate
 652 before I had met him. A proposition was sent to us in writing, explaining what they wanted, and I made the estimate from that, and called and left the estimate, and later on the contract was awarded to us.

TESTIMONY OF RAY S. BAKER.

780 My name is R. S. Baker. I am a reporter for the Chicago Record. Have been connected with that paper as a reporter for a little over two years, and was upon the staff of that paper July 22d. The slip you have handed me was published in the Record, I presume, on the day following. I procured the manuscript or the original from which that was taken, from Mr. Debs. He was at the time in the county jail. I do not know where that manuscript is. I turned it in as copy. I suppose it was destroyed with the other manuscript. Manuscripts are not preserved. From my recollection, after examination,

as nearly as I can remember, (of course at this distance of time I can't remember the exact words) this is a correct copy. It is at least a substantial copy.

“HEADQUARTERS AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION, COOK COUNTY JAIL, CHICAGO, July 22d. To the American public: It is almost universally conceded that the Pullman Company, through oft repeated reductions of wages, excessive rents and many other causes, has grievously wronged its employes, and, whatever may be said about the great railway strike which resulted in consequence of such grievances, the arbitrary refusal of said Pullman Company to submit to arbitration in any form, (even to decide the question if there was anything to arbitrate) is proof positive that said company had no faith in the justice of its cause and fears the disclosures that are certain to result from an honest investigation, and in view of the heavy loss entailed upon the country, such obstinacy on the part of the Pullman Company is deserving of the severest condemnation.

The Pullman Company makes the plea that it is asked of them that they shall run their works at a loss. The statement is absolutely false. What was asked was arbitration, and this would have resulted in even-handed justice. The Pullman Company has robbed its employes, and an investigation would have disclosed a state of affairs which would have horrified the nation. This is why arbitration was refused. It is notoriously true that the Pullman company pays its conductors and porters such paltry wages that they are obliged to depend upon the public to support them. Yes, this rich and powerful corporation virtually compels the public to pay the wages of its sleeping-car employes, and this notwithstanding

standing extortionate rates are charged for sleeping-car accommodations.

We propose that the Pullman company shall be brought to justice, and this in a way that will not necessitate a strike with its attendant ills. It may be suggested that this should have been thought of before the great strike was inaugurated. In that case little, if any, attention would have been paid to the appeal we are about to make. As one of the results of the strike the company is aroused, and any proper appeal will command attention. The Pullman Company still defiant, and as cruel to its former employes as it is indifferent to the public weal. It is determined to starve its employes into submission. As remorseless as a man-eating tiger, it waits complacently until their last penny is gone, and they are thus forced to crawl back into their heartless, oppressive employ. The spectacle is well calculated to make men and angels shudder.

Shall the Pullman Company have the support of the public in carrying out this hellish policy? Shall the public be a party to the starvation and degradation of the more than 4,000 employes, men and women, whose only crime is that they ask living wages? We believe—indeed we know—what the answer will be. We have faith in the American people. They uphold justice; they love fair play; and now in the name of justice and fair play we appeal to the great American public, to every good man and every good woman, not to ride in a Pullman car until the Pullman Company does justice to its employes. Let the cars run absolutely empty. No friend of labor, no friend of humanity would occupy a seat or berth in a Pullman car. Let this policy be inaugurated, and we will then see how long the railroad

companies will be bound by their contracts, as they have induced the public to believe, to haul Pullman cars.

We propose to continue this strike against the Pullman Company through good and evil report and without regard to consequences until justice shall be done. There will be no surrender. We will use every available and lawful means to press the contest. Dungeons shall not daunt us. The struggle is for humanity and against the most cruel tyranny, and unless we are deaf to every impulse of mercy and fellow-feeling, must be crowned with success.

Think of the Pullman employés as your own sisters, brothers, children. If you have any doubt as to the outrages of which they have been the victims, we refer you to Rev. W. H. Carwardine, Pullman, Illinois, a gentleman of the highest character and standing, who has long been a close student of the conditions at Pullman and is able to speak from personal observation and experience.

Persons desiring to contribute money or supplies to Pullman employés will please forward same to David V. Gladman, treasurer, Pullman, Illinois.

It is requested that all papers throughout the land favorable to labor, to justice, to humanity, copy this statement in full and keep it standing as long as possible.

† Earnestly appealing to the great public to aid us in this unequal contest between a rich, powerful, arrogant and defiant corporation and its famishing, half clad employés, and relying with implicit faith upon the powerful triumph of the right, we subscribe ourselves,

Very respectfully yours,

EUGENE V. DEBS, *President.*

GEORGE W. HOWARD, *Vice President.*

SYLVESTER KELHER, *Secretary.*

L. W. ROGERS, *Editor Railway Times.*"

EVIDENCE RELATIVE TO THE RECEIPT OF TELEGRAMS.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH H. ELBERS:

739 My name is Joseph H. Elbers. I am the night clerk at the Leland Hotel. I have seen Eugene V. Debs there. He came there about the 17th of June and stayed about three weeks; occupied a room there. There were from twenty-five to thirty telegrams coming there every night, and I had been in the habit of sending them up to his room until he requested that I should leave them in the office. Some of these were addressed to Eugene V. Debs and others were addressed to the American Railway Union, Uhlich's Hall. There were between fifteen and twenty telegrams delivered by me to Mr. Debs personally on two occasions. One was on the
740 3d of July; I cannot remember the other. Between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning something like fifteen or twenty were handed by me to Mr. Debs at that time. He opened them at the office. The other occasion was prior to that time; how long I can't remember; about the same number were handed by me to Mr. Debs at that time.

TESTIMONY OF WALLACE RICE.

740 Q. Did you see any of the telegrams that were received delivered to Debs personally? A. The evening of the third of July I went to the Leland Hotel to see Mr. Debs and Mr. Howard. I saw them when they came in early in the morning, early the morning of the 4th, after midnight of the 3d. Mr.

Debs went up and took from Mr. Elbers a number of dispatches—say fifteen or twenty, perhaps more—and opened them and read them there. About 1 o'clock the morning of the 4th that was; it was quite early.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE COHEN.

555 I am a messenger boy for the Western Union Telegraph Company; I was a messenger boy last June and July, stationed at the Revere House; during the month of July I took telegrams to Uhlich's Hall on Kinzie and Clark streets, room 8. The name that was on the door was Mr. Beller. I know Mr. Debs. The boy I was with yesterday, he shake hands with Mr. Hogan, and he told me who he was; I saw Mr. Hogan in room 8, Uhlich's Hall; the 7th of July, 1894, was the first day I delivered telegrams there; there were about seven or eight addressed to E. V. Debs; I gave them to the man at the door; he brought them inside the room. There was one lady and Mr. Benedict, the typewriter, in the room at the time, and one man sitting at a desk. I don't know what the man did with the telegrams after he got them

556

557 in the room.

Cross-Examination.

Q. Do I understand that all told you only delivered
560 about thirty-five on all of these days? A. There were about fifty delivered.

Q. Do you know whose name was signed to the telegrams you were given? A. They would mostly be Mr. Benedict's when I brought them to the Revere House; Mr. Benedict signed his own name.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES CONNIFF.

562 I am a Western Union messenger boy; have been with the Western Union for three months; began work for them the 28th of June at the main office. I know Mr. Debs; saw him first at Uhlich's Hall June 29th. He was in a big room with a whole lot of men. I delivered three messages to him, addressed to E. V. Debs. He received for some of them himself on the 29th of June. I delivered other telegrams at Uhlich's Hall that day, about eight or ten, addressed

564 to E. V. Debs. I gave them to a gentleman outside the door; I don't know his name. He gave the messages to somebody in the messages to somebody in the room. I don't know who was in the room and did not go in there myself. On the 30th of June I delivered about fifteen messages addressed to E. V. Debs. I saw him there on that day at the time I delivered these messages.

565 He was in the large room. I worked at night on July 5th, and delivered about eight telegrams addressed to E. V. Debs at Uhlich's Hall.

571 I am not positive whether it was the 29th or 30th of June that I delivered the messages to Mr. Debs personally; I think it is the 30th. I think it was three that I delivered to him that day; they were not personal telegrams; I know that, because they were not marked on the envelope. This is my sheet. (The sheet was marked Conniff Exhibit 2, G. H. C.) I think this (indicating) is one of Eugene V. Debs' signatures. Telegram No. 48. I delivered it in the large room, where the A. R. U. men was, to Mr. Debs.

574

TESTIMONY OF GUS WOHLERS:

My name is Gus Wohlers. I am fifteen years old. I worked for the Western Union Company about a year; quit working for them the last of July, 1894. During
575 the months of June and July I was stationed at the Revere House, corner of Clark and Michigan streets.

I know Mr. Debs, James Hogan, Sylvester Keliher, Rogers and Howard. July 4th I delivered about fifteen or twenty Debs telegrams to the man standing at the door. He took them inside the room. I went in and Mr. Hogan, Bene-
581 dict, and a man reading a paper there (Goodwin). July 2d I delivered about twenty to the man standing at the door. I saw Mr. Hogan there that day; I delivered some to Mr. Hogan that were addressed to Mr. Hogan. I delivered some to Mr. Hogan addressed E. V. Debs the 7th and 8th, about four or five. Sometimes he signed Debs and sometimes his own name to the sheet; about the 9th I delivered some to Mr. Hogan at the Revere House. He was going out the Clark street entrance. I don't remem-
584 ber ever delivering any telegrams to Mr. Debs. About the 7th of July I think I seen him there when I delivered telegrams at Uhlich's hall. He was coming right up the steps.

I delivered telegrams at Uhlich's hall a couple of other times when Mr. Debs was there, addressed to E. V. Debs. I seen Mr. Debs read some messages. I don't know who delivered them, but I seen him reading before I delivered any; I was bringing some messages inside the office, and seen somebody hand some messages, and he read them. Mr. Hogan handed him the messages, a stack, about twenty-five. That was right across from room 8, one of the rooms used by the American Railway

Union. That is the only time I ever saw Debs read any of these telegrams. I never received any messages from
585 Mr. Debs or Mr. Howard. Mr. Rogers gave me some along the 10th or 11th of July. He gave me about three, signed E. V. Debs. I gave them to the operator and he sent them. I saw Mr. Rogers around the American Railway headquarters about six or seven times. I seen Hogan about three times; Keliher I seen about seven or eight times. I never delivered any of Debs' telegrams to Mr. Rogers. I delivered some to Debs' brother, marked E. V. Debs. He was sitting with Mr. Debs, Mr.
587 Hogan and Goodwin. I don't know what Mr. Debs' brother did with those telegrams.

TESTIMONY OF FRED MILLER.

589 My name is Fred Miller. I am a Western Union messenger boy, and was, during the months of June and July of this year, stationed at the Revere House. I know Mr. Eugene V. Debs, Mr. Howard, Hogan, Keliher, Benedict and Beller, the man at the door. I don't know Mr.
590 Rogers. I first delivered telegrams addressed E. V. Debs to Uhlich's Hall July 6th, about fifteen or twenty. I gave some to Mr. Beller, some to Mr. Benedict, and some to Mr. Clark. I delivered about fifty at Uhlich's Hall. I delivered about a hundred at the Revere House. I delivered three to Eugene V. Debs, about the 16th of July,
591 in room B of the Revere House. They were not personal telegrams. Mr. Debs receipted for those three telegrams on my sheet. That was the only time I ever delivered any to Mr. Debs. I think them are two, 134 and 137.
592 Q. Under date of July 9th, telegrams number 103, 104, 105 and 106, all of them delivered at 6 p. m. I

find there the name Eugene V. Debs written across this sheet. Do you know who wrote the name Eugene V. Debs there? A. He wrote his own name when I gave him the messages.

Q. You saw this name across the sheet? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know whether or not he wrote that on 103, 104, 105 and 106, all marked Debs? A. Yes; I put that on in the office.

Q. Put what, in ink? A. Yes.

Q. And the name written cross-wise there you think was written by him? A. Yes, sir. (Said sheet was marked Miller 1.)

593 Keliher was with Mr. Debs when he signed for these four telegrams, and Debs' brother.

I received about twenty telegrams from Mr. Keliher, signed E. V. Debs, fetched them to the office and gave them to the operator. It was about the 10th or 11th of July; it was after the 4th of July. I began working there the 6th of July, and worked until the 19th.

600

TESTIMONY OF WILLIE HAMILTON.

My name is Willie Hamilton. I have been working for the Western Union as a messenger boy nearly two years. I was stationed at the Revere House in June and July, 1894. I know Eugene V. Debs, Rogers, Keliher, Hogan, Theodore Debs and Howard. I delivered messages to Uhlich's hall the first time they had their office there, some time in June.

601 I delivered about fifty-five or so, addressed to E. V. Debs. I took messages from Ulich's hall to the telegraph

office given me by the man at the door, and Mr. Benedict, and Mr. Clark, and Mr. Hogan inside. I never received any from any other persons. I delivered the E. V. Debs telegrams at the Revere house. I never delivered any to Mr. Keliher or Mr. Rogers. I have delivered telegrams to Eugene V. Debs at our office. He would come down there and send them once in a while and when we had them we would give them to him.

602 I couldn't exactly tell how many we gave to Mr. Debs personally, five or six, or something along there. I do not know whether or not those were personal telegrams. The receipts were signed by him. Sometimes I would take about ten, and sometimes three or four or five from Uhlich's hall to the telegraph office. I do not know exactly how many I gave Mr. Debs, but I know five or six or somewhere around there. He used to come down and send telegrams, and we had some in the office. I would put them in a pile and say, "Here are some telegrams," and he would sign for them, and hand the telegrams to the operator. It wasn't stamped "personal" on the envelope or the message. I saw the envelope and it said E. V. Debs. It would have said "personal" if it had been personal. All personal telegrams have that on the envelope, otherwise it means business.

601

TESTIMONY OF LUCIEN HARDING.

My name is Lucien Harding; I am fifteen years old; I am a Western Union messenger boy, and was stationed at the Ashland block in June and July. The headquarters of the American Railway Union were in rooms 420 and 421 in that block at that time. I delivered telegrams

there—I don't know how many; I don't think there was 622 a hundred. These messages were addressed to E. V. Debs, Howard, Keliher, and some to Hogan. Sometimes I gave them to the stenographer. I gave some to Mr. Howard and some to Mr. Keliher. I don't remember what date it was on; I think it was in June. I do not know how many. I did not deliver any to Mr. Debs, nor receive any from him or Mr. Rogers, Howard or Keliher.

623 TESTIMONY OF LOUIS P. BENEDICT.

My name is Louis P. Benedict. I was employed at the office of the American Railway Union headquarters during a portion of the month of June. I am a clerk for the American Railway Union.

Mr. Benedict thereupon claimed his privilege and declined to answer further questions, on the ground of self-incrimination, by advice of counsel.

COPIES OF TELEGRAMS.

- 13 Edward M. Mulford, Jr., testified that he was general manager of the Western Union Telegraph Company at Chicago; not personally acquainted with Eugene V. Debs, nor with Mr. Howard or Rogers.
- 14 I believe that three of the gentlemen held half-rate franks over the Western Union Company lines. I have never seen them, however.

Telegrams and copies produced under order of the court.

The telegram following the last below was sent as follows:

To A., T. & S. F. R. R.

- 152 Chillicothe, Ill., C. W. Willy; (C. W. Willy is given as Secretary of Local Union No. 233 of the American Railway Union, on page 27 of complainant's exhibit 25, "No. 6. Local Union of the American Railway Union. Chicago, Illinois, June 11th, 1894.") Fort Madison, Iowa, J. N. Cromptin; Argentine, Kansas, J. S. McFadden; (Sec'y L. U. 49, p. 12, *ibid.*) Atchison, Kansas, C. C. Rowe; (Sec'y L. U. 11, p. 9, *ibid.*) Arkansas City, Kansas, J. E. Merryman; (Sec'y L. U. 72, p. 15, *ibid.*) Chanute, Kansas, H. A. Nesbitt; (Sec'y L. U. 159, p. 21, *ibid.*) Dodge City, Kansas, G. Bourscheid; (Sec'y L. U. 59, p. 13, *ibid.*) Emporia, Kansas, D. A. Matheny; (Sec'y L. U. 52, p. 13, *ibid.*) Florence, Kansas, M. Y. Crutchfield; (Sec'y L. U. 276, p. 3, *ibid.*) Newton, Kansas, J. W. Combs; (Sec'y L. U. 55, p. 13, *ibid.*) Nickerson, Kansas, A. G. Werries; (Sec'y L. U. 147, p. 20, *ibid.*) Ottawa, Kansas, Z. L. Simmons; (Sec'y L. U. 161, p. 21, *ibid.*) Topoka, Kansas, Charles Lent, Jr.; (Sec'y L. U.

CHICAGO, JUNE 27, 1894.

155 *L. W. Foster, Pueblo, Colo.*

Boycott against Pullman cars is in full force, and none of said cars are to be hauled or handled. Circular with full instructions has been forwarded to each local union.

E. V. DEBS.

UNION DEPOT, ST. LOUIS, MO., JUNE 27.

155 *W. Howard, 421 Ashland Block.*

Everything ready. Unless otherwise instructed will put on boycott to-morrow noon.

KERN.

CHICAGO, JUNE 27.

155 *George P. Kern, c/o Hoeffner Hotel, cor. 12th St. & Clarke Ave., St. Louis, Mo.*

Put on the boycott. Everything is solid here.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, JUNE 27, 1894.

160 SANTA FE DEPOT, SAN BERNARDINO, CALIFORNIA,
JUNE 27th, (8/13).

To Eugene V. Debs, 421 Ashtand Block:

We await your instructions.

H. M. WILLIAMS.

President, A. R. U.

156 *S. N. Williams, Santa Fe Depot, St. Bernardino, Cal.*

A boycott has been declared against the Pullman Company, and no Pullman cars are to be handled. Full instructions by circular letter mailed this date.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, JUNE 27, 1894.

156 *John A. Martin, La Junta, Colorado.*

If men are discharged for refusing to handle Pullman cars, every employe should at once leave the service of company. This has been wired to every point on system.

We will win.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, JUNE 27, 1894.

158 All employes of the Santa Fe will immediately quit service until men discharged for refusing to handle Pullman cars are reinstated. Appoint good committee to charge of affairs. Wire name of chairman. Northern Pacific and Chicago line all out.

E. V. DEBS.

159 (The above telegram was addressed to C. W. Wiley, Chillicothe, Illinois, and to nineteen other persons and places on Santa Fe system. List written on A. R. U. letterhead, and substantially same as list on record page 152.)

PUEBLO, Colo., JUNE 27, 1894.

159 *E. V. Debs, 421 Ashland Block.*

In trouble in regard to Pullman cars. Advise quick.

L. W. FOSTER.

CHICAGO, Ill., JUNE 28, 1894.

160 *John Lally, La clede Hotel, St. Louis, Mo.*

Impossible for Howard to go. Elliott leaves for St. Louis immediately. All Pacific trans-continental lines tied up. All classes of men going out rapidly here. All we ask of St. Louis is just the men, irrespective of organizations. There is fully hundred thousand men on strike now.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 28, 1894.

161 *George T. Kern, Hoefner's Hotel, Cor. Clark Ave. & 12th St., St. Louis, Mo.*

Brother Elliott will join you at once. Entire Santa Fe system, Northern Pacific, Southern Pacific, and nearly all Chicago lines out, irrespective of organizations. Technicalities must not stand in the way. If the men stand together in your locality victory is certain. Some Chicago companies already show symptoms of weakening.

E. V. DEBS.

ARGENTINE, Kans., June 28, 1894.

8:20 A. M.

161 *E. V. Debs, 421 Ashland Block.*

Have you ordered strike of Santa Fe system?

J. S. McFADDEN.

CHICAGO, June 28, 1894.

10:28 A. M.

161 *J. S. McFadden, Argentine, Kans.*

Entire Santa Fe system now out. Also Southern Pacific, Northern Pacific and Chicago lines. Elect your committee and follow suit. See what you can do towards putting Kansas City in line. Answer. E. V. DEBS.

SANTA FE DEPOT, OTTAWA, Kansas, June 28, 1894.

8:21 A. M.

161 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Could not see men last night. Will notify them to-day and wire you again. Z. L. SIMMONS.

SAN BERNARDINO, Cal., June 28, 1894.

163 *Eugene V. Debs, Chicago.*

Santa Fe holding mails. Men furnished to handle same. J. R. McMULLIN.

CHICAGO, June 28, 1894.

5:32 P. M.

162 *J. R. McMullin, San Bernardino, Cal.*

No forcible interference with mail trains, but any man who handles trains or cars will be a scab. All lines Chicago west are being tied up.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 28, 1894.

163 *J. G. Imhoff, Trinidad, Colo.*

Sent message referred to, but this does not mean that any men will handle trains until strike is declared off. No loyal man will handle any train at all on your system.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 28, 1894.

2:19 P. M.

163 *James Bruce, Emporia, Kans.*

Strike order sent yesterday to all points Santa Fe. You are hereby authorized to act in calling men out where the order has not been obeyed. We have messages stating that the system is tied up at nearly every point. Stir them up at Topeka and Argentine.

E. V. DEBS.

LAS VEGAS, New Mexico, June 28, 1894.

1:56 P. M.

164 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Everything tied up here. Why are A. and P. men not out? Passenger train came south this morning and will be held here. Get after Albuquerque, and El Paso.

Answer.

T. J. BREEN, Chairman.

CHICAGO, June 28, 1894.

164 *T. J. Breene, Las Vegas, New Mexico.*

Atlantic and Pacific has been ordered out. Needles and Williams have responded. If there are any places in your reach that are not out adopt measures to call them out. Northern Pacific and Chicago lines all out.

E. V. DEBS.

EMPORIA, Kans., June 28, 1894.

165 *E. V. Debs, Ulich's Hall.*

Answer message at once. Give further instructions.

D. A. M.

LOS ANGELES, Cal., June 28, 1894.

165 *Eugene V. Debs.*

Wire us instructions. Everything tied up here.

JAS. NOYES, Sec. Union Three Hundred.

JUNE 28.

165 *E. J. Sutherland, c/o D. R. G. R. R., Leadville, Colo.*

Charles A. McComas, Salida, Colo., and A. F. Brickell, c/o D. & R. G. R. R. West Denver, Colo.

If your company refuses to boycott Pullman tie it up. Put good committee in charge. Wire name of chairman. Santa Fe, Northern Pacific and Chicago lines all tied up.

E. V. DEBS.

To twenty-five points named on list typewritten on A. R. U. heading as before.

CHICAGO, June 28, 4:17 P. M., 1894.

166 Northern Pacific, Southern Pacific, Santa Fe and all Chicago lines out to enforce Pullman boycott. Take same action immediately. Elect committee of good men. Wire name of chairman.

E. V. DEBS.

EMPORIA, Kan., June 28, 1894.

166 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Argentine and other points not got strike notice. Send it to all points at once. All out here. Want east and west out with us on this system. Forward authority for me to do so.

JAMES BRUCE, *Chairman.*

To eight different points.

CHICAGO, June 28.

Northern Pacific, Santa Fe, Southern Pacific and all Chicago lines are tied up to enforce Pullman boycott. Call mass meeting take some action at once. Appoint committee good men and wire name of chairman. This applies to Missouri Pacific system.

E. V. DEBS.

WILLIAM T. BAKER, a witness called by the complainant, testified as follows:

524 I reside in the city of Chicago. On the 28th day of June last, I was at Livingston, Montana. I was on a train eastward-bound from Seattle. The train was tied up by the strike on the 26th of June. I do not know how long the train was delayed; I was there with it eleven days. It was there when I got away. The reputed chairman of the strikers at Livingston was a
527 man by the name of R. B. Kelly. I sent a telegram from Livingston to Debs.

Copy of telegram identified by witness as follows:

" To E. V. Debs, 412 Ashland Block, Chicago, Ill.:

The undersigned, representing the passengers stranded on the Northern Pacific railway, request that you use your good offices to enable them to reach their destina-

tion. We are not parties to the strike, but innocent victims of circumstances unperceived by us. Public sympathy may be gained and nothing lost to your position by clearing the tracks of all who were en route when the strike began. Much suffering to helpless women and children, many of whom are invalids, will surely follow if this is not allowed. Our misery will not aid your cause. Please reply.

(Signed) W. T. BAKER,
WILLIAM H. BELL and
H. J. SPEARS."

The following accompanied our telegram:

"June 28, '94.

"E. V. Debs, 412 Ashland Block, Chicago, Ill.

The message from passengers to you from this point is correct. There are many very sick people among them that should go to a junction point, which will enable them to continue their journey. Answer.

R. B. KELLY, *Chairman.*"

Answer to the foregoing telegrams.

"CHICAGO, June 29.

To A. B. Kelly, Livingston, Montana.

Message from passengers' committee received. Say to them for me that the entire responsibility for present condition of affairs rests with the railway companies, who pledged themselves to stand by Pullman. Strike was ordered by unanimous vote of convention and cannot be rescinded. I would gladly do anything within my power to relieve the suffering entailed by present embargo.

E. V. DEBS."

There were two trains held there at the time—one bound westward.

528 There was a meeting of passengers, at which a committee was appointed (I being one of the committee) to endeavor to get passengers away from Livingston. We had meetings with the strikers, of which Mr. Kelly was the chairman. They told us that they could do nothing without orders from Mr. Debs, and after having one or two conferences with this committee, on their suggestion I wrote the telegram which was sent to Mr. Debs, they giving me his name and address. The committee said
529 they would man a train and move us away with the consent of Mr. Debs. He did not answer my telegram.

JUNE 29, 1894.

107 J. E. Merryman, Arkansas City, Kansas.

Several points complain that your men are not out. Have all men leave service, guaranteeing them protection whether members or not.

E. V. DEBS.

BURTON, Kans., June 29, 1894.

108 E. V. Debs, Chicago.

Burton Union is 'Frisco men, excepting six section men. Do you wish us to participate?

R. J. HILL.

CHICAGO, June 29, 1894.

108 R. J. Hill, Burton, Kans.

Entire Santa Fe and twenty-five other roads tied up to enforce Pullman boycott. Take same action immediately. Appoint committee best men. Wire name chairman.

E. V. DEBS.

CHILICOTHE, Illinois.

168 *E. V. Debs, Uhlrich Hall.*

The boys are getting uneasy here. We have not heard from you since we went on strike.

E. A. TURNER.

JUNE 29, 1894.

168 *E. A. Turner, Chilicothe, Illinois.*

Santa Fe boys here and west of Argentine are solidly out. Pay no attention to injunction. All Chicago and Pacific trans-continental lines are out. Stir them up at Fort Madison and Marcelline.

E. V. DEBS.

JUNE 29, 9:32, 1894.

169 *D. J. Grace, Colorado City, Colo.*

A general strike has been ordered on all the lines which refuse to boycott Pullman. Take same action immediately on Rio Grande and Colorado Midland. All taking part in this struggle will receive protection of A. R. U., whether members or not. Wire name of chairman.

E. V. DEBS.

168 *F. Brickel, c/o Santa Fe Shops, Denver, Colo.*

Entire Santa Fé system, all Pacific trans-continental lines are out to enforce Pullman boycott. Take same action. Appoint committee and wire name of chairman. All men who join in this strike will receive full protection of the organization and none will return until all return.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, JUNE 29, 1894.

170 *James Bruce, Emporia, Kansas.*

Pay no attention to injunction orders. Men will not be slaves. Victory is sure. Pacific trans-continental lines and Chicago lines tied up.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 29, 1894.

170 *Owen Coughlin, Joliet, Illinois.*

All Santa Fe men at this point are out. Also from Argentine to the Coast. Chilicothe also. Nearly every road in Chicago is tied up. Put good committee in charge and follow suit. Wire name of chairman.

E. V. DEBS.

LOS ANGELES, Cal.

171 *E. V. Debs.*

Two yard masters and eleven men discharged. They refused to make up regular trains.

HEARTT.

CHICAGO, June 29, 1894.

171 *C. L. Heartt, Los Angeles, Cal.*

Those yard men and all who join in the struggle, whether members or not, will receive full protection.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 29th, 1894.

10:00 P. M.

171 *John Aubrey, Newton, Kans.*

Entire Santa Fe and twenty-five other roads tied up to enforce Pullman boycott. Take some action immediately. Get messages sent to Comax. Appoint committee to take charge. Wire name of chairman.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 29th, 1894.

6:46 P. M.

170 *D. B. Riley, Williams, Arizona.*

Strike now extends as far east as Columbus, Ohio. Blockade more perfect every minute. All joining in the struggle will receive full protection, whether members or not.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 29th, 1894.

3:05 P. M.

173 *James Bruce, Emporia, Kas.*

Am just sending Santa Fe system message regarding Caldwell's circular.
E. V. DEBS.

To nineteen different points on Santa Fe road.

174 CHICAGO, June 29, 3:47 P. M., 1894.

Have noted Judge Caldwell's dispatch. He concedes to employes the same rights they have on roads not in hands of receivers. Commit no act of violence, but stand solid and refuse to work until otherwise ordered.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 30, 1894.

175 *P. L. Estes, Fort Worth, Texas, J. C. Carrig, Trinidad, Colo., W. J. Ahem, Denver, Colo., A. E. Richards,*
181 *Pueblo, Colo.*

All Union Pacific employes are requested to leave the service immediately. Several points on that system are now tied up. Several men have been discharged for refusing to handle Pullman cars, but they may be assured there will be no settlement on any road until each man on every road is reinstated. This is a fight against combined capital and oppression, and we are assured winners. Do no violence, but every man quit and stand firm. Put committee in charge, and wire name of chairman, if not already done. Chicago is paralyzed. Strike extends to Columbus, Ohio.
E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 30, 1894.

James F. Boland, 43rd St. & Carrol Ave., Chicago, Ill.

175 Arrange to call out Northwestern employes all departments. Pledge full support of organization whether members or not. The Galena division goes out at six o'clock. Elect a good committee. Wire name of chairman.
E. V. DEBS.

CHANUTE, Kans., June 30, 1894.

E. V. Debs, Chicago.

176 All served with discharge notices. Instruct us how to act.
R. A. CRENSHAW, *President.*

CHICAGO, June 30, 1894.

R. A. Crenshaw, Chanute, Kans.

176 Stand firm. Men on this end of the line out solid. West end paralyzed. Never mind discharge notice. Employes on all road will stand together. When one goes back all will go. Members of old organizations coming to our rescue everywhere. Wabash goes out tonight. Strike extends east to Columbus, Ohio. Impossible to lose.
E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 30, 3:25 P. M., 1894.

George Dedham, Colorado City, Colo.

176 Adopt measures to tie up Colorado Midland. Pledge full support to all who assist in this fight, whether they are members or not. Wire name of chairman. Coming our way fast.
E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 30, 1894.

James McPherson, Colorado City, Colo.

176 Rank and file of other organizations are with us throughout the country. Guarantee all who assist, full protection. None will go back until all go.

E. V. DEBS.

EMPORIA, Kas., June 30, 1894.

E. V. Debs, Chicago.

- 177 Our members looking into guns of U. S. marshals on public highway of Kansas. JAMES BRUCE, *Chairman.*

CHICAGO, June 30, 1894.

- 177 *James Bruce, Emporia, Kas.*

Keep everybody out. Marshals cannot fill many vacancies. No settlement will be made until all employes of all roads are reinstated. Getting stronger every hour. E. V. DEBS.

FORT MADISON, Ia., June 29, 1894.

- 177-8 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Ready to obey any instruction immediately. Members of old organizations in sympathy. Will wire positive information in regard, soon as possible.

M. B. EARNEST, *Chairman.*

CHICAGO, June 30, 1894.

- 178 *M. B. Earnest, Fort Madison, Ia.*

All men employed by Santa Fe in all departments are hereby requested to withdraw from the service. All obeying this request, whether members or not, will receive full protection. Blockade more complete hourly. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 30, 1894.

1:40 P. M.

- 178 *George Casey, Grand Junction, Colo.*

Engineers and all who join us will receive full support whether members or not. No fear about reinstatement. All lines into Chicago are paralyzed. Impossible to get scabs to fill places this time. Members of old organizations here are standing by us. E. V. DEBS.

JUNE, 30.

3:25 P. M.

- 178 *John Casey, Grand Junction, Colo.*

Adopt measures to tie up Colorado Midland. Pledge full support to all assist, whether members or not. Wire name of chairman. E. V. DEBS.

GRAND JUNCTION, Col., June 30, 1894.

- 178 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

What support will engineers on Rio Grande Western have if they refuse to handle Pullman sleepers? Answer how things are. GEORGE CASEY.

CHICAGO, June 30, 1894.

- 179 *C. L. Heartt, Los Angeles, Cal.*

If agreeable and proper allow train from Barstow to come in. Pledge full protection to all who assist, whether members or not. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 30, 1894.

- 180 *R. J. Sloat, Topeka, Kansas.*

By all means request organizations named to assist us, and in return pledge them full support of the A. R. U. We have a sure winner. Members of old organizations throughout the country are coming to our assistance by the thousands. Chicago and all lines west are paralyzed. Adopt measures to tie up Rock Island from Topeka, west and east. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 30th, 1894.

- 180 *O. R. Myrtle, Trinidad, Colorado.*

Do not interfere with mail trains in any manner. Promise full protection to all assisting in this struggle, whether members or not. Blockade more complete hourly. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 30, 1894.

181 *M. J. Elliott, Hoffman Hotel, St. Louis Mo.*

Situation improving here and east rapidly. Impossible to send any one to-day. Pick out good deputies and start them out from St. Louis. Call out Wabash and Chicago and Alton. Wabash men will demand restoration of wages. Send man to East St. Louis, or call yourself at headquarters Mobile and Ohio. Assist them to get trains out much as possible. They are not represented in General Managers' Association, and have agreed not to handle Pullman cars. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 30, 1894.

181 *John Pender, Moline, Illinois, J. C. Stewart, Joliet, Illinois, G. W. Lovejoy, La Salle Ill., George Smith, Rock Island, Ill.*

Order every man on Rock Island system out to enforce Pulman boycott. All men joining this struggle, whether members or not, will receive full protection. Put good committee in charge. Wire name of chairman.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 1st, 1894.

8:40 P. M.

C. C. Rowe, Atchison Kansas.

Blockade becomes more perfect every minute. Members of other organizations standing by us. Pledge full support to all who assist, whether members or not.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 1, 1894.

9:30 A. M.

17 *To F. W. Phelin, Cincinnati, Ohio.*

Our position more secure hourly. Is the Big Four still out? F. W. Stone of Louisville asks for a man.

See what you can do for him.

E. V. DEBS.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, July 1, 1894.

11:30 A. M.

19 *E. V. Debs, 420 Ashland Block, Chicago.*

Big Four won't sign agreement. Scheff not reliable. Beware committee keeping engineers from us. Every one opposed to weakening forces by declaring Big Four off.

PHELIN.

CHICAGO, July 1,

11:40.

19 *F. W. Phelin, Cincinnati, Ohio.*

Knock it to them hard as possible. Keep Big Four out and help get them out at other places.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 1, 1894.

183 *G. W. Burchfield, Dodge City, Kansas.*

Please thank the B. of R. T. for me. They are onto their job. Pledge our protection to all whether members or not. It is a fight against the oppression, general managers' autoocracy, and relentless greed. We will win.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 1, 1894.

183 *W. F. Smith, Grand Junction, Col.*

Have the men stand firm. They show a better front in Ohio than you. Pledge full support to all who assist whether members or not. I do not suspect Grand Junction of housing scabs or sucklings of autocrats. Gaining strength hourly.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 1, 1894.

183 *J. E. Young, Kansas City, Mo.*

This is authority for you to organize at Kansas City. Get them all in line. The outlook improves every hour. We are sure to win.

E. V. DEBS.

JULY 1, 1894.

184 Wire your congressman and senator immediately urging their support to Senator Kyle's mail train resolution. Our prospects are growing brighter everywhere. All employes, regardless of organizations, supporting us. Employes of all lines will stand together. None will return until all reinstated.

E. V. DEBS.

(The above telegram sent to Slater, Mo., and 100 other points.)

CHICAGO, July 1, 1894.

131 *D. J. Culton, Cherokee, Iowa.*

Please notify your men that the employes of Illinois Central who are members of the American Railway Union are on strike, and have been joined by organized and unorganized labor. The I. C. R. R. management is represented in the general managers' association which has declared war against railway labor. In view of these conditions, all loyal men are expected to be true to themselves by quitting work at once. This is not a flight of

any one organization but for the rights of labor. The issue is clear. All who want to assist the money power of the country will continue to work. All who want to help themselves and labor will quit at once.

WILLIAM E. BURNS,

Ex-Chairman Firemen's Grievance Committee, Illinois Central System.

CHEROKEE, Iowa, July 1, 1894.

133 *Eugene Debs, Pres. A. R. U., Chicago.*

Mr. DEBS: We cannot consistently comply with your wishes as we have no grievance against the Illinois Central Railway Company.

J. A. JONES,

Chairman Local Committee. B. of R. T.

EL PASO, Texas, July 1, 1894.

187 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Received your wire to-day to strike. Santa Fe is out. Thomas Van Dyke, Chairman. Help mass meetings. Stand in favor of A. R. U. F. S. Winters, chairman of committee.

GEORGE KUINS.

FORT MADISON, Iowa, July 2, 1894.

188 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Discharge or time checks here. Shall we accept?

M. B. EARNEST.

CHICAGO, July 2, 1894, 3:30 P. M.

188 *W. B. Earnest, Fort Madison, Ia.*

We pay no attention to time checks. Employes on strike throughout the country when settlement is made.

E. V. DEBS.

GRAND JUNCTION, Col., July 2, 1894.

188 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

We stand firm and good. Have support of B. L. E. and B. L. F. Call out helpers Salt Lake and Ogden, Utah.
W. F. SMITH, *Chairman.*

CHICAGO, July 2, 1894, 1:20 P. M.

189 *W. F. Smith, Grand Junction, Col.*

Assure the organization named that we will protect them to a finish. Strike spreading hourly. Several roads in Ohio now paralyzed, and moving eastward rapidly.
E. V. DEBS.

GRAND JUNCTION, Col., July 2, 1894.

189 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

We are all at the —a. Fireman has left the cab. Call out Gunnison, Colorado, to support us.
W. F. SMITH, *Chairman.*

The witness, Mulford, produced telegram received at the Chicago office of the Western Union Telegraph Company, dated July 2d, as follows:

“Sisson, Cal., July 2.

791 *To Hon. E. V. Debs, President American Railway Union, Chicago.*

The train men offered their services to take me home safely in my private car, with my two servants. They have kindly brought me as far as Sisson. They have just telegraphed me from Dunsmuir that while they are still willing to take me home, they desire me to obtain your permission and sanction. It is almost absolutely necessary that I should be in San Francisco on Tuesday, July 3d, to attend to important business; most of the

men in your organization are old and devoted friends of my husband, and it is to testify their respect for his memory that they are anxious to take me safely home. I will be ready to leave Dunsmuir at eight a. m. Monday, July 2d, be taken to Sacramento and proceed to San Francisco on Tuesday, traveling only by day. Kindly answer to Dunsmuir and oblige.

Mrs. LELAND STANFORD.”

792 Miss NELLIE BECKER testified as follows:

I sent the telegram now handed me. It was written by Eugene V. Debs, July 2d, at 9:25 a. m., addressed to Mrs. Leland Stanford, Dunsmuir, California.

793 Copy of telegram:

“The train will haul your car to its destination on presentation of this telegram. If there should be any further interruption, please advise me, and I shall be glad to assist you in any way in my power in safely reaching your destination.
EUGENE V. DEBS.”

CHICAGO, July 2, 1894.

188 *George Kuhns, El Paso, Texas.*

We are gaining ground everywhere. Members of old organizations supporting us. Strike extending eastward.
E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 2, 1894.

188 *John Crompton, Fort Madison, Ia.*

All who work during present strike will be branded as scabs. We are gaining ground everywhere. We will win.
E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 2.

32 *To J. H. Calderhead, South Butte, Montana.*

General Managers are weakening. Chicago is being paralyzed. If settlement don't come forty-eight hours paralysis will be complete and fur will fly before long. Ice and potatoes out of sight now. Save your money and buy a gun. Tell Effie I am safe and well. Love to all.

E. V. DEBS.

JULY 2, 1894.

29 *David Diggery, Pueblo, Colorado.*

Have ordered Rio Grande out.

E. V. DEBS.

MATTOON, Ill., July 2, 1894,

E. V. Debs, Chicago.

You say tie up Vandalia. I represent Big Four. Advise.

M. L. WEST.

CHICAGO, July 3, 1894.

36 *M. L. West, Mattoon, Illinois.*

6:35 P. M.

All right. This is authority to call out roads named. Guarantee protection to all, whether members of Union or not.

E. V. DEBS.

MATTOON, Ill., July 3, 1894.

37 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Big Four tied up solid. Tie up Vandalia, P. D. & D. and I. C. Answer.

M. L. WEST.

GRAND JUNCTION, Cal., July 3, 1894.

12:30 P. M.

CHICAGO, July 3, 1894.

38 *J. Stewart, Gunnison, Colorado.*

This is authority for you to call out railway employes in your locality at once.

E. V. DEBS.

42 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

All out here. Colorado Midland tied up. Receivers ready to serve injunctions on us. Advise immediately.

W. F. SMITH, *Chairman.*

JULY 3, 1894.

39 *W. F. Smith, Grand Junction, Colorado.* 2:28 P. M.

It will take more than injunctions to move trains. Get everybody out. We are gaining ground everywhere.

E. V. DEBS.

MILWAUKEE, July 3, 1894.

E. V. Debs, Chicago.

9:40 A. M.

43 Switchmen and firemen in. Joint meeting on St. Paul Railway at Milwaukee, await your orders. Answer.

C. S. McAULIFF.

JULY 3, 1894.

C. S. McAuliff, Milwaukee, Wis.

10:15 A. M.

44 Get switchmen, firemen and all others on Milwaukee system out immediately. Put committee in charge. Wire name of chairman. We are gaining ground everywhere. Strike now reaches eastern Ohio. We will easily win.

E. V. DEBS.

MILWAUKEE, July 3, 1894.

45 *Eugene V. Debs, 421 Ashland Block, Chicago.*

Send man to organize, quick. Must have him.

FRANK W. ARCHIBALD.

- 45 *Frank W. Archibald, Milwaukee, Wis.*

This is authority for Con. McAuliff and John O'Rourke to institute a local union of the American Railway Union at Milwaukee, Wis. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 3, 1894.

- 97 *Tom Higgins, Cleveland, Ohio.*

Impossible to come. You are all right there if you think so. Call mass meeting and command situation yourself. All who assist us in this fight will receive full protection whether members or not. They are coming by thousands. A good many lodges, whole organizations are coming in body. We must win or plutocracy will starve labor to death. Our prospects brighter daily.

E. V. DEBS.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, July 3, 1894.

- 98 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

All right. We will take charge. TOM HIGGINS.

CHICAGO, July 3, 1894.

- 101 *C. A. Nolan, Montpelier, Idaho.*

Do not let court order scare you. I have had orders served on me. We are breaking no laws. You and all strikers have quit your places peaceably, as is your right. Don't worry about reinstatement. You will go back to work when the balance go and not before. All for one and one for all. Don't be silly. E. V. DEBS.

JULY 4, 1894.

- 46 *Eugene V. Debs, Ashland Block, Chicago.*

Wire Kroeger, President Switch Tenders' Union, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul. Guarantee protection. F. W. ARCHIBALD.

MILWAUKEE, July 4, 1894.

5:58 P. M.

- 46 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Switchmen, firemen, all out at Milwaukee. C. S. McAuliff, Chairman, at Blatz Hall, 9 A. M., 11 P. M. Give him everything. C. S. McAULIFF.

CHICAGO, July 4, 1894.

- 46 *C. S. McAuliff, Milwaukee, Wis. Care Blatz Hall.*

Care Blatz Hall.

Will you kindly do what you can among Northwestern men? E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 5, 1894.

- 46 *F. W. Archibald, Milwaukee, Wis.*

This is authority for you to call on the President of the Switch Tenders' Union and ask them in the name of the American Railway Union to lend their assistance, pledging them we will all stand together.

E. V. DEBS.

MILWAUKEE, July 5, 1894.

- 46 *E. V. Debs, Ashland Block, Chicago.*

Conductors on Wisconsin Division refuse to go out on trains. Call them out at West Chicago.

FRANK W. ARCHIBALD.

CHICAGO, July 5, 1894.

- 47 *Frank W. Archibald, Milwaukee, Wis.*

Congratulate conductors on their manly stand. We are with them to the finish. We are gaining ground everywhere. Victory is ours. E. V. DEBS.

JULY 6, 1894.

C. S. McAuliff, Milwaukee, Wis.

We have assurances that within forty-eight hours every labor organization in the country will come to our rescue. The tide is on, and the men are acquitting themselves like heroes. Here and there one weakens, but our cause is strengthened by others going out in their place. Every true man must go out and remain out until the fight is won. There must be no half way ground. Our cause is gaining ground daily, and our success is only a question of a few days. Don't falter in this hour, but proclaim your manhood. Labor must win now or never. Our victory will be positive and complete. Whatever happens, don't give any credence to rumors and newspaper reports. E. V. DEBS.

48

(It was admitted that defendant Debs signed above telegram. It was sent to about forty points, of which twenty-two were on the Santa Fe system.)

CHICAGO, July 5, 1894.

1:00 P. M.

59 " *T. J. Burke, Rock Island, Illinois.*

Have your men stand pat. This is authority for you to call on the Q. men. Ask them to withdraw from the service in a body. Put a committee in charge of that road, and wire name of chairman. E. V. DEBS.

ROCK ISLAND, July 5th, 1894.

2:45 P. M.

60 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

The yard master called switchmen. Read message from W. L. Allen that business would resume to-day. Men all refused to work until strike declared off by you. Every man discharged. Section of coal given to two

one armed switch tenders to work. Send this call on R. I. & P., C. B. & Q. men to refuse to handle Rock Island cars. They stand by us. Meeting this evening. Wire me.

T. J. BURKE.

CHICAGO, July 4, 1894.

64 *Charles Fink, Oakland, Calif.*

To call out the troops was an old method of intimidation. Commit no violence. Have every man stand pat. Troops cannot move trains. Not scabs in the world to fill places, and more occurring hourly. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 4, 1894.

H. C. Sarber, Garrett, Ind.

The B. & O. system has been ordered out. Have all classes of railway employes withdraw from service immediately. Pledge them full support, whether members or not. Commit no violence. Elect committee to take charge, wire name of chairman. The B. & O. officials are trying to intimidate their employes, and are also looking for scabs in the Eastern cities. By all means have them shut off. The employes of all railroads will stand together. No one will return to work until all return. No scabs in the world to fill vacancies. Gaining ground everywhere. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 7, 1894.

F. R. Mills, Garrett.

You are hereby requested to assist us in the present strike, by having all employes withdraw from the service. Elect good committee for each road. Wire name chairman each road. Commit no violence. Baltimore & Ohio tied up tight at Chicago, South Chicago and Garrett. Strikers there ask your assistance. Em-

ployes on all roads will stand together and none will return until all return. We are gaining ground rapidly and pledge full support of American Railway Union, all assisting whether members or not. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 4, 1894.

- 67 Big Four, Illinois Central, Wabash, Monon, Lake Shore roads are now on strike at nearly every point. Take action to have all classes of employes withdraw from service. Pledge full support to all, whether members or not. Elect good committee for each road. Wire name of chairman and on what road employed. Gaining ground everywhere. Members old organizations flocking to our assistance. E. V. DEBS.

- 68 To J. L. Cordial, Litchfield, Illinois; William Ammen, Kankakee, Illinois; Charles St. Clair, Mt. Carmel, Illinois; Ed. Morrow, Rankin, Illinois; F. Williams, Sececa, Illinois; H. C. Stovel, Urbana, Illinois; H. L. Wetz, Benton Harbor, Mich.; R. W. Savans, Bedford, Ind.; James Curry, Fort Wayne, Ind.; H. L. Lathe, Lafayette, Ind.; F. L. Bandman, Michigan City, Ind.; Jesse York, Monon, Ind.; W. A. Crabb, New Albany, Ind.; F. L. Wade, Bureau, Ind.; F. L. Naylor, Terre Haute, Ind.; G. G. Ayers, Wabash, Ind.; W. A. Colly, Marion, Ohio; M. R. Miller, Cleveland, Ohio; C. H. Schafer, Benton Harbor, Mich.

CHICAGO, July 4, 1894.

9:55 P. M.

- 68 *C. L. Vincent, Clinton Ia.*

This is no time for any man to return to work. Northwestern is the only system that shows any signs of weakness. Have your men stand firm. It is simply the general managers against the railway employes, and if any man returns to work under present conditions he is a scab, and slavery is his doom. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 4, 1894.

10:50 A. M.

- 69 *O. L. Vincent, Clinton, Ia.*

Pay no attention to rumors. We are gaining ground everywhere. Don't get scared by troops or otherwise. Stand pat. No one will return to work until all on every return. If they do they are scabs and will be treated as such. Not men enough in world to fill vacancies, and more occurring hourly. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 4, 1894.

- 70 *R. Lamson, Peoria, Ills.*

Request all men on roads that in your judgment can assist in enforcing Pullman boycott to withdraw from the service immediately. Elect committee from each road. Wire name of chairman mentioning the road he represents. Promise full protection to all assistants whether members or not. We are gaining ground and will surely win. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 4, 1894.

- 71 *George Blank, Whiting, Ind.*

The Standard Oil Works solid. Will call out Marine in morning. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 4, 1894.

- 71 *W. L. Dougherty, Frankfort, Ind.*

Monon, Clay City, Leaf, Vandalia have been ordered out. Charleston has been notified. Elect good committee for each road, and in writing name of chairman to this office, state roads he represents. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 4, 1894.

71 *Miles De Vinny, Peoria, Ill.*

Adopt measures to tie up roads handling Pullman or other boycotted cars. Wire name and mention road on which each chairman of committees which you should elect is employed.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, JULY 4,

63 *L. F. Murphy, Goodland, Kas.*

Get Rock Island men out in all departments immediately. Elect committee and wire name of chairman.

E. V. DEBS.

ROCK ISLAND, July 5, 1894.

60 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

The yard-master called switchmen. Read message from W. I. Allen, that business would resume to-day. Men all refused to work until strike declared off by you. Every man discharged. Sanction of local given to two one-armed switch tenders to work. Send this call on R. I. & P., C., B. & Q. men to refuse to handle Rock Island cars. They stand by us. Meeting this evening. Wire me.

T. J. BURKE.

CHICAGO, July 8, 1894.

61 *L. B. Green, Kankakee, Ill.*

Use your utmost influence to get the co-operation of all roadmen as well. Outlook splendid this morning. Get action on three P's quick as possible.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 5, 1894.

76 *John E. Merriam, 9017 Ontario Ave., South Chicago.*

Get your men out immediately. Report name of chairman and charge to L. W. Rogers.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 5, 1894.

77 *James Curry, Fort Wayne, Ind.*

Call out all loyal employes on roads named immediately. We are gaining ground. The lines are sharply drawn. All who work are assisting capital defeat labor. We will all stand together.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 5, 1894.

98 *F. W. Phelin, Cincinnati, Ohio.*

How are you getting along?

E. V. DEBS.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, July 5, 1894.

99 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Trial in progress. Will wire particulars.

F. W. PHELIN.

CHICAGO, July 5, 1894.

C. H. Richards. St. Paul, Minnesota, 110 Wabasha street.

126 West is solid regardless of troops and all interferences. The south and east growing stronger. Strike spreading. Expect all trades in Chicago will go out by to-morrow, if settlement is not reached sooner. Do not be dismayed at appearance of troops and injunctions. Stand firm, no matter what happens.

E. V. DEBS.

JULY 5, 1894.

80 *L. Bosen, Fort Wayne, Ind.*

Have Nickel Plate men withdraw from the service in a body. Promise full support to all, whether members or not. Commit no violence. We are gaining ground everywhere.

E. V. DEBS.

JULY 6, 1894.

81 *W. V. Thornton, Jackson, Tenn.*

Have Illinois Central employes withdraw immediately from service of the company. Situation bright this morning.

E. V. DEBS.

JULY 5, 1894.

81 *F. M. Brown, Centralia, Ill., and W. O. Thornton, Jackson, Tenn.*

Have all Illinois Central employes withdraw from the service immediately. Appoint a good committee. Wire name of chairman. We are gaining ground everywhere. Pay no attention to rumors from corporation lickspittles.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 6, 1894.

81 *William Callard, Mattoon Ill.*

Have the Wabash employes withdraw from the service immediately. Full protection is guaranteed all who assist.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 6, 1894.

82 *D. D. McInnis, Duluth, Minn., and C. H. Richards, St. Paul, Minn.*

Have all employes of the St. Paul and Duluth withdraw from the service immediately. Promise full protection to all who assist us, whether members or not.

E. V. DEBS.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, July 5, 1894.

99 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Contempt case not over. Prosecution striving to develop evidence on which to base a case of conspiracy. Boys firmer than they were.

PHELIN.

CHICAGO, Ill., July 5, 1894.

99 *F. W. Phelin, Cincinnati, Ohio.*

Stronger than ever to-night. Spreading to New York. No weakening anywhere. Stand pat and victory is certain.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 6, 1894.

100 *F. W. Phelin, Cincinnati, Ohio.*

Wire result of trial. If likely to be deprived of liberty will send more help.

E. V. DEBS.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, July 7, 1894.

90 Please announce to the traveling public, sympathizers and members of the Christian Endeavor Association the American Railway Union is in full control of the railway movements in Cleveland, and will not in any way obstruct travel during period of convention.

T. J. HIGGINS.

JULY 5, 1894.

91 *Thomas Higgins, Cleveland, Ohio.*

Request employes of all roads to withdraw from service. Elect committee from each road. Wire name of chairman and name of road he represents. We are gaining ground everywhere, and will surely win.

E. V. DEBS.

JULY 6, 1894.

98 *Tom. Higgins, Cleveland, Ohio.*

Big Four is out at all other points. Have employes quit the service at once.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 6, 1894.

- 105 *J. M. Boling, J. W. Gould and J. M. Nelms, Campaign, Illinois.*

This is a fight between labor and capital. All loyal men will refuse to work in any capacity for a railroad until this fight is settled. Let all who work know he branded as scabs. Forgive all who have made any seeming mistake in the past. Your duty is plain. If this fight is lost labor will be reduced to serfdom. The American Railway Union guarantees protection to all men whether members or not. We are sure to win.

JAMES HOGAN.

CHICAGO, July 5, 1894.

- 85 *H. D. Hicks, Savannah, Ill.*

President Droverspike of the Burlington at La Crosse requests you call out this road immediately.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 9, 1894.

- 87 *S. W. Rains, Mount Vernon, Ill.*

Call out Air Line and let it be understood this struggle is one of capital against labor. This is no contest in which children or childish men have a part. Strong men and broad minds only can assist the plutocracy and arrogant monopoly. Do not be frightened at troops, injunctions or the subsidized press. Quit and remain firm. Commit no violence. American Railway Union will protect all whether members or not when strike is off. We have gained strength daily since strike began. E. V. DEBS.

SOMERSET, Kentucky, July 9.

- 102 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

I will not participate in a useless sacrifice, as we only have one road here.

J. T. HUGHES.

CHICAGO, July 9, 1894.

- 104 *J. T. Hughes, Somerset, Kentucky.*

Meeting of all labor organizations of Chicago last night voted strike Wednesday. McConnell, machinist; Mahan, street car employes; McBride, coal miners; Sovereign, Knights of Labor; were present, all with us. Many points Texas and Ohio struck to day. Old points all report loyal. If the hod carriers vote to strike for liberty from plutocracy will not railroad men stand pat.

E. V. DEBS.

CAIRO, Ill., June 28, 1894.

- 109 *E. V. Debs, 421 Ashland Block, Chicago, Ill.*

General tie up here on I. C. Have we your consent to make it the same on all roads entering here? Answer.

E. A. DWYER.

CAIRO, Ill., June 28, 1894.

- 110 *E. V. Debs, Chicago, Ill.*

Every road entering here tied up. What constitutes mail train? Do you want sleepers taken off same? Answer quick.

E. H. DWYER.

CAIRO, Ill., June 28, 1894.

- 110 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

M. & O. say they will not handle any Pullman cars if we will handle their freight and passenger trains. Answer quick.

E. A. DWYER.

CAIRO, Ill., June 28, 1894.

- 110 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Quick answer to mine to-day. Men very impatient. Injunctions being arranged by railroads here. If all roads are ordered out, we can stop injunctions, which I recommend.

E. A. DWYER.

CAIRO, Ill., June 29, 1894.

- 111 *E. V. Debs, Pres. A. R. U., Chicago.*
I. C. getting our men. Send some one at once to take charge. Needed badly. E. A. DWYER.

CHICAGO, Ill., June 29, 1894.

- 111 *E. A. Dwyer, Cairo, Ill.*
Mobile and Ohio does not belong to General Managers' Association. This is authority to release embargo upon assurance from them to you in writing that they will not handle Pullman cars until this matter is settled. It is understood that all employes will be reinstated without prejudice. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, June 29, 1894.

- 112 *E. A. Dwyer, Cairo, Ill.*
Big Four tied up at Cincinnati. Think they belong General Managers' Association. Will wire in the morning. E. V. DEBS.

JUNE 29, 1894.

- 107 *J. N. Seale, Supt. Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company, Cairo, Ill.*
Please advise if your road is included in General Managers' Association. If not, we will at once release boycott upon terms you propose. E. V. DEBS.

CAIRO, Ill., June 29, 1894.

- 108 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*
Received at 2:35 p. m. your wire this date. Our road is not a member of the General Managers' Association. Please release our boycott. J. N. SEALE.

JUNE 29, 1894.

- 108 *J. N. Seale, Supt. Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company, Cairo, Ill.*
Have instructed Dwyer to release embargo. Call on him. E. V. DEBS.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, June 30, 1894.

- E. V. Debs, Chicago.*
113 If the Big Four agrees to boycott Pullmans, take every man back without prejudice, will you declare their strike off? P. W. PHELIN.

CHICAGO, June 30, 1894.

- F. W. Phelin, Cincinnati, Ohio.*
113 If the management of the Big Four agrees in writing that they will withdraw their support from the General Managers' Association and boycott Pullman cars, reinstate all men who struck without prejudice, the embargo may be raised. Consult us before you release them. Send your telegrams collect. E. V. DEBS.

JULY 2, 1894.

- F. W. Phelin, Cincinnati, Ohio.*
115 Hold Big Four solid. Going out to-day at every other point. Gaining ground rapidly. E. V. DEBS.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, July 2, 1894.

- E. V. Debs, Chicago.*
110 Coming out all round. Firemen a unit. Will soon be an avalanche to us. Working outside points. F. W. PHELIN.

CHICAGO, July 2.

F. W. Phelin, Cincinnati, Ohio.

- 116 Advices from all points show our position strengthened. Baltimore & Ohio, Pan Handle, Big Four, Erie, Lake Shore, Grand Trunk and Michigan Central are now in the fight. Take measures to paralyze all those that enter Cincinnati. Not wheel turning on Grand Trunk between here and Canadian line. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 7th.

- 85 You are hereby requested to assist us in the present strike by having all employes withdraw from the service. Elect good committee and wire the name of chairman for each road. Be particular to state what road he represents. Commit no violence. All employes of all roads will stand together. None will return until all return. We are gaining ground rapidly. Pledge full protection to all, whether members or not. E. V. DEBS.

This telegram was addressed to the following named parties:

John A. Sheelan, Cincinnati, Ohio; S. J. Weaver, Youngstown, Ohio; Joseph Russell, Baltimore, Md.; F. R. Mills, Garrett, Indiana; C. W. Willey, Chillicothe, Ill.; J. R. Moore, Akron, Ohio; J. J. Dennison, Chicago Junction, Ohio; F. M. Creighton, Columbus, Ohio; J. W. Dun, Zanesville, Ohio; S. B. Robinson, Wilmington, Delaware; S. R. Ball, Walkerton, Indiana; C. W. Earlier, Newark, Ohio; Roland Terry, Mount Vernon, Ohio.

The foregoing list was written on the letter-head of the American Railway Union.

SALIDA, Colo., July 10, 1894.

E. V. Debs, Chicago.

- 130 Troops, deputies and injunctions have broken the ranks here. Everybody gone back on us. We are everlastingly defeated here. Believe other points on system will stand firm. C. B. HERMANN, Chairman.

CHICAGO, July 10, 1894.

C. B. Hermann, Salida, Colo.

- 131 Do not be intimidated by injunctions, deputies, troops or other corporate troops. They cannot run the road with injunctions or deputies. Stand firm. There are fifty men going out over the country to one returning. We have got them on the hog-train, and general managers will agree in writing to reinstate all men before the strike is off. Remain out. One hundred trade unions of Chicago will strike with us because they see the fight is now one of capital and arrogant monopoly to annihilate the rights of labor and enslave the laborer forever. Even the newsboys have boycotted the subsidized press. Our general position has never been stronger than to-day.

E. V. DEBS.

- 554 E. M. MULFORD, re-called, testified as follows:

Two telegrams handed witness and identified as originals; one dated at Chicago, 6:40 p. m., July 3d, to William LaCort, Streator, Illinois, as follows:

"Wear a white ribbon instead of red. We have requested our friends to wear white in Chicago. Thanks.

E. V. DEBS."

Another filed at 10 p. m., July 3d, to O. M. Murtie, Trinidad, Colorado, as follows:

"Let everybody wear white ribbon who are in favor, and all opposed wear red.

E. V. DEBS."

“CHICAGO, July 12, —.

To the Railway Managers.

GENTLEMEN: The existing troubles growing out of the Pullman strike having assumed continental proportions, and there being no indication of relief from the widespread business demoralization and distress incident thereto, the railway employes, through the board of directors of the American Railway Union, respectfully make the following proposition as a basis of settlement:

They agree to return to work in a body at once, provided they shall be restored to their former positions without prejudice, except in cases, if any there be, where they have been convicted of crime.

This proposition looking to an immediate settlement of the existing strike on all lines of railway is inspired by a purpose to subserve the public good. The strike, small and comparatively unimportant in its inception, has extended in every direction until now it involves or threatens not only every public interest, but the peace, security and prosperity of our common country. The contest has waged fiercely. It has extended far beyond the limits of interest originally involved, and has laid hold of a vast number of industries and enterprises in nowise responsible for the differences and disagreements that led to the trouble. Factory, mill, mine and shop have been silenced, widespread demoralization has sway. The interests of multiplied thousands of people are suffering. The common welfare is seriously menaced. The public peace and tranquility are imperiled. Grave apprehensions for the future prevail.

This being true, and the statement will not be controverted, we conceive it to be our duty as citizens, and as

men, to make extraordinary efforts to end the existing strife and approaching calamities whose shadows are even now upon us. If ended now the contest, however serious in some of its consequences, will not have been in vain. Sacrifices have been made, but they will have their compensations. Indeed, if lessons shall be taught by experience, the troubles now so widely deplored will prove a blessing of inestimable value in the years to come.

The differences that led up to the present complications need not now be discussed. At this supreme juncture every consideration of duty and patriotism demands that a remedy for existing troubles be found and applied. The employes propose to do their part by meeting their employers half way. Let it be stated that they do not impose any condition of settlement except that they be returned to their former positions. They do not ask the recognition of their organization, or any organization.

Believing this proposition to be fair, reasonable and just, it is respectfully submitted, with the belief that its acceptance will result in the prompt resumption of traffic, the revival of industry, and the restoration of peace and order.

Respectfully,

E. V. DEBS, *President,*

G. W. HOWARD, *Vice-President,*

SYLVESTER KELIHER, *Secretary,*

American Railway Union.”

50 “General Offices of the American Railway Union, 421 Ashland Block. E. V. Debs, President, George W. Howard, Vice-President; Sylvester Kelihier, Secretary.

July 2, 1894.

To the Pan Handle Freightmen, Greeting:

Please execute the orders of John Brannock in reference to the removal of dead animals to Globe Station. This is issued by order of the board of directors, in the interest of public health.

[SEAL OF AMERICAN
RAILWAY UNION.]

EUGENE V. DEBS,
President."

208

TESTIMONY OF G. L. CRACKEL.

I presented bills to the American Railway Union for the telegrams; I presented them to Mr. Keliher, secretary of the association, one of the defendants here. They were presented daily, with the exception of Sunday, at the headquarters of the American Railway Union, in the Ashland block. They were usually paid by Mr. Keliher, in coin and greenbacks generally; I got a check on two different occasions; the bills were receipted by myself; the checks were signed by Mr. Debs and Keliher, and Mr. Keliher jointly, I believe; their joint signature on
209 the check; I believe I was present when the check was made out, but not made out in full; each name was separate; signed E. V. Debs, and then below Keliher. Mr.
210 Debs was present once or twice when I was in the office to be waited on by Mr. Keliher; I don't remember the exact date that I was given the check; the second check was evidently signed with the same hand as the first one—E. V. Debs, and also by Sylvester Keliher; Debs was not present at the second time; I think there was president and secretary attached; I am not positive; I wouldn't swear to that; the bills were made out to E.
211 V. Debs; I simply wrote E. V. Debs at the top and date; I never received any money from E. V. Debs in payment

of any of the bills presented; I don't think Debs or any of the other directors besides Keliher were present at any of these times. I received personally about something over \$2,700, I believe, for that work; all these bills were presented there at the headquarters of the American Railway Union. I simply had a large sheet, and wrote the destination and the price of each message; not the date; I just put the date at the top of the bill; those bills were handed by me to Mr. Keliher; he generally glanced over it and had me receipt it; I don't remember any instance where the bill was checked up by him to determine whether or not it was correct.

205

TESTIMONY OF E. M. MULFORD, JR.

The American Railway Union paid for the telegrams which went out under the name of Debs; that is true as to all that were paid at Chicago; that includes all that went out under the name of Debs from the Chicago office, and includes those that went out under the name of Hogan, and those that went out under the name of Burns. As a rule messages addressed to them and delivered here seemed to have been prepaid at the point of origin. The balance were paid here by the American Railway Union; each message shows on its face whether it is paid, or collect.

N. B. Nearly all the dispatches given are addressed to or sent from officers of the local unions of the American Railway Union. See complainant's Exhibit No. 25.

EVIDENCE OF JOHN DOYLE.

787 I am a member of the American Railway Union, and was in June and July; I was a delegate to the convention of the union held in this city in June; I was in the service of the officers of the Railway Union after the adjournment of the convention. On the 27th day of June I received, at the general offices of the union, the following letter, to wit:

GENERAL OFFICES AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION,
421 ASHLAND BLOCK.

Eugene V. Debs, President,
Geo. W. Howard, Vice-President,
Sylvester Keliher, Secretary.

CHICAGO, June 27, 1894.

Mr. J. W. Whitman, General Manager, C. & N.-W. Ry., Chicago, Illinois.

DEAR SIR: The bearer, John Doyle, a former employe of your company, and at present connected with the American Railway Union, has been authorized and directed by the board of directors of said order to call upon you in reference to the existing trouble with the Pullman Company. If you will kindly give Mr. Doyle a hearing we shall be greatly obliged to you.

Very truly yours,

E. V. DEBS, *President*,
G. W. HOWARD, *Vice-President*,
SYLVESTER KELIHER, *Secretary*.

[SEAL.]

788 I went over, saw Mr. Whitman, and handed him the paper. He read the paper, but made no response.

ABSTRACT OF EVIDENCE OF OBSTRUCTION,
INTIMIDATION AND VIOLENCE.

52

TESTIMONY OF JOHN BRANNOCK.

My name is John Brannock; I have been a resident of Chicago for nearly forty years; I am the superintendent of the Union Rendering Company at the stock yards; We have a contract to remove dead animals from the stock yards with the Union Rendering Company, and with the city of Chicago, to remove dead animals off the streets; I have met Eugene V. Debs once; I could not give the date exactly; I did not keep track of the date; it was along the latter end of June, I believe, or on towards the first of July; I met Mr. Debs at Uhlich Hall; there was a gentlemen with me from the mayor's office; there was a large amount of these animals accumulated at the stock yards; I had to move them from the city and could not move them from the Pan Handle on account of the strike; I had loaded several car-loads of them there, until I couldn't receive any more, and I tried, at the Pan Handle office every day, to have them removed; they promised to do it, and it couldn't be done, and they accumulated on me, so I had to take some means to have them removed.

I applied to the mayor, and said we would have to quit the contract, if we couldn't get the animals removed, and I wanted some assistance from him to do so; that I had tried every means and had failed and couldn't. He wanted to know why they were not removed, I told the mayor that the Pan Handle folks promised, and didn't do it, and if they said they couldn't do it, they

would be on the road, and if he could give me a note or send a messenger with me, where the strikers were, I thought I could have them removed. I would see Mr. Debs myself in the matter. So he sent a man over with me, and I went to see Mr. Debs, and told him how it was; that it was dangerous to have a large quantity of accumulated animals, and they must be removed. He said: "By all means"; he would do anything in his power to do so, and he gave me an order on the Pan Handle folks—a written order—that if they would remove them, that nobody would interfere with them. I took that back to the Pan Handle office and showed it to them. They didn't seem to take any notice of it. They remained there a week longer. So then they got so I couldn't do anything with them, and I came down to the commissioner of works and told him to give me the assistance of police to get them removed, and he gave me an order on the chief, and the chief sent me over to the West side to get police, and take them over to the Pan Handle and insist on their removal, so by that means I got them away. I think it was about noon time, about 11 o'clock, that I called on Mr. Debs and received from him the order. I took the order back to the Pan Handle folks and gave it to them.

Q. Is that the order or not (showing witness the order)? A. That is the order, sir.

I didn't give it to them on that day. I went back and showed it to them. I took it to the Stock Yards. They had a system of switching there on the Belt or Junction Railway, and I tried to have them take them out. The Pan Handle agreed that if they were delivered at Brighton, to take them out. I tried to have the Junction Railway Switching Association take them to

Brighton. I had a good deal of trouble taking them out, but I did it after two weeks and two days. The tracks leading from the Stock Yards to Brighton at that time were clear for a week, that they could be taken out, before there were cars thrown in their way. There were some cars tipped over on the tracks. They told me, on the Pan Handle, that if I would go and see the way was clear from Brighton they would take them out. I did so, and reported there was nothing in the way. Still they left them there two weeks and two days. They were to be taken to Globe, Illinois, on the Pan Handle road twenty-five miles from the city. The Pan Handle switchmen were on a strike at that time. They were also on a strike at the Stock Yards.

56 Mr. MILCHRIST: I offer this in evidence.

"General Offices of the American Railway Union, 421 Ashland Block. E. V. Debs, President; George W. Howard, Vice-President; Sylvester Keliher, Secretary.

JUNE 2d, 1894.

To the Pan Handle Freightmen, Greeting:

Please execute orders of John Brannock in reference to the removal of dead animals to Globe Station. This is issued by order of the Board of Directors, in the interests of public health. Eugene V. Debs, President." With the seal of the association attached.

Cross-Examination.

The Pan Handle told me they had strange men to move these cars with, and they didn't want to do it. I didn't apply to Mr. Debs for men to move them. I applied to him for an order of non-interference with the men, that wouldn't remove the animals, if I could find them.

57 Q. Now, this was given to you to hand to the men, wasn't it, or for the Pan Handle to hand to the men, and requesting them, although they were on a strike, to remove this stock? A. That was my request.

Q. When you handed this to the Pan Handle men, did they go and ask any men to remove this stock? A. No.

Q. Why didn't they? What did they say to you? A. They told me some man in the office said get Mr. Debs to do it. I couldn't say which man it was.

Q. With what officers did you leave that order? A. I brought that back to Mr. Trimmer, one of the officers of the road in the transportation department.

Mr. MILCHRIST: How long were you with Mr. Debs at the time he handed you this order? A. I wasn't with him any length of time. He had the order written out when I told him what I wanted.

58 The COURT: Did he have it written out, or cause it to be? A. He caused it to be written out immediately. He went into another office and told me to wait, and brought the order to me.

257 TESTIMONY OF RICHARD FITZGERALD.

258 My name is Richard Fitzgerald. I am superintendent of the transit department of the Union Stock Yards and Transit Company, and was in the month of June and July last. The men in that department were under me; I hired them and discharged them—engineers, firemen, switchmen, switch tenders and flagmen. I had to do with the movement of the trains on the tracks there of the Stock Yards. There was a strike

of our switchmen out there in June and July. It occurred at 6 o'clock, the 29th of June. There were about 259 490 men on our roll on June 29th, all engaged in the movement of trains, except possibly twenty-five clerks. From June 30th, about 9 o'clock of the 29th, I should say, until about the 12th of July our business was suspended. There were some trains, however, moved between that period. They were moved by protection of the state's troops, militia; some few trains. There were 260 days during which no trains at all were moved there. I remember cars that were loaded with dead animals that Mr. Brannock desired to move. I think it was July 2d that I first had notice from Mr. Brannock that the cars were ready and loaded with these animals, and they desired to remove them. On July 2d Mr. Brannock wanted me to move these cars with our power, and I told Mr. Brannock it was impossible to move them on account of the strike—the mobs. At that time our tracks were clear, but it was impossible for us to move the cars; one reason, we couldn't get anyone to work; another reason was that it wasn't safe to work.

261 There was mob violence there at that time. The mob varied from 500—I should say to 7,000. I think the population down there is about the worst there is in the world. If I had been exerting myself with my own forces to have moved the cars from the track on which they were standing, so that they could be taken away to their place of destination, I should say it would have been about the 12th of July. On the 30th of June we delivered some 125 cars of fresh meats and provisions to the different lines on their proper delivery tracks at the Stock Yards, and on Sunday, the 1st, we hauled the greater portion of those cars

back to the packing houses and had them re-iced. On the 3d, about 2 o'clock in the morning, I delivered twenty cars of fresh beef to the Pan Handle, or I shoved it out on what we call one of our main tracks, so the Pan
 262 Handle could take it. The Pan Handle got that fresh beef away. There were other cars belonging to Swift Brothers that they were trying to move out on the tracks, that were loaded. I think the cars that were delivered on the 30th, one train was taken out on the morning of the 4th by the Michigan Central.

That train had the protection of the police, and I think—I am not positive, but I think some United States Cavalry. I remember there was one train of cars belonging to Swift & Company, loaded with fresh meats that remained on the tracks there for days before they were able to get them away, and finally the meat was de-
 263 stroyed. That was a train delivered to the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern. I could not, from the second of July up to about the 12th, have removed those cars loaded with dead animals from the Stock Yards over our own tracks, and with our own forces. The interference was general.

264 TESTIMONY OF J. R. TRIMMER.

My name is J. R. Trimmer. I am train master for the P. C. C. and St. L., called the Pan Handle, and was in the month of July last. Globe Station is on our line about twenty-two miles from Chicago.

266 Q. Mr. Trimmer, I hand you a paper which is in evidence, bearing date July 2d, signed E. V. Debs, which is a request that Mr. Brannock be permitted to remove dead animals, was that at the time handed to you? A.

Yes, sir. I think I received it the afternoon of the 2d or the 3d. I think the same afternoon that he received it. Mr. Brannock had made one request, I think the day before for the removal of those animals prior to that time. I think he had been there on two different occasions before, on the 29th, the 30th and the first. I stated to Mr. Brannock that it was impossible to send an engine for the dead animals, as our entire forces, switching engineers and switchmen had left our service; that we hadn't an engine or engineer that we could send; that it was an impossibility, and that we would do well if we had engi-
 267 neers enough to make up our passenger trains. That order is addressed to the Pan Handle yard men. All our yard men had gone out with the exception of the general yardmaster, and one of our assistants. We hadn't up to the second or third of July succeeded in getting engineers to run our switching engines further than our master mechanic and a few of his foremen to handle the passenger business. We had no engineers with whom we could have moved the train on the second and the third. This train was not standing on our tracks, but on the tracks of the Stock Yard's company at the Stock
 268 Yards. The animals were finally moved on the 12th of July. I think I saw the order from Mr. Debs on the date that it was issued. Mr. Brannock showed it to me.

I think I made an effort every day to get a man to go after the dead animals; I applied to such engineers as we had there; they were all new men that were brought there; I asked Mr. Truman, one of them, the day this was handed to me. Said: "You are an engineer; will you run an engine to the stock yards, on the stock yard tracks, and get those dead animals and bring them out to our main track?" He says: "No, sir; I will not." If you

will allow me to make one remark, outside: Mr. Brannock handed this to me, or something similar to it, and says: "I will give \$100 for an engineer that will go to the stock yards and get those out." Mr. Truman was present and heard what Mr. Brannock stated. Mr. Truman was road foreman of engine, and was not on a strike. He said he would not do it for the hundred dollars.

Cross-Examination.

Q. You didn't take any notice whatever of this request of Mr. Debs or show it to any of the strikers?

A. There weren't any strikers there.

Q. You didn't try to find them for that purpose?

272 A. I didn't look after them.

Q. Did you not, and didn't the officers of the Pan Handle road keep the dead animals there, for the purpose of enlisting the public sympathy against the strike?

A. No, sir.

Q. What did you keep them there for?

A. Because we couldn't get them away.

Q. It seems you didn't try.

A. Didn't try! There is no use trying further when you can't get an engineer to run an engine to a certain point.

Q. Did you afterwards receive a delegation of strikers who attempted to move that train, expecting they were moving dead animals?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did you afterwards attempt to move a train of meat on the theory that the men moving it were moving dead animals?

A. No, sir. Mr. Fitzgerald, or the stock yards company, shoved out upon the stock yards track on the 3d or 4th, some time during the night, and went to our local agent and an engineer, who weren't an engineer, but was said to be—sneaked out there at 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning, and got those cars and moved them out.

273 Q. That was about all that was moved from the stock yard's tracks during the time the dead hogs were there?

A. I think that was on the third.

Q. Do you know whether that engineer thought he was moving dead animals? A. He went expressly for these provisions.

Q. And he didn't move the dead animals, did he? A. He didn't go where the dead animals were.

Q. He moved the meat train? A. Yes, sir. The engineer and the local agent were notified by Mr. Fitzgerald that they would put them out on the tracks and shove them down to our main line some time at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, if our local agent could get the cars out and shove them out on the road cars loaded with provisions. He took an engine and went out on the tracks of the stock yard's company, and coupled on to these and pulled them off of the stock yard's tracks. He went out exclusively after being notified by Mr. Fitzgerald that they would put the cars out on the stock yard's track. Those were cars that had accumulated on our
274 lines. These cars Mr. Brannock wanted to move were cars that had accumulated after that. They were backed well down on the stock yard's tracks at our main line, where we could hitch onto them. I think the interruption of business, or suspension of business on our line of road, both in the passage of the transportation of mails,

and transportation of inter-state commerce trains continued until after the 12th. I think it continued until 275 after our freight and passenger business, to a great extent, our passenger trains—I think there was two days we didn't get any passenger trains out—but my recollection is that there was but one day we didn't get any trains in.

397

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES DUNLAP.

My name is Charles Dunlap; I am and in June and July last was the general superintendent of the entire system of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company; I was part of June and July in Chicago, and part of the time in Blue Island, out on the line; Blue Island is about sixteen miles from our depot. A portion of our men went out for the first time on June 30th. As far as I can tell the entire number engaged in the strike went out at that time, about 522; they nearly all 398 went out at that time. The first interruption of business on our road, in the interruption of through trains, inter-state commerce, freight, United States mails, and passengers between states occurred on June 30th; the first detention that my attention was called to was at Englewood, on the morning of the 30th; on the first date, as near as I remember, there was, I think, six fruit trains, and about some twelve or fifteen suburban trains. Train 399 No. 19 was derailed somewhere from 6 o'clock in the afternoon, and that train we didn't get out on the track till the morning of the 5th; we got the incoming trains, two of them, through on the morning of the 5th also; the train that was derailed at Blue Island on the 30th was an outgoing train; it was a mail train, des-

tinued part of it to Minneapolis, St. Paul and Kansas City.

The business, so far as transportation of through trains, both passenger, mail and freight are concerned, was entirely stopped from the evening of the 30th until the morning of the 5th, with the exception of one train that got through on the second west-bound. From the 5th up to the 13th, when business was resumed we had more or less interruptions, but we ran trains at 400 intervals under the protection of marshals and troops. Interruptions occurred between the city and Blue Island, and we had trouble at La Salle and Spring Valley. The cause of the delay was due to mobs gathering on and 401 near the tracks and right of way, and interfering, threatening and stoning the employes.

I went to Blue Island first on the morning of July 2d; I found both main and suburban tracks obstructed. The main tracks by an engine derailed, and the sleeping car off the track in a position to obstruct both main tracks. The obstruction still existed at Blue Island until the afternoon of the 4th and the morning of the 5th. After the reading of the injunction an attempt was at once made to clear the suburban tracks. I was there when the injunction was read. The reading was treated with loud cries from the 403 mob. I noticed particularly that they said: "To hell with the court; we are the court; to hell with the government." Those cries were numerous in the crowd; I noticed several persons in the crowd who have since been pointed out to me and identified. I didn't know them by name at that time; they had been employed by our company as firemen, switchmen and brakemen.

After the reading of the injunction an attempt was at once made to open the track to pass train No. 1, which was the westbound mail train, which was successful, although some of the parties in the crowd interfered by uncoupling cars, and things of that kind. After that train was passed two cars were turned over, turned off the trucks and on to the track, and two more pushed out on the main track in such a manner as to completely block it again. As far as I could tell that was done by the same crowd I have spoken of.

This condition of affairs lasted until the morning of the 4th. The force of men not being sufficient to protect the men in clearing the track, some four
404 companies, I believe, of the 15th Infantry arrived on the ground, and under their protection the obstructions were removed. There were United States marshals there before the troops came, protecting the property, and the employes who were on the ground controlling the track. The sheriff's officers were there engaged in endeavoring to do the same thing. On the 4th there were a number of arrests made by marshals of persons who were recognized by them as being engaged in the riot of the previous day, and at the same time work was progressing in clearing the tracks. The suburban tracks were cleared some time during the afternoon of the 4th; the main tracks not until the morning of the 5th. On the morning of the 5th we got our main tracks and our suburban tracks clear at that point.

I left there about 8 o'clock in the morning of the 5th, I should say, or somewhere near that time with two trains, two mail trains and passenger trains, with an escort consisting of two companies of the 15th Infantry from Fort
405 Sheridan, and another train in advance. We proceeded

without interruption to near 51st street, where we found several cars off the track, being pushed out on the main track and derailed. The infantry were taken off the train and placed in advance, and cleared the tracks as far as 47th street. A large mob was on the track leading from about 53d. I think the infantry got off the train about 53d, according to my recollection. They went in advance of the train to 47th. It seems the orders at that time were such that the officer in command did not feel warranted in going beyond that point with his men, and his train was backed over on another track, and the two passenger trains started with the idea of trying to get through to the city with a small escort of United States marshals.

At some point this side, I think about 40th street, there was a dense mob waving for the train to stop, by making violent gestures. Marshal Arnold was on the train. He had about twenty-five deputies in charge of some fifteen or eighteen persons. It was not thought prudent to attempt to pass through the mob, and the trains were backed down to 47th street again, and the soldiers placed in advance. Between that point and 22d I think there must have been some fifteen or sixteen cars—I won't be positive as to the number—derailed and overturned on the track, which it was neces-
406 sary to remove before trains could pass. In doing that, the men engaged in the work, as well as the men on the train were threatened and stoned. I heard frequent threats that "We will get even with you when the soldiers leave; you can't keep them here all the time." Every employe was threatened, and, so far as I saw, was called a scab, and called on to get off. I did not at that time recognize any members or any parties that were engaged with the mob.

They wore no particular badges, except white ribbons tied in the button-hole. I should say the majority of them wore badges of that description.

Those trains left 47th street about 11 o'clock, and got to the station about 7:15 in the evening, and that condition of things existed all the time, and all the way
407 down as far as 22d street, on Thursday, the 5th. On Friday, the 6th, and Saturday, the 7th, we moved some trains. The opposite tracks were obstructed, and a portion of the day was consumed in clearing that track. Those tracks are used between Englewood and Chicago jointly with the Lake Shore, who were also assisting in the work of removing obstructions. There was a constant continuous delay in the movement of trains during those days. Not over two of the engineers, and perhaps the same number of conductors of the crews that handled the through trains, the engineers, firemen, conductors and brakemen left our service. There are 3,573 miles of road
408 in the system of the Rock Island, and a little over 12,000 employes. There would have been no trouble to fill the places of those men who went out by other employes. I don't think there would have been any trouble whatever in moving trains had there been no violence or threats. We had no trouble to fill the places of those 500 men as soon as we had sufficient protection. I have been en-
409 gaged in the railway service about twenty-six years. During the twenty-six years I have had personal knowledge of strikes and boycotts, more or less, occurring on the system of roads with which I have been connected, and as far as my experience has gone they have always been attended with violence and threats. I don't think I have ever known one that was not accompanied by violence; that is, any serious strike, where a section of men

or organization of men had gone out; I never have, to my recollection.

411 Mr. ERWIN: May it please the Court: we are perfectly willing that your Honor may take judicial notice of the General Railroad Guide, which will cover, I think, all the points. We are perfectly willing to let your Honor take the Guide and see the stations and what lines are
412 there.

Cross-Examination.

414 I have been nearly seven years with the Rock Island, as assistant trainmaster of the Illinois division, trainmaster of the Southwestern division; superintendent of the Eastern division of lines west of the Missouri river; general superintendent of lines west of the Missouri river, and general superintendent of the entire system. I have been, during a portion of this time, living in Chicago. This time since April 1, 1893. I was nineteen years in the operating department of the B. and O. before I went to the Rock Island, and that is the only other road I was employed by. I did not live in Chicago at that time.

I don't remember that I ever knew a strike that was not accompanied, that is a railroad strike, by violence. I live now at Englewood; I was connected with the Rock Island when there was a strike of the telegraphers. I don't know that there was violence then, from my personal knowledge, but I had numerous reports of violence on our own road. That was in December, 1892, I think. Reports reached me of men going into the—at one place, at Clyde, Kansas, and one or two other places, I can't remember the name now, on the South-western division they went in and committed assaults on the operators.

I presume I read the testimony of Mr. Everett St. John, who is the manager of the Rock Island, and has been for several years, before the commission that recently sat in the Federal building. I don't remember that he stated that there had never been a strike on the road while he was manager, but my recollection is quite distinct that there was this telegraphers' strike since I have been on the road.

Pullman cars have been run on the Rock Island road all the time I have been on it. I understood it to
417 be suggested by a question of counsel that the origin of the difficulty between the Rock Island employes and the company was hostility to the Pullman cars or the Pullman company, and consequently to the road because they were pulling Pullman cars. I don't know that I have personally expressed hostility to the leaders of the American Railway Union. It is quite likely I have spoken pretty harshly of them. There was no reason assigned to us by our men for quitting work. Our only information was through the
420 newspapers as to the cause.

I didn't make any efforts to run mail trains without Pullman cars; not such trains as carry Pullman cars regularly. I know of trouble on trains that were run without Pullman cars. The first delay occurred on the 30th of June. Trains that were detained by the derailment of No. 19 at Englewood carried mails and did not carry Pullman cars. The company did not attach Pullman cars to any trains that had not usually carried them before that time. The company did not to my knowledge change the position of any Pullman cars on any of the mail trains. On our road they are generally carried in the rear of the passenger trains. I have

read the contracts by virtue of which the Rock Island pulls Pullman cars, but I don't remember the contents. I think they are kept in the office of the vice-president, W. G. Purdy. He is their custodian.

432 I can't state positively how many of these marshals there were supplied by the Rock Island Company during the trouble that were in the service along the line between the city and Blue Island; I think, perhaps, during the latter part of the strike there were two hundred; those two hundred were paid by the railroad company; they were two hundred employes who were sworn in as special deputies. The Rock Island Company furnished meals for United States marshals, and also the deputy sheriffs that were engaged during the entire time of the strike at Blue Island, at 51st street and some other points. I don't know whether the railroad companies entered into any general agreement to bear expenses of that character all
434 over the city. I have not heard of any such agreement. I was at Blue Island from the morning of the 2d, I believe, all the time up to the morning of the 5th, and was there when the troops arrived.

435 I don't know of any money paid by the railroad to meet these expenses, except what was paid out by our company.

Q. I understood you to say you had never known of a strike that was not accompanied by violence. In your judgment, does not violence, as a rule, work against the strikers along the line, and increase the chance of their strike being unsuccessful?

A. No, sir.

My name is Frank Conroy. I am yard master, employed on the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific. I live at Blue Island. On the 28th and 29th of June, both, I attended meetings of the firemen, switchmen and other employes of the Rock Island Railway, at points called Commercial Block, in Blue Island, and Odd Fellows' Hall. There was a representative of the A. R. U. came out to Blue Island on the night of the 28th, looking for the president of the local union there. The president of the local union at that time was Michael Kilcoyle. He wanted to get the president to call a meeting of the A. R. U. He wanted to get the A. R. U. men to go and tie up the Rock Island road. He said all the rest of the roads were tied up and he wanted the Rock Island road to fall in line. Nobody called a meeting on the 28th. They just gathered in the hall, and this man addressed
 440 the meeting. I didn't see him on the following night. He told them on the 28th of the roads being tied up in Chicago; that all should fall in line, and they would all go out on a strike the same as the other roads. I was not a member of the A. R. U. at that time. There was no definite action taken at the regular meeting that evening. There was a small meeting of a few after the meeting was adjourned. I did not attend that meeting. I was right close there. I saw and know what occurred
 441 at that meeting. I don't know who the gentleman was. I know him when I see him, but I don't remember his name. He was not an employe of the Rock Island Railway. There was a man appointed at that committee meeting, and he volunteered to go and get Mr. Debs or Mr. Howard to come out and address the meeting the fol-

lowing evening. The name of the man appointed was Gus Williams; he was a passenger switchman on the Rock Island. He was appointed a committee to bring Mr. Debs and Mr. Howard out to Blue Island, and address the meeting the following evening. I was present at that meeting.
 442 Mr. Debs, Mr. Howard, and I think Mr. Keliber were there. Mr. Howard spoke first. He said every man ought to stand together and go out in a body. He said if there was anybody came and took their places they ought to make them walk the plank. Mr. Debs was sitting on the platform at that time. Mr. Debs spoke about the Rock Island employes, about Mr. St. John introducing a system of switchmen between them in the shape of the A. P. A., the Catholic bodies and the different bodies employed on the road, about being a very skillful officer, and so forth. He told the men they would have to look out for him, and Mr. Allen in particular—Mr. Allen was
 443 assistant general manager—and told them what success they had on the Big Four and other railroads, and advising them to stand together shoulder to shoulder.

Cross-Examination by Mr Erwin.

He told us about the way the strike was handled on the Great Northern, and the success he had had in handling it. The meeting was called about 9 o'clock, I should judge, and it adjourned about 11:15 or 11:20. Mr. Howard and Mr. Debs left there about 10:15: I don't know where they went; I think they went to the city. There had not been any strike inaugurated on the Rock Island road at Blue Island at that time. The men went out at
 444 7 o'clock, June 30th, the next morning. I am not a member of the A. R. U.; was not then, and not now; I was at both meetings; I should judge there was

about twenty-five or thirty at the first, and fifty or seventy-five at the last; I can't say exactly.

445 After Mr. Debs' and Howard's departure, the president of the Union got up and said they heard Mr. Debs' and Mr. Howard's speech, and all those that were in favor of striking should rise up. There was a great many standing at the time; in fact, there was only sitting capacity for about half that was in there, and they raised up. Some of them threw their hats up in the air, and so forth. There were brick masons in there, and one thing and another; about one-third of the audience, I should judge,
446 were railroad men. Everybody voted to strike.

I judge Mr. Debs spoke about twenty-five minutes. In the speech of Mr. Debs or Mr. Howard, one of them, in speaking of the Great Northern, they said the Great Northern had entered upon a reduction of the wages, and that all the men had stood together in one strike. They told the cause of the strike, and that the unanimity of the men and their standing together had been the cause of the success. They told the men in their speeches that they had succeeded in compelling the Great Northern road to submit the grievances to arbitration of disinterested men, notably members of the commercial clubs of St. Paul and Indianapolis, and that those committees of arbitration had decided against the reduction ordered by the Great Northern road, and that the Great Northern road had acquiesced in the arbitration of disinterested bodies and granted all their demands, and told them that they tied her up and compelled them to submit to the principle of arbitration. They told of the grievances
449 of the workmen at Pullman. They said in their speeches that the roads had organized a Board of General Managers. I don't remember that they said the purpose of

those general managers was to cut down the wages of railroad men, first in one place and then in another. They said it was necessary, in their opinion, to have a universal organization of all departments of railroad men to resist the action of the general managers.

They told the workmen there that the only way to resist the orders of the general managers in cutting down the wages of the men in detail on the different roads, was by unanimously organizing and standing by, all standing together. It was on that ground that they urged all the men to stand together. They said, in one of their statements, that if they did not stand together, American labor would be reduced to pauper labor. They
450 urge the men in deference to their homes and families to stand together in a body against the general managers; they held before the workmen that the combination of general managers was a great thing to be feared at that time, and in that connection they believed that the general managers would create dissensions among the men for the purpose of distracting them from the real issue and introducing schisms of the A. P. A., and everything of that kind for the purpose of dividing them on general sentiments so as to operate against the labor organizations. The men listened to it; when they heard of it some of them believed it, and some did not. After Debs and Howard had retired those that got a chance to vote, voted, and those that did not, didn't. Nobody appealed from the decision. They didn't give them time. I appealed after it was over. I
451 don't know of anybody else in particular. I didn't get a chance to stand up and vote not to strike. I would have stood up if I had a chance, and voted not to strike. I didn't get a chance to vote. I was standing all the time. I couldn't sit down, it was too thick in my corner.

452 I quit work on the 30th of June, right after this meeting. I refrained from work until the 22d of July. I was nursing a sick wife all during it, and as soon as I got ready to go back, I went back to work. I didn't apply to get back at all. I went back to I. W. Justin, the general yard-master. He asked me if I was ready to go to work. I told him, yes, and he told me to go to work. My sick wife was the reason I did not work during the strike. It
 453 was because I was nursing her. She was taken sick the first day of July. I didn't work; there was no chance to work. It was tied up right, as they say. I reported the next morning; went out with my engine; all my crew went to the roundhouse; I couldn't work alone; I didn't purposely quit; I did not intentionally go out. Debs and Howard and Keliher were not there when the meeting voted the strike. Their speech influenced the vote, and the things they told in their speech influenced
 454 the strike; I did not hear, in Mr. Debs' speech, him say to them that, above all things, they must commit no violence; nothing was said about violation of the law by him or by Mr. Howard; I didn't hear him say anything in relation to it either way; I think it was Mr. Howard said that all the rest of the roads in Chicago were tied up, or all in line; they didn't mention any road in particular; Mr. Howard said all the roads were falling in line, and going out to a man.

455

TESTIMONY OF M. E. HURLEY.

My name is M. E. Hurley. I am a fireman on the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, and was, on the 28th and 29th of June, employed in that capacity in Blue Island. I was not at a meeting of the employes of that

road, held at Blue Island, on the 28th—the night of the 28th of June. I was at the meeting of the 29th. Mr. Debs and Mr. Howard and some other gentleman—I don't know who he was—addressed that meeting. The
 456 other gentleman was some La Salle switchman, who lived at La Salle. Mr. Debs said that all the roads in Chicago were out, and they were man to man, and he came out to talk to the boys and see what they thought of assisting the men on the different roads. He made quite a speech, about thirty or forty minutes I should judge, and he said all those who didn't go out and stand by the men, they would have to walk the plank; Mr. Howard said that about the plank; I can't say what Mr. Debs said all the way through; anyway he explained about the Pullman troubles, and also about the Great Northern troubles; he told them not to molest the mail trains, but, he says, not to let Pullman cars out at no hazards; that is the way he expressed it; he told the men that he would leave the question of going out or remaining in their employment to them to vote on. Howard, he was talking mostly on the subject of the Great Northern strike, and
 457 on the Pullman strike. He advised the men not to do any violence, or anything like that, but to go out and stay out, man to man, and they would win the victory.

That was on the night of the 29th, the night before the strike. I did not see any representative of the American Railway Union from Chicago on the night of the 28th or 29th, nor any paper exhibited by any one there—from Mr. Debs or Howard. There was no committee appointed the night of the 29th, at that meeting, to get them out. They took a vote to see whether they would strike or not strike. I didn't see any committees appointed at that meeting. I did not retire when Debs and Howard

retired from the hall. I stayed until after the president of the American Railway Union took a vote on it, to see whether they would strike or stay at work, and they
459 voted to strike.

I was at Blue Island on the second of July. I was there on the day an engine was thrown and derailed of a train going westward. I don't know the exact distance, but I was standing out on the back on the left-hand side when that engine was gone off the track. There was one, a passenger coach, off and the engine. There was two freight cars that were thrown
460 on the day the injunction was read. I saw some of the American Railway Union in that crowd on the 2d of July. Michael Kilcoyle, president of the American Railway Union, was one and there was several of them that I don't know their names—switchmen. I did not see any paper about that time, under the seal of the American Railway Union, appointing a committee; there was not at that time any difficulty existing, or any dispute or trouble existing between
462 these men employes of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company at Blue Island and the Railroad
465 Company.

Cross-Examination.

Mr. Debs said Mr. Pullman would be compelled by the strike of the men to arbitrate this question. He said something similar to that public sympathy in America was in favor of arbitration between railroads and their employes. He said the laboring classes had the sympathy of the people, and that if they stood together in a body they would enforce arbitration, and if they did not com-

mit any violence. Mr. Howard said not to commit any
467 violence, but not to allow any Pullman cars to run at no hazards. He says you have got a very smart man, that Mr. E. St. John, and he says you have got an assistant general manager, a great big know-nothing, W. I. Allen; that was the way he spoke it exactly; he had the A. P. A. in part of his speech. He said all those that didn't go out and stay out and help the laboring class of people out of his trouble will have to walk the plank in the future; that was my understanding.

363

TESTIMONY OF HARRY SWAN.

My name is Harry Swan; I am a fireman for the Rock Island road; have been connected with that road in different capacities, and different positions, at different times, two years; the last of June and July last I was working in the mechanical department some of the time, and the dispatcher's office some of the time.

During the time of the strike, the boycott and general
364 disturbances, I was at Blue Island nearly all the time; I was there when the writ of injunction in this cause was served; United States Marshal Arnold read a part of it, and Deputy Sheriff Allen finished it; while Mr. Arnold was attempting to read the injunction there were a number of derisive remarks and jeers made. There were present John Desenfant, a man by the name of Mooney, a man by the name of Hurley, a fellow by the name of McDonald, formerly employes of the Rock Island road, switchmen in the train service, strikers in the city of
365 Chicago and Blue Island. It was the 2d of July that the marshal went. There was trouble at Blue Island at that time. There was a condition of turbulence that I did

not believe could exist. A body of men, principally employes of the Rock Island road, blockaded traffic, threatened violence, and tied up the road. There was a blockade there at the time. There had been interference with the through trains since 7 o'clock Saturday morning, June 30th; the same condition, only worse, July 1st. No through trains passed Blue Island after 4 o'clock June 30th, on either the 30th or 1st of July.

There was an interruption of inter-state business, and all through trains, passenger and freight, on the main tracks of the Rock Island road that passed Blue Island
366 avenue on the 2d. The company got no trains past Blue Island on the 2nd of July. On the afternoon of the 2d the United States marshal went out there for the purpose of serving this writ of injunction about half-past 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Desenfant and others had been employes of the Rock Island road up to Saturday morning, June 30th. They went out that morning. I saw those parties engaged in acts of violence. I saw engine 940, pulling train 19, derailed. Train 19 ran on this division of the Chicago and Rock Island, but it goes further west and beyond Rock Island. It was a mail train,
368 carrying United States mails at that time.

Prior to the derailing of train No. 19, in the early part of the morning, these men, strikers, who were former employes of the Rock Island road, had run a coach over a switch so it stood on the two rails. It was the intention of the general yardmaster, Mr. Justin, to pull that car on with an engine. It was impossible to get it on squarely, with the coach standing in the position it was, without the aid of a tail-rope, and a cable rope was placed on the rear of the engine-tank and coupled to the couplings of the coach, but before they could take the slack

out to couple the coach one man ran in and threw it off, and they tried to pull ahead with the engine. This was Saturday, June 30th. We endeavored to start the engine ahead,
369 and the same man jumped in and plugged the air on it. Superintendent Nichols released the air, and they called the engineer and fireman off. Master Mechanic Fitzgibbons took the engine and run her up on the coal track, and left her there. They abandoned that work for the present, and I heard Merwin say train number 19 would never go through Blue Island. I did not know how he would prevent it unless it was at the puzzle switch.

370 Nineteen was due there from the time she left Chicago—from the time she was reported at Chicago she would have reached there about 4:20. The first I heard of her was at Englewood at 4:02 in the afternoon. She reached Blue Island about 4:22 in the afternoon. Mr. Justin, the general yardmaster, when she whistled and came in sight working steam, went up the track and signaled her to come ahead. The engineer answered his signal. Mr. Merwin went out in the middle of the track and tried to swing her down. By this time Mr. Justin was within perhaps ten feet of the lever of the switch. Merwin sneaked along in between the deputies, and up directly underneath Mr. Justin's arm, and turned the lever of the switch, and let her off, and she ran off the full length with one Pullman, and tipped up to a depth of forty-five degrees. Nineteen laid there with about 200 passengers on board for about four days. On No. 11, back of her was about 150 to 200 more. This was on the 30th, in the afternoon. Marshal Arnold attempted to read the
371 injunction on the 2d; he was hooted and yelled at. I presume there was 500 persons in close proximity, or in that vicinity; there might have been that I had my per-

sonal attention called to, perhaps 100 strikers, ex-employees of the Rock Island road. There were others there, but they were those people close to me that I took particular attention to. The switchmen, Desenfant and others were there. Marshal Arnold gave the paper to Allen, and Marshal Allen started to read it. Mr. Allen is a deputy United States marshal, and Mr. Desenfant stepped up and yelled, "To hell with the United States Government! To hell with the United States courts!" There were calls made here by others, but that was the most emphatic expression I heard there at that time.

372 After the reading of the order of court we made an attempt to move our train with engine 579, but did not proceed. The road was blockaded so we could not get at the cars. July 3d we didn't do anything. We were not able to cope with the crowd. They had gone to extremes the day before, and refused water and food to the passengers on those trains. On the 3d day of July it
373 was determined to wait until the 4th, when it was rumored that the United States troops were coming to Blue Island. In the afternoon directly after dinner, those strikers, I saw them at that time at a ratio of about ten strikers to one, clubbed this man into insensibility, pounded them into unconsciousness. He was a fireman, and was taken to Mercy Hospital, and was unable to leave, and has not been able to leave there yet.

374 July 14th, United States troops were there in sufficient numbers. We started to clear up so as to remove the trains. On the 7th or 8th, I am not sure, the company actually removed their through trains, and resumed the transportation of the mails. On the 5th of July we en-
375 deavored to come into Chicago with a passenger train from Blue Island that had been there empty, running a

trainload of soldiers ahead of us. I was on the engine pulling the soldiers. The strikers had turned cars over, and did turn cars over in front of us, commencing at 51st street, Chicago, until we had reached 22d street, as far
376 as I could discern. What cars they could not turn over they burned. We left Blue Island at 9:45 in the morning, and got into the depot at 7:15 in the night. On the 6th of July I was in Chicago depot, and did not get out. I think it was on the 7th I went with train number 1 to Rock Island, the first train that went out after June 30th.

On all these occasions members or parties engaged in this interference with our trains wore a white ribbon,
377 with a picture of Debs engraved on it. I saw several have those on; a number of them. The switchmen wore them. A ribbon and a picture of Debs in the middle. I could not notice any printing or reading upon it. I was not close enough to them to see that.

Cross-Examination.

Perhaps two-thirds of all the people present had them.
378 A little white ribbon in the button-hole of the coat was the badge worn.

379 Q. What had the people on the Rock Island stopped work for? A. Nothing.

Q. What did they say they had struck for? A. Sympathy.

Q. Sympathy with whom? A. For the Pullman people.

380 On the 4th there might have been 2,500 in the mob.

Q. Now you have recognized some three or four persons who were striking employees of the Rock Island

road; do you know whether they were members of the A. R. U.? A. I had his word for that, if that will do you any good; he said, "We are the A. R. U. and have the Rock Island by the neck."

Q. What do you mean by telling the court that you recognized three or four persons who were striking employes of the Rock Island and put their names in here in connection with the mob? A. Because they were extremely close to me, and making it extremely warm for me, and I could not help noticing them.

382

TESTIMONY OF CARL PFIEL.

My name is Carl Pfiel. At present I am connected with the Union National Collecting Agency in the Unity Building. I was special agent of the Western Indiana road from the latter part of June until the 7th day of August. I was present at the tower of the Western Indiana Railroad Company, at its yards near the city of Chicago early in July, when there was some disturbance or difficulty there. On the 5th of July about 1 o'clock, there was a mob of 400 or 500 people coming up that way, and we saw them disturb some parties who were icing cars down between 47th and 45th streets, so I told the gentleman there, Mr. Doyle, that we had better send for the patrol wagon. He went over with one of the police officers to the patrol box, and when he came back,
383 he gave the answer that all the patrol wagons were out, and we could get none. The crowd was about a block from the tower when I first saw it on the tracks, which go to the yards of the Western Indiana road. They came up that way, and we were ordered up on the stairway and drew our guns. They said they were going to flee

the tower or kill the men in there if we didn't come down.

The switches were moved, changed and operated from that tower. I understand there was no other way of operating the switches under the system adopted there. The whole way up, as far as we could see, was blocked with people. I heard somebody say to Mr. Doyle that if he would let us come down, they would promise not to burn the tower, and not to interfere with
384 us up there at all, and let us go; they told Mr. Doyle they would let us go in peace, and not burn the tower, if he would let us come down, or else they would kill every one, and burn the tower. After I came down, I was separated from the rest of the crowd, and when I
385 passed the station, they made threats against me. I saw a man with one of the United States injunction notices in his hand; they were printed on red boards. As I passed by, he said: "To hell with the government! We are the government!" A couple of gentlemen then came up and told them to keep back. I was with these gentlemen. The crowd then said: "That settles it." I followed these gentlemen up to the hall at Princeton and 47th street when I came up to the meeting hall that was full of people; I didn't see many come in afterward; that was the corner of 47th street and Princeton avenue.
386 I understood it was an A. R. U. meeting. They wore a badge of white ribbon; one of them cut his ribbon in two, and fastened half on me; he said: "This will
387 save you from further trouble when you go out again."

Cross-Examination.

I am a general detective; I am a member of the International Collecting Agency.

TESTIMONY OF DOUGLAS DOYLE.

My name is Douglas Doyle; I am a special officer of the Western Indiana; I have been connected with the Western Indiana about two months and a half. The Chicago and Eastern Illinois, the Grand Trunk, the Wabash, the Erie and Santa Fe, make use of the Western Indiana system for their entrance into Chicago; the Western Indiana is merely a terminal road. I was present on the 5th of July last, the time the last witness, Carl Pfiel, has testified to, when there was trouble at one of the tower stations on the Western Indiana; this tower was just south of 47th street. On the afternoon of July 5th, between 1 and 2 o'clock, I saw quite a mob of people coming down the tracks, from the direction of 45th street. I went over with Officer Hackett to the patrol box to call up the station, and learned that they had no officers that they could send right away, so I went back; at that time the mob had got up there and surrounded the place. I told them they must not interfere with the tower or the inter-locking switches that we were there to protect them. Some of them came forward and assured me that they did not want to do anything unless they had to; all they wanted to do was to have the men come out.

There was one who seemed to be the leader. His name is Miller. He wore a white ribbon. They said, if I did not call the men out of the tower they would demolish the tower and kill the men. There were ten in that tower. They were there to protect the suburban depot, and the oil house and tower building. The tower is constructed there for the purpose of throw-

ing the switches. It is an inter-locking switch system, and all the switches are thrown from this tower. They assured me there wouldn't be anybody injured if I would call the men out. We were so few in number, I thought it was policy to call them out, so I did, and the crowd cheered, and came up and shook hands with us. Part of them went on south of 49th street, and the other part went over to the Fort Wayne.

There were copies of the injunction posted up at that time on the depot and on the tower and on the telegraph poles and on the flag house. Miller, the man with a white ribbon, tore down the injunction notice and ripped it up, and said: "To hell with the United States Court! We are the court now! We are the people!" He tore it up in small pieces. The tracks of the Western Indiana were not operating at all on the 5th of July. We had no men to work the towers. On the 6th I don't think there were any trains running out at all.

468

TESTIMONY OF JOHN P. BESLER.

My name is John P. Besler; I am general superintendent of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company; the road covers 2,100 miles; to the Missouri river and St. Louis; my division includes the Chicago terminal tracks; we got all our through mail trains in, but freight was pretty much stopped from July 3d to July 10th, in and out of Chicago, not outside of Chicago; on the second we got all our through trains in up to noon; nothing more after noon; this condition of things continued until the morning of the 10th; we loaded forty-three cars of merchandise on July 3d; got it from

our freight-house as far as Union street where we make up these merchandise trains; a committee consisting of P. H. Horace, Hart, and some others, would not allow us to take the train out; these persons I have named had been in the service of the company, and left on the 29th with the others.

We allowed the train to remain there at Union street
474 until July 6th; about 8 o'clock that morning we started an engine to take the train out, and P. H. Horace prevented me by throwing the switch; after I threw it, he threw it back; they finally threw the switch back and the engine proceeded to couple onto this train and started up, and when they got to Wood street we were stopped by a mob, breaks set and pins pulled; we finally got the engine around behind and started again by one engine pulling and the other pushing, and got as far as Western avenue; we were stopped there by the breaks being set and pins pulled, and knuckles taken out of the Janney couplers; P. H. Horace, Harry Hart, Fred Staley and Hart-
475 more were among those that caused the stoppage of the train at that point; these men wore a little white ribbon tied in the button-hole; we finally got started again with a very large crowd on top of the cars, and after more or less struggling we got out as far as the city limits, at the belt line.

On getting near Hawthorn we were going at what I considered a high rate of speed. I stopped here and left the train part way in Cicero and part way in the city of Chicago. Horace told me that the train could not go
476 out there; they would follow us forty miles if need be. I asked what was to be done, and he and others said that the train was to go back to Chicago. I agreed and ordered the engine which was pulling the train out back

from Clyde. While it was coming back Horace and others told me that the engineer and fireman on that train could not pull the train back; they would not allow it. He said I might push the train back myself with the engine if I wanted to; to which I agreed. I stopped the engine, went out, and got it in about six feet of where we were stopped, and told the engineer and fireman to get off and I would take care of the engine. They got off, and Horace, Hart and one other man jumped upon the engine. I started the engine backward to
477 shove the train to Chicago. After I commenced pushing they commenced yelling and motioning to stop. Horace, Hart and the crowd that was there said the train could not go back to Chicago. I asked what was to be done next, and they said the engine might go back; I might run the engine back to Western avenue, if I wanted to; which I did. There were forty-three loaded cars in that train loaded with merchandise for Kansas, Nebraska and
478 Colorado and Iowa; 124 switchmen went out. The strikers' force—the mob—prevented our supplying those places with other switchmen. We had men here ready to go to switching, but they would not allow them to go to work. They assaulted them. This condition of things
479 continued until about the 10th of July. July 6th there were about 200 cars burned, both at Hawthorne and
480 Western avenue. The cars were loaded with inter-state freight. That was Friday evening.

483 TESTIMONY OF ELMER E. CLITHERO.

My name is Elmer E. Clithero. I am an engineer for the C. B. & Q. I was locomotive fireman for part of
484 July, up to the 11th, for the C. B. & Q., on the suburban

and in the yards. On the 6th of July I was firing on engine 466; Martin Hogan was the engineer. That train was derailed that day. We had several refrigerator cars loaded with meat—loaded west, and coming in. We left the Hawthorne yards with a load and started east. When we got to Millard avenue I saw a crowd on the tracks to California avenue, meeting us. When we got up close enough, I saw they were getting rails that had been laid alongside the track, to lay across the track
485 ahead of us. I told the engineer what they were doing, and hollered at him to stop. He kept going, and they placed rails on the track ahead of us, and some of them were swinging us down, giving us a signal to stop, and more giving us a signal to come ahead. We went ahead and struck the rails, and the first truck went over the first rail, and broke the rails and shoved ahead of the engine, passed about seven telegraph poles before he went into the ditch, and the engine stopped. I know some of the men that threw the rails across the track: Pat Forrest, Harry Hart, Hartmore, Hughy Hoolihan, Herb Ledders and Bill Ray. I wasn't personally acquainted with Pat Forrest or Harry Hart. They had been in the ser-
487 vice of the C. B. & Q., as switchmen.

These men wore a white ribbon in the coat lapel.

489

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM KIRBY.

My name is William Kirby; I am trainmaster for the C., B. & Q.; have been for one year and six months; I was with Besler, who has just testified, on the train from Wood street to the Pan Handle crossing on July 6th. I was present when the train was obstructed by Horace and others. Horace put his foot on the switch and pushed

Mr. Besler away, and he says: "You can't get this engine out. We will not allow it." July 5th, I got two engines out of the roundhouse to go to Hawthorne to do work. We were after a train of perishable freight, packing house product, from Omaha and Kansas City principally. In getting those two engines out, the two leaders, Horace and Hart, of the parties who were obstructing the movement of the engines, got on the front foot board of the engine with me. I told them to go away; I'd had all the fooling with them that I wanted; that I was working there under the instructions of my superin-
492 tendent. Well, they said: "We are working under orders too." Says I: "Whose instructions are you working under?" "We are working under Mr. Debs' instructions." "Well," I says, "my instructions comes from the general superintendent, and I don't recognize Mr. Debs, or anyone else, but my superintendent."

494

Cross-Examination.

They did nothing to me personally except pull me off the front of the engine.

301

TESTIMONY OF H. E. SARBER.

My name is H. E. Sarber; I live at Garrett City, Indiana; I have been an engineer on the Baltimore and Ohio since about 1882, in the freight department; about 1:30 o'clock in the afternoon of July 4th, I received a telegram to Garrett City, Indiana, signed by E. V. Debs;
302 I ran a regular train on both divisions; I was on the west division that day. The west division runs from Garrett to Chicago, and the other division from Chicago June-

tion, in Ohio, to Garrett; I took that telegram home and kept it there until about four o'clock, when a Mr. Munsell, and another man whom I didn't know, called
 303 for it; Mr. Munsell was a freight conductor; I was not a member of the A. R. U. I belong to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Munsell said he wanted to take the telegram to the A. R. U. lodge; this message is a copy of the original I received, copied by the operator at the Western Union office.
 307

Mr. WALKER: "Ch. n. & W." precedes the telegram. The telegram is as follows: "Chicago, Ill., July 4, 1894. H. E. Sarber, Garrett, Ind. The B. & O. system has been ordered out here. All classes of railroad employes withdraw from service immediately. Pledge them full support, whether members or not. Commit no violence. Elect committee take charge. Wire name of chairman. B. & O. officials are trying to intimidate their employes. Also looking for scabs in the eastern cities; by all means have them shut off. The employes of railroads will stand together. None will return to work until all return. Not scabs in world to fill vacancy. Gaining ground everywhere. E. V. Debs."

308 The WITNESS: I did not go out upon the receipt of that telegram. I guess some did. A few of them. They were some firemen and shop men, as far as I know. I know F. R. Mills, of Garrett, he was a locomotive engineer of the Baltimore and Ohio. I believe he went out of the service. He was running through freight trains on the same division that I am.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH DILLINGHAM:

My name is Joseph Dillingham. I live in Garrett, Indiana. I am master mechanic of the Chicago division of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Had the position since January 1, 1894. I know Sarber, who just left
 311 the witness stand. I know F. R. Mills. I think he left the service of the company about the beginning of July of this year. There was somewhere about 55 of the shop men refused to work after the 4th of July. The first of July I had in the neighborhood of about 290 men.
 312 There were some few firemen who refused to go out when called. We filled the places of the men who refused to go to work about the 3d or 4th day. None of these men
 313 were re-instated.

Cross-Examination.

I was notified to come here by the superintendent of
 314 the Baltimore and Ohio, last night. I received no instructions regarding the men who left the employment of the
 350 company. None of them have been re-instated. We have no black list. I don't know anything about a black
 360 list. I am unable say about re-employing members of the American Railway Union.

TESTIMONY OF H. F. SEMBOWER.

329 My name is H. F. Sembower; I live at Garrett, Indiana; am a locomotive engineer for the Baltimore and Ohio; I have been with that company over thirty-one years; I am in the passenger service at the present time,

and was last July; on the fifth of July I was on the road between Garrett and Chicago; I left Garrett at 12:50 in the afternoon; I had a mail and express train; it was a
 321 train made up at Chicago Junction; we met with an obstruction July 5th between 39th and 40th streets by the old Pan Handle yards out here in Chicago; the first I see a tie on the track, and then there was a car turned over beyond; there was a mob there that threw more stones than you ever saw; I couldn't estimate the mob, but there was probably two or three thousand people; it was about 6:10 in the afternoon; they threw stones, they placed obstructions on the track, broke all the windows out of my cab, knocked nearly all of the windows out of the coaches, and opened up my air-valve by turning the cock
 322 in front of the engine; that was after I had started to back up; there were passengers on the train; the mob was all around my locomotive; I didn't recognize any of them; they were all strangers to me; we had to back out of there and go back to South Chicago; we didn't go into the city at all; we stayed over night at South Chicago, and went back from South Chicago east the next day; I see white ribbons in their coats; in their button
 324 holes; members of the mob wearing the white ribbon threw rocks at my engine.

530

TESTIMONY OF JOHN CLARK.

My name is John Clark; I am yard master for the
 531 Baltimore and Ohio; yards at South Chicago, stock yards and in the city; I have charge of all the yards; our trains come in the Grand Central depot; that is the Northern Pacific station; I was in Chicago in July last; there was delay in moving our trains on the 5th of July;

we were prohibited from doing any freight business from South Chicago, east; our limited train No. 5 was obstructed, more or less, but we got that into Chicago.

532 Things went along in that way with or less detention until our evening train No. 17; that was blocked at Brighton Park, windows in the coaches were smashed in, and the train driven back to Forest Hill; I learned of this and started out to the train and brought it back to South Chicago. We there discharged our passengers and sent them in over the electric line, and the elevated railway in order to get them to Chicago. The mails were held over there a night in South Chicago, in the baggage car under protection; the next morning, our mails of course not being able to go out of the Grand Central depot, or the usual place, was hauled and trucked from the Grand Central to South Chicago at 90th street; we there placed it in our mail train east, No. 16, and got it out with more or less delay, starting from 91st street.

That condition of affairs continued the afternoon of the 5th, and a better part of the day of the 6th of July; the morning of the 6th I started with engine 47, backed that down to what is known as the Rock Island Junction; I was on the engine, and our agent, Mr. Davis, was
 533 on the rear end looking out for any other obstruction; we encountered a crowd of strikers, consisting of ex-railroad men, engineers, firemen, switchmen and others, outsiders, amounting to, I should judge, between four and five hundred people, crossing over 93d street or South Chicago avenue. There the crowd stoned the engine, through a stone through the left side, and came very near hitting the fireman; the fireman got off; I tried to persuade him to stay on; when the stone was thrown through the left side I went over there to see where it

came from; the engineer says: "I will quit right here; I won't go no further." That would have blocked the trains completely, as well as the South Chicago line; I persuaded him to back it down to allow our limited No. 5, to get away, which was then standing at the water plug, at the Rock Island Junction. He did so, and of course we then had no engineer or fireman to that engine. We had to take the master mechanic in order to get it to Chicago.

I recognized particularly in the crowd Henry Stahlman, an engineer, who had been an engineer for the Baltimore and Ohio, and gave up his position between 12 and 1:30 at night, on the 27th, a switch engine. This train that I was speaking of was a passenger train, consisting of express, baggage, mail, passengers, and so on. It was one of the through trains from Pittsburgh. We transferred these passengers, as soon as we could get them, to 90th street; transferred them to the electric line, and then they came to Chicago. From the particular ones hollering to me, whose voices I would recognize, there were about five men I would swear I saw in this crowd that had been employes of the Baltimore and Ohio who had resigned their positions.

They wore badges of a white color, some of them larger than others. The badge that I noticed most was four or five or six inches long, I should judge; about an inch and a half, perhaps an inch and three-quarters wide, and more or less fringes on them, and such like, worn on the lapel of the coat; I called them white ribbons.

My name is George Froelich. I am an engineer for the Baltimore and Ohio; have been with that company about nine years. On the 6th of July last I was trying to get the limited Chicago vestibule train into Chicago. I took that train at Garrett, Indiana; had considerable detention in getting in at the south. It commenced at Rock Island Junction in the city of Chicago. After Mr. Clark got his train out of the way, I undertook to get across to the Lake Shore tracks to come into the city. I didn't get across. There was a mob ahead to head me off; there were rocks and stones thrown at me like hailstones in a thunder-storm; knocked the windows in in the cab and broke the cab in. I got across fortunately without getting killed. I recognized nobody engaged in throwing those rocks but engineer Stahlman. He had been an engineer of the B. & O. Neither I nor my fireman was hit by them, but it kept me winking and blinking like a bullfrog lapping lightning; I noticed some who wore white ribbons in the crowd; after that I got up along as far as 49th street, where there was another mob who had the switches partly thrown, links and pins in the frogs, draw bars and box cars on the track, and stones thrown at the engine, and shot at; I did not recognize anybody in that mob; I was about twenty-five or thirty minutes getting through there; I got it all the way from there to Ogden avenue—rocks, stones, links and pins, and everything else a man could possibly throw, I judge; when my ears reached that point they looked like they had been through a revolutionary war; glasses were broken and dents on the inside of the cab.

Cross-Examination.

550 There were passengers in the cars; I reached the station close on to 12 o'clock, midday; I didn't notice particularly the time; I was due at 11:10; I got hit, myself, at 49th street, three times; they had the forward trucks of the engine off the track between twelve and fifteen minutes.

276 TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM I. HENRY.

My name is William I. Henry; I am a switchman in the employ of the Illinois, Indiana and Iowa, called the three I's; I have been in the service of that company about seven months; there are seven switchmen of us, including the extra man in Kankakee. I am what is called a yard switchman, making up trains and distributing them. I have telegrams purporting to have come from Debs. The first one I received on the first day of July. It is dated Chicago 30th, I received it on the 1st. "W. I. Henry. Adopt measures to get Big Four out. Pledge full support to all, whether members or not. Wire name of chairman. E. V. DEBS," I received that in the morning, probably between nine and ten o'clock. At that time I was a member of the A. R. U. Eugene V. Debs was recognized as the president of the A. R. U. I showed it to one or two employes of the Big Four system. I took no further action upon it. The Big Four is the Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati & St. Louis; one of the main lines between Chicago and Cincinnati. The three I's is a line from Streeter to Knox, Indiana, 120 miles long. It connects at Streeter with the Santa Fe, C. B. & Q.

and Wabash. It was at that time engaged in the transportation of inter-state freight, between the west and east; received from those lines at Streeter, and delivered to different lines on the eastern terminus. We have connection with all lines running out of Chicago. That was the principal business of our line. It was engaged in the transportation of United States local mail, that originated in the system on that line. I did not answer the first dispatch, except in person. I received another in the morning, dated July 1st. I came to Chicago Sunday afternoon on a train leaving Kankakee at 4 o'clock.

I reached Chicago about 6 o'clock or thereabouts. I met Mr. Hogan at Uhlich's Hall on North Clark street. I had the conductor with me to whom I had shown the telegram in Kankakee and a gentleman from the Illinois Central, that explained to them the situation of the Big Four. He said it was a mistake, that that telegram was intended for another point. I don't remember now whether it was Decatur or Danville, or some other point, so at that we let it rest and returned home. The gentleman connected with the Illinois Central was L. P. Green. The other telegram reads: "Chicago, July 1st. W. I. Henry: Wire your congressman and Senator immediately urging their support to senator Kyle's mail train resolution. Our prospects growing brighter everywhere. All employes regardless of organization supporting us. Employes of all lines will stand together; none will return until all reinstated. E. V. DEBS."

885 I had another telegram July 4th:

MR. WALKER. I will read it:

"KANKAKEE, Illinois, 7-4-94."

(Preceding that is "No. 59.82 paid" and "21" in figures with a bracket around it.) "5:52, W. J. Henry. The situation is extremely encouraging. Each hour adds new strength to our position. Do not be discouraged by
284 reports of soldiers or deputies, and above all do not be misled by false and vicious reports put in circulation by subsidized tools of corporations. Let there be no violence. Orderly conduct will win. We are certain to succeed in this righteous contest. True soldiers will stand by the cause until its triumph is proclaimed. E. V. DEBS."

THE WITNESS: I had no dispatch myself from Debs after the long one on the 6th. L. P. Green got one, I think on the 8th, I am not positive. None of the switch-
285 men on the Three I's had gone out.

Q. This telegram is already in evidence. I will read it:

"CHICAGO, July 8th, 1894.

L. P. Green, Kankakee, Illinois:

Use your utmost influence to get co-operation of all railroad men. Outlook splendid this morning. Get action on I. I. & I. as quick as possible. E. V. DEBS."

It was on account of that that I came to Chicago on the 8th with one of our firemen by the name of Moran. They were out at Kankakee on the Illinois Central on the 8th. Green was a member of the A. R. U. I came to Chicago Monday morning, the 9th,
287 I think it was. I went to Uhlich's Hall, and inquired for Mr. Debs or some of the directors. I spoke to the
288 man at the door; he went inside and pretty quick Mr. Hogan or Goodwin came out and some gentleman pointed to him and says: "There is Mr. Goodwin,"

so I button-holed Mr. Goodwin. I knew from one thing and another who he was. I went up to Mr. Goodwin and told him who I was and where I was from, and stated the telegram I had received, and wanted to explain to him the situation of the three I's in regard to this trouble that we were having, and got pretty well through my explanation, when somebody stepped up and told them if there wasn't but one man on the system they wanted him to show his colors by coming out. I don't know who it was. It was said in the presence of Good-
290 win. I says, "The men at Streator on the other end of our road had not been ordered out; that they drove the wedge at the wrong end of the log; that they wanted to commence where our business was originated if they wanted to tie up the road. I believe Goodwin said he would see that Streator was ordered out at once. I said, "All right, sir; you order Streator out and I will see that our men fall in line when Streator does." I told
291 him that we were not handling Pullman cars and never had a passenger train over our road, and we had no grievance of any kind whatever, and could not concoct a scheme whereby we could have a grievance, and consequently we did not feel as if we wanted to mix up in the trouble. The only passenger train we have is a combination car attached to the rear end of the meat train.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES F. MURPHY.

My name is James F. Murphy; I live in Michigan City, Indiana. I am a locomotive engineer in the passenger service of the Michigan Central; have been on the road about twenty-six years. Was in their employ on the 5th of July this year. My run that day was train

No. 8, leaving Chicago at half-past nine P. M., running to Detroit. I attempted to pass through Kensington that night. My fireman was Charles Wagner. We reached Kensington about a quarter past ten. The train was
 333 made up of two sleepers, two coaches and a mail car; that is, part mail and part baggage. There were passengers on the train and mails in the mail-car.

When we got to Kensington the crowd seemed to be
 334 excited; about the time we stopped there thirty or forty of these men climbed up on the engine and swarmed all over on the tender and on the train; it was a regular
 335 stop for the train, stop for water; two of them held revolvers at my head; another had a cane, and they used profane language and forced me off the engine, and threatened my life if I didn't get off; of course I got off; then a portion of this crowd followed us three or four hundred feet.

I had an escort of six; while passing the mail car I spoke to them, and says: "Now there is mail in this car, and it won't do to delay this train." The leader of this escort put a revolver to my head and says: "Don't you stop; it don't make any difference about the mail; you keep on moving." They took me to a house over in Pullman, about a mile from where my train was, and they detained me there about two hours.

After I had this leader away from the crowd I got him quieted down and talked a little reason to him; I talked
 336 with him a few minutes, and he agreed to go over and release the train; I told him he would have to go over there with me, or that I would not go back there again for anything; he did, and I went over there and found the engine was nearly dead; the fire had all been taken
 337 out; the fireman and I commenced to rekindle the fire;

when the crowd on the opposite side of the street heard the noise, they made another rush for the train and I got off; I did not wait any longer, and in about an hour the thing quieted down, and we got out of that; I have
 338 identified the house where I was as 132 Fulton street, second flat; it is perhaps a mile, perhaps a little less,
 339 from Pullman to Kensington.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES F. WAGNER.

343 My name is Charles F. Wagner; I live at Michigan City, and am a fireman on the Michigan Central; have been in the employ of that road two years. Am now working for it. I was the fireman that accompanied Mr.
 344 Murphy on the train that left here at 9:30. When we reached Kensington I got out and got up on the tank to take water, and I heard some one say for us to get off, for me to get off, and as I tried to step back somebody gave me a shove, and kicked me while I was getting down and I fell off on the ground. When I got up there were several men around us there, and six of them took us away, me and Murphy; took hold of my arm and told me to come right along with them; that they had a nice place for us to stay, and that they intended to keep us there until the thing was settled. I should judge there
 345 were about two or three thousand in the mob, as I looked
 346 over them. We were delayed in Kensington about three hours or a little over.

TESTIMONY OF WALLACE RICE.

704 A committee to the A. R. U. headquarters from the Illinois Central men, headed, as I remember it, by O. M.

Myron. They went into the directors' room, not during a directors' meeting, but while the members of the board of directors were present, and Mr. Myron obtained a writing which was signed by Debs, Howard and Keliher, or at least had their names attached to it, under the seal of the American Railway Union, in which these men, naming them, there were three of them, were given authority to act, and at the same time in that document was a promise of protection 193½ to all who obeyed their orders, whether they were members of the American Railway Union or not; I was in the directors' room when they got there; my recollection is that I saw it signed; I think it was signed by Mr. Debs and Mr. Keliher, but not by Howard; that is Mr. Howard's name was attached though he himself did not sign it; I 765 am almost positive it was the 26th, the day following the declaration of the boycott, though I saw a great many similar papers after that; I remember that particular paper, because I saw Myron, whom I had met before; I knew of a large number of other similar papers; it was the ordinary form of doing business; committees would come from different roads for the purpose of obtaining authority, and insuring themselves against the loss of their position, by reason of not being members of the American Railway Union, and to all such the American Railway Union said they would be protected, whether members of the organization or not.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES B. KING, JR.

793 My name is James B. King, Jr. I was a switchman employed on the Illinois Central system about the 26th 794 or 27th or 28th of June; the men struck at Burnside in Fordham yard the night of the 26th about 7 o'clock or

possibly fifteen minutes later; the evening of the 26th I came to the yard with a train; I shoved the train in at the south end of the Fordham yard, and as I was pushing the caboose down to the North end, O. M. Myron stopped us, swung me down and all the men; part of them showed up at the south end of the yard, what was there; I got on the caboose and went down to the middle of the yard, and I went down to the north end of the yard and got all the men who showed up for work there, and fetched them to the middle shanty, as they call it, switch shanty. Then he says, after I passed a few remarks here in regard to this trouble, "Mr. King will read an order from the A. R. U.," which he handed 795 me. After passing a few remarks, I don't just remember what he said, but I remember of him saying that the men were out at the Chicago yard of the Illinois Central. Then he asked me to read this order off and I read it. I had been in the employ of the company there that day, discharging my ordinary duties, The day men had gone home and the night men were just going to start to work; they had not started yet. They came there with their usual working garments and 796 their dinner-pails. I do not remember the substance of 798 the paper word for word. It was signed by Eugene V. Debs and Howard and Keliher, with the Grand Lodge seal of the A. R. U. It was stated that he was appointed as a committee of the Illinois Central, whose orders would be obeyed.

Mr. Myron's speech was to have the men go out. That was before I read the order. I put a motion for all 800 those in favor of going out on a strike or sanction the order of Myron to step to the left-hand side of the caboose. I was up on the caboose platform and the men

were standing around on the ground. That was somewhere around 7 o'clock the 26th of June. The rest quit after I read that order.

There was no meeting previously called of the local union of the A. R. U., to which I belonged, No. 205, 801 There must have been, possibly, thirty men there. I don't know exactly how many of the night men belonged 802 to the A. R. U. The majority of the 205 was not there. I am not an officer of that union. Mr. Byron asked me to preside; I was not chosen presiding officer by the members there at all. We had a lodge-room where we held meetings. In April and May they held their meetings at Grand Crossing, and afterwards went to Pusey's Hall.

349 TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH H. BANTA.

My name is Joseph H. Banta. I am running engine 1107 on the Illinois Central. I have been an engineer since 1865. I was attempting to operate a locomotive engine on the 5th of July last, running from Gilman, 350 Chicago. That was made up, I think, of six cars, one mail car, two baggage cars, and three passenger cars. The baggage car was a baggage and mail car. That train had been hauling mail for a number of years to my knowledge, in connection with baggage. I finished my journey that day from Gilman to Chicago.

On the 6th I got orders that tracks 3 and 4 were blocked at Kensington. When we got there we run on the east track; that is the suburban track. When we got to Kensington we stopped there, and there was quite a crowd up at Pullman. I noticed there was a car off

the track, of track 2, on our track, and pretty soon there was a shot fired up there. I looked up and saw smoke; I saw a man fall in the middle of the track. Then I saw 351 a great commotion there, and they said they had the party that shot him. Pretty soon they fetched him down, escorted by a lot of policemen. After the police got by they commenced throwing stones at me, and calling me hard names, and told me to get off the engine. One of them hit me, and I thought it was about time to get off, so I got off. With that I went over to the house and washed up, and went over to the engine, and it was cut loose. By cutting loose I mean somebody opened the throttle and pulled the pin, and let her go up the track, She went into this car and buried herself. She went up about a hundred yards or more; that was on track 2.

355 TESTIMONY OF M. GEPPER.

My name is M. Gepper; am a locomotive engineer. On the 6th of July last I started to take a train out of Chicago, Big Four train No. 11; mail and passenger train that leaves Chicago at 9 o'clock in the morning, destined for Kankakee. The Big Four takes charge of it with their own engine there, for Cincinnati, I believe. 356 The Big Four has no tracks running north of Kankakee. The train was made up of three passenger coaches, mail car and baggage car. Before I got to Kensington, about two miles this side of Kensington, I met an Illinois Central local passenger train ahead of us, backing up. They had been down there somewhere between Kensington and Pullman station, and had found the track 3, which was the track we were on, obstructed by a box car. They informed us of that fact; that we would have to

back up to the nearest connection and cross over to track 1, which was clear, the track usually used by suburban trains only. We backed up as far as Burnside, where we crossed over, and our time being faster than theirs they let us by at Burnside, so we started out there ahead. When we came within probably eight or ten hundred yards of Kensington, we found a car tipped over on to track No. 1, the track we were on. The car was off the trucks, lying on its side. We cut our engine loose from the train, and pulled the trucks, still on the track, off into the ditch, and then shoved off the box car on to track No. 2. Just after we got that done we went up to the car with the engine to see whether it cleared the track all right or not, and we attempted to back up our train. We saw the engine that had been standing at Kensington for some time coupled to the main train, and coming up track No. 2, which was the track we found this car on, without any one on it. We then backed up to our train and she struck this car, and exhausted her power, and I judged she was off the track; I didn't examine it.

It was the same engine that Mr. Banta just testified to. We coupled on our train and backed up out of the way as far as Grand Crossing, where we reported to our authorities here the condition of things. I didn't notice the time exactly, but we
 358 were there perhaps three quarters of an hour; they placed other obstructions on the track, between the wheels, where we were clearing the track, and there were ties shoved up between the tender and engine trucks two or three times. I should say there was between two and three thousand people around there. I did not recognize anybody there. Some of the people

359 there that day composing the mob seemed to know me, I heard my name several times; that I was a damned scab, and such vile names as that, and wanted to know why I came out there.

TESTIMONY OF H. F. HOUGHTON.

359 My name is H. F. Houghton; I live at Kankakee, Illinois; I am assistant superintendent of the Chicago division of the Big Four; I have been a railroad man twenty-one years; I was on the Big Four train that left the Illinois Central about nine o'clock, July 6th, for Cincinnati; I was going to Kankakee; when we reached what is called the 104th Street Station of the Illinois Central, we were flagged and told our trainmen that there were cars turned over ahead of us; track No. 1 was clear; that track was clear when we started to go down on that track and it was blocked before we arrived at Pullman, and occupied a point a little south of half way between Pullman and Kensington; found a box car that had been
 361 turned over there, on tracks No. 1 and 2; there was a large crowd on both of these tracks that had not been there a few minutes before, it was largely increased; we set about clearing the track, and coupled our engine to the train, and when on the point of starting the cry went up that drew our attention to the engine that had been cut loose at Kensington. There was nothing to do then but wait for consequences.

While we were clearing the track, we were assailed by all sorts of epithets, and stones were thrown in among us, that did not hit any of us; the mob was principally
 362 men; there were quite a number of women in the outskirts; four women were right up in the front, coming up to us; that was a mail and passenger train.

TESTIMONY OF J. N. SEALE.

506 My name is J. N. Seale; I live in Jackson, Tennessee;
 507 I am, and during the months of June and July last,
 was the division superintendent of the Mobile and Ohio
 Railroad, stationed at Cairo, Illinois. The Mobile and
 Ohio runs from Mobile, Alabama, to East St. Louis,
 through the southern part of this state. I had tele-
 graphic correspondence concerning the opening of our road
 with Mr. Debs in the latter part of June. The first tele-
 508 gram I received from Mr. Debs was in reply to one I
 had sent. It reads: "Chicago, Ill., 28. To J. N.
 Seale, Superintendent Mobile and Ohio Railroad, Cairo.
 Our board has adjourned until morning. Will advise
 you then. E. V. DEBS." I received the telegram on the
 509 29th of June, some time in the afternoon. It reads: "J.
 N. Seale, Supt. M. & O., Cairo. Please advise your road
 is included in General Managers' Association. If not we
 will at once release boycott upon the terms you propose.
 E. V. DEBS." I replied to that. That is from Cairo, Illi-
 510 nois, the 28th: "To E. V. Debs. Your wire this date.
 Our road is not a member of the General Managers' As-
 sociation. Please relieve our boycott on terms proposed.
 We are not handling sleepers and will not until the
 strike is finally adjusted." I think, that is, I am almost
 sure, that is the sense of it. Signed, "J. N. SEALE."

That was in reply to a message sent by Debs to me,
 asking if our road belonged to the General Managers'
 Association. This telegram was received on the after-
 noon of the 29th of June, to Cairo, in response to the
 telegram just read. It reads: "Chicago, 29. J. N.
 Seale, Mobile & Ohio, Cairo. Have instructed Dwyer
 to release embargo. Call on him. E. V. DEBS." I

know E. A. Dwyer in Cairo, Illinois. He is not con-
 511 nected with our road. He was a switchman employed
 by the Big Four, and was president of the local A. R.
 U. there. I only know one E. A. Dwyer there at Cairo.
 I saw Mr. Dwyer shortly after the receipt of this tele-
 gram; he showed me the one he had received about the
 same time. (E. A. Dwyer, 508 Walnut street, Cairo,
 Illinois, appears as president of local union No. 202, at
 Cairo, Illinois, of the American Railway Union, in Com-
 plainant's Exhibit 25, "No. 6 local unions of the Ameri-
 512 can Railway Union, Chicago, Illinois, June 11, '94.")

This telegram reads: "Chicago, 29 June. To E. A.
 Dwyer, Cairo, Illinois. Mobile & Ohio does not belong
 to General Managers' Association. This is authority to
 release embargo upon assurances from them to you in
 writing that they will not handle Pullman cars until this
 matter is settled. It is understood that all employes
 will be re-instated without prejudice. E. V. Debs." This
 is the telegram that was shown me by Mr. Dwyer,
 shortly after the receipt by me of the telegram from
 Debs, saying that he had wired Mr. Dwyer. After this
 513 we made a written agreement as follows: "State of
 Illinois; Jackson County, Cairo, Illinois. This agree-
 ment made and entered into this 29th day of June, 1894,
 by and between the Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company,
 party of the first part, and the duly authorized represent-
 atives of the American Railway Union, viz: E. A.
 Dwyer, M. S. Kennedy and C. A. Moore, parties of the
 second part, witnesseth: That for and in consideration
 of the fact that the party of the first part hereby agrees
 to discontinue hauling Pullman Palace cars on its trains
 pending the settlement of the present trouble, and fur-
 ther agreeing that all employes who may have ceased to

work on account of the present trouble be reinstated without prejudice, the party of the second part agrees and binds itself to release the present embargo existing against the party of the first part at once, and will instruct and have carried out by its members to resume their work and faithfully perform their duties as heretofore, under and abiding by the regulations governing this class of service, prior to the present trouble. In
514 witness whereof we have set our hands and seals.

THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION,
By E. A. DWYER, H. S. KENNEDY and
C. A. MOORE.

THE MOBILE & OHIO RAILROAD COMPANY,
By JOHN G. MANN, *Assistant General Manager*.
Witnesses, John Hodges, W. T. Bailey."

This is a telegram sent by me on the 30th of June to Mr. Debs at Chicago. It reads: "Jackson, Tennessee, 30 June. To E. V. Debs, President, Chicago; our men are working at Cairo all right since our agreement; will you please instruct representative at East St. Louis to allow our crew to work; our yard is isolated, and only one crew a day and one night; want to handle our local business at least; please answer. J. N. SEALE." I received an answer in reply to that as follows: "Chicago, 30, J. N. Seale, Cairo; I have wired St. Louis to relieve you of embarrassment. E. V. DEBS."

515 When this telegraphic correspondence between Mr. Debs and me began, our switchmen at Cairo, Illinois and Cairo, Kentucky, struck about 2:30 in the afternoon of the 28th, without any notice whatever; I arrived at Cairo a few minutes later, and called on our men, asking them what the trouble was; they said they did not know what the trouble was; they had been ordered to strike

I found out from the switchmen, 516, that they had no grievance; that they had simply ordered to strike by the A. R. U.; I saw Dwyer, the local president, and he told me he was powerless to do anything unless he corresponded with Debs; I commenced a telegraphic correspondence with Mr. Debs immediately afterwards, and this is the correspondence.

517 Dwyer said Debs was the only person that was authorized to act and give me relief; at that time we were stopped completely at Cairo, except passenger trains; all our through traffic was stopped.

Cross-Examination.

550 There had been a general reduction of wages of from four to eight and a half per cent before on the Mobile
521 and Ohio; this was the same reduction which went into effect about a year previous, and continued about six months. This second reduction was just the reaffirmation of that reduction. We made a reduction about a year before, and continued it six months, and introduced the old scale again; then reduced it again, all the men agreeing to it; all of the various brotherhoods agreeing and signing contracts at that reduced rate; there was no strike at the time of the first reduction or after; the
522 same men struck within twelve hours after this agreement with Dwyer was signed; switchmen, conductors, brakemen and firemen at East St. Louis, and also switchmen at Cairo and East Cairo, struck on the night of the 5th of July. I couldn't say accurately; I should say in the neighborhood of 100 men struck, altogether, after this agreement was made. The men who went out before the agreement struck again after the agreement;

523 that strike resulted in the delay of transportation of inter-state commerce and of United States mails. I saw what is known as train No. 5, also train No. 6, mail trains, delayed at Cairo, myself. Trains 5 and 6 were delayed on the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th. They started from Mobile, Alabama and St. Louis, respectively. North bound train 524 would get to East Cairo, Kentucky, and south bound train would get to Cairo; I saw them held there, delayed because the men had struck
524 and would not switch them over the inclines across the river. Those on the east side of the river were our men, and those on the west side were in the employ of the Big Four Company. Those trains were composed of express, mail, baggage and spassengers.

777

TESTIMONY OF WALLACE RICE.

I remember being shown a series of telegraphic correspondence between Mr. Seale, the superintendent of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, and Mr. Debs. I think either Mr. Debs or Mr. Howard had that correspondence in the main room and gave it to the reporters. I think we all made copies of it in the main hall in our regular daily
778 interviews. It was either just before the injunction or just after, according to my best recollection. I copied those telegrams and turned them in for publication. I
779 think they were published. I am almost sure it was either Mr. Debs or Mr. Howard who handed them to me. They are the men who talked daily with the reporters, and if we got any information of that kind at all we got it from them. They were the committee on press. They were not among the batch of telegrams Mr. Hegan handed me. They were an entirely separate transaction.

216

TESTIMONY OF F. L. KRIEGER.

My name is F. L. Krieger. I live at Milwaukee, Wisconsin. I am a switch-tender in the yards at Milwaukee for the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul road, and was on
217 the 4th of July last. The switch-tenders are not switchmen. They are the men who move the stationary switches. They have an organization called the Switch-Tenders' and Signal Men's Mutual Aid Association. I am president of that association. There are fifty-one people belonging to it, all in the employ of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul and the Chicago & Northwestern roads at Milwaukee. I am not and never have been a member of the American Railway Union.

219 On the 4th of July, Con McAuliffe, vice president of one of the American Railway Unions at Milwaukee, called on me. There is no other McAuliffe, that I know of, connected with the railway organization. (C. McAuliffe, 3,116 Mt. Vernon street, is given as the vice president of the Local Union 134, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, of the American Railway Union, in Complainant's Exhibit 35, "No. 6. Local Unions of the American Railway Union. Chicago, June 11th, 1894.")

222 He called on me with a dispatch; says he: "Krieger, you are to order your men on a strike." He showed me a telegram; he did not leave a copy or the original with me; I remember the contents to a certain extent; it
223 reads something to this effect: "We are gaining ground on the whole line; put committees in charge; will surely win"; something to that effect. He says on account of that telegram, if we wouldn't go and strike, and they would surely win, that then the American Rail-

way Union would see to it that we should lose our situation. I said in reply, that if the American Railway Union could give me, or any one—I told him—any guaranty of the business men of Milwaukee, that we
 224 wouldn't lose our places, even if the strike was lost, I would talk with him further. He says, we should go out in sympathy with the American Railway Union. I said to him I couldn't see no reason why we should go on a strike; we had no grievance whatever; it wasn't right, of course, that we should go on a strike merely in sympathy with another union.

I know one Archibald. He was a fireman as far as I know him, and an employe of the Chicago, Milwaukee
 225 and St. Paul Company; I saw him off and on for the
 226 last two years; I don't know exactly how many switchmen were employed by the Milwaukee and St. Paul Company in July last; according to my knowledge there
 227 were about sixty to seventy-five men employed there; on the 4th day of July several committees of this American Railway Union went through the yards and called upon the switchmen, requesting the switchmen to go out; that the men go out at once; they all left about one o'clock, at noon, with the exception of a very few; at that moment there was everything idle and everything still; it
 228 was about five days before there was any cars switched; that is, freight cars. As far as I know I only seen the passenger train working on the 4th, 5th and 6th of July, but I don't know whether they were running at the time; they were running once in a while, slowly, in the yards; on the 5th of July I observed that the train was delayed about fifteen or twenty minutes; the passenger train. It
 229 was between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, when the American Railway Union, whole bodies of

committees, came over there to the passenger yards, and the train was ready to go out; they got on the engine, and argued with the engineer and fireman to go off the train, and not take the train out; the engineer stayed on but the fireman got off; the train was delayed until they had to get another fireman.

237 I attended a meeting of the American Railway Union on the 5th of July; McAuliffe was in the chair, presiding over the meeting; there were between fifty and sixty, more or less; some of them wore a white ribbon in their coats.

236 . TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM MACKAY.

My name is William Mackay; I am a locomotive engineer for the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Company; have been in its employ twenty-two years. I am not a member of the American Railway Union. I was hauling a train for that company on the 5th of July last. The train was made up at Milwaukee. It carried the mail from Milwaukee to Chicago. Five or six men came
 239 up to the engine and got to talking with the fireman, to get him to leave the engine about 25 minutes of leaving time. After they talked with him for quite a while they got him advised to get off the engine. He left and didn't return; the train was delayed about 23 minutes, until a new fireman came in the place of the other.

240 *Cross-Examination.*

This was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon; I was the regular engineer; we got another fireman at West Milwaukee, two miles west of the depot. One fellow says so me, he asked me if I had any objec-

tion to him speaking to the fireman. I told him no; that was all that was said to me. The fireman is at work
 241 for the road now; he went back to work two or three days after that; I don't know whether he is a member of the A. R. U.; I know he wasn't previous to that, because he told me so that day before he left. The fire-
 242 man's name was Mills; I only know one of the men that talked to him; his name was Poulter; he was a switch engineer.

243 TESTIMONY OF CHARLES E. MILLS.

My name is Charles E. Mills; I am a locomotive fireman for the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Company, and have been between nine and ten years; I was on two different trains the 5th of July last; I got on the engine with the engineer who was last upon the witness stand, and run the engine and train to Chicago; I went over to perform duty about 2:30 o'clock; four o'clock was the hour for leaving; that was a train running between Milwaukee and Chicago. The train was
 244 made up right at the station.

I joined the American Railway Union since I left my
 245 engine; I was on my engine performing my duty with my back turned toward the gangway of the engine; the first words he said to me, he says "Charley, do you know what they are doing?" That attracted my attention to the gangway, and I turned around and seen pretty near the boys I knew, all except two. One gentleman whose name was John Poulter says to me: "You ain't going out on this engine, are you?" I says "I'm here for that
 246 purpose." "Well," he says, "there has other men quit this engine." He says "You don't want to seub, do

you?" I says "Certainly not." He says "Take up your coat and hat and come with us." Another gentleman spoke up; I learned his name since; I believe his name is Simms. He says "You are no friend of mine if you go out on that engine, and you won't get back out of Chicago alive." Another man stepped up to me and says "What's the matter with you; get your clothes and get off the engine." Another man who got as far as the cylinder of the engine said "Come on Charley, we all turned out, all except you; come with us." That man was Sullivan. All the men whose names I have mentioned have been at work for the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul road. All in the locomotive department except one, and that fellow told me I wouldn't get over the second street crossing but what I would regret it.

250

Cross-Examination.

I joined the American Railway Union immediately after I left my engine. A little over an hour after I got off my engine I was initiated into the A. R. U. I went over because I had to in one way. The fellow that accompanied me there had my grip that had my uniform in.
 251 I attended about two meetings. I don't know as I am
 253 in the A. R. U. now. As near as I understand it, when you went back to work you were not considered in the A. R. U. I next ran a train out at 11:30, July 6th, Friday night. I did not join the A. R. U. to become a detective for the road. I did not expect to join the A. R. U. before I got on my engine that day; Mr. Poulter went with
 256 me and took my grip that I had.

495

TESTIMONY OF E. X. HASTINGS.

My name is E. X. Hastings. I am superintendent of terminals at Milwaukee for the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway, and have been in that position since

two years last July. I was there in the discharge of my duties on the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th of July. I am slightly acquainted with McAuliffe, sometimes called Con McAuliffe. He was an engineer at Milwaukee, for
 496 the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul. The men in the switching department struck at 2 P. M. the 4th day of July. All of our switchmen and yardmasters, except two switchmen and four yardmasters went out; as a result our freight traffic was entirely stopped. On the afternoon of the 4th or the 5th it was suspended—the freight traffic. The evening of the 6th we moved a little, and a little more on the 8th. We moved it with the men who remained in the service—that is, the yardmaster and two switchmen, and men who were brought from the office force to assist us, the agent assisting. The
 497 places were filled as fast as we could get them. We had a total of 321 delayed cars in Milwaukee at that time. Some of them were billed to points without the state, quite a large per cent of them.

The Union Trust Company of New York
vs.
 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad
 Company. } *In Equity.*

In re United States of America, upon
 the petition of the Receivers of the
 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Rail-
 road Company,
vs.
 Eugene V. Debs, George W. Howard,
 Sylvester Kelihier, L. W. Rogers, Wil-
 liam E. Burns, James Hogan, R. H.
 Goodwin, J. F. McVean and M. J.
 Elliott. } *Proceedings*
as for
Contempt.

STIPULATION.

7-13 It was stipulated in open court by counsel for respective parties that all evidence introduced in the Government's case so far as applicable to this case should be considered and treated as heard in this case.

EVIDENCE OFFERED IN SUPPORT OF RECEIVERS' PETITION.

807 ARTHUR G. WELLS testified as follows:

I am assistant to the first vice-president of the Santa Fe system; he is charged with the operation and traffic, conducting the traffic of the Santa Fe system. Since the beginning of the year the system has been managed by
 808 receivers. During this time Mr. Robinson has been general agent for the receivers and I was his chief assistant. The roads that were embraced in the Santa Fe system and operated by the receivers in June and July last were: the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad and leased lines. It runs from Chicago to the State line of of Texas and Denver; the Colorado Midland Railroad, from Colorado Springs, Colorado, to Grand Junction; the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway, from St. Louis to Burton on the west and south-west to Paris, Texas, and the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad from Albuquerque, New Mexico, to Mojave, California. The receivers were operating all the lines embraced in the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company in Kansas during those months. I know what passenger trains ought to have been run over the lines of the Santa Fe system during those months as per schedule. There

809 were through trains originating at San Diego and Los Angeles, California, on the Southern California road, and run through to Chicago, by way of Kansas City, and through the State of Kansas. The states traversed by those lines, commencing at the west, are California, the territories of Arizona and New Mexico, and the states of Colorado, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa and Illinois. These lines which I have named were operated as one line by the receivers. The sleeping cars on these trains were accustomed to come through from the west to Chicago. The Santa Fe system under the receivers operated cars 810 belonging to the Pullman Palace Car Company. There was a contract between the Pullman Company and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company under 811 which the receivers were operating. Some of the trains were mail trains. There were also Pullman cars that went through from Chicago westward. There was one train each way daily between Chicago and Los Angeles and San Diego, and one each way carrying Pullmans, which were connected with the Southern Pacific at Mojave, and the Pullmans went north to San Francisco. There would be six trains in each direction on the way 812 daily. Contracts are made by way of tickets by the receivers here in Chicago for the carrying of passengers over this line to the Pacific coast and to intermediate points, and were in June and July last. This same line was operated for through freight between Chicago and intermediate points. Contracts were made for such business by the receivers during the months of June and July last. In June last the mileage of the Santa Fe system operated by the receivers was about 7,000 miles.

Cross-Examination by Mr. Erwin.

The original copy of the Pullman contract is in the possession of the secretary of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, at Topeka, Kansas. I have possession of one of the copies of it.

815 C. F. RESSEGUIE testified:

I am superintendent of the Chicago division of the Santa Fe extending from Chicago to Kansas City and St. Joe, and was in June and July last. My immediate superior was the general superintendent, H. E. Mudge. That is part of the line operated by the receivers. Was in Chicago on June 26th last, and subsequent days. After June 27th I was in our passenger and freight yard 816 at 18th street and Wentworth avenue until July 11th; June 27th there was no difficulty between the employes in the city of Chicago and the company. At midnight of June 27th our employes at Chicago with the exception of the road engineers and trainmen, stopped work. I talked with two or three switchmen and switch engineers the morning of June 28th, and the switchmen gave as the reason for quitting that the A. R. U. had ordered a boycott on the Pullman cars and as the Santa Fe persisted in hauling them they were not going to work. 817 Switchmen were named Cloghesy and McCormick. On the morning of June 28th I saw two of the day engineers Bliss and Bowen, who had struck, and I induced them to return to their duty.

They said that there was a strike of the switchmen and that they struck in support of them and of the boycott on Pullman cars. They continued at work until the

- morning of June 30th, and then struck again. I was present in the yard at the time and talked with them.
- 818 They said they could not stand the pressure any longer and would have to quit work. At 18th street large crowds gathered on the crossings and at Clark and 16th streets, over which we had to take our passenger trains to the Polk street depot. These men with whom I talked claimed no grievance against the Santa Fe. I heard of no grievance. We had two yardmasters who quit on June 30th, who claimed to me at the time they stopped work that they did so because they were intimidated.
- 819 Their names were Hade and Burdick. We did a very small portion of our freight business; our freight house in Chicago worked every day during the strike, and we moved what freight was loaded which amounted to between forty and fifty cars per day. Hauled in all cars loaded locally between Chicago and Kansas City. Did not receive any freight at Kansas City for Chicago or intermediate points, between June 28th and July 5th.
- 820 We delivered freight to and received it from other roads in Chicago by the Belt road, through the stock yards, and some we delivered direct to the other roads. We were not able from June 29th to July 6th to receive and transfer freight from and to these other lines. We did not have sufficient force, and we had been notified by the other roads that they could not handle our
- 821 business. We were accustomed to interchange freight and traffic with the Chicago and Alton, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, Chicago and North-Western, Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, Chicago and Rock Island, Illinois Central, and all the roads in Chicago. All of our passenger trains ran between June 29th and July 31th. No through trains ran beyond La Junta, Colorado, to

- and from that point. The gathering on Clark street, on the 28th, was about 250 or 300 men. They were upon the right of way of the Atchison road. They would go on the track, and refuse to get off when trains were passing over to and from the crossing, and they used more or less violent epithets to the men who were working.
- 822 The second day of the strike we had fifty United States marshals; the third day 100, and this increased up to 200 on July 6th, and on that day we had a company of United States regulars. These marshals and troops kept people who did not belong in our yards off our right of way; guarded our property.

823

Cross-Examination by Mr. Darrow.

I had more or less to do with the running of all trains, Pullman cars as well as others.

830

Examined by the Court.

The passenger trains on my division were run regularly, only being delayed on three or four occasions. On one occasion they were delayed at Ft. Madison nine hours. No delays in the city or in Illinois to exceed one hour. We made up our freight trains out of our freight-house unobstructed, and moved them under protection. No attempt to obstruct us or resist, overcome or evade the guards.

831

The freights which we were unable to move were the freights that we could not get from the other roads. They notified us that they could not receive freight.

W. C. Nixon testified:

I am superintendent of the Chicago terminals of the Santa Fe, and was in June and July last, under the receivers. During those months I performed my duties in the yards at 18th street and Corwith most of the time. Our first trouble was at midnight of the 27th, when all our switchmen, all the switch engineers, except three or four, all
832 of our yard clerks, car repairers, roundhouse men and shop men struck. I met some of them the morning of the 28th, and asked them what was the matter, and they replied that they were out on a strike until the A. R. U. trouble was settled. Our freight-house men struck after
833 the 28th. As superintendent of terminals, I know what trains are accustomed to go in and out over the Chicago tracks of the Santa Fe road. From June 29th to July 6th, some of the trains from the Pacific coast did not
834 come through. I should say that about one-half of them failed to arrive. We had very few trains delayed in Chicago. One train due to leave at 3:45 in the morning was forty-five minutes late on June 28th. The night foreman at the round-house stopped work before he got the engine ready for the train, and there was no one to get the engine out until another man was called. On
835 June 30th, we did not run any freight trains out of the city, nor receive any into the city. We received freight
836 for shipment, and freight from the west every working day after that time. We did not make any transfers to connecting lines for about ten days after June 27th. There was a train at Corwith, June 28th, whose destination
837 was the Union Stock Yards. It was a freight train for the Lake Shore road and was not delivered until July 19th, because we knew we could not deliver it and made no attempt to do so until the Lake Shore resumed business.

Cross-Examination by Mr. Darrow.

838 Some through trains did not reach Chicago from June 26th to July 6th. On the morning of June 28th, one went out forty-five minutes late. I was present around the road in Chicago all this time.

839 J. A. RILEY testified:

In June and July last I was general yard-master of Santa Fe road in Chicago; about 3 o'clock in the morning of June 28th, I was called to the yards, and when I got there at about 4 o'clock I found that all the switch-
840 men and switch engineers had quit. On the morning of June 28th, a committee of switchmen came to the 18th street yards and stated that they were ordered to strike by the A. R. U.; said they had no grievance against the Santa Fe, but that if we wanted to know anything further about it we would have to talk with the A. R. U., and settle with them. Switchmen and switch engineers
841 were all immediately under my direction. None of the men who went upon a strike at that time claimed to have any grievance against the receivers of the Santa Fe; I took a stock train to Corwith, June 29th, I think, and unloaded it and attempted to come back with the empty cars and found the switches spiked at 47th street; there was a crowd of men and boys around them; in the crowd I recognized four or five whom I knew to be striking railroad men. Switch was spiked by being thrown between the two rails with a spike at each side
842 of the movable rail. I was at the 18th street yard day and night; on the 28th there was a crowd at Clark and

16th streets about two-thirds of the day; on other days there were crowds there. Mr. Bliss left his engine on the 30th; he was working with me at the time, and we pulled south from the 18th street yards, and were close to 19th street when John R. Brennock, a striking engineer of the Santa Fe walked on our right of way and
843 called Bliss from his engine; he stopped the engine and walked over and they held a consultation; Bliss came back and told me he had to leave the engine, and he got off the engine right there and left it.

Cross-Examination by Mr. Gregory.

Switch was spiked the afternoon of the 29th or 30th; do not know who did it. Spikes driven on each side of the movable rail; Clark street crossing is five or six blocks from Polk street station.

844 H. R. BLISS testified;

Am switch engineer for Chicago and Western Indiana Railroad Company. In June was in same business for Santa Fe road, running switch engine between 18th street and Dearborn station. Left my engine June 30th, between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning. I quit on account of intimidation and threats. On June 29th at
845 Clark street the tracks were lined with a mob of men, and passing through the crowd they called us vile names, said "we will fix you," "we have got you marked," "your time is short," etc., and for fear they would fix me, I quit. One of the crowd that day got up on the engine and wanted me to get off and leave the engine
846 there. On the 30th Mr. Brennock came to me and

wanted me to quit; said all the rest had quit. Told him I supposed I would quit too, if the rest had. I had no grievance against the Santa Fe at the time I quit, and none of the others did that I know of. I desired to remain with the company.

850 CHARLES O. SMITH testified:

I came to Chicago from Kansas in July, and went to work as section foreman at Corwith for the receivers of
851 the Santa Fe. On the night of July 20th, six or seven men, representing themselves as a delegation from the strikers, came to my boarding house and notified me to stop work and get out of the city within twenty-four hours, and gave me to understand that if I didn't do so
852 they would do me bodily injury. I said, "Who do you represent?" They said, "We represent the men who are out on a strike, who you are replacing." I said, "Are you representing, then, the A. R. U?" They said, "We are."

855 HERBERT W. WING testified:

On July 9th, I was a fireman in the employ of the
856 Santa Fe road at Chillicothe, Illinois, about 134 miles from Chicago; on the night of the first Tuesday after the 9th of July I started up town with some friends, and while they went into the post office, three or four fellows outside said that I hadn't better go up-town if I valued my life; the one who said this was Richard Lawrence, a striking employe of the Santa Fe; he claimed to be a member of the A. R. U.; on the night of July 13th and 14th, Ed. Rhodes, a striking engineer, got onto my

857 engine and wanted me to quit, and offered to pay my expenses back home if I would go; on the night of July 14th and 15th, he got up on the engine and asked me to come down and meet the committee of the A. R. U., to talk it over, and see if I wouldn't be persuaded to leave the company; I refused, and he told me he was sent there as a committee to tell me that unless I quit the engine that they had decided to kill me; Rhodes said he was a member of the A. R. U.

(Rhodes was vice-president of the Lodge of A. R. U. at Chillicothe.)

859 There were deputy marshals there for protection.

L. G. DENSMORE, testified:

860 After July, 1894, I was clerk and time-keeper in the roundhouse of the Santa Fe road at Chillicothe, Illinois; on the evening of July 9th, I think, Herbert Wing, two others and myself started to go down town, and three of us went into the post office, leaving Wing outside; after we came out I was a little behind the others, and Dick Lawrence said that if I valued my health I had better leave the city right away; I had come in after the strike to fill a vacancy; Lawrence called us "scabs" and other vile names.

862 ALFRED S. WEINSHEIMER testified:

863 I am secretary of the Pullman Company and have the custody of the contracts between that company and the several railroads. There is what we call a standard form
866 of contract. The paper handed me is a copy of the contract between the Pullman Company and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Company.

Material portions of the contract are as follows:

Art. 1. Agreement between Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company, Chicago, Santa Fe & California, Southern California R. R. Co., and others embraced in Santa Fe system, and Pullman's Palace Car Company, dated February 1, 1889, expires February 1, 1914, provides Pullman Company shall furnish all sleeping and parlor cars required by first party, and shall have the right to collect usual sleeping and parlor car rates and shall furnish employes to care for and collect fares in such cars. Pullman Company shall keep the cars in good order and renew them.

Art. 2. Said railroad companies "shall haul all sleeping and parlor cars furnished by the Pullman Company hereunder that may at any time be necessary in operating the lines of railroads now owned or controlled by the railroad companies and any additional railroads which shall hereafter be owned or controlled; and shall use such cars as a part of all passenger trains controlled in whole or in part by them where sleeping and parlor cars are required in such manner as shall best accommodate the passenger travel."

And shall bear the cost of maintaining the running gear and bodies of such cars, and such other parts thereof as are incidental to ordinary first-class passenger cars, which cost is understood to amount to an average of 2 cents per mile run, in consideration of the use of said sleeping and parlor cars by said companies for the transportation of their passengers.

This agreement shall remain in force for the full term of twenty-five years from the date hereof. That is to say, from February 1, 1889, to February 1, 1914.

870 W. B. SCOTT testified:

- 871 I am trainmaster of the Chicago division of the Santa Fe road, and live at Chillicothe, Illinois; in June and July last there was a man in Chillicothe named A. E. Turner, a freight brakeman on the Santa Fe road; on June 27th there was a strike on the Santa Fe road at Chillicothe, and 110 men left the service; Turner was among them; he told me at the time he struck that he had joined the A. R. U., and on that account he would not work; none of the men who struck claimed to have any
872 grievance against the receivers; the men called upon to fill the places of the strikers feared to take them because they did not want to be called scabs and because they feared violence; plenty of unemployed around Chillicothe to fill the places, and who were ready to do so if protected.

JOHN HURLEY testified:

- 873 In June last was an engineer on the Santa Fe road at Joliet, Illinois; I quit work on the morning of July 6th
874 for fear of violence; there was a committee of ten or twelve got up on engine the day before and asked me to quit; they said every one had to stop at noon; a committee came to me next morning when I was ready to go to
875 work, and said I had to quit, and I quit because I was afraid of violence; I had no grievance against the Santa Fe, and was willing to continue working for them.

JOHN KELLY testified:

- 876 In June and July last I was working for receivers of Santa Fe as a fireman at Joliet, Illinois; I quit on the morning of July 6th; a committee got up on engine
877 July 5th, and one of them said: "You fellows had better get off"; there were fifteen or twenty around there, and seven or eight of them got up on engine; between 3 or 4 in the afternoon some others got up on engine and called us scabs, etc.; I quit next morning because I was afraid to work any longer; these men who came to us
878 claimed to be strikers from the Elgin, Joliet and Eastern; I had no grievance against the Santa Fe, and did not desire to quit work.

879 JOHN FELTON testified:

- In June last I was a fireman for Santa Fe company and lived at Streator; I was at Chillicothe on the 28th
880 and quit--got off my engine there; there was a committee of the A. R. U. called around and said, "You are filling a striker's place, you are scabbing, you had better get off"; scab is an opprobrious term among railroad men; I stayed on engine till it got down to round-house
881 and then told foreman I could not continue working on account of the threats; I got off the engine because I thought it best to be on the safe side; did not know what might turn up; I was willing to continue working for the receivers.

883 CLARE YOUNG, testified:

On June 28th or 29th, I was stenographer in the office of the general solicitor of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad; I have a telegram received at that office dated June 28th, signed "Henry C. Caldwell, 885 United States Circuit Judge." It was received about 8 o'clock in the evening, June 28th; I received it myself at the general solicitor's office; the telegram was published in the papers in Chicago.

887-8 Telegram is as follows:

"WEQUETONSING, Mich., June 28.

J. W. Reinhart, John J. McCook, J. C. Wilson, Receivers of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, Chicago, Ill.:

The men in the employ of the receivers of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway system must discharge all their usual and accustomed duties or quit the service of the receivers altogether, and permit other men to take their places who will discharge these duties. Any or all employes can quit the service of the court if they desire to do so, but when they do quit they must not interfere in any manner with the property or the operation of the road, or men employed to take their places. Any such interference will be promptly dealt with as a contempt of court. The men who wish to continue in the service of the court must discharge all the duties appropriately and properly belonging to the service. A refusal to perform any part of these duties will compel their discharge, and the employment of other men to take their places. All the powers and authorities of the court will be vigorously exercised to enforce these reasonable rules,

I cannot believe the boycott order was intended to be put in operation on roads in the custody of the United States Courts and operated by receivers appointed by those courts; but if such is the case, the authors of the 888 boycott order, and the men to whom it is addressed, must understand that the court will not tolerate any interference with the operation of the road by its receivers from any quarter. The men must understand that they cannot remain in the service of the receivers and refuse to perform any duty pertaining to that service. They must make their election whether they will take their order as to the cars to be switched and handled from President Debs or the court. If they elect to obey the orders of the former they may do so, but in that event they must understand distinctly that they are no longer in the service of the court for any purpose, and that other men will be employed to take their places permanently who will be guarded and protected in the discharge of their duties. When the situation of your road and the law applicable to the case is understood, I do not believe there will be any attempt to put the boycott order in force upon it. Any effort to do so will be in direct contempt of the authority of the court, and must inevitably result disastrously to the men. As soon as I learn that it is the deliberate purpose of those ordering the boycott to attempt to enforce it against the authority of the court, I will proceed to Topeka and deal with the matter on the lines indicated in this dispatch.

HENRY C. CALDWELL,
United States Circuit Judge."

F. T. McMULLEN testified:

893 On June 28th last I was chief operator in Chicago for
the Santa Fe road. I sent this telegram from Judge
Caldwell from our office to Corwith, Streator, Chillicothe,
Pekin, Joliet, Shops and Fort Madison. I sent the mes-
894 sage of instructions attached to it to post it on all bulletin
boards. Telegram from Judge Caldwell was published
in Chicago papers the day following. This telegram,
of General Manager Frey to the employes, was sent
out to all our offices on the whole system, in Illinois as
well as other points, and was published in the papers.

Telegram is as follows:

“ CHICAGO, Ill., 26 June, 1894.

To All Officers and Employes of the Receivers of the
895 *Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad:*

It is announced in the public press that the American
Railway Union has declared a boycott on Pullman cars,
effective at noon to-day. It should be understood by
our employes that the differences between the Pullman
company and their employes in nowise concern the re-
ceivers of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad,
and their employes are expected to continue in the per-
formance of their duties without interruption. The
receivers are under contract with the Pullman company
to haul Pullman cars in their passenger trains. It is
therefore necessary, not alone on this account, but also
on account of the services the receivers are required to
render the public, that their passenger trains be run
intact, including all classes of cars usually handled in
such trains. To participate in such a boycott would be
a criminal offense, and the receivers, as officers of the

court, are bound to and shall comply with the law.
They are ordered by the court appointing them to
operate the railroads and conduct its business, and in
order to do so it is necessary for the accomodation of
passengers to use Pullman cars. All persons are enjoined
896 by the court from interfering with the possession and
management of the railroad by the receivers, or from
interfering in any manner to prevent the discharge of
their duties or the operation of the railroad under the
order of the court. An attempt to prevent the hauling
of Pullman cars in mail trains would be a violation of the
United States statute punishing obstruction to the carry-
ing of mails. It is expected that all employes will obey
the law and the order of the court.

J. J. FREY, *General Manager for the Receivers.*”

DEFENDANTS' EVIDENCE.

" CHICAGO, Ill., June 29.

To the Railway Employes of America :

The struggle with the Pullman Company has developed into a contest between the producing classes and the money power of the country. This is what Lincoln predicted at the close of the civil war, and it was this reflection that gave the great emancipator his gloomiest forebodings. We stand upon the ground that the workingmen are entitled to a just proportion of the proceeds of their labor. This the Pullman Company denied them. Reductions had been made from time to time until the employes earned barely sufficient wages to live, not enough to prevent them from sinking deeper and deeper into Pullman's debt, thereby mortgaging their bodies and souls, as well as their children's, to that heartless corporation.

Up to this point, the fight was between the American Railway Union and the Pullman Company. The American Railway Union resolved that its members would refuse to handle Pullman cars and equipment. Then the railway corporations, through the General Managers' Association, came to the rescue, and in a series of whereases, declared to the world that they would go into partnership with Pullman, so to speak, and stand by him in his devilish work of starving his employes to death. The American Railway Union accepted the gauge of war, and thus the contest is now on between the railway corporations united solidly upon the one hand, and the labor forces upon the other. Every railroad employe of the country should take his stand against the corporations in this fight, for if it should be lost, corporations will

have despotic sway and all employes will be reduced to a condition scarcely removed above chattel slavery; but the fight will not be lost. The great principle of American manhood and independence is involved. Corporate power, drunk with its own excesses, has presumed too far upon the forbearance of the American people, and, notwithstanding a subsidized press (to which there are many notable and noble exceptions), public sympathy is with the striking employes, who are merely contending for the right of their fellow toilers to receive living wages for their work.

I appeal to strikers everywhere to refrain from any act of violence. Let there be no interference with the affairs of the companies involved, and, above all, let there be no act of depredation. A man who will destroy property or violate law, is an enemy, and not a friend to the cause of labor. The great public is with us, and we need only to maintain a dignified, honest, straightforward policy to achieve victory. Let it be understood that this strike is not ordered by myself or any other individual; nor is the strike inaugurated anywhere except by consent and authority from a majority of the employes themselves.

Neither is this a fight simply of the American Railway Union. The question of organization ought not to be raised, but every man who believes in organized railroad labor, should take his stand on the side of labor, and its battle for his rights and those of his fellow-men. I have faith in the great body of railway employes of the country, and am confident they will maintain an unbroken front in spite of any opposition that may be brought to bear against them. I am perfectly confident of success. We cannot fall.

E. V. DEBS."

**PLEADINGS IN PROCEEDINGS FOR CONTEMPT
UPON PETITION OF RECEIVERS.**

—
THE PETITION.
—

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS.

The Union Trust Company, <i>Complainant,</i>	}	<i>In Equity.</i>
<i>vs.</i>		
Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, <i>Defendant.</i>		

*To the Honorable Judges of the Circuit Court of the
United States for the Northern District of Illinois.*

Now comes Joseph W. Reinhart, John J. McCook and Joseph C. Wilson, receivers, herein appointed by order of this Honorable court on the 26th day of December, 1893, and respectfully show unto the court as follows:

I.

That on December 23, 1893, in a suit brought by the Union Trust Company against the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, Joseph W. Reinhart, John J. McCook and Joseph C. Wilson were appointed receivers of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad

Company by the Circuit court of the United States for the district of Kansas. That on the 26th day of December the same persons were appointed receivers of said Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company within the jurisdiction of this Honorable court, and duly qualified and entered into possession of said railroad, properties and effects, and have continuously from that date to the present, operated said railroad and possessed, managed and controlled the same.

That said Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company operated and controlled a large and extensive system of railroad, extending from Chicago through the States of Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado and the Territories of New Mexico and Oklahoma. That similar bills were filed in the several courts of the United States having jurisdiction, and the same receivers were appointed.

II.

That by the order of this court appointing said receivers they were required and directed to continue operating said railroad and system as they had heretofore and were then being run or operated, and to preserve the property in proper condition and repair. That by said order each and every of the officers, directors, agents and employes were strictly ordered to obey and conform to the order of said receivers. That by said order the officers, agents, servants and all other persons were restrained and enjoined from interfering with any of the property of said company or from taking possession of or otherwise interfering with the same, or with the possession or management of the same, over which said receivers

were appointed, or in interfering in any manner to prevent the discharge of their duties, or the operation of said property. That said receivers were given full power to employ and discharge, and fix the compensation of such officers, agents, attorneys, managers, superintendents and employes as might be necessary to aid in the discharge of their duties.

That said system of railroad is a very important line of commerce among the states, and that over it they have customarily been engaged in performing the duties of a common carrier of passenger and freight, both local and inter-state, and carrying express matter and the United States mails.

III.

That in April or May, 1894, a dispute or controversy arose between the Pullman Palace Car Company and its employes at Pullman, Illinois, relating to the wages and compensation of such employes, but that petitioner had no connection with said dispute, and no control of or relation to the same. That the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, had entered into a contract with the Pullman Company for the running of its sleeping cars over its lines of railroad, which contract was in force when said receivers were appointed, and is still in full force and effect.

IV.

That there is an organization known as the American Railway Union, with headquarters at Chicago, Illinois, of which Eugene V. Debs is president; George W. How-

ard, vice-president; Sylvester Keliher, secretary and treasurer; and L. W. Rogers, one of the directors. That the membership of the said American Railway Union is largely composed of men in the railway service, and that the purpose is to include in its membership all railway employes of the United States; that the organization includes many thousands of railway employes, and that a large number of the employes of said receivers were at the time of the acts hereinafter set forth members of said American Railway Union.

V.

That the executive officers of said American Railway Union claim to have and do exercise the power and authority to order the members of said Union to unitedly quit the service in which they may at any time be engaged, and to enter upon strikes for the purpose of establishing boycotts, or for any other purpose which may be directed by said officers to compel or coerce said employes to do or refrain from doing, whatever said officers may require of the members of said American Railway Union.

VI.

That on or about June 22, 1894, said Eugene V. Debs, George W. Howard, Sylvester Keliher, and L. W. Rogers, officers of the American Railway Union at Chicago, entered into a combination and conspiracy to establish a boycott against the sleeping cars of said Pullman Palace Car Company, and against any railroad company, and the receivers of any railroad company, which should refuse to join in said

boycott and should continue to haul said sleeping cars, and by said conspiracy and by establishing a strike and boycott to compel said receivers to refuse to haul such sleeping cars. That it was the purpose of such conspiracy to "tie up" any and every of said railroads, and to ruin and paralyze its business, and to obstruct and prevent the operation of all trains, both passenger or freight, upon any railroad on which said cars were used; that your petitioner having no right to join said conspirators in said boycott, continued to operate said railroad and to haul said Pullman cars as they were in duty bound.

That on June 27, 1894, Eugene V. Debs, in pursuance of said conspiracy and acting by and with the advice, assent, and assistance of said Howard, Keliher and Rogers, and exercising the authority claimed by him as president of said American Railway Union, issued, or caused to be issued, an order to all members of said Union on the system operated by said receivers, to immediately quit service and refuse to perform their duties as employes of said receivers.

That many of said employes in Chicago and the northern district of Illinois did refuse to perform their duties as such employes, unless and until said receivers would cease to haul said cars; that none of said employes had any grievance against said receivers, and but for such order would have remained in the service of said receivers, and performed their duties as employes.

That it was the avowed purpose of said Debs, Howard, Keliher and Rogers and their confederates to prevent said receivers of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad from operating said road, unless they should cease to haul said Pullman cars, and to prevent said receivers

from securing or employing any persons to take the places of the employes who quit the service in response to said orders to strike; that said Debs, Howard, Keliher and Rogers by orders, circulars, interviews and public speeches announced their determination, if necessary to secure the objects of said conspiracy, to tie up every railroad in the United States, and in pursuance of such determination appealed to all employes whether members of said Union or not to leave the service of their employers, including said receivers, and guaranteed "protection" to all such employes.

That in pursuance of said conspiracy and to accomplish the purposes of the same, Debs, Howard, Keliher and Rogers set on foot the organization of local unions or lodges of said American Railway Union at many places in the United States and along the line of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, and appointed and caused to be appointed committees to aid in carrying out said conspiracy in their various localities, and instructed said committees and chairmen to push the work of tying up the said railroads, including said Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, by means of inducing all employes to strike; that in carrying out said instructions, many of said striking employes gathered in large numbers at the stations, yards, etc., of said railroad, operated by said receivers, and committed acts of great violence, and destroyed property in the possession and custody of said receivers; and by threats, intimidation, force and violence injured and terrified employes who had taken said places, and in many cases forced them to quit the service of said petitioners for fear of death or great bodily injury.

That said acts of violence and intimidation were done by and with the advice, assistance and co-operation of Debs, Howard, Keliher and Rogers, and by their procurement by means of their orders, directions and management, and to carry out said conspiracy to obstruct the movement of trains and impede and interfere with the operation of said railroad by said receivers.

VII.

That Debs, Howard, Keliher and Rogers, at and before the time of said acts and doings, well knew that said Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad was in the hands of said receivers and being operated by them.

That June 29, 1894, this Honorable court issued an additional injunction for the protection of said receivers in the operation of said Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, by which all persons were enjoined and restrained from interfering in any manner with trains, cars, switches or other property, and from interfering by intimidation, threats or violence, or in any other manner, with any of the employes of said receivers in the performance of their duties. That said injunction was published in the evening papers of Chicago on June 29, and in the morning papers of June 30. That July 2, 1894, an injunction was issued on a bill filed by the United States of America against said Debs, Howard, Keliher, Rogers and others, enjoining them from interfering with the railroads mentioned in said bill, one of which was said Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, or receivers of the same, in the operation of their trains carrying the mails or inter-state traffic, whether passenger or freight, and from intimidating, threatening, assaulting

or otherwise injuring any employe of said railroads or receivers engaged in such inter-state business or the carrying of the mails. That on July 3d and 4th said injunction was served on said Debs, Howard, Keliher and Rogers.

That notwithstanding said injunctions, said Debs, Howard, Keliher and Rogers have continued their illegal acts and doings without change or abatement, and have totally disregarded, violated and set at naught each and every of them, and still continue so to do, and assert and threaten that they will proceed in their illegal acts, and that they can and will, if necessary to carry out their purposes, tie up every railroad in the United States, including said Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, operated by said receivers.

VIII.

That by reason of said acts and doings said receivers have suffered losses and damage; that they have been compelled to pay large sums of money to protect the trains, engines, etc., in their possession and in securing and protecting employes, and have lost in earnings and revenue, large sums of money.

That each and every of said acts were committed willfully and intentionally by Debs, Howard, Keliher and Rogers, and their confederates, etc., each knowing that they were in violation of the orders of this court.

That said Debs and Howard reside without the jurisdiction, but are temporarily located in the city of Chicago within the jurisdiction of the court, for the purpose of carrying on their said conspiracy.

Wherefore, your petitioners pray that an attachment may be issued against said Debs, Howard, Keliher and Rogers, and that they be forthwith brought before the court to be dealt with for their said contempt of its orders.

Filed July 17, 1894.

ORDER FOR ATTACHMENT.

On July 17, 1894, SEAMAN, J., upon the foregoing petition entered the following order:

The receivers of said defendant appointed under order of December 26, 1893, having this day filed their petition praying attachments against Eugene V. Debs, George W. Howard, Sylvester Keliher and L. W. Rogers for contempt of this court in violation of its orders entered December 26, 1893; June 29, 1894, and July 2, 1894, and that they be dealt with for such contempt, such petition being duly verified and supported by affidavits this day filed, and the court having heard the same read, and it appearing therefrom that said Debs, Howard, Keliher and Rogers have severally interfered with the property of said railroad and with the employees in the service of said receivers in wilfull violation of said orders.

It is now therefore ordered by the court that attachments issued out of and under the seal of this court directed to the United States marshal of this district commanding him to forthwith take the bodies of Eugene V. Debs, George W. Howard, Sylvester Keliher and L. W. Rogers, and to forthwith bring them and each of them before the court to be dealt with by the court in relation to their acts and doings in contempt of this court.

ANSWER.

Union Trust Company of New York,	}
<i>Complainant,</i>	
<i>vs.</i>	
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad	}
Company,	
	<i>Defendant.</i>

Joint and several answers of Eugene V. Debs, George W. Howard, Sylvester Keliher and L. W. Rogers, to the petition of the receivers of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company.

The respondents admit all the allegations in the first and second subdivisions of said petition.

They admit that in May, 1894, a dispute arose between the Pullman Palace Car Company, a corporation, etc., and its employes, which related to the wages of such employes. They allege that they have no knowledge or information as to whether at any time said Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company entered into any contract with said Pullman Company, or whether such contract was at any time in force as alleged; deny upon information and belief that said receivers had no connection with said dispute, but upon information and belief allege that said receivers by their general manager operating said system did, during the pendency of such dispute, interfere therein and give support to said Pullman Company.

They admit the organization of American Railway Union; that its headquarters are at Chicago; that the respondents are its officers, and that its membership is

largely composed of men engaged in railway service; they allege that its object is the protection of members in their rights and interests connected with their employment upon railroads, and to secure for such members fair and reasonable compensation, and to use lawful and legitimate means for the improvement of the conditions of such members; admit that to accomplish such purpose, it is the aim of said American Railway Union to secure the co-operation of as many persons as possible of good character engaged upon railway systems and in kindred employments and make them members of said unions. Admit that it now includes many thousand railway employes, and that a large number of the employes of said receivers are members; they expressly deny that its officers or these respondents, or either of them, claim to have or exercise the authority to order its members to in any manner quit the service in which they may be engaged, or to go upon a strike for the purpose of establishing boycotts, or for any purpose, or to compel their employers to do or refrain from doing whatever said officers may require of said members, as alleged in said petition, or otherwise; but they allege that strikes can only be declared for any purpose by the voluntary action of the members of such Union participating in such strike, and that such officers and these respondents have no power or authority to order or direct any strike or boycott.

They deny that on June 22, 1894, or at any other time, they, or either of them, entered into any conspiracy with each other, or with any other persons, to establish a boycott against said Pullman Company, or against any railroad company, as alleged in said petition or otherwise,

and deny that they were at any time members of any conspiracy or combination for the purpose of tying up said railroads, or for obstructing or preventing the operation of passenger and freight trains.

They deny that on June 27, 1894, or at any other time, the respondent Debs, in pursuance of any conspiracy or otherwise, acting with the other respondents or either of them, issued or caused to be issued any order to any of the employes of said petitioners, or to any members of said union to immediately or at all quit such service and refuse to perform any of their duties as such employes.

Respondents admit that thereafter many employes of said petitioner did quit their service and the service of said railroad; they deny, on information and belief, that such employes had no grievance, and allege that they left the service of petitioners of their own accord, freely and without any order, direction or control on the part of the officers or directors of said Union or of either of the respondents.

They deny that it was their purpose in an act or thing by them done to prevent said receivers from operating said railroad or from securing other persons to take the places of the employes who should quit. They allege that as the officers of said American Railway Union they were the authorized agents of the members of the American Railway Union employed upon the railroad system of petitioners for the purpose of advising and assisting them by lawful and proper means in the redress of grievances complained of by them in their said employment and in the adjustment of their relations with their said employers, and they admit that prior to July 1st, but not otherwise, they did, as the agent of such employes,

peacefully and lawfully request persons in the employ of said petitioners to quit the service for the purpose of assisting members of said American Railway Union engaged in such employment to effect the purpose which induced them to strike, and to secure a remedy for the grievances of which they complained, and admit that in that regard and (as) such agents they did offer "protection" to such of said persons as should comply with such request, in the sense that such persons should be entitled to the privileges of membership of such union in respect to the matters concerned in such strike but not otherwise.

They admit that local unions of said American Railway Union were formed during the time mentioned in said petition by persons desiring to become members thereof, and that such persons so associating themselves together petitioned for membership, and were by the respondents and other directors of said Union admitted to membership. They admit that committees of said American Railway Union requested persons engaged in the railway service of the various railroads of the United States, to organize themselves together, and apply for membership in said Union. They allege that such work or organization, as carried on during all the times in said petition mentioned, was upon railway systems other than that operated by said petitioners, and had no relation whatever to the railway system of petitioners, or to its operation.

They deny that any of the work of organization of such local unions was in pursuance of any conspiracy or evil intent whatever.

They admit that at divers times large numbers of persons gathered along the line of the road operated by pe-

tioners, around its stations, yards, terminals, shops and round-houses, and committed acts of violence, and by threats, intimidation and force injured and terrified employes of said receivers, but on information and belief they deny that any of said acts were committed by any members of said Union, or in pursuance of any orders, directions, counsel, recommendation, assistance or co-operation of these respondents or either them, or by their procurement or instigation, or by means of their orders, or for the purpose of carrying out any purpose of theirs, or to which they or either of them are parties. Deny that they ever authorized, directed, counseled, recommended, assisted, abetted, or approved of force, threats, intimidation or violence directed toward the property or person of any one; but allege that they have uniformly at all times, by speech and writing, advised members of said union, and all persons acting with them, to use only peaceful and lawful methods, and to refrain from any force or violence whatever, and to refrain from any violation of the lawful order of the United States court to them directed.

They admit that they were generally informed that the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad was being operated by petitioners as receivers, but deny that they or either of them had any notice or knowledge whatever as to the orders of the court made in that behalf, or as to the terms of such order until the filing of said petition.

They admit that on June 29, 1894, a further injunction issued out of this court for the protection of said petitioners, and that the same was published in the daily papers of the city of Chicago, but deny that they or either of them had any notice or knowledge whatever

of said injunction or its terms until the filing of said petition.

They admit that on July 2, 1894, another injunction was issued at the suit of the United States, and that it was served as alleged, but they allege that it was not issued for the benefit or for the protection of said petitioners in their property or in the operation of their railroad, and that they were not parties to the action in which the same was issued.

They deny that they have done any illegal act or thing or have in anywise violated any of said injunctions or any order of this court to them directed, or that they have threatened that they will proceed with any illegal act as alleged in said petition or otherwise.

They deny that petitioners have sustained any damage, have lost any earnings or revenue, or been compelled to expend any money by reason of any unlawful act done or advised by these respondents; they deny that any act of theirs or of either of them was committed wilfully with the knowledge that it was in violation of any order of this court.

They admit their residence as in said petition alleged.

They deny that they have at any time interfered with any of the property of the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railroad Company, or with the possession or management of any part thereof, or interfered in any manner to prevent the discharge of their duties by said receivers or the operation of said property, or with the full and free exercise of any of the powers conferred upon them by this court.

They deny that they have at any time in manner interfered with the trains, cars, switches or other property

of said railroad or interfered by intimidation, threats, violence or in any other manner with any of the employes in the performance of their duties.

They deny all other allegations of the petition, and say they are not guilty of any act of contempt or of any intention to violate the order of court.

They further allege that after service upon them of said injunction at the suit of the United States, they forthwith consulted competent counsel learned in the law, and duly licensed, and fully stated to him all the facts in the premises, and exhibited to him said injunction, and were advised by him as to what they might rightfully and lawfully do in the premises without violation of the order of the court, and that they have since in all things proceeded in their acts and conduct in regard to said strike, the persons engaged therein in strict accordance with the advice of said attorney.

Subscribed and sworn to by the respondents July 23, 1894.

Filed July 23, 1894.

ADDENDA.

Page of
Record. Insert p 60 *supra*

604 JAMES CLARK testified;

I reside in Chicago. Know Debs, Howard, Keliher,
605 Rogers and the directors of the American Railway Union.
I was at headquarters of A. R. U. and at Uhlich's Hall
during a good deal of the time from June 26th to July
16th. Myself and other parties acted as door-keepers
606 during that time. I saw the directors of the A. R. U.,
including Debs, Howard, Keliher and Rogers, there
from time to time, principally in the public hall.
607 While there I receipted for several telegrams in the name
of Mr. Debs. I laid these telegrams on a table in the
ante-room. There was no directors' room there. Ante-
room was between the office and outside door. Any one
claiming to have business around there had access to the
ante-room. More or less business with and for the A. R. U.
608 transacted in the office during the strike. Telegrams were
written there and handed out to the messenger boys.
They were written mostly by whoever was acting as
typewriter at the time. Mr. Benedict was the typewriter
part of the time and some lady. Don't know who
609 dictated the telegrams, not being inside at the time.
Never saw Debs, Howard, Keliher or Rogers dictate
telegrams. Saw Debs write telegrams of a personal na-
ture three or four times. Don't know whether
or not Hogan wrote any telegrams there. Tele-
grams were sent out to the boys from the rooms

at Uhlich's Hall. There were three rooms outside of
610 the public hall which were occupied by different ones,
the officers of the A. R. U. and others. Mr. Hogan oc-
cupied rooms there probably as much as anybody.
611 Mr. Debs did not occupy any room outside the pub-
lic hall, but he was in the other rooms occasion-
ally. No room used especially by the directors or a com-
612 mittee of directors. Mr. Rogers was more or less in one
room, a small room off, doing his private newspaper
work. He was doing the work on his regular paper,
THE RAILWAY TIMES. It was the official organ of the
A. R. U. in Chicago. I attended a meeting of the board
613 of directors on the 23d or 24th of June. Convention was
held from the 12th of June to the 23d. New board of
directors elected the latter part of June. Saw messenger
boys deliver telegrams to and take messages from
Uhlich's Hall from time to time to be forwarded. Most
of them sent from the Revere House office. Was at
Revere House some of the time from June 25th to July
15th. While there I saw a number of messages ad-
614 dressed to E. V. Debs or the American Railway Union.
Don't know who wrote telegrams off on the type-
writer, or who dictated them. Never saw Mr. Hogan
dictate any of them. I was in and out of Uhlich's Hall
more or less from June 25th to July 15th, and did other
615 work around there, such as addressing envelopes,
616 etc. I had access to all the rooms and offices. Door-
keeper at times objected to my going into the rooms.
Some doorkeeper at the outside door all the time. Mr.
Benedict was in the inside room a good part of the time.
The outside room was the ante-room, and the door-
617 keeper was outside of that. Table I spoke of, was in the
ante-room, which was the room between the outside door

and the office. May have handed some of the telegrams I received for, to somebody going in at the time. I
618 remember putting some on the table. I would see them addressed E. V. Debs, and the messenger boy would hand them to me, and I would sign for them. Was at door when I received for telegrams. Signed E. V. Debs, generally; possibly my own initials or name. Was not authorized to do so by anybody. Was there off and on several times a day for about three weeks during the strike.

Insert on p 17 *supra*

The "DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES," preceding the Constitution of the American Railway Union of June 5, 1893, on page 8 of the printed pamphlet, contains the following:

"*Tenth.* The extraordinary fact cannot be overlooked, that while present organizations are provided with expensive striking and boycotting machinery, and while millions of dollars, wrung from their members, have been expended in support of strikes, they have with scarcely an exception been overwhelmed with defeat. *The history of railroad strikes, as conducted by railroad organizations, is a recital of brave but hopeless struggle, of strikers defeated, impoverished, black-listed, pursued and driven to the extremity of scabbing or starvation. Under present conditions this result is inevitable, and a century of organization on present lines will not change it. Railway employes have contributed from their earnings untold millions in support of organizations, and are, therefore, entitled to protection instead of promises that can never be fulfilled.*

It cannot be denied that the policy of present organizations has filled the land with scabs who swarm in the highways and byways awaiting anxiously, eagerly, the opportunity to gratify their revenge by taking positions vacated by strikers. Thoughtful men have no difficulty in accounting for the failure of railroad strikes. Neither are they at a loss to suggest a remedy. Organized upon correct principles, governed by just laws and animated by unselfish purposes, the necessity for strikes and boycotts among railway employes will disappear."

ADDITIONAL TELEGRAMS.

Page of
Record.

- Insert p 84 *supra* CHICAGO, July 2.
89 *Lee Wetz, Mattoon, Ill.*
Tie up Big Four. Tied up at Cairo and Cincinnati.
We are gaining ground and success certain.
E. V. DEBS.
- Insert p 95 CLEVELAND, Ohio, July 5th, 1894.
92 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*
Call all at Cleveland to-night before ten o'clock.
TOM HIGGINS.
- Insert p 92 CHICAGO, July 4, 1894.
72 *Miles De Vinney, Peoria, Ill.*
Scheiner, Decatur.
Wetz, Mattoon.
Driscumb, Evansville, Ind.
This is authority to call out P. D. & E. Put committees in charge each road; wire name of chairman, stating road each represents.
E. V. DEBS.

Insert p 97 CHICAGO, June 28, 1894. 5:30 P. M.

110 *E. A. Dwyer, Cairo, Ill.*

Have all men stand firm. Utterly impossible to get our men to handle places now vacated. The blockade becomes more complete every minute. Just stand together and victory is certain. E. V. DEBS.

Insert p 93 CHICAGO, July 5th. 8:40 P. M.

127 *C. H. Richards, St. Paul, Minnesota.*

Of course companies will endeavor to divide the men. That has always been the scheme. We are gaining ground. Wabash offered \$1,000 for an engineer to take a train out of St. Louis yesterday. E. V. DEBS.

ST. PAUL, Minnesota, July 5th. 10:30 A. M.

127 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Send situation constantly to me. This is important. C. H. RICHARDS.

CHICAGO, July 5. 12:15 P. M.

128 *C. H. Richards. St. Paul, Minnesota, 110 Wabasha Street.*

West is solid regardless of troops and all interference. South and east growing stronger. Strike spreading. Expect all trades in Chicago will go out by to-morrow if settlement is not reached sooner. Do not be dismayed at appearance of troops and injunctions. Stand firm no matter what happens. E. V. DEBS.

Insert, p. 93. ST. PAUL, Minnesota, July 5, 6:46 P. M.

128 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Absolutely necessary for more reports from you. Will circulate each to every union. Burlington weak. Com-

panies doing utmost to break up men. Notify local points also.

C. H. RICHARDS.

ST. PAUL, Minnesota, July 5.

Received 8:25 A. M., July 6.

128 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

Send all good news possible. Smooth here except Burlington. Strengthen northwest. Managers doing utmost to disrupt men. Look after locals on all roads and play the strongest card left.

C. H. RICHARDS.

Insert, p. 97. CHICAGO, June 28, 1894, 1:08 P. M.

135 *E. A. Dwyer, Cairo, Ill.*

All Pacific trans-continental lines are tied up solidly. Chicago lines are dropping out one after another. Take full charge of the situation. Tie up every line possible in order to enforce boycott. Do not cut any cars from mail trains, but no loyal man will move a train of any kind under existing conditions. E. V. DEBS.

Insert p. 83. CHICAGO, July 2nd, 1894, 9:07 P. M.

189 *W. C. Corcoran, Kansas City.*

No. Strike is on full force everywhere. Spreading and carrying everything like an avalanche. Members old organizations supporting us. E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 2nd, 1894, 8:40 P. M.

191 *O. R. Murtle, Trinidad, Col.*

Press dispatches say you are overwhelmed with troops. Strike spreading outward. Gaining ground rapidly. Everything around here paralyzed. Will surely win.

E. V. DEBS.

Insert p. 85. CHICAGO, July 3d, 1894.

192 *E. E. Rue, Hutchinson, Kansas.*

Get your men out immediately. Guarantee protection to all who assist. Wire name of chairman in charge.

E. V. DEBS.

Insert p. 87. CHICAGO, July 4th, 1894, 9:55 P. M.

192 *J. Moran, Trinidad, Colorado.*

Have your men stand pat. They will have to make many arrests before this strike is over. We all stand firm. Arresting men will not operate the road. No road will return to work until you do.

E. V. DEBS.

Insert p. 87. CHICAGO, July 4, 1894.

193 *To 24 points on Santa Fe system as well as to others.*

The situation is extremely encouraging. Each hour adds new strength to our position. Do not be dismayed by reports of soldiers or deputies, and above all do not be misled by false and malicious reports put in circulation by subsidized tools of corporations. Let there be no violence. Orderly conduct will win. We are certain to win in this righteous contest. Let there be no wavering in your ranks. All true soldiers will stand by the cause until its triumph is proclaimed.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 5, 1894.

196 *J. Begann, Joliet, Ill.*

Put things in good shape as possible tonight. Then come here. Send new man to morrow if necessary.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 5, 1894.

196 *Ralph Phillips, Kansas City, Mo., c/o J. E. Young.*

Have every man who is true to labor withdraw from the service in a body. The lines are now sharply drawn. Capital has declared war. Any man who works is assisting capital to defeat labor. We are gaining ground rapidly.

E. V. DEBS.

Insert p. 101. JULY 10th, 1894, 4:03 P. M.

198 *C. R. Eldredge, Leadville, Colorado.*

Do not be frightened by injunctions, arrests or troops. I have got a house full of them. This is common all over. This fight is now the money power and combined monopoly to annihilate labor and enslave those dependent upon labor, backed by injunctions, arrests and troops. Children and childish men have no part in it. Only strong men and broad minds can emancipate labor. You in Colorado ought to understand what the gold money power means, and be willing to resist it even to starvation. Injunctions and troops cannot operate the road. There are not scabs enough to fill tenth of the vacancies. There are fifty men quitting to every one returning. General situation never better than to-day. One hundred trade unions will strike for railroad men to-morrow. Will they not help themselves? Newsboys have struck and boycotted subsidized press. Let none return to work unless General Manager's Association agrees to reinstate every man without prejudice the country over. Good men will win this fight.

E. V. DEBS.

Insert p. 96. CHICAGO, July 8th, 1894, 1 P. M.

200 *John A. Martin, La Junta, Colorado.*

You cannot paralyze the world in a minute. Do not let strong men become childish. I realize it is trying to all, and am making best possible progress under circumstances. You appear to be paying more attention to newspapers than to messages. Situation splendid this morning. Mammoth meeting this evening will likely decide the calling out of other organizations.

E. V. DEBS.

JULY 9th, 1894, 12:30 P. M.

201 *H. W. Harper, Streator, Ill.*

Order them out at once.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 10th, 1894, 7:10 P. M.

201 (Sent to a number of points.)

Debs, Howard, Keliher, Rogers in jail. Rest expect to go. This is the last act of the corporations. Our cause is just. Victory certain. Stand pat.

JAMES HOGAN.

Insert p. 101.

CHICAGO, July 13th, 1894.

203 *Thomas Van Dyke, El Paso, Texas.*

There is nothing do but stand firm to-day. Our general situation the country over is stronger in consequence of arrest of our officers. Reports splendid. Pposition looking to settlement on foot.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 4th, 1894.

203-4 *C. H. Thompson, West Kansas City, Mo.*

Refusal of general managers to accept our proposition

has strengthened our cause. It is fight to finish now. Situation locally and elsewhere encouraging.

E. V. DEBS.

CHICAGO, July 14th, 1894, 3:00 P. M.

204 *J. A. McMillen, San Bernardino, Cal.*

All negotiations off. Stand to finish now. We are stronger account rejection proposition.

E. V. DEBS.

Insert p. 95.

TRINIDAD, Col., July 7th, 1894.

204 *E. V. Debs, Chicago.*

All solid here. Few passengers running, but others standing firm. Arrested have not discouraged us.

O. R. MURTLÉ.

CHICAGO, July 8th, 1894.

205 *O. R. Murtle, Trinidad, Colorado.*

Stand firm. Prospects are growing brighter hourly. No loyal men will weaken at this stage.

E. V. DEBS.