

Who Are the Wolves? (May 11, 1907)

But few people are so blind or indifferent as to be oblivious of the mighty struggle now in progress in the existing social and economic order. It is true that only the few who have studied historic and social evolution have any proper understanding of the forces underlying society, or any clear perception of the trend of its development, but the fact that we are living in an era of industrial transformation and that conditions are rapidly changing is pretty generally understood by the whole people.

Now the system under which we live, like the one preceding it, and from which it sprang, has its historic limitations and when its mission is accomplished it will be relegated to the past, but this will happen only after the system that is to succeed it has evolved and taken its place in the orderly march of events and the unceasing progress of civilization.

Capitalist society, cornerstoned in wage slavery, will no more last forever than did the feudal system based upon serf labor. It will serve its historic time and purpose and that will be the end of it. Another and better system will take its place, out of which will rise a higher civilization.

But the dominant class in every system want that system to last forever. They are on top and want to remain there. That is natural enough.

The Tories who owned the colonies under British rule wanted no change. They were satisfied. Living on the fat of the land by absorbing in arrogant idleness what others produced in toil and self-denial, the Tory element was in clover and of course wanted to remain there. Its organs violently denounced as traitors those who ventured to suggest a change of program. These miscreants included Paine, Franklin, Adams, Hancock, Washington, Jefferson, and a number of other "undesirable citizens," who have since become quite respectable. The Tory has gone the way of flesh and is remembered only as an abomination.

Later on the Southern plantation owners developed a powerful aristocracy on a foundation of chattel slavery. They wanted no change and scouted the idea that there would ever be any. They were satisfied. Why shouldn't they be? The exploiting element at the top of the social fabric, drawing its substance from the lower strata, has always wanted to be let alone, and that is as true today as ever before.

So the cotton kings grew very angry when anyone even hinted at a change. But the great forces beneath them were at work, as they are today. Again the agitation, inseparable from social development, asserted itself, and again the organs of the slave power thundered their anathema. A new crop of traitors had come to the front, as is always the case when they are needed. This time the list of “undesirables” included William Lloyd Garrison, Elijah Lovejoy, Gerrit Smith, Wendell Phillips, John Brown, Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, Abraham Lincoln, and a host of others, who, in the eyes of the ruling dynasty, were as tough a lot of anarchists and terrorists as ever cut a throat or scuttled a ship.

The plantation aristocracy is gone and forgotten and the traitors and anarchists have taken their places in history. So it has been in the past, and so it will be in the future. The exploiting element of a decaying society sees only traitors and degenerates in the pioneers of the advancing order that is to supplant it. All its organs and functionaries are on the alert for signs of the dread intruder.

A vast brood of hirelings and mercenaries are its watchdogs. Their business is to sniff the air for “traitors” and “anarchists” and set up a furious barking when they scent such mortal enemies of the ruling class. Even the fleas on the dogs cry out “anarchy.” They want no change.

The word anarchy, so glibly used by petty hirelings of capitalism who have no more conception of its meaning than gophers, has been so sadly overworked that it is limp from exhaustion and on the verge of collapse. Anarchy has been regarded as a species of mental smallpox, infectious and fatal in every case.

Every man the trusts cannot corrupt or browbeat, or otherwise control, is an “anarchist.” It is the old, old cry in a different form. The cry of “anarchy” and “mad dog” have much the same effect, especially in an ignorant community. Brand a man, or set of men, with “anarchy” and they are at your mercy. You have but to say the word and the mob is ready to hang or burn them.

It is in that cunning way the ruling element contrives to poison the minds of the people against those who seek the people’s good. The word “anarchy” is the red flag they use to infuriate the mob for its fiendish work when they want the pioneers of the advancing order put to the stake.

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This brief summary of history will account for an editorial in the *Idaho Statesman* of April 20 [1907], in which the *Appeal to Reason* is called the “Appeal to Treason,” and those it represents are denounced as “traitors” and “anarchists.” It is the same cry that has been heard along the track of all the centuries. We understand it perfectly, for we have studied history and know the habits of the ruling element with reference to the “lower classes” in ancient and medieval as well as modern times. The same spirit and purpose run through all history. The *Idaho Statesman*, as one of the organs of the present ruling class and of the prevailing capitalist system, true to its nature and obedient to its function, barks furiously when the exploiting interests of its masters are menaced. The “anarchists” and “traitors” are hovering near. They are the “wolves of society,” a broad hint that they ought to be exterminated.

Now the *Appeal to Reason* wants the people of Idaho to give it a fair hearing in what it has to say in answer to the *Idaho Statesman*'s false and malicious charges. It asks no favors; all it wants is decent treatment. The *Appeal* is certain it will get this, sooner or later, for it knows the people and knows that while they may be deceived long and grievously, the scales will finally fall from their eyes and when duplicity is revealed to them they will make short work of the enemy.

To the *Statesman*'s charge of “treason,” the *Appeal* answers by asking: “Treason to whom?” To the Standard Oil Company, the Mine and Smelter trust, the Lumber trust, and other corrupt combines that have debauched Idaho, Colorado, and Montana and are throttling the republic?

Gladly does the *Appeal* plead guilty to that charge. If uncompromising hostility to these brigands in the interest of their victims is treason the *Appeal* has no apology to offer, and no defense to make.

It is sufficient to say that treason to trusts is loyalty to the people.

The *Statesman* is not guilty of treason to the land, lumber, and mining conspiracies that have held up the state, a few of which are now under grand jury investigation; nor to the Standard Oil trust, nor the Railroad trust, nor any of the other predatory aggregations that rob the people day and night, legally and otherwise, debauch their politics, buy their legislatures, corrupt their courts, hire swarms of disreputable mercenaries to serve as their pickets, lookouts, and sandbaggers, and brand with “anarchy” and kidnap and hang men who are too decent to accept their soul-polluting and body-destroying bribes.

The difference between the *Appeal to Reason* and the *Idaho Statesman* is that the *Appeal* is loyal to the people and traitorous to the trusts, while the *Statesman* is loyal to the trusts and traitor to the people.

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Let us now put the good people of Idaho wise in reference to the *Statesman's* furious denunciation of the *Appeal* and the people it speaks for. The *Statesman* has had to shift its ground a trifle. Until the grand jury got on its trail it was hot after Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, fairly thirsting for their blood, like a bloodhound in pursuit of the fugitive slaves of his master.

There was a sudden halt. Something happened. The grand jury had made a strange mistake. The *Statesman's* friends were indicted. Grand juries are supposed to indict only poor and small offenders. The publisher of the *Statesman* suddenly left town. Late he was reported in Washington. So busy was the *Statesman* with the indictments returned and threatened that Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone were overlooked for several whole days. From hanging these workingmen, the *Statesman* had to turn its attention to keeping itself out of the penitentiary. Some prompt and extraordinary wire-pulling had to be done. The big interests the *Statesman* serves were all invoked. The "representative" men had to come to the front. Senator Borah, the "honored man," as the *Statesman* calls him, hastened to Washington. The "big stick" must head off the grand jury. These were honorable men, "all honorable men," not an "undesirable citizen" in the list.

Since the earth belongs to the capitalist class, why should a grand jury concern itself in such a small matter as helping itself to the state of Idaho? It is an outrage. No wonder the *Statesman* is in a spasm about it. Never before was it questioned that Idaho was the private preserve of these "honorable gentlemen."

And yet, strange perversity of this grand jury, it found that the "law and order" platform upon which these "honorable men" made their appeal to the people, the platform from which Taft and Gooding and the *Statesman* denounced "anarchists" and "traitors," was made out of timber stolen from the people of Idaho.

This is an awful joke on the people of Idaho, though it is not at all probable that they will regard it in that light — when the light dawns on them.

In the meantime the “law and order” they voted for will be delivered in regular installments, according to contract, and the legislature will see that the bills, its own included, are all paid — by the people.

The grand jury phase of the case, for obvious reasons, will be but scantily treated at this time. These reasons relate wholly to the grand jury and its unfinished work and are not due to lack of material. The subject will be fully treated in its regular order. For the present it is sufficient to say that the *Appeal* has for some months been making an investigation of its own in Idaho and it has been very thorough with reference to certain “honorable men,” including the *Statesman*, their doings and their interests; their pursuits and their methods, and before this contest is concluded these “honorable men” will realize that it will take something more than the “stop thief” cry of “anarchy” and “treason” to turn the *Appeal* from its course.

The *Appeal* is in this fight to a finish and the *Statesman* can have it along any lines and just as hot as it may choose.

The *Statesman* is the organ of the “system” that corrupts everything it touches and crushes what it cannot corrupt; it is the mouthpiece of the “interests” that are behind the land frauds and timber thefts; behind the corruption of courts, the buying of legislatures and United States senatorships, and the wholesale use of slush funds at every election from a ward primary to the presidency of the nation.

Against this whole array, from Rockefeller, the plutocrat, to Jim Red,¹ the Republican heeler, the *Appeal to Reason* has declared war, eternal and uncompromising. It asks no favors and grants none. It is not a war against these enemies of free institutions merely, but against the system which produces conditions in which a relative few come in possession of the earth and fatten in the ignorance and misery of the people.

The *Statesman* represents the exploiting interests of the trusts and corporations; the *Appeal* represents the exploited people. Between these there will be relentless war until the parasites upon the nation’s industry, the corruptors of its political institutions, and the debauchers of its social life have been forever driven from power.

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Now to return to the question, why does the *Statesman* so violently denounce the *Appeal* all at once, and quote a column and a half from its

pages, a thing it has never done before? The answer is very easy: It wants to use the Appeal as a bogey man with which to scare the grand jury from its tail.

Do you people of Idaho catch on?

One of the trails the grand jury is on is said to lead straight to the *Idaho Statesman*, and another one may lead from the *Statesman* to the penitentiary.

Only in a desperate situation would the *Statesman* reproduce the *Appeal's* damaging report, based upon its own special correspondent's investigation.

The *Statesman* wants the grand jury to let go; in fact, pleads with it to relax its grasp. It shouts frantically: "The wolves are coming, and if you don't let go they'll get us all!"

Several thousand of the "wolves," "anarchists," and "traitors," as the *Statesmen* calls them, supporting the *Appeal* in this fight, live at useful work in and about Idaho. Does the *Statesman* know of a single one of them who is seeking to stop the grand jury investigation? Or is in the least disturbed on account of it?

If the *Statesman* and its crowd were absolutely innocent; if they were honest men and upright citizens instead of "law and order" masqueraders, would they be in such a panic about the grand jury?

Are grand juries in the habit of indicting innocent rich men?

Is it not a fact that they are far more apt not to indict guilty ones?

As between the *Statesman's* crowd and the *Appeal's* supporters, who are the "wolves?" The "traitors?"

Never, so far as we know, has there been such an astounding revelation in the political affairs of a state. It is circumstantially sufficient to convict the *Statesman* and the whole Gooding administration, both of which simply express the predatory "interests" that are gnawing at the vitals of the state and corrupting all the springs and streams of its political and social life.

Think of it, you people of Idaho! Here you see your leading paper, the chief exponent of the "interests" that have throttled your state, pleading that a grand jury cease its investigation for fear that certain persons it is not investigating may be punished.

It is not Borah and Cobb² and Chapman³ and other "honorable men" the *Statesman* has any fear about. Oh, no! It is not afraid that these "desirable citizens" will be indicted and sent to the penitentiary, but its concern

is wholly about the “wolves” and “traitors” that may sweep down on the state and prevent Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone from being hanged.

Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone are dangerous to the “interests” that steal the nation’s public lands and timber reserves, buy up its legislatures, bid in its United States senatorships, and corrupt the voters on election day.

Such men must be kidnapped and hanged and the organs of the “interests,” such as the *Statesman*, must make the people believe they are “anarchists” and “murderers.” That is the way it has been done in the past, and years later the people found out that they hanged the wrong men. Long after it was too late they realized that they were deceived and that the men they should have hanged were the “honorable men” and that those they should have honored and loved were the ones denounced as “anarchists” and “traitors.”

That is what the *Statesman* is trying its best to have you people of Idaho do in the case of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone. It wants them hanged because they could not be bought. If they were corruptible they could all have their “pile” and be “respectable” in the eyes of capitalist society.

The *Statesman* will not succeed, but if it did your sons and daughters and grandsons and granddaughters would blush for the crime you committed for a thousand years to come.

Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone are as much heroes as any who have ever stood in the past against the enemies of mankind and for the freedom and happiness of the fellow man.

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Mysteriously, but inexorably, operates the law of retributive justice. The *Statesman* is no longer the bloodhound. The *Statesman* itself is now being tracked, and to throw off its pursuers it yells “anarchy” and “the wolf is coming.”

Listen to the wail of the *Statesman*, the lament that, succeeding its ferocity, exposes its cowardice and makes it contemptible:

Elsewhere in this issue the *Statesman* republishes a story from the *Appeal to Treason* relative to the work of the United States grand jury here. It is republished for the purpose of advising the public how nicely the

activities of certain federal officials are serving the purposes of the defense in the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone cases.

It is a deplorable condition. Since the arrest of these men, charged with the awful murder of our former governor, the anarchist press in all parts of the country has been diligent in attacking those connected with the proceeding.... Now everything connected with the timber cases is to be magnified and falsified for the purpose of the anarchists, being used to blacken the names of men connected with the prosecution and such others as may be objectionable to these wolves of society... every effort will be made to prejudice the minds of the people in the county in the hope that a fair-minded jury cannot be secured....

The indictment of an honored man connected with the prosecution in the capacity of attorney was a great morsel for these people, and they propose to play upon it until the case is closed.

In view of the character of the people who are leading the countrywide agitation that has for its object the prejudicing of the prosecution in this case, nothing could have been done that would have been more satisfactory to them. Had they been in control of the machinery of justice and used it for their purposes they could not have bought forth a result that would have been more pleasing to them.

What do you people of Idaho think of that?

Let them read it over and grasp its true meaning, its full import.

The *Statesman* charges first that the *Appeal to Reason* and its supporters are “wolves,” anarchists,” and “traitors,” and in the next breath it charges that the “machinery of justice” is being operated in the interest of these same “wolves,” anarchists,” and “traitors.” Therefore the federal grand jury that indicted Borah and others in Idaho also consists of “wolves,” anarchists,” and “traitors,” and the “machinery of justice” is in control of the same degenerate tribe. This, according to the *Idaho Statesman*. Ye gods!

Now comes the biggest joke of all. The stupidity of it is only equaled by the desperation that inspired it. The miners, the *Statesman* solemnly tells us, are behind the Borah prosecution, have obtained control of the federal court, and have instigated this awful persecution of an honored man. Borah is as white as lamb’s wool, but the wicked miners have seized the federal government and are using its grand jury as a tar mop to blacken the prosecutor’s immaculate whiteness, so that he cannot hang Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone.

But why, if the miners have control of the “machinery of justice” in Idaho, they don’t release Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone and send them

home to their wives, as they would surely do the very first thing, the sapient Statesman entirely overlooks, and we are left to wonder at the stupidity of the miners, who, having “control of the machinery” that opens jail doors, know nothing about it and are chasing all over the country looking for that very machinery.

Did asininity ever exhibit such ears?

What an opinion the *Statesman* must have of the people of Idaho to seek to palm off such insufferable rot on them! It would be an insult to a feeble-minded asylum.

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Kidnappers of human beings are capable of any crime and when they find themselves trapped and about to be exposed, their innate cowardice is revealed and they lie, sometimes, as in this case, so stupidly as to lay themselves wide open, and this is one of the mysterious processes of retributive justice in exposing malefactors.

The *Statesman* is the organ of the kidnappers and the “interests” behind them, and the very fact that they had to commit the crime of kidnapping to get the victims in their clutches is in itself sufficient proof of their innocence and of their own overwhelming guilt.

To be denounced as “traitors” and “anarchists” by such malign conspirators is the only possible compliment they could pay an honest man. The very breath of their nostrils is contagion and their smile of approval moral death.

These are the “wolves of society” and the miscalled *Statesman* is but one of the fangs of the pack.

They made a political charnel house of Colorado; bought up a legislature commanded by a popular majority of 46,000 votes to enact an eight-hour law and sent forth its members with the prices of their treason in their pockets and the mark of Judas in their wretched faces; financed another legislature and seated one of their own pack in the United States senate.

Can the *Statesman* name a single “wolf,” “anarchist,” or “traitor” fighting beneath the *Appeal*'s flag that had anything to do with these monstrous crimes? Can the *Statesman* say as much for itself?

We challenge the *Statesman* to put its finger on a single “Appeal to Treason” “anarchist” who had any part in the political crimes that have

disgraced Montana, Colorado, and Idaho, crimes which seem unbelievable and in the presence of which honest men stand aghast.

These crimes were committed, all of them, without exception, by the crowd with which the *Statesman* trains, backed by the “interests” from which it receives its substance.

Who are the wolves?

We have another proposition: No “Appeal to Treason” supporter, not one of the *Statesman*’s “anarchists,” eve bought a vote or bribed a public official. Can the *Statesman* and its pack truthfully say the same?

Not one ever kidnapped a human being, or was ever charged with stealing public lands or timber thefts.

Not one ever made a false affidavit charging certain men with being in one state when they knew they were in another.

Not one ever said “To hell with the constitution.”

Not one ever shrieked “To hell with habeas corpus, we’ll give ’em post mortems.”

Not one has ever been convicted of crime and not one has ever trembled because a grand jury was in session.

Not one ever committed deliberate perjury to send a fellow man to the gallows.

The *Statesman* and those for whom it shouts “anarchy” are guilty of each and every one of these indictments, and in its heart, if it has one, it knows they are guilty.

The *Statesman* has flung down the gauntlet in the name of the trusts and the *Appeal* has picked it up in the name of the people.

The fight is on and there will be no compromise. Not until the vicious system of which these crimes are but the excrescences is wiped out, root and branch, and the people come to their own, will there be peace.

The powers of the plutocracy are all behind the *Statesman*, but the powers of righteousness are all behind the *Appeal*, and however the fortunes of battle may waver, the final outcome is as certain as the sunrise.

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In closing, the writer of these lines challenges the publisher of the *Statesman*, or Senator Borah, as he or they may prefer, to meet him in discussion of this question. He will be in Boise soon and will meet either

of the gentlemen named in discussion of the question “Who Are the Wolves?” before the people of Idaho.

The *Statesman* has raised the cry of “wolves” to divert attention from the raids of its own pack. We charge that they are the wolves and are willing to submit to the judgment of their own people.

Published as “Who Are the Wolves? An Inquiry Made into Some of the Charges Made Against the *Appeal to Reason* by the Criminal *Idaho Statesman*” in *Appeal to Reason*, whole no. 597 (May 11, 1907), p. 1.

¹ Jim Red (XXXX-XXXX) INSERT FOOTNOTE HERE

² Cobb (XXXX-XXXX) INSERT FOOTNOTE HERE

³ Chapman (XXXX-XXXX) INSERT FOOTNOTE HERE