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== The ==

Labor War

== IN ==
Colorado

== BY ==
BEN. HANFORD

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THE LABOR WAR IN COLORADO.

BY BEN HANFORD.

There have been many so-called "investigations" of the present labor troubles in Colorado. Those coming under my observation have without exception presented what the writers were pleased to call "both sides." This has included a summing up of various acts which the different writers have assumed to be for or against each, and on these premises basing a verdict to the effect that "both sides are to blame." I went to Colorado to investigate the present trouble there to a considerable degree under the influence of the idea that there were wrongs as well as rights on both sides.

My researches, however, have entirely eliminated any such impression. As between the strikers and their former employers in the present warfare in Colorado, one side is entirely in the right and the other side is wholly in the wrong. There are two sides to the question only in the sense that there are two sides to the question as to whether a thief shall have the "right" to rob an honest man, or whether the perpetrators of deliberate murder for financial gain are entitled to consideration from such survivors as they only failed to make their victims through lack of power. The present struggle in Colorado is not a war between capital and labor. It is a war by capitalists against laborers.

Only One Right Side.

In these present Colorado troubles ALL the facts are on the side of the men. The strikers have been peaceable, law-abiding and orderly. Opposed to them have been gentlemen, barbarians, savages and traitors, and the private police, deputy sheriffs, military, thugs, bad men and all the other agencies which can be evoked to accomplish the robbery and bring about the enslavement of free men through the use of all the powers of government by persons and corporations who look upon the forces of the State as their private property and use them for their personal gains.

There is only one possible criticism which can be made against the strikers. It will remain for posterity to judge whether it be justified. The strikers have constantly pursued a policy of non-resistance by physical force. Some of them have been murdered, their houses have been searched without warrant, their right of free speech and free assemblage have been ruthlessly trampled

upon their families have been insulted, their leaders have been assaulted, jailed, writ of habeas corpus and right of trial by jury has been denied, they have been hounded from their homes and deported from the State without form, semblance or process of law—and for what? What heinous crime had they committed?

Their Only Crime.

They had refused to work on terms which to them seemed dishonorable. In short, **THEY REFUSED TO BECOME SCABS.**

Under all these outrages it has been only short of miraculous that these men have been so absolutely self-restrained that they have not once taken the initiative in an appeal to force, and it has been the universal rule for them to bear with dignity and resignation the burdens and contumely heaped upon them. This has not been through any lack on their part of courage to dare or power to perform. What, then, was the force which kept these men so self-contained through all this fearful stress?

It was their loyalty to the working class of the nation and the world. They suffered unspeakable wrongs without resistance in order that you workingmen, you union workingmen, of the North, South, East and West might catch up with them. They knew that their fellow workers in other parts of the country were not informed as to the merits of the controversy, they knew that their fellow union men were informed only of such things as their employers through control of the press saw fit for them to know, and they knew that, no matter what victories they might win by force, they would be regarded by their brethren as having taken up arms against their country and its flag. These men of the Rockies understood the Beast Capitalism, and they suffered their awful wrongs without physical resistance in order that their fellow men might catch up with them, might become wise in time, and because of their sufferings might take such steps as to save themselves from like sufferings.

That, too, my fellow workingmen and fellow union men, is the purpose of this pamphlet. It is not written to record the praises of the union men of Cripple Creek and Trinidad and Telluride. Their deeds are their monument, and their sufferings their song of praise. But you workingmen outside of Colorado should see to it that their sufferings shall not have been in vain.

Bull Pens on Boston Common.

If you union men would not have bull pens in Boston Common, if you would not have your houses searched without warrant in New York, if you would not be deported from your homes in Philadelphia and Chicago, if you would not live in fear of assas-

sination for no other cause than that you are a member of a labor organization; if the workingmen of Oregon and Texas, of Maine and Wisconsin, and every other State and Territory of the Union would not lose the right to organize; if the men whose labor feeds and clothes and warms and shelters the peoples of the earth would not lose the right to live, it would be wise for them to study carefully and well the history of the Labor War in Colorado.

After years of effort by trade unionists, an eight-hour law, applicable to persons employed in and about mines, was passed by the Colorado Legislature in 1899. The corporations fought it in the courts, and the Supreme Court of the State declared it to be unconstitutional, although similar laws had been held to be valid in various other states, and the Supreme Court of the United States approved such a law for Utah.

When this law was set aside by the Supreme Court the union men who had worked so hard and so long for its enactment did not appeal to force of arms or advocate violence.

Colorado's Eight-Hour Law.

The law having been declared unconstitutional, they went to work by peaceful, legal and orderly processes to change the State Constitution, and at the election in 1902 an amendment to that instrument was submitted to the people of the State providing that the Legislature "SHALL ENACT" an eight-hour law for all persons working in and about the mines of Colorado.

Every political party in the state favored that amendment. Every one of the thirty-five members of the Senate and every one of the sixty-five members of the House was elected on a platform declaring that such a law would be enacted if the constitutional amendment was carried. The amendment received a majority of the vote cast in every county of the State except five, and in the State it was carried by a majority of 46,714 votes.

After the election the Legislature met, transacted its business and adjourned—AND PASSED NO EIGHT-HOUR LAW.

Why? The world knows why. Because its members had been bribed, jockeyed and bulldozed by the corporation interests in the State who did not want an eight-hour law.

The Western Federation of Miners in particular and labor organizations in general have been denounced as lawless bodies. By whom? By the very persons who violated the law of the State at its fountain head, by the persons who corrupted its law-making body, and set aside an amendment to the Constitution of the State because it interfered with their "business interests."

The men who officer the labor organizations of Colorado have been called anarchists. Those who wish to find the real anarchists in Colorado should go to the State Capitol at Denver, and there they will be found in the person of the Republican and Democratic members of the Legislature, and if they would find anarchists and traitors, they should place their hands on the Governor of the State of Colorado and his Adjutant-General and the men who own them.

Anarchy and Treason in the State House.

Treason and anarchy in the State House at Denver is the first and greatest cause of the present labor troubles in Colorado.

The second cause was the constant and persistent discrimination by the corporations against the employment of union men.

These two things—the failure to pass the eight-hour law and the discharge of men from their work because they saw fit to exercise their legal right to join a labor organization—comprise the substantial causes of the present difficulties. All other matters, wages, ventilation of mines, and the scrip system of payment (in the Trinidad coal field), could have been adjusted without difficulty.

The strikes were first to enforce the underlying law, the Constitution of the State calling for an eight-hour law. They were second an effort on the part of the men to maintain their legal right to become members of a labor organization.

In their efforts the strikers have constantly pursued the arts of argument, persuasion and peace.

The employers from the first have resorted to force, fraud and treason.

COLORADO CITY.

Employers Discriminate Against Union Men.

For a long time the Western Federation of Miners had endeavored to organize the mill and smeltermen into unions. The work had been difficult on account of the discrimination of the employers against union men. Of course, the managers were in favor of "free labor," insisted that their men did not want to join a union, and in order to save them from the tyranny of labor organizations, they employed corps of spies to report to them every man who became a member, and such men were immediately fired. Notwithstanding this, the men were effectively organized, and on Feb. 14, 1903, Mill and Smeltermen's Union, No. 125, at Colorado City, went on strike to redress a number of grievances, not the least of which was the discrimination against union men, and to secure an eight-hour day. This should be

particularly noted, for in all the present strikes in Colorado the two questions, that of discrimination against union men and the eight-hour day, have been the real points at issue.

The Militia Ordered Out.

March 3, seventeen days after the strike, Governor Peabody ordered the troops to Colorado City. Why? On what information?

Manager MacNeill, of the Mine Owners' Association, went to the sheriff of El Paso County (in which Colorado City is situated) with letters from himself and other mill managers asking the Sheriff to call upon the Governor for troops. The Sheriff then wrote a letter to the Governor to the effect that he (the sheriff) had received communications from the mill and mine managers requesting that troops be sent to Colorado City, and Manager MacNeill carried the sheriff's letter to the Governor. The Governor conferred with MacNeill and other managers—and sent the troops.

Were they needed? For what purpose were they sent?

The sheriff asked for them obediently to the wishes of the mill owners. But Colorado City's Mayor, Chief of Police, City Attorney, Councilmen, and hundreds of citizens passed resolutions and signed petitions protesting against the militia being used, and insisting that there was no disorder.

Why should the Governor send troops to the strike field at the request of a sheriff, who professed no other information than that received from one side to the controversy, the mine owners? Why should the Governor ignore not only the statements of the strikers to the effect that there had been and was not likely to be any disorder, but the protests of citizens, city attorney, chief of police, mayor and city councilmen to the same effect?

The Militia "Keep Order."

As soon as the troops arrived, however, "things were doing." Then violence began. Pickets of the strikers, peaceable and unarmed men, were arrested—by the military. Property of the union was confiscated—by the military. Men were denied the use of the public highway—by the military. Vile, profane, insulting language was used to the officers of the union in their own headquarters—by the military, Col. Brown, spokesman. From the time the troops arrived in the strike field they and their officers used every possible measure to cause the strikers to resort to violent and disorderly methods—without avail.

Public sentiment became so strong against the Governor that

he was compelled to visit Colorado City in person to investigate conditions, which he did on March 11, but went only to the mine owners and the few strike-breakers employed in the mills, entirely ignoring the strikers.

From the first the union had offered to submit all matters in controversy to impartial arbitration, and after the Governor's visit to Colorado City public sentiment was so strong in favor of the justice of the strikers' demands and the fair and orderly manner in which they sought to enforce them that the Governor was forced to request the mill managers and the representatives of the union to meet in his office to discuss their differences. As the result of a conference lasting from 2 p. m. till 3 a. m. an agreement was reached between the union and the Telluride and Portland mills. Had the managers of these companies met the officers of the unions to discuss their differences when the men had asked for a conference there need have been no strike.

But Manager MacNeill, of the Standard mill of the United States Reduction & Refining Co., would make no agreement with the men at that time. Later a committee of business men and mine owners practically vouched for the good faith of MacNeill (who would sign no agreement) in the reinstatement of strikers and men discharged for membership in the union, and at the beginning of April this strike passed into history.

A Traitor Governor Dickers.

Governor Peabody withdrew the troops, but only ON CONDITION THAT THE UNION OFFICIALS WITHDRAW ALL DAMAGE SUITS WHICH THEY HAD BROUGHT AGAINST THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES. As the price of peace the men were forced to waive their civil rights in the courts of the State by a Governor who had sworn to uphold the law.

On July 3, 1903, the employees of the American Smelting and Refining Co. in its Denver mills went on strike for an eight-hour day, and on August 10 the miners of the Cripple Creek district employed in mines shipping ore to MacNeill's mills went on strike. The men were forced to take this step because MacNeill had in no particular lived up to the promises which had been made in his behalf, and also to put a stop to discrimination against union men.

In view of the reiterated assertions of Peabody, Bell, mine owners, mill managers, members of the Citizens' Alliance and others of recent date, to the effect that the Western Federation of Miners is and has always been a lawless body of riotous incendiaries, the following paragraph from the public statement of the Mine Owners' Association of the Cripple Creek district should

be noted. It was issued on August 12, 1903, two days after the strike was called:

"At the time the strike was called and, in fact, ever since the settlement of the labor difficulties of 1894, the most entire harmony and good will has prevailed between the mine owners and employes in the district. Wages and hours of labor have been satisfactory and according to union standards, and general labor conditions have been all that could be wished."

The strike was an orderly and peaceful one. It consisted in nothing more than in refraining from work on the part of the union men and those who agreed with them. There was no disorder, lawlessness or violence.

The Brigadier-General Orders Himself to the Front.

Notwithstanding this, the mine owners called upon the Governor for the militia. The Governor said he would cause an investigation to be made. By whom? By Brig-Gen. John Chase and Lieutenant T. E. McClelland. These eminent military gentlemen went to the Cripple Creek district to look things over. They arrived in Victor at 9:30 p. m., spent an hour there in consultation with a committee of the Mine Owners' Association, arrived at Cripple Creek at 11:40 p. m., went to the headquarters of the Mine Owners' Association there, and remained in conference with the owners for two hours, then sent for Sheriff Robertson and spent two hours in consultation with him. Sheriff Robertson strenuously protested against the use of the militia. What was the verdict of the Governor's Commission? They left Cripple Creek on a special train at 4:10 a. m., after being in the district less than seven hours, and reported to the Governor that troops were needed. In other words, they ordered themselves to the scene, and on the 5th of September the troops went to Cripple Creek.

The Mayor, a tool of the Mine Owners, the Postmaster, and a banker were the only ones except the mine owners and managers who wanted troops sent to Cripple Creek.

The Sheriff protested against it.

The Board of County Commissioners unanimously protested against it.

The City Council of Victor protested against it.

Mass meetings protested against it.

Five days after the strike was called President Moyer addressed the following words to a meeting of the strikers of Cripple Creek.

"I sincerely trust and advise that nothing be done during

this trouble that will be in violation of the law. If men feel it their duty to take a position against you who are striving to procure your rights, you will do nothing but harm your position by resorting to violation of the laws."

A Public Army for Private Profit.

But the mine owners wanted troops, and the Governor sent them. If any one thinks the troops were sent to uphold the law and to do impartial police duty, he has only to know that before they were sent the mine owners agreed with the Governor that **THEY WOULD PAY FOR THE TROOPS**. Four per cent. State certificates of indebtedness were issued, these the mine owners cashed. They paid the charges and they got the goods.

After five days in the district the military began on Sept. 10 a rule of mob law by bayonet. Men were arrested without warrant, charges or process of law. City and county officials, strikers and citizens who dared to say or were suspected of daring to think that a trade union had any virtues were haled to military headquarters to give an account of themselves. Not only was it a sin to believe in trade unions—it was a crime not to believe in the Mine Owners' Association. Any one pointed out by them was immediately arrested and placed in the bull pen, some of them not being allowed to see a friend or an attorney. Judge Seeds issued writs of habeas corpus, and when the imprisoned men were brought into his court, Generals Bell and Chase surrounded the court with troops, planted a gatling gun in front, placed sharpshooters on the roofs of adjacent houses, and filled the court rooms with militiamen. The attorneys for the men protested against the presence of the soldiers in the court, but the officers of the guard refused to withdraw their men, and the attorneys withdrew from the case rather than serve in a court overawed and intimidated by armed men not responsible to the judge.

But the judge held court and issued an order that the prisoners be surrendered to the civil authorities. The generals of the Mine Owners Militia refused to comply with the order of the court, and the prisoners were marched back to the bull pen. They were later released by the Governor's order, but others were arrested, some of them several times, and held for long periods.

Printers in the Bull Pen.

On the night of Sept. 29, '03, the State militia under command of Gen. Chase, forcibly entered the office of the Victor Record, arrested the whole force of the paper and marched them to the bull pen, where they were held for 24 hours before they were

delivered to the civil authorities on writs of habeas corpus. The Victor Record had committed the crime of being on the side of the men, and had protested against the outrages of the military. While the office force was in the bull pen Mrs. Emma F. Langdon, wife of one of the linotype operators, went to the office and got out the paper, "somewhat disfigured, but still in the ring." and it did not miss an issue.

About the middle of last November, things were getting quiet in Cripple Creek. This would never do. Unless there was "something doing," the deputies, detectives, militia and the hangers-on of the armed camp would be out of jobs.

The Loosened Rail.

So, on the night of Nov. 16, '03, the spikes were withdrawn from a rail at a curve on the Florence & Cripple Creek Railroad. At 3 a. m. a train known as the suburban, carrying about forty union and non-union miners came along. But the engineer, William Rush, had received a "tip" that all was not right, and for that reason he stopped his train when he reached the curve, and investigated. He found the spikes withdrawn from the rail, as he had been told that he would.

The matter was reported to the military, and they at once began to make arrests, of course charging the union men with responsibility for the act.

Every Union Man Acquitted.

Sherman Parker, W. F. Davis and Thomas Foster and other union men were arrested by the military and held for the crime. The trial of the three named began before Judge Lewis on Feb. 19, '04. With what result? They were all acquitted.

What else?

It transpired on the trial that the spikes were pulled by one Charles McKinney, aided by a man going under the name of Charles Beckman, who on the stand declared that he was in the employ of the corporations, that he was working for a detective agency, that he was a paid spy and had joined the union for the purpose of spying upon these men, that he had been instrumental in getting McKinney to do the work, that he had pre-arranged with other detectives in the employ of the corporations that they might watch the work done, and after all this the mine owners and the military authorities arrested union men for the crime, tried their best to fasten the infamous act upon the Western Federation of Miners—and failed. The testimony of the detectives convicted themselves of the crime they sought to place upon the union.

The testimony of many unimpeachable witnesses proved an absolute alibi for the union men. The testimony of the engineer of the train which had been in danger of wreck showed that a detective had inquired of him if loosening the rails at a certain place would wreck the train, and it was at that point that the spikes had been withdrawn.

The mine owners have persistently denounced the Western Federation of Miners as a lawless organization. In order to make their lies look like truth they have had crime committed on more than one occasion, hoping to blast the good name of the union. This case was only one of many.

Jockeying with the Courts.

Regarding the trial of men for the perpetration of these crimes, Attorney-General Miller declared:

"The Governor and his attorneys will try to prevent an immediate hearing of the cases, as they say, to permit the people to become composed. Their hope lies in the fact that Judge Seeds will leave the district Jan. 1, giving up his seat temporarily to Judge Lewis."

Judge Lewis tried the derailment cases. **EVERY UNION MAN WAS ACQUITTED.**

This case bears a strong resemblance to another. During the strike at Idaho Springs there was an explosion at the Sun and Moon mine, and one man (a union miner) was killed. Immediately the mine owners and members of the Citizens' Alliance charged the crime upon the strikers, many of them were arrested and a number deported. The authorities declared that the union strikers arrested and charged with this crime should not be tried by Judge Owens, as they feared he favored the union. They wanted the cases tried by Judge De France. The cases were tried by Judge De France. The prosecution spent weeks introducing testimony to convict the fourteen union men on trial of a conspiracy to blow up the Sun and Moon mine. After the prosecution rested, the defense went to the jury **WITHOUT CALLING A SINGLE WITNESS.** The jury was composed largely of impartial ranchmen, and they brought in a verdict of **NOT GUILTY!** Then the same authorities who had strained every nerve to convict union men of a crime of which they were not guilty got up in Judge De France's court and nolle prossed the members of the Citizens' Alliance who were under indictment for driving strikers out of town, and of whose guilt there was no shadow of doubt.

Two days after the pulling of the spikes on the Florence & Cripple Creek Railroad, an explosion occurred in the Vindicator

mine by which two men lost their lives. Like everything else which occurred in the district, it was laid to the union men, and many of them were again placed in the bull pen, but at the conclusion of the trial of the derailment cases, the charges against the union men arrested in connection with the Vindicator mine explosion were nolle prossed in Judge Lewis' court. There are many reasons and much evidence to lead to the belief that if the truth of the matter is ever known the instigators of the crime will be proven to be members of the Mine Owners' Association or of the Citizens' Alliance.

"Organizations Controlled by Desperate Men."

Before these trials Governor Peabody declared martial law in the Cripple Creek district. In his proclamation he speaks of the presence in Teller County of

"one or more organizations controlled by desperate men, who are intimidating the civil authorities, and who are setting at defiance the Constitution and laws of the State of Colorado, and that the citizens of said County of Teller by reason of the threats, intimidations and crimes committed by said lawless persons in said county of Teller are unable to enjoy their civil rights."

The Governor was right. There were "one or more organizations controlled by desperate men," who were "intimidating the civil authorities." The very worst of these organizations was the militia, and the most desperate man in control of it was the Governor of the State of Colorado. There were other lawless bodies—the Mine Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance, but the Governor himself and his agents have been engaged in "setting at defiance the Constitution and laws of the State of Colorado," and he has never yet proceeded against the real law-breakers for the reason that he is himself the greatest law-breaker.

The Western Federation of Miners, through its Secretary and Executive Board, appealed to the President of the United States for help, but it needless to record that they received no assistance from that able exponent of the "open shop." But the President sent Major-General John C. Bates to Colorado to investigate. While in Colorado the Major-General was the guest of the Mine Owners' Association. Enough said of him and his report.

"To hell with the constitution: we are going by the Governor's orders!" said Major McClelland, acting judge advocate and counsel for the military authorities.

C. G. Kennison was arrested and bull-penned time and again, on

one occasion the military, headed by a notorious ex-convict, interrupting the funeral services over a dead union miner to take Kennison away.

After the funeral of a union miner the military went to the house of his widow and threatened to take from her her two children, of 7 and 10 years.

Five boys from 9 to 14 years of age were arrested by the military and taken to Camp Goldfield.

The safe of Miners' Union, No. 32, was unlocked and robbed, and other than the secretary the only man who had the combination was an officer of the National Guard of Colorado.

Sherman Parker and other union men were arrested and re-arrested too many times to keep count.

Women Under the Ban.

The military protectors of "law and order" dragged a woman from her house, tore portions of her clothing from her body, and with brute force, oaths and villification forced her to walk the roads between towns because she had incurred their displeasure by resenting their intrusion into the sanctuary of her home.

The men back of the Mine Owners' Association, the various Citizens' Alliances, the Governor of Colorado, and the rich and great and powerful are always talking whenever a strike takes place about the safety of life and limb. And yet every day, in the regular course of industry, they constantly jeopardize the lives of their employes, in order to save the money required for safety appliances, and refuse to abide by the law of the land whenever profits are involved, not only in the metalliferous mining industry, but in coal mining as well.

The military was after the "agitators" and the press. The right to speak and print was interfered with from the day the troops arrived in the district.

Section 10 of Article 2 of Colorado's Constitution says: "No law shall be passed impairing the freedom of speech"; that every person shall be free to speak, write or publish whatever he will on "any subject."

Regarding the suspension of the press the following temperate (under the circumstances) statement by the Executive Committee of the Miners' District Union should commend itself to all reasoning and fair-minded men:

"Did it ever occur to the military gentlemen that they took oath to support the constitution of the State, and that when they issue such orders as the one on Saturday they are violating their oaths? The fact is that the American people pay too little attention to such matters.

No man who has so little regard for his oath of office should be permitted to hold office for a single day. Contempt for all law follows a deliberate disregard for law on the part of those charged with its execution. It is our humble opinion that the greatest disregard and violation of the law shown in Teller Co. is that due to the militia. They have trampled upon the liberties of the people. They have been guilty of unreasonable searches and seizures. They have interfered with freedom of speech. They have arrested persons without warrant of law, and imprisoned them without bail."

Dec. 22 Major H. A. Naylor, in command of the Cripple Creek district during the absence of Col. Verdeckberg, made a statement that, owing to the large number of idle men throughout the district, an order would be made that all those having no employment or visible means of support would be given the alternative of one of three things—either to go to work, leave the district, or go to the bull pen for an indefinite term.

Intoxicated soldiers created rough house in a hotel because a bartender refused to give them drinks on account of the military regulations prohibiting the sale of drinks to soldiers.

Scab or Be Shot.

In the early period of the strike numbers of strike-breakers were brought to Cripple Creek who had been secured in Michigan and other states east of Colorado on a pretense by the agent of the operators that there was no trouble. In some cases entire squads of them refused to work on learning the true condition of affairs. In some cases these men had to escape from the mines as from a prison, and in one case a man who broke from a group that was being escorted to the mines by a militia company was shot at by the officer in command, but made good his escape.

Perhaps no statement has been issued which in general terms so temperately and yet so correctly and adequately describes the situation in Colorado as the following resolutions adopted at the largest public meeting ever held in Denver in the early part of January of this year. They follow in part:

"Prudence indeed will dictate that government long established shall not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experience has shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.

"But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to

throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

"Such has been the patient sufferance of the people of this state, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to denounce the tyranny and usurpations of the officials now controlling the machinery of their government, and using it for purposes of private gain and to promote certain business interests at the expense of our liberties.

"The history of the present governor of Colorado is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny throughout this state of certain classes over others. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has refused to call together the Legislature of the state, that it might have the opportunity to pass laws calculated to restore peace and quiet to the state, and to settle the various controversies now going on between large bodies of our citizens, banded together in different organizations, unions, alliances and associations, and has exposed the state to all the dangers which may arise from the warrings of conflicting industrial interests and the convulsions caused by them.

"He has constantly and almost daily violated the constitution of the state of Colorado and of the United States, although having taken the oath to support them.

"He has, in time of peace, and without justification in law or fact, or appeal for help from the civil authorities of the counties affected, ordered the militia of the state to invade certain counties, and has there set aside the duly constituted civil authorities by force of arms, and has done this at a time when the courts were open and their process was unresisted.

"He has obstructed the administration of justice and defied our courts by ordering the militia of the state to disobey the writs of the courts of the state.

"He has pretended to suspend the writ of habeas corpus.

"He has kept armies among us in times of peace, without the consent of our Legislature.

"He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

"He has combined with others in furtherance of the spirit of greed, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his aid and support and using the power of the state to aid certain people combined under the form of unions or alliances, to obtain advantage over others combined in like manner, and in so doing

"He has imposed taxes upon us without our consent.

"He has deprived us in many cases of the trial by jury.

"He has taken away our charters, abolished our most valuable laws, and altered fundamentally the forms of our government."

"He has, in defiance of Article XIII. of the amendments to the constitution of the United States, which says:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States,"

compelled the militia to force men at the point of the bayonet to work in the mines at pumps and elsewhere, without their consent.

"He has further, in defiance of his oath and of Article I. of the amendments to the constitution of the United States, which provides that

"Congress shall make no laws abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people to peacefully assemble, and to petition the government,"

attempted to muzzle the press of the state, and to establish a censorship over the same.

"He has, in defiance of Article IV. of the amendments to the constitution of the United States, which says:

That "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and that no warrant shall issue, but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the places to be searched, and the person and thing to be seized,"

allowed the militia, under his orders, to violate the liberty of persons, to search houses and to seize papers and effects, without warrant and in direct violation of all law.

"That he has, in defiance of Article II. of the amendments to the constitution of the United States, which says:

"That the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed,"

allowed the militia, acting under his orders, to search for and take arms from their rightful owners, and to confiscate the same wherever found, and has permitted the militia, in violation of said article, to issue proclamations demanding the surrender of all arms and their registration, and has further allowed said militia, while enforcing his orders, to invade the private premises of citizens, and notably, those of one John M. Glover, for refusal to comply with illegal proclamations, and for asserting his constitutional and legal rights.

"That each and all of these acts are calculated to excite domestic insurrection among us, and to bring on a conflict among people engaged in divers industrial affairs.

"A governor whose character is thus marked by every act

which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

"We have warned him from time to time of his attempts to extend an unwarranted jurisdiction over us. We have appealed to any sense of justice and magnanimity he may be supposed to possess, and we have begged him by the ties of our common kindred to discontinue these usurpations which will inevitably lead to further discord and must continue disastrously to disturb the peace of the state. These appeals he has treated with contempt.

"It is, therefore, resolved, that the time having arrived when, in consequence of the usurpations and tyrannies above set forth, the courts of the state are rendered powerless by an organized mob, pretending to act as the militia of the state, to redress our grievances, it is now the duty of every citizen to exercise the right of self-defense in protection of the rights guaranteed him under our constitution and laws, and at any and all cost, to protect himself and his property from arrest, seizure or search by any persons not armed and authorized by warrant issued by civil authority.

"It is further resolved, that for repeated violation of his official oath, as governor of this state, and for the many usurpations and tyrannies above set forth, we demand the impeachment of James H. Peabody.

"It is further resolved, that we demand that the district attorney of Teller county at once institute criminal proceedings against said Peabody and the mob acting under his orders, for assault with attempt to kill John M. Glover on the 28th day of December, 1903, and that the proper authorities also institute criminal proceedings against said Peabody and others responsible for the numerous crimes of false imprisonment, larceny, riot, etc., recently committed by organized mobs in Teller, San Miguel and other counties, to the end that the offenders may be punished, when law and order once more prevails, and the courts and civil authorities are no longer prevented by mobs from the exercise of their functions.

"Be it further resolved, that the surrender by the militia of Victor Poole to the civil authorities of Teller county, at the time when the right of the militia to hold him and to defy the writ of habeas corpus was pending before the Supreme Court, is and was an acknowledgment by the governor of the state that he and the militia under his orders had wilfully and knowingly violated the constitution and laws of the state in arresting said Poole and imprisoning him without charge or warrant.

"We further regard the release of said Poole and his surrender to the civil authorities as a pitiful and cowardly attempt

on the part of the governor to evade the consequences of his crime, and to prevent being branded by the highest court of the state as a law breaker.

"Be it further resolved, that we demand that the illegal expense incurred by reason of the acts of the governor in defying the courts and civil authorities, shall be borne by those who, as the beneficiaries of those acts, have advanced the money and profited by its expenditure.

"Resolved further, that we insist upon the rigid maintenance of our constitutional safe guards, and point out that to break them down by force under any pretext, is treason of the highest kind which leads to anarchy and the sure rule of that force whose first victims will be those Pharisees now crying for that law and order of which they are the sole violators."

Explosion at Independence Station.

At 2:15 Monday morning, June 6, the depot at Independence in the Cripple Creek district was blown up by an explosion of giant powder. The explosion took place at a time when the station contained a large number of miners, mostly non-union, just from the hill to take the train to their homes.

Fourteen were killed and a number injured.

Instantly the entire district was in the greatest excitement.

Members of the Mine Owners' Association and of the Citizens' Alliance immediately took charge of everything. The military were at once called for.

One of the first things done was to shut down all of the non-union mines, and to order the men to come into town, bringing with them their arms.

Rope's-End Resignations.

Sheriff Robertson, who had been duly elected to his office by a majority of votes, was taken before the joint committee of the Citizens' Alliance and the Mine Owners' Association, and asked to resign.

He refused.

Surrounded by armed men, his resignation was thrust in front of him, a coil of rope with a hangman's noose in the end was thrown at his feet, and again he was asked to resign.

He complied.

The resignation of Coroner Doran was brought about in the same way. The conspirators did well to remove the Coroner. He would have found out the persons who were guilty of the crime, and that would have been a life and death matter for some of

the employ  es or members of the Mine Owners' Association and the Citizens' Alliance.

In addition to the resignations of the Coroner and Sheriff, the military, mine owners and Citizens' Alliance also forced the resignation from their offices of Assistant Prosecuting Attorney Cole, City Marshal Graham (of Cripple Creek), City Marshal O'Connell (of Victor), and in Goldfield Marshal Brother, Night Marshal McCarthy and Justice of the Peace Reilly were deposed from their offices, together with all the aldermen in Independence, and a fire chief and a county commissioner.

Meetings of excited citizens were held, and at one of these in the open air C. C. Hamlin, secretary of the Mine Owners' Association did his best to make his remarks as inflammatory as possible, and declared that the explosion was caused by members of the Western Federation of Miners. At one point in his address he said he would like to know what the "boys from the hills" thought of the matter, and a union miner spoke up and said "let me talk."

No sooner had he spoken than shooting began, and two men were killed and several injured. All the firing was attributed to the union men, but Hamlin kept on talking and was uninjured.

A raid was at once started on the hall of the union miners. Many shots were fired at them. Several were wounded. The papers declared that the miners were armed and made a desperate resistance, but not a man in the attacking party received a scratch.

The men in the hall were taken to the bull pen. The hall was searched. The records of the union were appropriated.

Deportations of union men were at once begun. Each day saw the departure of tens and scores.

Some were taken to Denver, some to Kansas, some to New Mexico.

General Bell and the Constitution.

General Bell, sworn to obey the Constitution of the State of Colorado and of the United States, publicly declared:

"These men were deported to the Kansas-Colorado line, and more will follow to-morrow, to which no apologies are made to any one. Should they return, they will be immediately placed in a military prison, and there remain indefinitely."

To be a union man was crime. It was no protection to be a husband or a father. Men were taken from their families, husbands torn from wives who were critically ill, and from children who had no other protector, at the instance of civil and

military authorities, acting at the instigation of men who had no other charge to prefer against them than their suspicion that they should be suspected.

Nearly every man arrested was subjected to awful "sweating" by the detectives of the Mine Owners' Association, and such were the means employed that several of them lost their reason, and others were confined to hospitals on account of their injuries. A favorite method was to hang them up by the thumbs until their senses left them.

The Western Federation of Miners had four cooperative stores in the Cripple Creek district. All were sacked and closed and contents destroyed or stolen.

To understand the animosity of the Citizens' Alliance one has only to know that the four co-operative stores which were sacked and gutted by the mob of "respectable gentlemen" comprising that body were a thorn in their side. The Western Federation was practically forced to start these stores to supply its members with the necessities of life. They sold goods at close to cost price, did a large trade, and every member of the Citizens' Alliance felt that every dollar spent in a co-operative store was a dollar taken out of his own pocket. Whenever there was so much as a rumor of a settlement between any of the mine owners and the strikers, something was sure to happen in the district. The Citizens' Alliance would brook no settlement of the troubles between the strikers and any minemanagers that did not have for its basis an agreement on the part of the Western Federation of Miners to discontinue its co-operative supply stores. When a settlement was being considered between several of the operators and the strikers last November the Vindicator explosion took place, and on Friday, June 3, of this year a committee from the national convention of the Federation conferred with several mine managers regarding the differences between them and their former employees, and on the following Monday the Independence explosion took place.

The military authorities confiscated the horses and wagons belonging to the miners' co-operative stores and used them as police patrol wagons to haul members of the union to the bull pen and the sweat box.

In many instances members of the Citizens' Alliance refused to sell the necessities of life to the families of deported men, and the military authorities ordered the agent of the Western Federation of Miners who had been distributing relief to the wives, mothers and children of the exiles to discontinue his work, requiring all supplies to pass through military channels.

John Carley Killed.

On the 8th of June General Bell took a military force to Dunneville, 17 miles south of Victor, and in another county where martial law had not been proclaimed, and attacked a body of union miners engaged near there in working a new mine.

The union men were unarmed, but the troops fired some hundreds of shots, one of which struck and killed John Carley.

When shot down he was running from one rock to another for shelter, trying to make his escape. He was a union man.

Again a battle, and again not a soldier got a scratch, though the papers were full of reports to the effect that the union men had made a desperate and formidable resistance.

Office of the Victor Record Wrecked.

The office of the Victor Record, which had been friendly to the strikers, was visited by eight men and its plant and machinery totally wrecked. The force of this same office had been in the bull pen on a previous occasion.

Throughout the present strike troubles in Colorado the Great Portland mine had continued in operation. Its force of men was part union and part non-union.

When the military had taken charge of affairs after the explosion of the Independence station one of General Bell's first acts was to force Mr. Burns, the manager of the Portland, to close down his mine, for no other reason than that he employed some union men. The employers declare that they want the "open shop." Mr. Burns was running an "open shop." The Mine Owners' Association insisted that he should not run an "open shop," that he must run a shop closed to union men, or not run at all, and they enforced their edict backed by the bayonets of the State, under the orders of a man whose master has repeatedly declared that he was using the troops to maintain the right of every man to work. Mr. Burns brought suit against the Governor of Colorado for damages for the illegal action of the militia in closing the Great Portland, but the directors of the company, preferring treason to patriotism, ordered its discontinuance.

Members of the Mine Owners' Association and of the Citizens' Alliance sent committees to the owners of all stores, shops and works and demanded that they sign an agreement to refuse employment to all members of the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union. They at first included members of the American Federation of Labor in those who came under the ban, but later made an exception of men belonging to that body.

TRINIDAD.

The Strike in the Coal Field.

While the events narrated in preceding chapters were transpiring in the metalliferous mining industry in Colorado City, Cripple Creek, and other gold fields of the State, similar crimes for similar causes were being committed by the armed agents of the corporations and the armed authorities of the State in the coal fields of Southern Colorado in and around Trinidad.

The trouble with the Coal miners of District 15, United Mine Workers of America (which covers New Mexico, Utah and Colorado) dates from August, 1900, at which time the workers of that vicinity began their efforts to organize. In Southern Colorado where the Coal Companies had practiced oppressions beyond the power of pen to describe, the first local was organized on Aug. 5th, 1900, at Pictou, Colo. National Organizer Jas. Kennedy went to Pryor, Colo., to organize a local, and he was holding a meeting of about 40 men when the Sheriff of Huerfano County and two deputies came upon the ground, lined up the crowd and arrested Kennedy and two of the men and threw them into the county jail. They were released later, but the authorities made no effort to prosecute the sheriff for his unlawful act.

John L. Gehr, then District President, organized locals throughout the southern part of the state to the number of about fifteen during the spring, but the companies discriminated against union men, and, that failing to break up the organization, closed their mines.

Organizing Unions Dangerous Work.

In the Spring of 1902 Ralph Prukop, then District President, was run out of Hastings, by D. M. Simpson, general manager for the Victor Fuel Company, aided by mine guards. Several attempts were made by Prukop and John Simpson, secretary of District 15. U. M. W. of A., to organize Hastings, but they were always met by the deputies of the coal company, and many of the men were fired out of camp for no other reason than that they attended open-air meetings held for the purpose of explaining to the men the purposes of organization.

In the Summer of 1903 Italian National Organizer Chas. De Molli was run out of Primero, Colo., for organizing the men.

In August of the same year John Simpson, Jas. Kennedy and R. M. Smith marched through Rouse with a body of men, 200 in number, and held an open meeting at Pryor. Seventy-five deputies had been gathered there by the Companies to break up the

meeting, but failed in their object. Next morning, however, seventy men who had attended the meeting were discharged by the company.

From Aug. 1st, 1900, to Nov. 9th, 1903, over 9,000 men had been enrolled in the United Mine Workers of America in Las Animas and Huerfano Counties, Colo., but on Nov. 9th less than 2,000 remained in the organization. Over 7,000 had been discharged and put on the black list.

Join the Union, Lose Your Job.

The companies have always declared that their men did not want to join the union, but thousands were deprived of their employment during the summer of 1903 merely on the suspicion of being union men. After standing this torment for three years every effort was put forth by the men to settle their troubles with the coal companies by agreement. On August 14, 1903, the men issued a statement of their grievances, which was sent to the coal companies, to the public and the Governor of the state, setting forth the many causes of dissatisfaction, and asking for a conference with the corporations to avert a strike.

In September, 1903, the miners held a convention in Pueblo, at which a scale of prices for work in the southern coal field of Colorado was drawn up, together with a statement of wrongs for which they demanded redress, and a copy of the same was sent to the employers.

The men asked for an increase of wages, that wages be paid semi-monthly, and in money instead of script on the company store, honest weight of coal mined, the eight-hour day as provided for by the Constitution of the State, and the ventilation of the mines in accordance with the existing laws of Colorado.

The union repeatedly asked for a conference with the corporations, but were at all times ignored by them.

The National Organization interested itself in the situation in the district, and when all efforts to meet the employers for a discussion of affairs had failed the call was issued for the men to strike on Nov. 9th, 1903. More than 13,000 men responded to the call, which was over ninety-six per cent of all the employees under the strike jurisdiction.

The operators had used every resource, resorted to every means, fair and foul, to prevent the organization of the men. Yet when the strike was called, seven unorganized men responded for every man who was a member of the union. They had been afraid to jeopardize their employment by joining the union, but when the strike was called they manfully stood out

with the union men in the hope of wresting some relief from conditions which had become unbearable.

Before the strike was called the district had been swarmed with deputies and thugs for the purpose of intimidating the miners. Every possible means was used to break the strike by the companies. Men were offered as high as \$7 a day, steady work, and \$100 bonus to go to work and break the strike, but they refused to leave the ranks of the union. They steadily declined to accept anything from the company except terms that would be honorable, and looking to such an adjustment of their difficulties as would further the interests of the entire body of strikers.

Failing to break the strike, the operators started the breaking-up system, called "kangarooing," by their hired thugs. Law was cast aside, and the rule of main force was established by the corporations.

Evicted from Their Own Houses.

In many of the mining camps every foot of ground except the public highway was the property of the coal company. Some men lived in company houses, which they had secured by leases containing clauses allowing the company the right to evict its tenants within five days after they ceased work in the mine. Others, not being able to get houses from the company, had rented ground on which they had erected their own dwellings, but the company had in such cases inserted in the lease of the ground the same clause, giving them power to evict a man from the house he owned and had himself erected on five days' notice. The company owned the land, and as soon as the strike was ordered they gave their tenants the five days' notice to vacate, and at once drove the men from their homes, and in order to make sure that they should not return tore down their houses.

But in particular cases which were taken to the courts, and where the tenants were sustained, the corporations, with their armed forces of thugs and deputies, proceeded with their work of destruction and eviction regardless of judicial decisions.

In consequence of these wholesale evictions, the union supplied the strikers with tents, and many of them, together with their wives and children, spent the entire winter in camps. But after martial law was declared the military kept them on the move, and at intervals they were required to break up and pitch their tented homes in new places.

Nov. 18th, 1903, National Organizers Wm. Wardjon, Jas. Kennedy, Joe. Poggiani and Wm. Campbell were arrested on the pub-

lie highway at Hastings, Colo., and thrown into jail, and later escorted out of camp. The Union at once asked the courts for an injunction, but after a lengthy trial Judge Northcutt refused to grant it, saying that the civil courts were open for the prosecution of such cases.

Draw Blood on a Mule.

Dec. 7, 1903, a party of non-union men in charge of William Jennings on the highway near Berwind, declared that they had been shot at by would-be murderers, though no one was injured save their team of mules.

Two Strikers Killed, Two Injured.

Drawing blood from a mule, however, was sufficient excuse for the corporations. They had no evidence whatever that union men were implicated in the matter, but they at once declared that union men were guilty, and on that night sheriff's deputies in the pay of the companies attacked a party of strikers, killing two and wounding two.

On Dec. 17, at New Castle, Colo., five houses, owned by John Lawson, Evan Davis, Wm. Isaacs, Wm. Doyle and Thos. Doyle, were wrecked by dynamite. The men were union committeemen, and there is every reason to believe that the company's deputies were responsible for the deed.

Jan. 24, Wm. Maher and Henry Mitchell, local organizers of the union, were beaten up at Engleville, Colo., by the mine guards. Maher was injured so seriously that he was confined to the hospital.

Jas. Doneky a local union man, was next pounded up by Deputy Sheriff McPherson at the corner of Main and Commercial Streets, in Trinidad. Doneky's leg was broken and he sustained other injuries.

The first week in Feb., 1904, Wm. Wardjon, National Organizer, was attacked by the deputies or detectives at the same place in Trinidad. He was dragged off to the jail, but no charge was made, and the sheriff after an investigation released him.

February 14, 1904, Wm. Fairley and Jas. Mooney, national organizers of the union, were caught by seven men, believed to be detectives, about a mile from Trinidad and beaten until they could not walk. They were disabled for several weeks, and Mooney was disfigured for life.

Feb. 24th a union miner was killed in Dawson, New Mex., by Bud Palmer, deputy sheriff, who claimed he committed the act in self defence.

On the same day Chris Evans was attacked on a railroad

train as it was pulling out of Trinidad by three men believed to be deputy sheriffs, and pounded into unconsciousness. He is financial agent in the strike field of the U. M. W. of A.

March 1st District Organizer Julian Gomez was beaten up by a deputy sheriff in Trinidad. He was laid up as a result of his injuries.

March 14th an Italian striker was killed in Pryor, Colo., by deputy sheriffs. He was driven from his own house, and killed while running away in the effort to save his life.

March 23rd, 1904, the soldiers came to Trinidad, Colo., and martial law was proclaimed in Las Animas County. Later the houses of strikers in Las Animas County were repeatedly searched for fire-arms by the soldiers. In Segundo, Colo., several houses were visited by the soldiers at midnight, women and children were dragged from their beds and taken out on the prairie by the militia in their efforts to force them to tell where guns were hidden. Men were taken from their beds at night and threats made that they would be shot if they did not tell the location of firearms which did not exist.

Mar. 25th, A. Bartoli, an Italian printer employed by District 15, was arrested by the militia. No charge.

March 26th the Il Lavoratore Italiano was confiscated by militia and publication stopped while martial law continued in Trinidad.

Mother Jones Deported.

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On the same date National Organizers Mother Jones, Wm. Wardjon, Joe. Poggiani and A. Bartoli, the printer, were deported by the militia. Mother Jones was given five minutes to pack her belongings and get ready, after which time she was escorted to the Santa Fe train, and deported with instructions not to return to Las Animas while martial law was in force.

March 30 John Faletti, district organizer, was beaten up at Glenwood Springs, Colo., by men believed to be Reno detectives. He was laid up for several weeks from cuts on the head.

April 1st, more midnight searches were made at Segundo, Colo. Women were again the victims.

April 2nd Chas. Demolli was arrested at Helper, Utah, by the deputy sheriffs for "agitating" among the miners. Demolli is a national organizer. He was held for several days, but was acquitted by the courts.

April 8th, 1904, Jas. D. Ritchie and Robert Beveridge were arrested at Brodhead, Colo. The next day they and several men from Sopris, Colo., were deported to New Mexico with instructions not to return.

April 9th Chas. Demolli, national organizer, was pounded up at Pueblo by men believed to be part of the Reno gang. He was in a critical condition for several days.

April 19th more striking miners were arrested and deported. Jules Ragnier, A. Ferns, A. Anderson of Brodhead, Colo., were among the number. All were reputable citizens.

Involuntary Servitude for Freemen.

April 11th Pavo Romero and John Simpson, the latter district secretary, visited Segundo, Colo. They were detained by the militia and later sent back to Trinidad. On the same date Gian Bernardi, a striking miner, was bayoneted in the leg by militia, and forced to work cleaning the streets of the town. About 300 strikers were from time to time compelled to work by the militia, though they had neither been charged with nor convicted of crime.

April 15th Rugby, Hastings, Majestic, Bowen and the Trinidad camps of miners on strike were ordered moved by the militia.

April 27, 1904, fifteen strikers were deported by the soldiers. All were officers of local unions, or were serving on their various committees.

On the same date Jas. D. Ritchie was rearrested for having returned to Trinidad to see his family without a permit from the military headquarters.

April 30th National Organizer Wm. Wardjon was beaten up at Sargent, Colo., by men believed to be detectives in the employ of the coal company. He was taken to the hospital at Salida and was not expected to live for several days, though he finally recovered.

May 2nd eleven strikers were arrested by the military authorities, and the same night thirty men were deported from Trinidad to New Mexico, with instructions not to return. Several business men were among the number.

Unspeakable Brutality.

May 7th Joe Raiz a striker at Sunlight, Colo., was caught in the hills just back of camp by three masked men, tied to a tree and castrated. He was an old man, nearly 70, and died three days later from his awful injuries.

This outrage was so horrible that there was a pretense at investigation, and the authorities reported that in their opinion the old man was not in his right mind and had inflicted his injuries upon himself.

On the 10th of May James D. Ritchie was taken out of prison, where he had been held for 14 days without a charge against

him, and deported for the second time, being told to never come back. I shall have more to say of him later.

On May 17 the military authorities ordered each of the strikers in camp near Hastings to give his name, age, nativity, occupation, and proceeded to take the height, weight and description of the men. Seventy-nine of the men refused to give their names, believing the information was being secured for the purpose of making a blacklist, which without a doubt was the fact.

Driven Like Drove of Cattle.

The men who declined to give the information desired by the military forces were then marched nineteen miles in the hot sun, driven by a force of cavalry as if they were a drove of cattle, given no food either during or after the march, and lined up at the military headquarters in Trinidad, where they were photographed, registered and released, with the exception of three, who were put in the military jail.

The alleged cause of this outrage? Some time previous a repair shop at Hastings caught fire and burned down. It was, of course, laid to the strikers. Everything was laid to the strikers by the civil and military authorities. All the authorities were owned by the coal companies, and all were directly or indirectly in the pay of the coal companies.

Did the strikers set fire to the repair shop? Not a particle of evidence to that effect was brought out. There is any amount of circumstantial evidence to the contrary.

Punished for the Crimes of Their Accusers.

For one thing, the repair shop was closely guarded by deputies; deputy sheriffs swarmed in all the country round, and a striker could go nowhere without observation by them. It is hardly conceivable that a striker could have gotten into the shop without discovery by deputy sheriffs, and if a striker did succeed in entering the place he would have no opportunity of making his escape after setting it afire.

By any sane man, by any impartial agent of the law, the very last men on whom suspicion could rest of responsibility for the fire in the machine and repair shops would be the strikers.

If the fire was an incendiary one, who was guilty?

Who should be guilty? Who would have an interest in having such a thing occur? Who had an opportunity to bring about its occurrence?

Who but the deputy sheriffs?

Why?

Why? Because there was "nothing doing" in the strike field. Because when there was "nothing doing" they were in danger of losing their jobs. And many of them are just the characters to undertake any kind of dirty work, and no kind of honest work.

At the time of this fire deputy sheriffs were being laid off, losing their jobs, daily. And if only something could happen, they would have a new lease on their manly occupation of swaggering around with a six-shooter on their hip and beating up unarmed strikers.

Knowing the general character of these men, is it at all unfair to at least suspect them before others?

I have gone into this case in detail for the reason that it is typical of many.

May 28th Julian Gomez, District Organizer of the union, was released after being held thirty days without any charge against him. He was instructed to leave the county, not to return under penalty of being thrown into the jail again until it should become the pleasure of the military authorities to let him out.

This is in no sense a complete list of outrages. It contains nothing more than samples. An index of all the crimes committed by the civil and military authorities of the State and county and a list of the persons whose lawful rights were trampled in the dust by them would more than fill a book the size of this and leave no space for comment.

Persons were arrested by the military authorities and kept in confinement under no other charge than "military necessity." "Military necessity," was the excuse for any foul or evil deed that the coal companies desired to have perpetrated.

Other than those friendly to the corporations, it was sometimes impossible to get even so much as the names of persons arrested and deported. Friends and relations of the prisoners were rarely allowed to visit them.

Midnight Law and Order.

Men were arrested at midnight, men were deported at midnight, houses were searched for arms at midnight, and homes of the strikers were torn down at midnight.

Not only were strikers arrested, but any one who was suspected of sympathizing with them was in constant danger, and among the arrested and deported men are to be found ex-soldiers, business men and men with bank accounts of no small size.

Nearly every union official who went into the Trinidad district, with the exception of John Mitchell, was beaten into insensibility one or more times by the agents of the coal operators.

and many of them have received letters threatening their lives, notifying them to leave the State or be put away, one by one. The following is from a letter bearing the signature of a well-known detective, which was no doubt lost by him. The original is in a safe place. It clearly shows the methods pursued by the secret agents of law and order in their warfare against the union.

"Pass Him Through the 'Kangaroo'!"

"Mr. W. H. Reno., Denver, Colo.

"Trinidad, Col., Feb. 10, 1904.

"Dear Sir—After I left you in Trinidad on the night of the 7th I went back to the hotel and there received a telephone message from Jim Peretti, President of the Union at Hastings, to the effect that a meeting would be held in Tobasco, and that Mother Jones and Poggini would talk to the Italians from the camps of Berwind, Hastings and Tobasco, I went to see Mother Jones and she told me that her intentions were to go to Hastings also after the meeting was over at Tobasco but Poggini told her not to go there because it was very dangerous on account of the guards there.

"Mother Jones spoke at Tobasco about two hours and the language she used was something frightful. She tried to impress the Italians with the idea that Mr. Chapell, President of the Victor Fuel Co., had been stealing the bread from their mouths ever since the Company was organized. She told that one time she met Mr. Chapell on the train and that her first impression was that he was a nice man but, after she spoke to him for a few moments she concluded that he was an hypocrite. And then she went to work and told of a certain Italian that she knew in Tobasco that had a dog, and he did not know what to name it and some one suggested that they call it "Abraham Lincoln" but he said that it would disgrace the name of Lincoln, and then some one else suggested that they call it "Chapell" and he said that the name would disgrace the dog. While she was telling these Italians what a thief Chapell was, an Italian by the name of Joe Madonna spoke and said that he had been working for Mr. Chapell for eleven years and had never had any trouble until he joined the Union and for the last year and a half he had been in 'hot water' all the time; he said that he would be willing to go to work but he did not like to go first.

"As a matter of fact, I think that the majority of the Italians in and around Hastings are all willing to go to work but it seems that a few of them are drawing a certain amount of money from the Union every month and as long as these fellows are paid

wages they will not tell these miners to go to work. They are very much discouraged at the out-look of the situation. Sixty-four families arrived in Hastings on the 8th just the time when the strikers had gone to Tobasco to listen to Mother Jones' speech.

"Joe Mosco I drove out of town, also Rosario Dolce and his family, Nic Odo refused to vacate and there was no way for me to get him out so I told Thompson to arrest him on the charge of vagrancy at about 12 o'clock at noon; That night he was taken before the justice of the peace and the case nolle prossed: that was about 8 o'clock. I had Gordon, Barret, Smith and King wait for him down by the bridge and they "Kangarooed him" and the last I heard of him he was in the hospital, and he will not attempt to come back to Hastings.

"It seems that the only way to get these agitators out of the camps is to "Kangaroo" them, and when they are all gone I am satisfied that the boys will go to work.

"In regard to Jim Poggini, President of the Union, I will say that he seems to be a very smart man. I tried to get him at his house on the 9th but he slipped away from me and is camping somewhere below the Companies property. I left word before I left to arrest him on sight and pass him through the "Kangaroo" and I will guarantee you that it will be a cold day when he gets back to camp.

"I have been reporting daily to Mr. Simpson and also to Mr. Bartlett, Vice President of the Victor Fuel Co.

"The boys arrived from Washington, also the check. I do not know what plans these leaders have at present but it seems that they have not very much hopes of winning the strike. Most of the Italians at Hastings are moving below the camp's ground on a ranch owned by a fellow named Peter Orlando; they have tents and their provisions come from Trinidad. Their idea is to keep their guards on the ranch and prevent anybody from going in or going out of Hastings. Don't worry about this matter as I will attend to it.

"I left word with Gordon when I left, not to show any favorites and if anyone trespassed to send them to the undertaker, a lesson or two like that will teach them something and stop all the trouble I think. Yours truly,

(Signed)

Chief secret service for the
State of Colo."

That letter shows the methods of the "law and order" legions in the coal fields of Colorado,

TELLURIDE.

Mob Rule Maintained by the Military.

Practically the same causes that led to the strike in the Cripple Creek District brought about the strike in Telluride. First the mill and smeltersmen went out for the eight-hour day which the Constitution of the State guaranteed to them. Then, aggravated by the discrimination against union men, the miners joined in the strike. These strikes have been declared by the mine owners to be sympathetic strikes—something which they regard as infamous. I know of nothing which to me seems to be nobler than a sympathetic strike—a case where men who are not directly interested lay down their tools and voluntarily undergo the awful and racking hardships of a strike in order to right the wrongs of their fellow workers. But in neither Telluride nor Cripple Creek can the present strike be said to be sympathetic in the true sense. The miners and the mill and smeltersmen were members of the same general body, the Western Federation of Miners, and the strikes were those of federated trades.

The Telluride strike began with the cessation of work by the mill men on September 1, '03. The strike grew in extent until on October 21 the men on the Tom Boy quit, practically tying up all the big mines in the district.

From the time the strike was really on, deputy sheriffs in the employ of the mine owners and managers resorted to every species of insult and assault for the avowed purpose of provoking the strikers to deeds of violence which might be used as an excuse to shoot them down like dogs.

Unarmed pickets of the strikers were arrested, charged with trespass—for walking on the public highway.

Scab, Leave Town, or Be Shot.

Deputies and Citizens' Alliance men stood on the principal street corners armed with rifles and shot guns, and Bulkeley Wells went to the office of the Telluride Journal and secured a stack of rifles which he distributed to the mob of business men and bad men.

They hoped that some of the strikers, on being arrested without warrant and for no crime, would make resistance, in which case the union men were to be drowned in their own blood.

Such was the discipline and order of the men, however, that they stood even this outrage without resistance, and later the arrested men were released on bail.

From the time the strike was on the old cry went up for the militia. Needless to say the Governor listened and responded. As in the other cases where he had sent the armed forces of the State, Governor Peabody made no effort to learn anything of the strikers' side of the case. The fact that the owners wanted soldiers was sufficient.

No sooner had the militia arrived than the strikers and those who sympathized with them were arrested, on every conceivable charge, and on no charge.

Not an official or committeeman of the union escaped. Some of them were arrested many times.

Day after day men were arrested, many of them on the charge of "vagrancy." One of the men arrested on this charge had \$140 in his pocket at the time, but was not allowed to give bail.

The usual procedure was to arrest a group of men, take them before the justice, and then inform them that they must leave town, pay a fine of \$25 for vagrancy or GO TO WORK.

These men were miners, and going to work meant SCABBING IN THE MINES.

Henry Macki, Lion-Hearted.

Many of these men, all of whom had means of support, and some of whom had considerable property, were fined, and when they refused to pay they were put to work on the streets. One man, protesting that he had committed no crime, declined to be worked as a convict, and for this Henry Macki was handcuffed to a telegraph pole in the public highway. His spirit was unbroken, and he was taken to the jail, and starved for 36 hours, but nothing could break his lion heart.

Some of the men arrested for vagrancy wished to give bail, but the time was evening and the justice was "too sleepy."

Strikers' Attorneys Assaulted by Deputy Sheriff.

The Western Federation sent attorneys from Denver to go into court on behalf of these men, and those for whom attorneys appeared on that occasion were released. On the evening of the day that the cases were tried, Mr. Richardson, their attorney, was assaulted by a deputy sheriff, together with Mr. Floaten, a citizen and business man of Telluride, who was with him at the time.

Yet after all these infamous acts, after assaults, outrages and illegal arrests without number, the strike was unbroken. The men declined to go to work. They still had friends, and good ones.

Something must be done!

What?

Homes of Strikers Searched for Arms.

On March 8 the military made a thorough search for firearms. Armed soldiers entered the houses of the citizens and ransacked every room. The military declared that they had received reports that a large number of guns had been secreted in certain portions of the town.

Then what?

Martial Law Declared Off.

March 11 the Governor of the State declared martial law in Telluride at an end.

Then what?

The Armed Mob with Free Rein.

On the night of March 14 members of the Telluride Citizens' Alliance and others held a meeting, armed themselves (in many cases with rifles and revolvers owned by the State) and they scoured the town and took into custody 79 union men and sympathizers. In many cases doors to dwelling houses were broken open. The victims were gathered by ones and twos, first in a vacant lot, then held in a vacant store until all that were desired had been secured, when they were marched to the depot and loaded into two railroad coaches and taken to Ridgeway, where they were left and told never to return to Telluride.

Others than strikers and union men were deported. Any one who was suspected of a friendly feeling for the men was taken with the rest. The mob was also an instrument of private vengeance. Any member of the Citizens' Alliance who wanted an enemy to leave town had only to name him. Among others who were assaulted and deported was A. H. Floaten, manager of the People's Supply Company, the largest department store in Telluride.

Wonderful mob, that.

Courageous!

The Conspiracy.

March 8 the men disarmed by militia.

March 11 the Governor suspends martial law.

March 14 the mob armed with State guns drove the disarmed union men from their homes.

Was it a conspiracy? Was the Governor in it? Can any one doubt it?

"Gentlemen of the Mob."

A wonderful combination, that Telluride mob of March 14. Acting in the interest of "free labor"—free to be shot or leave town. Look at the persons composing it. Solid business man, sordid miser, sodden drunkard, "companions in arms." Pimp, profligate and pillar of the church, there in the interests of home and country. Bunco, short-card and cold-deck man, there looking for a chance to shoot the decalogue into some one who needs it. Banker and bank clerk, grocer who owes bank money, grocer who wants to owe bank money—there to protect "our business interests." Two mine managers, two mine superintendents, one superintendent of electric light company—they're there to bring about business "prosperity." A newspaper proprietor, a printer and a reporter, there in the interests of a free and enlightened press—or is it the hope of ads. and sinews from a mine owner? A Prohibitionist and a wholesale beer dealer, shoulder to shoulder. Three lawyers there, a Democrat, a Republican and a mugwump, surely there in the interest of law and justice—or cases from mine owners? There's one grocer, solid Democrat and trustee in a church, turning to with all his heart in company with a Republican politician who keeps a bawdy house. There's another grocer, Republican, ex-postmaster, "smearkase statesman," with his clerk, who sell supplies to a boarding house run by the mine owners, together with a Democratic grocer who can see no good reason why he should not furnish all the supplies required by the company boarding house. Most Christian dry goods merchant, trudging along with his competitor, a Jewish dry goods merchant, in harmony for the first time in their lives. A butcher, a barber, an ex-convict—there, for what? And Captain Bulkley Wells, suave, handsome, a collegiate, polished gentleman, millionaire, mine owner, mine manager, military commandant of the district—he's there, with a dozen militiamen (not in uniform), half a dozen deputy sheriffs, detectives, gin mill keepers, proprietors of gambling houses and bad men—there in the interest of free labor? peace? harmony? law? order? morality? Well, Captain Wells knows what he's there for—as mine owner.

The Governor and the Courts.

San Miguel County was again placed under martial law. Why?

Because Judge Stevens had issued an injunction restraining the Telluride Citizens' Alliance, the Mine Owners' Association

and all others from in any way interfering with the return of the deported men to their homes.

The courageous gentlemen who had made up the mob that drove honest men from their homes did not like to come in close contact with the District Court, so they again appealed to their great and good friend Governor Peabody and he again established martial law in the Telluride district for the express purpose of placing himself above the authority of the courts.

Martial Law to Uphold the Lawless.

Governor Peabody said:

"If they will CALL OFF THE STRIKE and disperse peaceably to their homes, that is all I want. I will say that law and order will be preserved in this State so long as I live and have a militia to accomplish such purpose."

The men had been dispersed from their homes by mobs armed with the rifles of the State, but the Governor would do nothing to protect them.

Stewart Forbes, Antone Matti and A. H. Floaten, three of the deported men, went to Denver and made repeated efforts to see Governor Peabody, but could not succeed. It takes a mine owner to get an audience with the Governor of Colorado.

From time to time deported men returned to Telluride. Sometimes they were told on alighting from the train to take the next train out of the town. Sometimes they were immediately arrested by the military authorities, kept over night in jail, and placed on the morning train with a warning not to return. On one occasion sixty-four came back in a body, all unarmed. The next morning fifty-eight of them were again deported by the militia.

This was kept up for months. Hardly a day went by that some man was not told by Bulkeley Wells or Herron (both mine managers) to leave town within one, two or three days.

On the day I arrived in the city a man who had been working in the mines was deported on the charge of being a spy for the union, working there for the purpose of getting information as to the output of the mines, etc. Another man, one of the strikers, was warned to leave town while I was in the city, and the day I left a man worth twenty thousand dollars was ordered to leave at once. His crime was his belief in the justice of the union's cause.

'President Moyer Arrested.

Charles Moyer, President of the Western Federation of Miners, was arrested at Ouray on the 26th of March. From that

time till June 14 he was constantly in charge of the military authorities.

The charge against him was "desecrating the flag." The Federation had printed in red, white and blue colors a representation of the United States flag, and on each of the thirteen stripes was printed one of the following lines:

- "Martial law declared in Colorado.
- "Habeas corpus suspended in Colorado.
- "Free press throttled in Colorado.
- "Bull pens for union men in Colorado.
- "Free speech denied in Colorado.
- "Soldiers defy the courts in Colorado.
- "Wholesale arrests without warrant in Colorado.
- "Union men exiled from homes and families in Colorado.
- "Constitutional right to bear arms questioned in Colorado.
- "Corporations corrupt and control administration in Colorado.
- "Right of fair, impartial and speedy trial abolished in Colorado.
- "Citizens' alliance resorts to mob law and violence in Colorado.
- "Militia hired to corporations to break the strike in Colorado."

Peabody Flouts the Judiciary.

Every one of those statements is true. Governor Peabody knows it. General Bell knows it. Every honest man who is familiar with the facts knows it. A reduced copy of this flag appears on the cover of this pamphlet.

On March 31 Judge Stevens issued a writ of habeas corpus directing Adjutant-General Sherman Bell and Captain Bulkeley Wells to bring President Moyer into his court. Expecting such a writ to be issued, Peabody had ordered Bell to ignore it before it was signed by the Judge.

When the military authorities failed to produce President Moyer in his court Judge Stevens ordered his release, and ordered the incarceration of Gen. Bell and Capt. Wells in the county jail at Ouray without bail, and fining Bell and Wells \$500 each. At the same time the Judge said:

"The Governor in Insurrection and Rebellion."

"A very grave question is presented as to whether it is the striking miners or the Governor of Colorado and the National Guard that are engaged in insurrection and rebellion against the laws of the State."

No attention was paid to the verdict of Judge Stevens. The attorneys of President Moyer appealed to the Supreme Court of Colorado. That court issued a writ of habeas corpus, which the Governor obeyed out of "courtesy to the court."

The court refused to release Mr. Moyer, but took the matter under advisement, after hearing argument of counsel, and on June 6 rendered a decision, two judges concurring, one dissenting, that the Governor of the State had the right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in cases of insurrection and rebellion, and that he (the Governor) was the sole judge of what constituted insurrection and rebellion.

As the Supreme Court of Colorado has ruled, the Governor has the right to declare the State or any portion thereof to be in insurrection and rebellion at any time, and he is the sole judge of the fact. Having declared a state of insurrection and rebellion to be in existence, he can then use the military power of the State for any purpose whatsoever, including the killing and imprisonment or deportation of any and all citizens, limited only by his own interest, desire and caprice. This makes him an absolute autocrat. By the use of this power he can not only imprison workmen on strike, if he likes he can imprison any one who has the temerity to contest an election with him, or deport any one who might be suspected of voting against him. This is the import of the Supreme Court decision, and one may well believe that the members of that court have joined Peabody in his treasonable effort to overthrow all constitutional government.

Mr. Moyer's attorneys then appealed to the United States courts, and on June 14 a Federal judge issued an order requiring Governor Peabody to produce Mr. Moyer in his court at St. Louis.

Immediately this order was issued Governor Peabody, with characteristic cowardice, delivered Mr. Moyer to the sheriff of San Miguel County, that he (the Governor) might answer the writ of the United States court by declaring that the prisoner was not in his custody.

The Starry Flag Floats Over the Jail.

President Moyer had been kept a prisoner by the military authorities for more than two months on the charge of "desecrating the flag," and in all that time they had not been able to get sufficient evidence against him to take him into court and ask for his detention and trial.

When the Federal court came into the case, however, then the charge was made against him of "abetting murder."

From the first day of the first strike in Colorado President Moyer had counseled the strikers to be peaceable and orderly. They had followed his advice to the letter. When I met him in the military prison at Telluride, with the stars and stripes,

hoisted by men in the pay of traitors to their country, floating over his cell, President Moyer was still counseling peace, and expressed the hope and desire that the men would continue to be orderly and law abiding, notwithstanding the outrages which were being heaped upon them.

One of Governor Peabody's Anarchists.

Governor Peabody unsolicited informed me that he was not opposed to trade unions, that he was not opposed to socialism; that no one had been arrested or deported by the military authorities except anarchists and aliens—men who were fugitives from justice in their native country and had no right to be in Colorado or the United States.

The day before I left Trinidad I walked some miles over the mountains where a man named Jim Ritchie was in hiding with his wife and three children.

Jim Ritchie had been deported once and returned without permission. He had then been arrested, placed in the military jail, kept for fourteen days, and again deported, with a warning "never to come back." He was charged with being an "agitator."

Who was Jim Ritchie? Nobody much. When the war with Spain broke out Jim Ritchie enlisted in Troop G, First Volunteer Cavalry (the famous Rough Riders), and served all through the campaign in Cuba with Roosevelt. When Roosevelt was mustered out he went to Albany to become Governor of New York. When Jim Ritchie was mustered out he re-enlisted in an infantry regiment for duty in the Phillipines.

Roosevelt served two years as Governor of New York. Jim Ritchie served one year, nine months and eleven days in the United States Army in the Phillipines, and was honorably discharged.

The Hero's Reward.

About the time that Roosevelt became President Jim Ritchie became a coal miner.

About the time Roosevelt began to lay the wires to get a nomination from the Republican party Jim Ritchie went on strike. And about the time that Roosevelt was declaring for the "open shop" his old companion in arms, Jim Ritchie, was being deported from his home because he could no more be a scab in peace than a traitor in war.

So much for the anarchists that Governor Peabody is fighting. In the Trinidad coal field the employers would at no time con-

fer with the officers of the union. As usual, they said they were at all times ready to listen to anything their employees had to say to them as INDIVIDUALS. But they absolutely refused to recognize the union. Individual employes repeatedly went to them and asked that ills be remedied. With what result? With the result that so far from any of their grievances being remedied, the individuals who had the temerity to mention them were either discharged from their employment or placed in such unfavorable places in the mine that they were worse off than before.

"Contented Employees."

The coal companies redressed the grievances of the men by the instant discharge of any man who had a grievance. Their method of securing contented employees was to discharge every employee who was discontented.

The managers of the coal companies could not recognize the union. They could recognize the militia, they could recognize the deputy sheriffs, they could recognize thugs and bad men, all in their employ and all paid for out of their pockets—but they could not recognize the union. The men who owned the coal mines could recognize anything and anybody on earth except the coal miner.

Some of the houses furnished the men by the companies were the worst of shacks. In some places the companies did not have sufficient houses, and leased the men ground on which they built dwellings of their own—the lease, however, requiring that they be vacated on five days' notice. But in one or two camps, notably that of Primero, the company had erected a group of houses that were really fit dwelling places for human beings.

The demands of the men, as I have said, were for increased wages, the eight-hour day, honest weight, wages to be paid in lawful money, and ventilation of the mines.

"See the Houses at Primero!"

So far as the employers through their flunkies and factotums made any answer to the demands of the men, it was one continued anthem in praise of the "houses at Primero."

"Increase our wages," said the men. "Look at those houses at Primero!" replied the bourgeois editor of the organ of the coal companies.

"Give us the eight-hour day," said the miners. "What nonsense," said the agents of the companies. "You men don't want the eight-hour day. Look at those beautiful houses at Primero!"

"Give us a check weighman," said the men, "so that we shall not be required to mine 3,500 pounds of coal in order to get credit for 2,000 pounds."

"Hogs!" responded the members of the Citizens' Alliance, every last man of them on the side of the coal barons. "You poor miserable children of darkness! It is not a check weighman that you want. A ton is a ton, isn't it? whether it weighs 3,500 or 2,000 pounds? What can common people like you know about honest weight, anyhow? Look at those beautiful brick houses at Primero!"

"Pay us our wages in money, instead of scrip on the company store," said the men.

"Money! Money?" yelled the chorus of little business men in the Citizens' Alliance, who felt themselves honored and flattered when a mine manager spoke to them. "Money? For coal miners? You're a lot of miserable foreigners! It's not money you want. Look at the houses of those miners at Primero! Some of them are painted! Besides, we want all the money ourselves!"

"Ventilate the mines as the law requires," said the men. "We must have air or we can't work."

"Anarchists!" yelled the bourgeoisie chorus. "You are a lot of Dagoes and Mexicans. You want air? Look at those houses at Primero. Some of them have windows!"

No matter what these thirteen thousand men asked for, sufficient answer unto all to point to the little group of cottages, and say "Look at those houses at Primero!"

President Roosevelt Appealed To.

On the 18th of last November Governor Peabody asked President Roosevelt for help. He declined.

Officers of the Western Federation have asked him for help. He declined.

Private individuals have asked him for help. No response or a declination.

Suppose the union miners had been deporting mine owners. Suppose the union miners had imprisoned the mine managers in a bull pen. Suppose the union miners had placed ropes around the necks of such officers of the law as displeased them and forced them to resign. Suppose the union miners had wrecked the plant of such newspapers as had opposed them, and placed the editors in a bull pen. Suppose the union miners had given every member of the Mine Owners' Association and of the Citizens' Alliance the choice of tearing up his card of membership or being deported from the State,

When the President Would Interfere.

Under such circumstances, would the President of the United States have interfered? Does anyone doubt it? Mr. Roosevelt cannot interfere so long as the mine owners have everything their own way. If they should meet with a set back of any kind, we shall see the President act as promptly as his sainted predecessor in the Cœur d'Alenes and as the Bonded Prophet did at Pullman.

Maj.-Gen. John C. Bates reported to the President that the mails were not interfered with. If the Major-General had been able to escape from the Mine Owners' Association for a brief interval during his "investigations" in Colorado he might have found that persons were not allowed to use the public highway in Hastings to go to the Post Office for their mail, and that they were stopped and turned back—by strikers? Oh, no! The Major-General would not have overlooked such a fact. They were stopped and turned back by deputy sheriffs in the pay of the coal companies.

Gentlemen, Every One of Them.

The personnel of some of the leading men on the capitalist side may be interesting. Captain Bulkeley Wells, a gentleman and a savage; Major Hill, a gentleman and a barbarian; General Bell, a gentleman and a fool; Governor Peabody, a gentleman and a traitor—all gentlemen.

On the other side—men, workingmen.

History might have been different in Colorado had Captain Wells been a man instead of a gentleman. He would have made a good union man, had he studied life a little more and Harvard text books less. There are things not to be learned from Harvard professors.

Major Hill, a gentleman of the old school, a humane man with an inhuman occupation.

General Bell—just a common fool, with an uncommon opportunity for folly.

Gov. Peabody, traitor. It is charged that he has been a shylock, note-shaver and dance hall proprietor, I know not how truly. But there can be nothing in his past to add discredit to his infamous present.

All of them would deserve hanging except for two reasons—perhaps they do not know that they deserve it, and society cannot afford to make hangmen. Still, we may utilize their own hangmen, if they make them, as I fear they will.

Some day the people will wake up, and when they do these people will find they are but lice in the lion's mane,

Spirit of the Men.

Can the man be licked?

I met an Italian striker who had been twice deported because he would not go to work in the mines, because he would not scab. He had a wife and five children. Said he to me:

"I taka da wife and da five baba, and walka da million mile, and eata da rock, but no scaba da mine!"

The same spirit pervaded all the strikers, from the officers down to the humblest man in the ranks. In all my life I never have, I never shall, meet better, nobler, truer men.

Can such men be licked? "The old guard dies, but never surrenders."

And suppose they die. Their cause still lives. Not better, but stronger hands and larger numbers take it up, and it goes on to ultimate victory. Bells and Peabodys will not accomplish a task that foiled a Bismarck.

Truth on the scaffold betrays the hangman and destroys the tyrant.

Who Backs the Fight?

Who has been back of this great fight? We know that there has been some larger power than the little men seen in the foreground.

Who is it in the United States that reaches into every home and takes sugar from the bowl, coffee from the urn, coal from the cellar and oil from the lamp?

Who is it in the United States that, through his control of powerful banks, makes money plenty when he wants to bull the market and sell stocks and bonds, and makes money scarce when he wants to bear the market and buy stocks and bonds?

Who is it in America that issues his orders to the United States Senate, and House of Representatives, dictates to Governors and State Legislatures, buys aldermen and corrupts judges?

Who is it in the United States that is greater than any or all of them—for a time?

Who is it that has been under indictment by grand juries in State after State in the American Union, and never yet been brought to trial in any of them, though his guilt is known and proven?

Who is it that controls our steel industry, our railway industry, our coal industry, our very life?

Who is it that teaches business in his Bible class?

Who is it that has left a trail of incendiarism and bloodshed and crime in every industry that he has acquired?

Who is it that arms his hired thugs to beat union men in Trinidad and buys lawyers, legislators and governor to beat the Constitution of Colorado in the Capitol at Denver?

Who is it?

John D. Rockefeller, Most Christian Criminal.

Who could it be but John D. Rockefeller, J. Pierpont Morgan, Meyer Guggenheim, George Gould and the little band of pirates in business and freebooters in commerce who are rapidly becoming by illegal methods the legal owners of everything in America, including its government.

WHO COULD IT BE BUT KING CAPITAL?

The Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., the Victor Fuel Co., the American Smelting & Refining Co. and the United States Reduction & Refining Co. are all members of the Manufacturers' Association of the United States of America. Back of all the puny individuals who appear in the foreground are the great financiers, the great captains of industry, the men who OWN THE UNITED STATES.

An Army Wanted.

But the members of the Manufacturers' Association were not sufficient in numbers to carry out their infamous purpose of destroying the union. They owned the Governor of the State and its military forces, but they were insufficient for the purpose. They could supply officers and generals to guide, but they had no army to do things. What should be done? Where was an army to be found?

An Army Found.

The small business men! THEY must supply the army. So the work of organizing Citizens' Alliances was pushed. Emissaries were sent about to stir up in the little business man a hatred of the union. These emissaries said nothing about the wrongs suffered by the small merchant at the hands of the trusts and corporations. They magnified every little difficulty of the merchant class with the trade union. They pointed to the boycott, the eight-hour day, the early-closing movement, and used fact and fiction to make the little business man think that all his troubles were due to labor organizations.

The arts of sophistry and persuasion succeeded with many. With others coercion was necessary. This was supplied by the large capitalists at first. Many a man was forced into the Citizens' Alliance by his banker. The latter had merely to demand

payment of loans already made or refuse to make loans that were the only salvation from bankruptcy. In other cases it was the matter of various supplies required by the larger corporations. The members of the Manufacturers' Association wanted the middle class to organize to help them fight labor organizations, and they did not scruple to use coercion of the foulest kind.

The Citizens' Alliance has supplied the army to do the dirty work in this war in Colorado.

The eventual outcome should rather excite pity than hate.

Think of a little business man who has not sense enough to know that a workingman receiving high wages can and will buy more of his goods than he could if his wages were reduced.

But that is to be the least of his troubles. The little business men of Colorado have been doing their best to assist the great captains of industry to destroy the trade unions. If they succeed, where will they be then? Do they think that their fight for life will be easier when they come face to face with the trust because the trade unions have been destroyed?

The Citizens' Alliance doing the dirty work of the mine owners to enable them to beat the Western Federation of Miners, destroyed the co-operative store of the union, but do the members of the Citizens' Alliance think they will be able to destroy the department store when it comes to Cripple Creek?

The members of the Citizens' Alliance could perform no act which would hasten their own bankruptcy more than the overthrow of the union, and when they cease business by being forced out of business—what then?

Then these very same men will become wage-earners, and if they are not fools as wage-earners they will find that they can further their interests by organizing into unions—and they are striving to destroy the only thing that can be their future refuge.

Digging Their Own Graves.

So far as the members of the Citizens' Alliance succeed in their purpose to overthrow the trade unions, they but dig their own grave, and aid the trusts to pile dirt on the coffin.

All but the Government.

The men on strike in Colorado had the law on their side. They had the Constitution on their side. They had justice and humanity on their side. They had everything on their side except the Government. The Government was on the side of the mine owners. Now as aforetime the capitalists had taken the precaution to capture the government in order to defy the law. They

used the sworn officers of the law to accomplish the law's overthrow. They defiled the Legislature and defied the Constitution and debauched the courts. They bought or bent the highest executive officer of the State to do their will, and obedient to their commands he has violated all the rights of a free people and violated his oath of office that he might poison the sacraments of human liberty. From the first day of the first strike the Governor of the State could have ended the trouble by enforcing the law and Constitution of Colorado in the spirit of American freedom. He preferred to make himself the Czar of Colorado and to make the Centennial State an American Siberia under the Stars and Stripes. There were other things in the Colorado Labor War besides the eight-hour day and the discrimination against union men, but they were trifles. If at any one time during the struggle the Governor had enforced the eight-hour law and the legal right of the men to join a labor union had been maintained, everything would have been settled on three days' notice.

The mine owners said they wanted free labor; they lied. They wanted cheap labor, not only cheap labor, but slave labor. They wanted dogs to do men's work. But it is not to be. Shameful as they may think it, slaves cannot do the freeman's task!

The mine owners declared that men should not be forced into the union. The men struck that their members should not be forced out of the union.

Manifesto by the Western Federation.

Is it any wonder that these conditions inspired the officers of the union to say:

"The Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners, in executive session assembled, with one voice proclaim that the infamy and barbarism of military rule in Colorado beggars the vocabulary of the English language for words to give expression to our denunciation of the official anarchy that has blackened and disgraced the history of the state. In all the annals of the history of nations, where tyrants have wielded the iron rod of persecution and oppression, and crimsoned history with chapters of cold-blooded brutality, Colorado rises like an unrivalled monarch of them all, and with a governor that is lost to shame and every principle of justice, makes the dark ages look like a painting of Paradise.

"We have borne with patience the repeated wrongs of corporate and commercial vengeance, administered by a debauched chief executive. We have admonished the members of the Western Federation of Miners, during all the stormy days, weeks and

months of the conflict in Colorado, to remain cool and calm, and bear with fortitude the unholy and impious imputations that have been hurled against them from the slanderous lips of hate, hatched and incubated in the womb of dehumanized greed. We have counselled respect and reverence for the law, when our members were made martyrs of persecution, and though our mental vision could behold them incarcerated in military penitentiaries, arrested without charge or warrant, though we could behold them torn from their wives and families and their homes desecrated by uniformed outlaws, though we could see them deported and exiled, and hear the wails of agony that burst from the bleeding and despairing hearts of frenzied and distracted women and children, yet amid all the unparalleled and unprecedented outrages that appeal to the manhood of American citizenship for justice, we have proclaimed peace, peace, peace, until the very words seem to mock the spirit of liberty that dwells in the human heart, until the very word 'peace' seems to become but another name for cowardice. We have been patient and admonished peace, while courts were defied and the constitution of state and nation trampled under foot. We have been patient and admonished peace, while our members were goaded by the exultant jeers of bayonet-equipped mobs, and their mothers, wives, sisters and daughters insulted by the foul and brazen conduct of a libertine soldiery, recruited from the vagrants of the slums."

What is back of all these outrages?

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION.

The Same Old Fight.

The PRIVATE OWNERSHIP of mine, mill, factory and workshop. It is a fight of MINERS against MINE-OWNERS. Workingmen on one side, capitalists and their agents on the other side.

It is the same old fight between laborers and capitalists which will never be settled until the WORKERS become the OWNERS of the tools with which and the land on which they labor.

The Only Remedy.

HOW shall we workingmen ever become such owners? By making our fight a political as well as an economic one. The men who own the mines and mills to-day get their title through the law. The law comes out of the ballot box. We workingmen put the law into the ballot box. Just as in the past we have put laws into the ballot box which have allowed the Rocke-

fellers and Morgans to make private property of mine and mill, so in the future we can put that law in the ballot box which will make these things SOCIAL property, owned by all. Then there will be no strikes, no lockouts, no bull pens, no deportations.

Colorado is a great State, her mountains are filled with gold, silver and other metals and coal, her soil is prolific, its products varied, her climate is balm to the afflicted. But Colorado's Capitol at Denver is lousy with vermin in the fold of the Stars and Stripes. This year Colorado spends \$50,000 on an exhibit at the World's Fair in the hope of inducing people to come to the Centennial State, and in the same time the traitor in the Governor's chair spends \$700,000 in deporting the skilled labor from the State.

There would have been a different Story of the Flag and Colorado if the workingmen of that State had captured the Government before going on strike. There'll be a different story yet to tell if in the future they vote against Republican Deportation Peabody and against Democratic Bull-pen Steunenberg; against Republican Coeur d'Alenes McKinley and against Democratic Pullman Cleveland, no matter in what form or under what name they may appear on the ballot. **ONLY IN SOCIALISM SHALL WE FIND PEACE.**

Your Fight, Reader. You May Be Next.

If we workingmen of the North, South, East and West would not be deported, if we would not be bull-penned, if we would not be shot, we had best arouse ourselves. We union men should see to it that our brethren do not want for money. Long and painfully these Colorado heroes have struggled. They have been fighting the battles of the whole labor movement as well as their own. They have suffered, we have read of their sufferings; they have been shot down like dogs, driven from their homes like criminals, imprisoned in bull pens like cattle—we have only read of their imprisonment, their deportation, and their slaughter.

But it will soon be up to us. What is done in Colorado to-day may be done in Illinois to-morrow, in New York a day later and next day in Massachusetts.

If you would help your brother union men in Colorado, strike for freedom in your own home. Whether it be in New York or New Orleans, in Maine or Minnesota, every blow struck for the freedom of the working class will be felt in Colorado and around the world. Free yourselves, and you will free them. And

there is no way in which you can strike more effectively than by a Socialist ballot.

Choose Ye Now!

If you would rather your union would be destroyed than go into politics, don't do it.

If you would rather be shot than join the Socialist party, don't do it.

If you would rather be a slave than vote the Socialist ticket, don't do it.

Your choice is between capitalism, slavery and death on the one side, and Socialism, liberty and life on the other.

Which shall it be? Choose ye now.

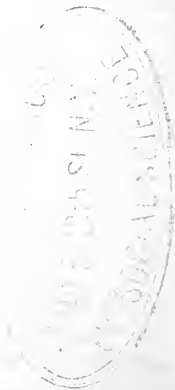
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY

**NATIONAL
TICKET 1904:**

For President: Eugene V. Debs

For Vice President:

Benjamin Hanford

FOR

Information about the Socialist Party apply to

NATIONAL SECRETARY

WILLIAM MAILLY

No. 269 DEARBORN ST.

CHICAGO, ILL.

In the States of New York and Wisconsin this Party goes on the ballot under the name of "Social Democratic Party." In New York its official emblem is the Arm and Torch. In the State of Minnesota the capitalist courts have denied us the right to use our chosen name, so our ticket will appear on the ballot this year under the name of "Public Ownership Party."

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