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# THE MINERS MAGAZINE

INDEPENDENCE  
EDUCATION ORGANIZATION

*Published Weekly by the*

## WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

DENVER, COLO.

December 10,  
1903.

Vol. V, No. 24.

22 TRADES UNIONS COUNCIL  
DENVER, COLO.

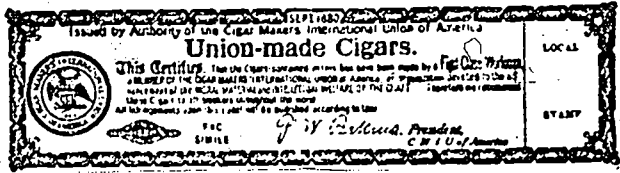
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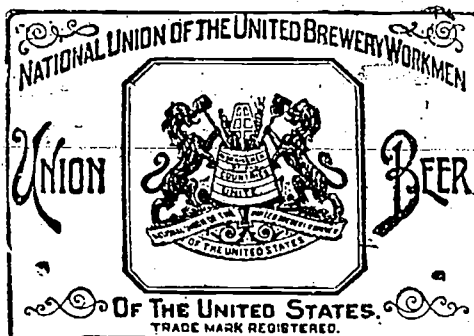
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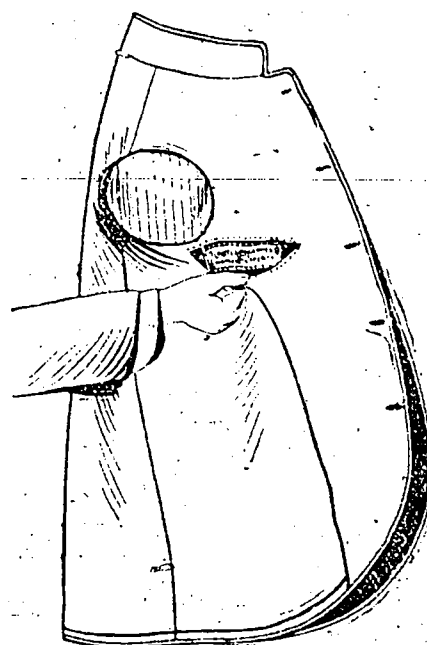


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# MINERS MAGAZINE

Published Weekly

by the

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

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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 Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.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.

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**John M. O'Neill, Editor.**

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

THE RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' JOURNAL, the official organ of the United Brotherhood of Employees, has appeared in magazine form and is a credit to the organization in whose interest the Journal is issued. The Journal is a magazine of 24 pages and its editorial and correspondence departments show ability of a high order. The Journal is destined to win success and will take its place among the leading labor publications of America.

THE IDAHO STATE TRIBUNE, the official organ of the Coeur d'Alene miners, refused to accept an advertisement from the agents of the Kimball Piano Company, owing to the fact that the product of the factory had been placed on the unfair list by the Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of America. The Tribune is loyal to its editorial policy, and while this able labor advocate of the Northwest, like other labor papers that hew to the line, bears the brunt of all the power and influence which corporate hate can bring against it, yet the management scorns to open its columns to the Kimball combination that mints profit from labor's degradation. Consistency in a labor journal may not win dollars, but should earn the honest admiration of men who are loyal to the principles of unionism.

TEDDY ROOSEVELT has written a lengthy document upon the scandals that have arisen in the postal department. It has dawned upon the "Strenuous" Theodore, that it is getting about that time of day, when the voting citizenship of the country must be impressed with the sterling integrity and honesty of the President. Teddy may entertain the opinion that the people will lose sight of the fact that these numerous federal pie eaters who have been filling up on plunder snatched from the public crib were the favored aspirants whose political ambition was satiated by the Republican party of which Teddy is now the acknowledged standard bearer. The postal thieves have done Trojan service for the success of the Republican party, and their dirty work in the service of the government is no dirtier than their work to land the Republican party in power. Teddy must make a showing by making a blustering assault on the corruptionists, but his attack will be about as effective as his "hot air" bombardment of the trusts. Mr. Roosevelt is becoming slightly alarmed. He begins to notice the great journals of the country using the name of Mark Hanna very familiarly as a probable candidate for the nomination in the next National Republican convention. Mark is a rival of giant proportions, and if his boom is properly launched, Roosevelt may be lost in the political shuffle. Every card that Roosevelt plays is met by a trump card from Hanna, and there is no telling how many cards are concealed in the sleeve of the wily politician, who has conquered Ohio and who is now casting covetous eyes upon New York.

Marcus will haunt the political dreams of Roosevelt until the convention selects the next standard bearer of the party.

THE MISSOURI AND KANSAS Zinc Miners' Association has been busily engaged during the past few weeks in securing the signatures of mine operators to close down their properties, with the object in view of raising the price of zinc ores. The secretary of the association secured the names of more than seventy operators who expressed a willingness to shut down their properties. The properties which have already signed the agreement will decrease the output of zinc ores more than 3,300 tons daily; and will necessitate the throwing out of employment directly and indirectly several thousand men. The man who labors, who performs the work of extracting the ores from the earth, has received no consideration from these employers, and no questions are asked as to how he is to procure the means of life during the time operations are suspended waiting for a more favorable market. It is a beautiful and humane system where the toiling thousands border on the verge of starvation, while the master revels in luxury awaiting enhanced market quotations. How many more object lessons are necessary to stir the intelligence of the workers to the collective ownership of all the industries of the earth?

THE INJUNCTION PROCEEDINGS that were brought by the United Mine Workers against the mine operators in the southern part of the state of Colorado, were thrown out of court by Judge Lindsey of the County Court of the City and County of Denver, who occupied the district bench in the absence of Judge Northcutt. The injunction that was brought before Judge Lindsey asked that the Victor Fuel Company be restrained from using deputized thugs to awe and intimidate men who are out on strike; and from interfering with the representatives of the United Mine Workers in making provision for the care of the members of the organization. The Victor Fuel Company, in retaliation brought an injunction against the United Mine Workers, which is sweeping in its character, restraining the defendants from in any way interfering with the company, its agents and employes, or from trespassing upon any property owned or controlled by the plaintiff. The United Mine Workers are even prohibited from talking to the employes of the Victor Fuel Company and it is said that an effort will be made to stop the union from furnishing transportation to miners who wish to leave the district. Free speech and the individual liberty of citizenship is attacked by this injunction, and the ablest legal talent of the country has been employed to legally enforce the required demands of the corporations. Organized labor will be furnished a few more object lessons from the struggle that is going on in Colorado.

GENERAL BATES of Omaha, who was selected by the war department to investigate industrial conditions in Colorado, has made his report to Lieutenant General Young, chief of staff of the army. The visit of Bates to Colorado was due to a telegram sent to President Roosevelt for the use of Federal troops in the mining districts. While Bates has found no necessity for the calling out of the regulars, yet he endorses the course pursued by Governor Peabody, who has hired the members of the state militia to the Mine Owners' Association. It was not expected that General Bates would render a report offensive to the combinations which are fighting organized labor in this state with all the functions of government at their command. It was very noticeable, while Bates was making his tour of the state, that he confined his associations to the Governor, "Blowhard" Bell, the colonels and captains of the state's "tin horn" army, the prominent members of the Mine Owners' Association and the mercenary aggregation who worked a graft in supplying the commissary department of the scab protectors. Organized labor could not expect an impartial report from a man who manifested no desire to hear the workingman's side of the story, but who, while in the state showed a weakness for being courted, and wined and dined by the publican element who fatten and grow arrogant as labor falls into lower depths of degradation. Bates knows his class and was loyal to their interests.

**THE STATE OF MICHIGAN** is coming to the front with some little history that is liable to snatch the laurels from old Missouri. Alstate senator, a collector of internal revenue and the president of a national bank are charged with debauching the aldermanic board of Grand Rapids and the disclosures that are promised when the case is aired in the courts, will furnish discussion for many weeks to come. If these high-toned corruptionists were walking delegates for labor unions, and had soiled their reputations by accepting bribes the press would be filled with a history of the awful crime committed by the representatives of humanity in the lower walks of life. State senators, federal office holders and presidents of national banks must be handled with gloves when they become law transgressors, and but little publicity must be given to their perjury.

**SHERMAN BELL CONTINUES** to make people shudder. He is trying to convince the country by his newspaper articles that miners of Colorado are of a desperate character. Sherman talks about staying with the state capital building and will die when it is blown up by the miners. He and he alone, is the whole thing and is "law and order" supreme. Colorado has the best and most intelligent class of miners that can be found in the world and were it not for such men as Bell and a few loud Citizens' Alliance blowhards who are bent on destroying unionism in Colorado there would be no need of troops anywhere in the state. Of one thing the country can rest assured of, that so long as there are trusts and combines of capital there will be combines of wage workers unless peons and coolies are imported to take the places of intelligent free born Americans.—Monte Vista Journal.

**NEVER BEFORE IN ALL HISTORY**, so far as the records go, has society been so clearly divided, and never before was the gulf between the masters and workers so great as it is to-day. Never before were the tolling millions so completely at the mercy of so small a class of masters. So perfect is the machinery of exploitation that no man, whether he lives in the reigning centers of civilization, in the wilds of North America, on the broad rolling pampas of the South, or the wind swept steppes of Siberia, in the jungles of Africa or the mountains of India, can he escape the merciless hand of commercialism. And the process continues—the exploiting class, in self defense, becomes smaller and more powerful, while the exploited becomes larger and more discontented. Ever more burdensome becomes the load which the real producers must carry, and ever larger becomes the class of non-producers.—Idaho State Tribune.

**WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN**, the one time standard bearer of the Democratic party, the man who was lauded as the deathless friend of the common people, has crossed the briny ocean and is entertaining the blue blood of England with samples of his American "hot air."

The "boy orator of the Platte," has increased his avoirdupois on the sumptuous repasts furnished by the tapered fingered gentry, whose exploitation has populated the city of London with 150,000 paupers. In all the speeches which Mr. Bryan delivered at the banquet boards of royal auditors, we failed to read one word of denunciation that issued from his lips in condemnation of a system that has dug such a chasm between the rich and poor of the old world. Since he crossed the water, flattery for royalty and wealth has been his stock in trade, and his compliments to aristocracy have been amply repaid by festive entertainments. Bryan is fast losing his hold and influence with the laboring classes of his own country, and conditions are being created rapidly, when Bryan must either swear allegiance unequivocally for the rights of man, or be numbered with those fallen gladiators who have found graves in the political cemetery.

**THE CAPITALISTS** and capitalistic press, in long-winded editorials, are lauding Gompers, Mitchell, Duncan and their following to the skies for their efforts in defeating Socialist resolutions at the recent convention. Granny Leader, in an editorial which proves to her own satisfaction that not more than 10 per cent. of union men are Socialists, says: "This fact is a tremendous factor in checking radical changes in political forces and divisions and also in insuring the continuance of the existing institutions of the American republic, not only political, but social and industrial." That means that so long as Mr. Capitalist can prevail on the so-called labor leaders to combat Socialism, or any efforts that may be made by the rank and file to take political action, Mr. Capitalist feels perfectly safe in electing corporation lawyers as judges to issue injunctions, mayors and governors to use the police and militia to batter the heads and shoot down strikers, legislators that will grant any and all privileges that the corporations ask for, and the vote of the delegates to the A. F. of E. convention on these resolutions, and the fact that the substitute adopted gives but little encouragement for the workers to unite at the ballot box, is evidence sufficient that said delegates and so-called leaders are in thorough accord with the capitalistic class on these questions.—Social Democratic Herald.

**THE GREAT STEEL PLANT** at Pueblo, Colorado, has practically closed down, throwing out of employment nearly 5,000 men. It is not claimed that the shut down has been brought about by the strike of the coal miners, but it is believed that John D. Rockefeller, who owns control of the stock, is working a scheme to freeze out some of the gentlemen who belonged to the Osgood faction. The steel plant at Pueblo is the most important industry of that city. Mr. Rockefeller can declare a strike in Colorado that will throw an army of men out of employment and Packerly and Bell are helpless to resume operations. If this army of men had declared a strike against Rockefeller, the militia would be hurried to Pueblo to see that the mob was prevented in his right to usurp the place of the labor rebel. Rockefeller can strike, can close down the steel plant, make jobless 5,000 men, ruin the majority of the business men of a city, and the elements of society that swear eternal vengeance against organized labor are without a weapon to meet this giant, who can laugh in derision at their screams and wails as they approach the precipice of bankruptcy. It is about time for the Citizens' Alliance of the state of Colorado to issue a bulletin against the Rockefeller strike.

**THE REDUCTION OF WAGES** has spread throughout the cotton mills of the New England states, until now, nearly 100,000 employes have been affected. The cut in wages averages 10 per cent. and notwithstanding the fact that the wage slaves of the mills can ill afford the invasion upon the paltry pittance heretofore doled out by their masters, yet the impoverished condition of the serfs rendered it impossible to declare a strike with any hope of victory.

The mill operators would raise no serious objections to a strike upon the part of their employes, as their warehouses are loaded, and a strike would furnish grounds for the exploiters to raise the price of the wares. We predict that in a few months, the mills of New England will be closing down, and when the army of men and women who are dependents of the mills are locked out in idleness, the bread and butter problem will assume a more serious phase. The mill hands will then have the indisputable fact brought home to them, that the man who owns the jobs which the mill hands must have in order to live, own them, as completely as though they held in their possession a warranty deed. The laboring classes of New England, with the exception of a small minority, have voted for the system that makes masters and slaves and are reaping the crop they have sown.

**HOBSON, OF NAVAL FAME**, who flashed like a meteor and dropped like a rock, has framed a bill to be introduced in Congress appropriating \$2,750,000,000 for making the United States the greatest naval power in the world. This vast amount of money is to be expended in machines of murder, to forcibly carry the commerce of America into every mart of the world. The ocean is to become the battlefield of the future and the "survival of the fittest," according to Hobson, is to become the slogan of the commercial giants who at government expense, will compel the weaker nations to go out of business in order that might may set upon the throne of greed, fortified by all the functions of government that have arisen upon the foundation of this great and glorious republic of ours. When the United States has conquered the world commercially, what then? Has Hobson and the mercenary potentates behind this bill figured upon the cost? Have they tried to realize the human slaughter that is wrapped up in this giant project? Have they contemplated the rivers of human blood that will flow to make America the commercial monarch of the world? There is a possibility of men drunk with power, beholding a revolution, in which the nations of the globe will participate, and when the battle is over, the cost may be on the wrong side of the ledger.

**A WAGE WORKER** in order to be a wage worker must produce something over and above what it takes to sustain himself and family. It follows, then, if one man can do this, that all men can do the same if given an opportunity. It must be true, then, that the inhabitants of earth are capable of producing enough to supply all the necessities of earth and a little more. Who gets the more? Of course all are not given the opportunity to produce, and yet the wealth, splendor, pomp and luxury of the twentieth century has not been surpassed in the world's history. And all this wealth represents what those who have been given opportunity to work have produced over and above their own actual necessities. The wage system demonstrates that men do produce enough for their own actual necessities, and enough more to allow a horde of parasites to live in idleness and luxury, and in addition must keep alive an army of the unemployed, that, according to census reports, never numbers less than a million, even in the most prosperous times. The very fact that a man works for wages presupposes that he produces something for which he receives no equivalent. The very fact that men do produce more than enough for their own needs—and this is clearly shown by an analysis of the wage system—is evidence conclusive that all the world might live in luxury and plenty under a sane system of production and a just system of exchange and in which all would have opportunity to produce.—Coming Nation.

## An Appreciated Compliment.

THE IDAHO STATE TRIBUNE pays the following eloquent tribute to the worth of the membership of the Western Federation of Miners: "Miners of the Coeur d'Alenes can congratulate themselves on holding membership in the best officered and most ably managed labor organization the world has ever seen. There is no disputing the assertion that the Western Federation of Miners has made a better fight in the interest of its members than has any other organization of labor. The odds against which the W. F. of M. has been obliged to struggle at all times since it was organized have been terrific. No more autocratic or unprincipled opponents have ever confronted a labor organization than the Mine Owners' associations of the Rocky Mountain states, territories and provinces. It is impossible to conceive of a more bitter or determined fight than has been waged by these associations of capitalists against the Western miners. In the face of this tremendous opposition the W. F. of M. has succeeded in keeping the standard of wages for miners, millmen and smelters at \$3.50 per day, and in many cases the hours have been reduced to 8 per day. This may seem very little to those who have not had to contend with the difficulties that have presented themselves to the Western Federation; but it is wonderful when we consider the avarice and greed of the mine owners, who have tried in every possible manner to crush the W. F. of M., in order that even this standard of wages might be reduced to the miserable level of the coal miners of the eastern coal fields. To be sure the success of the W. F. of M. cannot be attributed to the officers alone, for without an intelligent and determined membership, the integrity and energy of the officials and executive board would have availed nothing. But with an army in which every private fights with the same energy as the general, anything is possible; and it is this sort of an army that is embraced in the W. F. of M. In the present struggle in Colorado the old spirit displays itself. The strikers, who have been out nearly six months, are standing as firmly as rocks, in spite of the coercion of a corporation-owned governor and the intimidation of the military of the state. If the Colorado battle is won, it will be largely due to the members of the Federation in other states who are contributing so liberally to support the strike. Some unions are pledging as much as a day's wages each month until the strike ends. This is the spirit that wins strikes, and the miners of the Coeur d'Alenes can well be proud that they belong to an organization composed of such magnificent material. Success to the W. F. of M.!"

MR. HILLIS HAS DELIVERED a sermon in New York, in which he claims the women will outdistance the men in the industrial race. He commands the men to quit drinking bad whisky, gambling at race tracks and pool rooms, so that they will be saved from the humiliation of being forced to come to the ladies when they are in need of 50 cents for pin money. Dr. Hillis failed to assign the real cause, as to the reason that the services of women are in greater demand than that of men. The capitalist is employing that character of labor, which produces the most profit at the least expenditure. Whenever the capitalist replaces the man with the woman, it is because he has discovered that the woman can live for less than the man. Whenever he ascertains that the position filled by the woman can be conducted advantageously by the girl in her tender teens, the woman is discharged, and the child takes upon its shoulders the burdens of maturity. Capitalism draws no line, at neither youth or sex, and is actuated in the employment of wage slaves solely for the profit that is minted and coined from human flesh. Dr. Hillis declares that women have entered 143 branches of business, and that in fifty years the women will know more than the men. He declares that they have more time to read and study and they are improving their time. If, as Dr. Hillis declares, the women are breaking into the avenues of industry formerly occupied by men, then the men will have time for study and intellectual improvement, and the women will degenerate mentally, from the fact that their time will be taken up in making profit for a boss. Dr. Hillis is wrong in his industrial prognostications. The pressure of the struggle will be felt by both sexes, and men and women who must work for wages, who are dependents on jobs for the means to sustain life, will go down together until class conscious loyalty to their interest shall break the shackles of wage slavery, and the human race becomes industrially free.

THE NON-SOCIALIST WORKINGMAN, either union or non-union, has no right to kick either at the organization of the employing interests or at any of the methods it uses. They believe in capitalism, and capitalism justifies any methods that bring success. If they cultivate the tree, they ought not to "make faces" at the fruit.

The organization of capital for its own protection is every bit as legitimate UNDER CAPITALISM as the organization of labor.

When labor howls at capital, but upholds capitalism, it makes an ass of itself. Capital has the same right UNDER THIS SYSTEM that labor has.

As long as labor concedes to capital the right to a share of labor's product, labor only makes a fool of itself by raising a howl when capital organizes to maintain that right.—Los Angeles Socialist.

## Kansas Eight Hour Law Upheld.

THE DECISION that was handed down by John Marshall Harlan, associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, has put an end to the long drawn out legal battle that has been waged against the constitutionality of the Kansas eight hour law. The bill was passed by the legislature of Kansas in 1891, and provided that eight hours shall constitute a day's work on all public work of state, county or city. The bill provided for both fine and imprisonment for violation of the law. The validity of the law that was enacted in 1891, was called into question and after twelve years in the courts, the highest tribunal in the land has decided the law constitutional. The following is extracted from the decision handed down by Justice Harlan:

Whatever may have been the motives that controlled the enactment of the statute in question, we can imagine no possible ground to dispute the power of the state to declare that no one undertaking work for it or for one of its municipal agencies shall permit or require an employe on such work to labor in excess of eight hours each in the day, and to inflict punishment upon contractors who disregard such a regulation. It cannot be deemed a part of the liberty of any contractor that he be allowed to do public work in any mode he may choose to adopt without regard to the wishes of the state. On the contrary, it belongs to the state, as the guardian and trustee for its people, to prescribe the conditions upon which it will permit public work to be done. No court has authority to review its action in that respect. Regulations on this subject suggest only considerations of public policy. And with such considerations the courts have no concern.

Taking up the question of public policy Justice Harlan said:

If it be contended to be the right of anyone to dispose of his labor upon such terms as he deems best—as undoubtedly it is—and that to make it a criminal offense for a contractor for public work to permit or require his employes to perform labor upon that work in excess of eight hours each day is in derogation of the liberty of employes and employer, it is sufficient answer that no one is entitled, of absolute right, and as a part of his liberty, to perform labor for the state; and no contractor for public work can excuse a violation of his lawful agreement with the state by doing that which the statute under which he proceeds distinctly forbids him to do.

So, also, if it be said that a statute like the one before us is mischievous in its tendencies, the answer is that the responsibility therefor rests upon the legislators, not upon the courts. No evils arising from such legislation could be more far-reaching than those that might come to our system of government if the judiciary, abandoning the sphere assigned to it by the fundamental law, should enter the domain of legislation and upon grounds merely of justice or reason or wisdom annul statutes that had received the sanction of the people's representatives. We are reminded by counsel that it is the solemn duty of the courts in cases before them to regard the constitutional rights of the citizens against merely arbitrary power. That is unquestionably true. But it is equally true—indeed the public interests imperatively demand—that legislative enactments be recognized and enforced by the courts as embodying the will of the people, unless they are plainly and culpably beyond all question violation of the fundamental law of the constitution. It cannot be affirmed of the statute of Kansas that it is plainly inconsistent with that instrument; indeed, its constitutionality is beyond all question.

On the point of the validity of a similar statute affecting private employment, Justice Harlan said:

Whether a similar statute, applied to laborers or employes in purely private work would be constitutional, is a question of very large import, which we have no occasion now to determine or even to consider.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY made its reputation as the Union savior in opposing secession of the Southern States. Its representatives in Washington to-day are making a reputation as the upholders of secession in the recognition of the so-called Republic of Panama.

To the non-Socialist this may seem inconsistent, but it is not.

The powers that be under capitalism are guided by but one idea, i. e., will this benefit the capitalist? If so, then we are for it, if not, then we are against it.

The opportunity for profit which glistens before the eyes of the capitalist in a new Panama swindle, sinks every other consideration, several million dollars in subsidies and cheap coolie labor makes the capitalist tiger fierce with desire. For this reason it will be found that every "patriotic" senator and representative in Congress, be they Democratic or Republican will rally to the support of the administration for the graft that is in sight. No matter if every treaty obligation is violated.

The sacredness of treaty has often been harped upon in the capitalist press. They have even said that treaty obligations are above the constitution. But capitalist profits are pre-eminent.—Chicago Socialist.

THE UNION MEN of Cripple Creek realize that the fatal explosion at the Vindicator mine is damaging to their cause and are doing all in their power to get all the facts and to run down the murderers if any there be. The military and Citizens' Alliance are trying to throw the blame on the miners' organization and by this means hope to disrupt the union. When a union man meets death by the criminal carelessness of the mine owners nothing is said about it; it is only an accident.—Monte Vista Journal.

PRESIDENT MITCHELL of the United Mine Workers of America came to Colorado last week and after holding conferences with the leaders of the strike in the southern coal fields and having an interview with the governor, departed for the East. The mine operators refused to recognize Mitchell or his organization and the strike is apparently as far from settlement as when it was declared.

# AN ADDRESS FROM THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

## To the Officers and Members of Organized Labor, Greeting:

We have reviewed the industrial situation in Colorado. We realize that the great conflict that is now being waged against the Western Federation of Miners in this state, is a battle to a finish. The Mine Owners' Association, backed by the financial strength of the American Smelting and Refining Company, supported by the groveling sympathy of commercial interests that have resolved themselves into Citizens' Alliances, have openly declared that the organization which the miners of the West have built upon the bedrock of justice, shall be torn from its foundation and shattered into fragments.

The will of the people that demanded of a legislative body the passage of an eight-hour law has been overthrown. Forty thousand of a majority of the citizens of the state failed to arrest corruption and debauchery that made the sworn servants of the people forget their honor and sacrifice their fidelity to the people to serve the interests of corporate masters. The price of treason was paid and the eight-hour law became a corpse, strangled to death and consigned to the morgue by the legislative assassins who repudiated pledges and trampled under foot the greatest issue in the election campaign of 1902.

When the miners who had waged a peaceable battle for years to place upon the statute books of the state an eight-hour law, discovered that the men in whom they had placed their political confidence had ignored the mandate of the Constitutional Amendment, then was it, that hope fled, and the Western Federation of Miners, as well as all the other departments of organized labor in the state, realized that corporation infamy and legislative rascality must be met with the power of unflinching unionism.

Since the Western Federation of Miners has unfurled its flag upon the industrial battlefield in Colorado, to establish an eight-hour law and uphold the voice of the people as expressed at the ballot box, the Republican party with its truckling Governor and brainless Adjutant General, has resorted to all the machinery of legalized violence to suppress the voice of labor, and fasten the shackles of corporate serfdom upon the callous hands of the toiling thousands. The Republican party of Colorado has assaulted the citadel of civil law with bristling bayonets, and the liberty of citizenship has been immolated upon the altar of military might, in order that cold blooded monopoly might rule supreme. The Republican party, by its mute silence, sanctions the wrongs that have been perpetrated by a corporation-owned state administration, and tacitly defends the unprovoked and brutal persecution, that has blackened and disgraced the history of the state, since an unscrupulous and conscienceless Peabody dishonored the executive chair of the commonwealth with his diabolical and polluted presence. We earnestly appeal to the labor manhood of the State of Colorado to register a protest in the next state election, that will bury Republicanism so deep in the grave of oblivion that all the eloquence of modern Ciceros will not be able to call from the tomb the prostituted party whose lingering semblance of honor was befouled by corporation boodles.

Under the present political administration of the state, the military "Bull Pen" has been made a bastille, where the independence of citizenship is mocked by the exultant jeers of a military rabble, recruited from the slum and riff-raff of hoodlum humanity. In the Cripple Creek district, the membership of our organization has been held without warrant or process of law, and persecuted by a military vengeance that has been fed and inflamed by the official anarchists who tower above law and the constitution. The ball and chain, the relics of barbarism and the dark ages, now fetter the limbs of our membership in Telluride, because their proud spirits rebelled against bowing in dishonorable submission to the czarism of the exterminators of organized labor.

The Western Federation of Miners has at all times, been ready and willing to go more than half way in meeting the Mine Operators of the State, and use every honorable effort to bring to a close this

conflict, that has left scars upon the welfare and prosperity of every citizen of the State.

The differences in Telluride between employer and employee, would have been settled upon an amicable basis were it not for the mercenary hyenas who have fought unionism for years and who in exchange for their enmity have felt the loss of commercial patronage.

To the members of the Cripple Creek district, to the brave men of our organization in Telluride who have suffered insult, humiliation and imprisonment, to the soldiers of our dauntless army in Arizona, California, Nevada, and in every other locality within the jurisdiction of our organization, where our membership are fighting a battle against corporate despotism and for the uplifting of humanity to a higher plane of civilization, the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners, now in session assembled, pledges the moral and financial support of the organization to the end that justice may be crowned with laurels of victory, and that haughty, insolent greed under bayonet protection, shall fall prostrate and lifeless before the never-surrender struggle which demands that manhood shall be liberated from the thralldom of merciless, incorporated brigandage.

To the coal miners of the state, who have joined in the battle-cry for eight hours and more humane conditions, whose loyalty to unionism has been warmed by the thrilling eloquence of a "Mother" Jones whom a uniformed ruffian threatened with the "Cow Pen," we pledge the deathless fraternity of our organization, realizing that in their victory we can join in the chorus that will commemorate the triumph of organized labor in the Centennial State. We pledge the membership of our organization that injustice and wrong shall be fought with every legal weapon in our armory, and if unionism must wear the crown of martyrdom and die at the stake through relentless persecution then the present generation can quote the heroic sentiment expressed by Paul Kruger, "that the price that will be paid for our annihilation will stagger humanity."

The recruiting offices that have been opened by authority of the Governor and the Adjutant General of the State, have merely been employment agencies, to furnish strike breakers to enable the Mine Owners' Association to resume operations, but this fiendish and unhallowed scheme has been a costly failure, and now the Governor of the state has declared martial law in Teller county, notwithstanding the fact that such a declaration is an open and brazen violation of the constitution, which the Governor is sworn to uphold. Notwithstanding the fact that there is no insurrection or invasion, notwithstanding the fact that the civil authorities have at no time been shown of their power, except by military lawlessness, Colorado's standard bearer of rotten Republicanism has, at last, crowned all the infamy of his shameless career of official perfidy, by proclaiming martial law, because the Mine Owners' Association with all the armed power of the state, reinforced by ex-convicts and gun thugs, have failed to break the strike. The Executive Board can find no words sufficiently strong to denounce this act in the brutal drama of coercion that makes a Russian Siberia a Paradise when compared to Colorado.

We know no surrender, and justice will arise from the staggering blows administered by a soulless executive, and the future will record the political revenge of an oppressed people, who are awakening from their lethargy to smite unbridled tyranny a blow that will end in its eternal death.

CHARLES H. MOYER, Pres.,

J. C. WILLIAMS, V-Pres.,

WM. D. HAYWOOD, Secy. Treas.

J. T. LEWIS,

L. J. SIMPKINS,

JAMES P. MURPHY,

D. C. COPLEY,

JAMES KIRWIN,

J. A. BAKER,

Executive Board.

Denver, Colorado, December 5, 1903.

# Butte Union Resents the Attack of Editor Ricard.

THE MINERS' UNION OF BUTTE, the strongest local organization in numerical and financial strength in America, has hurled back the insult of Editor Ricard, and in doing so has furnished some personal history that is not complimentary to the character of the gentleman who is at the editorial helm of the Journal.

Ricard has lived in a glass house and should be careful at whom he throws his verbal brick-bats. The Butte union pays its respects to the New York slanderer in the following terse language:

"A mining shark, such as are a prey upon legitimate mining—by profession a mining engineer, who has turned editor and whose crooked work in the state of Colorado would furnish sufficient subject matter to write a book, to be known as 'The History of Bunco Steering Innocent and Confiding English Investors in Salted Mines,' has seen fit to attack the Butte Miners' Union in a recent issue of the Mining and Engineering Journal of New York.

"The Butte Miners' Union is accustomed to these attacks. A man who is by nature a cut-throat gambler or a professional counterfeit or one of those flim-flam artificers, partaking somewhat of the T. A. Ricard character are in the habit of spewing their bile, as it were, upon this union from a distance. Dishonest promoters—a brazen combination of professional crooks sailing under the title of an honorable profession, like the Engineering Journal editor, using their profession and connections as a mask for reputability, worm themselves into the confidence of investors and under the guise of this confidence, by false representation, defraud these self same investors. Fictitious values are created in the mining prospects by such consciousness mining promoters. Upon such fraudulent valuation of wrongfully unloaded over-valued mines, managers are compelled to apply the harsh lash of labor in order that dividends may be made to pay the deluded investors.

"When the sharp practices of the T. A. Ricard stripe of promoters are exposed and their wrongful practices are the real cause for turmoil and discontent between employer and employes, they invariably resort to the tactics of attacking the Butte Miners' Union. By this they hope to hide their own iniquities and dishonesty.

"Who is T. A. Ricard? Ask the 'Venture Corporation' of London, England. The Independent mine of Cripple Creek, Colorado, was sold to the Venture corporation for \$12,000,000. This price was paid upon this man's representation after an examination by the self same Ricard. At that time he was state geologist of Colorado, and following his occupation as mining engineer. The reputation thus acquired gave him a standing with his confiding countrymen—the English investors. This standing he used for the purpose of working his countrymen to the Queen's taste. He did this to perfection. After the purchase of the Independence mine it was soon discovered that it was a large hole in the ground and the value worked out. Upon a later examination by competent and honest mining engineers, it was made known through these investigators that the mine had been salted, and in consequence of the later report the Venture corporation is suing the Stratton estate of Colorado to recover more than \$6,000,000, alleged to have been fraudulently attained by Stratton on the strength of this false pretense Ricard's report.

"It is such critters that invariably find fault with the Butte Miners' Union. The record of such a mining engineering scoundrel is answer sufficient to the charges of iniquities and enormities he makes against the union, at a distance of 3,000 miles. The Butte union is well conversant with such tricks of like tricky crooks.

"For more than a quarter of a century this union has been at peace with employers who showed a disposition to deal fairly with the membership of the organization, but with professional counterfeit promoters, such as this man Ricard evidently has proven himself to be, this union has no desire of being at peace with, because the reality of fraud is too apparent. This union is made of sterner stuff than the innocent English dupes of this brazen engineering fraud.

"The glory of this union is not in the reputation such as this bunco mining expert would give it, but in those works that stand pre-eminent for taking care of its sick, for the burial of its dead and the protection of its members against slyster operators of the Ricard sort of speculators and promoters.

"This man Ricard was one of the means of duping English investors out of millions of dollars. The Butte Miners' Union, through the mite contributions of its own members pays on an average of fifty-five thousand dollars (\$55,000) annually for sick and funeral benefits, besides protecting its members and kindred organizations against the ravages of cunning rogues of the Ricard sort. The one represents fraud and dishonor, the other embellishes the highest and best attributes of human kind—a fellow feeling and an honest regard for one another. It is evident that this editorial fungus of the Engineering and Mining Journal is not so much of an idiot as he is a consummate scoundrel. It is crimes of the Ricard sort that are responsible for so much of the struggles that exist between employers and employes under the present system of industrialism. These crimes will always cause turmoil.

"For hydras of the Ricard sort the Montana miners have no use—for honest men; for fair employers this union will at all times strain a point to be more than just, and it is accordingly only fitting that men of the Ricard stripe should not, like the Butte Miners' Union, for such men will not only betray investors, but they would also betray the miners and subject their wives and daughters to starvation wages. The miners know this—hence they have less love for the Ricard sort than the Ricard sort have for the miners.

"The delegation visiting Teddy Roosevelt at Washington are reputable and honorable citizens. They are worthy of any man's favor. As individuals they are visiting the President. The Butte Miners' Union has nothing whatever to do with the political features of this junketing trip, to furnish political fodder for a presidential candidate, and as an organization, it repudiates this feature, but it will not let the opportunity pass by to say that these individual visitors, not labor leader representatives, are better Americans and more loyal to the principles that made the United States great than the skin-game engineering outfit that attacks them.

"The manhood and independence of the Western miners is sufficiently intelligent, unblemished and clear to comprehend not only the integrity, but the spirit that knows how to repel the encroachments of industrial crooks and mining pirates of the sort of which this man Ricard is so crude an example.

"The Miners' Union courts the opprobrium of fakes of the Ricard Mining Engineering Journal sort. With honest and fair employers and men who are men it has no quarrel—such it will always treat 'justly and fear not.'

## Read and Reflect.

THE MOUTH PIECES of capitalism since the adjournment of the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Boston, have given considerable editorial space in praise of the labor leaders who raised their voice in protest against the convention giving its sanction to the adoption of any resolution committing the convention to the doctrines of Socialism. Compliments and laudations to labor leaders from the columns of journals that fight organized labor in every strike upon the industrial field may well arouse a suspicion in the minds of the rank and file that all is not right among the privileged fraternity whose positions of trust give them access to the strong box of organized labor. The Chicago Tribune, a capitalistic sheet, has the following kind words to offer in praise of the commander of the army of workers enrolled beneath the banner of the American Federation of Labor:

"The employer sometimes uses harsh words, and not always without cause, about labor unions. He accuses them in angry moments of getting tyrannical. He does not often stop to reflect that they are one of the forces which stand between him and something which would indeed be tyranny. What would the status of the employer be under a Socialist regime? Really, he ought to be thankful that workingmen generally believe they can better their condition more effectually through unionism than in any other way. If it were in the power of the employers to obliterate the union idea from the minds of employes they would not use the power if they stopped to reflect. If there were no unions to claim the allegiance and devotion of workers the preachers of Socialism would make a thousand converts where they now make one. It is gratifying to know that the American Federation of Labor has again repudiated Socialism, which is, as President Gompers said, economically unsound, socially wrong, and industrially an impossibility."

It must be gratifying to Mr. Gompers to read in the columns of this metropolitan journal, supported by capitalists, a tribute to his sagacity. The mere fact that the American Federation of Labor has repudiated Socialism, will have but little influence upon the onward march of the movement. The labor leaders who are fighting Socialism and whose assaults merit the approbation of captains of industry and politicians of national repute, will have a tendency to cause the great mass of the people who are groaning under the burdens of the present civilization, to do a little quiet thinking of their own, which will be disastrous eventually to the skate who is now attempting to put the brakes on the wheels of progress.

Mr. Gompers may be able to call the police to his assistance to clear the galleries in the convention when the auditors applauded the able arguments produced by the Socialist delegates—but he will

not be able to stifle the growing intelligent discontent that is making a continual demand for the abolition of a system that is heartless and soulless, that murders manhood, womanhood and childhood for profit. Ere another year shall have passed away, thousands and tens of thousands of men who are now members in good standing in the American Federation of Labor will have no master to serve, and without a master, will be unable to pay the tithes from which Gompers' salary is paid. Mr. Gompers was forced to admit that the clouds of industrial depression could be seen upon the horizon, but was painfully silent upon the remedy for the portending commercial stagnation that is now haunting humanity in all the walks of life. The majority of the laboring people seem to be inoculated with Missonianism—they must be shown, in order that their credulity may be strengthened. The near future will furnish some exhibits that will have a blighting effect upon the Gompersism that has made the American Federation crawl with snail-like pace along the highway towards the goal of economic liberty.

### Important Telegrams.

Denver, Colorado, December 5, 1903.

Honorable Henry M. Teller, United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

In behalf of the metalliferous miners of the state of Colorado, will you personally request President Roosevelt to immediately investigate conditions in the San Juan and Cripple Creek districts, Colorado?

EXECUTIVE BOARD, WESTERN FEDERATION MINERS.

By Chas. H. Moyer, President.

Denver, Colorado, December 5, 1903.

Honorable T. M. Patterson, United States Senator, Washington, D. C.:

In behalf of the metalliferous miners of the state of Colorado, will you personally request President Roosevelt to immediately investigate conditions in the San Juan and Cripple Creek districts, Colorado?

EXECUTIVE BOARD, WESTERN FEDERATION MINERS.

By Chas. H. Meyer, President.

Washington, D. C., December 6, 1903.

Mr. Chas. H. Moyer, President Western Federation of Miners, Denver, Colorado:

Yes, will see President early to-morrow and urge him to immediately personally investigate as you request. Will wire his response.

T. M. PATTERSON.

Washington, D. C., December 7, 1903.

Charles H. Moyer, President Western Federation Miners, Denver, Colorado: Senator Teller and I called upon the President this morning, presented your dispatches and approved the request. The President stated that under present conditions he had neither the power nor the right to take such action as you request.

T. M. PATTERSON.

# The Situation in Colorado.

THE MINE OWNERS' ASSOCIATION of the state of Colorado and its adjuncts, the Citizens' Alliances, are growing desperate as bankruptcy stares them in the face, and law, constitution and the liberty of citizenship is to be ignored in carrying out the brutal policy and conspiracy of the privileged coterie, to whom the governor of the state has given the use of the state militia to subjugate and shatter the Western Federation of Miners. In the Telluride mining district the official machinery of San Miguel county is completely in the hands of the enemies of unionism, and the members of organized labor are treated as outlaws. To carry a union card, to refuse to return to work at the terms dictated by the Mine Owners' Association are considered sufficient grounds to be dragged before a prostituted judicial tribunal, and become charged with vagrancy and convicted, regardless of the financial standing of the man who is condemned as a criminal.

It has been declared through the daily press that Governor Peabody ordered the state militia to Telluride on the condition that "agitators, idlers and trouble breeders" be driven from the camp and that he will use the blanket warrants to that end. After the militia had invaded the Telluride mining district arrests were made rapidly and Guy E. Miller, the president of the union, speaking of the outrage, had the following to say:

"Many of our men were arrested to-day on a charge of vagrancy. They were pointed out by a deputy sheriff or Night Marshal Chris Geyer. The arrests were made by the militia. Some of these men are being maintained by the union. Is it a serious offense for a workman while on strike to be supported by his fellows?"

"Many of those arrested were engaged in their daily vocation, one of them an old soldier.

"Sheriff Rutan reports a find of dynamite under the reservoir pipe line. If the find was made it was placed by those who knew where to look for it and they were not connected with the Miners' Union.

"A few Finns went up to the Tomboy this morning. They were leasers and had a large quantity of ore broken, which the union gave them permission to get out that their laborers might be paid.

Speaking of the matter of all the arrests made, including those at the Tomboy on the 21st, the arrest of Secretary Carpenter and other members of the union, Mr. Engley said:

"It is the most high-handed piece of work that ever came to my notice, and during my experience as an attorney such gross injustice has never before been perpetrated. The military was undoubtedly behind the move and while before I held Major Hill as a man that could and would always command respect, I must say he has forfeited a certain amount of my esteem by lending himself to aid in this move.

"What my future plans are concerning the next move cannot be divulged at this time, but I will be prepared to say within a few days just what course we will pursue."

The wholesale arrest of the miners on strike at Telluride which took place on November 30th has had the effect of causing the union men to stand firmer for their demands, which they believe and hold are based upon justice. The leaders of the strike at Telluride declare openly and emphatically that not one striker will be coerced into returning to work or leaving the district.

"They can arrest every one of us," said one of the leading officers of the union, "but they can't force us to return to work or forswear allegiance to our principles. The mine owners are having their inning just now, with the assistance of a subservient set of officials, but before this court business is over we will show them that the law is a two-edged weapon and can be used in behalf of the under dog."

The scheme adopted by the Mine Owners' Association in conjunction with the Citizens' Alliance, the civil authorities and the state militia, is to arrest every man who is not working, fine him, and then suspend the fine in order to give him a chance to go to work or leave the district. The strikers declare that they will not pay their fines, neither will they return to work or take their exit from Telluride. A number of the members of the union who were arrested and charged with vagrancy, having refused to return to work on the terms proposed by the mine operators and having declined to leave Telluride, were forced to accept the penalty of working on the street, regardless of the fact that the majority of them had money in their pockets. Among the number whom a corrupt judiciary fined for vagrancy, was an old soldier who rallied to the defense of the flag, the vaunted "Stars and Stripes," in the stormy days of '61.

The executive board of the Western Federation of Miners, now in session, being informed of the unlawful outrages being perpetrated against the membership of the organization at Telluride, sent the following telegram on December 1st to President Roosevelt:

"Denver, Dec. 1, 1903.—To His Excellency, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, Washington, D. C.—At the present time officers of the state of Colorado, under the guise and pretext of enforcing law, have ordered a large number of reputable and self-sustaining citizens and residents to leave Telluride, Colorado, under penalty of being

imprisoned or otherwise severely dealt with. These citizens and residents are not guilty of any crime against the laws of the state or United States. The constitution and laws of the United States pertaining to civil rights are being flagrantly violated, and we call upon you under the civil rights statutes and under section 1988 of the revised statutes of the United States, to investigate conditions prevailing there and give to these persons who have been so outraged the protection guaranteed to them by the law of the land.

EXECUTIVE BOARD, WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS, by William D. Haywood, Secretary."

The section of the revised federal statutes referred to in the telegram reads:

"Section 1988—Whenever the President has reason to believe that offenses have been, or are likely to be, committed against the provisions of chapter 7 of the title crimes, within any judicial district, it shall be lawful for him, in his discretion, to direct the judge, marshal and district attorney of such district to attend at such place within the district, and for such time as he may designate, for the purpose of the more speedy arrest and trial of persons so charged, and it shall be the duty of every judge or other officer when any such requisition is received by him to attend at the place and for the time therein designated."

The following appeared in the press dispatches in reference to the telegram forwarded to President Roosevelt by the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners:

"Washington, Dec. 2.—President Roosevelt to-day received a telegram from the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners strongly urging him to protect the rights of the miners who have been ordered to leave the Telluride district in Colorado on penalty of imprisonment. The matter is in the hands of the state authorities of Colorado and it does not appear at this time that the federal government, through the President, can properly take action on it. The secretary of war, who was consulted by the Colorado authorities, has expressed the opinion that the government cannot interfere legally in the trouble in the Telluride district at the present juncture. Among officials who have considered the subject it is believed that the rights of the miners will be protected fully by the courts."

Secretary-Treasurer Haywood was likewise instructed to send the following telegram to the president of the Telluride Miners' Union:

"Denver, Dec. 1, 1903.—Guy E. Miller, President Telluride Miners' Union, Telluride, Colo.—Advise all men who were ordered to leave town as result of alleged vagrancy trials to remain in Telluride. The justice of the peace, nor any other official of the county or state, cannot compel persons to leave any place where they choose to live. The constitution and statutes of the United States concerning civil rights make it unlawful for officers to deny these rights. Howe, Rutan and others are subject to punishment in the United States courts, and the law will be duly invoked. You are assured of the hearty support of the Western Federation of Miners.

EXECUTIVE BOARD,  
by William D. Haywood, Secretary."

On December 4th the press dispatches contained the following from Telluride:

Telluride, Colo., Dec. 4.—To-morrow the attention of both civil and military authorities, as well as that of every citizen, will be centered on the habeas corpus proceedings in the county court. The pleadings of the attorneys will be held in the court room and it is very likely that it will be packed.

Former Attorney General Eugene Engley will argue in behalf of the prisoners, who it will be attempted to release, and the state will be represented by District Attorney S. G. McMullin and Deputy District Attorney Edward C. Howe. Attorney McMullin arrived from Grand Junction to-night.

The case will be one of the most fiercely contested habeas corpus cases ever fought in the county. If the men shall be released by this means it will stand as a blow to the prosecution, and the latter will exert every effort to keep the men in prison. County Judge John M. Wardlaw will hear the arguments.

Habeas corpus proceedings were instituted before Judge Wardlaw late this evening for the release of Norman Young, vice president of the Ophir union, who was arrested by the military near the Butterfly-Terrible mine last Wednesday on a charge of engaging in a concerted plan to intimidate men who desired to work and threats of bodily injury.

The prosecution made but little effort to keep Young incarcerated and he was released to-day. The allegations set forth in the writ by which Young's release was secured are virtually the same as those by which it is expected by the unions that Secretary Carpenter and the eleven other men will be released to-morrow. The petitions are all signed by Guy E. Miller, president of the Miners' Union, and set forth that these men have been arrested and deprived of their liberty and confined in the county jail without any process at law issued by any court, or any writ of commitment whatsoever, and that these men have not been arrested, committed, imprisoned or restrained of their liberty by reason of the commission of any felony against the laws of the state of Colorado.

Tony Lanzeri, arrested several days ago for attempting to keep men from going to work by intimidation and threats, was released by the sheriff this morning.

The quiet state of affairs about town continues uninterruptedly to-day and the present state of stagnation offers a great contrast to the full blast activity of Telluride a little over two months ago.

Eight union miners were at work to-day on the road leading to the pest house under the watchful supervision of a squad of four men of Troop B, under Corporal Ashe.



The governor of the state, in his desperate efforts to be loyal to the corporations under all circumstances, has issued a proclamation declaring martial law in Teller county, notwithstanding the fact that such a proclamation is a flagrant violation of the constitution of the state. During the strike at Leadville in 1896, McIntyre, who was then governor of the state, called into consultation three of the most eminent jurists of the state, and after a searching investigation and mature deliberation an ultimatum was issued, which declared that it was not within the province of the executive of the state to declare martial law. Notwithstanding the legal decision that was rendered in 1896 in reference to the powers of the governor in the Leadville strike, Peabody, the pliant, truckling tool, issued the following order and proclamation on Friday, December 4th:

SPECIAL ORDERS—No. 543.

December 4, 1903.

Major H. A. Naylor, Commanding Officer Troops, Cripple Creek District, Teller County, Colorado, Camp Goldfield, Victor, Colo.:

You will proceed with a cavalry detail of fifty men and have Major Tom E. McClelland accompany you and read aloud the following proclamation in the city of Victor first, Goldfield second, Independence third, Altman fourth, Cripple Creek fifth and Anaconda sixth, namely:  
State of Colorado, Executive Chamber, Denver.

PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, it appearing to my satisfaction that there exists in Teller county, Colorado, one or more organizations controlled by desperate men, who are intimidating the civil authorities, and who are setting at defiance the constitution and laws of the state of Colorado, and that the citizens of said county of Teller, by reason of the threats, intimidations and crimes committed by certain lawless persons in said county, are unable to enjoy their civil rights; and

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

Whereas, on Saturday, the twenty-first day of November, A. D. 1903, in said Teller county, state of Colorado, certain persons, at present unknown, did then and there blow up the shaft of the Vindicator mine, and thereby wantonly destroyed property of great value; and

Whereas, at said time and place two employes of said mine were instantly killed by said explosion; and

Whereas, but a few days previous thereto an attempt was made by certain lawless persons to derail and wreck a passenger train of the Florence and Cripple Creek railroad, by the removal of spikes and the loosening of rails, thereby endangering life and property; and

Whereas, said destruction of property with attendant loss of life by mob violence as above set forth, is but a repetition of outrages covering a long period of time just past, in said county, during which time citizens have lost their lives without the offenders being apprehended or punished therefor; and

Whereas, the civil authorities have shown themselves either unable to deal with these criminals and to bring them to punishment, or else are unwilling to perform their duty by reason of threats and intimidations, or through fear or subserviency to such body of lawless and armed men, so that a state of lawlessness exists in said county of Teller, the laws are set at defiance and the citizens are unable to enjoy the rights guaranteed them by the constitution and laws of this state, and by reason of these conditions it appears that life and property are unsafe in said county; and

Whereas, I have reason to believe that similar outrages may occur at any time, and believing the civil authorities of said county of Teller are utterly unable, unwilling and are making no practical attempt to preserve order and to protect life and property:

Now, therefore, I, James H. Peabody, governor of the state of Colorado, by virtue of the authority in me vested, do hereby proclaim and declare the said county of Teller, in the state of Colorado, to be in a state of insurrection and rebellion.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the state, in the city of Denver, the state capital, this fourth day of December, A. D. one thousand nine hundred and three.

(Seal.) JAMES H. PEABODY.

By the Governor—Attest:  
JAMES COWIE, Secretary of State.

SHERMAN M. BELL,

Brigadier General, Adjutant General, State of Colorado.

By Command of James H. Peabody, Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

A special to the Rocky Mountain News from Victor, Colorado, demonstrates that the military is to reign supreme and that civil law is to bow in abject servility to the power of armed might.

Victor, Colo., Dec. 4.—This city is practically in the hands of the military authorities to-night. It has been since about 6 o'clock this evening. Martial law, however, has not yet taken full effect, though technically it is in force.

The governor's proclamation was read in Victor by Major McClelland at 3 p. m.

The Page building was seized at headquarters for the militia this afternoon.

Major Naylor, with a troop of cavalry, notified the chief of police that he must not interfere with the militia, but must act with them.

To-night Major Naylor visited the Victor Record office and compelled the editor to cut out an editorial commenting on the situation.

Soldiers are patrolling the business and residence streets. The civil officers are still holding their positions and will continue to do so until tomorrow afternoon probably. There has been no disorder or any unusual demonstration since Governor Peabody's proclamation of martial law was read here at the corner of Victor avenue and Third street this afternoon by Major Thomas E. McClelland, in command of a troop of fifty cavalrymen, who occupied the square while the document was being promulgated with the hearing of about 100 civilians. As soon as it was understood clearly by the crowd what the governor's message contemplated the news was carried all over the town very quickly. The immediate effect that was created showed that a very large majority of the people were much surprised that the governor had decided to take such radical action. A number of prominent union men stated to-night their opinion that martial law will result in hastening a settlement of the strike.

The first real movement which the military made in obeying the order from Governor Peabody occurred late this afternoon when Lieutenant H. A. Hoag, by order of Major Naylor, served notice on E. H. Newland, agent for the Page building, located on North Fourth street, to give up the keys of the building to Lieutenant Hoag. Agent Newland at once complied and the military took possession of the building, which is now occupied by Company H, First regiment of infantry, under Captain Bryan, comprising ninety-five men. The headquarters of the company will be maintained there during the military regime.

To-night at about 9 o'clock Major Naylor, at the head of fifty cavalrymen, rode down to the city hall on North Victor avenue. Major Naylor and one of his officers went into the police courtroom and there held a conference with Mayor Frank B. French and Chief of Police Michael O'Connell. The chief of police was somewhat anxious to learn just what the status of the governor's proclamation amounted to. He was asked by Major Naylor if he would act with the military. A short discussion ensued between Major Naylor and Chief O'Connell, Mayor French sitting silently by. Major Naylor finally told the chief of police that if he did not consent to meet the demands of the military authorities that he, Major Naylor, would seize the city hall building without any further notice. The fifty armed cavalrymen out in the street was strong enough to guarantee the carrying out of the demand. Finally Mayor French explained matters as he had received instructions from Colonel Gibbons several hours previously to the effect that until to-morrow it was the purpose of the military to let the civil authorities remain in control of the city, or until such arrangements due to orders in detail under martial rule should be received from Governor Peabody in Denver. Major Naylor, however, remarked that he would have his soldiers patrolling the streets to-night in conjunction with the police force.

To-night between 8 and 9 o'clock Major Naylor called at the Victor Daily Record office and informed its editor and proprietor, George R. Kyner, that a censorship had been placed upon the columns of the Record. Editor Kyner was told that he must not publish anything but ordinary news matter and was compelled to show Major Naylor proofs of the editorial matter which he had already written for to-morrow morning's issue of his paper. The leading editorial was produced and the military officer told the proprietor of the Record that he must not publish it. He likewise forbade the editor of the Record to print the official statement of the Miners' Union executive committee. The Record has been the official organ of the union since the strike began.

After martial law was declared by the governor, Sheriff Robertson was interviewed and spoke as follows:

"I still hold that the law has been enforced by the civil authorities of the district. Never at any time have I hesitated when a warrant was placed in my hands and I have done everything in my power to apprehend those who have committed crimes. I did not ask for the militia, and when I was told this afternoon that martial law would be declared I did not believe it. I have known since this strike started that it was the object and intention, if it could be brought about by the governor's advisers, to declare martial law, and from present indications they have succeeded."

The Woman's Auxiliary sent the following telegram to President Roosevelt on the afternoon of December 4th:

Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States:  
Martial law will be declared in Cripple Creek to-night, and we, the members of the Women's Auxiliary of the labor unions of the Cripple Creek district, to the number of 700, appeal to you for protection against the unjust rulings of the governor of the state.

(Signed)  
MRS. SOPHIA KING,  
MRS. SARAH CLARK,  
MRS. NELLIE LECKY,  
MRS. EMMA COPLEY,  
MRS. EMMA LANGDON,  
MRS. EFFIE JENKS.

William P. Seeds, the district judge of Teller county, in reply to the statements published in the press as coming from the governor and attorney general casting reflections upon the civil authorities, issued the following signed statement to the public:

"My attention having been called to certain interviews of the governor and the attorney general of this state, so generally reported to the public

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press, that I am constrained to believe those officers to be correctly quoted. I realize fully the delicacy of one occupying a judicial position in making public comment as to official acts. However, when the chief executive and the attorney general of the state, particularly in times of public excitement, make declarations so flagrantly opposed to the recorded truth, it becomes my duty, both to myself and to the public, to make a statement of the facts.

"It is not my desire, nor within my province, to publicly discuss the conditions prevailing in Teller county—and I have refrained from commenting as to the wisdom of the acts of the governor acting within the purview of his authority.

"It is reported in these papers that the governor has issued the following orders: 'Rearrest the men as soon as they are given their liberty on habeas corpus and hold them at Camp Goldfield until further instructions. I am determined that these men shall not go free without trial.'

"Further, that the general is reported to have said: 'The chief executive is of the opinion that it will be impossible to have Miners' Union officials tried on the information filed against them while Judge Seeds holds court in the district.'

"Again: 'If these men are given their freedom without a trial, radical steps will have to be taken.'

"Again: 'There seems no special reason why these cases should be rushed through. It will be impossible for them to be properly presented, and when they are, fairness will not be done, judging from the present status of affairs.'

"I find also the following language attributed to Attorney General Miller: 'The governor and his attorneys will try to prevent an immediate hearing of the cases, as they say, to permit the people to become composed. Their hope lies in the fact that Judge Seeds will leave the district January 1st, giving up his seat temporarily to Judge Lewis.'

"It is inconceivable that these officials can make declarations of this character and at the same time to be advised as to the truth, and I must believe that the facts and circumstances connected with the habeas corpus proceedings must have been misstated and misrepresented to them. In order that the exact truth may be known I give the following verbatim report of the proceedings had and done at that time:

"Mr. Crump—In cases 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449 and 2450, being six writs of habeas corpus issued on behalf of the various petitioners against the military officers, Colonel Verdeckberg, Major Naylor and Major McClellan, I have filed returns on behalf of all the respondents generally in the six cases, Cases 2048, 2446 and 4450, being the petitions of Patrick Mullaney, Victor Poole and W. B. Easterly; the respondents are here in court with the bodies of those respective petitioners. The answer in each one of those cases to the writ is substantially as was made in a prior case here, and which your honor held to be insufficient to authorize the military authorities to longer hold the petitioners. Mr. Hangs has appeared for the petitioners and has filed to each one of these three returns a demurrer or perhaps a motion to quash.

"Mr. Hangs—A motion to quash.

"Mr. Crump—It is also the same motion which your honor sustained on a prior case. I don't desire to argue the questions of law which are presented in these matters, and under the precedent which your honor has established, and which is the law in this district, at least now, I assume that orders will go directing the respondents to release each of these petitioners, and I only desire upon the entry of that order to reserve an exception in each case, and I will say to your honor that as soon as that order is made it will be complied with by the respondents.

"Mr. Hangs—I presume the order will be to sustain the motion to quash?

"The Court—Motion to quash will be sustained and the petitioners will be discharged.

"Mr. Crump—Respondent excepts.

"The Court—That is, in those three cases, that is the order; in the case of the three petitioners named—Easterly, Poole and Mullaney.

"Mr. Crump—In the other three cases, namely, Kennison, Davis and Parker cases, under my instructions they have not presented the bodies of the petitioners in court, but in lieu I have filed answers, returns to the several writs, setting forth in addition to the matters in the other cases just disposed of the fact that the district attorney has been presented with affidavits charging each of these petitioners with crimes under the laws of the state. I am informed by the clerk of the court and by the district attorney that these informations charge murder, conspiracy to murder and conspiracy to derail a railroad train, and have been filed by your honor. Is that correct?

"The Court—That is correct. Bring these informations, Mr. Clerk.

"Mr. Crump—No question being made on the record, I desire to move in those three cases that Mr. Hangs' motion be denied and that the respondent in these three proceedings be discharged and that an order directing the capias to be delivered to the sheriff of this county, to whom we will forthwith deliver the bodies of these respective prisoners upon those capias.

"Mr. Hangs—We object to that order at this time. It is no defense to a petition for habeas corpus that an information has been placed in the hands of the district attorney which might lead to the filing of criminal informations, and we will say this, that we will not object or not insist upon the petitioners being brought in here, but we do insist that the capias issue and they turn them over to the sheriff prior to the dismissal of these petitions for habeas corpus. They have signified their willingness to do that, in order to comply with the writ they must actually deliver the custody to the legal authorities or they must turn them loose to comply with the writ.

"Mr. Crump—We are not going to turn them loose, of course.

"Mr. Hangs—The court would have the right to put them under bonds at once or command them to the custody of the sheriff. We think these matters should not be passed up until the prisoners are delivered to the sheriff. Then we consent to the cases being dismissed. That is, in reference to Parker, Davis and Kennison.

"Mr. Crump—There is no necessity for that. This order was made in prior cases in this manner and as the court has already held in the other cases. We have justified and performed now all these respondents had to do, and it is with the district attorney to perform his duty, which has been done. The sheriff can have these prisoners either at the camp or if the sheriff of this county desires it the officers in charge will deliver the bodies of these prisoners to the sheriff here. That will be done on the desire of the sheriff.

"The Court—I will pass the matter for the present and suggest that the officers deliver these respective petitioners to the sheriff at the jail of Teller county, and upon the sheriff phoning the clerk or informing him that he has the parties in custody, the order will be made discharging the respondents. You understand that, gentlemen, officers?

"Some Officers—We do.

"The Court—And that these suggestions on the part of the court be complied with forthwith on the part of the officers.

"Mr. Crump—During the afternoon?

"The Court—All right.

"At no time since the advent of the military into this district has any prisoner charged with crime by that authority been discharged or released by this court under a habeas corpus proceedings or otherwise, and in all cases where discharge has been granted by habeas corpus it has been purely for the lack of any information authorizing or even suggesting to the court the commission of any offense or the violation of any public law on the part of the individual detained. In all other cases where either affidavit or information has been filed against such individual for the commission of any

offense he has been remanded to the custody of the sheriff of Teller county and bail fixed commensurate with the offense charged.

"It will be observed in the proceedings just had that neither the military nor the legal representative of the governor offered, or presented complaint as to the commission of any offense upon the part of any of the prisoners wherein any complaint was made the prisoners were arrested and committed under capias issued from this court. As to the state suggesting the rushing of trial of these cases, I desire to say that in all cases the bonds are made returnable on the first day of the next term of court, which convenes the first Tuesday in February next. This is true in all these cases without exception, and there has not been an intimation on the part of the counsel for the state or the legal representative of the governor or the defendants, or any one on their behalf, suggesting a trial prior to that time.

"It will be seen from this statement of facts that there could be no foundation for the quoted comments of the state officials unless it be the decision of the court in the habeas corpus cases of some weeks since, and my conviction and conclusion at that time I must reaffirm and reiterate.

"(Signed)

WILLIAM P. SEEDS."

The editorial which was suppressed in the office of the Victor Record reads as follows:

"Martial law has been declared in Teller county. The proclamation was issued at noon yesterday by Colorado's governor. The reasons given by the governor are principally that the court and officials in this county have not and will not enforce the law. Those are the reasons given by Peabody for publication, but the Record believes that the real reason is that the troops, under their past course, have failed to break the strike in, at least, a manner satisfactory to the mine owners of the district.

"It is our opinion that a larger bullpen will be established and that within a few days every labor leader and every man who cannot give a good excuse for not being at work will be arrested and confined in the bullpen.

"Words cannot be found strong enough to condemn this action on the part of the governor. Many people believe it to be political. It is stated that if this was a Republican county there would have been no martial law here and the Record believes that that statement is right. The proposition is to drive all the people out of this county who are not in accord with the present state administration. If you will note the arrests that will follow this proclamation of Governor Peabody you will find that that statement will be verified. Men in the past and since the strike began have been arrested, it is our belief, because some enemy of theirs was near enough to the powers to have if done, but not a single administration enthusiast has been arrested.

"The Record believes that this is a sham on the courts of this county. Judge Seeds has done all that a judge could do and has given the mine owners all that any reasonable people could ask for. How much more bonds would they ask for than \$15,000, as in the case of Sherman Parker and others confined in the county jail? The sheriff of this county has been as active as any sheriff could be. If the blowing up of the Vindicator mine was malicious, why didn't they capture the men, or if they have the right man, what is the necessity of declaring martial law? If they have the evidence those men can be convicted without any extreme exertion. The Record believes in the full enforcement of the law and it stands ready to condemn any official who does not do his honest duty, but we object to the name the governor of this state and his advisers seem determined to give the Cripple Creek district.

"Talk about tyranny! Where can you point to more tyrannical action than that which has been practiced by the military since they were sent to this district? The Record does not know at this time how far it will be allowed to express its opinion under the reign of law, but we purpose to proceed just as if we lived in free America. We want to do justice to everybody and propose to do that to the best of our ability. We realize that Peabody is governor and under the law we must respect his order, and are willing to because it is law; but until the order is issued that citizens and newspapers cannot express their opinions we will proceed in the paths of justice as we construe it."

The following statement was issued on the night of December 6th by the press committee of District Union No. 1:

"When Governor Peabody says a spirit of rebellion and insurrection exists in the Cripple Creek district, he tells what he knows to be a deliberate falsehood.

"There is not now and never has been since the strike started, a more law-abiding community in the state than the Cripple Creek district. There has been but one crime committed that could reasonably be attributed to the present strike, this being the beating up of the carpenter, Stewart.

"The Vindicator disaster, from all the evidence produced, points strongly to the theory that it was a put-up job to create an explosion, and the plotters got caught in their own trap. It was proven beyond doubt that no person could gain access to the sixth level of the mine without going down the shaft from the top, and this was guarded. Again the persons fixing the trap must have known that the sixth level was going to be worked at once, because, the mine being wet, the pistol, if such was used, would have rusted and therefore been useless, if left there over forty-eight hours. This fact was fully established at the coroner's inquest. The

trap was put up to cause an explosion to retain the troops in the district, which were then being withdrawn.

"The removal of the rail incident was another put-up job by two detectives in the employ of the Mine Owners' Association. The whole incident is considered too frivolous, by the people who are acquainted with the facts in the case, to be taken seriously. The rail was loosened and the train officials notified of the fact. No accident or wreck was contemplated and it was another trick to retain the troops.

"If the mine owners claim to have so much evidence, why do they not produce it instead of relying on a conglomeration of false and misleading statements? The whole case of the mine owners is a tissue of falsehoods and misrepresentations manufactured to influence the public against the strikers.

"The governor knows and his co-conspirators know that they have not a scintilla of evidence to convict any of the falsely accused union men with either of these crimes, and hence their desperation and false statements regarding insurrection existing in the district. The striking miners have beaten the mine owners on every point, and have the mine owners financially embarrassed, and the strikers have won the strike without the shadow of a doubt.

"The martial law proposition is their last despairing bluff and the strikers will call that bluff as they have done every other one produced by the mine owners, who are already weakening on this one. They see the handwriting on the wall."

Colonel Verdeckburg, who is in command of the state militia in the Cripple Creek district, issued the following order on Sunday, December 6th:

"For the information of those concerned, the following proclamation, dated these headquarters, December 5, 1903, is referred to:

"All persons in possession of arms, equipment and munitions of war of any description, are required to surrender same on or before 12 o'clock noon, Tuesday, December 8, 1903, to the military district commander, taking his receipt for the same. Any person or persons failing to surrender the said arms, equipments and munitions of war will be arrested and confined in military prison and further punished as occasion may require."

And the following instructions are promulgated: "That all persons, who by virtue of holding commissions as a police officer, marshal, constable, sheriff or deputy sheriff, or persons employed as watchmen over property, may be granted permits to carry arms, ammunition and equipment in the discharge of their lawful duties, by the military district commander, upon the presentation of credentials acceptable to him and upon the delivery of such arms, ammunition and equipment at a place designated, which is, until further orders, his headquarters at Camp Goldfield, Victor, Colorado.

"Any person or persons selling, loaning or any way distributing any arms, ammunition or equipment, shall, before the execution of such sale, loan or delivery, present the said arms, ammunition or equipment, together with the credentials, to the party to whom it is to be sold, loaned or delivered, as above prescribed.

"Citizens may upon presentation, as above stated, be permitted to have and to keep at their homes or at their places of business, weapons for defense when it may appear such is necessary in the protection of life and property in the judgment of the military district commander."

As we go to press, the habeas corpus proceedings are being heard in Telluride. From present indications, history will be written rapidly in the strike situation in Colorado.

The members of the Western Federation of Miners, as well as the men belonging to the United Mine Workers, are determined to win, and all the armed force of the state will fail to awe or intimidate them in their struggle for victory.

**Statement from the Smelters in Reply to Mr. Grant.**

To the Public: Having seen J. B. Grant's statement (as published in The Denver Post in its issue of December 2, 1903), in regard to the present strike at the Globe and Grant smelters, and realizing that J. B. Grant made this statement for the purpose of justifying the course the American Smelting and Refining Company has pursued toward its former employes and knowing his statement is false in every particular, we have concluded to refresh Mr. Grant's memory.

Mr. Grant is reported as saying: "If the smelters had presented their claims to the company they would have been heard, but the fact that they entrusted themselves to the Western Federation of Miners and sent their third parties to the company—parties who do not own one cent's worth of stock—and have them make a demand on the company and attempt to give us instructions as to how to run our business, changes the matter."

Now let us get at the facts, and to do so we want to ask Mr. Grant if these are not the men that waited on the company officials and asked an eight-hour shift: Joe Scott, Globe smelter; Anton Stanske, Grant smelter; Robert Withers, Globe smelter; Patrick Hanigan, Globe smelter; William L. Smith, Globe smelter; Hans Olson, Grant smelter; Charles Mardis, Grant smelter.

These men were at that time, and had been for years, in the employ of the company and had to ask for a day off to go to see the officials of the American Smelting and Refining Company. This committee presented their petition to the company on the 17th of June. Mr. Grant was in the office, read the petition, and informed the men that Mr. Guiterman, the manager, was absent in the East, and asked that the matter be deferred until his return. When the manager returned to Denver a committee waited upon Mr. Guiterman, but failed to receive any concessions. The manager, in a long article to the Denver papers, stated his reasons for refusing to comply with the request of his employes. The committee, in answer to the manager, made a brief statement, which is as follows:

"Denver, Colorado, July 2, 1903.

"Mr. Frank Guiterman, General Manager American Smelting and Refining Company, Denver, Colorado:

"Dear Sir—We notice in the newspapers that in your reply to our request for the establishment of the eight-hour day in the smelting plants of your company in Denver you base your refusal of such request solely on the proposition that it will increase the cost of production and may possibly interfere with the continued operation of the mining industry in Colorado. In reply, let us state that in our request not one word was said as to

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"At the present time the majority of the members of the organization read nothing but the metropolitan dailies—the avowed and everlasting enemies of labor. There is not a daily of any note from the Atlantic to the Pacific (the Rocky Mountain News excepted) that is friendly to labor; it is our duty not to patronize them, nor the men who advertise in them."—From President Edward Boyce's address to the Miners' convention at Salt Lake, May 12, 1897.

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wages to be paid under the eight-hour system. We have no desire to interfere in the slightest degree with the operation of mining development in this state or the profitable operation of your company. But what we do say is that twelve hours a day is too long for men to labor under the unhealthy conditions surrounding smelting of metalliferous ores. We want the eight-hour day. As to wages to be paid under the same we are willing to enter into a conference with you or any representative of the American Smelting and Refining Company for the purpose of arriving at a satisfactory adjustment of a wage scale for eight hours' work. We will do this, or, second, the men employed in your smelters will choose a representative and the company to choose its representative, and those two to choose a third person, the three to arbitrate the difference as to wages, and to fix a wage scale to be paid for eight hours' work.

"We are at all times desirous of settling this question and any and all differences arising therefrom in a harmonious and conciliatory manner and without the stoppage of these plants.

"Kindly let us have an answer to this proposition as soon as possible.

Respectfully yours,

JOE SCOTT,  
ANTONE STANSKE,  
ROBERT WITHERS,  
WILLIAM L. SMITH,  
HANS OLESON,  
CHARLES MARDIS."

Does this look as though the smeltermen sent a third party to the company? Or does it have the appearance of honest employes asking for a fair hearing from their employer?

It has not been our policy to run to the newspapers with our grievances, but we cannot let this matter pass without refuting these mis-statements made by J. B. Grant.

BY THE COMMITTEE.

OFFICIAL.

Unions, Take Notice.

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD in convention assembled has adopted the following:

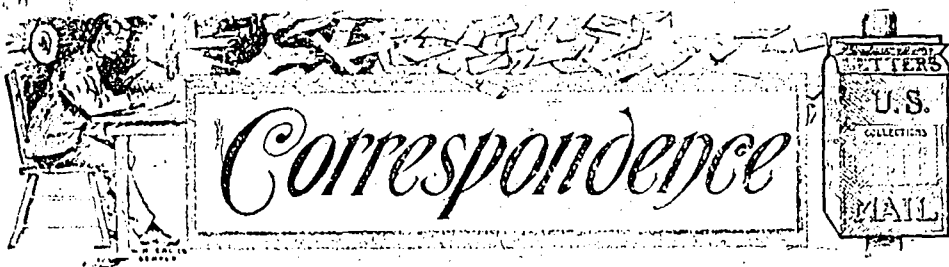
"That all local unions of the Western Federation of Miners be authorized by the executive board to use receipts with stubs and numbers in acknowledgement of money received from various unions."

(Signed) Chas. H. Moyer, President; John C. Williams, Vice President; W. D. Haywood, Secretary-Treasurer; J. T. Lewis, L. J. Simpkins, J. P. Murphy, D. C. Copley, James Kirwin, J. A. Baker, Executive Board.

Notice to Secretaries.

All secretaries requesting transfer cards shall in all cases give ledger number, number of page and name in full.

BY ORDER EXECUTIVE BOARD.



Unfair.

November 29, 1903.

Editor Miners' Magazine: I feel that I owe the following reflection to the Western Federation of Miners, which I highly respect.

Polly Pry's ideas about labor troubles in Colorado are strongly prejudiced. There is a marked influence of capital and feminine weakness in her articles. Apparently, they are courageous, but that courage is only based upon the fact that she is a woman; that no man would be coward enough to attack.

All her ridicule of a great many would-be society men and women are based upon the same fact.

Her article on the Midway is decidedly double-tongued. She begins by admitting that organized labor is a benefit in general to its members, but continues by condemning their way in warfare, referring especially to the Western Federation of Miners. She relates several foul crimes which have been committed during the recent strikes and which were put at the door of the Western Federation of Miners.

In the first place, it is not at all proven who committed the same, but supposing that some revengeful, evil-minded union miners committed crimes, is that a cause for a fair-minded American man or woman to condemn the whole organization and their just cause? We all know that a war is on between labor and capital, and in a war, a great many evil happenings have to be contended with. Who would dare call all men in the South assassins because one of them killed President Lincoln? In all history there are many instances of a similar kind. And what are the strikes but history?

If short, Polly Pry caters to the business men, and as the business men are helping capital to destroy organized labor, she is not at all fair-minded to organized labor as she states in her article "on the Midway."

Her criticism on "Mother Jones" is the most damnable in that magazine, but it is not at all surprising, it is due to feminine gossiping.

It is a pity that such a talent should abuse itself by being a tool of greed instead of justice.

It's hardly worth while showing her unfairness, but I could not resist writing as I did.

Respectfully,  
ALFRED BERN.

Strike at the Ballot Box.

Yavapai County, Arizona, November 26, 1903.

Editor Miners' Magazine: The Mine Operators' Association, with the help of Judge Sloan, have made the injunction permanent on almost everybody but themselves. They will not even allow anyone to sympathize with us in our struggle for a part of our product. The strike in this county has been the best thing that ever happened the unions. It has showed us just who our enemies were and proved without any doubt that we must take this struggle to the ballot box. The boys are all standing firm and the unions are still doing business at the old stand.

Many of these companies which Mr. Murphy showed the beauties of his

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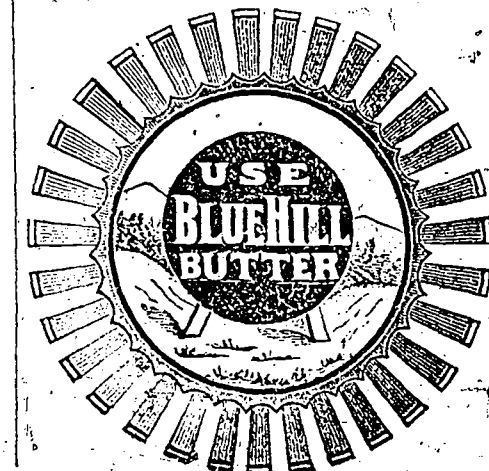
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PATRONIZE OUR ADVERTISERS MENTION THE MINERS MAGAZINE

Mine Operators' Association, are a thing of the past. Stocks do not sell well, while a strike is on, and the few scabs who tried to take the miners' places did not seem to break any ground. Hence all is silence, and not even the whistles are heard any more to keep up their courage. We have a number of fair mines here, and a few who are trying to be unfair in the stoppers scale of wages. Walker district is the center of the trouble, and within a radius of thirty miles there are 2,000 men receiving the union scale, and it is very doubtful if thirty scabs can be found in the whole district.

Mr. Murphy calls the strike off every few weeks in the Journal Miner, but he forgets to consult the miners, and the strike continues.

In the Big Water Company's mine they got as many as five men in the stope at one time. These men only stay a few days, then get their two or three dollars and hike for a fair camp. The Big Water Company's mill will soon start up, and the bullion they don't get, but expect, will tell the tale as to what kind of men took the ore out. We all realize that these conditions cannot last long.

Under present conditions mines will not run long at a loss, and several of these black-listed wage slaves have solved the great question of the class struggle which rises higher before us each day. Our next great strike must be at the ballot box, and we must take from the hands of these tyrant judges the power to deprive us of the right of free speech, and even deny us the sympathy of anyone, and threaten with imprisonment any one who dared to sympathize. Many a union brother who last May would not listen to socialism, are glad to have the story of their emancipation told in the unions.

Mr. Murphy says we have lost the strike. Let him wait till the ballots are counted.

Yours for emancipation,

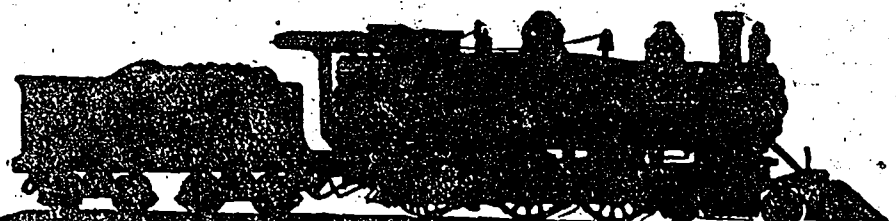
A WAGE SLAVE.

### History of Randsburg Strike in California.

You have had various communications from Randsburg in regard to the strike here, yet we think a short history of our whole trouble may prove of interest to your readers. On May 22, 1903, a committee of No. 44 were appointed to wait on the management of the different mines, with a request that in consideration of the fact that the cost of living had increased greatly in the camp, our wages should be advanced 50 cents per diem. This included all men working in and around the mines in every capacity. On May 30th they reported back that Mr. Barton, superintendent of the Yellow Aster company, treated them courteously and promised he would try and induce the directors to accede to our request, as he felt we were justified in making it. The Sunshine, Santa Anna, Penmore, Pearl Wedjo and a few others granted the scale. The Butte, Stanford and Buckboard asked time to confer with their directors, which was granted. In the meantime Mr. Bursham, one of the Yellow Aster owners, formed the Desert Mine Owners' Association, refused to treat with the union, and posted notices stating that they had run their own business in the past and would so continue to do, but if any employe had a grievance he would be listened to and treated courteously by the management. One of our members thereupon stepped into the office, stated that he wished a 50-cent raise and was quietly told that if his wages were not satisfactory, the road to leave was open and he was at liberty to take it. This played out the old individual gag, so on June 9th, after receiving the sanction of the executive board, we voted as to our action under these conditions; on count about eighty-five per cent. voted to strike and on motion this was carried unanimously. On June 10th our president, William Nelson, on learning that cars were being sidetracked and other preparations being made for a close-down, ordered the strike, leaving enough mill men and engineers to clean up, etc.

The mines remained closed for three months with the idea that at the end of that period the union men would either be dispersed or starved into an abject state of mind. We were even left without any physician in case of sickness, but a Dr. Wilson, relying on his own qualities as a medical practitioner opened an office, and we are pleased to bear witness that he has been very successful—even though he did not have that pull so highly prized by third-rate men of being the company's doctor. At the end of August the Mine Owners' Association, thinking we had by this time realized our helplessness in conflict with capital and ownership, decided to allow us to start producing wealth again if we would consent to do so at the same old rate, viz.: A bare existence for ourselves and the balance to our masters. To their surprise we were as firm as ever in demanding a larger share of the wealth produced by our labor. Seeing their failure in this respect, they had resort to scabs, and on August 30th the first special car, loaded with our fellow working men, too ignorant to realize that in working against us, they were cutting their own throats, came to take our places. However, we found some true metal amongst them, as a number refused to go to work upon learning our side of the story, and left after signing an affidavit that they had been induced to come by misrepresentation. At this time the companies posted notices that applications from their old employes would be received in writing for five days, after which they would not be considered, and that no discrimination would be made against union men. A very few proved traitors to our ranks, notably Tom Bernard, our one-time president, and the recipient of union men's bounty for a large amount, when he had broken his leg. Like Judas of old, they could not resist the thirty pieces of silver in the shape of a shift boss position. That they realize what they have done is proven by the fact that they hide their shame at their homes and are seldom seen on our streets. The companies are now growing desperate, carload after carload arrived, bringing scabs, but as the cost of bringing them from Joplin was a costly drain on the diminishing treasury of the association, they tried San Francisco, and only got a wooden-legged man and a boy from their first carload. They gave that up as a bad job and are now depending upon men they can get from Los Angeles and near-by towns. However, we have thoroughly advertised every town in Southern California, and unless this state is swarming with natural-born scabs, we will cut off that source of supply. Their next dodge was the Best Business Men's League, and under the threats of the companies' displeasure, a number of them signed an article that the Yellow Aster company was running and had been for six weeks with a full force and a better class of men than ever, everything was lovely, the union men snowed under, and still they asked us in the interest of peace and harmony between labor and capital to call the strike off. As an instance of how much of the moral coward the average business man is, we might mention that one of the men who signed, as to alleged facts for six weeks, had at the time of signing, only been in the camp one week. We did not, however, see matters in the same light as our Best Business Men, refused their proposal and counseled arbitration which was refused by the companies. It will be our turn soon to fling that refusal back in their teeth. The fact of the matter is that the scabs have been a big disappointment to our business men here, instead of the big-hearted Western miner who (perhaps foolishly) spends his last nickel in the camp, in which he earns it, they have a class who spend nothing they can help.

The only two firms doing much business with them are Wells, Fargo & Company, writing money orders, and our local cobbler in patching up shoes. The dirtiest and most despicable opponent we have had in this strike is the Los Angeles Times, a paper whose hatred to organized labor is so intense that they pay more, it is said, than the union scale to induce their employes to refuse to join the union of their craft. This sheet, after publishing a tirade of senseless abuse against us, tried to turn union sympathy away from us by stating that the union was running a saloon, and each time we received a contribution, we hoisted the flag and proceeded to get drunk till the money was gone. However, we know that no union man pays any attention to its snarling yelping, and for this reason organized labor will turn out from all Southern California, in numbers to exceed any former demonstration, to wel-



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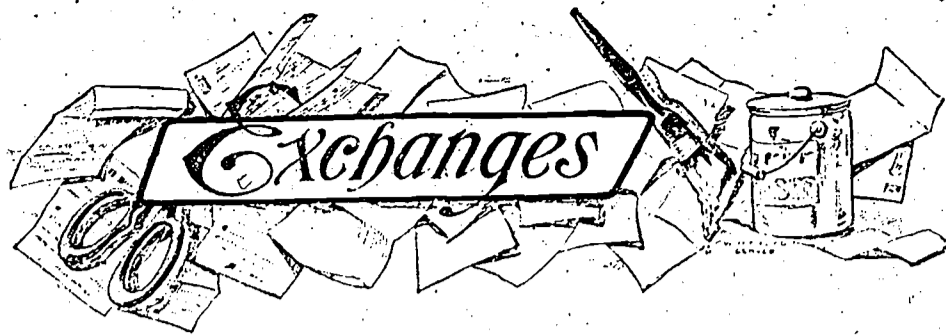
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come the advent of a rival in the shape of the Los Angeles Examiner. It at least will not sell itself to any corporation and manufacture lies at their behest to bring labor back to bygone ages, when the serf carried a collar clinched on his neck to show whose property he was, and the Lord of the Manor had the right, did he choose to exercise it, of taking his serf's newly-made bride to his own chamber. On the night of October 31st, the ten-stamp mill of the Pinmore mine was burnt to the ground and the evidence proves that it was the work of an incendiary. You can conceive how the mine owners would have howled Union Firebrands. The Los Angeles Times yelped for militia had it been a scab concern, but not a word from any of them, for it was union from the depths of the mine to the roof of the mill. The mill is now being rebuilt and a strict watch is kept to see that no firebug is allowed to burn it down again. Soon it will give employment to a large number of union men, and in conclusion, we would say, that in spite of a few of us proving traitors, in spite of Missouri unloading her scabs on us, in spite of every so-called business man who has taken sides against us, we will win out. With you, brothers, to help us, we are willing to stand anything and everything for the cause of unionism, whilst we have your approval.

We propose to, and are showing, that the floating scab is a dearer man by far at \$3.00 than the experienced miner at \$3.50, and we are proud that the miner, whether union or otherwise, is conspicuous by his absence. Haste the day, brothers, when we know enough of economic conditions, that we shall not have to cry for part of the wealth labor produces, but will get it all.

PRESS COMMITTEE.

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**Where Workingmen Vote as they Talk.**

Clarence Darrow of Chicago, who has achieved a national reputation through his connection with labor organizations in the courts of this country, has crossed the Atlantic and is making a tour of Europe with a view of scrutinizing closely the industrial conditions of the Old World. Writing from Berlin to the Pittsburg Dispatch, the Chicago lawyer presents the following observations:

"At last I have found the place where workingmen—or at least a large part of them—vote as they talk. This scarcely seems possible and yet I am convinced that it is true.

"It was only a little more than thirty years since a few brave souls organized the Socialist party in Germany. These men for the most part were not working men; they were men with consciences and imaginations. They did not know what it was to work; they only imagined the meaning of a life of constant toil. If they had really known, perhaps they could never have organized the party. Several years went by before they could really be said to have had a political party. The members were kept so busy dodging the police, and so constantly occupied in jail, that they had little chance to vote. Still, for some mysterious reason, policemen and judges and jails had little effect upon this band of fanatics. In fact, these well-worn agencies seemed rather to cement them together and add to the earnestness of their purpose. Over and over again these early builders were sent to prison and exiled, but still they kept up the work.

"In thirty years this band of fanatics has grown from a handful of outlawed men and women until at the last election it polled almost twice as many votes as any other party in the German empire. Then, when the news of this enormous vote was flashed around the world, the same wires carried the story that Socialism in Germany is not what it is in England and the United States, and, in fact, anywhere else on earth.

Everyone seems to believe this story except the Socialists. They know better. If one will but talk with their leaders or read their papers, they will learn that Socialism in Germany is to-day what it always was—grown, of course, somewhat respectable because of its numbers, for numbers always make respectability; it is always respectable to do what the majority do, or rather what the majority profess to do. In this way Socialism has grown respectable, and has changed.

The Socialist party that polled such an enormous vote in Germany at the last election is still the party of Marx and La Salle. It stands to-day for the whole program which these leaders taught and which has been their platform since the party's birth. In short, it stands for taking the earth and all the implements of production and distribution from the hands of those who now control them, and operating them for the benefit of all the people by means of collective ownership. It is true that although the German Socialists have regularly adopted the platform and stand for it solidly and persistently to-day as through all their history, that still with this platform they urge more immediate reforms and do not refuse to discuss the pressing questions of the hour. It is also true that a considerable part of their great vote at the last election was due to their protest against the proposed increase of tariffs on foreign goods and the policy of imperialism which seems to have been adopted by the ruling classes of all the world. Still, in spite of the strength that these somewhat transitory issues have given to the Socialists in Germany, the great triumph of the last election is a victory for the principles of Socialism for which the German hosts have so long and bravely fought.

"Nine and one-half million votes were polled at the last election in all the German empire. Out of this vote the Socialists cast 3,000,000 ballots, and the next highest, the Centerists, 1,750,000. Next following came the Liberals with 1,400,000 and the Conservatives with 1,200,000, and following these a number of parties smaller still.

"The votes were cast for members of the German Parliament, a body of 397 men. Although the Socialists cast almost twice as many votes as the Centerists, still the Socialists elected eighty-one members, while the Centerists elected 100. Under a fair apportionment the Socialists would have received 134 members as against about eighty for the Centerists.

"This unjust representation comes mainly from two causes. Under the system of voting every member elected must receive a majority of all the votes cast. When any party fails to receive a majority over all, a new election must be held, and in this second election only the two receiving the highest number can be voted for again. In Germany, as everywhere, it has generally been found that in the last analysis all other parties will unite and make common cause against the Socialists. This is true because other parties differ only as to details and minor matters, whereas Socialism is radical and fundamental and cannot be harmonized with existing ideas of the ownership of property and the long-accepted theories of the rights of the privileged classes.

"On the first ballot the Socialists elected five, while in 100 districts they stood either first or second without any party receiving a majority of all. As a general rule, in these 100 districts on a second ballot, all parties, united against the Socialists, and elected twenty-five and were defeated in seventy-five.

"Aside from the fact of the general union against Socialists, the division of the elective districts bears heavily against the party. The boundaries of the districts were fixed in 1867, and have not since been changed; but the population of Germany and all the world has undergone a great change since then. The centralization of wealth and industry here, as elsewhere, has caused the country to remain stationary as to population and wealth, while the cities have forged rapidly ahead.

"The country districts have but a comparatively small number of electors, and many of them containing less than 100,000 souls, while some of the city districts run above 700,000. The great strength of Socialism in Germany like all progressive movements everywhere, lies in the cities amongst the working men. Berlin is a fair illustration of this division of strength between the various parties and schools of political and economic thought. Berlin is the capital of the empire, the center of the power and influence of the king, the army and the administration. Then, too, all Germany pays tribute to Berlin, and here is gathered the wealth, the culture and the elegance of German life; but here, too, is the greatest population of working men. Of course all the strength of King and court, of army and navy, of wealth and fashion, is thrown against this vigorous, impudent, sacrilegious party, that boldly and defiantly proclaims the rights of man against all the forms and institutions of the past; but all of this power is of no effect. Berlin elects six members of Parliament. Of these the Socialists elect five on the first ballot. The Sixth district is carved out of the wealthiest and most aristocratic portion of the German capital. It has only 100,000 residents, as against 700,000 each in two other districts. This small district contains the university, and the Socialists ran as their candidate Doctor Arons, a pro-

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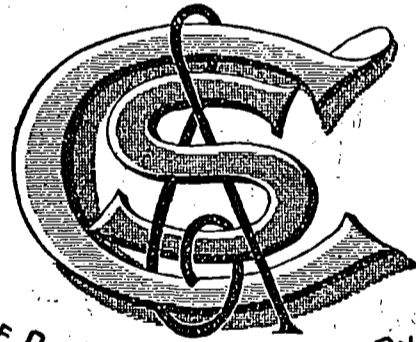
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fessor of the university. This professor had recently been discharged from the university on account of his opinions. (This was the University of Berlin, not Chicago.) In this district on the first poll the Socialist received 5,300, the Liberal 4,000, all others 3,000. On the second election the Liberal was elected by about 300 votes.

"In the most populous district of Berlin the Socialists cast 80,000 votes, as against 30,000 for all the other parties combined. In Berlin the Socialists polled 212,000 votes against 100,000 cast for all the other parties combined.

Hamburg, the second largest city of the empire, elected a solid Socialist delegation, and the party carried every one of the six largest cities in Germany.

There are thirty cities in Germany with a population of over 100,000. Of these the Socialists carried twenty, while they received a plurality in some of the others on the first ballot, only being defeated by a combination of all the rest. These ten cities which the Socialists failed to carry are strong Catholic cities, and elected Centerists, which is distinctly a Catholic party, organized for the purpose of looking after the Catholic cause. Still, it must not be assumed that all Catholics in Germany are hostile to the Socialist party. The Catholic party is an old organization, and it is only natural that in a Protestant country it should receive much strength among the Catholic population; but in spite of this fact, the Socialists have been gaining in the Catholic portions of Germany almost as rapidly as in any other part. Munich, which is almost wholly Catholic, sends a solid Socialist delegation, while the Rhine district, wholly Catholic, sends many Socialist members. True it is that the Catholic clergy is generally ranged against the Socialists, but this may be said almost the same of the Protestant clergy in Germany.

"When in London John Burns told me of a conversation that he once had with Cardinal Manning. 'When will the Catholic church attack Socialism?' asked Burns. 'My son,' answered the cardinal, 'the Catholic church will never attack Socialism, but Socialism will attack the Catholic church.' There is, doubtless, an element of truth in this reply. All new attack all things old, and it is not alone kings who must feel the blows of this new great power which stands for the equality of man and recognizes no authority above reason and no religion higher than humanity.

"In the country districts Socialism has had its hardest fight, but here, too, it has shown wonderful strength. In those portions of Germany where the land is owned in large estates and the farmers are only laborers it has an easy task. The small farmer is not easy to convert. Still the Socialists have succeeded in carrying one of these districts by a majority, and receiving a plurality in several more, and have made great strides in the last five years. The country is always the last to accept new ideas, and, of course, it is farthest removed from the influence of machinery and business centralization, which, after all, are the foundation stones of the Socialist strength.

"As against the agricultural districts can be placed Saxony. This principality is almost wholly industrial and has twenty-three members of Parliament. Out of this number the Socialists elected twenty-two on the first ballot, and were defeated in the other one on second ballot by an anti-semitic.

"In spite of all the drastic measures which the German government has taken in the past, Socialism is to-day not only the greatest party in Germany, but the one force that seriously threatens the kings and the established institutions of the land. It has already won to its support the great body of working men. While people of all grades of life and degrees of intelligence, from the humblest workman to the most learned philosopher, are found in its ranks.

"Amongst its eighty-one members of Parliament are about fifty workingmen; the balance are drawn from all ranks of life.

"Neither in England nor on the continent has the lawyer any such part in political affairs as in America. In neither the English nor German Parliaments are one-quarter of the members lawyers, while with us three-quarters would be nearer right. I cannot help thinking that in this England and the continent are wiser than America.

"The Socialist party of Germany have a fine building for their headquarters. This building contains a library which is owned by the party and so well run as to bring in a revenue for the general cause. In spite of the number of editors that have been sent to jail, the German Socialists have about seventy papers, most of them dailies. Their headquarters are never closed, and their campaign is always on. They are really not politicians, they are religious fanatics, devoted to the rights of man, and while they have no hope of future reward, they give their time, their strength, their money and their reputation to the cause. Their workers from the highest to the lowest forget their small ambitions and cheerful risk their liberties and even their lives for the sake of the generations yet unborn. With such a band of devoted men and women and such a cause to give them strength and inspiration it is easy to understand the great victories that they have won in the past, and the sublime confidence with which they look to the future for complete and final triumph."

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Cripple Creek, Colo., December 4, 1902.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Cripple Creek Woman's Auxillary No. 3, at a regular meeting November 25, 1902:

Whereas, The Great Creator in His infinite wisdom and mercy has called to a higher life and to a purer and more exalted dwelling place, our beloved brother and co-worker, William Dodsworth, late president of Victor Miners' Union No. 32.

Resolved, That by his death our beloved fraternity has lost a friend and champion of priceless worth—his life is ended, his race is run. The angel of death touched his heart and it ceased to beat—but let us hope that his constant faithful spirit now basks in the eternal sunlight of Him who is ever ready to reward the faithful and true;

Resolved, That in tendering to the members of Victor Miners' Union No. 32 and to the widow and little sons, the deepest sympathy of the Cripple Creek Woman's Auxillary No. 3, we assure them that his fellowship was to us a dear possession, and the remembrance of his high character and devotion must be to them a sweet and inspiring inheritance. Be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon our minutes, one sent to Victor Miners' Union, one to the Miners' Magazine and a copy sent to the family of our departed brother.

MRS. NETTIE LECKY,  
MRS. MADGE HALL,  
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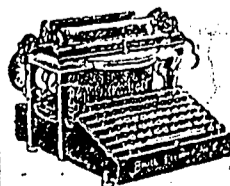
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