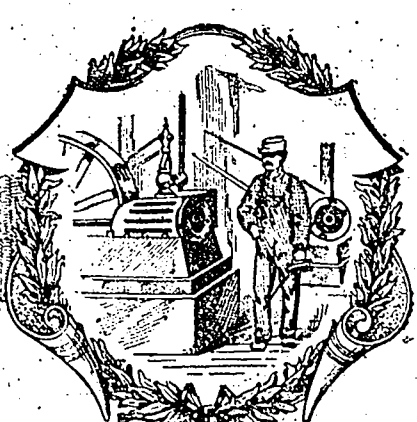


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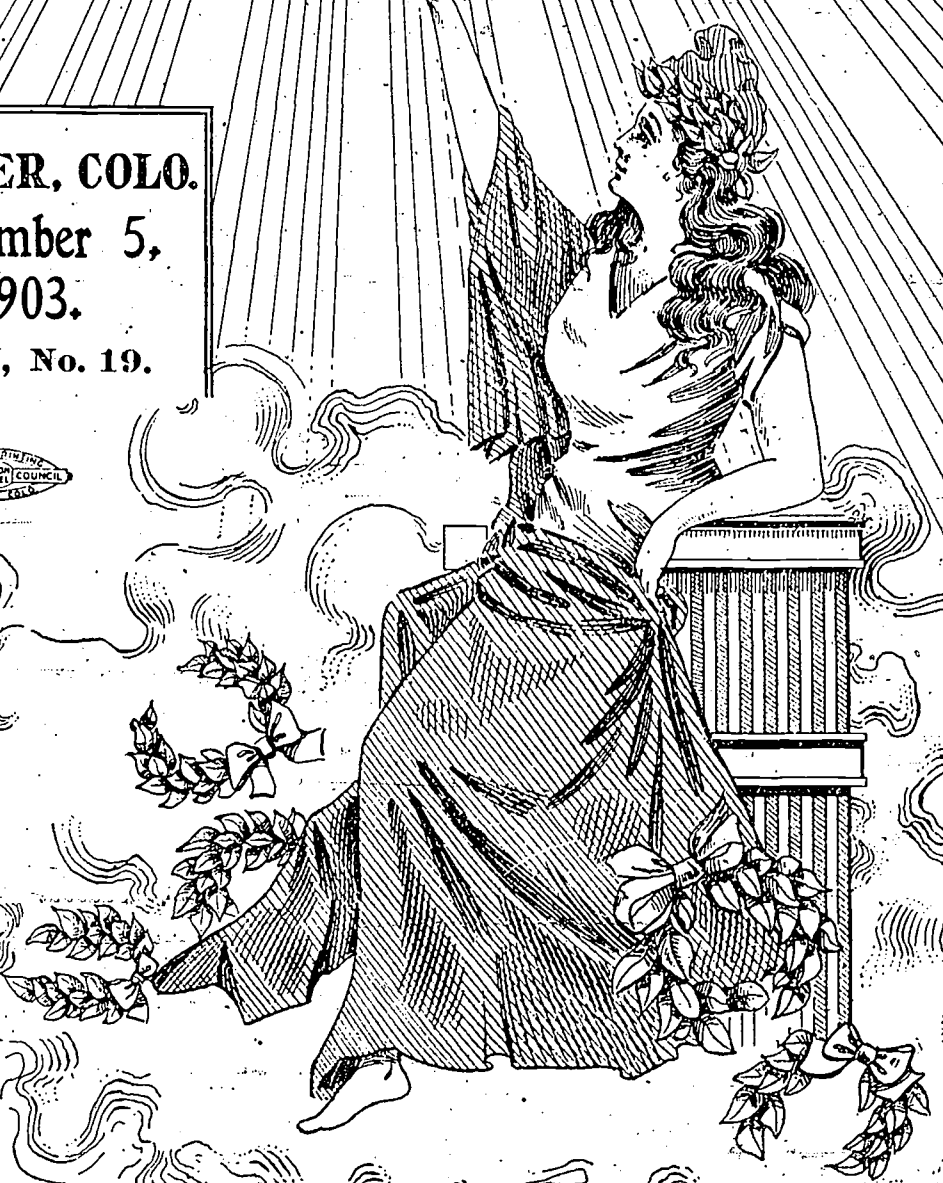
THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

Published Weekly by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

DENVER, COLO.
November 5,
1903.
Vol. V, No. 19.



WEALTH
BELONGS TO THE
PRODUCER THEREOF

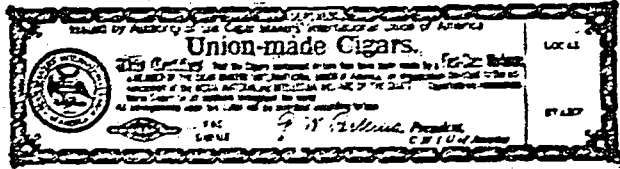


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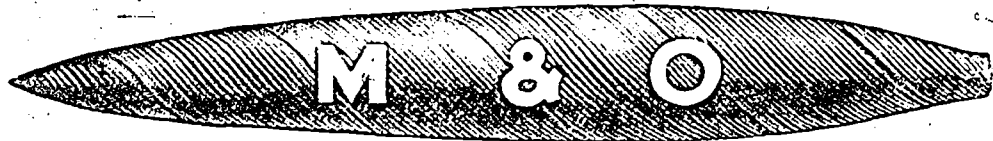
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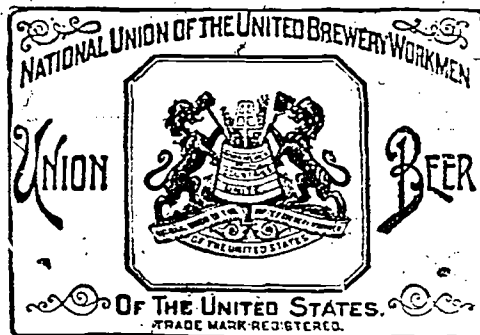
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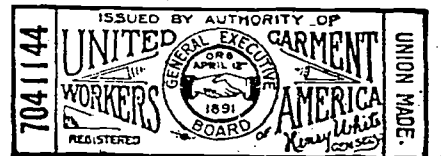
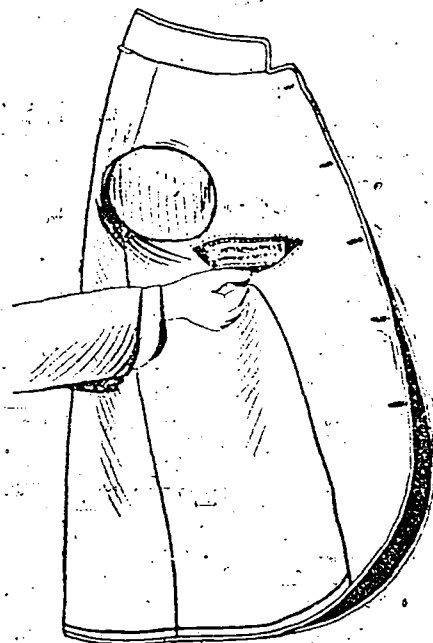


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EDUCATION INDEPENDENCE ORGANIZATION

MINERS MAGAZINE



Published Weekly

by the

WESTERN FEDERATION

OF MINERS

Denver, Colorado,

Thursday, Nov. 5, 1903.

Volume V. Number 19.

\$1.00 a Year.

UNIONS ARE REQUESTED to write some communication each month for publication. Write plainly, on one side of paper only; where ruled paper is used write only on every second line. Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published. Subscribers not receiving their Magazine will please notify this office by postal card, stating the numbers not received. Write plainly, as these communications will be forwarded to the postal authorities.

Entered as second-class matter August 27, 1903, at the Postoffice at Denver, Colorado, under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

John M. O'Neill, Editor.

Address all communications to MINERS' MAGAZINE,
625 Exchange Building, Denver, Colo.

THE TRAINMEN AND OPERATORS on the Big Four in Missouri, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio have formulated demands for an increase in wages, and the same is about to be presented to the railway management for consideration. The employes on the Big Four system are demanding the same rate of wages as is being paid on eastern roads. If the Big Four refuses to concede the demands in sixty days, a strike will be declared, and it is claimed that the organization of the trainmen is equipped financially to make a stubborn fight.

"PROSPERITY" STRUCK the city of St. Louis last week in the shape of a run on the banks. The banks were forced to take advantage of the thirty and sixty days' clause, or the depositors would in all probability have swamped some of the financial institutions of the World's Fair City. When the run occurred in St. Louis, money was rushed from New York to uphold the credit of the embarrassed bankers of St. Louis, but a time is drawing nigh when the universal run will make its appearance, and then every bank will be forced to stand upon its own bottom or go down beneath the coming avalanche.

THE EMPLOYEES in the shops of the Reading Railway Company have received notice that their hours are to be increased from ten and one-quarter per day to thirteen and one-quarter. The railway corporation is going after prosperity with a vengeance. Three more hours of labor will be laid upon the backs of the beasts of burden, and the heart of the profit-monger will be made glad with more profit. As industrial depression increases, the human ox in the ranks of toil will draw a heavier load for the privilege of receiving enough to keep him in good working condition. Blessed is he who has a job!

THE INVESTIGATION in connection with the shipbuilding trust has furnished some scandal, which has startled even some of the most hardened professional sharks of Wall street. The mighty Morgan and Napoleonic Schwab have wallowed in jobbery, according to the charges of Le Roy Dresser, that would defame the unenviable reputation of a common highwayman. These swindlers that shine as dazzling stars in the financial world, entered into a conspiracy with a gang of schemers to unload a property worth but a few millions for thirty millions. The stocks were so inflated with wind and water that they were practically worthless, but, being backed by the financial integrity of such magnates as Morgan and Schwab, the gullible public bit at the tempting invitation to speculate, and now there is "weeping, wailing and gnashing of teeth." The wind has been sown and the whirlwind of this system must be reaped. The millions of people throughout this country will bear the penalty of stock gambling during the coming two years, and may be inclined to give their assistance to a movement that will sweep the Schwabs and Morgans from their thrones of ill-gotten wealth. The day of retribution is close at hand.

THE LONG-THREATENED STRIKE of the coal miners of Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico and Utah has been called to take place November 9th. All efforts on the part of committees from the United Mine Workers failed to bring about a conference with the mine operators. This strike will be a battle of justice against injustice, a battle of humanity against greed. All the power of the United Mine Workers of America will be brought to bear to win a victory.

THE EMPLOYERS of labor of New York have formed a combination and engaged the ablest legal talent to draft a bill to be introduced in various state legislatures for the purpose of rendering organized labor without a weapon on the industrial field. It is hinted that the provisions of this bill will make it unlawful for an officer of a union to call a strike. This bill will have behind it all the power and influence which wealth can command, and it is now predicted that the bill will be enacted into law beyond the shadow of a doubt. When the right to strike is torn from the hands of organized labor, then the advocates of simple trades unionism will be forced to solidify labor politically or step down and out and give room for men who have long ago urged the producers to rally at the ballot box, and demand all the rights and liberties that are contained in that one word—Justice.

FIFTEEN MINES in the Hocking valley have closed down. The Hocking miners are up against a hand-to-mouth existence. G. W. Savage, the secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of Ohio, has made a tour of the coal fields and reports that miners are earning but \$1.25 per day. The production of coal has been reduced from 45,000 tons daily to 20,000 tons and the future outlook is dark and gloomy. Such a situation of affairs in the commonwealth where Mark Hanna is preaching prosperity, where he is appealing to the people to "stand pat" and "let well enough alone," must sound like a man cracking jokes in a morgue. As long as the coal miners and the laboring men of Ohio divide their ballots between the Democratic and Republican parties, just so long will they suffer the penalty of being disloyal to themselves. Labor has made its own bed, and if labor has voted for sawdust, labor must not expect feathers.

THE CIVIC FEDERATION that met in Chicago, composed of labor leaders and employers of labor representing vast commercial interests, have returned to their homes after making numerous "harmony" speeches and feasting together at a banquet. The labor leaders who attended the convention of the Civic Federation talked "harmony" and identity of interest," and yet, they will advocate the further organization of the toilers into an army to fight for a shorter work day and higher wages. The employers of labor who attended the Civic Federation, will likewise encourage the organization of employers into a compact body, for the purpose of lengthening the work day and decreasing wages. Herein is expressed the purposes for which both classes are organized, and yet, representatives in both classes attempt to fool the great mass by cheap, fulsome flattery that disgusts every honest man with ordinary intelligence. "Harmony" philosophy from labor leaders and employers in the Civic Federation will not be accepted, while thousands and tens of thousands of men and women are involved in strikes, while injunctions are being issued every week to contract the liberty of the wage-slave, and while state militia and federal troops are at the disposal of the employers to force labor to surrender in abject servitude. These two forces in the economic world will always be arrayed in antagonism, as long as the profit system is in existence, and no cheap eloquence from the lips of Sam Gompers or Mark Hanna will have any effect in bringing about harmony between the laborer and the capitalists. A truce is not harmony, nor is a compromise a settlement. Harmony will only reign supreme when labor receives the full product of its toil.

THE EMPLOYERS of Cincinnati have formed a federation which covers all the trades in that city. When this capitalistic organization is complete in all its details, the Citizens' Alliance will be annexed and then the war will be declared on all unions that resort to the boycott. How much longer will the eyes of the workingman be blinded to the class struggle? How much longer will he listen to the idiocy of "skates" who preach conservatism? Organized labor must now gird itself for the fray, with the valor of heroes who know no surrender. The battle is raging between the master and the slave, and peace will never be restored until the last root of the profit system is torn from a civilization that now reeks with all the debauchery of soulless cupidity. The humanity of the world must meet the approaching crisis and solve the unsolved problem of all ages, in order that the coming generations may inherit the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

COLONEL WATTERSON, the orator and journalist of the South, has predicted that the Republican party in the campaign of 1904, will be defeated. The colonel bases his prophetic assertion on the fact that the country has worried over the fear of a panic and that the people are ready to place their political confidence in the hands of the Democratic party. Roosevelt and Cleveland are the strong men in the two old parties. They are both representatives of the moneyed interests. Either one of them, as the president of the United States, will consult the wishes of the magnates who have a monopoly on the resources of the country, and who likewise hold in their keeping the industrial weal or woe of the nation. There is no difference between Democracy and Republicanism. The same system of plunder and exploitation marks the record of both parties, and no lasting relief can come while a few men, mighty in the financial and commercial world, can frame and enact the legislation which enslaves the citizenship of this country. Panics and the fear of panics will never cease until profit is abolished and the whole people become the collective owners of the means of life.

THE UNITED STATES STEEL TRUST has had a meeting and the directors have concluded to reduce production. This means that several plants will be closed down and thousands of men will be thrown out of employment. The directors at their meeting concluded to give preference to the retention of those employes who had invested their money in trust stocks. The adoption of this policy will have a tendency to influence the retained employes to continue placing their surplus dollars in the vaults of a combination, in order to strengthen their hold upon employment. The partnership of employes in a trust is the most scientific skin game in the art of financial fleecing. The trust is not satisfied with a vast surplus of profit from the labor of its 165,000 employes, but in a smooth and adroit manner, makes it compulsory upon the part of the employe to transfer back his meager savings above the cost of living, as a surety for his name to occupy a place on the pay roll. Surely, the workingman in America is realizing his grand dream of independence in a free country—nit.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has championed the return of Mark Hanna to the Senate in the following words: "The return of Hanna to the Senate and the triumph of the principles for which he stands in the present contest are things that concern not merely Ohio, but our country as a whole." The President is very ambiguous in regard to those "principles" for which Marcus stands, but when we listen to the campaign oratory belched by Hanna in Ohio, we can readily grasp what is meant by "principles" of the Hanna pattern. Marcus declares: "Plainly, I want to warn you that if you send a Democrat to the Senate from this state almost immediately one-half the men now employed by the great railways and corporations will be walking the streets in idleness." Here is a spectacle fit for the gods. The chief executive of the nation, who is supposed to be the public servant of the whole people, boosting for the re-election of a man to the American "House of Lords," who threatens the sovereign citizenship of the country with idleness, unless he is rewarded with a second term in the law hashery on the banks of the Potomac. Mark Hanna has boldly declared to the people of Ohio to cast their ballots for his return to the Senate or the penalty will be a denial of the opportunity to earn a living. The senator of Ohio, whose wealth is estimated at more than \$30,000,000, in conjunction with a few other industrial monarchs of Ohio, can make good his threat if the people fail to satiate his political ambition. Is it not a grand, glorious and humane system of government, when a few men, who own the tools of production and the machinery of distribution, can force the people of a state, through the fear of want and poverty, to cast a ballot that is in conflict with their political convictions? Under the present beautiful system of private ownership, a few men, holding in their possession the jobs of thousands of wage slaves, can threaten suffering and famine to coerce men with ballots to cast them for the further aggrandizement of their masters, and the degradation of the dependents who must sacrifice their honor and manhood for the privilege of enjoying the paltry right to earn a miserable existence? The private ownership of the means of life makes it impossible for the exercise of a free ballot, and collective ownership is the only remedy for the abolition of masters and slaves.

THE OFFICERS of the Immigration Department are now busily engaged investigating violations of the alien contract law. Miners of England and Wales have been brought to this country under the glowing promise of prosperity that awaited them in the coal fields of Pennsylvania. Many of them, fascinated by the word paintings of agents, sold their little homes and crossed the ocean with their families, to find themselves stranded in a strange land, where the coal miner is as familiar with rags and poverty as his brother across the wide Atlantic. These immigrants have expended their all for transportation. The money secured through the sale of humble homes in the land of their birth, has found its way into the coffers of steamship corporations, and now, penniless and unknown, are held for investigation. Will the agents, the hirelings of the corporations, be investigated? Will the parties who are responsible for these men selling their homes and using the proceeds to pay their passage to America in the hope of bettering their condition, suffer any penalty imposed by the alien contract laws? Will the powers at Washington demand that their money shall be returned and full reparation made to the innocent parties who were shamelessly swindled? Will the real criminals who profited by a violation of law, be brought into the federal courts and punished? No! There will be an external manifestation of upholding the law by the authorities, but the fleeced victims will stand but little chance of recovering the departed coin squandered to swell the treasuries of that mighty and omnipotent element of society, that lives in luxury on the ignorance of humanity. The magnates of the financial world will not be called upon to answer to legal tribunals, because this element always enjoys a license to become transgressors, in consideration of the funds donated to carry elections.

THE ILLINOIS STEEL COMPANY, the Carnegie Company, the Vanderbilt railroad lines and the Southern Pacific have laid off thousands of men, who will now be forced to live upon the memory of what they had. It is reported that during the coming winter 50,000 employes of various railroad corporations will enjoy the luxury of spending their recreation in idleness. The men who have wives and families may well contemplate this industrial depression with fear and foreboding. Men who depend upon a job are confronted with a situation that may well appal the stoutest heart. Idleness for men and women in the wage-earning class means hunger, suffering, prostitution and crime. A system that thrusts thousands and tens of thousands of men and women out upon the bleak and barren highways of poverty should be swept from the face of our planet, and in its place should be substituted a civilization where humanity can enjoy the right to live, independent of the permission of another. The present brutal reign of profit is doomed to destruction. The right to live will assert itself and the pangs of hunger, together with the shivering blasts of winter will arouse the sluggish brain of labor to a realization of the folly and idiocy of perpetuating longer a system that at any moment make take away from the toiler the opportunity to earn a living. The Democratic and the Republican press that support and uphold such a system must certainly feel proud of the results which follow the private ownership of the means by which the human race depends for an existence. Socialism is becoming more respectable as pauperism among the masses increases. Conditions will educate men to a conception of the class struggle, and when the class who do the work of the world for a niggardly pittance, become aware of the legalized robbery that has made them objects of charity, then, and then only, will a blow for economic independence be struck that will emancipate all humanity.

ON OCTOBER 22nd the Amalgamated Copper Company issued an order which practically paralyzed the industries of the state of Montana. The fatal order which closed mines and smelters, came as unexpectedly as a peal of thunder from a cloudless sky. Twenty thousand men were suddenly turned adrift to look elsewhere for the privilege of seeking employment. We have not read one single line in all the daily metropolitan journals concerning the right of these discharged men to work. It is only when organized labor is waging a battle with a despotic employer that the capitalistic press raves over the right of the laboring man to work—at reduced wages. The subsidized sheet will come to the rescue of the scab, when he becomes the ally of the corporation and usurps the place of honest labor struggling for a shorter workday or for a larger share in the profits which his labor produces. The Amalgamated Copper Company has obtained a monopoly on mining and smelting in Montana. legal title to mines and smelters has placed a power in the hands of the trust which affects the welfare of thousands of men and their families. A few men in whom is vested the private ownership of the industries of Montana, can ruin the prosperity of towns and cities, and the great mass are helpless under a system that recognizes the legal right of a few individuals to corner the natural resources of the earth. The people of Butte and other towns in Montana will experience an industrial agony that will cause the steadiest nerves to tremble and the bravest hearts to quail. Montana has dark days before it, but the lesson that will be taught will strengthen the growing sentiment that all humanity should have an equal inheritance in the earth and the machinery of production and distribution. Under Socialism the mines and smelters could not be closed, except by a voice of the majority of the people. But as Socialism is not as yet popular, the people must suffer.

WALL STREET has pledged its support to Roosevelt, and in consideration of the support of the stock gamblers and usurers, the Roosevelt combination of political managers have promised that the present tariff law shall be protected and the desired financial legislation demanded by the bankers shall receive the full support and influence of the administration. It is now in order for the "skates" in the ranks of organized labor to second the endorsement of the moneyed kings of the Empire City and make the election unanimous. There is such an "identity of interest" between a working man and a coupon clipper, that the election of the "trust-buster" will appeal to the poverty-stricken army, for when Wall street is revelling in corpulent interest, plucked from the shorn victims of rent and profit, the nation is fortified in the armor of invulnerable prosperity.

THE FOLLOWING in a nutshell, is the decision handed down by Justice Dean of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania:

"Trades unions must not recruit their ranks by any form of intimidation of men belonging to other unions nor of non-union men.

"Where the law of a trade union conflicts with the first clause of the Constitution guaranteeing to citizens the right to the acquirement, possession and protection of property the Constitution shall prevail and must be upheld by every court in this commonwealth.

"If the members of the Allied Building Trades of Philadelphia shall further disregard these principles, the courts of Pennsylvania know how to compel their submission."

When the learned legal light of the supreme bench of the state declared that "the courts of Philadelphia know how to compel their submission," he gave utterance to a fact which no intelligent member of organized labor will dispute for one moment. The statement of the judge is so well established by numerous precedents that his warning was unnecessary and superfluous. The judge did not seem to realize that his decision was of an intimidating character, and contained a threat. It is perfectly legal for a judge to threaten, and when sovereign citizenship whose ballots elect judges dare to formulate anything that partakes of the nature of a threat, then the law steps in and seizes the common culprit with an iron hand. Law is framed and enacted for forcing the plebeian rabble to cower in "submission," but patricianism is a law unto itself.

THE MEMBERS of the Missouri and Kansas Zinc Miners' Association met at their headquarters in Joplin, Missouri, on October 21st, and decided to curtail the output of zinc ores by ceasing operations. The following agreement was framed and signed by all present:

Agreement.

"We, the undersigned producers, hereby agree to shut down the mills operated by us, as named below, for the week commencing October 25, 1903."

The secretary of the organization was instructed to canvass the entire zinc-producing district, and secure the signatures of all operators to the closing-down project, so that market quotations will have an opportunity to climb higher through a cessation of production. This action, upon the part of the mine operators of Kansas and Missouri, will throw out of employment hundreds and probably thousands of men, who will be forced to remain idle waiting for a market that will meet the demands of the mine owners. If the market should rise, it is not probable that the masters will divide the expected increase in profits with their wage-slaves. It is about time that the intelligence of the average workingman should be able to decipher the delusion contained in that old stereotyped phrase: "The interests of labor and capital are identical." The employer hires labor, actuated by no other incentive except profit, and when the market is glutted by a surplus, the class whose labor has choked the commercial arteries with an over-production, are turned loose to starve or become visitors at the soup-house of charity. The wage-slave works so hard, and his muscle produces so much, that he is forced to quit, and the moment he is jobless and without a master he is haunted by the fear of hunger and want. He has no right to work, because the class that has cornered the natural resources of the earth own the jobs, and as profit is more valuable and sacred under our present civilization than human life, the class that produces all the wealth must suffer in order that Shylock may get his "pound of flesh." If the zinc mines and mills were owned by all the people, and operated for use instead of for the profit and benefit of the few, the men who toil would receive the full product of their labor, and when the market became glutted through over-production, the hours of labor would be decreased, but this is Socialism, and the workingman needs a few more jolts in the stomach before his brain recognizes the fact that there is no law under the present system which the employer must respect in granting the laborer access to the means of life.

Peabody and State Military Scored.

THE ARMY AND NAVY JOURNAL, a recognized authority on military and naval affairs, has thrown some editorial shot into the governor of Colorado and the state militia, and for the benefit of members of Citizens Alliances who have endorsed the chief executive and his military crazed subordinates we reproduce the article. The editorial reads as follows:

"Assuming the correctness of newspaper reports concerning the recent clash between the civil authorities and the militia authorities in the state of Colorado," says the Journal, "there is a curious condition of affairs in that state resulting from the unwise neglect to properly provide for the military forces of the state. * * * As there were no state funds available for the pay, transportation and maintenance of the troops, the mine owners agreed to advance to the state the money required for the purpose indicated.

CIVIL PROCEEDINGS SUSPENDED.

"From the hour of their arrival civil processes were suspended. Arrests were made without warrants, alleged disturbers of the peace were cast into prison without process of law, and the sheriff's request that the prisoners be surrendered to him was denied. Finally an application was made to Judge Seeds for a writ of habeas corpus in behalf of two miners who had been locked in the military guardhouse. When the men were brought into court 300 troops were posted around the court house, two Gatling guns placed in a commanding position and sharpshooters placed on the roofs of neighboring buildings. When the matter came up for a hearing General Chase contended that while martial law had not been formally proclaimed its existence was implied in the governor's order commanding the troops to maintain order. He held, therefore, that the court was without jurisdiction.

PRESIDENT JACKSON WAS FINED.

"The experiences of Colorado are an illustration of what may happen when the enforcement of military authority is intrusted to men not trained in its exercise. As the employment of martial law is analogous to the exercise of the right of self-defense by an individual, it is difficult to fix a limit to it when the extremity is sufficient to clearly demand its exercise. But a soldier who undertakes to exercise it assumes the very gravest of responsibilities and subjects himself to penalties against which there is no protection. During the war of 1812 General Andrew Jackson declared martial law in New Orleans, which was then threatened by the advancing British army under General Pakenham. Jackson arrested a local civil judge who questioned his authority and confined him in the barracks. When the war was over the judge in his turn arrested General Jackson and

fined him \$1,000 for gross contempt of court. This was a good deal of money in those days, but Jackson had to choose between paying it and going to prison. Pay it he did, and it was not until thirty years after that congress provided for its repayment with interest.

WHEN MARTIAL LAW IS PERMISSIBLE.

"There has always been a dispute whether there is any authority for the declaration of martial law without the action of congress, it being held by the strict constructionists that the authority to proclaim it belongs strictly to the national legislature. Halleck holds, however, that in a case of public danger at once so imminent and grave as to admit of no other remedy the maxim, 'Salus populi suprema lex,' should form the rule of action and that a suspension of this writ (habeas corpus) by the executive and military authorities of the United States would be justified by the pressure of a visible public necessity; if an act of indemnity were required it would be the duty of congress to pass it. * * *

PEABODY ABUSED POWERS.

"A proclamation of martial law is proper and customary, though it is not essential when the necessity is imminent." A suspension of the writ of habeas corpus is per se substantially a form of such declaration, but the mere presence of troops to assist in maintaining order does not justify such a departure from the ordinary methods of enforcing law. The soldiers are called upon to assist the civil authorities and not to defy them and to obstruct the exercise of their authority, as these Colorado guardsmen seem to have done. The governor's action in ordering the troops to the scene of the strike, in spite of the sheriff's denial that any trouble existed, while it did not exceed his powers, was a step of questionable wisdom. But that he should virtually borrow money from the mine owners to maintain the troops whom he had assigned to guard their property was a serious reflection upon the authorities of the state.

"That virtually placed the troops for the time being in the relation of hired men to the mine owners, and morally suspended their function of state military guardians of the public peace.

"It was a rank perversion of the whole theory and purpose of the National guard, and far more likely to incite disorder than prevent it. The assumption that the mere ordering of the National Guard to a given point amounts to a proclamation of martial law was a lamentable display of ignorance.

"This affair in Colorado is of importance to the whole country, for it is just such abuses of military authority by ignorant and reckless officers in state organizations that nourish the superstitious dread and prejudice with which the unthinking are taught to regard every move looking to the development of our military resources and the maintenance of the national defenses in the required state of efficiency."

A Senseless Bluff.

THOMAS I. KIDD, one of the vice presidents of the American Federation of Labor, has unbosomed himself of the solar plexus blow that will be delivered by organized labor, if proud and haughty capital does not evince a milder disposition. Mr. Kidd, judging from the amount of intelligence displayed in his threat, is appropriately named, for he is certainly a kid in his grasp of the economic problem. The gentleman with the adolescent cognomen relieves himself of the following:

"Organized capital, through its anti-boycott and employers' associations, must stop its raid on the savings of the trade unions or the union men will withdraw \$300,000,000 from the banks."

In the first place, we are at a loss to know how it was possible for Mr. Kidd to ascertain that the members of the American Federation of Labor had \$300,000,000 laid away in the banks of the nation, and again, where is the constitutional power vested in the American Federation of Labor that would permit its executive board to issue an order demanding of its membership to withdraw their bank deposits. If the American Federation of Labor has a membership of 2,000,000, then Mr. Kidd claims an average bank deposit of \$150 for each member. It is a well-known fact that eighty per cent. of the wage-earners of the United States, thrown upon their own resources, are not thirty days ahead of hunger. Experience has taught every man who has served in an official capacity in a labor organization, that as soon as a strike is declared the treasury of the organization must be immediately opened to meet the wants of a large percentage of the membership. If the strike is continued for a period of a month or longer, nearly all the membership become beneficiaries, proving conclusively that the employer has been doing some close figuring upon the amount of wages necessary to maintain the employe, and enable him to continue in the production of profit for his owner. But let us grant that Mr. Kidd is correct in his statement. Let us admit that the members of the American Federation

of Labor have \$300,000,000 deposited in banks. Suppose that the Federation issues an order of this character and the order is obeyed and the deposits are withdrawn, does Mr. Kidd suppose for one moment that capital will be shorn of its weapons to wreak vengeance? The membership of the American Federation of Labor as well as all other labor organizations are dependents upon jobs, and these jobs are the property of the employers. The employers would strike back by closing down the mines, the mills, the factories and all the avenues of industry, and in a few short months the withdrawn deposits would be in the hands of the exploiters who own the tools of production and the machinery of distribution. The membership of organized labor, not owning the natural resources of the earth, having no title to the tools and the machines which produce the necessities of life, would be forced to spend their deposits with the very men whom Kidd proposes to crush.

What would be the result? When the deposits of the membership of organized labor were confiscated in the purchase of the means of subsistence, when the vaults of the union were empty and the \$300,000,000 had found its way back into the hands of the aggregation who own the jobs, the toilers would be vagrants, and poverty and hunger would force them to ask for reinstatement in wage slavery. The employers of labor, under the present industrial system, are omnipotent upon the economic field, and will remain so until the earth with all the machines of production and distribution which makes the few all-powerful, shall be wrested from the hands of the capitalists by the united political power of the masses, to be used for the sustenance of all mankind. Mr. Kidd and the rest of the conservative element at the head of the American Federation of Labor will soon learn that demands at the ballot box are more potent than beggary in legislative bodies, whose representatives, after election, know no god but the dollar. Simple trades unionism has nearly reached its span of life, and if unionism fails to rally the victims of corporate bondage at the ballot box to dethrone capitalism, then the future is shrouded with the midnight blackness of a starless night.

"When Capital Strikes."

IN THE DENVER POST of October 26th there appeared an editorial that stamps the writer as a concise reasoner and a profound logician. The editorial contains no passion. It is the cool, calm convictions of an individual who has swept with his vision the industrial field and holds up to the public gaze a picture painted from observation. The article may well challenge not only the serious consideration of men in the avenues of manual toil, but men in all walks of life should feel the strength and power of an unvarnished statement of fact portrayed by the writer which may well alarm the citizenship of the country. The editorial is as follows:

Consider the fact that the Amalgamated Copper Company, capital \$155,000,000, employing or causing the employment of 15,000 men, has struck.

In effect, a strike is a strike, whether by labor or capital.

The Amalgamated company has gone on a strike against what it believes is injustice and wrong in the Montana courts.

The great corporation, at enormous cost to itself, is trying to win its object by inflicting loss upon innocent persons.

In effect it's the same as the Pennsylvania coal strike.

The Pennsylvania miners, by ceasing work, deprived the people of coal. And, at last, the shortage of coal became so desperate that the clamor of the public forced the mine owners to accept arbitration.

In Montana the Amalgamated company seeks to overwhelm its enemies in the tempest of the wrath of an injured and frightened public.

Organized labor in Montana is trying to settle the strike of capital, just as chambers of commerce and other civic organizations try to settle the disputes between capital and labor to avoid loss to communities.

Because of the anger of the Amalgamated company toward Montana courts and politicians, organized labor suffers, just as merchants and others are the victims of disputes between labor and capital and the strikes that result therefrom.

This is a grand new epoch of organization, and the basis of its terrific power is that it has the right of one man with the force of a million men, or the rights of one dollar with the force of a million dollars.

ORGANIZATION TO-DAY IS A RIVAL OF GOVERNMENT.

We have tried, in a feeble way, to regulate organization of capital with the interstate commerce act and the Sherman anti-trust law, and with various desultory state statutes, but there is no law to prevent the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company from shutting down its mines, or the Chicago and Kansas City packing house combine from depriving half the country of meat, if these giant organizations chose to go on a strike against real or false grievances.

Meantime these organizations of capital protect themselves, or seek to better their opportunities for profit, by controlling legislation and executive and judicial officers and influencing elections—a condition the public has been protesting against in vain.

In this momentous matter history but repeats itself.

The parallels in history were organized church, organized aristocracy and the trades guilds and free cities existing at odd times.

Various churches, at various times, by organization have controlled governments, communities and nations, usually by means of association with organized aristocracy, or organized aristocracy has ruled, aided by the church, just as the corporations now join forces with the politicians.

At one time the military orders, or knightly monks, exercised government over large areas of Europe.

To-day cities are run by public service corporations.

Venice and Genoa, it will be remembered, employed fleets and armies of mercenaries, whereby they seized other cities and ruled distant places, enriching themselves so much that they got the gout and dyspepsia of power. To-day the United States Steel Corporation regulates the iron trade of the world.

The trades guilds of the Middle Ages were encouraged by the kings to help royalty against organized nobility, and grew so strong that they had to be abolished. To-day the people encourage labor unions to help fight back the corporations.

So far, the history of the world discloses that organized church, organized aristocracy, organized cities and organized trades guilds have all flourished to the extent of being superior to the government and the people and, in every instance, they have been overthrown.

For 200 years the tendency was in favor of tolerating no organization except of a political character.

Organization, outside of politics, necessarily involves special rights.

In the Middle Ages the various trades guilds possessed exclusive privileges, and only the members of the guild could make, sell or traffic in the article or commodity assigned to that guild.

To-day organized labor necessarily involves the demand of exclusive employment and resisting the "open shop."

Organized capital is based on the destruction of competition, of which the Standard Oil Company is the most notable example and exponent.

The resistance to special privileges and special powers had its culmination in America, where a people's government was created.

The soul of the principles upon which the United States was founded was that the people and the King were united in the form of a constitutional and representative government, and that all persons should have equal rights, thereby destroying rule of organizations, except political parties, which, being composed of all sorts and interests, could never be anything save political.

Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, the greatest triumvirate of statesmen America ever produced, foresaw the danger of organized slave-owners and organized abolitionists.

Their fears were fully realized, but, fortunately, the abolitionists won, and, in winning, their mission ended and the country proceeded unfretted by organization, except of a political character, to the present stage.

But now the very process whereby it was sought to make organization needless has been used as the foundation for organizations that, not long ago, threatened to deprive the great cities of fuel and which, the other day, struck prostrate a state.

The only protection the people have is that labor must work to live, and active property must be used or it will shrink in value.

But it is being realized at last that, if the cost of drastic action can be recouped by the results thereof, the necessity of working to live and of continuing activity to maintain property values do not protect the people.

In New York the uproar about Sam Parks is because he is the exponent of the proposition that the employer must pay the cost of a strike, and Parks collected the money.

According to law a man can't be forced to work against his will, nor can capital be forced to employ men against its will, and, owing to organized capital and organized labor enjoying collectively the rights of one person, the people at large can be made to suffer loss and hardship.

What will be the outcome?

That question is being discussed by thousands, and it overtops and overshadows every other public issue.

But all things in this world come to a climax, some time.

Organized slavery and organized abolition skirmished in the halls of Congress, in the courts and fought with rifle and pistol in Kansas, and, at last, the great war came that abolished the reason for both organizations.

DOESN'T THE MONTANA AFFAIR PRESAGE SOMETHING?

Some corporations can't do what the Amalgamated company did, because they would forfeit their franchise, but suppose the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company closed all its mines and refused to work them, thereby inflicting enormous expense and loss upon the people of Colorado?

It has the legal right to do so.

Suppose that the owners of the anthracite fields in Pennsylvania decided to end their troubles by closing the mines indefinitely?

Undoubtedly the people would demand the seizure of the mines by the government and working them as a public necessity, and new laws and new principles of justice would be the outcome.

A week ago this article would have laughed at by many as sensational and dealing with impossible circumstances.

But, with the actual thing taking place in Montana, nobody can laugh.

These are not trifling times, but on the contrary, formulative and pregnant with new history.

Convictions in Arizona.

THE FOLLOWING APPEARED in the Associated Press dispatches of October 26th:

"Laustennan, leader of the Morenci strike, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of \$2,000. His lieutenants, Salcido, Flores and Figueroa, were given two years and a fine of \$1,000 each, and four others were given two years each and two others one year each."

When the eight-hour bill was passed in the last legislative session of Arizona, there was great rejoicing among the miners of that territory. When the bill received the signature of the governor and became a law on the first day of June, the opinion was entertained that the corporations would recognize the will of the people as expressed by the representatives duly elected and that employers who grow eloquent about "law and order" would have some respect for a statutory enactment. The great issue in the last territorial campaign of Arizona, which overshadowed all others, was the eight-hour law. Organized labor in every part of the territory gathered their forces at the polls on election day, and cast their ballots for only such candidates as pledged themselves to give the miner a shorter work-day. Organized labor went even farther than this, and raised a fund after election to send a committee to the Legislature to demand that the members of that body should redeem the pledges made previous to election. The committee labored night and day and finally succeeded in having placed upon the statute books of Arizona an eight-hour law. When the law went into effect on the first of June, the mine-owners balked, and refused to be governed by the legal dictum of a legislative body. The miners in various mining camps of Arizona were forced to declare a strike to enforce the law and the battle is still

going on in several mining camps to carry out the provisions drafted and enacted by the representatives of the people. At Morenci, Arizona, where no local of the Western Federation of Miners existed, the employes of the corporations demanded that the law should be obeyed, but their demands were ignored, and when a strike took place as a result of an infraction of the law by the mine-owners, the federal troops were forwarded to the scene of strife by the commander-in-chief, Teddy Roosevelt, to aid the corporations in trampling under foot the bill declaring eight hours a legal work day in all the mines of Arizona. Eight men have now been convicted of a felony for daring to strike and uphold the majesty of the law. Eight men must wear the garb of convicts and lose the liberty of citizenship to appease the wrath of corporations who control the machinery of war by orders from Washington, to awe and intimidate men to become law-breakers, when it serves the pecuniary interests of combinations who reap profit from the brawn of men in wage slavery. The mining corporations of Arizona have treated the eight-hour law with flagrant contempt, and the "First Gentleman" in the land, who belongs to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, has proven himself a loyal defender of the corporate interests. Nothing better could be expected from the chief executive, who has alligned himself with the forces that advocate an "open shop" policy to shatter unionism into fragments, and who has recently joined hands with the plunders in Wall street, pledging a program of legislation that will not disturb the plundering system of financial pirates. Laws under capitalism are like chaff before the gale of a tornado, and until the great mass stands united politically for the collective ownership of all the means of life, laws, constitutions and the Declaration of Independence are huge mockeries on every principle of justice.

Situation in the Cripple Creek District.

THERE HAS BEEN but little change in the Cripple Creek district during the past week, so far as the strike is concerned. Quite a number of companies of the state militia have been sent to their homes. It is a well known fact, that it has become a difficult matter to keep the commissary department supplied, as the merchants belonging to the Citizens Alliance have become "weary and heavy laden" waiting for the cash that was promised for their goods, devoured by Colorado's warriors. The Mine Owners' Association, after a desperate struggle, have managed to raise \$38,000 to pay off the soldiers for the first twenty days' service, but as the defenders of the state have been two months in the field, many of them are wondering, when the next pay day is scheduled to arrive. The military authorities canvassed all the various large mercantile institutions of the state, to ascertain where credit could be obtained for supplies, but meeting with disappointment, it was determined to reduce the number of men in the field, and as a result, several hundred of the "brave boys" have been retired to the peaceful pursuits of life. The Mine Owners' Association through their official organ having declared that the strike was broken, the executive committee of District Union No. 1, W. F. M. issued the following reply, which will give the members of the Western Federation of Miners throughout the whole jurisdiction, a definite idea as to the status of affairs in the Cripple Creek district. The official statement from the committee is as follows:

"The mine owners' organ says the strike is broken, but if so, why this ceaseless appeal to the miners to return to work if the mines are filled up and the owners are receiving better return from the present class of labor than from the old miners? Well, they know the statement to be false when they are compelled to put two men on a small machine and these two men can only put in one-third to one-half as many holes, and these of shorter depth than were those drilled by the old men.

"We know there is not one of the large producing mines of the district, with the exception of the Portland company, that is outputting one-fourth the amount of ore they did prior to the strike. The Portland company is working fair with union men and is outputting more than one-half as much as all the unfair mines combined are doing.

"It is all right, Mr. Mine Owners, Citizens' Alliance and the ex-A. P. A. combine, you can whistle if it helps you to keep up your courage, but tell us why your members are out on the streets trying by all manner of subterfuges to get some of their old machine men and timber men back to work if your present force is satisfactory to you?—for they can produce everything for you but ore, and a little thing like that does not disturb you, surely.

"The man in charge of your state employment agency can blow that out for you if you will only blindfold him and get him and his wind bag down in your mines and up against a good breast of ore. Try him and see how it works.

"Please don't wear yourselves out telling the members of our organization that they are up against it regarding money to carry on the fight, because we have plenty to carry on the fight for years to come and will be in it when many of your properties are in the hands of the receivers on account of the expense you are now, and remember the mill and smelter trusts are using you now to pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them, and you will pay them dear for their expense before they are done. Then, if you are not in possession of money enough you can turn over your mines to them. If you have the vain hopes in your breasts that the good, competent miners from other camps will come here to fill up your properties as your missionaries say, in their efforts to make traitors of our members, you may as well lose that hope now, for as long as the ban is on this district and these mines and mills are unfair, just so long will the good, experienced miners who alone are able to fill the places of the men now out on strike, stay away from the district. Because all the men of long mining experience of other camps are members of some local of the Western Federation of Miners, and as such will stand by the same, and, even though they be not members of the Federation, they are men and can

recognize a wolf in sheep's clothing when they see it. They will not come here to aid you in your conspiracy to crush the Federation.

"In our organization we had a few members who responded to the crack of the capitalistic ringmaster's whip and are doing their turn in the sawdust rings as the clown called a scab, but does their performance pay you? We think not, but we can spare them to you if it does, for the great majority of men who went out on strike remember Leadville, the Cour d'Alenes, North Port and Rosland and the many smaller places where we met you in the past, and, remembering these things, forces us to say with Shakespeare, 'Lay on, Macduff, and damned be he who first cries, "Hold, enough."'

"The statement published in to-night's issue of the organ of the Mine Owners and Citizens' Alliance regarding the number of men who are working on the mines is another fabrication which leads the public to think that their ebullitions are like Sherman Bell's, due to the high altitude and the loss of sleep, caused by worry on account of the union men standing together and refusing to be stamped by their untruthful statements. There are at present 1,250 union miners working on fair mines and leases. If we deduct that number from the 3,000 that it is claimed are working, and then divide the remainder by 2, something like the correct number of scabs that are actually employed on the unfair mines will be obtained.

"Again, we will ask what is becoming of the ore that is mined by these scabs? Because, from a careful watching of the railroads there is very little being shipped by these scab properties. The whole statement is another 'cock-and-bull' story at which these corporation sheets are adepts at telling."

The court martial burlesque was resumed, after the military jurists had enjoyed an intermission of several days. They closed their labors on the case of General Chase Saturday night, October 31, and it is reported that he is slated for a dishonorable discharge. It is said that the immortal Sherman Bell will soon be placed upon the gridiron and forced to answer to charges that will result in his retirement to private life. The state militia, through its officers, have forfeited the good opinion of all fair minded people through the grafting propensities displayed by almost every gentleman, who wore a uniform with a few frills attached to denote his rank. The men of the Cripple Creek district have no fear for the ultimate results of the strike. The business men who allied themselves with the Citizen's Alliance are tottering on the precipice of bankruptcy, and one mine owner, Mr. Barnard of the El Paso Mining Company, has already failed for \$77,000. There are several other members of the Mine Owners' Association who are looking for a soft spot upon which to fall.

An Open Letter to Wm. Scallon.

The Central Labor Council of Anaconda, Montana, addressed the following open letter to William Scallon, of Butte, the president of the Amalgamated Copper company and presented the same to the daily papers of both cities but the subsidized organs refused space for publication. The letter is as follows:

Dear Sir: Owing to the unfortunate combination of circumstances existing in Anaconda to-day, we feel impelled to thus address you, in the hope that you may see fit to lend your aid in removing the un-American barriers that have been placed in the pathway of our citizens—depriving many of them of the opportunity to earn an honest livelihood and bringing loved ones dependent upon them to destitution and want.

In making this appeal we are conscious of the fact that under the present industrial system the toiler has no rights that the great vested interests, of which you are an official representative, are bound to respect; yet we are not unmindful of the privileges, accruing to us as American citizens, nor are we ignorant of those rights—the inheritance of the citizenship of these United States—proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed by the constitution, namely: the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and personal freedom in matters of religion and politics.

Believing that you may not be fully cognizant of the disreputable, dishonest and un-American methods now being resorted to by those officially responsible to you, and trusting that you are not so utterly devoid of principle as to sanction the outrages that have been, and are still being perpetrated, as a part of the program of persecution, we beg to submit the following statement of conditions as they obtain in Anaconda at the present time:

In order, also, that you may be better able to decide as to the fitness of the punishment meted out to our citizens, permit us to revert to the history of the past few months and explain the nature of the offense committed.

About one year ago, on the approach of the political campaign, an element in Anaconda, respectable in membership and respectable in members—as the election returns will prove—actuated by an honest, earnest desire to better the condition of themselves and their fellowmen, placed a ticket of their own choosing in the field and carried it to victory.

Beholding the fruit of their efforts in the political arena, and realizing that it was good, they resolved to press forward to other and greater achievements.

Accordingly, when the school election drew nigh and a ticket agreeable only to a small circle of the select few, was attempted to be foisted on the community, a popular clamor arose, resulting in the naming of an opposition ticket, with the result of a triumphant vindication at the polls.

Following close on the heels of this popular approval of the new departure in politics came the city election, and once again victory perched upon our banners.

Can there be anything radically wrong about any political movement that receives such a succession of magnificent endorsements from the people? Is not the will of the people supreme?

Are the people to be harassed and oppressed and persecuted and denied the opportunity to exist for voting as conscience dictates?

These successive victories seem to have been the entering wedge which opened the way for the inauguration of a system of unprincipled warfare against a people guilty of no greater crime than that of having exercised a franchise independent of bossism.

Scarcely had the smoke of the last battle cleared away when those who had been prominent in, or were even suspected of having aided the cause, were made to feel the royal displeasure of those clothed with a little brief authority by being discharged from the employ of the corporation over which you preside, and which you told us, over your own signature, less than one short year ago, was not in politics.

On the first day of July last, the smelters were closed, ostensibly to insure the ranchmen of the Deer Lodge valley against a recurrence of the plague of smoke and fumes, which so seriously afflicted them in 1902, but really for the more extensive application of the "blacklist" to union men and Socialists. Dating from that time, this action furnishes grounds for the belief that the closing was due, not so much to sympathy for the farmers, as to a desire and a determination on the part of the corporation, that, you have said, has no object in Montana other than the development of her resources, to wreak vengeance on those who had dared to assert their independence in matters of politics.

The exigencies of the occasion, from the vantage ground of the Amalgamated standpoint, seemed, no doubt, to demand the application of drastic measures, and the crowning act of all the infamies we have been compelled to endure, was the invention and application of the notorious "blue card" system.

The "blue card," as it is promiscuously distributed at the Washoe smelters, is no respecter of persons. He who has given the best years of his life to

the service of the company receives no more consideration than one who has served but a month or a day.

Fathers with wife and children dependent upon them for their daily bread, are, through the medium of the "blue card," made to feel the inhuman displeasure of fiends in human forms.

Good citizens, men of high mental and moral worth, members of, and leading spirits in social and religious circles, have been made victims of corporate wrath through the instrumentality of this hell-born "blue card."

Some of the recipients of this evidence of the company's displeasure have been compelled to dispose of their real and personal belongings—often the accumulation of years of honest industry—at great sacrifice and betake themselves to other fields.

Some were more fortunate in not having any such sacrifices to make, while others still less fortunate and unable to get away, are compelled to remain, and unless the powers relent in their apparent determination to crush the independence of our citizens and make them their political serfs, many innocent women and children will be compelled to accept charity or suffer the pangs of hunger.

The crusade against the rights and liberties of the people is being waged irrespective of creed or nationality.

Protestants and Catholics, Irishmen and Americans, Swedes, Finns and Austrians, have, alike been deprived of the right to earn an honest livelihood in our midst, and have been robbed of the rights supposed to be the heritage of all men under the Stars and Stripes.

The American who may fancy that he lives under a government which guarantees the freedom for which his forefathers fought, must awaken to a realization of the fact, that in Anaconda all such boasted privileges may be his, provided they are always exercised in accord with the dictates of his would-be political lord and master.

The citizen of foreign birth, who, to escape the oppression of monarchy, has turned his back upon the land of his nativity, finds that in Anaconda he is still the victim of a tyrant reign.

These, sir, are conditions that might be expected to exist under the autocratic dominion of the Czar of all the Russias, but it should bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every patriotic American to know that such conditions prevail in any community of liberty-loving people under the dominion of our flag.

We trust, sir, that you are not officially responsible for the attitude assumed by your petty bosses and political understrappers toward your employes in this relentless persecution.

We can hardly conceive, sir, that you would stoop to a proceeding so infamous as the introduction of an employment bureau, which makes it necessary for American citizens seeking employment to have their applications for work approved by certain saloon men and political ward heelers.

We dare not, sir, conjure in our imaginations a picture of the "Honorable" William Scallon, standing at the elbows of his bosses, as they ply the lash to the quivering flesh and crying out, "Lay on, MacDuff, and damned be he who first cries, 'Hold—enough!'" lest we feel constrained to believe that the day of reckoning is not far distant, and that the continuation of such policies will call upon you and yours, the execrations of the just and the condemnation of an industrial system, which makes it possible for such accursed conditions to exist.

J. H. SCHWEND,
A. V. BARRETT,
CHAS. BECKERS.

Educational Committee Central Labor Council.

Anaconda, Montana, October 10, 1903.

An Appeal from the Montana Federation of Labor.

To the United Mine Workers of America, National, District and Local Unions—John Mitchell, President; W. B. Wilson, Secretary-Treasurer, Indianapolis, Indiana:

Greeting: The miners of Colorado are at the present time engaged in a struggle, not alone against organized capital, but against the military government of that state. The capitalist mine-owners, knowing the tendencies of the governor, did not hesitate in calling on him for aid, and he nobly responded by sending, at their behest, the entire militia forces at his command into the Cripple Creek district, to destroy every vestige of unionism in that part of Colorado, as was done by the national government in Idaho at the behest of the mine-owners during their trouble in 1900. This the governor of Colorado is doing at the present time. Men are being arrested every day, taken from their families and homes and thrown into military prisons (or bull pens) without the right of trial, no charges being preferred against them, and on the merest pretext being deprived of their liberties in order to intimidate their fellow men. The militia is used for a double purpose—to guard property of the mine-owners in and around the mines, in order that the mine-owners may be able to ship a car of ore occasionally to make the public believe that their mines are being worked and that all they need is the protection and aid of the militia and deputies to guard their property from the depredations of the peaceable citizens of Cripple Creek, Colorado.

Brothers of the East, we take this opportunity of making you acquainted with the conditions that now exist in Colorado. If the Western Federation of Miners loses this strike in Cripple Creek, it only means a repetition of the same thing in some other district of the West. If the Western Federation of Miners wins in this struggle it but strengthens organized labor and makes them better able to cope with corporations in other places. It not only means a great deal to the Western Federation of Miners, but it will be the means of encouraging working men of other crafts to renewed energy, and every victory of organized labor means the spreading of unionism amongst those who have stood aloof from us in the past.

Brothers, during the late strike in the anthracite coal-region of Pennsylvania the question was never asked by any union in Montana, Was the coal miners favorable to us? You never heard anyone in the West say "Let them fight their own battles." On the contrary every union man realized that it was a battle between organized labor on one side and organized capital on the other, and we deemed it our duty to assist those of our own class. We appreciated the old saying, "An injury to one is the concern of all," and we felt it our duty to contribute as much as we could afford for the assistance of our brother workmen of the East. But has the United Mine Workers

of America responded to the call from the West, either morally or financially, when asked so to do?

We have not even seen one signed resolution, and they don't go very far in feeding the hungry, let alone any financial aid. It would not take very much from each coal miner to make a good large contribution, and if the corporations of the West were once made aware that the miners of the East had come to the assistance of the strikers of Colorado it would have a great bearing on the situation there.

Brothers, we have no selfish motive whatever in making this statement or appeal to you. We only want to try to abolish this feeling of animosity which seems to have taken root in our minds, and to create a more friendly and fraternal spirit and establish that feeling which will make us realize the fact that we have no time to spend fighting among ourselves. All our time should be devoted to fighting our common enemy—the capitalistic class of the country.

Members of organized labor, you are called upon to assist in upholding the principles of American freedom. The time has arrived when it becomes necessary for you to come to the assistance of the miners of the West and make some sacrifices, so that they may be able to maintain their organization and the grand principles of humanity it stands for. You are called upon to support your Brothers of the West in their struggle for the right to their organization and for the benefits of the eight-hour day. Let every member of organized labor, whose heart throbs with the blood of freedom and justice, assist the organized laborers of Colorado and the strike will be won.

Brothers, the Montana Federation of Labor in its annual convention, held in Missoula, Montana, instructed its executive board to make this appeal to you. The Montana Federation of Labor is not an organization of the Western Federation of Miners, but is composed of national and international trades unions of all kinds, and we recognized the fact that we must all work together if we ever hope to emancipate ourselves from the system of wage slavery caused by capitalistic greed that prevails in this country at the present time.

We ask you to send donations direct to William D. Haywood, secretary-treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, room 625 Mining Exchange Building, Denver, Colorado.

By order of the Montana Federation of Labor.

ALEX FAIRGRIEVE, President,
HOWARD O. SMITH, Secretary,
R. J. LEMERT,
FRANK C. IVES,
JAMES ERICKSON,
WILLIAM F. DICK,
EDWIN C. THURSTON,

Executive Committee.

(Seal.)

Western Federation Notes

"Old Reliable" No. 43, of the Brewery Workers of St. Louis, has wired \$500 in behalf of the eight-hour strike fund.

Terry Peak Miners' Union No. 5, of Terry, (Black Hills) South Dakota, has come to the front with a check for \$1,000, as a starter in aid of the strike fund.

Park City Miners' No. 144, of Park City, Utah, has made arrangements for giving an entertainment in the near future, for the benefit of the eight-hour strike fund. Park City Union has already forwarded a draft for \$800.

President Moyer and John C. Sullivan, president of the State Federation of Colorado, addressed a mass meeting that was called by No. 137 at Black Hawk, Colorado, on the night of October 28. There was a large attendance and the speeches were received with a great deal of enthusiasm.

The following appears in the Central City Register, (Black Hills) South Dakota, of October 28:

The Lead, Deadwood, Terry and Central City miners' unions have brought great credit upon themselves and the Hills by the liberal manner in which they have contributed to the striking miners in Colorado. From the Lead union they will receive a day's wages from every member of the union and the Lead union numbers over a thousand men. From the Terry union they will receive \$3.00 from every member, and this union has in the neighborhood of six or seven hundred members. The Deadwood union levied an assessment of one shift for each member and this will run close to \$3.00, as the members employed receive from \$2.50 to \$3.50 per day. From the Central City union they will receive a direct donation of \$500, together with about \$200 which were the receipts from the benefit dance given in the hall on last Friday evening. Word was also sent along with the donation from the Central City union to the effect that if still more was needed that they would be at liberty to again call upon the union here for it.

It is also understood that the Trades' Assembly is preparing to extend a donation, although the exact amount that will be sent by this organization is not known as yet.

There has been but few changes taken place in the strike situation in Telluride, Colorado, since the millmen were called out the first of last September. About two weeks ago the Tomboy mine resumed operations with union men, and the force increased to about 100 men, but as the executive committee learned that the Tomboy mill was about to start with non-union men on November 1, it was decided to call off the union miners working upon the mine, in order to cut off the supply of ore in case strike breakers were employed at the mill. According to the press reports from Telluride there are but fifty stamps dropping in the county, those in the Silver Bell mill at Ophir loop. Senator Buckley, manager of this property, conceded the demands of the Union when first presented to him and the Silver Bell mine and mill have been running steadily. The number of stamps closed down by the strike are: Tom Boy, 140; Smuggler Union, 140; Liberty Bell, 80; Nellie, 30; Caribou, 20; Butterfly Terrible, 30; a total of 440, which have a capacity of treating about 2,000 tons of ore daily.

The committee which was selected to bring about an adjustment of differences between Heinze and the Amalgamated Copper Co., of Montana, have failed to bridge the breach and from the present outlook, a resumption of operations in the mines looks exceedingly gloomy, until after the litigants have received a decision from the Supreme Court of the state. The Arbitration Committee issued the following statement:

"Butte, Mont., October 31, 1903.

"Herbert Steven, President, Great Falls Business Men's Association:

We, the undersigned members of the mediation committee, entered upon the discharge of our duties realizing the magnitude and difficulty of our task. Nevertheless we have labored assiduously to accomplish the purpose of our appointment.

"We have failed to obtain a stipulation from the parties litigant which will insure a resumption of work by the Amalgamated Copper Company and have been unable to devise any plan looking to that end which did not involve the mutual consent of the parties interested.

"We regret this exceedingly and hope some common ground may yet be found by the parties themselves upon which they can stand.

"J. J. HILL,
"W. A. CLARK,
"PARIS GIBSON,
"J. K. TOOLE."

THE CLASS WAR IN IDAHO.

By Job Harriman.

Chapter V.

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

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

When we remember that the mine owners constantly persist in employing non-union men; that among these non-union men were the hired tools and detectives of the corporations; that the union always demanded that all non-union men who worked in the mines should join the union; that this step was necessary because, if the union should forbid non-union men to enter the district the public would condemn them, and if they did not insist on their joining the union the companies would soon displace all the union forces; that this fact opened the doors to the spies of the mine owners; that when these spies were discovered the union was compelled to drive them out of the canyon; that such occurrences were always published by the mine owners' daily press so as to convince the public that the union was composed of criminals of the meanest type; that the demand for the old \$3.50 scale was practically granted, so that the wage question would not be the direct issue; that the mine owners refused to recognize the union in order to precipitate the fight upon the union under the pretext that it employed criminal methods and as an organization should be suppressed; that by means of their spies they had succeeded in putting the union in such a position as would make it appear to the public as having committed an atrocious crime, and when we remember the further fact that General Merriam indorsed the actions of the mine owners, and not only agreed with them that the Miners' Union of the Coeur d'Alenes was a criminal organization, but EXPRESSED THE SENTIMENT THAT ALL UNIONS WERE CRIMINAL ORGANIZATIONS, and urged the Colorado capitalists to employ the same methods then being employed in Idaho; when we remember, also, that, when Governor Steunenburg was asked why he kept hundreds of men in prison for months, against whom no charges were ever preferred, he replied indifferently that he "did not think it safe for them to have their liberty," and when we remember that of the 1,500 men who were arrested, only fourteen were convicted—thirteen of whom were convicted merely of obstructing the United States mail (which was on time that day), and one of whom was convicted of murder in the second degree in spite of the fact that he established an alibi by the testimony of twenty men, women and children, as against one woman who, though she admitted never having seen him before, swore that she recognized him as one of the masked men—when these facts are remembered, it becomes most interesting to know what was the plan of battle by which the mine owners and the state officials were able to shield the guilty and prosecute the innocent. The plan may most easily be understood by summarizing the chief events since April 29th:

1. Martial law was declared.
2. Sheriff Young was thrown out of office.
3. Dr. H. France, an employe of the Bunker Hill and Sullway Company was appointed as sheriff.
4. The county commissioners were thrown out of their offices.
5. The candidates for these offices who had been defeated in the previous election and who had been supported by the mine owners, were appointed commissioners.
6. The soldiers assisted Dr. France in making a wholesale arrest of 800 men at one time; immediately after the change of officers.
7. No charges were immediately preferred against the arrested men.
8. Non-union men were imported.
9. Some men were dismissed from prison when prominent citizens would assert that they knew them to be honorable.
10. A coroner's inquest was held, lasting six weeks.
11. A grand jury and a trial jury were drawn.
12. A permit system was inaugurated, which made it necessary for every one to secure from Dr. France, (practically the B. H. & S. Co.), an official permit, before he could seek employment in Shoshone county.
13. The "American Industrial Union" was organized, to which the miners, the mine owners' the merchants and every one else may belong.
14. Permits to seek work could be revoked by Dr. France, the new sheriff, at his pleasure.

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

Let us examine the workings of their several parts.

On the arrival of the troops, Sheriff Young and the commissioners were deposed. Dr. France was installed as sheriff and also new commissioners were appointed. Immediately thereafter eight hundred men were taken from the mines in their working clothes and driven like sheep into a few box cars and an old barn. For twenty-four hours they remained without food or drink or a change of clothing; and for three weeks they were kept in these places, where there was not a bed and not sufficient room for all of them to lie

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down at the same time; and during these three weeks the food was nauseating, and altogether unfit to be eaten. These outrageous conditions resulted in typhoid, pneumonia, malaria, dysentery, and other diseases. There being but one outhouse and only one man being permitted out at a time, and the barn loft, which was crowded with men, being laid with loose boards, was fairly dripping with human excretions upon the men below, and the whole place became a veritable cesspool, in which the men were compelled to stand, to sleep and to eat, for twenty-one days and nights, without fire when the days were chilly and the nights were cold and crisp.

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

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

Capitalists' Tools Released.

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

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

The authorities were pressed either to prefer charges, try them, and punish them, or to release them. The local officials insisted that as long as martial law prevailed, they had no power to act; while the state and federal authorities insisted that they were only to preserve peace, and had no other power over the men. Thus they held them, for months, with these evasive excuses. The public was becoming indignant and some further excuse must be offered or demand would be made for the release of the men, and there must also be shown a reason for retaining them for such a long period.

In the Bull Pen.

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

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

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

Mr. Flanagan was arrested because he would not surrender his office of the justice of the peace to the state authorities. He had been elected by the people and he was but doing his duty to them in resisting the demands of the martial law outfit. He was kept in prison for almost five months and then released without being charged with any crime.

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

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

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

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

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

Thus, with the innocent men in prison, and with the spies already released, they proceeded to blind the public by conducting a coroner's inquest for six weeks and by drawing a special grand jury who would do their bidding and would only indict those suggested by the Mine Owners' Association.

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

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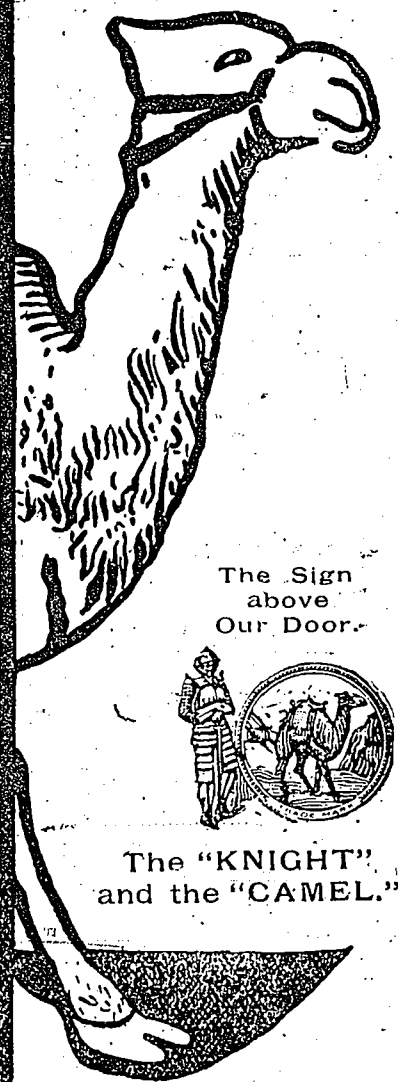
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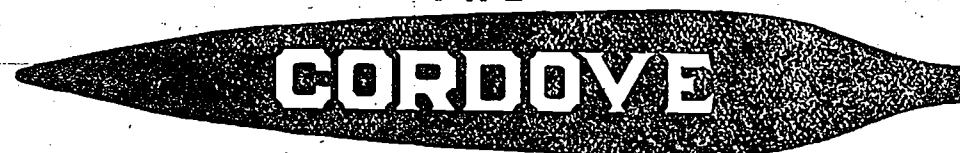
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act. The only reason we can see for such actions is that it was uncertain just whom the spies had used and who might turn state's evidence.

The Trial Jury.

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

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

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

State of Idaho, Plaintiff,
vs.
Paul Corcoran, Defendant.

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

STATE OF IDAHO, }
County of Kootenai. } ss.

Richard Carey, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is a citizen of the United States, and a citizen and resident of the state of Idaho for the past eight years.

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

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

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

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

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

RICHARD CAREY.

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

J. S. DALY,

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

II.

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

State of Idaho, Plaintiff,
vs.
Paul Corcoran, Defendant.

Affidavit in support of a motion for a new trial.

STATE OF IDAHO, }
County of Shoshone. } ss.

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

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

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

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

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

FRED W. WALTON.

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

H. M. DAVENPORT,

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

III.

STATE OF IDAHO, }
County of Shoshone. } ss.

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

A. O'DONNELL.

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

H. M. DAVENPORT,

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

IV.

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

State of Idaho, Plaintiff,
vs.
Paul Corcoran, Defendant.

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

STATE OF IDAHO, }
County of Shoshone. } ss.

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

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

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

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

That in about one-half hour F. C. Robertson and Peter Breen came along, and asked where the jury had gone to?

ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS. THE DENVER TIMES

(DAILY AND SUNDAY)

(AFTERNOON AND EVENING)

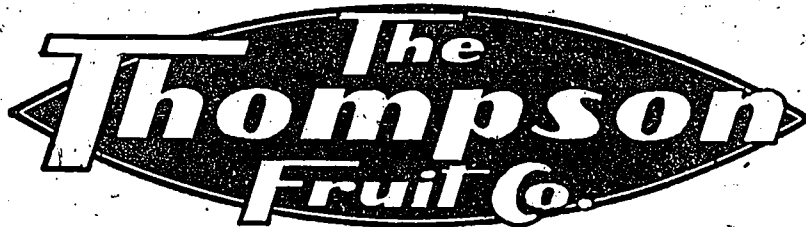
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When the desired information was given by affiant, affiant and his companion were invited by Mr. Robertson to accompany him and Mr. Breen to the saloon of the said Jameison.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q.—"Was there a chance of the Colburns and John Clark being mistaken?" A.—"Yes; it is a pretty safe guess that they were mistaken."

Q.—"Did you think that any man would be fool enough to mask in the way that Mrs. Sinclair said that Corcoran did on that occasion?" A.—"No. I think her evidence was colored."

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

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

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

Further affiant saith not:
PAT KENNEDY,
Subscribed and sworn to before me this 2d day of January, A. D. 1900.
(Seal.) E. M. DAVENPORT,

Notary Public in and for the County of Shoshone, State of Idaho.
STATE OF IDAHO,
County of Shoshone. } ss.

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

That he has read the same, and knows that the statements contained therein are true.
JOHN KELLEY,
Subscribed and sworn to before me this 2d day of January, A. D. 1900.

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

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

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

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

To Dr. H. France, State Representative:

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

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

I last worked at the mine in My shift boss was

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

Dated this day of 189.....

The following was signed by non-union men:
APPLICATION FOR PERMIT.

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

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

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

My occupation is I am a citizen of the United States. I am a native of I last worked at My employer was

..... Idaho, 1899.

No. Deputy.

Object of Permit System.

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

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

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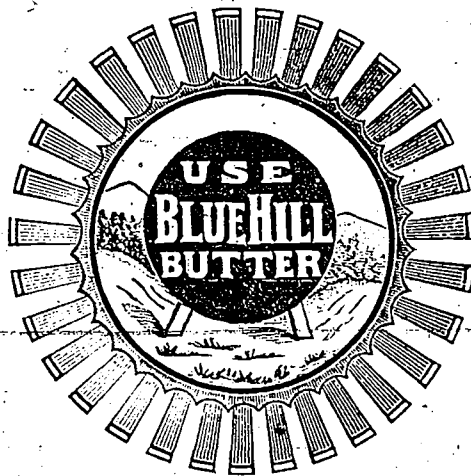
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contrary to all law and justice, were endeavoring to break down the union, regardless of who were innocent or guilty. To suspect a man was sufficient cause for persecution. In the Cœur d'Alenes the rights of men have fallen, and upon the ruins capital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

STATE OF IDAHO, } ss.
County of Shoshone. }

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

A. A. HAMMER.

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

E. J. FLANAGAN,

Justice of the Peace of Mullan Precinct.

Still fearing that union men might be working in the camp, and that an effort to reduce wages might arouse them to action, the mine owners presented the following petition to be signed by the miners To the Honorable Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir:—We, the undersigned, citizens of the Cœur d'Alene mining district, of Shoshone county, state of Idaho, do hereby most respectfully petition you, as the secretary of war, to allow the small force of federal troops to remain in the quarters prepared for and occupied by them, at the town of Osborne, in this county, for as long a term as Governor Steunenberg, of our state, may think their presence necessary, for the preservation of peace and order, and we, as citizens of this district, and of the state of Idaho, desire to take this opportunity to express our approval of all the acts that have been done by the governor and other officials of our state, to preserve peace and order and to bring criminals to justice. Some of the acts of the state authorities, in this connection, may appear, to people at a distance, as drastic and severe, but we, who know the desperate conditions that existed, for several years, prior to the declaration of martial law last May, know that drastic measures were necessary to stop a band of conspirators who, shielding themselves behind the name of labor organizations, had created a reign of terror and tyranny seldom equaled in the history of any community, and we beg to state that the efforts of the governor, and the state officials, assisted by the military authorities, have brought peace and good order to our district, and have given an impetus to all business interests, and a sense of safety to our people, which is highly appreciated and for which we are very grateful.

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

When I asked Joseph McDonald if any who were working for him had refused to sign, he answered: "Only two; and they quit of their own accord." I asked him if he had discharged any because they would not sign, and he answered: "No"; that he did not care. He only wanted the public opinion as it was.

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

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

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

The document was sent out as a petition, signed with the names of these two men—Mr. McDonald and Mr. Burbage—and of those whom they had coerced through fear of losing their positions. Doubtless many who signed were willing to do so; but the majority signed through fear. And thus the Mine Owners' Association hoped, by the aid of martial law, to determine who among the miners were still in sympathy with the union.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Concluded in Next Issue.)

The celebrated Abbe Raynal, one of the great men of the Catholic Church of France, wrote to the Virginia Gazette of May 4, 1782, the following warning to the American people. What would he say if he were here to-day and saw the domination of church and state by gold and empire ambitions? Read and think:

"Ye people of North America, let the example of all the nations who have gone before you, and above all, that of your mother country, serve you for instructions. Fear the affluence of gold, which brings with luxury the corruption of manners, the contempt of laws. Fear a too unequal distribution of riches, which exhibit a small number of citizens in opulence and a great multitude of citizens in extreme poverty; where springs the insolence of the former and the debasement of the latter. Secure yourselves against the spirit of conquest. The tranquility of an empire diminishes in proportion to its extension. Have arms for your defence; have none for offense."



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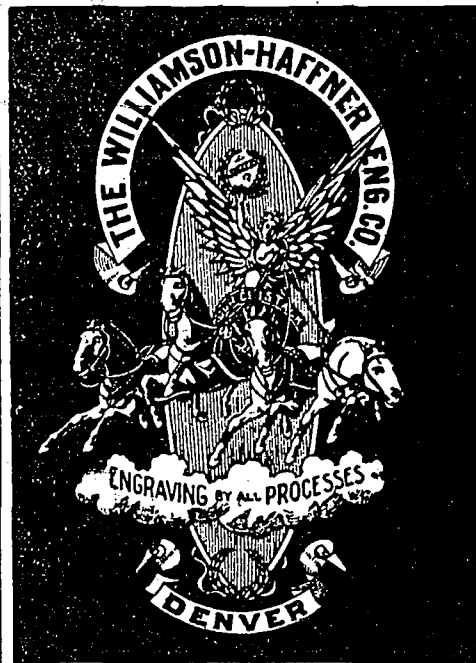
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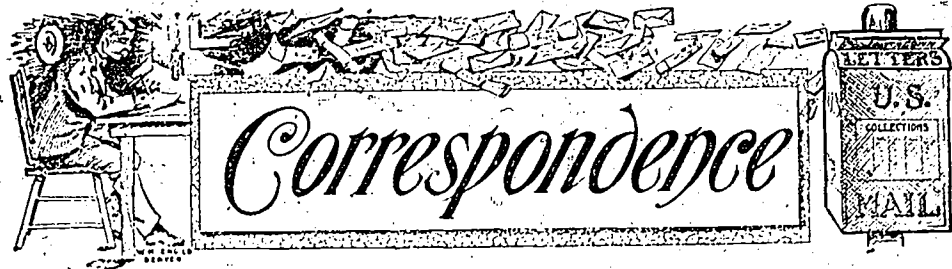
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Prompt Action.

The Sierra Gordo Union No. 39 of Groveland, California, has taken prompt action in regard to the circular forwarded from headquarters in behalf of the strike for an eight-hour day in Colorado, and issued the following to every member of the local union:

Groveland, Cal., October 23, 1903.

To the Members of Sierra Gorda Union No. 39, Western Federation of Miners:

Dear Sirs and Brothers—At our last regular weekly meeting, held on the 22d instant, a communication from headquarters was read and discussed, and on motion the financial secretary was instructed to have a number of copies of the same printed and one mailed to every member of the union.

Every member present expressed a willingness to contribute one day's wages to assist our brothers on strike in Colorado, who are struggling to resist oppression and illegal tyranny at the hands of the civil and military authorities, and the Mine Owners' Association. It is earnestly hoped that every member of our union will respond promptly and liberally, and show to the Federation that Sierra Gorda Union No. 39 is in the front ranks, ready and willing to do our full duty to our worthy brothers who are faithful and loyal to their obligations.

Brothers, hand in your contributions without delay to the financial secretary, who will forward the same to headquarters, together with the name of every brother who contributes to this worthy cause. Every member who can is requested to attend our next regular meeting, to be held in Groveland, October 29, 1903.

H. MEYERTHOLEN, President.
JOHN BAIRD, Financial Secretary.

Declared Unfair.

The Silver King Mining Company has been declared unfair by the Trades and Labor Assembly of Park City for the following reasons:

First—It has ignored all our communications and importunities for a nine-hour day.

Second—It refused to meet a committee of the Carpenters' Union for the purpose of arbitrating the question in dispute.

Third—It filled the places of the striking carpenters with non-union labor. And furthermore we declare that through its arrogant and arbitrary actions, in its refusal to meet or arbitrate with the carpenters, it is injuring and jeopardizing the interests of the whole community. (Signed)

(Seal.) COMMITTEE OF PARK CITY TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY.
West Jordan, Utah, October 25, 1903.

An Inquiry.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

To the Brothers of the Western Federation of Miners at Large—Greeting: As one of our brothers of the West Jordan Smelters' Union No. 193 has erred, though we do not think intentionally, but by a mistake, perhaps, we would be thankful to the brothers in general who may read this, that they will, should they meet a brother by the name of Douglas McKinnon, age nineteen, height six feet, complexion light, color of eyes blue, just remind him that he has hardly treated some of his brothers at West Jordan properly, and especially the brother that loaned him the money for his initiation fee. Brother McKinnon may have overlooked unintentionally the payment of a small sum that was loaned to him; but the members of the West Jordan Smelters' Union No. 193 feel that an explanation is due them. For this reason they have sent this statement to the Magazine in the hopes of reaching Brother McKinnon, as at present we do not know where he is at.

With best wishes for all in the cause of unionism, we are fraternally

WEST JORDAN SMELTERMEN'S UNION NO. 193.

A. W. Charter, Financial Secretary.

Resolutions from Burke, Idaho.

The following resolutions were adopted by Burke Miners' Union No. 10 of the Western Federation of Miners at their meeting held October 20th:

Whereas, the electors of the state of Colorado by a majority vote of over 40,000 passed a constitutional amendment empowering the Legislature to enact an eight-hour law for all men working in and around the mines, mills and smelters; and

Whereas, the sovereign voice of the people, as expressed at the ballot box was corruptly defied to gratify trusts and combinations, who concede no right to the working class; and

Whereas, the battle for an eight-hour day is a fight for humanity to lessen the hours of servitude of the only producers of wealth; therefore be it

Resolved, that Burke Miners' Union No. 10 of the Western Federation of Miners endorse the action of the executive board and President Charles Moyer in demanding the eight-hour day; and be it further

Resolved, that Burke Miners' Union No. 10 of the Western Federation of Miners extend to President Moyer our earnest support, both morally and financially, and be it further

Resolved, that the business men of the Coeur d'Alenes who receive the greater portion of the wages of the toiler be invited to contribute financially to the support of the struggle.

FRANK SHANNON, President.
SAMUEL NORMAN, Financial Secretary.

IN MEMORIAM.

Marysville, Montana, October 10, 1903.

Whereas, it has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the universe to remove from our midst, on September 24, 1903, our beloved and esteemed brother, Thomas Beckerleg; therefore be it

Resolved, that we, the members of Marysville Miners' Union No. 103, Western Federation of Miners, extend to the bereaved family of our deceased brother our heartfelt sympathy in their hour of sorrow and bereavement; and be it further

Resolved, that as a further mark of esteem, our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days; that a copy of these resolutions be presented to the bereaved widow and children, and a copy spread on our minutes and a copy be sent to the Miners' Magazine for publication.

C. H. JAMES,
C. S. HORTON,
I. HAGENSON,
Committee.

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Colorado State Federation of Labor—J. C. Sullivan, President, H. B. Waters, Secretary. Headquarters and office, 504 Exchange building, Denver, Colo.

Beer Bottlers and Bottle Beer Drivers Union No. 160—Meets first and third Saturday evening, Neef's hall, W. J. Mauff, secretary, 955 Clark st.

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Brewers, Malsters and Coopers Union No. 76—Meets first and third Saturday evenings, room 20, Gettysburg building, Jos. Hoelzgen, sec'y, 2347 Eighth st.

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners No. 55—Meets every Monday evening in Charles building, Wm. Stocker, secretary, 140 south Lafayette.

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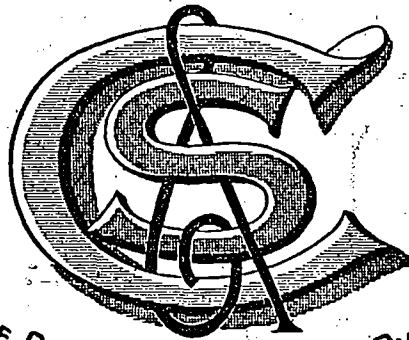
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