

DEBS IN DURANCE.

Judge Grosscup's Instructions to the Special Grand Jury.

Charges of Conspiracy and Inciting to Insurrection Preferred Against American Railway Union Leaders.

A special federal grand jury was sworn in at Chicago on Tuesday, the 10th, for the purpose of investigating the charges of inciting to insurrection and of conspiracy that have been brought against President Debs, of the American Railway union, and the officers, directors, organizers and all who have, by word or action, interfered with the transportation of the government mail and interstate commerce law. In his instructions to the jury Judge Grosscup said:

"In your deliberations, gentlemen of the jury, sixteen of your number will constitute a quorum. A grand jury can consist of any number from sixteen to twenty-three, not less than sixteen. You will elect, after you retire, somebody to act as your clerk. You will have the attendance of the district attorney and such other officers of the government as may have been designated for that purpose. You will have the right to send for witnesses and for papers and for books. You will have the right to inquire of the government and of counsel what their conception of the law of this great state is, and if you are not satisfied with that you will have the right to present such questions directly to the court. Your deliberations should be conducted in secret. No grand juror should allow the secrets of the jury room to escape either from the jury room or from his breast. The newspaper fraternity is very enterprising and is a force in modern life that is great usefulness, amusement and pleasure to the citizens, but you should not allow the newspapers nor anybody else to obtain information of what is going on in your room until the work is completed and you have made a formal report to the court. Any violation of this duty will be a violation of the obligation which you have taken.

"I have regarded the occasion that has summoned you here as of sufficient consequence for me to incorporate what I have said in my writing. I may add, what you probably know, that it will require the affirmative vote of twelve of your number before you can find an indictment.

The Purpose of the Inquisition.

"You have been summoned here to inquire whether any of the laws of the United States within this judicial district have been violated. You have come in an atmosphere and amid occurrences that may well cause reasonable men to question whether the government of the United States are yet supreme. Thanks to resolute manhood and to that enlightened intelligence which perceives the necessity of vindication of law and order, the laws of the United States are possible, the government of the United States is supreme.

"You doubtless feel, as I do, that the opportunities of life, in the present conditions, are not perhaps enough to sustain the industry and energy needed to forestall some of the tendencies of current industrial life; but neither the torch of the incendiary, nor the weapon of the insurrectionist, nor the inflamed tongue of the agitator, who incites to the violation of the law or practice as it ought to be, can be effectively brought about. Government of law is in peril, and that issue is paramount.

What the Law Terms Insurrection.

"The government of the United States has enacted laws designed, first, to protect itself and its authority as a government; and second, to protect its authority over those agencies to which under the constitution and laws, it extends government, and to regulate the same for former purpose, namely, to protect itself and its authority as a government. It has enacted that every person who enters, sets on foot, assists or engages in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States or the laws thereof, or who gives aid or comfort thereto, and any two or more persons in any state or territory who conspire to overthrow, put down, or to destroy the government of the United States, or to levy war against it or to oppose by force the authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to take possession of any property of the United States, contrary to the authority thereof, shall be visited with certain severe penalties named therein.

"Insurrection is a rising against civil or political authority, the open and active opposition of a number of persons to the execution of law in a city or state. The laws of the United States forbid, under penalty, any person from obstructing or retarding the passage of the mail, and making any disturbance which tends to resist such officers and bring them before the court. If, therefore, it shall appear to you that any person or persons have willfully obstructed or retarded the mails, and that their attempted arrest or detention has been opposed by such a number of persons as would constitute a general uprising in that particular locality, and as threatens for the time being the civil and political authority, then the fact of an insurrection within the meaning of the law has been established; and he who by speech, writing, promise, or other inducement, assists in setting it on foot, or carrying it along, or gives it aid or comfort, is guilty also of a violation of the law.

When Men Become Insurgents.

"It is not necessary that there should be blood shed. It is not necessary that its dimensions should be so portentous as to insure probable success to constitute an insurrection. It is necessary that the resistance be in opposition to the execution of the laws of the United States, and should be so formidable as for the time being to deny the authority of the United States. When men gather to resist the civil or political power of the United States, or to oppose the execution of its laws, and such force that the civil authorities are inadequate to put them down, and a considerable military force is needed to accomplish the result, they become insurgents, and every person who knowingly incites, aids or abets them, no matter what his motive may be, is likewise an insurgent. This penalty is severe, and as I have said, is designed to protect the government and its authority against direct attack.

Laws to Protect the Mails.

"There are other provisions of the law designed to protect those particular agencies which come within the control. To those I will now call your attention.

"The mails are in the special keeping of the government and the transmission of them by the insured their unhindered transmission is made an offense to knowingly and willfully obstruct or retard the passage of the mails, or any carriage, horse, driver or carrier carrying the same. It is also provided that if any two or more persons conspire together to commit any offense against the United States, and one or more of such persons do any act to effect the object of the conspiracy, all the persons thereto shall be subject to the same penalty.

"Any person knowingly and willfully doing any act which contributes or is calculated to contribute to obstruct or hinder the mails, or who knowingly and willfully takes a part in such acts, no matter how trivial, is criminal, is guilty of violation of the laws of the United States, and any such person who conspires with one or more other persons, one of whom subsequently commits the offense, is likewise guilty of an offense against the United States.

PROTECTION BLACKMAIL.

How the McKinley Doctrine Is Preached by Pampered Panders.

No rogue ever felt the halter draw with good opinion of the law or the district attorney, and the Manchester Mirror and Farmer, chief protection bunco steerer for the state of New Hampshire, protests most earnestly against my kicking its large protection paunch. In reply to my indictment, it assures the republican voters whom it is misleading and befogging on this question:

1. That I am a hired writer for the sugar trust, paid by it to defend its thefts.

2. That there is now no tax on sugar; that the McKinley bill put sugar on the free list, and that the wicked democrats are now trying to put a tax on sugar that will benefit the trust by \$2.80 per ton.

3. That there never was a sugar trust under republican legislation, or while the republicans taxed sugar, and that it is under the law putting sugar on the free list, under the abominable "free trade" in sugar of the McKinley bill, that the sugar trust has grown rich and insolent.

4. That every man (except one) in the sugar trust is a democrat, and that all the contributions of the sugar trust have been made to the democratic party.

There are many more statements of this kind with which it proposes to hoodwink the ignorant and vicious republican voters of New Hampshire—too ignorant to refer to the law and see for themselves what the facts are; too vicious to even care what the facts are when the truth has been shown them. Each republican vote which this protection bunco-steerer can retain for the republican party next November is worth \$110 in crisp greenbacks to the league of four hundred and fifty American protected trusts, and if bluffing will keep even one vote from straying, it does not propose to lose that one, or its percentage on anyone it can steer into the game for its employers to swindle. That it is criminally dishonest, that it is a partner of the protection thieves, sharing their plunder, must be the unbiased opinion of any honest man who reads its answer to my straightforward statement of facts and figures, not one of which it attempts to impeach.

"This World's Opinion of the gear that has been planned and is about to execute this stupendous robbery calls the pending bill one to reduce the profits of the trust three-fourths, and says he proposes to plant his well-shod heels square in the stomach of all who oppose it. The well-shod heels of that animal are the heels of an ass that is staggering under the load his brutal owners have piled upon him, and whose voice is badly broken by the braying which a cruel keeper extracts from him with the goad. But listen farther to the noise that comes echoing from among the bats that nest in his stomach up through the vacuum in his skull and out through the orifices of his vision.

Rights of Labor Defined.

I recognize, however, the right of labor to organize in America is a freeman, and so long as he does not interfere with the rights of others has the right to do with that which he pleases. In the highest sense a man's arm is his own, and aside from contract relations no one but himself can direct it. He shall be free to work or to be dropped to rest. The individual option to work or to quit is the imperishable right of a freeman, and no employer or drover of an arm is the result of a will that resides in the brain, and such as we may desire that such will be respected as long as it does not interfere with the rights of others. There is no mandatory law which prevents their association with others or their responsibility to a higher will.

"The individual may feel himself alone unequal to cope with the conditions that confront him, or unable to confront the myriad of considerations which ought to control his conduct. He is entitled to the highest wage that the strategy of work or cessation from work may command, and the limitations upon intelligence and opportunities may be such that he does not choose to stand upon his own perception of the value of his own condition. His right to choose a leader, one who serves, thinks and wills for him, a brain skilled to observe and to execute, and under enlightened and conscientious leadership. But they are subject to the same laws as other associations.

The Responsibilities of Leaders.

"The leaders to whom are given the vast power of centralization for the members are simply in that respect their trustees. Their conduct must be judged like that of other trustees, which ought to be under enlightened and conscientious leadership. But they are subject to the same laws as other associations.

"The railroads carrying the mails and interstate commerce have a right to the service of each of their employees and until each lawfully chooses to quit, and any concerted action upon the part of others to demand or insist under effective penalty or threat upon their quitting, to the injury of the mail service of the prompt payment of interstate commerce, is a conspiracy unless such demand or insistence is in pursuance of a lawful authority conferred by law. It is the duty of the law to see that in good faith in execution of such authority. The demand and insistence under effective penalty upon the members of the trust to the transportation of the mails or interstate commerce being proven, the burden falls upon those making the demand to show that they have a lawful authority and good faith in its execution.

How to Determine Guilt.

"If it appears to you, therefore, applying the illustration to the occurrences that will be brought before your attention, that any two or more persons by concert insisted or demanded under effective penalties and threats upon men quitting the employment of the railroads carrying the mails or interstate commerce, you may inquire whether they did these acts as a gang, or whether they acted individually, or whether they did them under the guise of trustees or leaders of an association to which these men belonged; and if the latter, whether they inquired whether their acts and conduct in that respect were in good faith and in conscientious execution of their supposed duty, or whether they simply used the authority as a guise to advance personal ambition or satisfy pride or malice.

"If a deputy marshal exercising his powers under the laws of the United States, and then the atmosphere will be clear to think over the claims of those who have real grievances. First vindicate the law. Until that is done no other question is open.

A United States Marshal Shot.

"While preparing this charge my attention has been called to the fact that a deputy marshal of this court has probably been shot. In that connection I wish to call your attention to section 308 of the revised statutes, which provides that if any two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same, or if any two or more persons go in disguise on the highway or on the premises of another with the intent to prevent his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured, they shall be fined not more than \$5,000 and imprisoned not more than ten years.

Republicans Resort to Any Means to Gain Votes.

It is anything to win with the republicans this year. Principles don't count. Nothing counts but votes—twice if possible. Nothing matters except to get back to power, staked recklessly and lost on McKinleyism. To that end no deal will be surprised, no concession of principle refused, no fusion untried, no straddle too great to be attempted.

As to the silver question the republicans propose to be all things to all men, but with a decided tendency to abandon former declarations in favor of sound money, and join hands again with the silver extremists in an effort to save protection at the expense of the currency.

As to the tariff they will reaffirm only so much of their devotion to McKinleyism as they think they can win on. Should they win by a pledge of moderate protection, their treatment of former promises of this character leaves no doubt of what they will do when they have the chance. They are prepared to trick the country if they can, by any pretense of repentance and reform, such as they made at the time of their famous tariff commission.

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FOR SUNDAY READING.

A MORNING HYMN.

A Paraphrase from Bishop Andrew's Devotions.

Glory to Thee, all glory, Lord, to Thee,
Who givest sleep by night, sweet sleep, to me;
Recruit to wavings, and to toil successe;
For weary mind and body, rest and peace.

O grant, good Lord, the new day, in Thy fear,
And every day may bring my soul more near
To fullness of Christ's stature, drawing thence
All sweets of health and peace and innocence.

O grant, good Lord, that camping near my side,
Thy holy angel, faithful guard and guide,
May ever win me to such works and ways
As save the soul and manifest Thy praise.

O grant, good Lord, what'er amiss I wrought,
Neglect, offense, in deed or word or thought,
Of bygone hours, may all be done away;
Forgiven now, and in the last great day.

O grant, good Lord (be this Thy gracious will):
The world with peace and with peace to fill;
But chiefly, Lord, those mercies now I crave
Which sinners need, which souls immortal save.

O grant, good Lord, if caught of lovely hue,
Just, honest, pure, of good report and true,
If any virtue, any praise there be,
Grant we may think it, do it, all to Thee.

O grant, good Lord (so near life's narrow bound):

That with a Christian death my life be crowned;

A death all void of sin and void of shame,
And painless, if I ask it without blame.

Above all grant, good Lord, since men must die
And then be judged, that with good comfort, I
Before my Judge appear at last, and stand
Among the blessed sheep at His right hand.

—J. E. C. Smedes, in N. Y. Independent.

THE CLASS THAT WINS.

The Ambitious Not the Doubtful Are the Successful Ones.

"It is a tough old world," says one of our eastern professors in a late number of a popular review. And what is his conclusion from this fact? Better leave the world alone and spare your foolish pains. That is not the Christian way of regarding a mighty task.

Roughly speaking all men are to be divided into two classes: those to whom nothing is possible and those to whom all things are possible. These two classes to be sure, overlay and shade into each other, but a man belongs to that class whose animating spirit shows itself in his views of life. There are, for example, those who believe it is possible to chop down a tree, but shake their heads doubtfully over the proposition to tunnel the Rocky mountains.

"I have lived in Chicago now thirty odd years," said an acquaintance to me the other day, "and in that time it has been the crazy men who have become rich. The men to whom it was impossible that this swamp should be converted to a metropolis are poor to-day."

They who have studied the past know that there are no forces so mighty as the silent forces. Our orators talk about the power of a cyclone, but the scientist knows that the power which builds up a forest is mightier than that which uproots a tree. That which tosses a house in air is but a feeble thing compared with the force that swings through immeasurable orbits systems of suns and worlds and satellites. Rude men were able to perceive that in the leaping mountain torrent which filled all the gorge with uproar there was a power to grind their corn; but a wise man came who saw in the whispering steam from the spot of a kettle a still mightier force; and by and by a wiser dreamed that in this silent and awful light which played about the pole there was a still more tremendous force which should revolutionize the industries of mankind. He who is looking for power looks to find it where the silence is as deep as that which wrapped the mount of God when the prophet awaited the revelation of the Divine presence.

And the mightiest of such silent forces are the noblest ones. There are those who assert that "Every man has his price." It is a coarse away of saying that the meanest passions are the most powerful. There were those who thought that the pride and bigotry of the duke of Alva were mightier than the love of country and of liberty which animated the beggars of Holland; but they were feeble forces when brought into conflict with the unselfish passions of patriots and Bible lovers. During those terrible years between 1861 and 1865 there was not a day in which the nation might not have saved its silver and gold, by simply giving up its flag; you could not plunge our republic into war to-day for all the cod that swim the banks of Newfoundland, or all the seals that sprawl upon Alaskan islands; but lay one rude touch upon the emblem of its liberty and every rusty sword from Maine to California would leap from its ragged scabbard. It is the "weak things" which always confound the mighty.

The philosopher as well as the believer can thus understand why the Christian does not fear to attempt the transformation of this ungodly world. For of all the noblest passions love is still supreme. There is no morning in which the daily press does not record some death for the sake of love. Now it is a father snatching his boy from the flames; now a mother dying upon the track where her babe had wandered. But always and everywhere love is the strongest as well as the sweetest thing in the world. And they who sneer at the thought that the cross can ever conquer this "tough old world" know not that the force which animates the Christian life is the might of personal and loving devotion to a personal Redeemer.

Paint the sins of the world as black as you may, love makes light of its conquest. Christendom is not simply so many people holding a common creed which some consider it a duty to propagate; it is so many millions of saved souls who cherish in their hearts a love for Christ, a love constraining them to fortitude, and, if need be, to martyrdom.

No religion among all these presented at the late parliament presented one to call out love as did the Christian faith. It is this power of a constraining love which has made it victorious where others have fallen defeated. It is this love in the heart which enables the soul to believe all things. Love never questions its ability, but to every

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To fullness of Christ's stature, drawing thence
All sweets of health and peace and innocence.

O grant, good Lord, that camping near my side,
Thy holy angel, faithful guard and guide,
May ever win me to such works and ways
As save the soul and manifest Thy praise.

O grant, good Lord, what'er amiss I wrought,
Neglect, offense, in deed or word or thought,
Of bygone hours, may all be done away;
Forgiven now, and in the last great day.

O grant, good Lord (be this Thy gracious will):
The world with peace and with peace to fill;
But chiefly, Lord, those mercies now I crave
Which sinners need, which souls immortal save.

O grant, good Lord, if caught of lovely hue,
Just, honest, pure, of good report and true,
If any virtue, any praise there be,
Grant we may think it, do it, all to Thee.

O grant, good Lord (so near life's narrow bound):

That with a Christian death my life be crowned;

A death all void of sin and void of shame,
And painless, if I ask it without blame.

Above all grant, good Lord, since men must die
And then be judged, that with good comfort, I
Before my Judge appear at last, and stand
Among the blessed sheep at His right hand.

—J. E