

CŒUR D'ALENE MINING TROUBLES.

L E T T E R

FROM

THE SECRETARY OF WAR,

TRANSMITTING,

IN RESPONSE TO RESOLUTION OF THE SENATE OF JANUARY 25, 1900, ADVANCE SHEETS FROM THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MAJOR-GENERAL COMMANDING THE ARMY FOR THE YEAR 1899, PART I, PAGES 28 TO 74, INCLUSIVE, THE SAME BEING REPORT OF BRIG. GEN. HENRY C. MERRIAM, U. S. A., "ON MINERS' RIOTS IN THE STATE OF IDAHO."

FEBRUARY 5, 1900.—Laid on the table and ordered to be printed.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, January 31, 1900.

SIR: In response to Senate resolution dated January 25, 1900, I have the honor to hand you herewith advance sheets from the Annual Report of the Major-General Commanding the Army for the year 1899, Part I, pages 28 to 74, inclusive, the same being the report of Brig. Gen. Henry C. Merriam, U. S. A., "on miners' riots in the State of Idaho," together with "correspondence regarding the miners' riots in the State of Idaho, not included in report of Brig. Gen. H. C. Merriam," with special reference to the information called for in the said Senate resolution, as follows:

(1) "Copies of any and all orders, instructions, or directions given by the War Department to Brig. Gen. H. C. Merriam, United States Army, touching the troubles in Idaho between the miners, mine owners, and civil authorities, and to any officer or officers under him."

See pages 28, 30, 39, 52, 66, and 74.

(2) "Any and all orders, instructions, or directions or proclamations given, issued, or proclaimed by General Merriam and any and all officers under him."

See pages 29, 31, 36, 39, and 73.

(3) "And especially the announcement, if any announcement was made, by General Merriam about May 8, 1899, to the mine owners, in

regard to employing members of the miners' union and the action if they were employed."

See pages 35 and 36.

(4) "Any and all orders, directions, and instructions, if any, in regard to the miners who were employed, being by United States authority required to sign any pledges renouncing allegiance to the miners' union, and asserting that they would never seek membership in the miner's union."

See pages 35, 36, 38, and 56.

(5) "Any and all orders, instructions, and requirements by General Merriam and his subordinate officers, if any, in regard to the treatment of civilian prisoners."

See pages 34, 40, 58, 59, 64, and 65.

(6) "By what authority Brig. Gen. H. C. Merriam acted."

See pages 28 and 39.

(7) "Copies of all reports made by him and subordinate officers in connection with the Cœur d'Alene mining troubles during the year 1899."

See pages 28 to 74, inclusive.

It is proper for me to remark in this connection, that in response to calls therefor, copies of all these papers have already been furnished both the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate and House of Representatives.

Very respectfully,

ELIHU ROOT,
Secretary of War.

Hon. WILLIAM P. FRYE,
President pro tempore United States Senate.

ADVANCE SHEETS FROM THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE
MAJOR-GENERAL COMMANDING THE ARMY FOR
THE YEAR 1899, PART I, PAGES
28 TO 74 INCLUSIVE.

REPORT ON MINERS' RIOTS IN THE STATE OF IDAHO.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE COLORADO,
Denver, Colo., July 31, 1899.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: I have the honor to report upon the duties performed by me in the county of Shoshone, Idaho, under telegraphic orders and instructions as follows, to wit:

Brigadier-General MERRIAM, *Denver, Colo.:*

The governor of Idaho reports an insurrection beyond the power of the State to control existing in Shoshone County of that State. The Acting Secretary of War directs that you repair at once to the capital of that State, and after conference with the authorities thence you go to the seat of action, calling to your aid such troops as may be most convenient regardless of department lines. Department commanders will be notified. You will take with you the necessary staff officers. The travel is necessary to the public service.

By command of Major-General Miles:

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 30, 1899.*

General MERRIAM, *Denver, Colo.:*

Reference telegrams of even date concerning insurrection in Idaho. Acting Secretary War directs that you give all necessary orders for movements of troops and supplies. Acknowledge receipt.

By command Major-General Miles:

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 30, 1899.*

General MERRIAM, *Denver, Colo.:*

Reference telegrams even date concerning insurrection. Acting Secretary War directs that you acknowledge receipt and report hour of departure and time you are due in Boise.

By command Major-General Miles:

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 30, 1899.*

Brigadier-General MERRIAM, *Denver, Colo.:*

Reference to telegram of even date relative to insurrection in Idaho, you will understand the necessity of moving with as little delay as possible.

By command of Major-General Miles:

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

Having acknowledged the foregoing by telegram, and having communicated by wire with the governor of Idaho as follows:

Governor of IDAHO, *Boise City, Idaho:*

Am ordered confer with you regarding riots at Wardner. Please wire quickly are troops needed now or is it too late?

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

BOISE, IDAHO, *April 30, 1899.*

General MERRIAM, *Denver, Colo.:*

While there is apparent calm to-day, troops are surely needed and must be sent in at once. Adjutant-general wire to-day says you are instructed to come to Boise. Will you be here?

FRANK STEUNENBERG, *Governor.*

I proceeded to Boise, Idaho, accompanied by my aid-de-camp, Lieut. J. B. Bennet, leaving Denver at 6.30 p. m., April 30.

MEETING GOVERNOR STEUNENBERG.

Arriving at Glens Ferry, Idaho, during the evening of May 1, I was met by Governor Frank Steunenberg, who, with several officers of his staff, had come out from Boise to meet me in order to hasten the work to be planned and undertaken for the restoration of law and order in the turbulent mining region of Shoshone County.

This region had been familiar to me twenty years ago. It lies in the Cœur d'Alene Mountains, very near the summit, which divides Shoshone County from the State of Montana. Over this summit by the Mullan Pass the region is entered by the Northern Pacific Railroad from Montana, passing the town of Mullan to Wallace, while the Oregon Railway and Navigation line enters from the west and follows up the Cœur d'Alene River to Wardner and connecting with the Northern Pacific Railroad at Wallace, whence the latter continues northward up Cannon Creek, 6 miles through Gem and Mace to Burke. In winter, travel in and out of this mining district is limited to these two lines of railroad, while in summer there are various trails leading over the mountain passes practicable for foot and horsemen.

Owing to the deep snow still covering these mountains it was believed that rioters would be unable to escape from the country except by the lines of railroad named. With this view in mind, and after hastily talking over the situation with the governor and taking into account the number of rioters, their armament and ability for offering resistance, etc., I sent orders by telegraph from the train directing the troops at Spokane, Walla Walla, Vancouver, and Boise to proceed at once by rail, cavalry dismounted, to Wardner, there to go into camp and maintain order.

The following is a sample of the telegrams sent for this purpose:

COMMANDING OFFICER, *Walla Walla, Wash.:*

Send 1 officer and 75 good men to Wardner, Idaho, there to encamp and to maintain order. Fifteen days rations, 200 rounds per man; no horses required. Move by first train leaving Walla Walla.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

Early on the morning of May 2 similar orders and instructions were telegraphed requiring the troops from Harrison, Assiniboine, Russell, and Douglas to concentrate at Mullan, coming in from the east, and the situation was reported to the War Department by telegram as follows:

BOISE, *May 2, 1899.*

ADJUTANT-GENERAL ARMY, *Washington, D. C.:*

Arrived this morning. Conference with governor discloses usual difficulties of dealing with riots and conspiracies. Some hope of identifying offenders through coroner's inquest at Wardner to-morrow. One union man dead and one nonunion man mortally wounded. Destruction of mining property reported very great.

Troops from Boise, Walla Walla, Vancouver, and Spokane moving for Wardner to-day. Troops from Harrison, Assiniboine, Russell, and Douglas ordered to Mullan to-day. Will go to Wardner myself to-night.

Number of union miners in district about 1,500; number armed and active in riots about 1,000.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

Further conference with Governor Steunenberg while awaiting the train gave me the impression that he was in doubt whether or not to

declare martial law in the insurrectionary district, whereupon I sent the following telegram in cipher before continuing my journey northward:

BOISE, May 2, 1899.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL ARMY:

Troops concentrating at Wardner and Mullan will control outlets from mining camps. If not disapproved, I will direct to scrutinize travel outward and detain suspected passengers. This is martial law, but no other course likely to secure rioters.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General*.

To this I received answer en route as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 3, 1899.

Gen. H. C. MERRIAM,

Walla Walla, Wash., or forward Wardner, Idaho:

Your cipher message received. Submitted by the Acting Secretary War to the President, and I am instructed to say your action is approved.

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General*.

About the same time the following telegram was received, and is given here to show the correct conception of duty undertaken at the start by Captain Batchelor under the orders furnished him:

WARDNER, IDAHO, May 3, 1899.

Gen. H. C. MERRIAM,

Care Conductor No. 6, Walla Walla, Wash.:

I arrived here yesterday 2 p. m. and encamped. Situation quiet at present. Much apprehension apparent. Search for arms now in progress, which I am protecting. Arrests contemplated which Sinclair thinks may lead to resistance. Walla Walla troop not in yet.

BATCHELOR, *Commanding*.

The same evening I received the following from Governor Steunenberg:

BOISE, IDAHO, May 3.

General MERRIAM, *Tekoa*:

My representative informs me that rioters are fleeing towards Spokane. Have all trains stopped and suspicious persons returned. Martial law declared.

FRANK STEUNENBERG.

This telegram was received with great satisfaction, for it seemed to me preferable in every way that the executive of the State should establish martial law, if it were to be applied within his State. Following is the governor's proclamation:

PROCLAMATION.

STATE OF IDAHO, *Executive Office*:

Whereas it appearing to my satisfaction that the execution of process is frustrated and defied in Shoshone County, State of Idaho, by bodies of men and others, and that combinations of armed men to resist the execution of process and to commit deeds of violence exist in said county of Shoshone; and

Whereas the civil authorities of said county of Shoshone do not appear to be able to control such bodies of men or prevent the destruction of property and other acts of violence; and

Whereas on Saturday, the 29th day of April, 1899, at or near the town of Wardner Junction, in said county of Shoshone, State of Idaho, an armed mob did then and there wantonly destroy property of great value, with attendant loss of life; and

Whereas said destruction of property, with attendant loss of life by mob violence (as above set forth), is but one and a repetition of a series of similar outrages covering a period of six years or more just passed, the perpetrators of said outrages seeming to enjoy immunity from arrest and punishment through subserviency of peace officers of said county of Shoshone (or through fear on the part of said officers) to such bodies of lawless and armed men; and

Whereas I have reason to believe that similar outrages may occur at any time, and believing the civil authorities of said county of Shoshone are entirely unable to preserve order and protect property:

Now, therefore, I, Frank Steunenberg, governor of the State of Idaho, by virtue of authority in me vested, do hereby proclaim and declare the said county of Shoshone, in the State of Idaho, to be in a state of insurrection and rebellion. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the State. Done at the city of Boise, the capital of the State of Idaho, this 3d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1899, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-third.

FRANK STEUNENBERG.

By the governor:

M. PATRIE, *Secretary of State*.

On receipt of the above, I sent the following telegram to the officers commanding at Wardner and Mullan:

SPOKANE, May 3, 1899.

COMMANDING OFFICER, UNITED STATES TROOPS,

Wardner and Mullan, Idaho:

Arrest all persons attempting to leave mining region of Cœur d'Alene unless fully satisfied that they are not implicated in the riots. Martial law has been declared in Shoshone County, Idaho.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General*.

On my arrival at Wardner I found, with some disappointment, that the two avenues of escape, via Mullan and Wardner, now occupied by troops, were not to be relied upon solely. It was reported that escaping criminals were passing over the divide into Montana through the snow on foot, and that some had already arrived at Missoula and others at Thompsons Falls, on the Northern Pacific Railroad. Correspondence by wire was immediately opened by the governor's representative with Governor Smith, of Montana, looking to arrest of fugitives in Montana, which resulted in assurances that the civil officers of Montana would assist in arresting and restoring these fugitives to the State of Idaho, and immediate preparations were made for sending deputies into Montana under escort of Lieutenant Lyon's company of the Twenty-fourth Infantry. Meantime telegrams were sent and received as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 4.

Brigadier-General MERRIAM:

For information of President, Acting Secretary of War desires to know if the situation is such as to require issuance of proclamation as required by section 5309, R. S.

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General*.

WARDNER, IDAHO, May 4, 1899.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL ARMY, *Washington, D. C.*:

Inquest still in progress with closed doors. One hundred and twenty-eight arrests made by State officials under military support. No signs of resistance, but indications are most leaders of mob have escaped, going east or west into Montana and Washington; others hidden in the mountains. Sheriff at Thompsons Falls, Mont., reports many arriving on foot over mountain trails. Governors Idaho and Montana corresponding for arrests in Montana. Troops in position to do all that is possible. There is now no sign of organized resistance.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General*.

WARDNER, IDAHO, May 5, 1899.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, *Washington, D. C.*:

Three hundred and fifty arrests have been made so far. Prisoners guarded by troops. State officers investigating. Understand governor Montana will surrender fugitives escaping over the mountain trails. I will furnish escort to Idaho sheriff to receive them.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General*.

MULLAN, IDAHO, *May 6, 1899.*

Gen. H. C. MERRIAM:

Lieutenant Lyon and company, accompanied by deputies, left at 10.48 as ordered. He will report his arrival to you.

THOMPSON, *Commanding.*WARDNER, IDAHO, *May 7.*Lieutenant LYON, *Thompsons Falls, Mont.:*

Send injured man to Harrison with attendant. It is not expected that troops make arrests in Montana; only receive the prisoners for safe-keeping. Governor of Montana has promised to cause the arrest of escaping rioters. Await his action till Monday noon, then return to Mullan and await further orders, if no action by Montana authorities.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*WARDNER, IDAHO, *May 7, 1899.*Lieutenant LYON, *Thompsons Falls:*

Governor of Montana has ordered sheriff of Missoula County to make arrests of fugitives. Return with the prisoners you have to-morrow morning, delaying in Missoula long enough to permit your deputies and Missoula sheriff to make arrests there, then come to Mullan.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*WARDNER, IDAHO, *May 8, 1899.*UNITED STATES MARSHAL, *Missoula, Mont.:*

Lieutenant Lyon left Thompsons Falls for Missoula at 7 this morning. Has a number of prisoners charged with tampering with United States mails at Wallace, Idaho. Can you hold them for arrival of C. B. Bratton, post-office inspector, now en route for Missoula via Mullan, with warrants, or can you send them on with Lieutenant Lyon to meet Bratton?

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*WARDNER, IDAHO, *May 8, 1899.*Lieutenant LYON, *Missoula, Mont.:*

Delay at Missoula till Montana United States marshal makes preliminary investigation of charge of mail obstruction against prisoners in your charge and any others discovered there. Post-Office Inspector Bratton left here for Missoula and Butte with warrants yesterday. Marshal due at Missoula at midnight.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*MISSOULA, MONT., *May 9.*

General MERRIAM:

Bratton warrants illegal. Proper ones will probably arrive 8.50 to-morrow morning. Fugitives leaving town rapidly. I earnestly advise temporarily abandon Federal charges, substituting State offense, to expedite extradition, which should be hastened, as indicated in my last telegram.

LYON, *Lieutenant.*WARDNER, IDAHO, *May 9, 1899.*

Lieutenant LYON:

Conditions named in your telegram have been anticipated. Be guided by Judge Knowles. We must yield to civil authority in Montana, but will try to find Bratton, who left here with United States warrants for service in Montana. If not heard from, wire postmaster at Butte and Helena, asking if he is there.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*WARDNER, *May 9, 1899.*Lieutenant LYON, *Missoula, Mont.:*

Telegram received and action taken. Be ready for answer from Governor Smith direct. Act accordingly.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

I think it best to note here that press misrepresentations regarding this expedition into Montana under Lieutenant Lyon made necessary the following correspondence between the governor of Montana and myself, viz:

HELENA, *May 12, 1899.*

General MERRIAM,

Commanding United States Troops, Wardner, Idaho.

SIR: I notice, through the medium of the press, a statement that you ordered Lieutenant Lyon, having prisoners at Missoula, to take them at once to Idaho and pay no attention to orders of anyone else than the commanding officer. May I ask if you were correctly reported in this respect? In these troubles the civil authorities of Montana have been willing to aid the proper authorities in the arrest of fugitives from Idaho and have done all that was asked of them. But we must understand that no part of Montana is acting under martial law.

While I am willing to give all proper and legal aid to the officers of Idaho or United States soldiers in the arrest of criminals, it must not be assumed that the civil authorities of this State will silently permit even Federal troops to disregard the civil law or the process of civil authorities. I am a firm believer in the doctrine that the military must always be subservient to the civil authorities. Trusting that you were misquoted in the press dispatches, and that you did not intend to disregard the civil authorities, I am,

Very respectfully,

ROBERT B. SMITH, *Governor.*WARDNER, IDAHO, *May 15, 1899.*

His Excellency the GOVERNOR OF MONTANA.

SIR: Acknowledging your letter dated May 12, I beg to hand you herewith the telegrams containing the orders and instructions under which Lieutenant Lyon, Twenty-fourth Infantry, acted during his recent trip into your State accompanying detachment of deputy sheriffs from the State of Idaho.

Lieutenant Lyon reports exact compliance with his orders and instructions, and I hope you will be convinced that every precaution has been taken to avoid the slightest discourtesy toward the civil authorities of Montana in our effort to do what was possible and legal to assist the executive of Idaho in his efforts to arrest escaping criminals. With assurance of highest respect,

Your obedient servant,

H. C. MERRIAM,
*Brigadier-General, U. S. A.*HELENA, *May 17, 1899.*Gen. H. C. MERRIAM, *Wardner, Idaho.*

SIR: Your letter of the 15th instant with inclosures (copies of telegrams sent Lieutenant Lyon) is received this a. m.

I am pleased to see that you were entirely misrepresented in the statements made in the press. Your letter with copies of telegrams discloses that at all times you recognized the proper civil authorities. In this I applaud your action; for while at times the civil authorities may need the aid of the military, I do not believe it consistent with the spirit of our laws or institutions of our country to supplant the civil with military or martial authority, except in extreme instances. I am, with very great respect,

Very truly, yours,

ROBERT B. SMITH, *Governor Montana.*

The arrests of men suspected of complicity in the crimes of April 29, which began at once on the arrival of Captain Batchelor, May 2, were continued daily in the different mining camps by deputies under escorts of troops commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, Major Morton, Major Thompson, Captain Walsh, Fourth Cavalry, and Lieutenant Murphy, Twenty-fourth Infantry.

As they were brought in they were placed in a large building two stories high which had been constructed and used as a warehouse for storage of hay and grain and other articles by a merchant. It was a good building for the purpose in every way, except that it had no provision for fires and was, of course, without furniture, so that camp fires outside were resorted to and the prisoners were compelled to sleep on the floors, but had an abundant supply of hay to lie upon. The prisoners were also fed at the expense of the State by an experienced caterer, who had managed a large miners' boarding house and had both the necessary means and experience for that purpose.

By daily inspections I satisfied myself that the prisoners were being furnished abundant food and well-prepared, although it sometimes unavoidably happened that meals were served later and somewhat irregularly, owing to the large numbers, irregular hours of arrival, and limited facilities for serving. Many of the prisoners were also brought in without blankets, and could not be supplied until bedding was sent or brought to them by their families and friends. It is probable that in this way some of the prisoners were exposed to cold at night and that some of the sickness was due to this exposure, yet the local physician employed by the State for their care informed me that the percentage of sick was far below the average among the same people as a rule.

After about May 5, the number of prisoners exceeded the capacity of the building and it became necessary to hold perhaps 200 of them quartered in box cars, side tracked near the Wardner station. Although abundance of hay was furnished here also, it is probable the men so confined were less comfortable than those in the warehouse, yet they were not obliged to sleep on the ground, as did the troops who were guarding them.

THE NEW PRISON.

Meantime the State authorities had begun the construction of a new prison, and were pushing forward the work with energy among many difficulties and more absorbing duties.

However, I became dissatisfied with the apparently slow progress being made for their comfort, and on May 11 I sent the following telegram to Governor Steunenberg, viz:

WARDNER, May 11, 1899.

Governor STEUNENBERG, Boise, Idaho:

I am still holding nearly 500 prisoners in a barn and box cars. All are very uncomfortable and with unsanitary conditions which will soon become intolerable. Something must be done to hurry preliminary examination and release of those not prima facie guilty. It is impracticable to make this large number of prisoners reasonably comfortable here without considerable time and expense. Can you not personally inspect the situation at once and bring help?

MERRIAM, Brigadier-General.

To this the governor replied that he would start for Wardner at once, and from his arrival on the following day every possible and needful effort was made to meet the requirements of the situation in all respects.

THE LABOR PERMITS.

On the evening of May 8 I was informed by Bartlett Sinclair, representing the governor of Idaho, that notice had been served upon all of the mine owners of the district, by which, during the continuance of

martial law, they were forbidden to employ miners unless they were able to present permits from the State authorities.

This was the first intimation that came to me on that subject; in fact, there was no manifest occasion for my having any information on the subject, as it did not concern me directly, but Mr. Sinclair said he was preparing some rules for carrying out the order and desired to make them such as I could approve. The next morning a proof copy of the rules as formulated for that purpose was handed me in the form of a poster, as follows:

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 so applying to seek for and obtain 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.

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 owner's 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.

This notice also appeared that morning in the Spokane newspapers (without showing my approval of course).

After reading over the rules I stated that there was one point in which I thought an improvement could be made—that I should rather see provision made by which an innocent member of an innocent union might receive the State permit and retain his employment. To this Mr. Sinclair at once assented, and at his request I wrote the following, to be added to the central paragraph—that enumerating the mines which were to be governed by this system of permits, viz:

Parties applying for such permits must be prepared: First, to deny all participation in the riots of April 29, 1899, 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.

I authorized my name to be printed at the bottom of the poster under the words "Examined and approved," on condition that the

above amendment was inserted. This was assented to at once, and the posters were printed and sent out in form as follows, viz:

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 marshal 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 on April 29, 1899, 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. Army.

Dated May 8, 1899.

It was not intended that the troops under my command should assume any part whatever in carrying into effect these or any other rules affecting laborers or labor in the State of Idaho, nor have they done so in the remotest degree.

It has seemed to me necessary to be very explicit in reporting upon this system of labor permits because of the persistency of a portion of the public press, and especially of the various labor unions all over the country, in charging me with making the order which is quoted in the preamble of the above proclamation.

This practice has been continued and emphasized in spite of the self-proclaimed authorship shown in the phrase "by the duly constituted State authorities." Furthermore, on this point Governor Steunenberg, who is himself a labor-union man and a friend of law-abiding organized labor, gave out for publication the following statement, dated May 20, 1899:

In dealing with the conditions at present existing in Shoshone County it is the purpose of the State authorities to restore peace and safety to the law-abiding inhabi-

tants of the county, and to punish and totally eradicate from this community a class of criminals who have for years been committing murders and other crimes in open violation of the law.

To this end I shall use the powers vested in me to the fullest extent necessary. It is the intention that the protection of the law shall extend alike to the men who labor and the men who employ. There will be, and is, no war upon organized labor as such, but certain so-called labor organizations, as they exist and have existed under various names and at various times in Shoshone County, are not to be considered with law-respecting labor organizations elsewhere. They have been, and are now, controlled by desperate men, who use it to support them in their lawlessness, and through it keep the sympathy and support of labor organizations elsewhere not conversant with conditions here. These desperadoes stop at no crime, either upon law-abiding members of their own organization, or business men, or laborers, or mine owners, and thus terrorize the entire community. Law-abiding and law-respecting labor organizations, here and elsewhere, should hasten to disclaim any and all sympathy with organized reign of terror that has prevailed in Shoshone County for some years past, and, as in this case, when the same has been carried on in the name of those who toil, the speedier should be the disclaimer; and in disclaiming they should further lend every effort to assist in the prosecution and conviction of those who, by their acts of lawlessness and crime, defame the cause and misrepresent the true mission of organized labor.

"Certain of the county officers, whose sworn duty it is to preserve order and protect property, have for years been either in sympathy with criminals or intimidated by them, and in applying the remedy nothing less drastic than the disease itself will cure. There can be no compromise with crime nor with criminals; and further, in the performance of my duty, there will be no subserviency to any private interest. All good citizens are urged to cooperate with the authorities in carrying this purpose into effect.

"The wage rate in the Coeur d'Alenes is the highest for similar labor paid in the United States. Laborers are assured that they can come here and work and receive that protection to which every American citizen is entitled. Every resource at my command will be used to this end, and they are further assured that none of the present safeguards will be withdrawn until those certain inalienable rights, among which are enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, pursuing happiness and securing safety, guaranteed by our Constitution and dear to every American heart, are firmly and lastingly established."

FRANK STEUNENBERG.

WARDNER, IDAHO, May 12, 1899.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Washington, D. C.:

Number of prisoners reduced to 450, and am relieving troops needed in connection with shipments to Manila, leaving one battalion Twenty-fourth Infantry here, under Captain Leavell. All is progressing satisfactorily, and many miners returning to work under necessary restrictions by State authority. I think I may return to Denver by Monday, if approved, and not return unless later complications arise. Governor will be here to-morrow and will hurry forward investigation and prosecutions. I hope he will be able to release half the men still held.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 16.

General MERRIAM:

Secretary War desires report of present existing conditions.

CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Washington, D. C.:

WARDNER, IDAHO, May 16, 1899.

Governor of Idaho has carefully reviewed the situation here; deems it necessary to place troops at Burke and Mullan. Request two troops of cavalry be sent from Robinson or Meade under a field officer. Each troop should bring one 4-mule team and supplies for one month. From present indications troops may be required for six months or more. Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, Tenth Cavalry, is with me, and of great assistance. I ask suspension of order to join his regiment. Referring to press

criticism, I have made no orders. My action limited strictly to support of State authorities. There are 396 prisoners still in custody under investigation.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

WARDNER, IDAHO, *May 17, 1899.*

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, *Washington, D. C.:*

Union miners now refusing work under conditions deemed by State authorities necessary to insure good order. This seems partly due to sympathy and support given by kindred unions in other States. Result is, large numbers of idle and sullen men in the mining centers—Mullan, Burke, and Wallace.

Mounted troops asked for in yesterday's telegram would have a restraining effect. The governor's course appears to me judicious and his prompt support necessary to arrest lawlessness and crime, which has obtained in this county for several years. With troops placed order will be preserved. Trials will go on; witnesses can testify under feeling of security. Well-disposed miners will return to work and the turbulent element gradually disappear.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

WARDNER, IDAHO, *May 25, 1899.*

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, *Washington, D. C.:*

Conditions here steadily improving. Some miners accepting permits to work and others leaving the district. Major Smith's squadron First Cavalry arrived at Wallace yesterday; will patrol the district and relieve infantry guards over all magazines containing explosives.

I think acute stage of disorders is passed and nothing now required but time for restoration of civil functions, trial of the rioters, and reorganization of local industries.

Number of prisoners to-day is 330. Nearly all admit being in the riot of April 29. Sanitary condition is beyond complaint. No deaths; 1 serious case of pneumonia and 3 cases of tonsillitis and bronchitis, not serious.

I will be at Vancouver to-morrow for consultation with department staff on questions of supply and expenditures; at San Francisco Monday, then go to Denver by Thursday, leaving Major Smith in command here.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

DENVER, COLO., *May 29, 1899.*

Gen. H. C. MERRIAM,

Phelan Building, San Francisco, Cal.:

Following repeated: Graves, Aid. Washington, D. C., May 26, via Vancouver Barracks, Wash., May 27, 1899. Gen. H. C. Merriam, Denver, Colo., to be forwarded. It is charged in resolutions by the Western Labor Union under date of May 20, just received by the President, that owners of mines in Coeur d'Alene district are denied the right of employing any men unless he first makes affidavit that he is a nonunion miner and that the Army sent to aid the State authorities to preserve peace and protect property is being used to enforce the alleged order. The statement must be the result of some misunderstanding which should be properly corrected. The President wishes a statement of facts at once.

By order of the Secretary of War:

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

[Sent from train May 20, in Nevada.]

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY,

Washington, D. C.:

Resolutions referred to in your telegram are at fault, like most others on that subject. State authorities require miners to obtain permits, but no affidavits are required. Men must sign a paper denying participation in the crimes of April 29, also deny membership in any society which did incite or approve those crimes, and promise to obey the law.

Troops are taking no part in this unless keeping the peace does so. Every mine owner I have seen strongly approves.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

TRANSFER OF IMMEDIATE COMMAND.

On May 25 I left the mining district and returned to my headquarters at Denver, leaving Maj. Allen Smith, First Cavalry, in immediate command, with the following letter of instructions:

WARDNER, IDAHO, *May 24, 1899.*

Maj. ALLEN SMITH, *First Cavalry.*

SIR: In my absence you will become the senior officer on duty with troops in this county, now under martial law by proclamation of the governor of Idaho, dated May 3, 1899. The troops are here by order of the President to aid the State executive in maintaining order and restoring the State government to its legitimate functions. To this end we are exercising the extraordinary powers which obtain under martial law, but we must not forget the necessity of using this power with great care and moderation, to the end that while exacting prompt submission of all persons to all measures needful to the object we have in hand, we may not overdo it to the annoyance of the innocent or even to the needless distress of those who may have offended. It is quite impossible to give specific instructions to meet contingencies that may arise for the reason that conditions can not be fully anticipated. Constant vigilance and prompt action may sometimes prevent or nip in the bud tendencies which might otherwise lead to serious conditions. To this end the magazines containing explosives among the mining properties have been put under guard. Saloons may be closed for similar reasons whenever they appear to be a source of danger, and many other acts along the same line, such as forbidding gatherings of excited people, the issuing of inflammatory publications, etc.

With these hints I do not doubt that your experience and good judgment will enable you to deal successfully with any questions likely to arise. The acute stage has passed and the game is now merely one of waiting till the civil officers and courts can be set up and resume their functions, and the local industries, lately paralyzed by mob violence, shall have time to reorganize and resume operations.

All requisitions for forage and subsistence will be forwarded to headquarters, Department of the Columbia, at least ten days before supplies are required.

Very respectfully,

H. C. MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

On May 31, after my arrival in Denver, the following telegrams were received and sent:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 31.*

Brigadier-General MERRIAM,

Commanding Dept. of Colorado, Denver, Colo.:

You will instruct Major Smith, commanding at Wallace, that he is to use the United States troops to aid the State authorities simply to suppress rioting and to maintain peace and order. These were your original instructions. The Army must have nothing whatever to do with enforcing rules for the government of miners or miner's unions. That is a matter for the local authorities to deal with.

R. A. ALGER, *Secretary of War.*

DENVER, COLO., *June 1, 1899.*

ADJUTANT-GENERAL ARMY,

Washington, D. C.:

Telegram dated yesterday and signed by Secretary of War, relating to duties of troops in Shoshone County, Idaho, received and forwarded to Major Smith, with instructions to keep well within its limitations. In this connection, is it expected that troops be used to guard prisoners arrested by State authorities or magazines containing explosives within the region declared by the governor as in a state of insurrection and therefore understood to be under martial law? These and perhaps other precautions are needful, in my opinion, to prevent further violence and crime.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 2, 1899.*

Major-General MERRIAM, *Denver, Colo.:*

In reply to your telegram of yesterday, Secretary of War directs me to say that while the insurrection continues and the governor of Idaho requires your aid you will continue to assist the State authorities to preserve the peace and protect life and property. You will take whatever precautions are necessary to prevent further violence and crime.

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

The telegram of May 31, signed by Secretary Alger, had given me much concern, for it contained a plain intimation that some order or instruction intended for my guidance had not been received. To clear up all doubt on this point I applied by mail for a copy of the paper referred to in that telegram as my "original instructions." The desired paper was not furnished, but in the meantime the Secretary's telegram containing the hurtful intimation was given out at the War Department for publication, and was published very generally throughout the country.

Thereupon I renewed my application for whatever had been referred to in that telegram as my "original instructions." To this request no reply has been received. I note this incident here because of the hurtful publication. My original instructions as received are fully set forth at the beginning of this report.

STATISTICS OF PRISONERS.

The total number of arrests made, and in military custody to date, has exceeded 700, but many of those were almost instantly released on investigation, so that the number remaining in custody long enough for making a statistical record, which was made by my aid, Lieutenant Bennet, was 528. Of these the following information was recorded, viz:

Nativity.	Total	Citizens.	Allens.	Married.	Single.
Americans.....	132	132	.....	26	106
Swedes.....	99	84	45	23	76
Italians.....	63	22	41	21	42
Fins.....	47	12	35	16	31
Irish.....	43	28	15	6	37
Other foreign.....	144	82	62	38	106
Total.....	528	380	198	130	398

From the above it will be further noted that of the 396 foreign born only half, or 198, had taken out citizenship papers.

During the entire period the prison has been in existence, viz, since May 4 to date—about three months—there have been two deaths, as follows: M. L. Devine, June 1, in hospital, of pneumonia; Miles Mc-Millan, June 11, in hospital, of typhoid fever.

A third death, that of Mike Johnson, suicide by drowning, occurred after the prisoner had been removed from the prison and was en route to Wallace, Idaho, in custody of the sheriff.

Number of prisoners remaining in custody, 194; of these 6 are on sick report with bilious fever.

In addition to prisoners arrested there were considerable numbers of firearms seized by deputies, consisting of Winchester and other patterns of rifles and pistols. These were placed in custody of the troops for safe-keeping, subject to orders of the State officials. A few iron safes—three of them, I think—found in halls of miners' unions, were taken possession of by deputies. These were not placed in custody of the troops, and I have no knowledge of their contents.

COURT PROCEEDINGS.

The coroner's jury began its examination into the circumstances of the murder of John Smyth and James Cheyne on May 3, and continued its sessions for several weeks, examining hundreds of witnesses.

From the information so gathered a large number of indictments have been found by the grand jury.

Impeachment proceedings against County Commissioners Moses S. Simmons, William Boyle, and William R. Stimson, and Sheriff James D. Young were concluded July 10, resulting in their removal from office for their failure to perform their duties as peace officers of the county on April 29 and previously.

On the following day the trial of Paul Corcoran was commenced under indictment for conspiracy and the murder of James Cheyne. The trial was concluded July 27, resulting in his conviction and sentence to seventeen years at hard labor in the State prison. Corcoran was a high official in the miners' unions of Cœur d'Alenes.

Other trials under similar indictments having been ordered for the September term, the court has adjourned to meet September 4.

In order to give a fair presentation of the riots and the sentiments prevailing among the people directly interested, I have attached to this report Appendices A and B, taken from the local newspapers, and illustrating views from opposite standpoints.

Appendix A is taken from The Idaho State Tribune, official paper of the Western Federation of Miners, published May 3 at Wallace, Idaho, by James R. Sovereign. It contains a narrative of the riots of April 29, and quite extensive editorial comments upon the situation.

Appendix B is taken from the Wardner News, a weekly, published May 6 at Wardner, Idaho, by Mr. Aaron Frost. It also contains a narrative of the riots of April 29 and various editorial notes upon the situation.

It will be observed that these narratives do not differ materially as to the crimes and the participants.

The following figures are taken from the books of the mines not blown up, and in which union miners were employed exclusively. The number not at work in the mines during the day of the riot corresponds very closely with the number estimated as engaged in the riot:

Total number of miners employed April 29	1,148
Total number of miners at work April 29	199
Total number of miners not at work April 29	949

Table showing troops called upon for duty in Cœur d'Alenes in connection with the riots.

Organization.	Commanding.	Post.	Arrived.	Re- lieved.
Company M, Twenty-fourth Infantry.	Capt. J. B. Batchelor, Jr., Twenty-fourth Infantry.	Fort Spokane, Wash.	May 2	May 12
Troop A, Fourth Cavalry.....	Second Lieut. J. N. Munro, Fourth Cavalry.	Fort Walla Walla, Wash.	May 3	May 11
Company D, Twenty-fourth Infantry.	First Lieut. H. G. Lyon, Twenty-fourth Infantry.	Fort Harrison, Mont.	May 4	June 21
Company A, Twenty-fourth Infantry.	Capt. E. W. Leavell, Twenty- fourth Infantry.	Fort Douglas, Utah.	May 4	June 21
Company G, Twenty-fourth Infantry.	First Lieut. H. B. Nelson, Twenty-fourth Infantry.	.....do.....	May 4	May 19
Company C, Twenty-fourth Infantry.	Capt. W. H. W. James, Twenty-fourth Infantry.	Fort D. A. Russell, Wyo.	May 4	May 19
Company F, Twenty-fourth Infantry.	First Lieut. W. P. Jackson, Twenty-fourth Infantry.	.....do.....	May 4	June 21
Company B, Twenty-fourth Infantry.	Second Lieut. W. L. Mur- phy, Twenty-fourth In- fantry.	Vancouver Bar- racks, Wash.	May 4	May 14
Troop F, Fourth Cavalry.....	Capt. H. D. Walsh, Fourth Cavalry.	Boise Barracks, Idaho.	May 4	May 9
Company K, Twenty-fourth In- fantry.	Second Lieut. H. O. Wil- liard, Tenth Cavalry.	Fort Assiniboine, Mont.	May 5	June 14
Troop L, First Cavalry.....	Capt. F. A. Edwards, First Cavalry.	Fort Robinson, Nebr.	May 24	
Troop A, First Cavalry.....	First Lieut. E. S. Wright, First Cavalry.	.....do.....	May 24	
Detachment Sixth Cavalry, 200 men, dismounted.	First Lieut. A. C. Nissen, Sixth Cavalry.	Fort Riley, Kans....	June 20	

FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS ON DUTY.

Lieut. Col. Francis Moore, Tenth Cavalry, Acting Inspector-General, Department of Colorado, May 5-May 25.

Maj. J. M. Thompson, Twenty-fourth Infantry, Fort Douglas, Utah, May 4-May 11.

Maj. Charles Morton, Fourth Cavalry, Fort Walla Walla, May 3-May 11.

Maj. Allen Smith, First Cavalry, Fort Robinson, Nebr., May 24.

Maj. H. P. Birmingham, Surgeon, U. S. A., May 4-May 10.

First Lieut. J. B. Bennet, Seventh Inf., aid-de-camp, May 4-May 25.

Acting Asst. Surg. J. E. Bingham, U. S. A., May 3-May 11.

Acting Asst. Surg. R. M. Fletcher, U. S. A., May 4-July 28.

The conduct of the troops and the intelligence, skill, and good judgment of the officers have been noteworthy under all the trying conditions presented. Commendation is especially due to Capt. J. B. Batchelor and First Lieut. H. G. Lyon, Twenty-fourth Infantry, who encountered special opportunities.

Major Smith, with 200 Sixth Cavalry dismounted, is still at Wallace with detachments guarding magazines and mining property in that vicinity, and Captain Edwards remains at Wardner with two troops First Cavalry, guarding nearly 200 prisoners. As the trials have been suspended till September 4, I have deemed it best to submit this report without further delay.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. C. MERRIAM,
Brigadier-General.

APPENDIX A.

[Extracts from Idaho State Tribune, official paper of Western Federation of Miners, Wallace, Idaho, Wednesday, May 3, 1899.]

BUNKER HILL DESTROYED—ONE THOUSAND DETERMINED MEN WREAK VENGEANCE ON THE SCAB MINE—WORK OF DESTRUCTION COMPLETE—TWO MEN KILLED AND ONE WOUNDED—SOLDIERS ON THE GROUND—WHOLESALE ARRESTS TO BE MADE—MILITARY LAW THREATENED FOR THE ENTIRE DISTRICT.

Saturday last witnessed what might properly be considered the close of a seven years' war. The sun rose bright and clear in the morning and the people repaired to their usual vocations in peace and quietude. There was nothing in the order of nature and the mind of the public portentous of the coming tumult. About 10.30 a man on horseback came galloping down Bank street from Canyon Creek, and, halting in front of the Tribune office, said, "They are coming," and passed on at a rapid rate. Five minutes later the whistle of the Northern Pacific engine pulling the train from Burke and Gem resounded with its usual regularity. A moment later it halted at the Oregon Railroad and Navigation depot, and on its 9 freight and ore cars were packed 1,000 men, half of whom were masked and armed with Winchester rifles. After a short halt the train proceeded to the Northern Pacific depot, and after a few minutes' delay they switched to the Oregon Railroad and Navigation track, and without running orders proceeded toward Wardner.

The streets of Wallace took on an air of excitement, and before the train proceeded to Wardner with its human freight, on its mission of destruction, armed men walked the streets in quest of an abundant supply of ammunition. It was evident to all that some of the scenes of 1892 were to be repeated, and this time the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Company at Wardner, 12 miles below Wallace, was to be the victim of a forceful demonstration on the part of the organized miners of the Cœur d'Alenes. On the train were about 200 members of the organizations at Mullan, and the balance were composed of men from the various mines and outside works on Canyon Creek. The delegation from Mullan had walked to Wallace and, by a prearranged plan, had connected with the incoming train from Burke. The failure to secure running orders compelled the engineer to flag the train to Wardner, and, owing to the many sharp curves in the road winding down the North Fork, the speed of the train could not exceed the speed of the flagman on foot.

The train reached Wardner at 1 o'clock, and the work of clearing the country of all opposition was begun. A detachment of union miners, armed with Winchester rifles, was dispatched to the mountain side beyond the mill, and the work of placing under the mill 3,000 pounds of dynamite, taken from the magazine of the Frisco mine at Gem, was commenced. At no time did the demonstration assume the appearance or the attitude of a disorganized mob. All the details were managed with the discipline and precision of a perfectly trained military organization. Each miner participating in the affair either wore a strip of white handkerchief in the buttonhole of his coat or a strip of white cloth tied on his right arm. Sixty armed scabs in the employ of the Bunker Hill company offered the only resistance, and they only gave expression to the most pitiable and lamentable cowardice. Only a few desultory shots from the miners were necessary to send them fleeing over the mountains. At the same time Mr. Burbidge, manager of the mine, might have been seen running down the Oregon Railroad and Navigation track toward Kingston, skulking behind every conceivable object and wringing his hands in the desperation of fear. Probably a more humiliating spectacle has not presented itself to the world since the capture of King Charles, nor a more striking evidence of supreme cowardice than was shown by Mr. Burbidge, who heretofore has displayed the defiant air of a tyrant equaled only by Sir Henry Morgan, the leader of the buccaneers of the Spanish Main.

At 2.30 the arrangements were complete, the dynamite was placed under the mill in three departments, the fuse attached, and all was in readiness for the destruction of one of the largest concentrators in the world, costing the company the enormous sum of \$250,000. All miners and friends of the miners were warned to take a safe distance from the work of destruction about to begin. The fuses were lighted, and at 2.26 there was an awful crash, and broken machinery and fragments of the building were hurled high into the air. Fifteen seconds later another followed, and in about the same time a third. From the force of the third shot débris was hurled in every direction, and a huge canopy was formed in the heavens. Fragments of machinery and broken timbers rained down upon the rains for several seconds. The shock of each explosion was terrific and was heard 20 miles away. The work of destruction was complete. The great concentrator was as completely demolished as it could have been if months had been spent in preparing the giant explosives for that purpose. The work was planned and executed by men who have received the training of a lifetime in the handling of dynamite.

Not only was the mill completely demolished, but the office, books, and papers of the company suffered likewise, and the boarding house of the company, about 300 feet from the mill, was at the time of the explosion a mass of flames, and only the smoldering ashes now mark the place where it once stood.

The explosion was indeed an awe-inspiring scene, and to the eyewitness, were it not for the horrors of destruction, presented a pyrotechnical display which would satisfy the most expert critic of Fourth of July fireworks.

After the terrific shock of the last explosion had died away in the distant mountains an ominous stillness of a few minutes followed. The delegation from Canyon Creek and Mullan, together with a large portion of the people from Wardner, were either on or about the train, which consisted of 9 cars and 2 engines. Winchesters and revolvers were everywhere in evidence. The silence was broken by a single shot from a Winchester from some person on top of one of the cars, followed by a deafening fusillade. For five minutes the rattle of musketry was incessant. It was evident, however, from the beginning of the firing that no harm was intended; that the men were simply celebrating the victory they had secured in the destruction of the Bunker Hill concentrator. In the midst of the firing the engines gave the starting signal and the train moved slowly toward Wallace, but when about one-half mile from Wardner was stopped, it being claimed that 75 of the Canyon Creek and Mullan delegation were left at Wardner. The train slowly backed down to the depot again, and quite a few more boarded the cars, when it proceeded on its way to Wallace.

From Wardner to Wallace there was no incident of importance and no demonstration on the part of the men. Ranchers and laboring people living in the valley congregated along the track and cheered the men lustily as they passed along. The train reached Wallace about 4 o'clock, and about a hundred of the people of the city were congregated at the depot to witness its arrival. Mayor Smith had taken the precaution to temporarily close the saloons. A few from Canyon Creek and a few from Mullan remained in town, but most of the miners from Canyon Creek remained on the train and were taken to their respective homes, and the Mullan miners slowly wended their way back from whence they came.

During the desultory firing at Wardner, shortly after the train from Wallace arrived, Jack Smyths, a miner at the Frisco mine, was shot and instantly killed. How it happened or by whom he was shot is not definitely known. Some say he was shot

by scabs in the employ of the Bunker Hill company, others that he was shot by the striking miners through mistake. James Cheyne, a vanner man at the Bunker Hill mill, was shot through the hip and died at the Sacred Heart Hospital in Spokane yesterday morning. R. R. Rogers, the stenographer of the Bunker Hill company, was slightly wounded in the upper lip. So far as known, this constitutes all the casualties of the day's doings in connection with the Bunker Hill explosion.

The body of Jack Smythe was brought on the strikers' train from Wardner and taken to Burke and later to Wallace and placed in charge of Ward's undertaking establishment, but later transferred by order of County Coroner France to the undertaking establishment of Mr. Worstell, with instructions to hold the remains pending the coroner's inquest, which Mr. France refused to hold until military protection could be secured. Coroner France at once proceeded to Spokane, presumably to secure legal advice, and it is stated he has ordered the body of Smythe taken to Wardner, and that the inquest will begin at 2 o'clock this afternoon, the intention being to select the evidence that will make up the findings of the coroner's jury.

Yesterday about 104 United States Regulars from Fort Spokane, under command of Captain Bachelor, arrived at Wardner, and telegraphic reports have it that all the United States Regulars available as far east as Leavenworth, Kans., have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to the Cœur d'Alenes at a minute's notice. It is rumored on pretty reliable authority that the whole country will be placed under martial law and wholesale arrests made, with the hope of convicting participants in the blowing up of the Bunker Hill mill and the shooting of Smythe, Cheyne, and Rogers.

The corporate press, as usual, lays the blame of the whole affair on the organized miners and civil authorities. No importance whatever is attached to the indiscreet and arrogant policy of the Bunker Hill Company. Labor alone is to be punished, and rich tyrants are to be protected in the work of pauperizing the country for the benefit of the few.

A few days will be necessary to determine the actual policy the Federal and State Governments have decided upon. Sheriff Young and County Attorney Samuels come in for a share of severe criticism, although it is admitted by all that the raid on the Bunker Hill was a complete surprise and that the local authorities were absolutely powerless.

The Bunker Hill mill cost the company, in round numbers, \$250,000, but owing to the reduced price in machinery it can be replaced for about \$200,000. The destruction of the mill forced the suspension of the Last Chance mine, for the reason that the Last Chance compressor was supplied from the Bunker Hill machinery. The Last Chance, however, has since resumed, and is working with hand drills and pushing forward the construction of its own compressor with all possible speed. The electric lights of Wardner were also supplied with power from the Bunker Hill mill, and the destruction of the property leaves the city in absolute darkness. It is estimated that the aggregate loss to the Bunker Hill Company in its concentrator and machinery and the loss of eight months' or a year's profits will approximate half a million dollars. The mill had a capacity of 600 tons of crude ore per day, and was one of the largest and best-equipped concentrators in the world, and its destruction will prove a serious setback to the Wardner end of the Cœur d'Alene district. All the other mines and mills, however, are running with the same force and regularity as if nothing had happened. The men are all satisfied with their conditions, and peace and quietude reign.

Up to the hour of going to press 75 warrants had been issued, and it is the intention to make wholesale arrests of parties charged with being implicated in the destruction of the Bunker Hill mill.

EDITORIALS FROM SAME ISSUE.

If Bartlett Sinclair, auditor of state, who is the representative of Governor Steunenberg at Wardner, is correctly quoted in yesterday's Spokesman-Review, he is an ignoramus in the extreme sense. He talks about impeaching County Attorney Samuels and Sheriff Young before Judge Mayhew, and that the governor will appoint their successors. Judge Mayhew has no authority to impeach county officers, and the governor of the State has no authority to appoint their successors. It requires a jury to impeach county officers, and when removed from office the county commissioners alone have the right to fill the vacancies by appointment. Governor Steunenberg better send a representative to the Cœur d'Alenes who understands his business, or come here himself.

Dr. E. H. Harding, of Mullan, arrived in Spokane April 30, and in a long interview in the Spokesman-Review denounces this country as an unfit place for decent and

respectable people to live in. Who is Dr. E. H. Harding? A deadbeat and a swindler, who has the reputation of spending most of his time with lewd women. He came to Wallace about four years ago, borrowed money to get to Murray, and there practiced his disreputable arts on the people until his presence became intolerable. He left Murray between two days, leaving his creditors wiser but poorer. He is a quack, and came near being arrested here for practicing medicine unlawfully. He went to Mullan for a short time, where he established even a worse reputation than at other points where he lived in this county. He left Mullan about two years ago, and has not since been seen in this county until his return about two weeks ago. He never had any practice here and could not get any. He is too much of a reprobate for decent people to associate with. This is the man who is given a column in the Spokesman-Review to denounce the Cœur d'Alenes.

Whenever there is labor trouble and force is resorted to by the working people the plutocratic press, like the Spokesman-Review, sends up a cry for soldiers and guns to preserve the peace, and we admit that sometimes soldiers and guns are necessary, but it more frequently happens that they do more to break the peace than to preserve it. The best way to preserve the peace in this community is for the employers of labor to do right. Let the Spokesman-Review come to Gem, Burke, or Mullan, where 2,000 miners are employed, and it will find those mining camps the most peaceable and the most prosperous in the world. There is a widespread cause for it. The mine managers do right by the men in their employ. To do right is the best known method of preserving the peace. It will not fail to win once in a million trials. Joe Sibley, of Pennsylvania, once said to us: "I will wager \$10,000 that no man can induce my 2,000 employees or a tenth part of them to go on a strike, and the reason they can't do it is because my employees are always treated right." There are hundreds of other employers whose love of humanity and whose respect for labor always prompt them to treat their employees with proper consideration, and they never suffer from labor troubles. The Spokesman-Review could do a thousand times better service for this district if it would persuade the Bunker Hill Company to do right. Remember that wrong begets wrong and right begets right. Let the Bunker Hill do right and it will beget right on the part of the miners, and nothing short of it will insure peace in this district.

An elephant is the kindest and most gentle of all animals, but when tormented becomes extremely ferocious. The circus came to town and the boys went to see the elephant, and the elephant ate peanuts and candy out of their hands. The elephant was glad and the boys were pleased. But there was one mean, proud boy by the name of Burbidge, who usually amused himself by robbing birds' nests and pulling off the wings and legs of innocent bugs and throwing mud into the face of his little sister. The Burbidge boy conceived the idea that he would play a trick on the elephant, so when the elephant stretched out its trunk for candy Burbidge gave it a piece of tobacco and stuck a pin into it. The elephant was enraged and threw Burbidge high into the air, and the balance of the boys said it was just what he deserved, because he tormented the elephant when kindness and good treatment cost less. But there was a law in those days which permitted mean boys to torment elephants to their hearts' content, and a great cry went up to kill the elephant, and the big newspapers and some little ones praised the mean boy for tormenting the animal, and the soldiers came, saying great is the mean boy and denounced elephants in unmeasured terms. The other boys, however, insisted that the elephant was good and kind to them, and there was a great commotion in the congregation of the Lord. A resolution was passed to the effect that elephants belong to God's creation and deserved fair treatment, and the hosts of industry marched out of the wilderness of greed, and elephants forever after were considered helpful and harmless.

In business circles it is feared that the scenes of Saturday, which resulted in the destruction of the Bunker Hill mill at Wardner, will result in a serious setback to business in the Cœur d'Alenes. There is really no foundation for a fear of this kind. The relations between the organized miners and the mine operators at Mullan and on Canyon Creek are more cordial and friendly now than ever before. The 1,000 men who went to Wardner and are charged with destroying the Bunker Hill mill, would have come home and waded in blood to their knees if necessary to protect the mills or mines of the Mullan or Canyon Creek operators. There has not been a time during the past ten years when a more pleasant feeling between mine operators and miners existed than at the present time. This same feeling of friendship, confidence, and good will could have been shared by the Bunker Hill, if that company had shown a disposition to have treated the organized miners with the respect and consideration due them as an element in the production of our mineral wealth. But instead the Bunker Hill management employed every possible means, even repudiating its own promises, for the purpose of aggravating the union miners of the district.

For this foolhardy policy the Bunker Hill has suffered an immense loss, and no one who understands the real situation has any sympathy for them. The Bunker Hill Company is the victim of its own folly, and received timely warning from other operators, who begged of them to change the conditions which was threatening the peace of the district; but they were too selfish and penurious to heed the friendly advice of men who have the prosperity of the community at heart.

The Bunker Hill Company wants military protection while rebuilding their mill at Wardner. That is not necessary. Let the company show a disposition to treat the organized miners with the same respect the other mine operators give the miners and pay the union rate and no protection will be needed. At the mouth of Canyon Creek, just above Wallace, the Hecla Company is building a large new mill, and the builders would spurn the idea of needing military protection or any other kind of protection to guard the property during the work of construction. When the new Morning mill was erected at Mullan last year, the builders did not ask for protection, nor was any protection needed. The Bunker Hill does not need protection if the managers will evince a disposition to act like men among men. Their property would be safe in the hands of babes the very minute they convince the miners they intend to do right. Let Mr. Bradley and Mr. Burbidge meet the miners' unions and contract to give the miners the same recognition and the same rate of wages given by the other operators in this district and they can build a thousand mills at Wardner, if they wish to, and no protection will be needed. Let it be remembered that when the Bunker Hill asks for military protection it is not alone for the purpose of guarding their property while a new mill is being constructed, but for the purpose of imposing a lower rate of wages on their employees than is paid for like service by every other mining company in this entire district. It is protection in their determination to reduce the wages of miners below the standard rate that they clamor for, and, judging from Saturday's demonstration, if that is their purpose, they will need military protection continuously for forty years after their new mill is completed.

Behind the Bunker Hill trouble is a proposition about which the public has given little if any thought. The Bunker Hill mine, through the Standard Oil combine, is controlled by the lead trust, and the lead trust has threatened bankruptcy to every other lead producer in the country, and boasted that if the other operators do not conform to the terms of the trust they will put ore on the market at prices that will bankrupt every independent company. To accomplish this fiendish design it is necessary for the trust to pay a lower rate of wages than is paid by the independent operators. This is why the Bunker Hill management refused to unionize the mine and pay the union rate. The Bunker Hill was putting out 100 tons of concentrates per day, which added greatly to the power of the lead trust to accomplish the purpose desired. To pay union wages would operate against the power of the trust to monopolize the market, because it would equalize the cost of production and give the independent operators an even race in the markets should the lead trust force a break in the market quotations. Thus the Bunker Hill trouble and the destruction of the mill has a wider significance than the labor question. It was the result of a deliberate conspiracy to control the lead output of America. It is the duty of organized miners to stand close to the independent operators. So sure as the lead trust gets control of the output will they force a reduction in wages in every lead-producing mine in America if they have to order a general suspension to accomplish it. Once the lead trust gets control it can store lead, shut down the mines, and through the increase in the market price that will follow the suspension make millions at one end of the line by unloading their surplus ore, and starve the miners at the other end until they are forced to yield to the insatiate greed of the combine. Viewed from this standpoint it is easy to comprehend why the Bunker Hill is receiving so little sympathy from the business men of this district; and viewed from this standpoint it is just to say this company deserves no sympathy.

Greed is at the bottom of nine-tenths of the revolutionary movements of modern times. It was the greed of supercilious managers of the Bunker Hill that aggravated the organized miners of the Cœur d'Alenes. When lead was worth \$2.50 per hundred pounds and silver 52 cents per ounce the Bunker Hill company made a scale of wages, and under that scale, notwithstanding the low price of ore, paid enormous dividends to the company. Lead is now worth \$4.35 per hundred and silver 63 cents per ounce, which, according to figures furnished us by local mine operators, enabled each man in the employ of the Bunker Hill to add \$5 to the net profits of the company per day on an aggregate increase of about \$2,000 per day in the net profits of the company. Of this \$5 added to the net profits of the company by the service of each man in their employ the men wanted \$1 for carmen and shovelers and 50 cents for miners, making a uniform rate of \$3.50 per day for all inside men and the recog-

nition of the union so that the rate might be maintained and the men have some protection in the security of their positions. They wanted simply the same conditions and compensation accorded the miners in every other camp in the district. This the company would not grant. The managers in authority were so steeped in greed that they were unwilling their faithful employees should share any part of the extra \$5 each man in their employ was adding each day to their already enormous profits. In the language of a leading mine operator, "They played the part of a hog, and a mighty mean hog at that." The arrogance displayed would leave one to think it was Mr. Burbidge whose spirit moved upon the face of the waters and said, "Let there be light, and there was light," that he rules over the heavens above and holds the keys to the bottomless pit below, and that all mankind must fall down and worship him. To him the most detestable thing in all the world is a labor organization. He would prefer to associate with venomous snakes rather than speak to a committee representing organized labor, and if he had his way every member of the Western Federation of Miners would go to the gallows for the crime of belonging to the organization.

Organized working people, whether miners or others, will demand a fair remuneration for the labor performed. That they are justly entitled to it is the verdict of all fair-minded people. If the organized working people can not secure fair wages and just recognition by the common consent of the employers nor by the force of law, they will resort to violence. This is the record of labor since the dawn of history, and, whether right or wrong, the world must accept humanity as it is and not as it ought to be. Working people in the Cœur d'Alenes are no different from the working people in the industrial centers of the older parts of the country, and all this hue and cry about lawlessness in the Cœur d'Alenes is prompted by speculative designs in the interest of outside investors. In 1874 the working people of Pittsburg, Pa., destroyed \$5,000,000 worth of property in a single day. Since that time there is not an industrial center from New York to San Francisco, nor from Minneapolis to New Orleans, that has not at times been a scene of bloodshed and riot growing out of an effort to impose unfair conditions on the laboring people. Behind every serious labor trouble during the past twenty-five years there has been a Gould, a Carnegie, a Pullman, a Burbidge, or some other ultra, insolent, avaricious egotist, whose blind stupidity subordinated every sense of justice and every consideration of humanity. Moralize as we will, and abuse the working people as we wish, the effort will be ineffectual. Nothing short of a rigid application of the principles of equal and exact justice will insure permanent peace in the industrial world. We may as well begin at the root of the evil and eradicate the wrongs which exasperate the working people to rashness before we boast of peaceful conditions. We will have it to do, and we may cry peace until the crack of doom, and it will not come except we expunge from our industrial system that repulsive haughtiness that assumes to wear boots and the spurs to ride on the backs of labor by the power of wealth and the grace of God. If it had not been for the grasping, greedy character of a Burbidge no mill would have been destroyed at Wardner, and there would have been no disposition to have destroyed it. The fact that a thousand men with arms and dynamite went from Mullan, Burke, and Gem to Wardner to destroy a mill when they could have destroyed half a dozen mills near home proves conclusively that the destruction of a mill was not the prime motive. It was the spirit of labor driven to desperation and revenge by the disdainful, defiant, contemptuous attitude of the Bunker Hill management. Mr. Burbidge turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of other mine operators and spurned with the air of a tyrant a conference with the organized miners, who sought only an honorable settlement of pending questions. He treated with contumely and contempt all friendly advice offered by business men that suggested any recognition of labor. His regard for mules, dogs, and workmen was exactly the same, and to him all three belonged to the same family in the animal kingdom, with workmen at the foot of the class. With him a mine manager of the Bunker Hill company was the noblest work of God and all other men were detestable for their insignificance. In the year 1350 King Edward issued an edict from the throne of England declaring that any workingman who asked for an increase in wages should be branded by a red-hot iron and cast into a dungeon. Burbidge is a descendant from that class of royalty, and has depended on his blue blood, his pomp and power, to make all things subservient to his will. To him attaches the blame of exasperating the union miners of the district, and when the horrors of the awful disaster of Saturday passes away and a sober, second thought takes possession of the public mind the calamity will be charged to the folly of his own acts.

Two opposite forces are always necessary to incite men to riot or insurrection. Somebody must furnish a motive and somebody else must organize a resisting force. It is as proper to say that King George incited the American colonists to revolution

as it is to charge Patrick Henry with doing it. In fact, our Declaration of Independence places the blame entirely on King George. It is as reasonable to charge the affair at Wardner to the Bunker Hill Company as it was to charge the Revolutionary war to King George. It is true the Bunker Hill Company did not resort to violence, but the managers furnished the motive that incited others to violence. There was no attempt to blow up the Morning mill, Standard, Frisco, Tiger, or any other mill except the Bunker Hill, and the men who blew up the Bunker Hill mill could not have been hired to blow up any other mill, because none of the other companies had furnished a motive for such acts of violence. Not even the Last Chance at Wardner was molested in the least. It was the niggardly, stungy, arrogant policy of the Bunker Hill that constituted the motive that aroused the organized miners to anger and revenge. All the riots and revolutions of modern times have been incited in the same way. The Cubans revolted against Spanish authority because the tyranny of Spain furnished the motive. While we deprecate the destruction of life or property, it is always proper and right to remove, if possible, the motives that incite violent acts. It is the duty of both society and government to make it easy and honorable for all people to do right, and hard and dishonorable for them to do wrong. If the Bunker Hill Company had heeded the advice of other mine operators and voluntarily removed the motive for violence, that company could now be in the very zenith of its prosperity, and this district would have been spared the horror and shame of the lamentable scenes of last Saturday. But the company would not. Like the Illinois company that recently brought serf labor from the South to Pana, to supplant its organized miners, it furnished the aggravated motive that resulted in the destruction of life and property, and people may regret these acts of violence all they wish and condemn labor to their heart's content and resort to military authority to force peaceful acquiescence to civil authority, yet it will only intensify the situation. Until the good people learn to go to the root of the evil and remove the aggravating motives that influence the passions of men and incite the labor of the country to rashness there will be war. The underlying principles of the labor movement inspires in the membership an unrelenting struggle for recognition and a fair share of the wealth created, and nothing short of a full recognition and the removal of aggravating motives on the one hand, or the complete annihilation and complete subjugation on the other will insure peace. The former can be accomplished without bloodshed and will make our country a paradise of happy homes. The latter will involve a reign of terror, and if successful will turn labor back to serfdom and slavery and leave the country in the hands of a titled nobility. Will we never learn to look upon humanity as we find it, and make conditions the most advantageous to the peace and moral growth of God's erring children? Will we always convene courts and marshal armies to quell the violence of labor that squirms beneath the iron heel of arrogant employers and leave the inciting motives free to provoke the wrath of the present and transmit its blighting influence to the generations to come, or will we profit by the lessons of history and philosophically apply the principles of equal and exact justice to modify the contending elements? There is not one in a hundred people of this community who will approve the attitude assumed by the Bunker Hill Company toward the organized miners. In fact, the position of that company was an outrage on every honorable mine operator in the entire district, as well as on the organized miners who asked nothing not already granted by all the others. Yet the cry goes up from outside parties to furnish military protection to the Bunker Hill Company, so that the arrogance and aggravating motives may continue to disturb the peace and destroy the prosperity of this district for all time to come. We say that Bunker Hill deserves no protection. Let that company treat the organized miners as the other mining companies in this district treat them and no protection will be needed, and the country will point with pride to the establishment of permanent peace in the Cœur d'Alenes.

APPENDIX B.

[The Wardner News, May 6, 1892.]

THE WORK OF DYNAMITERS—THE BUNKER HILL CONCENTRATOR IS BLOWN TO ATOMS—THREE MEN SHOT AND TWO KILLED—SAVAGES FROM CANYON CREEK AND MULLAN HOLD A CARNIVAL OF DESTRUCTION—THE COMPANY'S OFFICE, BOARDING HOUSE, AND MR. BURBIDGE'S RESIDENCE ARE BLOWN UP AND BURNED—JAMES CHEYNE, ONE OF THE VICTIMS, TAKEN TO SPOKANE, AND DIES IN THAT CITY.

The Cœur d'Alene miners' unions have at last broken their record of crime by an outrage so atrocious that the whole country stands aghast at the recital of the horrible details. They have furnished a chapter in savagery which has no parallel in the

history of this country. Nor was the crime committed by a few picked men, but practically the whole membership of the Cœur d'Alene miners' unions, comprising those of Gem, Burke, and Mullan, amounting to about 1,200 men, stole a train at Wallace and came down to Wardner on their wicked mission of slaughter and incendiarism.

The news had been telephoned to Wardner, but that such an iniquitous violation of law would be attempted, even by the Cœur d'Alene miners' unions, hardened in crime and blood as they were, surpassed common belief. But certain confirmation soon came—the train had left Wallace and would soon be at the junction. During this time the members of the Wardner Miners' Union were filing down the street in groups of 3 to 10, carrying packages under their arms hastily tied in newspapers. Then the hideous truth was soon revealed of their complicity in the devilish plot. In their packages they carried guns and masks. They had forgotten that they were in a civilized country and they were going to unite with other unions in their determination to destroy the Bunker Hill property and assassinate its superintendent, and they possessed the supreme folly to believe that they could do this, escape with impunity, and thereafter compel absolute obedience to their tyrannous rule.

The train arrived at Wardner station just before noon. It was composed of 10 freight cars and a passenger coach. They held men wherever they could stand or hang on, including engine and tender. With a yell of defiance they jumped from the cars, and the country surrounding the depot was soon black with savage men, about a third of whom were masked and armed with rifles. They straggled around for a while drinking whisky, some at nearby saloons and others in small groups, from bottles. Each wore in his buttonhole a strip of white muslin. James D. Young, the sheriff of this county, was with them and took no steps to prevent violence, either at Wardner or Wallace. The regular passenger train stopped at the depot and passed on to Wallace. An hour passed, then a box car was opened, disclosing a ton and a half of dynamite. Swiftly men bore the boxes down the track toward the mill. An advance guard went ahead and riddled the building with rifle bullets. There was no one there, however, for Assistant Manager Burbidge had recognized the futility of defense against such a vast and raging mob, and had told the mill hands to forsake the property and look out for themselves. The different unions, Gem, Burke, Mullan, and Wardner were called by name to assist in the specific work of destruction. Wardner union was less prompt than the others and its name was called twice. On they went, such as were armed with rifles, about 140 in number, in the direction of the doomed mill. Meanwhile a little band of anarchists had crept along the hillside above the flume in the direction of the mill, unobserved by the larger crowd of dynamiters. They fired a few shots at the concentrator and in an instant were answered by the main body of criminals, who mistook them for Bunker Hill men. John Smyth, one of their number, fell dead with a bullet through his breast.

And now the grounds about the concentrator and the office building were black with fiends in human shape armed with rifles and dynamite. They were foiled in their plans of torture and death for Mr. Burbidge, for he had fled several hours before. Swiftly they carried the dynamite into the mill and office. By the time this was completed flames were shooting from the company's boarding house and bunk house and Mr. Burbidge's residence. "Fire" was called and the savages retired to a safe distance. A few minutes of appalling suspense and the end came. The concentrator went skyward in fragments accompanied by a cloud of dust and smoke and followed by a deafening roar that shook the windows in Wardner. Then another and then the whole roof of the office building rose into the air almost unbroken. The company's safe and fireproof vault were broken to atoms and everything destroyed, also Mr. Burbidge's residence and all the furniture and personal belongings of himself and family. These explosions were followed by demoniacal yells and expressions of delight from the entire mob. The great Bunker Hill mill was utterly destroyed. Their victory was complete.

The mob moved toward the station again, and near there they committed murder in the most diabolical and wanton manner. For an hour they had had James Cheyne, millman, and Roger Rogers, the company's stenographer, prisoners, running them around, kicking them, punching them with their guns, and threatening their lives. To complete their atrocities on these men, they ordered them to run, and then commenced to fire at them with their rifles and pistols from lust of blood or mere wantonness. As they ran a hail of bullets followed them. Rogers was grazed on the lip by a bullet and Cheyne was shot in the hip. Mrs. M. J. Sinclair, with the bullets flying around her, bravely went to his assistance. With fearful imprecations she was ordered to stand aside in order that they might fill him with lead as he lay on the ground. Finally he was taken down to the McKinnis Hotel, but two days

later he died from his injuries in the hospital at Spokane, where he was taken for treatment.

It was fully expected that the barbarians would come up to Wardner and complete their hellish work by the destruction of the town, which they had threatened to do. For some reason, however, they started back home within an hour after the concentrator was destroyed, discharging their guns and yelling in savage glee as they left the station, leaving death and desolation in their horrid wake.

It may well be imagined how nervous people in Wardner were, tortured by fear, until the arrival of the troops lent them protection. Those who could readily do so left the town. All business was absolutely suspended and a condition of terror which seems incredible in a civilized country was universal among the law-abiding citizens of Wardner. Happily this is now removed and will remain so just as long as the troops remain here.

THE TROOPS.

[Wardner News, May 6, 1899.]

There are now ten companies of troops in this district under command of General Merriam, eight companies of the Twenty-fourth Infantry (colored) and two companies of dismounted cavalry belonging to the Fourth Regiment. At this time three companies are camped at Kellogg and the remainder are at Gem, Burke, and Mullan. The total number of troops now in the Cœur d'Alenes is something over 500. The first to arrive was Company M on Tuesday at noon. When the colored boys stepped onto the depot platform the citizens assembled there gave them a rousing cheer.

JAMES CHEYNE.

[Wardner News, May 6, 1899.]

The funeral of James Cheyne, who was so wantonly murdered last Saturday by dynamiters, will be held this afternoon at 2 o'clock under the auspices of the Knights of Pythias. The deceased was well known and very popular in Wardner. He was 27 years old. His murder seems all the more cruel because he was of a good nature and inoffensive disposition. His brother Knights are determined that his death shall be avenged if it is possible.

THE CROWNING INFAMY.

[Wardner News, May 6, 1899.]

The Cœur d'Alene miners' unions have at last committed an outrage which for brazen audacity and utter defiance of the law is without a parallel in their career of crime and blood. That they possessed the baseness and the madness to come down to Wardner 800 strong, in the broad light of day, on a carnival of crime, and commit such wanton destruction of property and human life is almost inconceivable. The editor of this paper gave them credit for being better men and for having better sense. Their former lawless exploits were completely out-Heroded by the atrocity of their last and crowning infamy.

And for this crime there was not the slightest excuse. The wages of miners are not exceeded anywhere in the United States, but the union wanted absolute control of Wardner, which would have given it complete domination of the Cœur d'Alene country. This the Bunker Hill management and a few loyal citizens of Wardner were decidedly opposed to, and the unions wreaked their horrible vengeance by murder and incendiarism. By this act the unions of Cœur d'Alenes have ruined their organizations forever and have cast disgrace on labor unions from one end of this Republic to the other, for no one but a savage can condone such causeless crime.

Of the responsibility for this appalling crime there can be no question this time. Heretofore "a few soreheads" or an "inner circle" have usually been charged with the nefarious deeds common to this region by those who were anxious to shield the so-called "better element" of the unions, but on Saturday, in broad daylight, nearly the whole membership of the Cœur d'Alene miners' unions took active part in the abominable outrage. Therefore the unions as a body are collectively respon-

sible for the murder and fearful destruction of property incurred on that occasion. Every union man not known to be innocent should be arrested and examined, and every person expressing sympathy with murderers and anarchists, thereby inciting them to further deeds of violence, are aiders and abettors of criminals and should be so treated.

SHERIFF YOUNG.

[Wardner News, May 6, 1899.]

The inaction of Sheriff Young in connection with the last outbreak of Canyon Creek savages seems to have created a great deal of surprise among outsiders. It has surprised no one here. Nothing was expected of him when he was elected except to draw his salary. He always was a prominent union man and his election didn't change his principles. As far as the law-abiding citizens of this county are concerned, he is a menace rather than a protection. He will protect dynamiters but persecute respectable citizens, just as his predecessor of the same political faith did. His sympathies are in favor of criminals. His examination in the cases pending will prove this. There is not the slightest doubt that he knew of the scheme to blow up the Bunker Hill concentrator as soon as it was concocted, but he took care not to give the people of Wardner any warning. In the name of justice is there no way to rid the people of this county of such a miserable subterfuge for a sheriff?

It is the sacred duty of all loyal Americans, regardless of sex or position, to immediately come forward and give any information that they may possess regarding the latest damnable outrage of incendiarism and assassination just perpetrated by the Cœur d'Alene miners' unions. Any person who will not do this when assured of ample protection is either in direct sympathy with criminals or is not a loyal citizen. The whole truth must be obtained at any cost, and the bloody work of anarchists forever stopped in this the best mining country in the United States. The thoroughness of this will depend upon the promptness and the completeness of the evidence furnished. The authorities are keenly alive to the necessities of the situation. It remains for the people to do the rest.

[Wardner News, May 6, 1899.]

The roads are in pretty fair condition now, affording a good opportunity for those who chafe under the restraints of law to get out of the country and make way for American citizens. Traveling will be more difficult when the water is high.

One of the dynamiters arrested Wednesday was heard to remark shortly after that interesting event that "Our time will come yet." Judging from the appearance of things around the Bunker Hill mill, they have had their inning already.

The News firmly believes that if Edward Boyce is arrested and the judicial X-ray turned upon him there will be found within the black matter of his wicked brain the complete plans and specifications of the atrocious crimes committed here last Saturday.

Every man who boarded the dynamite train at Wallace was a murderer and an incendiary at heart and should be punished as such. He knew that the object was murder and destruction of property by dynamite, and it makes but little difference whether or not he was armed and masked.

The gratitude of every law-abiding citizen of this region is due to the Bunker Hill management for its refusal to recognize the miners' union. This would have resulted in the murder or expulsion of every loyal man or woman who had ever opposed their career of crime and bloodshed. It seems now that this opposition will result in the complete emancipation of the Cœur d'Alene country.

This is the third time the United States troops have been brought into the Cœur d'Alenes. The general feeling is that they must be retained this time until all danger of union outrages is over. This can only be accomplished by the establishment of a military post in the district and government by martial law. Civil government is most to be desired by peaceable and law-abiding citizens, but in the Cœur d'Alenes it has now come to a choice between mob rule and military rule. No loyal citizen will hesitate a moment in making a decision in favor of the latter.

One of the dynamiters had the unspeakable audacity to wear a United States flag as a mask while engaged in murder and incendiarism. This awful blasphemy is but an illustration of the hypocrisy which characterizes the Cœur d'Alene miners' unions. It would not have been at all surprising if the rioters had brought a brass band along with them and played "The Star Spangled Banner" while they were loading the mill with dynamite. Professing a love of freedom, they have practiced here for eight years the most absolute tyranny known in any civilized country. They have carried the United States flag in processions celebrating the lawless destruction of life and property. Tenaciously insisting upon their own rights, they have daily trampled upon those of their neighbors; and their leader, Boyce, has in open council, in the presence of hundreds of his followers and dupes, misquoted the Constitution of the United States as a warrant for their arming themselves in defiance of the properly constituted authorities, and in the same speech has called members of our national guard "\$13-a-month murderers."

CRIMINAL LEADERSHIP.

James R. Sovereign, in order to show his own satisfaction at the murder and incendiarism committed here last Saturday, makes the following remarkable statement in the last issue of his paper: "For this foolhardy policy Bunker Hill has suffered an immense loss, and no one who understands the real situation has any sympathy for them." And this anarchistic sentiment is accompanied by the threat that "the company will need military protection continuously for forty years after their new mill is completed." With such base sentiments as these distributed weekly among the miners is it any wonder that they take the law into their own hands with dynamite and rifle bullets? For many months Sovereign has incited his readers to violence against the Bunker Hill Company by the most barefaced mendacity. The fact that he predicted the "closing down" of the Bunker Hill mine last Saturday if union recognition was not given indicates that he was fully apprised of the contemplated destruction of the company's mill. Not long ago James stated in his journal: "It is sometimes necessary to encroach upon recognized rights in order to correct flagrant abuses." In other words: "It is sometimes necessary to blow up a concentrator and kill a man or two in order to compel recognition of the union." Later on the same dangerous authority said: "All labor organizations should uphold the Filipinos in their struggle for liberty, even against the United States." What can be expected of labor organizations with such leadership? Edward Boyce, in a speech at Salt Lake, said: "I strongly advise you to devise ways and means to provide every member (of the Western Federation) with the latest improved rifle, so that in two years we can hear the inspiring music of the martial tread of 25,000 armed men in the ranks of labor." The News respectfully directs the attention of Attorney-General Hays to the cases of James R. Sovereign and Edward Boyce.

CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE MINERS' RIOTS IN THE STATE OF IDAHO NOT INCLUDED IN REPORT OF BRIG. GEN. H. C. MERRIAM.

BOISE, IDAHO, April 29, 1899—11 p. m.

The PRESIDENT:

In pursuance of the statute in such case made and provided, I, Frank Steunenberg, governor of Idaho, the legislature not being in session, and it not being possible to convene it, do hereby apply to the President of the United States to call forth the military forces of the United States to suppress insurrection in Shoshone County, State of Idaho. This action is sustained in the fact that all the available Idaho National Guard volunteered for service in the Philippines, and said county is in a state of insurrection. I am of the opinion that at least 500 troops in the aggregate will be necessary, but smaller detachments should be ordered in as rapidly as possible.

FRANK STEUNENBERG, Governor.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, April 30, 1899.

The GOVERNOR OF IDAHO, Boise, Idaho:

In compliance with your telegram of April 29, concerning insurrection in Shoshone County of your State, the President has directed that request be complied

with, and following instructions have been sent to General Merriam, at Denver, Colo.: "The governor of Idaho reports an insurrection beyond the power of the State to control existing in Shoshone County of that State. The Acting Secretary of War directs that you repair at once to the capital of that State, and after conference with the authorities thence you go to the seat of action, calling to your aid such troops as may be most convenient regardless of department lines. Department commanders will be notified. You will take with you the necessary staff officers. The travel is necessary to the public service."

H. C. CORBIN, Adjutant-General.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, April 30, 1899.

COMMANDING GENERAL, DEPARTMENTS CALIFORNIA AND COLUMBIA,
San Francisco, Cal.:

General Merriam has been ordered to Idaho in connection with insurrection in that State reported by governor to be beyond power of State to control. General Merriam has been authorized to call to his assistance such troops as may be most convenient without regard to department lines. Acting Secretary of War directs you send commanding officers of posts under your command to hold their troops in readiness to respond promptly to his calls.

By command of Major-General Miles:

H. C. CORBIN, Adjutant-General.

Same sent to commanding general Department Dakota, St. Paul, Minn.; commanding general Department Missouri, Omaha, Nebr.; commanding general Department Lakes, Chicago, Ill.

SEATTLE, WASH., April 30, 1899—12.33 p. m.

SECRETARY OF WAR, Washington, D. C.:

An armed mob have taken possession of Bunker Hill and Sullivan property at Wardner, Idaho. Have destroyed the mill and very expensive works by blowing them up with powder. Local and State authorities have been appealed to for protection of life and property, but no relief can be expected from those sources, State militia being in the Philippines.

D. O. MILLS.

WINNETKA, ILL., April 30, 1899.

R. A. ALGER, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

Armed mob of strikers have destroyed our mill at Wardner, Idaho. Governor has appealed for Federal troops. Please comply and save immense damage and probable bloodshed.

JAMES L. HOUGHTLING.

WINNETKA, Ill., April 30, 1899.

JOHN ADDISON PORTER,
Secretary to the President, Washington, D. C.:

Armed mob of strikers have destroyed our mill at Wardner, Idaho. Governor has appealed for Federal troops. Please do what you can for us and save immense damage and bloodshed.

JAMES L. HOUGHTLING.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., April 30, 1899.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, President United States:

As representative and treasurer of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Company, I earnestly indorse the request of the governor of Idaho to the effect that Federal troops be ordered to protect our property, now in course of destruction.

Very respectfully,

WILLIAM S. CROCKER,
Banker, San Francisco.

CHICAGO, ILL., April 30, 1899.

J. ADDISON PORTER, *Secretary to the President:*

An armed mob has destroyed valuable property in Wardner, Idaho, in which Jack Hammond, James Houghteling, and others of your friends are interested. The governor has asked for Federal troops. Please lend your interest to this appeal with the President.

HERMAN B. BUTLER.

DENVER, COLO., April 30, 1899.

General CORBIN, *Washington, D. C.:*

Arrived to-day from Omaha. Your telegram received. Will start for Boise 6.45 to-night.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

CHICAGO, ILL., April 30-May 1, 1899.

Hon. R. A. ALGER,

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

I hope the application of the governor of Idaho for Federal assistance in suppressing riots at Wardner may be granted.

A. RYERSON.

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1899.

A. RYERSON, *Chicago, Ill.:*

On request of governor for troops, General Merriam has been ordered to Boise for the purpose of conference and directed to utilize such Federal troops, irrespective of department boundaries, as in his judgment and discretion may be necessary for the preservation of peace and protection of property.

G. D. MEIKLEJOHN,
Acting Secretary of War.

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1899.

D. O. MILLS, *Seattle, Wash.:*

On request of governor for troops General Merriam has been ordered to Boise for the purpose of conference and directed to utilize such Federal troops, irrespective of department boundaries, as in his judgment and discretion may be necessary for preservation of peace and protection of property.

G. D. MEIKLEJOHN,
Acting Secretary of War.

WARDNER, IDAHO, May 6, 1899.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, *Washington, D. C.:*

Over 700 arrests have been made at different mining camps. Many will apparently be released after investigation, which is being pushed rapidly as possible. So far no signs of any organized resistance. Inquest still progressing.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
*Washington, May 12, 1899.*General MERRIAM, *Wardner, Idaho:*

Acting Secretary War directs you remain at Wardner until after you have conferred with the governor.

CARTER, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
*Washington, May 19, 1899.*COMMANDING GENERAL, DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI,
Omaha, Nebr.:

Major-General Commanding Army directs two troops of First Cavalry be detached from Fort Robinson, Nebr., to report to General Merriam for duty in Idaho. It is probable that the detached service will continue for some months. Provisions should be made accordingly. Maj. Allen Smith has been detached from Fort Meade and ordered to Fort Robinson to command the squadron.

CARTER, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*THE PUEBLO TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY,
Pueblo, Colo., May 11, 1899.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY,

President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

SIR: At regular meeting of the Pueblo Trades and Labor Assembly, on May 10, I was instructed to forward to you the inclosed resolution, which will, we trust, receive your consideration, bearing as it does on a subject of vital interest to millions of union people in this our country. The order of the attorney-general of Idaho and General Merriam will, we believe, if allowed to stand, create a precedent which will in time cause the shedding of much blood, to say nothing of the suffering and misery it will cause through the forcible disruption of organization among workmen and the resulting lowering of wages, for we anticipate that if this order stands and is executed it will establish a precedent which will be quickly seized upon by corporations, and it may take the saber, bayonet, and bullet to again overthrow slavery. The subject is broad and deep and merits your earnest consideration.

Very respectfully,

F. H. RICHARDSON,
Recording Secretary.

A reply to the assembly stating your views in the premises will be appreciated.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, May 25, 1899.

Mr. F. H. RICHARDSON,

Recording Secretary, The Pueblo Trades and Labor Assembly, Central Block, Pueblo, Colorado.

SIR: Your letter of May 11th to the President, inclosing resolutions of the Pueblo Trades and Labor Assembly, regarding the action of Major-General Merriam in the matter of the labor disturbances in Idaho has been referred to this office, and in reply I have the honor to inform you that your assembly has been misinformed as regards the action of General Merriam, and that it is not true that he has issued an order that no union men shall be employed in Shoshone County. In this connection the Secretary desires me to inclose copy of the only instructions that have been given General Merriam by the War Department, as also two telegrams from General Merriam dated May 16 and 17, on the subject.

Very respectfully,

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, D. C., May 26, 1899.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

The President directs me to send you the inclosed communication from Mr. W. C. Williams, of Wilburton, Ind. T., concerning the miners' strike in the West. It is the President's understanding that no orders whatever have been issued by General Merriam as to who shall work or not work, and that he has only been supporting the State authority in preserving the peace. The President desires to know whether his information on this point is correct.

Very respectfully, yours,

GEO. B. CORTELYOU,
*Acting Secretary to the President.*Hon. R. A. ALGER, *Secretary of War.*WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, May 29, 1899.

MR. PRESIDENT:

I return herewith the letter from Mr. W. C. Williams, of Wilburton, Ind. T., concerning the miners' strikes in the West, forwarded on the 26th instant. No instructions were given to General Merriam other than that he should support the State authorities in preserving peace.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. A. ALGER, *Secretary of War.*The PRESIDENT,
Executive Mansion.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, May 26, 1899.

Gen. H. C. MERRIAM,
Vancouver Barracks, State of Washington:
(To be forwarded.)

It is charged in resolutions by the Western Labor Union, under date of May 20, just received by the President, that owners of mines in the Cœur d'Alene district are denied the right of employing any man unless he first makes affidavit that he is a nonunion miner and that the army sent to aid the State authorities to preserve peace and protect property is being used to enforce the alleged order. The statement must be the result of some misunderstanding, which should be promptly corrected. The President wishes a statement of facts at once.

By order of the Secretary of War.

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

Sent from the Executive Mansion at 11.10 p. m.

WALLACE, IDAHO, May 30, 1899.

The ADJUTANT-GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY,
Washington, D. C.:

Replying to telegram sent General Merriam May 26, miners are required to sign following permit: "I did not participate actively or otherwise in the riots which took place at Wardner on 29th April, 1899, believing that the crimes committed on said date were actively incited, encouraged, and perpetrated through and by means of the influence of the Miners' Union of the Cœur d'Alene. I hereby express my unqualified disapproval of said act, 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 the law."

The governor's proclamation forbids mine owners to employ at underground work any man who fails to present a permit issued in accordance with above.

Troops of my command have been used to guard men arrested and turned over by the civil authorities at Wardner. Troops also have been present when arrests were made.

ALLEN SMITH, *Commanding.*

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, June 3, 1899.

COMMANDING OFFICER UNITED STATES TROOPS,
Wardner, Idaho:

Acting Secretary War desires to know whether those who participated in the insurrection in Idaho and have been arrested by the military authorities have yet been surrendered to the civil authorities for prosecution in the courts of that State; and if so, what is the present status of the prosecution of those men in the civil courts.

W. H. CARTER,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

WARDNER, IDAHO, June 3, 1899.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY,
Washington, D. C.:

Men who have been arrested charged with complicity with the riots here are still being guarded by me. The civil authorities are not prepared to take charge of and guard them. Trials have not begun because attempt has been made to get writs of habeas corpus. These have been denied by the State supreme court, and claim is made that the matter will be carried into the Federal courts. No acts of violence have been committed since my arrival here (May 9), but relations of sympathizers with arrested men with the remainder of the community are so strained that I am convinced only the presence of Federal troops prevents bloodshed, arson, and other acts of violence.

LEAVELL, *Commanding.*

THE PUEBLO TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY,
Pueblo, Colo., June 3, 1899.

Adj. Gen. H. C. CORBIN,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Your communication of May 26, to the Pueblo Trades and Labor Assembly, was read at last regular meeting, May 31, 1899. In reply I am instructed to say that we thank you for the information therein contained, but deny that, as you say, we have been misinformed. While from the copy of order inclosed in your letter it is evident that the Department has only instructed him to support the State officials, and, while it is too evident that General Merriam did not directly issue the order forbidding union men to work in any mine in Shoshone County, yet you will see from the copy of oath attached hereto that such order has been issued, and General Merriam has upheld it by force of arms, and has also given it his moral support. The War Department can not shirk the direct responsibility for General Merriam's actions. I am further instructed to call your attention to the fact that General Merriam and the Idaho State officials are guilty of murder, and cowardly, brutal murder at that, in that four or five of the men who were herded in a filthy pen like hogs or cattle, compelled to sleep on damp straw, not allowed to receive medicine from their doctors, not allowed to attend the calls of nature outside the "pen" (in which no provision for this was made), insulted, knocked down, prodded with bayonets, died from exposure and brutal treatment. I am also instructed to ask why the mine owners who, by their breach of agreement, brought on the trouble, and caused the killing and the explosion, [are not] herded in the bull pen and tried for murder and insurrection along with the less guilty men? We do not believe the miners' union is responsible for the explosion. The Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine owners, not offering conditions under which self-respecting union men would work, had collected a crew of turbulent men who could not work elsewhere and whom the miners' union would not admit into their ranks, and these men caused the trouble, the explosion, and the killing; yet the State officials, backed by General Merriam (for whose actions Washington is responsible), say to the men, you must solemnly swear to what you know or believe to be a lie or you can't work; you must convict the organization to which you owe so much; you must agree to swear never to again join it, or else abandon your home and leave the country. We further believe that the whole proceeding is a rank usurpation of authority and an attempt to establish a precedent of using Federal troops to stamp out labor organizations and reduce the working people to the condition of absolute slavery. We believe further that the obnoxious order is the greatest outrage ever perpetrated in America (and that is saying considerable), and that it will bring everlasting disgrace and condemnation on all concerned in it, from the President to the acting sheriff of Shoshone County.

With this statement of our views, belief, and knowledge on the subject, we are, sirs,

Very respectfully, yours,

THE PUEBLO TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY,
Per F. H. RICHARDSON, *Secretary.*

DENVER, COLO., June 5, 1899.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL ARMY, Washington, D. C.:

Referring to your telegram asking what action at Wardner looking to trial of the large number of rioters there under guard, I am able to answer that military guard may be necessary for several months pending restoration of civil tribunal, almost completely disorganized and demoralized by complicity or sympathy with the rioters. The governor is making all possible haste, and says he will continue martial law until the work in hand is fully done. While these prisoners were arrested by deputies supported by troops, and are being guarded by troops, they are being fed and sheltered at expense of the State. Many are also under indictment by United States grand juries. I will go to Omaha to-morrow and clear up delayed office work there. Possibly a personal interview of matters in Idaho might give better understanding of the situation.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

DENVER, COLO., June 9, 1899.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL ARMY, Washington, D. C.
Following received from Wardner to-day:

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

"WARDNER, IDAHO, June 9.

"ADJUTANT-GENERAL, DEPARTMENT OF THE COLORADO,
"Denver, Colo.:"

"Three hundred and thirty-five prisoners; grand jury meets 12th instant; 610 permits issued at Wardner; 67 at Wallace.

"LEAVELL, Captain."

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, June 12, 1899.

COMMANDING GENERAL DEPARTMENT OF COLORADO,
Denver, Colo.:"

Western Labor Union report that many citizens and miners in the Cœur d'Alene district "have been thrown into a corral like so many cattle for the slaughter, and have been denied the right of counsel and the actual necessities of life."

Acting Secretary of War desires statement of facts. Any lack of comfort for these men should be remedied as soon as possible.

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

DENVER, COLO., June 12, 1899.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL ARMY, Washington, D. C.:"

Referring to your telegram of this date, when I left Wardner, May 25, I reported sanitary condition of prison as beyond complaint. The main building was provided with comfortable bunks off the ground, with abundance of hay to sleep on, besides their personal blankets and overcoats, heated by stoves, and a large courtyard for exercise. They were, as I thought, more comfortably housed than the troops, and better fed. The seriously ill (only one at that time) was in a hospital in town. A hospital was being constructed near the prison, and bathing and laundry facilities were being introduced into the prison. I gave constant personal attention to these things, but from motives of humanity only, for the responsibility rested on the State authorities, whose prisoners they are, and who always responded to any suggestions I made as fully and as promptly as circumstances would permit. The surgeon employed, who is an old practitioner in these mines, told me the percentage of sick at that time was much smaller than was usual among those people, being only 4 out of 330. My last sanitary report by Captain Leavell, dated June 10, reports 10 sick, 1 seriously, out of 335, total. One death has occurred from the beginning to date. I have no information as to denial of counsel, but suggest inquiry of State authorities.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

CHICAGO, ILL., June 12, 1899.

Hon. R. A. ALGER,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:"

I urge that troops now cooperating with Idaho State government be retained there for the protection of life and property and maintenance of law and order.

J. W. BABCOCK.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, June 12, 1899.

Hon. J. W. BABCOCK, *Chicago, Ill.:"*

Replying to your telegram of this date to the Secretary of War, you are informed that it is not the intention of the Department to withdraw troops from Idaho so long as their presence is necessary for the protection of life and property and maintenance of law and order.

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

CHICAGO, June 10, 1899.

Hon. R. A. ALGER,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:"

DEAR SIR: The undersigned, stockholders in the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining and Concentrating Company, whose mill and power plant at Kellogg, Idaho, were destroyed on April 29 by a mob of 1,000 armed and masked men, acting under the

orders of the Canyon Creek Miners' Union, respectfully ask that a military subpost be permanently established at Kellogg or Wardner.

We hand you herewith copies of a letter from the president of the company to Senator Shoup, and his reply thereto, dated May 27, giving a succinct statement of the conditions prevailing and the necessity of such a post.

The governor of the State of Idaho says: "The wage scale in the Cœur d'Alenes is the highest for similar labor paid in the United States."

We have never had the slightest difficulty in securing all the miners and laborers we required, and because of the more desirable conditions in our mine have had a better class of miners than any of the other mines. Our camp has always been a law and order camp, and our fight has not been against organized labor, but against an organized band of outlaws living in camps 15 or 20 miles away.

These "Molly Maguires" have maintained a reign of terror for years in Shoshone County, so that the administration of the law has been practically suspended. This culminated in the raid of April 29, organized and officered by the miners' union, in which arson and murder were committed. This outrage is openly and boastfully justified by the official paper of the miners' union, the Idaho State Tribune, and the Butte Miners' Union of Montana has appropriated a large sum of money to defend the guilty parties now under arrest.

These conditions, existing in a remote frontier county, threaten to overthrow the law, to place a prosperous and law-abiding community at the mercy of criminal organizations, which have not hesitated during the past seven years to murder scores of men who refused to surrender their personal rights and to destroy an enormous amount of property in revenge upon those who rejected their domination.

General Merriam is reported to have said: "I have only abhorrence for such conditions as exist here, and I would rather live under Russian tyranny than to live in terror of a mob such as rules in the Cœur d'Alenes."

Under the circumstances we submit that the safety of life and property in the Cœur d'Alenes requires the establishment of a military subpost in this district, and for this we earnestly pray.

Yours, respectfully,

D. J. CRALMERS. (?)
EDWARD Q. RYNSON.
JAMES L. HOUGHTLING.
O. W. JOHNSON.
ARTHUR RYERSON.
E. J. GARDINER.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, June 13, 1899.

The GOVERNOR OF IDAHO, *Boise, Idaho:*

It has been reported to the President that the prisoners at Wardner have been denied counsel. Please wire the Department if there is any truth in the statement.

G. D. MEIKLEJOHN,
Acting Secretary of War.

BOISE, IDAHO, June 13, 1899.

MEIKLEJOHN,
Acting Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:"

Report that prisoners at Wardner have been denied counsel is absolute falsehood. The statement is on par with many others circulated by the imprisoned murderers and the equally guilty associates on the outside.

FRANK STEUNENBERG, *Governor.*

CAMP WARDNER,
Kellogg, Idaho, June 13, 1899.

General MERRIAM, *Denver, Colo.:"*

DEAR GENERAL: Please pardon my sending you a semi-official letter of this sort, but the air is getting very thick here.

I fear that trouble is brewing—that the Canyon people are preparing for more bloodshed. Threats have been made here, at Wallace, and up the canyon, both individual and general. To-day the Roman Catholic priest, who is in daily contact with many of these people, told me that unless the trials are speedily concluded (which is hardly within the range of possibility) the union people were going to "do serious trouble." He also said they would fight any idea of the breaking up of the union or the forcing out of the country of people belonging to it.

Prisoners have tried to bribe at least one of my sentinels, and people outside are, I am quite certain, trying to make friends with them for a purpose.

I am not a calamity howler, but I believe more troops should be in the district until after the conclusion of the trials, which began yesterday. The grand jury began its work yesterday.

The trials proper will not, of course, begin till after the grand jury completes its labors.

If you can make it convenient to come here soon, I believe it would be a good thing. Please pardon me if I appear presumptuous in this matter.

Very respectfully,

BEN. W. LEAVELL,
Captain, Twenty-fourth Infantry.

[First indorsement.]

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE COLORADO,
Denver, Colo., June 16, 1899.

Respectfully forwarded to the Adjutant-General of the Army, for information of the honorable Secretary of War. It is, of course, expected that as trials of the large number of prisoners begin and the probability of conviction increases every precaution to prevent escape will be necessary; and, generally, the presence of an abundant force is desirable, in order to discourage any attempt at release or further dynamiting. I have ordered 3 officers and 200 dismounted cavalry from Fort Riley to Wardner to take the place of 3 companies Twenty-fourth Infantry ordered to foreign service. I dare not further reduce the force in this department, or go myself, in view of labor disturbances anticipated here on a much larger scale; but I advise that 2 officers and 100 dismounted men be sent from Fort Meade, if possible, to report to Major Smith, at Wallace, Idaho, and to remain as long as he deems needful. Telegrams from Major Smith and governor of Idaho all indicate necessity for continued show of strong force pending trials now progressing.

H. C. MERRIAM,
Brigadier-General, Commanding.

[Telegram.]

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., June 14, 1899.

President WILLIAM MCKINLEY,
Washington, D. C.:

By instructions of mass meeting I send you following resolutions:

Whereas the horrors of the Wardner "bull pen" and the unconstitutional acts of Governor Steunenberg, and by order of General Merriam, in the treatment of the parties suspected of complicity in the destruction of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine, at Wardner, Idaho, continue, in spite of protests from all parts of the country; and whereas, it is evident from the most reliable sources that Governor Steunenberg is a compliant tool of the mine owners, combined to establish industrial feudalism in Idaho; therefore, be it resolved by the citizens' mass meeting called by the Labor Council and Building Trades Council of San Francisco, that we protest against the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in times of peace; that we denounce the suppression of free speech and free press and the denial of "the right of combination;" that we condemn the wanton brutalities of the "bull pen," and that we call upon all trades unionists and citizens in general to make similar protests; and further resolved, that we call upon President McKinley, as Commander in Chief of the Army, to order the cessation of the usurpation of a power by the military; and further resolved, that we request the California Representatives to ask, on the assembling of Congress, for a Congressional investigation of the Wardner brutalities; and further resolved, that the secretary of this meeting wire these resolutions to President McKinley.

ED. ROSENBERG, Secretary Labor Council.

KENO MINING AND LEASING COMPANY,
108 Cheesman Block, Denver, Colo., June 17, 1899.

MY DEAR GENERAL: At the request of ex-Governor Grant, Mr. Eilers, general managers of the smelters in Colorado which have been recently organized under the name of the American Mining and Smelting Company, and Mr. John F. Campion,

president of the Mine Managers' Association of this State, I had an interview of one hour yesterday with General Merriam over the strike situation now on.

The consensus of opinion of all of us is that, owing to the strike now on in this State and 30,000 mine and smelter men being out of employment, as many regular troops ought to be sent to Fort Logan to take the place of the 400 of the Twenty-fifth Infantry now there that have been ordered to Manila.

We earnestly hope there will be no trouble in our State, but some of the leaders of the strike in the Cœur d'Alene are now at Leadville and here, and we believe precautionary steps should be taken for the protection of lives and property.

We are satisfied if the same number of regular troops are sent to Fort Logan as are now there it will have a good effect.

Am compelled to go to Leadville to-night, and return here Monday morning to meet the committee, and you may anticipate a request on our part in accordance with the statement in this letter.

Believe me, General, yours, faithfully,

GEO. W. COOK.

Gen. RUSSELL A. ALGER,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, June 22, 1899.

Mr. GEORGE W. COOK,
President and General Manager
Keno Mining and Leasing Company, Denver, Colo.

SIR: The Acting Secretary of War desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of the 20th instant, calling attention to your letter of the 17th instant, in which you express your apprehensions of impending troubles growing out of the labor situation in Idaho, and suggesting that regular troops should be sent to Fort Logan to take the place of the troops now under orders for Manila.

Replying thereto, the Acting Secretary desires me to say that for all military needs of the Government the cavalry troop left at Fort Logan is believed to be sufficient, and that requests for United States troops to suppress domestic disturbances, against which the authorities of the State of Colorado are unable to contend, can only be considered when made by the governor of the State.

Very respectfully,

W. A. SIMPSON,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

DENVER, COLO., June 18, 1899.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Washington, D. C.:

Referring to my indorsement, dated 16th, on letter of Captain Leavell, from Wardner, later reports convince me that no more troops are now needed in Idaho. Grand jury has returned many indictments, and trials begin this week.

MERRIAM, Brigadier-General.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, June 22, 1899.

His Excellency WILLIAM MCKINLEY,
President of the United States, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: The attack of many labor organizations on the methods used by General Merriam, commander of the United States troops in the Cœur d'Alene mining districts of Shoshone County, Idaho, is my apology for intruding upon your time.

I was a citizen of that county from 1884 until 1893; was engaged in mercantile business during a great portion of that time; served as chairman of the board of county commissioners for the years 1885 and 1886. Many of the producing mines of to-day were discovered during the years that I resided there. I resided at Wardner from 1887 until 1893; was familiar with the conditions existing there prior to the organization of the miners' unions, and during the riots of 1892. At the latter time I had opportunity, as a notary public and in the capacity of a newspaper correspondent, to know the nature or measure of guilt of many individuals, members of said unions, who were implicated in various capacities in the destruction of the Frisco Mining Company's concentrator in Canyon Creek, said county, when three men were shot to death, and when giant powder was ready for the destruction of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Company's plant at Wardner, which was destroyed recently; and I state, as the result of my opportunities of observation during my residence there,

that no more desperate, lawless men can be found in any country than the agitators, leaders, and individuals who compose those unions. Many of them will resort to any means, however desperate, to enforce their demands, and it is my opinion that permanent peace can never be secured there so long as the miners' union thrives. No means less severe than those adopted by General Merriam, and enforced permanently, can insure the protection that our Constitution guarantees to every citizen of the United States. Hence, the only guaranty of peace for that country is a permanent garrison of United States troops and an effective burial of any criminal organizations like the miners' union.

I have no financial interests in that locality, and this is offered for the information of the Government, "without the hope of fee or reward."

I am, yours, very truly,

C. T. P. BASS,
44 East Broad street, Columbus, Ohio.

[Indorsement.]

I personally knew the writer of this letter in Wardner, Idaho. His statements can be positively relied upon.

FRANK N. BEEBE, *Columbus, Ohio.*

SALMON, IDAHO, *July 22, 1899.*

The PRESIDENT, *Washington.*

In my judgment, it is of vital importance troops should be retained in Cœur d'Alene mining district in this State until tranquillity, law, and order prevail. A withdrawal of the troops at this time would, in my opinion, result in great calamity.

GEO. L. SHOUP.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, July 25, 1899.

HON. GEORGE L. SHOUP, U. S. S., *Salmon, Idaho:*

Your telegram received. There is no intention at this time of withdrawing troops from the Cœur d'Alene mining district.

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

THE COLORADO FUEL AND IRON COMPANY,
Denver, Colo., July 26, 1899.

HON. JOHN D. LONG,
Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I see by the papers that General Merriam has been asked for an explanation of his work at Wardner, Idaho. I have no doubt but what you are fully informed as to the conditions there, but I also have no doubt that the labor unions have presented their side of the case most fully, and, as I am fully acquainted with the facts there and in the Western country, I thought I would write you the business man's side of the story.

It is very difficult for one who is not acquainted with the West to realize the tyranny of the labor unions, especially in Montana and Idaho, and more especially of the Western Federation of Miners. The wages paid to the men are higher than in any other part of the country, and in many instances the cost of living is no greater. For instance, here in Colorado our company employ about 8,000 men. Our coal miners are receiving about 30 per cent more wages than they are in Kansas or Iowa, and the cost of living is no more. The wages in Montana and Idaho are even larger than they are here. Some years ago the Western Federation of Miners was organized in Butte, Mont., and for the past few years their president has been Boyce. One can hardly realize the crimes that this order has committed in the West. The States are sparsely settled, and they practically control the State governments. In Montana for a number of years none but union men have been allowed to work in the mines and smelters, and if a man of any kind is not satisfactory to the union he is simply driven out of town. At Wardner all sorts of crimes have been committed. For instance, about a year ago the foreman of one of the mills, who was a union man, discharged three union men, not being satisfied with their work. He was notified by the members of the union to leave town, which he refused to do. The next day a crowd of union men went to his house, seized him, escorted him out of town, and, as

he walked down the road they shot him down, killing him instantly. No jury could be found in that country to punish the criminals, and despite all the efforts of the governor, none of these men have ever been brought to justice. The governor, while a strong union man—a member of the printers' union—denounces these outrages, and the general feeling among all business men here is that General Merriam did exactly the right thing, and that law and order will result from his work there.

In Colorado we have had a sample of the working of this union. In 1894 the miners at Cripple Creek struck, most of them being union men. The union men committed a great many outrages, capturing mine superintendents and others, killed several men, tortured their prisoners so that one poor mine superintendent lost his reason on account of the sufferings he had undergone, destroyed property, in fact, captured the entire district, and it was only after a long and vigorous campaign of the State troops that the matter was settled. In 1896 members of this union—and at this time Edward Boyce was their president—struck at Leadville, blew up with dynamite one of the mines and shot down firemen who came to put out the flames. The State troops were again called in and were there for nearly six months. About a year ago members of this union seized the mining town of Vulcan, would not allow the owners of any of the mines to go near them, and imprisoned them in the town. For this action some were sent to jail for ten days, but really no punishment was meted out to them.

Edward Boyce, the president of the union, has had indictments of murder against him, and no doubt he is guilty, but no jury could be found in Montana to convict him. On May 10, 1897, this man Boyce, in the annual meeting of the Western Federation of Miners, held at Salt Lake, urged all members to arm themselves, and said: "I entreat you take action in this important question, so that in two years we can hear the inspiring music of the martial tread of 25,000 armed men in the ranks of labor." In the annual meeting held this year in Denver resolutions were adopted denouncing the President and all the authorities for their action at Wardner.

At present we are suffering from the smelter strike, caused by this union, despite the fact that the wages are far greater than the wages paid in similar institutions in any State east of here, and outrages are being committed every day by the union men. As you know, Colorado is full of an anarchistic element who are crazy on the silver question, and the government is by no means what could be wished. We hope, however, in the next election to have the conservative element triumph.

I do not write this letter to you at the request of anyone. I have not seen General Merriam for some years, and only write to show you what the feeling of the better class of citizens is toward his action at Wardner. In not a single instance have I heard anything but praise for his conduct and that of the troops under him. I do not know whether or not you are interested in this subject at all, but simply thought, in case you were, you might like to know what the conservative, better class of people think of the army in Idaho.

Yours, very truly,

J. A. KEBLER.

BUTTE, MONT., *July 29, 1899.*

WILLIAM MCKINLEY,
President United States, Washington, D. C.:

We, the Butte Miners' Union, of Butte, Mont., solemnly protest against the use to which the Federal troops have been and are being put in Shoshone County, Idaho. Impartial investigation has demonstrated that they have been and are being employed to carry out the dictates of unscrupulous corporations, to stir terror into the law-abiding community in which they are quartered, and to disrupt legally organized labor unions; in short, their presence in said county, instead of tending to conserve the peace, is a direct menace thereto. We therefore respectfully request that you order their immediate withdrawal from said county and State.

M. McCORMACK, *President.*
WILLIAM HAGARTY, *Recording Secretary.*

Similar telegrams and letters have been received from the following organizations; Silver City Union, No. 66, Southwestern Federation of Miners, Silver City, Idaho; Aldridge Miners' Union, No. 57, W. F. M., Aldridge, Mont.; Two Bit Miners' Union, Galena, S. Dak.; Globe Miners' Union, Globe, Ariz.; The Miners' Union of Union, Martina and Missoula, Mont.; Union No. 13, W. F. of M., Baldwin, Colo.; Grass Valley Miners' Union, Grass Valley, Cal.; Rico Miners' Union, No. 36, Rico, Colo.; Central City Miners' Union, Deadwood, S. Dak.; Anaconda Miners' Union, No. 21, Anaconda, Colo.; Diamondville Union, No. 58, Diamondville, Wyo.; Virginia City Miners' Union, Virginia City, Nev.; Union No. 34, W. F. of M., Louisville, Colo.

Pitkin County Union, No. 6, W. F. of M., Aspen, Colo.; Lincoln Miners' Union, No. 72, Delamar, Nev.; Deadwood Labor Union, W. F. of M., Deadwood, S. Dak.; Tuolumne County Miners' Union, Jamestown, Cal.; Tuscarora Miners' Union, No. 31, Tuscarora, Nev.; International Association of Machinists, Queen City Lodge, No. 182, Cincinnati, Ohio; Book and Job Branch B. T. U., No. 13, Boston, Mass.; Cigar Makers' Union, No. 174, Joliet, Ill.; Coopers' International Union, No. 86, Cincinnati, Ohio.

To all of the above the following reply was sent:

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, ———, 1899.

SIR: Your letter of ——— to the President has been referred to this office, and I am instructed by the Secretary of War to inform you that the presence of troops in Shoshone County, Idaho, is due to the request of the governor of that State, who made requisition for same under warrant of law April 29, 1899, as follows:

"The legislature not being in session and it not being possible to convene it, do hereby apply to the President of the United States to call forth the military forces of the United States to suppress insurrection in Shoshone County, State of Idaho. This action is sustained in the fact that all the available Idaho National Guard volunteered for service in the Philippines, and said county is in a state of insurrection."

The Constitution and laws of the United States required the President to comply with this requisition, and any application for relief should be made to the governor of Idaho.

Very respectfully,

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

BUTTE, MONT., *September 27, 1899.*

President MCKINLEY, *Washington, D. C.:*

Prisoners in the Wardner "bull pen" held under military authority have been placed on a bread-and-water diet, and their treatment has of late been so brutal that some are contemplating suicide rather than longer endure such misery. They are even refused permission to consult with their counsel. These men have now been imprisoned for nearly five months, without any charge against them, and demand and sought speedy trial, but were refused by the State court on the ground that that court did not have jurisdiction; and until they can have a trial, we demand for them, in the name of justice and humanity, humane treatment at least.

EDW. BOYCE,
President of Western Federation of Miners.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, *Washington, ———, 1899.*

SECRETARY OF WAR:

Important. Inquire of governor and military commander. This condition, if true, must be stopped.

W. McK.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *Washington, September 29, 1899.*

HON. FRANK STEUNENBERG,
Governor of Idaho, Boise, Idaho:

The following communication just received by the President from Edward Boyce, president of the Western Federation of Miners:

"Prisoners in the Wardner 'bull pen' held under military authority have been placed on a bread-and-water diet, and their treatment has of late been so brutal that some are contemplating suicide rather than longer endure such misery. They are even refused permission to consult with their counsel. These men have now been imprisoned for nearly five months, without any charge against them, and demand and sought speedy trial, but were refused by the State court on the ground that that court did not have jurisdiction; and until they can have a trial we demand for them, in the name of justice and humanity, humane treatment at least."

I should be glad for any information which you deem proper to answer this question.

ELIHU ROOT, *Secretary of War.*

BOISE, IDAHO, *September 30, 1899.*

ELIHU ROOT, *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

Ed. Boyce communication to President is base falsehood in every particular. I later follows.

STEUNENBERG, *Governor.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, *Washington, September 29, 1899.*

Brig. Gen. H. C. MERRIAM, *Denver, Colo.:*

The following communication just received by the President from Edward Boyce, president of the Western Federation of Miners:

"Prisoners in the Wardner 'bull pen' held under military authority have been placed on a bread-and-water diet, and their treatment has of late been so brutal that some are contemplating suicide rather than longer endure such misery. They are even refused permission to consult with their counsel. These men have now been imprisoned for nearly five months, without any charge against them, and demand and sought speedy trial, but were refused by the State court on the ground that that court did not have jurisdiction; and until they can have a trial we demand for them, in the name of justice and humanity, humane treatment at least."

I should be glad for any information which you deem proper to answer this question.

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

DENVER, COLO., *September 30, 1899.*

Adjutant-General CORBIN, *Washington, D. C.:*

I have called upon Commanding Officer Wardner for complete report by wire.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

DENVER, COLO., *October 1, 1899.*

Adjutant-General CORBIN, *Washington, D. C.:*

Following telegram just received from Captain Edwards, commanding troops at Wardner, Idaho:

Gen. H. C. MERRIAM, *Denver, Colo.:*

On September 20 it was discovered that the prisoners were digging a tunnel through which to escape. The next morning five of them were detailed to dig it out and fill it in. They positively refused to do as ordered and were sustained by every man in prison, all refusing to obey my personal orders. I directed that all except the sick and attendants be put on bread and water for eight days unless coming under prison discipline sooner. This has been carried out. They were kept outside the prison on the first day for about six hours while the building was being inspected, which has caused the false statement to be made that they were kept out every day. The hay for bedding was removed for sanitary reasons and was not replaced while under discipline. They are still insubordinate and refuse to work out the two days' punishment awarded by me, but are on full rations. They are not allowed visitors or luxuries sent in by outsiders. Colonel Reddy telegraphed asking if he could interview his clients held under Federal authority and was informed that he could if he was their attorney. Peter Breen applied to see them and the United States district attorney was telephoned to and he replied that only Reddy was recognized as their attorney. Breen is under suspicion of having had something to do with the escape carried out by Crawford. No duly recognized counsel has been or will be denied interviews with the prisoners. Those now in confinement are, as a rule, the worst element and will hesitate at nothing to effect their escape. No trials were had at last term of State court for the reason, as I understand it, that the prosecution was not prepared owing to the escape of the seven indicted for murder, whose cases had been prepared during the recess. Thirty-six are to be tried in October before the United States court at Moscow.

EDWARDS, *Captain, Commanding.*

Captain Edwards's long experience and excellent character convince me that he has not resorted to measures unusual or unnecessary in maintaining prison discipline. The long and unexplained delay in bringing cases to trial has naturally magnified the difficulties with which he has to contend.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

WAR DEPARTMENT, Washington, September 28, 1899.

Sir: I beg to call your attention to your application to the President, dated April 29, 1899, for military forces of the United States to suppress insurrection in Shoshone County, in the State of Idaho, and to inquire whether the insurrection in that county has not now been suppressed so that the troops may be withdrawn and employed in other duties? In case you should deem that the time has not arrived for the entire withdrawal of the troops of the United States from that county, I beg to make the following suggestion in regard to their further service. I am informed that they are now being used by the civil authorities of the State and county as a guard for certain prisoners—upward of a hundred in number—who have been arrested by the civil authorities upon warrants issued by the civil courts, and are held under such warrants or indictments found by the grand jury of the county; that these prisoners, or most of them, have been held for a number of months, and that during the period of their detention the district court of Shoshone County, which is the court having jurisdiction to try indictments found by the grand jury, has twice convened and adjourned without bringing these prisoners to trial; that the next regular term of court will not be until January of next year, and that, in the meantime, unless something is done to prevent it, these prisoners would remain in prison under guard of the troops of the United States.

I do not wish in any way to make any suggestion relating to the administration of justice in your State, or to imply that the failure to bring these prisoners to trial has not been for perfectly good reasons in accordance with the law and practice of the courts of Idaho, but I am much disinclined to have the troops of the United States continued longer in the attitude of retaining in custody the citizens of a State who have remained so long without being tried, and I feel bound to urge that, if it is not convenient to bring the prisoners to speedy trial, you will substitute civil guards as their custodians and relieve the troops of the United States from further performance of that duty.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, yours,

ELIHU ROOT, *Secretary of War.*

HON. FRANK STEUNENBERG,
Governor of Idaho, Boise, Idaho.

STATE OF IDAHO, EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Boise, Idaho, October 10, 1899.

Sir: In replying to your communication of September 28, relative to the withdrawal of the troops from Shoshone County, Idaho, and your interrogatory therein contained as to whether the insurrection in that county has not now been suppressed so that the troops may be withdrawn, will say that it is my deliberate judgment that the withdrawal of the troops from Shoshone County would be attended with the most serious consequences. I believe that while upon the surface there is an apparent quiet, should the troops be withdrawn it would surely result in a great loss of property and the loss of life in that vicinity.

Covert threats are constantly being made by those who engaged in the riot of April 29, which resulted in the destruction of some \$250,000 worth of property and the assassination of two men, that as soon as the troops are removed they will gratify their revenge upon those citizens who have been induced to assist the State in its attempt to ferret out crime; and the history of that region convinces me that these are not idle threats or the boasting of irresponsible parties, but are the expressions of deliberate and well-arranged purposes and plans. In the beginning of the present prosecutions upon the part of the State (meaning the trials of those who participated in the murders and riots of April 29, 1899) a great many good citizens were induced to testify and give evidence upon the representation that they should be protected, and I have no doubt but that each and every one of these would be compelled to leave the country and sacrifice their homes and property should the protection which was assured them be taken away by the removal of the Federal troops.

These convictions, which are not disturbed by a single doubt, arise by reason not only of the present condition of affairs, but also by reason of the history of the county. It is impossible to appreciate the necessity of the troops in that vicinity without going somewhat into previous conditions, for it should be understood that this is not a conflict between labor and capital nor a question of wages, but it is a conflict between the State of Idaho and certain criminal organizations which seek to cloak themselves under the cover of labor organizations. These organizations were

originally undoubtedly legal and proper, and were organized for a commendable purpose, but they have been taken possession of by men who utterly ignore all law, who are anarchists in belief and practice, and by such men transformed into criminal combinations. We do not concede for a moment that these organizations in Shoshone County to which we are referring have anything in common with the great labor organizations throughout the country, and they are not in any way to be considered in that light. We are not in conflict with organized labor, as such, in any manner whatever.

To establish the truth of these statements, I call attention to the following facts, the truth of which may be easily ascertained by anyone desiring to make an investigation:

In 1892 a difficulty arose between the mine owners and the miners' union by reason of the constant interference of certain members of the union with the operation of the mines. This led to injunction suits upon the part of the mine owners, wherein the unions were enjoined from interfering with the operations of the mines. Upon the morning of July 11, 1892, the union men, having previously armed themselves, commenced firing on the guards and workmen at the Frisco mine and mill. They next ran giant powder down the penstock of the Frisco mill and blew it to pieces, utterly destroying the mill. In the general fighting which followed quite a number of men were killed. Governor Willey proclaimed martial law, the troops were sent in and quiet restored. The State undertook to prosecute a number of the parties for murder, but the final result was that they all escaped punishment, except certain minor punishments for contempt. A cry was shortly raised for the removal of the troops, it being alleged that quiet had been restored and that there was no longer any necessity for the troops remaining there. Martial law was revoked November 18, 1892, the troops were removed, and it is to the history of the camp since the removal of the troops that I invite particular attention.

Even before the removal of the troops, and while the removal was being contemplated, the following notice was posted at the mouth of the tunnel of the Gem mine: "Look out, scabs! One more warning and the last one. Before this month is over 1,500 pounds of giant powder will be exploded and all in this mine will be sent to hell. If we can not work the mines, no one else shall."

This was followed, immediately after the removal of the troops, by a number of citizens who had been identified with the State in its prosecution being forced to leave the country. They were threatened in the most brutal manner—one man being tied on a hand car which was turned loose upon a steep incline, others hauled out of their beds at midnight and forced to leave without even being permitted to take with them their personal property.

On July 11, 1893, in a public speech, one Peter Breen, of Butte, Mont., who is now one of the parties putting forth strong effort to have the troops removed, declared in substance: "We have given the mine owners a fight to the finish, and if they are not satisfied we can give them some more. This," he said, "was the happiest moment of his life, and that he was at all times willing to be classed as one of the dynamiters of the Cour d'Alenes."

On April 24, 1893, the managers of the Gem and Frisco mines were waited upon by a delegation appointed to act by the Gem Miners' Union and submitted a list of 23 names of men employed in those mines and requested that they be discharged.

On July 3, 1894, one John Kneebone was openly murdered. This man Kneebone had been one of the principal witnesses for the State in its prosecution in 1892 and had been many times threatened, being at one time driven out of the county and almost fatally wounded, and at the time of the wounding was robbed. On this day, July 3, 1894, along in the afternoon, about forty masked men came to Gem from the direction of Burke. Their coats were turned inside out and they were otherwise disguised in some respects. Each one carried a rifle or shotgun. They marched down the railroad track and were in full view of all who were out on the street. They then went in the direction of the mill. Kneebone was working in the blacksmith shop. When he saw them coming he jumped through the open window and started to run. He was fired upon by the mob and rolled down the hill, dead. The parties then inquired of the whereabouts of Supt. R. K. Neil, Foreman Crumer, Frank Higgins, and Charles West. These parties were taken captive and marched up the railroad track by the masked men. In the meantime the wires had been cut both above and below Gem. The above parties were afterwards found and rescued by their friends. Most of them, however, left the country at once in order to avoid being assaulted or killed.

On July 14, 1894, an attempt was made to blow up the electric power house of Bunker Hill mine at Wardner. The explosive which was made for the destruction of the property fell short of its mission by striking some obstruction that prevented it from going under the building. The building was badly shaken and in some respects injured.

About this time the Silver Star newspaper, then the official organ of the Miners' Union, so called, contained the following editorial:

"About two months ago the Miners' Union requested the 'Gem' company to discharge those objectionable 'scabs' and later on went to the men and advised them to leave the camp, as their presence here was sure to end disastrously sooner or later. Hence, no blame for this outrage can be laid at the doors of the union, as they have done everything in their power to avert it by adopting other and more peaceable means, and had great hopes of succeeding."

They are referring here, it will be understood, to the Kneebone murder.

The law and order paper of the community, known as the "Miner," said editorially about this time:

"The murder of Kneebone and the expulsion of Messrs. Neil, Crumer, Higging, and West from the country was simply the climax to what has been going on in a milder form in the Coeur d'Alenes for months past. To those who have watched the trend of events the 'Gem' outrage was no surprise. Indeed it was the natural result of a spirit of lawlessness, unchecked, which has long existed here. No strong has the spirit grown that the most sacred rights of American citizenship have been trampled upon, and he who would raise his voice to protest has been silenced by threats or hushed by platitudes of those who placed financial gain above patriotism, who sacrifice honor and manhood for the sake of trade. This, in brief, is the established condition in the Coeur d'Alenes.

"The exigency of the condition demands the continued presence of United States troops, and we believe the only permanent cure for existing evils will be found in the establishment of a military post at some available point in the Coeur d'Alenes."

It is needless to say that this same newspaper was soon driven from the camp and ceased its publication.

On July 18, 1894, a special grand jury was called for the purpose of investigating the death of John Kneebone, and its report is one of the most pitiful and shameful things that does, or could, disgrace the records of the American courts. We quote at large a part of the report of this grand jury:

"We are especially charged by your honor to make an investigation of the outrage of July 3 at the Gem mine on Canyon Creek, an incident of which was the brutal murder of John Kneebone. The occurrences of that day are known to everyone in the country. On the afternoon of July 3, 1894, a band of armed and masked men, some forty or fifty in number, suddenly appeared at the Gem mine, where the workmen were quietly pursuing their usual avocations, and instituted a search for certain persons working in the mine, whose only crime was that they were obnoxious to those men and their sympathizers. Some of these men came upon Kneebone, employed at his work at the blacksmith shop of the mine. As Kneebone, terrified at the sudden appearance of the masked men, turned and fled from the shop, two of the masked men fired at him, unarmed and helpless as he was. Kneebone was slain by one of the shots. It would appear that the commission of this foul murder must have disarranged the plans of the masked men, for they desisted from any further effort to find all the men of whom they were in search, and contented themselves with taking as prisoners the superintendent of the mine, the foreman of the mill, and two of the workmen, all of whom they conducted up Canyon Creek to the Montana line, where the prisoners were turned loose with orders not to return to the country under penalty of death.

"The procession of masked men with their prisoners marched past and in view of the people of the town of Gem, whose attention had been directed to the unusual occurrences at the mine. The deputy sheriff at Gem called upon the citizens of Gem to assist him, but could prevail upon none of them to do so. He himself approached the mob and remonstrated with them, but was warned back with leveled rifles.

"The masked men with their prisoners proceeded up Canyon Creek, which is thickly settled above the Gem mine, and in its course the procession passed through the main street of the town of Burke. The masked men must have been residents of Canyon Creek, and, though masked in various ways, they were seen by hundreds of their acquaintances, and it is to be supposed that many of them were known to the residents of Gem and Burke as the procession passed up the creek. And yet, though the grand jury has been in session for over a week, and though it is widely known throughout the country that we are sitting mainly for the investigation of this affair, and though liberal rewards have been offered by the State and by the county for the apprehension of the murderers of Kneebone, not a resident of Canyon Creek has come forward to testify to the identity of those men; and, though rumor has it that many of these men were recognized by their prisoners, the exiled men have departed from the State of Idaho and evidently are afraid to return for the purpose of giving evidence before the grand jury.

"We have summoned before us such persons as we had reason to believe had had some opportunities of seeing and identifying these men, but have obtained little or no testimony that would justify us in finding an indictment against anyone.

"We therefore, with regret, suspend our labors on that subject, deploring the condition of our country and the spirit of our citizens, which, either through a reign of terror existing on Canyon Creek or through sympathy with crimes of this character, prevents the bringing of these murderers to justice, and we can only hope that with the lapse of time and the coming of a better day to our country, evidence may develop which may justify a new grand jury in finding indictments against the right men.

"It would be trifling with the subject not to recognize in our report that the outrage at Gem is but one feature, perhaps the ugliest one, of the unfortunate agitation which has been going on now for over two years in the ranks of labor in this country, embittering the hearts of men and paralyzing the industries of our country."

On December 22, 1894, a large number of nonunion men were called from their beds and were allowed until daylight to pack their personal effects and leave, which they did.

On April 5, 1895, J. J. Mills, of Wallace, was driven from his work at the Gem mine by a band of armed and masked men and forced to leave the country.

On June 1, 1895, several other men were driven from the camp by armed and masked men.

On October 27, 1895, John Ecklund was assailed, beaten, and driven out of the camp, and at the same time \$23 was taken from his person.

On May 10, 1896, another grand effort was made to destroy the Banker Hill concentrator. The explosion of dynamite shook all of the buildings within a radius of a mile. The machinery at the mill was stopped and the electric light went out almost instantly. Fortunately serious damage was not incurred and the fire which broke out was extinguished by the employees of the company.

On February 7, 1897, three men broke into the bedroom of one John Kopp, covered him with guns, and threatened to kill him if he did not leave the camp instantly. He made complaint against three parties, but was driven from the camp before being permitted to testify, and the parties were turned loose.

On May 8, 1897, Ed. Boyce, now the president of the Western Federation of Miners, and the most prominent party putting forth efforts for the removal of the troops from the Coeur d'Alenes, in an address at Salt Lake City, Utah, used the following language:

"I deem it important to direct your attention to article 2 of the constitutional amendments of the United States—the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed. This you should comply with immediately. Every union should have a rifle club. I strongly advise you to provide every member with the latest improved rifle, which can be obtained from the factory at a nominal price. I entreat you to take action on this important question, so that in two years we can hear the inspiring music of the martial tread of 25,000 armed men in the ranks of labor. I would recommend the adoption of a new ritual. The constitution (of the Western Federation of Miners) should also be amended so as to declare all members of the National Guard ineligible to membership, and withhold our patronage and assistance from all companies and individuals or organizations where any member of the National Guard is employed or admitted to membership."

We should add here that no man is permitted to join the organization referred to, in the Coeur d'Alenes at least, who has ever been a member of the National Guard.

It will be seen that the suggestions of Boyce were soon taken advantage of. During the year 1896 several companies of Idaho national guard were organized in the Coeur d'Alenes, and on May 13, 1897, five days after the above suggestions of Boyce, six masked men entered the hotel at Mullan, in Shoshone County, about 11 o'clock at night. The parties in the hotel were ordered to turn their faces to the wall, and the bartender was ordered to lead them to the room where the guns which belonged to the State were stored. Forty-six Springfield rifles and about 10,000 cartridges were taken. No clew to them was ever found, but the evidence disclosed in the late prosecutions is to the effect that these same guns were used in part upon April 29, 1896.

Men were driven out of camp from day to day, scarcely a week passing without some outrage being committed upon law-abiding citizens.

On April 17, 1897, the board of county commissioners, the willing tool of these organizations, petitioned the present governor of the State in the following language:

"To His Excellency the Hon. FRANK STEVENSON,

Governor of the State of Idaho, Boise City, Idaho.

"SIR: We, the undersigned county commissioners of Shoshone County, of Idaho, in regular session assembled, hereby respectfully petition your excellency to use the authority in you vested and order the disbanding of the two companies of the Idaho National Guard now organized in the town of Wardner, State of Idaho.

"We find from experience and observation that the said military organization is a source of discord and uneasiness to all the citizens of the locality referred to who do not belong to the organization, and is therefore a continual menace to the peace and good order of the county."

After receiving this petition I visited Shoshone County, investigated affairs, and came to the conclusion that said companies of militia should not be disbanded. While there it was repeatedly stated to me that everything was in a peaceful condition and that there was no necessity for said militia companies being kept in existence, and hardly had I left the Cour d'Alenes when one of the saddest tragedies of that county was enacted.

On December 23, 1897, Frederick D. Whitney, foreman of the Helena and Frisco concentrator, was brutally murdered. About 11 o'clock at night, armed and masked men went to the room where Whitney lodged and took him out of bed. His companion, the assayer of the company, was made to stand with his face to the wall while Whitney dressed. Whitney was then taken outside by his captors, sixteen in number. When just below the town, Whitney thought he saw a chance to escape and began running. A volley was immediately fired and Whitney fell. He was taken to the hospital that night and died on Christmas morning.

Although a citizens' reward of some \$16,000 has been offered for the arrest and conviction of parties guilty of this crime, to which the State of Idaho added an additional reward of \$1,000 each, no arrest has ever been made. No steps were taken by the county commissioners to investigate the matter; not one cent of reward was offered by them, and not a single effort put forth by the then sheriff to apprehend the murderers.

During the month of January, 1898, a number of parties were driven from the camp, some being badly injured.

On October 21, 1898, Dan Connor, shift boss at the Standard mine, was ordered to get out of the country within twenty-four hours. The order was given by four masked men armed with revolvers. He pleaded with them that he was a married man with a wife and children, and could not get away in so short a time. He was finally granted three days, being notified that if within that time he had not left the country they would dispose of him, together with his wife and children. Mr. Connor immediately went to Wallace, Idaho, and arranged to leave the country, of which he had been a resident for several years. The charge against him was that he had discharged some men.

So I might go on recounting a number of other instances in which this high-handed and criminal method was employed to drive good citizens out of the country. But enough has been said to disclose the lawlessness which prevails and which has prevailed for years, and I beg to state that in all these instances the officers of the county have remained inactive, the county commissioners and the sheriff apparently conniving at these crimes; and no one, therefore, has been punished in all these instances.

Upon April 13, 1899, the following notice was posted, which marks the beginning of the immediate trouble in question:

"NOTICE.

"WARDNER, IDAHO, April 13, 1899.

"At a regular meeting of the Wardner Miners' Union, No. 18, W. F. M., held on the above date, it was decided to request all men employed in and about the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines to make application for admission into the Wardner Miners' Union at once.

"M. A. FLYNN,
"Committeeman."

Just about this time, Ed. Boyce, president of the W. F. M., visited Wardner and met with the union. A few days thereafter the union made a demand for an increase in wages, which the manager, at that time, stated he could not concede. Shortly thereafter the superintendent of the mine informed the men in the employ of the company that he was authorized by the Bunker Hill company to state that all of its employees would, in the future, be paid \$3 and \$3.50 per day. This was the same wage that was being paid by the adjacent mines. A committee from the Wardner union next demanded that the Bunker Hill and Sullivan company recognize the union, which involved the discharge of the nonunion employees. This the Bunker Hill and Sullivan company refused to do. The union then began a system of attack upon the employees of the company upon the streets and elsewhere in the town, which was kept up until about the 27th of April, 1899. Upon the morning of the 29th of April, 1899, about 1,000 masked and armed men, coming from Mullan, Burke, Gem, and Wardner (having taken possession by force of the train), congregated near the mill of

the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Company. After congregating there, and within a very few minutes, they put several hundred pounds of dynamite in the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mill and literally destroyed it, the dynamite used having previously been stolen and loaded in a car of the stolen train at the powder house of the Helena Frisco mine, some 15 miles distant from the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mill. They then took possession of some of the employees of the company, and after having possession of them for about thirty minutes, began clubbing them with their guns, at which time the captives started to run and were fired upon by the mob. Two of them were shot and one killed. Just a few moments before a member of the union had been shot by one of the mob, and it was proven upon the trials which followed afterwards, that he was purposely killed because he was suspected of being a spy. The members of the mob guilty of these crimes seemed utterly depraved in every way, as many of them wore masks made of American flags, and when the dynamite exploded, destroying the mill, the shout, "Down with America!" was everywhere heard. These facts were clearly proved in the trials which followed.

Martial law was declared, troops were sent into the Cour d'Alenes upon request of the governor of the State, and a special term of court was called for the purpose of bringing to light those who were engaged in the riot of April 29.

The first matter that presented itself was that of the county officials, or rather the county commissioners and sheriff. These officials were impeached and removed from office by decree of the court for misconduct in the office, and particularly in encouraging and conniving at the crime of April 29.

A grand jury was afterwards called and a number of parties were indicted for murder, among others, Paul Corcoran, one of the prominent officials of the union. A great many of the prominent officials of the union immediately fled and have not yet been intercepted. Paul Corcoran was brought to trial, and the trial resulted in a conviction of murder in the second degree. The evidence disclosed that these crimes of April 29 were the result of well-arranged conspiracies, beginning about April 13, 1899. For instance, the evidence showed that at Mullan, upon the morning of April 29, these men, under orders, and with military precision, formed in line in front of the miners' union hall and took up the march from that point to the railroad; that upon the way down they stopped by the roadside and took from a place of hiding a large number of rifles and then marched on down to Wallace; that at Burke the miners collected in and about miners' union hall, some of them carrying guns at the time upon the public street and unmasked, and about 10 o'clock marched to the depot, covered the engineer with rifles, and took complete control of the train; that at Gem they met in the miners' union hall, where guns and masks were in readiness and were handed out to the parties coming in, the room being darkened, and the guns were taken from a hiding place under the desk near where the president of the union sat. These parties then marched to the depot and met the train coming down from Burke. They all met at Wallace and still retained possession of the train, compelling the engineer to pull them to Wardner; that just before they arrived at Wardner, the Wardner Union came out a mile and met them, and by the time they arrived at the Bunker Hill mill there were about 1,000 of them in all, and about 300 armed and masked.

In the meantime, on their way down, they had broken into the Helena-Frisco powder house, near Gem, and taken possession of about 800 pounds of giant powder, which they afterwards used in blowing up the mill. The crowd seemed to be at all times under the control and acting in obedience to the commands of superior officers, marching and obeying orders with military precision.

The sheriff of the county was one of the parties who went down on the train and was with the crowd during the day.

As has been stated above, the trial of Corcoran resulted in a conviction of murder of second degree, and he is now serving his term in the State penitentiary. There were seven other men indicted for murder, whom the State had made preparation to try, who escaped prison about ten days before trial was called. The State has at no time lagged in the trial of those who have been held under indictment. The defense made serious efforts for a continuance in the Corcoran case, which the State opposed, and failed trial. The defense was also making preparations for continuance in the other cases when the prisoners escaped; the defense has never asked for trial in a single instance of parties who were held under indictment, but upon the other hand has, when the State has been asking for trial, opposed trial. It is true that after the escape of the seven prisoners who were held under indictment, the defense appeared in court and asked for trial of the other parties in prison, but these parties were not held under State indictment, nor for the purpose of trial in State courts; but by the reason of the fact that they were under indictment by the Federal grand jury, or retained in prison under authority of the martial law because of their dangerous characters.

The blowing up of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mill and the affairs of April 29 were openly indorsed by the then official organ of the Western Federation of Miners, which was edited by J. R. Sovereign. The following are some quotations from his editorial pages:

"For this foolhardy policy the Bunker Hill has suffered an immense loss, and no one who understands the real situation has any sympathy for them."

Again he says:

"The company will need military protection for forty years after their new mill is completed."

Again he says:

"The Bunker Hill company wants military protection while completing their mill at Wardner. That is not necessary. Let the company show the disposition to treat the organized miners with the same respect the other mines apparently give to miners and pay the union rate, and no protection will be needed."

This includes an admission and a threat. This newspaper is still the mouthpiece of lawlessness and is, with each issue, practically encouraging those who committed the crimes of April 29 to continue in such work when the opportunity presents itself.

The same paper brazenly admitted that the destruction of property and murders of April 29 were the work of the so-called labor organizations of the Coeur d'Alenes, thus clearly proving them to be criminal organizations, as is evidenced by the following quotations:

"The streets of Wallace took on an air of excitement, and before the train proceeded to Wardner with its human freight on its mission of destruction, armed men walked the streets in quest of an abundant supply of ammunition. It was evident to all that some of the scenes of 1892 were to be repeated, and this time the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Company at Wardner, 12 miles below Wallace, was to be the victim of a forceful demonstration on the part of the organized miners of the Coeur d'Alenes. On the train were about 200 members of the organization at Mullan, and the balance were composed of men from the various mines and outside works on Canyon Creek."

"The train reached Wardner at 1 o'clock and the work of clearing the country of all opposition was begun. A detachment of union miners, armed with Winchester rifles, was dispatched to the mountain side beyond the mill, and the work of placing under the mill 3,000 pounds of dynamite, taken from the magazine of the Frisco mine at Gem, was commenced." (Idaho State Tribune, May 3, 1899.)

At the present time, in the Coeur d'Alenes, as we have stated, quiet apparently prevails, but it is solely by reason of the presence of the Federal troops. Threats are constantly being made against those who are seeking to enforce the law and a spirit of revenge manifested, which no one upon the ground can doubt is simply waiting for the removal of the troops to be put into execution.

A large number of these parties who were in the riot of April 29, it is true, have left the country, but most of them have simply gone across the line to Butte, Mont., and to British Columbia, and will return immediately upon the removal of the troops. Upon their return there will be an inevitable conflict, which, in my judgment, will result in much bloodshed.

The above are some of the facts which compel me to ask for the detention of the troops in the Coeur d'Alenes. I certainly should be glad if conditions were such that I could consent to their removal, but to do so would, in my judgment, be to reenact the scenes which have disgraced our State for years, and which we are now well under way to end, as I believe, for all time. I have but one purpose, and that is to protect the property and lives of the citizens in Shoshone County. Much has been accomplished, but the work is not finished.

Again, taking it for granted that a state of insurrection existed on April 29, 1899—and this fact is generally conceded—who is to determine when the insurrection has ended? Who is to determine when the civil authorities are in full and complete control? Is it the official who proclaimed the insurrection, or is it to be determined by those, and the sympathizers and instigators of those, who are guilty of bringing about the insurrection? Fortunately for this present crisis the light of experience makes plain the path. In 1862, under an exactly similar condition of affairs, a seeming calm apparently justified the revocation of martial law and the withdrawal of troops after less than three months of operation, and the result was one of untold disaster. A section of community given over for years to terrorism and crime can not be purged in three months or five months, as was well illustrated by the conditions once existing at Rock Springs, Wyo., where it became necessary to station the troops for a term of twelve years.

A condition of affairs that it has taken years to create of necessity can not be superseded within a few months. That idea that the enjoyment for a few months of

what might properly be termed enforced calm is evidence that normal conditions have been restored has been the mistake of the past in dealing with conditions in the Coeur d'Alenes.

Our people look to our institutions for absolute protection in the guaranties of the Constitution, which are those of enjoying life, acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing happiness. These things have not been enjoyed by the good people of the Coeur d'Alenes for years, and we insist can not be at the present time without the aid of Federal troops.

While it is not necessary to inform you of the relative positions of the State of Idaho and the General Government in this matter, as this status is clearly defined by statute, still it may be proper, for purposes of general information, to add that the State of Idaho is responsible for all that has been done in Shoshone County relative to the call for troops, the arrest, detention, and care of prisoners, the regulations under which the mines can and have been operated from the date of the insurrection up to the present time, and the regulation of all matters concerning the employment of men in these mines, all of the above matters having been under the immediate supervision, control, and direction of the officers and representatives of the State of Idaho, and not in any way of the Federal troops. I further state that the State assumes and acknowledges all responsibility for the manner in which affairs are conducted in the Coeur d'Alenes so long as martial law, as proclaimed, prevails.

In concluding my answer to this portion of your letter, will say that, in my judgment, the necessity still exists for the detention of troops in the Coeur d'Alenes, and I ask that they be permitted to remain to assist us in policing the situation.

As to the guarding of prisoners, I will state that on November 1 the State will be able to relieve the troops of all such duties. This has been our desire from the beginning, and it has been our intention at all times to perform this service as soon as we could, and we have done so in so far as it was possible. We have had some 30 special deputies engaged in the duty of arresting, conveying, and guarding these prisoners. You will understand that we have had at times some 600 or 700 parties under arrest, or detention, but that number has been reduced to 65, and after the sitting of Federal court at Moscow the number will be much less. I state, therefore, that we will be able to take entire charge of the prisoners after November 1.

It should be stated here, however, that these men have not been held under or by reason of indictments upon the part of the State, but because they were men whom we could not permit to be at large under the present condition of affairs in that section. The men who were held under indictments found by State grand jury and whom we desire to try, escaped prison a few days before the regular term of the court, at which time all preparations had been made to try them.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, yours,

FRANK STEUNBERG, *Governor of Idaho.*

HON. ELIHU ROOT,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

DENVER, COLO., October 11, 1899.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL CORBIN, *Washington, D. C.:*

Governor Idaho, now at Boise, wires as follows: "Just returned from Shoshone County and am more convinced than ever that withdrawal of troops would be disastrous, if not criminal. I intend to go to Washington in person as soon as I can arrange with Secretary of War." In view of the foregoing I will give orders to have all troops made as comfortable as possible in tents. Testimony court-martial Sergeant Crawford now completed. May throw light on situation.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, October 12, 1899.

COMMANDING GENERAL DEPARTMENT OF COLORADO,
Denver, Colo.:

Replying to your telegram of yesterday, the Secretary of War directs that the troops now in Shoshone County, Idaho, be withdrawn from the custody of civil prisoners held under civil process October 20th. Until otherwise instructed the troops will remain in camp there, holding themselves in readiness to meet any emergency that may arise.

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

74 REPORT OF MAJOR-GENERAL COMMANDING THE ARMY.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, October 12, 1899.

GOVERNOR OF IDAHO, *Boise City, Idaho:*

The following instructions to the commanding general Department of Colorado is furnished you for your information.

"COMMANDING GENERAL DEPARTMENT OF COLORADO,
" *Denver, Colo.:*

"Replying to your telegram of yesterday, the Secretary of War directs that the troops now in Shoshone County, Idaho, be withdrawn from the custody of civil prisoners held under civil process October 20. Until otherwise instructed the troops will remain in camp there, holding themselves in readiness to meet any emergency that may arise.

"H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*"
ELIHU ROOT, *Secretary of War.*

DENVER, COLO., *October 13, 1899.*

ADJUTANT-GENERAL CORBIN, *Washington, D. C.:*

Telegram yesterday received directing withdrawal troops October 20 from custody civilian prisoners in Idaho. Major Smith, Captain Edwards, and State authorities notified.

MERRIAM, *Brigadier-General.*

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, October 18, 1899.

COMMANDING GENERAL DEPARTMENT OF COLORADO,
" *Denver, Colo.:*

The governor of Idaho is here to confer with the Secretary of War concerning the condition of affairs in his State. He reports that he will be unable to receive the prisoners now held by United States troops in Shoshone County on the 20th, as directed in previous telegram to you. In view of this statement the Secretary of War directs that you cause your troops now there to retain custody of the prisoners until the governor provides guards for them, which he says will not be later than the last of the month.

H. C. CORBIN, *Adjutant-General.*

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