

## CŒUR D'ALENE MINING TROUBLES.

DECEMBER 11, 1899.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. PETTIGREW presented the following

PAPER ENTITLED "CRIME OF THE CENTURY—WORSE THAN SIBERIAN CRUELTIES UNDER THE AMERICAN FLAG—THE INQUISITION OUTDONE—FULL ACCOUNT OF THE IDAHO INFAMY BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERATION OF WESTERN MINERS."

OFFICE OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS,  
*Butte, Mont., October 15, 1899.*

*To the Members and Friends of Organized Labor Everywhere:*

Owing to the unparalleled attempt of Governor Steunenberg, backed by the military arm of the Government, to annihilate organized labor in Shoshone County, Idaho, and the baseness displayed by John L. Kennedy, member of the Industrial Commission as shown by his false and malicious interview in the Washington Post August 20, where he brands the union miners of Shoshone County as murderers, and lauds their oppressors for their tyranny as though they were real philanthropists instead of modern czars, whose only object in life is similar to that which prompts him, namely—the almighty dollar.

It therefore becomes my duty to give a brief history of the present conflict between organized capital and the miners in that county from its earliest inception.

Having been a resident of Shoshone County for thirteen years, and a member of the miners' union and Knights of Labor, I am familiar with the series of conflicts which began in 1887, and I defy John L. Kennedy or any other enemy of the miners to contradict a single statement herein contained.

When gold was discovered in the Coeur d'Alene in 1882, prospectors from all over the West rushed to the new district that had heretofore lay unexplored, with the result that many valuable mines were discovered.

When these rich mines began operations, which was under adverse circumstances, all underground men received \$3.50 per day, and were permitted to board and spend their money where they pleased; they were not compelled to board in a company boarding house and sleep in a company bunk house and buy in the company store; all of which they are now compelled to do.

In June, 1887, the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Company reduced miners wages from \$3.50 to \$3 per day, and other underground men from \$3.50 to \$2.50 per day, but failed to reduce their board, which remained at \$1 per day.

When the miners refused to accept this reduction the company was forced, on account of the scarcity of miners, to return to the old schedule of \$3.50 per day for miners, but refused to pay other underground men more than \$3, which was a reduction of 50 cents per day.

Then the miners saw that it was necessary for them to protect themselves against another reduction, and, on November 17, 1887, organized the first union of workingmen in the county, since known as Wardner Miners' Union.

In 1890 the men employed by the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Company demanded the prevailing wages of the district (\$3.50 per day) for all underground men, which was refused, and a strike ensued which lasted two weeks—until the company consented to pay the same wages paid by all other mines in the district.

This involuntary act on the part of John Hayes Hammond, who was then president of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Company, and who afterwards gained notoriety in South Africa by conspiring with Cecil Rhodes and Dr. Jameson to overthrow the Transvaal Republic, did not continue.

Hammond immediately set to work and organized the Mine Owners' Industrial Protective Association for the sole purpose of reducing miners' wages in the West to \$2.50 per day, and, in order to carry this scheme into effect, every mine owner who belonged to the association paid 12 per cent per annum on each ton of ore shipped from their respective mines, which went into a sinking fund, to be used by the association in reducing the miners' wages.

On January 17, 1892, every mine in the district shut down, throwing thousands of men out of employment in the middle of winter in a severe climate, and on April 1 of the same year the Mine Owners' Association offered to resume operations at a reduction in wages of \$1 per day and 50 cents per day, respectively, which the miners refused to accept.

The first act of the mine owners was to obtain an injunction from Judge Beattie, of the Federal court, against the miners' union, and requested the governor to declare martial law, which he did without hesitation.

Their next act was to purchase 500 rifles and distribute them at the different mines, to be turned over to the thugs and Pinkertons that were brought from the slums of large cities to murder the miners.

Up to the time of the arrival of these hired fighters there was no disturbance, nor did the union men attempt to interfere with the operation of any mine; nevertheless, the first act of the imported thugs was an attempt to drive the union men out of the county, and began to raid the town of Geop on July 11, 1892.

The union men defended themselves successfully and forced the thugs to retire. Then the United States troops arrived and arrested every union man and sympathizer. When they had them all arrested the hired thugs burned the Miners' Union Hall and committed other outrages upon the helpless families of the miners. Said outrages were never punished.

After 1892 all the mines in the district began to pay the former schedule of wages, \$3.50 per day, except the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Company, which continued to pay \$3 and \$2.50 per day, and kept a continual black list against all union men.

On April 24, 1899, the employees of this company, 400 in number, waited upon the manager and requested him to pay the prevailing wages of the district. This he refused to do, and discharged every man who asked for the increase in wages, and began to import men to take their places.

His next move was to place armed guards around the mine and concentrator, which he had a perfect right to do; but these thugs were not there to guard the property, for it was in no danger of destruction. They took possession of the county road, and without provocation halted people who were peacefully attending to their business. This high-handed proceeding continued until Sheriff Young notified the manager that his armed guards must not interfere with people traveling on the public highway.

On April 29 the miners of Wardner—not the members of the miners' union—decided to have a demonstration, such as we see among laboring people every week, but the Bunker Hill Company's guards, being urged on by their manager, decided that it should not be held.

The proposed suppression of the demonstration by the company's guards soon spread to the surrounding towns, and as the news spread people became more excited, and, unfortunately at this time, a freight train with a mail coach attached to it was leaving Burke for Wallace and people in the excitement got on board.

On the way to Wallace everyone who saw the train became excited and anxious to know where the train was bound for, and women and children scrambled to get aboard.

In this way the train reached Wardner Station, a short distance from the Bunker Hill mill, where, according to the manager's testimony, 50 guards with Winchesters were stationed.

Here was an unorganized mob congregated together with no evil intent, but curious to know what was transpiring.

In the meantime the miners of Wardner and the armed guards had trouble, which developed into a fight over the contemplated interference with the miners' demonstration. The guards goaded men to desperation. A riot resulted, which finally culminated in the blowing up of the mill.

After the explosion there was no disturbance, as every man who participated in the attack on the concentrator left the State to avoid arrest.

Without consulting Sheriff Young or making an investigation Governor Steunenberg applied to President McKinley for troops and declared the county under martial law.

When the troops arrived General Merriam arrested every man who was a member of the miners' union of Burke, Gem, Mullan, and Wardner, and those who sympathized with organized labor.

Sheriff Young and the members of the board of county commissioners were arrested and treated as criminals, and afterwards deposed from office on the flimsy charge of neglecting their duty.

Governor Steunenberg appointed as their successors men who were the avowed enemies of organized labor.

The treatment accorded the unfortunate men from the day of their arrest is a disgrace to any civilized people and should prove to the working people what the increase in the standing Army means.

When arrested the prisoners were placed in a barn unfit for habitation and not allowed outside for thirty-six hours. So horrible was this punishment that one unfortunate man (Mat Johnson) went insane, and upon being conveyed from the "bull pen" to the county jail before departing for the asylum he jumped into the river to escape imaginary execution, when a negro soldier, at the command of the Bunker Hill company's doctor, fired three shots at him in the water, and poor Johnson was dragged from the river a corpse.

Mack Devine, another unfortunate prisoner, was arrested after leaving the hospital. When on his dying bed, in the "bull pen," he asked

for a priest, but his dying request was denied—a request that was never denied the vilest criminal on earth.

At this writing the hay in the prisoners' bunks has been removed, compelling them to sleep on bare boards, and to add to this cruelty they have been placed on a diet of bread and water for ten days, and compelled to stand erect seven hours each day in the hot sun under penalty of death if they attempt to move or sit down. These are the orders of Captain Edwards, who is now in command, who used to amuse himself by calling them cowardly curs.

Judge Stewart, an obscure lawyer, noted for his hostility to organized labor, was sent from Boise, a distance of 550 miles, to convict any union man brought before him. He instructed the acting sheriff, appointed by Governor Steunenberg, at the suggestion of the mine owners, to select a special panel of 40 men, thus ignoring the regular jury panel, and get a jury that would convict regardless of the evidence.

Paul Corcoran, secretary of Burke Miners' Union, was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to seventeen years in the penitentiary for shooting a man he never saw, and who finally died in another State.

When the Industrial Commission sat in Wallace all union men who had been long residents of the county were in the "bull pen" and had no opportunity to appear before the commission; others were arrested while on their way to Wallace to appear before the commission and thrown into the "bull pen" until after the commission adjourned.

The following is an exact copy of the proclamation issued by the Governor of Idaho and General Merriam; also of the permits which must be obtained before seeking employment in the mines of Shoshone County.

Laboring men, read it and decide whether John L. Kennedy or any other man that approves of such infamous documents is a representative of the laboring people. Is your interest safe in the hands of such a traitor?

#### PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the following notice has been served upon the mine owners of Shoshone County by the duly constituted State authorities, by whom martial law has been declared, to wit:

*"To the mine owners of Shoshone County:*

"Certain organizations or combinations existing in Shoshone County have shown themselves to be criminal in purpose, inciting and, as organizations, procuring property to be destroyed, and murders to be committed, by reason whereof it has been twice necessary to declare martial law in Shoshone County.

"You are therefore notified that the employment of men belonging to said or other criminal organizations during the continuance of martial law must cease. In case this direction is not observed, your mines will be closed."

Therefore, in order to carry into effect the spirit of the foregoing notice and restore the industries of the district as far as possible, it becomes necessary to establish a system by which miners who have not participated in the recent acts of violence, and who are law abiding people, may obtain work; and that order and peace may be established, the following is promulgated for the guidance of all mine owners and employees in the affected district:

All parties applying for underground work in any of the following mines will be required to obtain from Dr. Hugh France, the duly appointed and authorized agent for the State of Idaho for this purpose, or his deputy, at Wardner or at Wallace, a permit authorizing said person to seek employment in any of the following mines: Bunker Hill and Sullivan, Last Chance, Empire State-Idaho, Consolidated Tiger and Poorman, Hecla, Mammoth, Standard, Helena-Frisco, Gem, Morning, Hunter, and such others as may be hereafter included in the above list. Parties applying for such permits must be prepared, first, to deny all participation in the riots of April 29, 1893, in Shoshone County; and, second, to deny or renounce membership in any society which has incited, encouraged, or approved of said riots or other violation of public law.

Mine owners must refuse employment to all applicants for underground work who do not present a duly signed permit authorizing the same. Such permits will be deposited in mine-owners' office, subject to periodical inspection.

All parties now under employment by any of the mines above named will be required to procure, within ten days from this date, the permits above referred to as a condition to their remaining in the service of their respective companies.

By order of the governor and commander in chief.

BARTLETT SINCLAIR,  
State Auditor.

Examined and approved:

H. C. MERRIAM,  
Brigadier-General, U. S. A.

Dated May 8, 1899.

The application for permits to seek employment which union men must sign is as follows:

APPLICATION FOR LEAVE TO SEEK EMPLOYMENT IN THE MINES OF SHOSHONE COUNTY.

To Dr. HUGH FRANCE, *State Representative*.

SIR: I hereby make application for issuance to me of a permit allowing me to seek employment in the mines of Shoshone County.

I am a \_\_\_\_\_ by occupation.

I am a native of \_\_\_\_\_ and am a \_\_\_\_\_ citizen of the United States.

I last worked at the \_\_\_\_\_ mine in \_\_\_\_\_.

My shift boss was \_\_\_\_\_.

Heretofore I have been a member of \_\_\_\_\_ Miners' Union.

I did not participate actively or otherwise in the riots which took place at Wardner on the 29th of April, 1899. Believing that the crimes committed at Wardner on said date were actively incited, encouraged, and perpetrated through and by means of the influence and direction of the miners' unions of the Cœur d'Alenes, I hereby express my unqualified disapproval of said acts, and hereby renounce and forever abjure all allegiance to the said miners' union, of which I was a former member, and I solemnly pledge myself to obey the law and not to again seek membership in any society which will encourage or tolerate any violation of law. \_\_\_\_\_

Dated this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 1899.

The application which nonunion men must sign is as follows:

APPLICATION FOR LEAVE TO SEEK EMPLOYMENT IN THE MINES OF SHOSHONE COUNTY.

To Dr. HUGH FRANCE, *State Representative*.

SIR: I hereby make application for issuance to me of a permit allowing me to seek employment in the mines of Shoshone County.

I am a \_\_\_\_\_ by occupation.

I am a native of \_\_\_\_\_, and am a \_\_\_\_\_ citizen of the United States.

I last worked at the \_\_\_\_\_ mine in \_\_\_\_\_.

My shift boss was \_\_\_\_\_.

I have not been for \_\_\_\_\_ years a member of any miners' union.

I took no part, either actively or passively, in aiding, assisting, or encouraging the perpetration of the crimes committed at Wardner on the 29th of April, 1899.

I solemnly pledge myself to obey the law. \_\_\_\_\_

Dated this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 1899.

At this writing no union men are permitted to work in the county—the meetings of the miners' unions are prohibited.

The foregoing is only a glimpse of the true situation as it now exists in the county and a few of the numerous outrages imposed upon the miners by Governor Steunenberg, supported by Federal bayonets, because they refuse to abandon their organization.

These are some of the outrages approved by John L. Kennedy, the representative of labor on the Industrial Commission, in his interview in the Washington Post. However, his willful and malicious attack upon the laboring people of the Cœur d'Alenes is no surprise.

Were he not a traitor to the cause of organized labor and a degraded political flunky, willing at all times to sell his manhood to any party for a soft job, as he has done for the past fifteen years in the city of Washington, he would never have received his appointment.

This Benedict Arnold of labor attempts to deceive the laboring people by referring to Governor Steunenberg as an honorary member of Boise Typographical Union, and also to himself as a member of Columbia Typographical Union, No. 101; but both of them are a disgrace to organized labor.

For twelve years Kennedy never set one line of type. He has held a soft Government job at \$1,800 a year; therefore workmen can easily imagine how much confidence they can place in a man whose principles can change with such lightning-like rapidity to enable him to obtain a lucrative position under any political party.

In his lying interview Kennedy quotes Senator Shoup and ex-Senator Dubois as being well satisfied with the progress being made in exterminating the lawless element—in other words, the members of organized labor—but omits to quote Senator Heitfeld, who owns property in the district and made a personal investigation to satisfy himself; neither does he mention the resolutions of condemnation passed by the Spokane Typographical Union, “which is the nearest union of his craft to the Cœur d’Alenes,” condemning General Merriam for his brutal treatment of his prisoners, and which are in strange contrast with Mr. Kennedy’s statements.

He also states that the Standard Oil Company does not own one share of the Bunker Hill mining stock, but he fails to divulge the names of the supposed stockholders, which proves his treachery.

In justice to the unfortunate men in the “bull pen” and their helpless wives and families, who have received such outrageous treatment by unscrupulous corporation hirelings, I emphatically repudiate John L. Kennedy’s interview as false, lying, and malicious, for which he should be condemned by every labor organization and labor paper in the country.

I do not make this statement in the hope of influencing the Industrial Commission, for I am well satisfied that it will do nothing for the laboring men of Idaho or any other State. It was not created for that purpose, and the personnel of a majority of its members makes it doubly certain that its findings will be against the interest of the laboring people; but we should show to the world that the acts of a traitor in the ranks of organized labor shall not go unrebuked.

In behalf of the imprisoned men and their families, who are struggling for their rights in Idaho against oppression and greed, I take this opportunity of conveying my sincere thanks to the individuals, organizations, the labor papers and magazines who have rendered us such valuable assistance, morally and financially.

These noble actions prove beyond all doubt that the spirit of justice, freedom, and equality still beats within the hearts of the producing masses.

[SEAL.]

EDWARD BOYCE,  
*President Western Federation of Miners.*