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HARRIMAN

CLASS WAR IN IDAHO

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THE CLASS WAR IN IDAHO.



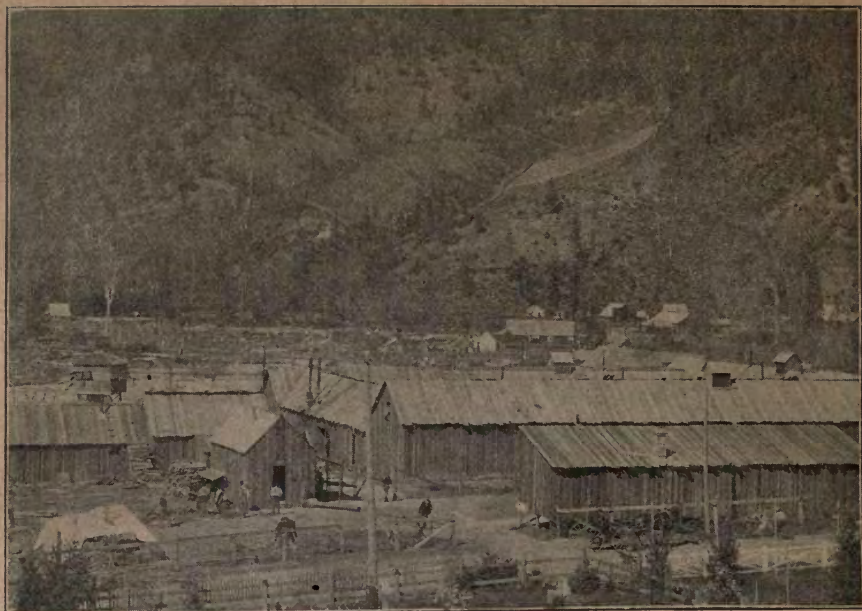
THE HORRORS OF THE BULL PEN.

An Indictment of Combined Capital in Conspiracy with
President McKinley, General Merriam and Governor Steunenberg,
for their Crimes Against the Miners of the Coeur d'Alenes.

By **JOB HARRIMAN.**

THIRD EDITION.

Entered as second class matter at the New York Post Office,
October 30, 1899.



THE "BULL PEN".

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.



BUTTE, MONTANA, July 19, 1900.

MR. JOB HARRIMAN,
184 William Street, New York City.

Dear Friend Harriman:

I have read your pamphlet on the Cœur d'Alene mining trouble with much interest, and must say that it is the only fair and logical presentation of the situation that has ever been published. It is a true history of the labor difficulties, and does not contain a single statement that can be contradicted by the mine operators.

I must say that you deserve great credit for the good work you have done in writing the true history of this great struggle under such adverse circumstances. I wish every laboring man and woman in the United States could read this pamphlet. There would be fewer volunteers to shoot down workingmen for such combines as the Standard Oil Company, and still fewer to vote for the parties that support and foster such combinations.

Let us know when you publish the second edition and I will send you an order for ten thousand copies for distribution.

Fraternally yours,

EDWARD BOYCE,
President Western Federation of Miners.

THE CLASS WAR IN IDAHO.

CHAPTER I.

THE SEAT OF WAR.

The Cœur d'Alene mining district, of Idaho, in which the great labor war has been raging during the last twelve years, is about eight by twenty-five miles in extent. The battlefield is in Shoshone County, located in the heart of the mountains, at an altitude of about twenty-eight hundred feet above the sea. Wallace, the county seat, with a population of 3,000, lies in a little basin, on every side of which are high and steep mountains, covered with pine, fir, and tamarack.

During the winter season, the deep mountain shadows, deepened by the clouds that hover about the peaks, cast a gloom over the little basin which makes it seem like the very "Valley of the Shadow of Death." But in the summer time, when the clouds are driven away and the mountain shades are made welcome by a warmer sun, Wallace becomes a most delightful resort. The air is clear and bracing, the nights are cool and restful, the streams flow with an abundance of cold water, the Cœur d'Alene Lake abounds with fish, and the forests with berries and wild game.

From the little basin in which Wallace is located, canyons radiate in every direction. It is up these canyons that the mines and the mining camps are to be found.

The location gives to Wallace the commercial advantage over the surrounding towns, and it is, accordingly, the place where the business of this district for the most part, is conducted. This little commercial center has also been the center of the field upon which two of the fiercest labor battles of the world have been fought.

That a fair understanding of this great difficulty may be acquired, it will be necessary to keep constantly in mind the fact that this Cœur d'Alene

district is one of the richest mineral belts in all the world; that it is largely controlled by a few companies; that it is only beginning to be developed; that wages in this district, from the first, have been \$3.50 a day; that the miners have never asked for more than \$3.50 a day; that the mine owners have constantly made an aggressive warfare against this rate of wages; and that the miners have been forced to conduct a defensive warfare to maintain it.

Hence, the wage question in the Cœur d'Alene troubles, as in almost every other labor difficulty, was the cause of the conflict. All other differences arising between the miners and mine owners, were of but little importance and will be considered accordingly.

By taking up the facts chronologically, we will be able to determine whether it was the miners or the mine owners who were responsible for the plans of the battle and the crimes to which they have led.

Until seventeen years ago, the Cœur d'Alenes served as haunts for wild men and wild beasts, and the region was practically free from the hand of civilization. But in 1882 some prospectors, who had wandered from the beaten path, discovered some very rich gold deposits, and the news of this fact was immediately circulated throughout the country, and especially through the mining camps of the West. Interest was awakened, many prospectors went to seek their fortunes there, and some found them in enormously rich placers. These facts added fuel to the already awakened interest, which developed into the famous Cœur d'Alene gold fever, resulting in a great rush to that country, during the winter of 1883 and 1884. More than ten thousand men were at

the diggings at this time, and the vast majority of them were American citizens.

From the camps already located, prospectors ventured in every direction, and it was soon discovered that the mountains above the lake were charged and surcharged with lead and silver, and that the gold fields, though rich, were of comparatively little importance.

Development work was at once begun on these new claims; tunnels were run into the mountains, and unlimited bodies of ore were struck, the concentrates containing 30 ounces or more of silver and 1,200 pounds of lead to the ton. This was immediately followed by the construction of large concentrators, and permanent mining camps, so that in the year 1887 a few large mines were running in full blast, with a total force of more than a thousand men.

ENORMOUS DIVIDENDS

These mines declared enormous dividends at the end of every month; many new claims were being located, with even brighter prospects than those already developed; and thus the Cœur d'Alenes became destined to produce, in the near future, by far the major portion of the lead used in the United States.

The largest producer in the district was the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine. Not only did it produce the most lead and silver, but it declared the largest dividends in proportion to the capital invested. But this company was not content with this good fortune. They became bidders for all good prospects in their immediate vicinity; and oftentimes, when the price could not be agreed upon, they would jump the claims and enter the courts for a contest. Thus, like His Satanic Majesty, they walked up and down the earth, seeking whom they might devour.

Nor yet were they satisfied. Their greed would not let them rest while there was a penny eluding their grasp. They looked with envy upon their employees. They argued that the men could exist upon less than they were receiving. The very men who produced the thousands, which were being divided every month as dividends, were locked upon by the company with

jealousy and hatred, and for no other reason than that the men were receiving \$3.50 a day for the dangerous and unhealthful work which they were doing. The passion for dividends being their ruling motive, greed distated the terms.

Notice was accordingly served upon the miners that wages would be cut from \$3.50 per day to \$2.50 and \$3 a day. Thus the first gun was fired in the Cœur d'Alene labor war, by the owners of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine, in the year 1887.

As a herd of wild cattle will rush together, encircle their young, with their heads turned out, and their horns to the ground, in order to defend themselves against a pack of attacking wolves, so the miners rushed together, entered into a compact; agreed to resist the reduction, and thereby defend themselves and their families, against the unjust attack of the company. Thus the first labor organization was formed in the district; it was known as the "Wardner Miners' Union." It was a defensive organization, forced into existence by the company itself. It has always remained a defensive organization, fighting for but one thing, namely, to maintain the wage at \$3 and \$3.50 a day. It was a righteous organization, because the men produced not only the \$3.50 which they received each day, but also the vast dividends which the companies received. Had they not defended themselves and their homes against this unjust attack, their servile cowardice would have merited the contempt even of the company.

When we consider that their average gross monthly earnings were less than \$100, that their board cost them \$30 a month, their mining clothes \$20, bunks \$8, and other necessary expenses at least \$15, we find that they had less than \$30 a month left. It must also be remembered that this is a most dangerous occupation, and that the company does not insure against loss of life or limb.

THE FIRST VICTORY.

With the sense of justice confirming their action, the union became a solid phalanx. The company could not break it. A retreat was ordered, and the \$3 and \$3.50 scale was maintained. Thus the first skirmish ended, and the victory was won by the union.

This skirmish was watched in all the mines of the district, and both the companies and the men were thereafter constantly upon their guard. Accordingly, when the rumor that wages were to be reduced, became prevalent in any locality, the men did not wait for the first step to be taken by the company, as had been done in Wardner, but immediately organized their union and prepared for the fray. Thus unions were organized at Mullen in '88, at Burke in '89, and at Gem in '90. On no occasion did any of these unions ask for more than \$3.50 a day. They were all organized to defend this \$3.50 rate. And in 1890, they were absolutely independent of each other.

THE HOSPITAL QUESTION.

At this time there developed an open opposition to the hospital service. This arose out of the unfair methods by which the companies were conducting such institutions. More than 1,200 men were now working in the mines, and each man was paying \$1 a month, as hospital fees. This meant \$1,200 a month. And yet the apartments were poor and the services were practically worthless. The miners protested to the mine owners against such treatment, but met with no success. Some of the men suggested that the unions should support a hospital of their own. But each union was too weak for such an undertaking, and there being no federation, they were practically helpless. A committee was therefore appointed by one of the unions, with instructions to draft a plan for conducting a Miners' Union Hospital, and to lay the proposition before all the unions in the district. This proposition was at once accepted, committees from each union were appointed, Wallace was chosen as the seat, being the most central location, and all the members paid their \$1 a month to this hospital, instead of paying it to the one belonging to the mine owners.

A vigorous protest was made by the mine owners against this step. But if the mine owners were truthful in their statement "that it cost them \$1 a month for every employee, to keep up the hospitals," then the miners could not understand why they should not be permitted to run their own establishment, so long as the sick were satisfied. But when they informed the

mine owners that the services were far better than they had been, and yet the protest was persisted in, the union concluded that the mine owners had been running their hospital for the money there was in it and not for the benefit of the sick. This step was, therefore, a measure of defense, which they were forced to inaugurate, in order that their sick might be well cared for.

To conduct this enterprise, the unions formed a federation of all the unions in the district, known as the "Miners' Union of the Cœur d'Alenes." Thus the federation was the child of persecution, born of the necessity for defense against the greed of the mine owners. The miners were in the right. The defense was successful, the victory was easily won, and the Federation still lives. The importance attached to the hospital difficulty, so far as the history of the war is concerned, is to show how and why the Federation developed.

At this time, the men were in precisely the same position as they were before the first union was organized; that is, they were receiving \$3 and \$3.50 a day and no favors; and all men working in or about the mines were eligible to membership in the union.

MACHINERY INTRODUCED.

In the winter of 1890-1891, the mine owners made an important change in the working of their mines. Previous to this time all drilling was done by hand. The machine drill was now introduced, and one man could do as much work as five men could formerly do. Four out of every five men who had been receiving \$3.50 a day were now put to shoveling, and given only \$3 a day. With a few machines, the same force of men would turn out almost twice as much rock as before. The shovelers were driven much harder than formerly, making shoveling as hard as machine work; and yet the total amount of wages paid was much less.

By reason of this change, which made all underground work practically the same, and yet had resulted in reducing the wages and increasing the output, the union decided that they would not submit to the reduction, but that they would make a demand for \$3.50 for all underground work.

They agreed that each union should make the demand upon all the mine owners within its jurisdiction at the same time. They decided that the campaign should begin at Burke. And as soon as the mine owners at Burke

had agreed to pay the old \$3.50 scale, it was arranged that the union at Gem should make the demand upon all the mine owners within its jurisdiction. Then Mullen should follow in the same way, and then Wardner.

CHAPTER II.

THE TROUBLES OF '91.

The campaign was begun in June 10, 1891, and was followed out as agreed upon. Within ten days, all the mine owners in the district acceded to the demand without delay, except the Bunker Hill and Sullivan, at Wardner. This, it will be remembered, was the company which endeavored to reduce wages in 1887. It gave signs of fight for three days, and then surrendered.

The union thought it fair to the mine owners that outside men should not be paid as much as underground men, the work being less arduous and less dangerous, and they amended their constitution, providing that only underground men should belong to the union. This was satisfactory to all the men concerned, and the Knights of Labor appeared and organized all the outside men. From that day to this, they have worked in harmony with the Miners' Union. Though, by means of the machine drill, the same force of men were able to put out by far more rock than before its introduction, and though the total amount of wages was far less in proportion to the amount of rock turned out, and though the men knew that the monthly dividends of the mine owners had been thereby increased, yet, having maintained the \$3.50 scale, the miners took no step to raise their wages above that scale; but were content that the profits accruing from the machine should go to the mine owners. Hence the union, in this instance, had conducted only a defensive warfare against the new methods employed by the capitalists. And aggressive actions, direct and indirect, on the part of the mine owners, to reduce the scale of wages had resulted not only in their defeat, but also in a thorough organization of the miners into an amalgamated union for defense.

The power of the unions had been

demonstrated on three different occasions to be more than equal to the emergency, and it became evident that if the mine owners were to be successful in reducing the wages, they must resort to other methods.

MINE OWNERS' ASSOCIATION.

Three companies—the Bunker Hill & Sullivan, the Helena-Frisco, and the Gem—headed a call for a meeting of all the mine owners in the district. The active men were Hammond, Bradley, Esler, and Campbell. This meeting was held at Wallace, in October, 1891, and resulted in the organization of the "Mine Owners' Protective Association," to which the owners of all the large mines belonged.

Thus were the two opposing forces arrayed and organized, and the line distinctly drawn between them. On the one hand was the Union, on the other, the Association; to the one belonged more than 1,200 men, whose living depended on their daily wages; to the other belonged a few millionaires, constantly growing richer by enormous monthly dividends. The one was organized for the purpose of maintaining the wages at \$3.50 a day; the other was organized for the avowed purpose of destroying the union and reducing the wages to \$2.50 a day.

At this time some of the companies were declaring dividends amounting to \$30,000 a month, and the B. H. & S. dividends were running as high as \$60,000 a month. And yet their insatiable greed prompted them to organize the association, to make war upon the union, to crush it if possible, and then to lower the wages and thereby still further increase their dividends. That this was the purpose for which the association was organized appears from the following facts:

First, shortly after the association

was organized, Mr. C. F. Easton, present State Senator from the Cœur d'Alenes, had contracted with the union to do certain work which would require an investment on his part amounting to several hundred dollars. A member of the Mine Owners' Association, hearing of this fact, said to Mr. Easton: "Do not invest your money. There will be no union soon. I know what I am talking about."

Second, the mine owners hired traitors to go into the union for the express purpose of betraying them to the association. This fact appears over the signature of G. E. French, First Lieutenant of the 4th U. S. Infantry, in the "Overland Monthly" for July, 1895. Mr. French was entirely in sympathy with the association, and was a confidant of the mine owners. For this reason, he will be liberally quoted in this narration. He said: "The Mine Owners' Association employed one of the Pinkerton detectives known as Seringo, but whose real name was C. L. Allison. He ingratiated himself with the miners and joined one of the unions. He was an exceedingly adroit man, and was soon elected Secretary of the Gem Miners' Union. Thus the Mine Owners' Association was enabled to obtain records of the meetings and keep well posted upon the plans and actions of the union."

Third, a certain per cent. of the gross output from each mine was set aside, and put into a common fund, with which to fight the union. This fact was told by members of the association to merchants in Wallace, who were thought to be in sympathy with the mine owners. These merchants dare not let their names be used, because the association has it in its power to crush them.

In the light of these facts, can it be denied that the association had secretly declared hostilities and was preparing for an open battle?

SHUT-DOWN OF 1892.

If there is any doubt yet lingering in the mind of any reader, it will be dispelled by the fact that just three months from the time when the association held this meeting, every mine was shut down.

This act committed by the association, on January 15, 1892, locked out more than 1,200 men. They and their families depended upon

their daily earnings for bread. In the dead of winter, in this cold northern country, where fuel is absolutely necessary, where living is expensive, the miners' resources were shut off, without a day's notice.

The reason given by the association for this act was that "the exorbitant freight charges were consuming all their profits and that they would not reopen until the rates were satisfactorily adjusted."

Thus the association endeavored to conceal its real purpose beneath this glaring falsehood. The capitalists cherished the hope that the miners would soon be starved into submission. They thought that the men would be forced to leave the country or that the union would propose a reduction in the rate of wages equivalent to the desired reduction in the freight rates.

But immediately upon the announcement of their reasons for closing, the union seized upon the recent reports which showed the dividends of some of the mines to average \$30,000 per month, and in one case to average as high as \$60,000 per month. This fact was heralded to the world. It was proof positive that the association had not shut down the mines because the profits were being consumed by freight charges, but that the action was prompted by their insatiable craving to consume, by reducing the wages, the small margin then left to the wage earners.

Thus aggressive warfare had been declared by this millionaire association upon a union of 1,200 men, and the line of battle was drawn on the question of wages. The union was again forced to conduct a defensive warfare.

Men were sent by the union to all the great mining centers of the West, to explain the situation and appeal for help. The appeal also found its way through the rural press, and from every quarter came a most liberal response. Carloads of provisions from the farmers, and heavy drafts for cash from the unions came in quantities far beyond all expectation. Commissaries were opened and the suffering was relieved. Almost every union miner remained in the district, waiting for the association to hoist a flag of truce.

The response with which their appeal was meeting gave them every reason to hope for an ultimate victory.

Though they knew that by the sweat of their brows did they eat bread, they knew also that by the sweat of their brows did the companies declare dividends, and that while the lockout lasted no dividends would be declared, and a few months without dividends would create consternation in the camp of the enemy. With the knowledge of this fact, with the conviction that they were right, with funds pouring in, the union men were peaceable and quiet, but resolute. They had again formed a phalanx, bound together by a common interest, a common necessity, and a deep and mutual sympathy which always accompanies the sufferings of the working class. And this phalanx was as solid as steel.

Thus they stood for more than two months, awaiting the next move of the enemy. During this time both the opposing forces appeared firm. But in March the association confessed its plot and its crime, by notifying the men that the mines would be opened and that the wages would be \$2.50 and \$3 a day, instead of \$3.50.

By a unanimous vote, the union spurned the offer. The mines did not open. This fact confirmed the statement made by the union, and the sympathizers kept up the inflowing stream of provisions and money.

The association then proposed a one-sided "sliding scale." This was wholly unsatisfactory and was promptly rejected.

The next aggressive act on the part of the association was to ship non-union men into the district from other States.

To defend themselves against this new danger, the union appointed a committee, whose duty it was to explain the situation to the non-union men and to offer to pay their fare back to their homes; or, if they preferred, the union would furnish them board and lodging in Wallace while the strike lasted.

This was a successful defense, and almost every man laid down his tools and walked out. Thus the union phalanx was again enlarged and strengthened.

But no dividends were forthcoming, and something had to be done. The association now turned to the Federal authorities.

As French tells us that on May 7,

1892, the association secured an injunction from Judge J. H. Beatty of the United States District Court, restraining the miners from "interfering" with the association's imported men. But the union men, in self-defense, continued to approach the imported men in secret. This latest act of tyranny not only made their success with the non-union men even better than before, but it again aroused sympathizers for the union, and multiplied their resources.

This secret method of defense on the part of the union continued for four weeks, with unabated success.

The thought of no dividends caused the association to resort to more forcible methods. Mr. French tells us (page 44) that "an agreement was made between the mine owners that none of the union men should be employed," and he also tells us that, on June 4, the association prevailed upon the Governor to issue a proclamation, warning the men against using even moral suasion to prevent imported men from working. In this proclamation the Governor announced that, unless the unions refrained from such action, he would declare martial law in the district.

This aroused the citizens of Wallace, and large mass meetings were held to protest against the acts of the Governor.

The moral suasion continued, the miners' cause was being taken up by the people, and it became apparent that decisive action must be taken or a retreat beaten by the association.

More than five months had passed since war was declared. The union was stronger than ever before, and every attack of the Association had been repelled; even the attacks made by the Federal Court and the Governor had been evaded. Summer was now on, the stream of cash and provisions flowing into the mines was still swelling, and no dividends were being declared.

PINKERTONS BROUGHT IN.

Knowing that the Governor was with them and that there was no danger of prosecution, the association took the law into its own hands, and imported several car-loads of non-union men and two hundred armed Pinkerton detectives. Mr. French says (page 35) that the non-union men were put to work

in the mines and the armed detectives were stationed about to guard them.

By this act, the association had overreached itself. The union had only to rest upon its oars, for victory was now assured. The Pinkerton force was costing the association \$1,000 a day and board, and the men in the mines were costing vastly more. Still, no dividends.

The starving-out scheme was continued. But the scales were turned, and the enormous expenses of the association made it possible for the unions to wait until the companies should become bankrupt. Again the companies had been the aggressors, and again they were defeated without the union men raising a hand.

There was now but one thing to do, and that was to have the Governor declare martial law.

Mr. French tells us (page 35) that a "reign of terrorism and ostracism had existed for months," and in the same passage he remarks that the "Miners' Union had the sympathy of a majority of the people." Is it not remarkable that the people should have been terrorized by those with whom they sympathized?

Though Mr. French's article did not appear until some time later, it is a very conservative specimen of the articles scattered by the capitalist press throughout the country. The conditions were grossly exaggerated by the association. For this was the last effort to prepare the outside public to support martial law.

MILITIA CALLED OUT.

It was decided to call out the militia, to unite them with the Pinkerton force, and to precipitate a conflict between them and the union men.

But when the militia were ordered out, it was found that they were unwilling to fight, that they were in sympathy with the union men, and that they even permitted the latter to carry away their guns.

Mr. French says that General Curtis telegraphed the Governor that "the militia was inadequate, and that a force of United States troops would be needed without delay." Arrangements were then made for Federal troops located at Fort Sherman, Vancouver Barracks, Fort Keogh, Fort Spokane, and Fort Missoula to be ready to march, on a minute's notice.

ATTEMPTS TO PROVOKE A FIGHT.

The plans all having been laid, it was only a question of provoking a conflict. The Pinkertons insulted the wives and daughters of the miners with the most vulgar language, and studiously endeavored to provoke some overt act. It was thought, that on the Fourth of July, some of the many men would be drinking and would probably commit some rash act.

To urge them on, a flag was hoisted with an old broom above it, and the Pinkertons would tantalize the men as they passed, calling out that they would "sweep the union out of the canyon."

But the men had learned their lesson well, and no act was committed that would serve the Pinkertons for a pretext to fire. The following day, the "Spokesman Review," of Spokane, Wash., said that "the expected fight did not occur in the Cœur d'Alenes on the Fourth." How did this paper know a fight was expected on that day? And who was expecting it? Certainly, the unions were not.

It was discovered by the union that the Pinkertons had rations laid in sufficient for two days. Strong breastworks were thrown up, and the thugs were certain that they would be able to hold out against the union for forty-eight hours after the conflict was begun. And they knew also that the regulars could reach them in that time.

THE PRETEXT FOUND.

For six days more the insults continued. Finally, on July 10, the desired pretext was found. As R. R. Williams was walking up the railroad, he was accosted by a Pinkerton who told him that he could not walk on that track. Williams replied that if he (the Pinkerton) would lay down his gun he would match fists with him. The man laid his gun down and a fight ensued, after which the Pinkerton was sent to the hospital for repairs.

This was made a pretext for opening fire. It was noised abroad that the association had ordered its men to begin action on the following morning. Miners from every camp gathered at Gem, during the night, all of them prepared to make a defense. They were ordered by the union "not to fire first" under penalty of death. Every man

knew that the penalty would follow disobedience.

THE FIRST SHOT.

It is a matter of court record that, early on the morning of July 11, the Pinkertons fired the first shot and killed an unarmed miner. Immediately, a volley was poured into the miners' ranks, killing four and wounding fourteen.

Again were the capitalists the aggressors and the miners on the defensive. But this time it was a fight to the finish.

The union men hid behind the rocks and trees and, for more than two hours, poured a shower of shot into the old mill and the barracks. The Pinkertons stood their ground, and a genuine battle was on. It was evident that the guns of the miners were too light for the breastworks of the Pinkerton men, and that they must find a more vulnerable point if they would win the victory before the regulars arrived. A few men were sent out to reconnoitre, and they discovered that no guard had been placed at the penstock. The firing continued from both sides, while the men made their way up to the penstock. They turned off the water, and then started two fifty-pound boxes of dynamite down the shoot. When the powder went down, the mill went up, and the Pinkertons and non-union men rushed from the further end of the works, each with a handkerchief on his bayonet. Thus flags of truce could be seen flying in every direction.

The victory was with the union, and unconditional surrender was the order. Mr. French tells us that "the mine owners, in order to save the lives of their workmen, surrendered to the mob." Thoughtful, indeed, for their workmen!

The arms were first surrendered to a committee, then to the union miners. The non-union men and Pinkertons were put on the train and ordered out of the country. It is needless to say that the orders were obeyed instant, and "peace reigned in Warsaw."

But from every direction the troops were being rushed toward the scene of battle. Every mine in the Cœur d'Alenes had surrendered except the Bunker Hill & Sullivan. Less than two days remained in which to take

this last fort of the association. A large force of union men proceeded to the B. H. & S., and told the management what had happened above, and why they were forced to act, and demanded that the non-union men be discharged and sent out of the district at once.

In less than two hours, 150 non-union men were marching down the railroad track to the mission, where they were to take passage for parts unknown.

The "Spokesman Review" then came out with all the horrible stories of midnight murders that an abnormal and depraved brain could conjure up. The public was told that the union men had murdered a large number of non-unionists, had torn the flesh from some of the bodies and hung it in the trees; that they had burned others, and that their bones were yet in the ash piles; and that every conceivable outrage had been inflicted upon the helpless.

Public indignation was aroused by the article, and a committee of responsible men was appointed by the citizens to make an investigation. The entire story was proven to be absolutely false. The fact is that the union men did not go down to the canyon either upon that day or any other, but returned to Wallace and waited for the next move of the enemy.

This last struggle had been on just six months. In every instance, not only during this contest, but also during every contest since 1887, the association had been the aggressor and the union had been on the defensive.

During these six months the union men bore their hardships and indignities courageously; they stood by their principles manfully; and until the last, they hoped that an amicable settlement might be reached. The battle was forced upon them and when, for the first time, they were compelled to show their power, they crushed the hirelings of the association with one blow, and drove them out of the country.

Again, there can be no question as to who was the guilty party.

MARTIAL LAW.

Immediately on the arrival of the troops, the State and Federal authorities manifested the most revolting partiality.

Martial law had been declared July

12. The soldiers arrived July 13. Mr. French tells us that "it became evident that Sheriff Cunningham and Marshals Thomas Argyle and John Stack, because they were elected by the miners, were unwilling to act," and that "General Curtis accordingly removed them from office, and, on July 15, issued the following order":

Headquarters Idaho National Guard.
Special Order No. 3.

Wallace, Idaho, July 15, 1892.

Dr. U. S. Sims of Wallace, Idaho, is hereby appointed acting Sheriff of the County of Shoshone, State of Idaho, and is empowered with all the authority of that office, under martial law now in force in said county.

By order: JAMES F. CURTIS,
Colonel Idaho National Guards Commanding.

Dr. Sims was the physician employed by the Mine Owners' Association. He was very willing to act.

Immediately, more than 500 men were arrested and thrown into the Bull Pens, one at Kellog and the other at Wallace, and thus the union was again on the defensive. The members of the Mine Owners' Association went scot free and directed the actions of the military officers—and thus, again, were they the aggressors.

All the non-union men who had been "murdered" in the canyon on the Fourth of July, and "whose bones were bleaching on the ash piles," were at once herded together and set to work again at the Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine.

Remember that no trials had yet been held and the officers were already passing judgment. The reason given for removing Sheriff Cunningham was that he was unwilling to act. But it is asserted by responsible men of Wallace, who were on the ground at the time, that Cunningham was willing and anxious to act. It is possible that both of these statements were true. It might be that he was willing to arrest the very men whom the army officers did not wish to have arrested—the really guilty men; and it is certain that those whom they wished him to arrest were innocent.

In looking into this matter, we must consider what became of the 500 men who were in the Bull Pens. In doing this, we must remember that the State officials, the army officers, and county officials were all willing to arrest the members of the Miners' Union, for the

unwilling officials had all been dismissed.

It is also claimed, and the following facts seem to warrant the statement, that the judges and juries had been carefully looked after.

The first evidence that the officers had been looked after appears in the fact that, of the 500 men who had been arrested, some were released on parole, some on bonds, and about 75 were held for two months—against most of whom no charges had been preferred.

Another evidence is that, of all those who were tried, only sixteen were convicted—and those were convicted of contempt of court. They would not refrain from moral suasion. They were sentenced to serve for from six months to two years in prison.

A strange crime is moral suasion!

And still another evidence that the judges and juries were "fixed," and that the Sheriff and other officials were appointed for a purpose appears in the fact that the decisions were all reversed and every man was pronounced innocent and released by the United States Supreme Court.

The most remarkable thing is that the court martial outfit did not arrest the judge of the United States Court for contempt of court. There could be no doubt of his supreme contempt.

A further evidence that the officers were all fixed and that they were all "willing" appears in the fact that all the members of the Mine Owners' Protective Association were known to be guilty of breaking the penal code, and yet not one was arrested.

An act of the Idaho State Legislature, approved January 20, 1891, to enforce Section 6 of Article 14 of the State Constitution, provides, "that any association, corporation, or company, which shall bring or aid in bringing into this State any armed or unarmed force for the purpose of the suppression of domestic violence, shall be guilty of a felony."

This association had aided in bringing in the Pinkerton armed force. Why were its members not arrested? The proof of their guilt was all at hand. The evidence was uncontrollable.

It was these very men whom Sheriff Cunningham was willing and anxious to arrest, and whom the newly appointed officials were anxious to

shield. It was the miners who were believed by the community to be innocent, and who have since established their innocence before the highest court in the land, whom Cunningham was unwilling to arrest.

Sheriff Cunningham was, therefore, removed from office, not only because he was unwilling to arrest the innocent, but because he was willing to arrest the guilty. He was willing and anxious to arrest the mine owners for bringing an armed force into the State and inciting them to murder. But in the eyes of the court martial outfit the association was sacred.

THE POLITICAL SIDE.

This most corrupt and culpable martial law association outfit held full sway until after the fall elections of 1892. Life was made a burden to union men. The commissaries were prohibited. Non-union men were imported in car-load lots. Only in necessary instances would the mine owners employ union men. And thus, by election time, they had driven out so many of the old miners that the Republican party carried the day.

But why should the association manifest such interest in the election?

There were two most excellent reasons: First, they wanted a Sheriff who was willing to do their bidding; second, they wanted also an Assessor who would assist them in breaking the law in other respects. Mr. French says that the property of the mine owners was valued at \$10,500,000, and that it was assessed at \$1,350,000. The interest of the Assessor is easily understood!

It was their insatiable greed that guided their every action. Thus it was that the mine owners entered politics as an association and became the ag-

gressors, and from that time on the union also entered politics and was on the defensive.

As between the miners and the association, independent of all outside influence, the victory was easily with the union. In every instance, from the first effort to reduce wages made by the B. H. & S. down to the last battle forced by the Pinkertons, the mine owners were guilty of making every attack, but were easily repelled by the union. When the final great battle was fought and the victory won by the miners, the powers that ruled were not content. The military power of the State and Nation was mobilized for the purpose both of furthering sordid political ends and of protecting legalized property privileges.

Through the influence of the enormous capital in the hands of the association, property privileges were magnified and the value of human life and human rights was minimized. By the same influence the hand of justice in the Cœur d'Alenes was paralyzed, persecution of the innocent ran rife, and the guilty went free.

And yet, with all the Federal and State troops, with all the corrupt officials, with all the enormous wealth of the association, with the car-loads of non-union men, there were still no dividends. The imported men could not operate the mines. The mine owners, after months of persistent effort to train the new men, gave up in despair, and discharged them. They were again compelled to employ all the old Cœur d'Alene men who made application.

Thus, in 1893, within eighteen months after martial law was declared, every camp except the B. H. & S. was again under union control. The first great battle was over. The union was victorious. But the war was still on.

CHAPTER III.

It will be remembered that Bradley of the Bunker Hill & Sullivan, Esler of the Frisco, and Campbell of the Standard mines were the men who determined the policy of the Mine Owners' Association toward the Miners' Union in 1892. The same companies have been most prominent during the difficulty of 1899 and in all the intervening troubles. Shortly after the '92 lockout, the Frisco put in a new manager

named Joe McDonald, and later on the B. H. & S. followed by putting the reins in the hands of Mr. Burbage.

Both of these men were entirely devoid of conscience, and the former was both a thorough mining man and an exceedingly cunning and adroit general. It is about these two men, together with Mr. Whitney of the B. H. & S. and Campbell and French of the Standard, that the web of facts con-

cerning the troubles since 1893 is woven. In surveying the battle field of 1892, the grave blunders made by the association were plain to be seen. They had attacked the \$3.50 rate of wages while their own reports showed that the mines were declaring enormous dividends. They had failed to alienate the sympathy of the public from the Miners' Union and thereby had left open the only resource from which the miners could draw supplies in their hour of need. They had intensified this sympathy by enjoining the men from using moral suasion. They had still further aroused the public sympathy and thereby increased the miners' resources, by importing into the State an armed force of Pinkerton men, against whom there was already a determined protest in every State. They had boldly taken the aggressive, instead of throwing the miners in a position where they would appear as the aggressors. And by these blunders they had developed the union into such a power that they themselves were compelled to surrender.

It became evident that if the mine owners were ever to succeed in reducing the miners' wages, they must first destroy the sympathy between the public and the Miners' Union, and draw the miners into such a position that they would appear to be on the aggressive instead of the defensive. Then they might attack and destroy the union because of its alleged misconduct, while the wages question should carefully be kept in the background, to be settled when the union was destroyed.

With what adroitness and skill the plans were laid and executed will appear only in part in the following facts.

While all the other companies had surrendered to the union and were paying the \$3.50 scale, it was agreed among the members of the association that the B. H. & S. should not surrender on this point, nor should that company even recognize the union. Thus it was certain that this mine would become an eyesore to the union. And the mine owners constantly irritated it, by insisting that the miners should unionize the B. H. & S. and compel it to pay the \$3.50 scale, or else permit a reduction in all the other mines. The B. H. & S. was also diligent, and seized upon every opportun-

ity, legitimate and otherwise, to aggravate this ill feeling.

One instance arose when in 1894, the owners of the B. H. & S. notified their men that there would be a still further reduction in wages, although they were already paying less than the union scale. They shut down, they said, for the purpose of permitting the men to vote upon the proposition of accepting \$2.50 and \$3 a day. They stated that, if this proposition was rejected, the mine would remain shut down indefinitely.

The proposition was unanimously voted down by the miners. Nevertheless, on the following day the mine opened up as usual and paid the same scale which it had been paying.

This falsehood could only increase the contempt which the men already entertained for the company and was a further evidence that the company's word was not to be depended upon.

ELECTION OF 1894.

Again, when the elections of 1894 came on, the company posted notices to the effect that if the labor candidate, Eugene Sage, was elected, the B. H. & S. would shut down indefinitely. In this culpable manner, the company endeavored to buy the votes of their men. But the men were loyal and every candidate on the labor ticket was elected. The mine continued operations, and the miners certainly continued to grow in contempt for the company.

During the same year, there occurred a cave-in at the B. H. & S., resulting in the death of three men. The coroner's jury found that the deaths were caused by a cave-in resulting from the carelessness of the officers of the B. H. & S. Co.

At this time the men signed a petition to the Governor, requesting that the Mine Inspector be compelled to do his duty. But the Governor immediately sent the petition to the company, and at once the company discharged every man who had signed it. Their places were filled by imported non-union men. Such was the redress they received.

This method of attack continued until November 22, when silent contempt for the company ceased to be a virtue, and the miners called a mass meeting and demanded: First, that the B. H. & S. should not discriminate against organized labor; second, that the men now in the Cœur d'Alenes should be

given preference in employment; third, that no man should be imported while there was an oversupply at hand. The employers replied that they proposed to operate their mine in the future as they had in the past.

The miners then put the following question to Mr. Bradley, the spokesman of the company: "Are you aware that members of your company, contrary to their agreement with the K. of L., have written East for miners, to come and take the places of men now employed, at a lower wage than was agreed upon?" Mr. Bradley answered: "NO."

But men who had been imported on contract to work for less than current wages rose and testified to the fact, and a letter to that effect, over Mr. Bradley's own signature, was handed to him and he was made to read it aloud. Then, amidst the jeers of four hundred men, he was permitted to retire, despised by them all.

The company then decided upon a lockout, and the mill and mine were shut down at once. This also was done in the dead of winter; but this time only one mine was involved, and the funds in the treasury of the local Federation were sufficient to provide for the men who were out. The fight lasted for almost five months. During all this time the other mine owners constantly expressed contempt for the B. H. & S., and thereby encouraged the miners in their action. Yet the association, B. H. & S. included, was holding secret meetings and improving every opportunity which would tend to lead the men into some unwise action. But wise counsels prevailed in the union and peaceful methods alone were employed.

At this time a wave of religious warfare was sweeping over the country, and the A. P. A. was springing up in every vicinity. Mr. Bradley seized upon this opportunity, and succeeded in persuading a few A. P. A. merchants to circulate the following petition, which Mr. Bradley himself wrote:

"We, the undersigned citizens of Wardner and Kellogg, in consideration of the extremely low prices of lead and silver ruling, and in further consideration of the fact that the cost of living has decreased, believe that while these low prices continue, \$3 a day for miners and \$2.50 a day for laborers

is a reasonable wage, and we further believe that the Bunker Hill & Sullivan Mining and Concentrating Company has the same right to manage its own affairs as we have to manage ours, and we hereby pledge the Company our cordial support in its determination to pay no higher wages while the prices of lead and silver are so low, it being understood that the said Company will restore wages to the former basis of \$3.50 and \$3, whenever the prices of lead and silver advance so that the combined value in New York of 100 pounds of lead and 2½ ounces of silver is not less than \$6.00"

At the time the mine shut down, the company was still declaring dividends of more than \$60,000 a month. They set the prices of lead and silver so high, in this so-called petition, defining the conditions under which wages would be increased, that they themselves knew that the prices would probably never be reached and they could never, under this agreement, be called upon to restore wages. Though the mine employs, when in full force, almost 500 men, yet their own report concerning the labor troubles shows (page 25) that only 201 men in Wardner, Kellogg, and all the surrounding country, could be induced to sign this document.

Nevertheless, the A. P. A.s signed unanimously, and in return for this favor the association agreed to employ only such men as that organization should recommend. In this way they hoped both to reduce wages and to develop a feeling which would disrupt the ranks of the union.

The reduction of wages was accomplished and for a time it seemed altogether probable that the bosses would succeed in disrupting the labor organizations. The mine owners were all diligently adding fuel to the flame, but with only temporary effect. By fomenting this religious strife, the mine owners thought they would surely be able to control the coming elections in the fall of 1896.

But the event of the elections in this district was just the reverse of what the companies hoped for and of what happened in other parts of the country. These men had been voting together for years, and the political conflict brought to light the plot laid by

the mine owners. The result was that, in the fall of 1896, the men refused to permit a false prejudice to divide them in the political field, and they accordingly tabled all religious discussion and never again took it up. It is needless to say that the labor ticket was again elected by an overwhelming majority, and the war was continued at Bunker Hill.

During all this time, the association not only stood ready to support the B. H. & S. in any emergency, but it was diligent in keeping itself informed as to the inside workings of the Miners' Union, and also in employing every opportunity to destroy that fraternal sympathy which existed between the outside public and the Cœur d'Alene Miners' Union.

The capitalists remembered the great advantage they had obtained in the battle of 1892, by placing their detective Allison in the union and securing through him all the union's minutes and a knowledge of all its acts.

So also did the association keep numerous "spotters" in the labor organizations during these years, who supplied them with a knowledge of every important act. This the association was able to do by employing non-union men, who were always visited by a committee from the union, whose duty it was to explain the situation and invite them to join the organization. One month was always given each man in which to consider and then he was urged to act. Among these non-union men were to be found a few tools of the association, who had been selected and employed for the express purpose of acting as detectives. These would enter with the rest and thus the association was able to keep itself informed as to who were the officers of the union, who were on the Executive Committee, who were most active in opposing the association, and what was to be the important move of the future.

In my conversations with Mr. McDonald and Mr. Burbage they both strenuously denied this fact and insisted that, though they tried it, they were unable to gain an entrance into the union in the manner described or in any other way, since the union had been on its guard since 1892 and refused to take in the new men. The reason they deny this fact is that, if they were known to have had spies in

the union, they would have been unable to make it appear that the union was guilty of conspiracy, without at the same time showing that they themselves knew the fact in sufficient time to have prevented the impending calamity. But if the reader will secure the pamphlet which the association has been circulating since the troubles of April 29, 1899, he will find (pages 11 and 12) that, "in 1894, the union submitted a list of 23 names of men employed in the Frisco and Gem mines whom they wished discharged because they would not join the union." And also (page 35) the pamphlet states that, in the year 1898, "the new men joined the union through fear." Thus Messrs. McDonald and Burbage are proven by their own printed authority, to be making maliciously false statements for publication. Thus this avenue is confessed to have been open through which they could and did gain entrance for their tools. During the years immediately following 1892, it was the policy of the union, as shown (pages 11 and 12) in the above-mentioned pamphlet, to request the company to discharge, not only the non-union men, but also the spies who were in the union and acting for the association. The association complied with this request, but in the meantime the traitors had supplied them with the names of the men who were brave enough to openly advocate the measure. These courageous men were soon informed that their services were no longer needed, and thus the association was gradually cutting off the leaders of the union and intimidating the rest of the members.

HOW MINE OWNERS FORCED RETALIATION.

These facts gave rise to a new means of defense—a secret detective system within the union. The actions of these men were kept absolutely to themselves, and whenever it was learned who was acting in that capacity he was at once prohibited from so serving, at the risk of losing his position. The reason for this great secrecy was the fact that spies would reveal every act. From this time on, whenever a traitor was discovered or a newly employed man refused to join the union, he was told to leave the camp. He was given time to act, and if he failed these unknown union detectives would don their masks and shoulder their guns

and proceed to his place, take him out, march him down the canyon, and give him orders to leave, which he never forgot or disobeyed.

Does this seem too severe? It was again only a defensive measure. Had the miners not taken this means of defense the bosses would have gradually replaced all strong union men with non-union men, and then they would have lowered the wages.

The mine owners persisted in employing non-union men to such an extent that the union detectives were compelled to run some one out every few weeks.

This method, however, supplied the means by which public sympathy with the union was for the most part destroyed and the union's greatest resource and protection in the time of strife was largely cut off. Whenever a man was run out of the canyon, the "Spokesman-Review" of Spokane, which is owned largely by Campbell and Finch, gave extensive publication to the occurrence, falsifying the details and grossly exaggerating the facts, as it had done in the case of the Fourth of July affair. This notorious paper would lead the public to believe that the men were frequently beaten and robbed and many of them murdered. At the same time, it would laud the members of the association and make every effort to create a public sympathy for the mine owners by falsely representing that they were courageously conducting their business in spite of a band of desperadoes and cut-throats. The fact is that few were beaten, none were robbed, and, of all the cases in which either this secret detective force, or the union, was supposed to have taken an active part, only one man was killed. This man was proven to have been a traitor. The mine owners, in their pamphlet (page 8), state that "he was the first witness for the prosecution in 1892," and since that time he had been proven to have betrayed the union to the association on several occasions. On page 12 of the same pamphlet, they say he had been warned and the mine owners' journal had urged him to defy the order. Yet they confess that this murder was not premeditated, for they say (page 16) that "this foul murder must have disarranged the plans of the masked men, for they desisted from

any further effort to find all the men for whom they were in search."

The fact is that he was told of what he had done and that he must leave. He refused to obey. He took a cabin, bought guns and revolvers, and he and his partner defied the men, and threatened the life of any one who came. He was a courageous and desperate character—one of the kind usually chosen to act as traitors—and the miners well knew that if the opportunity afforded, he would execute his threat. That bloodshed might be avoided, the secret detective force, whose names were not known to the union, went masked and armed in the middle of the day and took him by surprise while he was at work. They made their demand. He refused, jumped through the window, and started to run for his gun, which was in his cabin. The men knew what was coming and called for him to halt. He refused, and they fired. But the murder was not premeditated, for "it disarranged their plans." Whatever extenuating circumstances there may be, this most unfortunate murder cannot be justified, and the union would have punished the guilty, had they been able to determine who they were. The Sheriff could find no one who could swear to their identity, and the Grand Jury was also at sea. The union was undoubtedly anxious to have the man run out. But the worst punishment which they ever endorsed, and that only in extreme cases, was a flogging. Had it not been for the methods employed by the association, which forced the union into such a position that a secret detective force in the union was absolutely necessary, the probability is that the murder would not have occurred; and, even if it had occurred, the union would have been in a position to have punished the guilty.

This circumstance furnished an opportunity for the "Spokesman-Review" to rehearse many of the previous events and to misrepresent all of them and magnify them into the most heinous crimes, of which only "midnight assassins," "desperadoes," and "cut-throats" could be guilty. At the same time it carefully shielded the association from all blame. But it did not stop at this. Often men would leave the canyon of their own free will, without any grievance having been at any

time intimidated against them, and yet long stories would run through the columns of this mine owners' paper, representing the man to have been run out, and beaten in a shameful manner, and robbed of all his possessions. When the facts to the contrary were brought to the knowledge of the editor, not a word of correction would appear. This was continued even after the trouble of April 29, 1899, as the following affidavit will show:

The State of Idaho,
County of Silver Bow, ss.

Ellis Hale, being first duly sworn, deposes and says: That he has read that certain article entitled "Reign of Terror Begun Anew Up Canyon Creek," printed in the Sunday (July 9) issue of the "Spokesman-Review"; that he has read the following statement in said article, to wit:

"ELLIS HALE ALSO LEFT.

"Meanwhile a gang had met Ellis Hale just below Burke and after stealing his tools had warned him to leave on fear of being 'kneeboned.' Hale needed no second invitation, but took the train for Montana this morning. He was one of the best mechanics up the canyon and was formerly employed at the Gem. Charles Sweeney of the Tiger-Poorman had offered him a place over the pumps, there, and late last night Hale with a little kit of tools started up for Burke from Gem. He was just on the borders of the town when a gang of 20 or 30 men surrounded him.

"What happened may never be known. The story believed here is that they threatened Hale that unless he quit his new job his family would first be killed and he would be 'kneeboned' afterwards. That he denied, and one man who saw him afterwards is quoted as saying that the crowd was made up of friends of Hale who took that time and place to argue peacefully with him. At any rate the 'friends' stole his tools forcibly and warned him to get out. This morning he 'got'."

Affiant further says, that he is the Ellis Hale referred to in this article; that the statement there made that his tools had been stolen, and that he had been warned to leave on threats of being "kneeboned," and the further statement made in said article, and in the matter above set forth, that masked desperadoes had warned this affiant to leave said locality because he was about to go to work in one of the mines, is a base and unqualified lie.

Affiant further says, that he left the Coeur d'Alenes because he thought that no free American citizen ought to be asked to first obtain a permit before he could have the privilege of earning a livelihood by honest toil, and that he left for no other reason.

ELLIS HALE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 10th day of July, A. D. 1899.

S. A. MERRILL.

Notary Public in and for Silver Bow County, State of Montana.

The Mine Owners' Association did not stop at these misrepresentations. The capitalists themselves took a hand in the running-out business and then, by means of their paper, cast the odium upon the union and made the crime appear to the public to be as black as were the dungeons of their own hearts, where their own criminal schemes found concealment.

RECORD OF BURBAGE AND McDONALD.

Is it possible that these prominent business men were capable of such criminal conspiracies? That the reader may entertain no doubt on this question, it will suffice to relate two facts. It will be remembered that Burbage was put in as manager of the Bunker Hill & Sullivan in 1892, and that McDonald took the reins of the Frisco at the same time. In 1894, it was only through the leniency of the judge that Mr. Burbage escaped criminal prosecution for perjury, having falsely sworn that he was a United States citizen in order to vote. Again, I have in my possession an affidavit which states that, in the year 1879, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Goff owned a mining claim adjoining the large Jupiter mine at Bodie, California. This claim was thought to be a rich one. The company desired to buy it, but the owners refused to sell. Joseph McDonald was at the time working for this company, and he, with six other men, went to the cabin occupied by Hamilton and Goff, and shot and killed Goff; Hamilton escaped. McDonald was believed by all to be the leader. He with the rest were run out of the camp, and they all promised never to return to that State nor ever to operate in the State of Nevada.

With the character of Messrs. McDonald and Burbage in mind, let us review a few of the most sensational happenings in the Coeur d'Alenes; and in the absence of positive proof as to who is guilty let us determine from the facts, if possible, at whose door motive would lay the crime.

Just previous to the election in the fall of 1898, Dan Connor was run out of the canyon. He had been working for Finch & Campbell, the owners of the "Spokesman-Review." He was a poor man. He stood well with the union. He was active in politics. He had recently arranged one of the

largest political meetings among the union men that had ever been held in the canyon. On the day after he was run out, when he arrived in Wallace, the Sheriff and a number of union men and other citizens met him. He was asked if he could identify the men. He replied that he could. They all implored him to do so, and promised to protect him and prosecute the men, but he refused.

He then went to Spokane and was "interviewed" by the editor of the "Spokesman-Review." A story of the "horrible crime" appeared, with the usual untruthful rehearsal of many past circumstances. Shortly after this "great crime of the union," this poor man, Dan Connor, bought a \$3,500 home and had cash to spare. Evidently, Connor had sold out to someone. Could it have been the union? Is it probable that the union would have run out one of their most active political managers, just previous to the election? Would not the union be the great loser by such an act? But who would probably gain? If Connor's friends could be persuaded that the union had run him out, they might be persuaded to vote against the ticket supported by the miners. Certainly the citizens of the district would be more or less influenced by such an unjust act. It will be remembered that the labor ticket in this district was standing alone against both the old parties, which the mine owners controlled. In the absence of positive proof of guilt, it seems to us plain, and we are willing that the reader should draw his own conclusions, at whose door motive will lay the crime.

Another sensational case was the Whitney murder. The facts were as follows:

McDonald owned the Black Bear mine, adjoining the Frisco, of which he was manager. It was rumored that McDonald was shipping Frisco concentrates, labeling them as Black Bear concentrates, and pocketing the money. To determine the truth concerning this rumor, it is said that Whitney was sent to the mine and given the position of mill foreman. Within a few weeks, Whitney was run out, shot, and killed. He was a union man from Butte. He stood well in his home union. He was highly respected by the men at the Frisco mine. When he took the position of foreman of the mill he did not

come in contact with the union in any way, because the union only admitted underground men to membership. Hence the union could not possibly have had any grievance against him. But how about McDonald? He had been fighting the union ever since his Bodie experience, and especially since his advent in the Cœur d'Alenes. Is it probable that he would go to Butte, the hot-bed of unionism, and select a tried and true union man for a foreman to take the place of Ebbly, who was both a competent foreman and a non-union man?

The facts appear to show that he did not do this of his own accord, but that Whitney was forced into the mine by the stockholders. It will also be observed that he was put in charge of the mill, which is the only place where a man can determine the quantity of concentrates. But before he had time to make a report he was run out, shot, and killed. McDonald gave to the Sheriff the names of the three Ebbly brothers as being men who knew something of the crime. Yet McDonald put Norman Ebbly, one of the three brothers, back in his old position which Whitney had for so short a time occupied.

If McDonald thought Ebbly was innocent, why did he hand his name to the Sheriff? If he thought him implicated, why did he re-employ him? Certainly, Whitney was now where he could render no report, and previous experience had proven that Ebbly would not render such report. Nor was any such report ever known to be made. There seems to be no question that McDonald, of all men, was the one most interested in getting Whitney out of the way. The union had no such motive. And yet the "Spokesman-Review" openly charged the union with the crime. It might be well to mention that McDonald and the owners of the "Spokesman-Review" have, since the murder, floated both the Frisco and the Black Bear, and that they cleaned up more than \$1,000,000.

But will the reader say that, though the motive is there, yet McDonald was never proven to be guilty? If so, then we reply that there was no motive on the part of the union men and neither were they proven to be guilty. On his deathbed, Whitney said that he did not blame the union.

The following facts, however, will be more interesting, in that they can be traced directly to McDonald. It was said that arrangements had been made to run Ebbly out of the canyon and that the day was set. Ebbly, on two different occasions, told his troubles to Sheriff Heney, saying that he had consulted with Joe McDonald, and that they both thought that Heney should lead a posse (which McDonald would furnish), and lie in ambush, waiting for the men to run Ebbly past, and, as soon as Ebbly was past, the posse should fire upon the men, killing some and routing the others.

Sheriff Heney refused to fall in with the plot, but began an investigation. He soon discovered that the services of a newly employed man had been secured to arrange with certain thugs who would do the work. The very men to whom this tool was sent were those most generally suspected of being guilty of the Whitney murder. Had Sheriff Heney fallen into the trap set for him, at least some men would have been murdered. The entire scheme was traced directly to Joe McDonald. It was evidently a plot to drive away some who were dangerous to him, because they knew too much, and also to place the Sheriff in McDonald's grip. The scheme failed, Ebbly still held his position under McDonald, and was never driven out.

Any man who is capable of conceiving such a villainous scheme to sacrifice human lives, and who will bend his energies to execute it, will lend himself to any dire plot to further his own ends.

By all these facts, the mine owners are proven to be fully capable of plotting and carrying out the crimes of which they are accused, and which they try to lay at the door of the union.

WHAT IT ALL PROVES.

When the facts show that, of all the run-outs which have occurred in the Cœur d'Alenes, more than 50 per cent. have occurred in McDonald's camp, and 95 per cent. of all the rest have occurred in the camp of Finch & Campbell at Burke; when the circumstances show that the mine owners themselves have been implicated in some of the most sensational cases, and that the facts can not be ex-

plained on any other hypothesis, and yet the crime was charged to the union; when the facts show that men were frequently reported to have been run out, and the odium cast upon the union, while, as a matter of fact, absolutely nothing of the sort had occurred; when the facts further show that, of those who were run out, a very large number were so treated for no other reason than to afford a sort of a whipping-post, at which the union could be lashed with the public press; when, finally, the facts show that the mine owners continually forced the union to run out non-union men and detectives, and then used these acts as a shield behind which they hid their own crimes; and when the results show that the union is spotted with detectives, and that the frequent and persistent misrepresentations incited by the association have poisoned the public mind against the Miners' Union and have thereby destroyed the public sympathy with it and cut off its greatest means of support; the deep-laid plot and the adroit manner in which it has been executed not only becomes apparent to us; but it leads us to expect an early and direct attack upon the very existence of the union. We may also expect that the attack will be conducted with such skill and cunning that the capitalists will again succeed for a time in deceiving the public.

Thus, on the one hand, with their millions of dollars, with their detectives at their posts, and with the public in their favor, were the mine owners ready for battle. And, on the other hand, with a full treasury, with a thorough organization in every camp but one, with \$3.50 a day being paid in all but two of the mines, and with their power increasing in those two, the Miners' Union was prepared for the battle, confident that they would succeed in restoring the union scale at Wardner.

Still, as from the first, was the union striving to defend the \$3.50 scale against the constant effort of the association to reduce it.

This was the condition of the two opposing forces at the beginning of the troubles which led up to the affair of April 29, 1899, at the Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine.

The question now is, Who laid the plot of April 29, and how was it executed?

CHAPTER IV.

It must be remembered that, during a six weeks' session of the Coroner's Jury, which first considered this affair, several hundred miners and a vast number of other citizens were examined; that, at this examination, not only the public, but the attorneys for the miners were excluded; that the entire examination was conducted in such a manner as to lead, if possible, to the disclosure of facts which would prove the union to be guilty of a conspiracy rather than to discover who committed the crime. It must be remembered that the same effort was made at the Corcoran trial, which lasted four weeks; and also that the same effort was made at the trial of the twelve men who were convicted of interfering with the United States mail.

No one will deny that the authorities did all in their power to saddle the responsibility of this crime upon the union. And yet, during all these months, with all their examinations and all their detectives, not only have they failed to discover a fact which proves the union to be guilty of a plot, but they have failed even to show a motive on the part of the union for such an act.

Let us, therefore, take up the facts as they occurred and follow them to their conclusions, regardless into what camp they lead us.

Early in the year 1899, the Wallace "Express" made a report of the total output of the several mines. This paper has strenuously supported the mine owners in the recent trouble and its figures can therefore be taken as an authoritative statement of the output.

From this statement, it appears that the Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine was shipping 26,000 tons of concentrates a year, which means a monthly dividend amounting to about \$115,000. This company was paying to most of its men only \$2.50 a day. After considering this fact, the men discovered that, if this company were paying the \$3.50 scale, it would still be able to declare a monthly dividend of about \$100,000.

This fact became generally known in the Cœur d'Alenes, and the mine owners in all the other camps began pressing the men, either to force a raise to \$3.50 a day at the B. H. & S. or to re-

duce the scale to \$2.50 in the other camps.

Since the wages had been at \$2.50 a day for so long, it made the miners appear to be on the aggressive; but the fact is that it was the same old warfare, and the men were only continuing their defense of the \$3.50 scale. Not being conversant with this fact, the public was led to believe that the B. H. & S. was on the defensive, and this statement was given out by the "Spokesman-Review"—the paper owned by Finch and Campbell of Burke.

Finch and Campbell were, at the same time, pressing their union men to urge on, and to stand by the Wardner union in aggressive action against the B. H. & S. McDonald of Gem and the operators at Mullen were also following the same policy with their men.

With all this influence behind them, and with the enormous dividends of the company as a justification, the union decided to act. While taking preliminary measures, however, it was found that men were being discharged as fast as they joined the Wardner union. Spies were evidently doing their work, but they were so well concealed that the union could not discover their identity. This forced the union to adopt a new method. They chose two old and tried members to initiate all the men who joined, and no one but those two were permitted to know who the new members were. This was a winning card. It was not long until 250 of the B. H. & S. men belonged to the union. The majority of the rest, however, were old non-union men, and would not join until a demand was made upon the company. It was accordingly decided that the time had come for action. Committees were sent out to all the unions in the district, the situation was explained, and every member of the unions in the Cœur d'Alenes agreed to pay \$1 a day into the strike fund, which should go to the Wardner strikers, and to continue so to do as long as the strike lasted. The men argued that it was far wiser for them to pay \$1 a day for a few months, out of their \$3.50, than to permit their wages to be permanently reduced to \$2.50. Thus they carried out the advice of their employers—but in a most unexpected manner. This laid a permanent foun-

dition for the strike and a freeze-out being impossible, ultimate success for the union seemed certain.

This was an unexpected departure and the traitors in the union flew to their masters with the news. A meeting of the association was immediately called and from that time on McDonald held frequent secret interviews with Burbage, of the B. H. & S. At the same time, McDonald and Campbell were to be seen almost every day in Wallace, "treating" and talking with the men, leading them to believe that they would stand by the union, and cursing Burbage as though he were their bitterest enemy. This was so noticeable that it became town talk, and yet the union felt confident of their support.

STRIKE ORDERED.

Finally the strike was ordered, and 250 men walked out. Mr. Burbage then offered \$3 and \$3.50 a day, saying that a similar mine in his neighborhood, the Last Chance, was worked by union men on those terms. But the Last Chance mine had agreed to raise to the \$3.50 scale as soon as their air pump was in running order. The union was willing to enter into a similar agreement with Mr. Burbage, with the proviso that Burbage should also recognize the union. This he positively refused to do. He knew that, if he recognized the union, any reduction in the future would be met with a strike. On the other hand, the men knew that, unless the union was recognized, an early reduction would follow. Thus the fight continued.

When Governor Steunenberg requested Mr. Burbage to arbitrate, he replied that "the wages question was settled and there was nothing to arbitrate."

Thus the association had shifted the battle from the question of wages to the question of recognizing the union.

But the treasury was full and the resources plentiful, and the union forces were full of hope. They proceeded to the non-union men and showed them that it was by reason of the action of the union that the wages had been raised and that they could continue at that rate only by the help of the union. The union was growing rapidly in numbers, and the B. H. & S. force was correspondingly decreasing. The B. H. & S. put up warning notices, stationed armed guards, night and day, about

the property, and sent out word that great danger was imminent. The fact is, there was only one danger, and that was, that the B. H. & S. would soon have to shut down for want of men. In that case the wages paid by the other companies would have been the means of choking off the B. H. & S. dividends. This was truly an occasion for alarm, but not in the union camp.

Notice had been sent to all the unions that a little persistence would soon crown their efforts with a victory at Wardner. On April 28, everything was as peaceful as it was on the day previous to the famous eleventh day of July, 1892. Late in the evening, there was a rumor of a demonstration which was to be held on the following day, but no one seemed to know anything definitely, and it was soon dismissed, and the union men retired to their homes, buoyant with hope, and happy over the prospect of an early and peaceable settlement of the trouble.

The union was in a condition to hold out indefinitely. But at the rate at which Burbage's men were quitting, the B. H. & S. was destined to close down in a very few weeks.

Yet the Wardner "News," which is the B. H. & S. mouthpiece, said (see the association pamphlet, page 38): "Some people express fears that the union may do some dirty work, such as the destruction of property; but the 'News' trusts not, for it might prove a serious blow to the unions in other parts of the Cœur d'Alenes." Yet the same article expresses sympathy with Burbage when he says that "all men who join the union will find their time waiting at the office." (See page 37.)

How could they hope that the unions should not be injured in ~~other camps~~, when those unions were furnishing the means by which the Wardner union had practically won its victory—and especially when they were doing all in their power to destroy the Wardner union?

Will the reader ask himself why this mouthpiece of Burbage says "some people express fears that the union may do some dirty work, such as the destruction of property"? Why should such a rumor be given publication by the enemy of the union?

The union men only laughed at the silly reports, for such an act was the farthest from their thoughts—first, be-

cause their victory was already practically won, and second, because such methods would mean certain defeat to the union and would strengthen the association.

On the morning of the twenty-ninth all the men at the other mines went with their dinner pails in hand, to take their places in their regular shifts—with the one exception of Finch & Campbell's mine, which had closed down that day, ostensibly for repairs.

On arriving at the shaft, all these men were informed that there would be no work that day. Certainly they cannot be accused of knowing the plans for the day. They were soon told that a meeting had been called and that every one was expected to go to Wardner on a demonstration. Absolutely nothing was said of the real purpose, and they knew nothing more than that they were to give their moral support to the Wardner union.

The regular down train left Burke at 10 a. m. A number of men piled on to it; a few had guns, but the evidence in the Corcoran trial showed that these men were without a leader or a definite purpose.

The train ran down to Gem, three miles away. Here at McDonald's camp affairs assumed a definite shape. A PUBLIC meeting, NOT A SECRET ONE, had been held. They were all told to go to Wardner on a demonstration. Tom Noonan was the President of the union and was believed to have been the masked chairman that morning. The chairman told the men that they had better take guns and masks, for if an emergency arose they might need them. Some of the men obeyed, and they were at the depot in order and under command when the train arrived.

Immediately on its arrival a few men with revolvers ordered the engineer to get more box cars, which he did, and the men were ordered to climb on. When this was done, the engineer was told to back up to the McDonald powder house. The train was backed up according to orders, and 3,000 pounds of giant powder was loaded on with which the B. H. & S. mine was to be blown up; and as the boys were pulling out, McDonald was present, and is said to have laughed and wished them success.

Let us leave the men on the train for a moment and consider a few inci-

dental happenings which will cast light upon the whole affair.

At the very time when the train with all the men aboard was standing in Wallace, four women were in one of the large stores of the town. While in conversation one of them said that she knew that "the men would win, for McDonald was on their side; he had turned his guns over to them." The husbands of two of these women had never been favorable to the union. They went that morning to Wardner, and in a few days left with their wives for British Columbia, where they remained until December. They then returned, and at present they both have good positions under McDonald. But the husbands of the other two, who were always ardent union men, and knew nothing of the guns, are unable to secure a permit to look for work.

It developed in the trial of Corcoran that McDonald and Burbage and Culbertson all knew early in the morning what was going to be done that day, yet neither of them notified the officers nor took any steps whatever to prevent it. Either one of them could have prevented it, had they so desired, by informing the railroad officials who would have sent the engines all down the track.

Mr. Burbage, of the B. H. & S., told the writer that he had been warned three days before, but did not say by whom; he said that his men desired to protect the property, but he told them not to do so. When I asked him how many men were willing to defend his property, he said "all of his men," and that he had 250. But he said they did not all have guns. When I asked him if he could not have secured 250 guns during the three days (including the militia guns, which were at his service) he then said that he did not want the men to fight, for then it would go out to the world simply as a fight between two bodies of working men, and HE "DID NOT WANT IT TO GO OUT TO THE WORLD THAT WAY." But the question is: HOW DID HE WANT IT TO GO OUT TO THE WORLD? The most important fact is that he knew "how he wanted it to go out to the world." FOR TO KNOW THIS IS TO CONFESS A PLOT.

When McDonald was asked in court what he thought the men were going to do down at Wardner, he said that

"he thought they were going to have a tea party down there." And Mr. Culbertson did not endeavor to prevent them because he had no interest in the matter. Thus of the mine owners, who were proven to have known that the crime was to be committed, not only did not one raise a hand to prevent it, but all joined in clearing the way, that nothing might interfere with its progress—because they "wanted it to go out to the world in that way."

CAPITALISTS' MOTIVES.

But why did the mine owners want it to go out to the world that way? The answer is again evident: They wanted it to appear that the union had deliberately gone in a body and blown up a valuable mil, not because of low wages, but because a certain company would not recognize the union. Such an act would conform to the false position in which the union had been placed by the "Spokesman-Review," and would present the long desired opportunity to call out the federal power to crush it.

But is it asked: What can be the motive which would drive the mine owners or the B. H. & S. to such desperate straits? The character of the men being sufficiently depraved, the motives will be found to be abundant.

Were the union destroyed, the wages would soon be reduced from \$3.50 to \$2.50 a day. One dollar a day off of each man's wages would mean \$160,000 a year to the B. H. & S. Co. alone. But there are 2,000 men working in the large mines and \$1 a day from each man means \$700,000 each year, to be divided among seven companies; in a single year these companies could pay for the mill out of the money saved, and still have \$500,000 left. Every year thereafter they would gain \$700,000. But Mr. Burbage has DEMANDED that THE STATE PAY THE COMPANY \$250,000 FOR THE PLANT, although he told the assessor that the mill was old and would soon have to be replaced and swore that it WAS ONLY WORTH THE \$52,000 FOR WHICH IT WAS TAXED. He told the writer that he still thought the State would have to pay for it.

If the \$2.50 scale had been in force since 1892, the companies would have had more than \$6,000,000 in pocket, and the men that much poorer. Had the union been out of the field,

this condition would have been realized.

Again, it must be remembered that this district is scarcely scratched, in comparison to its enormous resources, and that while these companies have greedily snatched every claim which promised well, yet they constantly flaunted "murder," "desperados," "midnight assassins," "Molly McGuire's," "labor war," "dynamiters," in the face of all outside capitalists, to lead them to believe that investments in the Cœur d'Alenes were unsafe. Some of these very companies own as many as 200 claims, most of which are patented. When the richest of these numerous claims are converted into mines the number of men employed will be increased to many thousands, and a decrease in the wage to \$2.50 a day would mean millions more to these very companies. This opening up of mines is not merely a prophesy of what might be. The work is now actually being done.

But this is not all. Two-fifty a day is not the minimum. Without the union to protest and to make war against reduction the wages would fall to \$1.50 or even below. This is true in eastern mines, and would be true in the Cœur d'Alene. This would mean millions more to these same companies.

And yet this is not all. Were the union destroyed, the company boarding house, the company hospital fees, the company bunk house, the company store would all be resurrected and run in full blast, and the wages of the men would pass back through the hands of the mine owners and a larger proportion of it would lodge in their coffers as profits.

Were the union out of the way, the mine owners could control the election, and thus, through their own assessor, reduce their taxes by many thousands of dollars each year. They would also be able to send their own tools to the State legislature.

The union and only the union stands between the mine owners and untold millions of additional profits, together with political supremacy.

These are the motives which have actuated the mine owners. It is for these reasons that during these many years the papers under the control of the association have cast the odium of every crime committed in the Cœur d'Alene upon the union, and

coined many a falsehood to make the crime the more offensive. These are the motives for throwing the union into a false position before the public, and thus crushing it.

But let us return to the miners on the train at Wallace. When the train pulled out of Wallace it so happened that the leader and his few men were left behind. These were the men who took command at McDonald's camp. When the train arrived at Wardner it stopped and the crowd of 1,000 people got off; among them were some 200 masked and armed men. They were at a loss. They did not know what was to be done. Questions were being asked of everybody and by everybody. No plans were known. Everything was in a state of chaos. This was the universal evidence, as it appeared in all the trials. Can we believe it possible that the scheme was hatched and discussed in the union, when we know that on arriving at their destination, simply because seven men were accidentally left behind, all the rest were at sea and were unable to execute the plans? There can be but one answer to this question. It is proof positive that the plans were never discussed in the union. And the fact that the men all went to the mines that morning, expecting to work, is evidence that nothing was known of the plan. But let us suppose that it was discussed in the union; is it probable that 1,000 men, mostly without arms or masks, would take 3,000 pounds of dynamite, put it on a train, and proceed to a town 15 miles away, for the purpose of blowing up a mill where an armed force was known to have been kept, when every man in the country knew that a rifle ball could be fired at long range into the boxes, exploding the dynamite and sending the 1,000 men to eternity? Is this the way men protect themselves when they march on an armed enemy? Is it reasonable to suppose that 1,000 men would thus endanger their lives, or under any circumstances take such a risk, when every man among them knew that one or two of them could have done the work on any night, without danger?

There was good reason for their going in a body to make the non-union men realize how many friends the union had. But no motive has ever yet been pointed out that could possibly have caused the men to blow up the

mill, for their victory was practically won without it.

But the reply is that they did do it. It is a fact that the union men went down, and that men belonging to the union did the work. But it is also a fact that 80 per cent. of them were in box cars and did not know that the powder was on the train until they arrived at Wardner. John A. Finch, one of the owners of the "Spokesmen-Review," and a member of the Mine Owners' Association, was forced to testify on the witness stand that he thought that more than 80 per cent. of the men had absolutely no idea of what was to be done. But the seven men who were left behind compelled an engineer to run an engine out of the yards and to carry them down to Wardner. When they arrived order was restored at once.

Klondyke—this was the name by which the foreman was called—gave orders somewhat as follows: "Armed masked men, attention. Wardner, Burke, Gem and Mullen to the front. Unarmed masked men to the powder." After a little reconnoitering, during which two men were killed, the masked men, armed and unarmed, marched to the mill, and in a very short time the office was in flames and the mill was a mass of ruins.

Then for the first time the miners saw why McDonald supplied guns and dynamite and laughed as he wished them good luck; saw why Culbertson did not interfere; saw why Burbage deserted his property and offered no resistance; saw that they had been sold and betrayed by traitors, and were caught in the trap of the enemy; saw their victory turn to ashes in their hands.

But the members of the association were in high glee because it "would go out to the world as they wanted it."

One or two circumstances might be related here, to show that this mass of men were not guided by their own passions, but by the direction of a few men who seemed to act according to instructions which they had received from other quarters.

Mr. Burbage says that he was warned three days in advance that the affair would happen. Yet he left his vaults open, and valuable papers were scattered about the office, apparently in the hope that they would be consumed in the flames. There had been

much talk of underhand office work, such as contracting for timber at one price and reporting a higher price to the company, pocketing the difference; the same with wages, machinery, claims, etc. The vaults were left open and the first act of the hired tools was to set fire to the office, thus obliterating all the records of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Company.

It could not have been thirst for blood and destruction that prompted this mass of men. Their leaders were prompted by other motives. By the side of the mill was a piece of property which cost the company \$70,000 and was practically new. That property consists of a trolley some two miles long, which swings over the town of Wardner, and on which all the ore is transported from the mine to the mill. One fifty pound box of powder would have destroyed this property and precipitated the cars on the city below, resulting in a great destruction of life. If these miners are "murderers, cutthroats, and high-binders," why this restraint?

A masked man guarded this part of the plant. Why? Because, had the swinging cars fallen upon the city below, it is doubtful whether the citizens would have permitted the company to reconstruct it, in which case the company would have been compelled to build a railroad down the canyon, which would have meant an enormous initial outlay and increased running expenses. Therefore they provided a masked man to guard that special piece of property, and their hired tools, who were doing the work of destruction, were careful to obey him and the trolley was not molested. Explain this strange occurrence, if you can, on any other hypothesis than that the men who directed the work were the tools of the mine owners.

Now that the work of destruction has been done, and the union has been drawn into a false position, it remains only a question as to how the union can be crushed, and the union men punished, without at the same time punishing the tools of the corporations.

CHAPTER V.

On the following day the mines were all running as usual, and the men were at work, with the exception of a few who were missing. Sheriff Young, who was on the ground when the mill was blown up, and who commanded the men, in the name of the law, to disperse, but who was brushed aside as any other individual would have been, was doing all that could be done to discover the guilty. The union had pledged itself to assist him in every possible way.

Being an old resident, acquainted in every camp, and having been on the ground and mingled with the men all the day on April 29, and having also the assistance of the union, there could be no doubt but that he could and would have brought the guilty to justice. But he was not permitted to follow the trail of the criminals, which he would have done, even though it had led him into the places of the Cœur d'Alenes.

When we remember that the mine owners constantly persist in employing non-union men; that among these non-union men were the hired tools and detectives of the corporations;

that the union always demanded that all non-union men who worked in the mines should join the union; that this step was necessary because, if the union should forbid non-union men to enter the district the public would condemn them, and if they did not insist on their joining the union the companies would soon displace all the union forces; that this fact opened the union doors to the spies of the mine owners; that when these spies were discovered the union was compelled to drive them out of the canyon; that such occurrences were always published by the mine owners' daily press so as to convince the public that the union was composed of criminals of the meanest type; that the demand for the old \$3.50 scale was practically granted, so that the wage question would not be the direct issue; that the mine owners refused to recognize the union in order to precipitate the fight upon the union under the pretext that it employed criminal methods and as an organization should be suppressed; that by means of their spies they had succeeded in putting the union in such a position as would make it appear to

the public as having committed an atrocious crime, and when we remember the further fact that General Merriam indorsed the actions of the mine owners, and not only agreed with them that the Miners' Union of the Cœur d'Alenes was a criminal organization, but EXPRESSED THE SENTIMENT THAT ALL UNIONS WERE CRIMINAL ORGANIZATIONS, and urged the Colorado capitalists to employ the same methods then being employed in Idaho; when we remember, also, that, when Governor Steunenberg was asked why he kept hundreds of men in prison for months, against whom no charges were ever preferred, he replied indifferently that he "did not think it safe for them to have their liberty," and when we remember that of the 1,500 men who were arrested, only fourteen were convicted—thirteen of whom were convicted merely of obstructing the United States mail (which was on time that day), and one of whom was convicted of murder in the second degree in spite of the fact that he established an alibi by the testimony of twenty men, women, and children, as against one woman who, though she admitted never having seen him before, swore that she recognized him as one of the masked men—when these facts are remembered, it becomes most interesting to know what was the plan of battle by which the mine owners and the State officials were able to shield the guilty and to prosecute the innocent. The plan may most easily be understood by summarizing the chief events since April 29:

1. Martial law was declared.
2. Sheriff Young was thrown out of his office.
3. Dr. H. France, an employee of the Bunker Hill and Sullway Co., was appointed as sheriff.
4. The County Commissioners were thrown out of their offices.
5. The candidates for these offices who had been defeated in the previous election and who had been supported by the mine owners, were appointed commissioners.
6. The soldiers assisted Dr. France in making a wholesale arrest of 800 men at one time; immediately after the change of officers.
7. No charges were immediately preferred against the arrested men.
8. Non-union men were imported.
9. Some men were dismissed from

prison when prominent citizens would assert that they knew them to be honorable.

10. A coroner's inquest was held, lasting six weeks.

11. A grand jury and a trial jury were drawn.

12. A permit system was inaugurated, which made it necessary for every man to secure from Dr. France (practically the B. H. & S. Co.), an official permit, before he could seek employment in Shoshone County.

13. The "American Industrial Union" was organized, to which the miners, the mine owners, the merchants and every one else may belong.

14. Permits to seek work could be revoked by Dr. France, the new sheriff, at his pleasure.

These are the throttles, the cogs, the wheels, and the levers of the machine, and the few days in which it was oiled and started under a full head of steam shows, beyond all question of doubt, that it was planned and constructed before the 29th day of April, 1899.

Let us examine the workings of their several parts.

On the arrival of the troops, Sheriff Young and the commissioners were deposed. Dr. France was installed as sheriff and also new commissioners were appointed. Immediately thereafter eight hundred men were taken from the mines in their working clothes and driven like sheep into a few box cars and an old barn. For twenty-four hours they remained without food or drink or a change of clothing; and for three weeks they were kept in these places, where there was not a bed and not sufficient room for all of them to lie down at the same time; and during these three weeks the food was nauseating, and altogether unfit to be eaten. These outrageous conditions resulted in typhoid, pneumonia, malaria, dysentery and other diseases. There being but one outhouse and only one man being permitted out at a time, and the barn loft, which was crowded with men, being laid with loose boards, was fairly dripping with human excretions upon the men below, and the whole place became a veritable cesspool, in which the men were compelled to stand, to sleep and to eat, for twenty-one days and nights, without fire when the days were chilly and the nights were cold and crisp.

From this inhuman treatment several

of the men died, and many contracted diseases which still linger with them. This outrage upon these men was inflicted by the State officials, their political opponents, and by the mine owners, their industrial masters. At the same time that this brutal act was being executed the State officials and mine owners, through their press, were leading the public to believe that the men were a band of desperadoes, while they themselves were exemplary and law-abiding citizens of America. These mine owners and officials who have shown themselves capable of creating such horrible conditions and unjustly inflicting cruel punishment as to result in disease and death, would have us believe that they were too honorable and respectable to conceive, and by their hirelings execute the plot of blowing up a mill and killing a man.

Many men who are publicly known to have been armed and masked and at Wardner on April 29, and who were not members of the union, have never been arrested and have remained in Wallace since that date.

CAPITALISTS' TOOLS RELEASED.

It was very necessary that this be done, for if the spies and tools of the mine owners were punished, what assurance was there that they would not turn State's evidence? It was partly for this that no charges were made against any one at first, for had charges been made the mine owners' tools might have been caught. It was for this reason that Sheriff Young was thrown out of office, for he would not share in such culpable deeds; and it was for this reason that Dr. France, the employee of the B. H. & S. was made sheriff.

The public indignation forced the authorities to build better apartments, and after the expiration of the first three weeks the men were taken to better quarters, but they were still held as prisoners, and yet no charges were brought against them.

The authorities were pressed either to prefer charges, try them, and punish them, or to release them. The local officials insisted that as long as martial law prevailed, they had no power to act; while the State and federal authorities insisted that they were only to preserve peace, and had no other power over the men. Thus they held them, for months, with these evasive ex-

uses. The public was becoming indignant and some further excuse must be offered or demand would be made for the release of the men, and there must also be shown a reason for retaining them for such a long period.

IN THE BULL PEN.

To satisfy the public that the men were vicious, the officers ordered the men to dig a trench. The men, knowing that they were innocent, refused to do such work. It was at once proclaimed to the world that the men were unruly. They were ordered to toe a line, to stand erect, and not to move, head, body, or limb for seven hours each day—on penalty of death. This was continued for eight days in the hot sun—for summer had come.

This awful nervous strain changed one man into a raving maniac, and many showed signs of insanity. After this man was adjudged insane by the court, Dr. France, with guards, started with him to the asylum. Not knowing what he was doing, the insane man broke the cords with which they had foolishly tied him, and ran away. He was told to halt, as though he knew enough to halt, and when he ran, the men were ordered by Dr. France to shoot. They obeyed, and this so frightened the poor fellow that he jumped into the creek and was drowned. I submit that an order to shoot at an insane man, given by a sheriff, under such circumstances, is not only cause for his removal from office, but is a crime against the State for which he should be imprisoned. Yet he is still acting as sheriff, executing other crimes, at the command of his superiors in office and in crime. Not any officer was arrested for committing these crimes. Men who were guilty of absolutely no offense were thrown into the Bull Pen and kept there for months.

Mr. Stewart, who was not a member of the union, and was not at Wardner on April 29, was arrested for publishing a paper, in which he expressed sympathy for the men who were being punished and condemned the malicious actions of the authorities. He was held for some time, and was then released, without trial and without any charges being made against him.

Mr. Planagan was arrested because he would not surrender his office of the justice of the peace to the State authorities. He had been elected by the

people and he was but doing his duty to them in resisting the demands of the martial law outfit. He was kept in prison for almost five months and then released without being charged with any crime.

Thos. Heney was arrested for securing evidence for the defendants.

Similar flagrant instances might be cited without end, but space forbids, and necessity does not require it. The Bull Pen outrages and crimes, which were committed by the authorities, have been so generally discussed that the public is familiar with them; and hence we will devote only sufficient space to show the part which the Bull Pen played in the general plan of breaking down the union. Before enumerating the facts, it may be said that every statement can be amply verified by affidavits.

First, the miners and their sympathizers were held for months, without charges. During these months, non-union men were being imported into the district, and the union men being imprisoned were unable to explain the facts to them, and thus the mines were manned.

Second, the mine owners were able to secure the release, both of their spies and of such experienced men as were necessary to assist the non-union men to operate the mines. If they refused to help they were driven to work at the point of a bayonet.

Third, the remainder of the men were held; every means was employed in the coroner's inquest to secure evidence against the innocent men which would couple them with a conspiracy; and their attorneys were not permitted to attend the inquest.

Some of the officials approached the families of imprisoned men and told them that their husbands, fathers, or brothers had confessed to the crime, and in this manner endeavored to lead them to say or do something which would incriminate those in prison. Women were told that their husbands were likely to go to the penitentiary for years, but that if they would yield to criminal intercourse their husbands would be permitted to escape. Soldiers and officers went to the homes of men who were imprisoned and insulted the wives and daughters.

Thus, with the innocent men in prison, and with the spies already released, they proceeded to blind the pub-

lic by conducting a coroner's inquest for six weeks and by drawing a special grand jury who would do their bidding and would only indict those suggested by the Mine Owners' Association.

The evidence of this appears in the fact that, of all the men indicted, not one worked for Joe McDonald. Yet it was from McDonald's camp that the men came who took command on April 29. It was at his camp that the men were told to mask and arm. It was arms. It was from his powder house that the dynamite was taken. Noonan was believed to have been the man who ordered the men to mask and arm themselves; he was released from the Bull Pen by the influence of Joe McDonald, and, within a few weeks, was given the position of shift boss in McDonald's mine. And yet, neither he nor any other person who worked for McDonald was indicted. Guilt is written on the face of the act. The only reason we can see for such actions is that it was uncertain just whom the spies had used and who might turn State's evidence.

THE TRIAL JURY.

Now that the grand jury had done its criminal work, by indicting only those designated by the mine owners who conducted the secret coroner's inquest, it remained only to provide and "fix" a trial jury, which would convict the indicted men, regardless of the evidence.

This was done by permitting Mr. Sutherland to draw the jury. He it was who led a mob to hang a man in Lewiston, Idaho, some years ago, and now he was chosen to lead, under the shadow of the law, another mob of twelve men, all personal friends, chosen by himself to pronounce sentence upon innocent men. He was not the jury. The evidence appears in the following affidavits:

I.

In the District Court of the First Judicial District of the State of Idaho, in and for the County of Shoshone.
State of Idaho, Plaintiff.

vs.

Paul Corcoran, Defendant.

Affidavit of Richard Carey in support of a motion for a new trial.

State of Idaho,
County of Kootenia, ss.

Richard Carey, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a citizen of the United States, and a citizen and resident of the

State of Idaho, for the past eight years.

That on or about the first day of June, A. D. 1899, Link Smith, a man well and personally known to affiant, and who was later summoned for jury duty, and served as a juror on the jury that convicted the defendant Paul Corcoran, called at his house at the old mission, County of Kootenia, State of Idaho, and fully discussed the mining troubles of the Cœur d'Alenes, and the trials that were expected to begin in a short time, with affiant and his wife.

That during said discussion, Mr. Smith expressed a desire to punish all the members of the Miners' Union of the Cœur d'Alenes, regardless of their guilt or innocence, and particularly mentioned the names of J. R. Sovereign, Edward Boyce, and Paul Corcoran, as men that he would like to see hanged without delay.

Affiant says that he is in no way related to the defendant, Paul Corcoran, that he has never seen or met him.

That he has never communicated the facts and circumstances above set forth, to the above named defendant or to any of his attorneys until the present time. Nor did he until the 30th day of December, A. D. 1899, that said information would be of any use or value to him.

That he has no interest therein other than a desire to see justice done in the premises. Further affiant saith not.

RICHARD CAREY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 2d day of January, A. D. 1900.

J. S. DALY,

Justice of the Peace for precinct County Shoshone, State of Idaho.

II.

In the District Court of the First Judicial District of the State of Idaho, in and for the County of Shoshone.
State of Idaho, Plaintiff.

vs.

Paul Corcoran, Defendant.

Affidavit in support of a motion for a new trial.

State of Idaho,

County of Shoshone, ss.

Fred W. Walton, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a citizen of the United States, and a citizen and resident of the State of Idaho. That he has read the affidavits filed in behalf of the prosecution, by Frank F. Johnson, W. W. Woods, C. W. Gibbs, Chas. E. Bender, Grand D. Potter, William W. Hart, and knows that Frank F. Johnson, is a banker doing business almost exclusively with the mining companies, and was a member of the grand jury that indicted the defendant in the above entitled cause.

That W. W. Woods is retained as an attorney by several of the mining corporations, that are assisting in the prosecution of the above cause, and that he, and affiant C. W. Gibbs, were always chosen by the court to act whenever trials were

called for in empanelling the jury in the trial of the above cause.

That affiant Chas. E. Bender was a member of the grand jury that indicted the above defendant, and is running a corporation or company grocery store.

That C. D. Potter, and W. W. Hart, are engaged in the hardware business, and connected with the mining companies in said business.

That affiant O. D. Jones has an arrangement with the mining companies where all moneys owing to him by their employees is deducted from their wages and paid direct to him; and that all the signers of the affidavits filed as aforesaid are intense partisans, and biased in favor of the prosecution, and against the defendant in the above cause.

FRED W. WALTON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 2d day of January, A. D. 1900.

H. M. DAVENPORT,

Notary Public in and for the County of Shoshone, State of Idaho.

III.

State of Idaho,
County of Shoshone, ss.

A. O'Donnell, being duly sworn, deposes and says, that he has read the first above affidavit and that the facts and statements therein contained are true.

A. O'DONNELL.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 2d day of January, A. D. 1900.

H. M. DAVENPORT,

Notary Public in and for Shoshone County, State of Idaho.

IV.

In the District Court of the First Judicial District of the State of Idaho, in for the County of Shoshone.

State of Idaho, Plaintiff,

vs.

Paul Corcoran, Defendant.

Affidavit of Pat Kennedy and John Kelley in support of a motion for a new trial.

State of Idaho,

County of Shoshone, ss.

Pat Kennedy, being duly sworn, upon oath deposes and says that he is a citizen of the United States, and a citizen and resident of the State of Idaho.

That he has read the affidavit of Peter Hollhan, filed in the above cause, and so far as the said affidavit relates to the trip with the jury, to the saloon of Theo Jameison accompanied by Attorney F. C. Robertson, it is not true.

That after the jury were discharged in the above cause, Peter Hollhan, alone took them to the said saloon.

That in company with John Kelley, affiant stood discussing the verdict in front of the law office of Walter Jones, and saw them go to the aforesaid saloon.

That in about one-half hour F. C. Robert-

son and Peter Breen came along, and asked where the jury had gone to?

When the desired information was given by affiant, affiant and his companion, John Kelley, were invited by Mr. Robertson to accompany him and Mr. Breen to the saloon of the said Jamelsson.

That at the time of their arrival, a majority of said jurors were in an advanced stage of intoxication.

Peter Holhan was treating, when affiant and companions arrived, and asked all hands to have a drink with him. The invitation was accepted, and after setting down his glass, Mr. Bullock, grasping Peter Holhan by the hand, said: "You big, bald-faced son of a b--h, I like you, you treated us boys fine since we have been on this jury; you furnished us with all the liquor we could drink, and all the cigars we could smoke, and we have no kick coming on you fellows."

After the jury returned from breakfast, affiant went into Jerome's saloon with Mr. Kelley and Mr. Breen; while drinking Juror Thomas came in, and was invited by Mr. Breen to take a drink. The invitation was accepted, and after drinking the following conversation took place:

Q.: "Was that your verdict, Mr. Thomas?" A.: "According to the court's instructions, we should either hang or acquit him."

Q.: "Did you give much credence to the testimony of Ben Stringham?" A.: "No, it was very indefinite."

Q.: "What did you think of the evidence given by the Montana convict, A. M. St. Clare?" A.: "We did not consider his evidence at all."

Q.: "Was there a chance of the Colburns and John Clark being mistaken?" A.: "Yes; it is a pretty safe guess that they were mistaken." Q.: "Did you think that any man would be fool enough to mask in the way that Mrs. Sinclair said that Corcoran did on that occasion?" A.: "No. I think her evidence was colored."

Q.: "Then you do not believe any of the witnesses that claimed to see Mr. Corcoran on that date, and yet you wanted to hang him. What were you basing your verdict upon?" A.: "Well, some one blew up the mill, and I was a soldier during the Civil War, and many a time when we were traveling on freight trains we used to sleep on the top of the box cars, and the trainmen would not let us lie on the running boards either, and we never rolled off, and I told the boys that a man could ride the way they said Corcoran rode on that day."

Affiant further says that he is in no way related to the defendant, Paul Corcoran.

That he did not mention his knowledge of the above facts to the defendant, Paul Corcoran, or to any of his attorneys until recent date. Nor has he any interest therein other than a desire to see justice done in the premises.

Further affiant saith not.

PAT KENNEDY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this second day of January, A. D., 1900.

(SEAL.)

E. M. DAVENPORT.

Notary Public in and for Shoshone County, State of Idaho.

State of Idaho

County of Shoshone, ss.

John Kelley, being first duly sworn, upon oath deposes and says that he is one of the parties mentioned in the above affidavit.

That he has read the same, and knows that the statements contained therein are true.

JOHN KELLEY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this second day of January, A. D., 1900.

H. M. DAVENPORT,

Notary Public in and for Shoshone County, State of Idaho.

Thus while the public was deceived into believing that the men were being tried by twelve honest jurors, the facts would indicate that the mine owners were certain that a verdict of guilty would be rendered, regardless of all evidence. And the fact that one of the mine owners told Mr. Hamilton, of the San Francisco "Examiner," that they would "fix the jury," confirms this view beyond much question. Thus were innocent miners led to the slaughter and the guilty and their accessories went free. Thus has lawful prosecution disappeared, and persecution has become a burning cancer in the heart of the Cœur d'Alene.

During all this time, there was a permit system in operation, and all union men who secured work, or even sought work, were compelled to sign the following application for a permit to seek employment:

Application for Leave to Seek Employment in the Mines of Shoshone Co.

To Dr. H. France, State Representative:

Sir.—I hereby make application for issuance to me of a permit, allowing me to seek employment in the mines of Shoshone County. I am aby occupation.

I am a native ofand am a citizen of the United States.

I last worked at the mine in My shift boss was

Heretofore I have been a member of Miners' Union. I did not participate actively or otherwise in the riots which took place at Wardner on the 29th of April, 1899. Believing that the crimes committed at Wardner on said date were actively incited, encouraged and perpetrated through and by means of the influence and direction of the Miners' Unions of the Cœur d'Alenes, I hereby ex-

press my unqualified disapproval of said acts, and hereby renounce and forever abjure all allegiance to the said Miners' Union, of which I was a former member, and I solemnly pledge myself to obey the law and not to again seek membership in any society which will encourage or tolerate any violation of law.

.....day of189...

The following was signed by non-union men:

APPLICATION FOR PERMIT.

To Dr. Hugh France, State Representative, Wardner, Idaho:—

Sir.—I hereby make application for issuance to me of a permit to seek employment in the mines of Shoshone County, Idaho,

I have not been nor am I now a member of any miners' union. I took no part either actively or passively in aiding, assisting or encouraging the perpetration of the crimes committed at Wardner on April 29, 1899, I solemnly pledge myself to obey the law.

My occupation is

I amcitizen of the United States.

I am a native of

I last worked at

.....

My employer was

.....Idaho,1899.

No. Deputy.

OBJECT OF PERMIT SYSTEM.

Thus the mine owners, backed by martial law, were able to say who should seek work in that country. When the mine owners so desired, the permits would be granted. Whenever union men could be replaced by others competent to do the work, the permits would be revoked, and the men could no longer work in that district. In the month of December, 1899, more than 70 permits were revoked. If these men were criminals, why were they permitted to work? If they were believed to be upright men, and afterwards discovered to be criminals, why were they not arrested? If they were not criminals, why were they not permitted to continue work?

Many of these men who were not permitted to work in the mines, began to develop their own claims; they were told that they had no permits to work, and that unless they desisted they would be thrown into prison. But if they were guilty, why were they not arrested regardless of the fact that they were working?

There can be but one answer to these questions: The mine owners, contrary to all law and justice, were endeavor-

ing to break down the union, regardless of who were innocent or guilty. To suspect a man was sufficient cause for persecution. In the Cœur d'Alenes the rights of men have fallen, and upon the ruins capital has reared its kingdom; and the political and judicial powers of the government are culpably lending their support. The following affidavit, a typical case, best shows the criminal spirit of persecution that prevailed:

State of Idaho,
County of Shoshone.

A. A. Hammer, being first duly sworn, deposes and says: That on the 6th day of May, 1899, he was arrested in the town of Mullan, and on same day was released on condition that he would not leave the county. He is a married man and has a wife and four children to support. The State authorities have forbidden him to leave the State, and have refused him a permit to seek employment, thereby depriving him of the privileges to support his family. During the last eight months he has been compelled to live off the commissary of the labor organizations, which supplied union men and their families in the town of Mullan, above county and State. He was born in Orlon, Henry County, Illinois, Aug. 1, 1856.

A. A. HAMMER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 17th day of January, 1900.

E. J. FLANAGAN,

Justice of the Peace of Mullan Precinct.

Still fearing that union men might be working in the camp, and that an effort to reduce wages might arouse them to action, the mine owners presented the following petition to be signed by the miners:

To the Honorable Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:—

Dear Sir.—We, the undersigned, citizens of the Cœur d'Alene Mining District, of Shoshone County, State of Idaho, do hereby most respectfully petition you, as the Secretary of War, to allow the small force of Federal troops to remain in the quarters prepared for and occupied by them, at the town of Osborne, in this County, for as long a term as Governor Steunenberg, of our State, may think their presence necessary, for the preservation of peace and order, and we, as citizens of this District, and of the State of Idaho, desire to take this opportunity to express our approval of all the acts that have been done by the Governor and other officials of our State, to preserve peace and order and to bring criminals to justice. Some of the acts of the State authorities, in this connection, may appear to people at a distance, as drastic and severe, but we, who know the desperate conditions that existed, for several years, prior to the declaration of martial law last May, know that drastic measures were necessary to

stop a band of conspirators who, shielding themselves behind the name of labor organizations, had created a reign of terror and tyranny seldom equalled in the history of any community and we beg to state that the efforts of the governor, and the State officials, assisted by the military authorities have brought peace and good order to our District, and have given an impetus to all business interests, and a sense of safety to our people, which is highly appreciated and for which we are very grateful.

The capitalists believed that the miners would not sign such a document and in this way they could not determine how many and who were still union men. The majority signed the document through fear of losing their positions; many others refused to sign and were discharged.

When I asked Joseph McDonald if any who were working for him had refused to sign, he answered: "Only two; and they quit of their own accord."

I asked him if he had discharged any because they would not sign, and he answered: "No. That he did not care. He only wanted the public opinion as it was."

Not ten minutes previous to this conversation, I had left twelve men who had been discharged by the firm because they would not sign the petition, and I had in my pocket a number of affidavits to that effect made by the men. Eighteen men were discharged by the firm at one time for this very reason. Thus Mr. McDonald is shown to possess the instincts of Ananias to a remarkably large degree.

When I asked Mr. Burbage how he would look upon a man who would refuse to sign the petition, he said: "I must confess that I would look upon him with some suspicion." "Do you not think your employee would know this?" "No doubt," said he. "Would he not probably sign it for this reason?" "Well, perhaps he would," said Mr. Burbage."

Is a paper signed under such coercion really a petition? And is it fair to send it out to the world as such?

The document was sent out as a petition, signed with the names of these two men—Mr. McDonald and Mr. Burbage—and of those whom they had coerced through fear of losing their positions. Doubtless many who signed were willing to do so; but the majority signed through fear. And thus the Mine Owners' As-

sociation hoped, by the aid of martial law, to determine who among the miners were still in sympathy with the union.

There was a three-fold purpose in presenting this petition at this particular time.

The first was to keep up the public belief that the Miners' Union was a criminal organization, by prevailing upon the present miners to sign their names to a document, which indorsed all the criminal acts of the State and Federal authorities since April 29.

The second was to determine who were union sympathizers, and to discharge them and starve them out of the county, to the end that they could not vote.

The third was to determine the foregoing fact, and to import non-union men to take the places of the men discharged before the first of March, in order that those who were imported might arrive in time to become citizens, and thus have a right to a vote in the fall elections.

Thus the mine owners hoped to run the union men out of the Cœur d'Alenes, and thereby to destroy the union, which was the only power that prevented the lowering of wages and the political supremacy of the capitalists.

That this fact might be concealed from the public, the mine owners proclaimed themselves to be in favor of labor unions. They accordingly organized a new union (?), known as the "Industrial Union of America." To membership in this organization the miners, the mine owners, the merchants and every one "directly or indirectly dependent upon mining," is admissible. It is needless to point out the fact that such an organization could be nothing more than a political scheme—for what man would dare speak in favor of the miners as against the mine owners, while both parties were present. To say one such word would be industrial suicide to the speaker.

Thus these honorable and very respectable mine owners deceived the public by leading them to believe that this political club is a workingmen's union, and also that they (the mine owners), favor unions, and are only opposed to the Miners' Union because "it is composed of criminals."

CHAPTER VI.

In surveying the field of battle, it will be remembered that the first gun was fired by the B. H. & S. Co. in 1887, against the unorganized workingmen. At that time the miners were producing \$112,000 a month over and above all expenses other than wages. Of this amount \$42,000 was kept by the miners at the rate of \$3.50 a day, while the remaining \$60,000 was turned over to the company as monthly dividends.

The stockholders, however, were not satisfied with the lion's share, and they accordingly decided that the miners should keep only \$30,000 instead of \$42,000 out of their monthly product. This little change would have increased the monthly dividends from \$60,000 to \$70,000. This could be effected by reducing the wages of the 400 men from \$3.50 to \$2.50 a day.

Having decided that the miners should keep \$30,000 each month and that the company should take \$72,000 each month out of the \$112,000 produced, they accordingly posted notices in conspicuous places to the effect that on and after a certain date wages would be reduced to \$2.50 a day.

That caused a strike and resulted in the organization of a miners' union. When the strike occurred the mine shut down; the miners could not draw wages, and neither could the mine owners draw dividends.

The question then arose whether the miner drew his wages from the company or whether the stockholders drew their dividends from the miners. It soon became apparent to both parties that the miners had not only produced the dividends, but that they had produced their own wages, too.

It was then seen that if a decrease of wages meant an increase in dividends, an increase in wages mean a decrease in dividends. Thus the mine owners fought for a larger proportion of the miners' product by reducing wages; while the miners struggled to keep a larger proportion of their own product by holding up their wages. The bone of contention, therefore, was the product and the line of battle was drawn at the rate of wages.

The first skirmish which resulted in the organization of a miners' union which successfully defended the \$3.50 scale was soon followed by other skirmishes in the various camps, with

precisely the same results. Every contest brought out the fact that the power of the union was far superior to that of the company.

And at the same time every contest was accompanied with new developments until, in the year 1891 and again in 1899, there was seen on the one hand a Mine Owners' Association, and on the other a Federated Miners' Union of the Cœur d'Alenes. Face to face, these two forces were ready for battle. The power of the union existed in the muscles of the men. The power of the association existed in the accumulated dividends which they had taken out of the miners' products, or, rather, extracted from the muscles of the men—together with the more important power of the state, upon which they could call for help.

The reason of this latter is, that capital is an institution recognized by the laws of this country. This capital, which is accumulated dividends, is taxed. The taxes support the army and the army protects the capital. Thus the worker is suppressed by the army which is supported from his products.

Though the many laborers, when united in any locality, are more powerful than the few capitalists together with their capital, as has been proven on numerous fields of battle; yet so long as capital is a legal institution, the capitalist can call upon the entire nation to protect the capital which he possesses as against those who produced it. It is evident therefore that the workmen throughout the country, though they protest, produce the wealth which supports the army which suppresses the workers in the various localities when difficulties arise. The power of the capitalist, therefore, arises, first, from that portion of the product which he takes from the worker, and, second, from the protection which this very capital receives at the hands of the law as against the producer. The capital is drawn from the workers' produce, the political power, from the workers' vote.

The worker cannot hope to win his liberty and at the same time continue to support the laws which preserve the industrial system that crushes him. In continuing such support, the work-

er enslaves himself. Every stroke of work produces more products, more dividends, for the capitalists. This increases their power and puts the worker in a relatively worse position. Under our present system the worker exists only as food for capital, whereas capital should exist only as food for the workers. The workingmen of this country as well as the capitalists are paying more respect to capital than to the man who produces it.

The economic question will not be solved until the reverse is true—until the rights of men are more respected than the rights of property. It depends upon the working class to bring this about. If the mechanic does not respect himself more than he respects the shovel he makes, but continues worshipping the shovel simply because it is capital, then the capitalist who owns it, will certainly pay his respects to the shovel, and his contempt to the mechanic.

But when the workers once recognize that they are the fountains from which all capital springs; that their interests are identical as against the capitalist class; that the power of the capitalist class increases in proportion as they lower the wages of the working class; that, notwithstanding their wealth, the local capitalists are but pygmies in the hands of their employers in any contest; that, were all the workers united in every district, their power would be supreme; that the political power now used against the workers is only so used because the working class is divided and does not know its power nor recognize its common economic and political interests; when they recognize these facts, they will see that they can draw the political lines where the unions draw the industrial lines, leaving on the one hand a few capitalists to vote against the millions of workers on the other.

The mines of the Cœur d'Alenes would be converted into common property. Instead of reducing the wages from \$3.50 to \$2.50, adding \$700,000 annually to the \$8,000,000 already being divided among the idle stockholders, they would turn all the millions back into the pockets of the workers.

So also would all the mines of the country become common property and the proceeds would belong to the workers. So also with the plant of the Standard Oil Company. We would not leave that in private hands and give

to the owners \$80,000,000 each year. Nor to the Carnegie Steel Company would we give \$40,000,000 each year. But those plants would become social institutions, and the millions now declared as dividends would be returned to the workers to whom they rightfully belong. So also with the railroads, the land, the factories—in short, all productive capital would be converted into common property, the indivisible heritage of the people, and products should belong to the producer.

Men would no longer be used for making capital, but wealth would be used for making men. Our relations would be changed. We would no longer respect money, but would respect each other and respect ourselves. The curse of Esau would be removed. We would no longer sell our birthright for a mess of pottage, a paltry wage. Every man would gather all the fruit with which Nature would reward him for his labor.

Workingmen, it is your cause; it is you and your families who are bearing the burdens of this world. It is you who have suffered in the struggle in the Cœur d'Alenes and in all the labor wars of the world. It is you who have the power to rivet your chains tighter upon you or to break them asunder. It is for you to say whether you will unite with your fellow men, with mutual interests in a common cause, and by the use of your ballot, take possession of your political rights, and by the power of your votes abolish the capitalist system and advance into the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth. It is for you to say whether you will support the capitalist system on the backs of slaves, with the rights of men denied, or whether you will have the Socialist system in the hearts of men, with the rights of all maintained.

In these labor wars the powers that rule have shown their willingness to crush the workers. It is for the working class, while they yet have the ballot, to say whether the near future shall see this country a nation of slaves or a nation of free men. Workingmen of America, unite your trade unions: Unite in a political party of your own class. Unite in your determination to abolish the wage system and to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

“Workingmen, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain.”

How to Organize Locals of the Social Democratic Party.

The Social Democratic Party holds that all the means of production and transportation—as land, waterworks, gasworks, public highways on land or water, mines, factories, etc.—are the joint product of the forces of nature and of the energies of workers, past and present. It follows from this that every man or woman who wishes to work ought to have free access to these means. This can be secured only by making the means of production and transportation the collective property of the people. To accomplish this is the aim of the Social Democratic Party. The working class is the only class which has nothing to lose and everything to gain by the abolition of the present capitalist system and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth in its stead.

We, therefore, call upon all wage workers, and upon all other citizens who recognize the justice of our purpose, to join the Social Democratic Party and help to usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

1. Any number of persons can organize themselves into a branch, providing they accept the platform and constitution of the Party and sever absolutely all relations with all other political parties.

2. The officers to be elected are:

a) Organizer or Business Agent.
b) Recording and Corresponding Secretary.

c) Financial Secretary.

d) Treasurer.

e) Literature Agent.

f) A Chairman at each meeting.

3. Order of business:

a) Reading of the minutes.

b) Admission of new members.

c) Correspondence.

d) Financial report.

e) Report of Organizer or Business Agent.

f) Reports of Committees.

g) Unfinished business.

h) New business.

4. The amount of monthly dues shall be fixed by the Local. A monthly tax of 10 cents for each member shall be paid to the National Executive Committee or to the State Committee.

5. A full report of the first meeting and a list of all members together with 10 cents for each member shall be sent in, upon which a charter will be granted.

6. Due-stamps are supplied by the National Executive Committee at the rate of 10 cents each; one of these stamps shall be affixed to each member's card upon the payment of each month's dues as fixed by the Local, and shall serve as receipts for the payment of dues.

7. Each Local shall hold a business meeting at least once a month, as well as semi-monthly meetings for the discussion of political and economic questions.

8. Semi-annual reports of the membership and the financial condition of each local, as well as upon the progress made by the Party and its prospects in the locality, shall be sent regularly to the National Secretary.

9. Any person living in a city or locality where no local exists, may apply directly to the National Secretary for admission to the Party, enclosing one month's dues, and will be enrolled as a member-at-large.

10. In regard to pamphlets, leaflets, platforms, and other information, address the National Secretary, William Butscher, Theater Bldg., Court Square, Springfield, Mass.

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