

# The Miners' Magazine



---

PUBLISHED BY THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.  
MONTHLY.

**ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.**

---

Send all moneys or business communications to James Maher, Box 572, Butte, Montana. Remit by postoffice or express money order or draft.

Address all other communications to Edward Boyce, Editor, Box 572, Butte, Montana.

Communications should not contain more than 200 words. Write only on one side of the paper.

---

Application made for entrance at the postoffice at Denver, Colorado, as second-class matter.

---

## SALUTATORY.

With the rise of the New Year's sun of 1900, the Miners' Magazine enters the arena of journalism as the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners, to battle for the rights of its members against the concentrated power of wealth, which, in the hands of the privileged classes, is being used in a supreme attempt to destroy that organization, and reduce the members to a state of abject slavery from which they dare not offer a protest against their oppressors, who are banded together in combinations known as corporations, trusts and syndicates, that flourish by means of their financial influence in legislative halls and court chambers, whose doors are barred against the laboring people with glittering gold.

The magazine will go into the home of every member of the organization as a new year's gift filled with words of encouragement and hope, to incite them to bravely battle on for a higher standard of living.

We will endeavor to more closely unite the members

of the organization and point out to them what we believe to be their duty to themselves and to their families, that they may enjoy the fruits of their labor.

But we shall not confine ourselves to the advocacy of the miners' cause. We will at all times and under all conditions espouse the cause of the producing masses, regardless of religion, nationality or race, with the object of arousing them from the lethargy into which they have sunk, and which makes them willing to live in squalor, while their masters revel in the wealth stolen from labor.

Labor being the producer of all wealth, is entitled to all it produces, but the privileged class upheld by the politicians have robbed it of nearly all its product, thus forcing it into a condition of helplessness and dependence. This is the gloomy condition in which we find it, and the way out seems scarcely illumined by a single ray of hope. This is particularly true of American laborers. Their rights and liberties are disappearing before the sacred right of property like an iceberg in the tropics. All the machinery of government is continuously in motion to crush them, whenever they make a stand for even a portion of their rights.

In this new field of labor we know there is much work before us, but the magnitude of the task does not discourage us. We will do our duty, free and untrammelled from all influence, and shall be guided only by the light of our own intelligence wherever it may lead. We will leave nothing undone to unite the laboring people for their protection against the vast combinations of organized capitalists, who believe that the laborer has no rights that they need respect.

Though far from agreeing with the views of many labor organizations, we extend the hand of friendship, with all it implies, and stand ever ready to co-operate in any movement that will redound to the advancement of the laborer.

To our enemies, those who believe in upholding the present robber system of oppression and greed; those

whose eyes are blinded and their lips sealed by the almighty dollar, we say: Turn on your current of vituperation and abuse, and do not fail to end them with cheap appeals to patriotism. Conceal yourselves under the folds of the stars and stripes to disguise your true motive, as the robber conceals his identity behind his mask when he emerges from his lair, bent upon robbery and murder. We still remember Johnson's saying: "An appeal to patriotism is the last resort of a scoundrel." As you are without argument, take up your stereotyped epithets of Agitator! Foreigner!! Socialist!!! Anarchist!!!! We have heard them all before.

We hope the day will never come when we will be compelled to stand before our fellow workingmen who have had sufficient confidence to unanimously place us in a position of such responsibility and apologize to them for the praise bestowed upon us by their enemies.

With the purposes here outlined, we trust the magazine will meet with a hearty reception by our members and fair consideration by organized labor in general to insure its success.

With the sole desire to benefit the producers of wealth, we greet you all.

*Edward Boyce*

The following interview with Gen. Merriam by a reporter of the Rocky Mountain News was published in that paper December 13th:

"You can say for me," said the general yesterday to a News man, "that the more Congress investigates the Coeur d'Alene troubles the better it will please me. I am pleased to know that such a movement is on foot.

"The constitution speaks for itself," continued General Merriam. "Martial law was proclaimed by Governor Stearns May 3d last. Three days after I was ordered to the scene.



"Arrests were made by the state authorities, but I do not care to discuss the question.

"The records speak for themselves."

Had this pusillanimous tool in the hands of the mine operators, clothed in the uniform of a general bearing the U. S. brand, been animated with no other desire than to do his duty when he reached the Coeur d'Alenes, there would be no need of a congressional investigation.

Did he not arrest every man in the county at the suggestion of the mine operators without cause or provocation and confine them in a filthy barn unfit for habitation, with instructions to shoot any man who showed his head, and denied them the right to consult with counsel?

Did he not examine and approve over his signature one of the most infamous proclamations that ever emanated from the brain of man, which denied every man the right to seek employment in the mines of Shoshone county unless he denounced organized labor and obtained a permit from Dr. France, the Bunker Hill and Sullivan company doctor, noted for his extreme prejudice against organized labor?

Did he not permit his black brutes, in addition to bayoneting and abusing the prisoners, to insult their families and terrify them at night, while he—although far past that age—held high carnival in "Wardner society" with women whose cheeks had long since lost the blush of shame; his name would not now be synonymous with that of Benedict Arnold.

General Merriam professes to be anxious for an investigation because he knows that a congressional committee, a majority of which would be men suggested by President McKinley, would approve of General Merriam's policy if he had murdered every man in the Wardner bullpen to insure the Mark Hanna administration success in its well laid plans to increase the standing army.

Merriam favors an investigation after he seized the property of the Miners' Union and surrendered the records and seals to the enemies of the union to forge and manufacture fictitious charges against its members.

When he had all the union records in his possession and the safe of Burke Miners' Union at military headquarters, why did he not produce these records to prove the guilt of the members of the Miners' union?

This would not do, for after carefully examining all



the records he found that the miners' unions of the Coeur d'Alenes were the same as other unions of workmen; he learned that these unions were the same as the other 107 unions of the Western Federation of Miners in British Columbia, Washington, California, Nevada, Montana, Colorado, South Dakota and other western states—not criminal in purpose—he surrendered them to Governor Steunenberg to tamper with for his own protection.

Merriam was not seeking an investigation last May when he broke open the halls of the Miners' unions and prohibited the miners from holding meetings and banished every union man out of the county or run him into the bull pen, so he could not testify in behalf of the men the Standard Oil Company's agents intended to railroad to the penitentiary.

When we read the following declarations of this would-be warrior of "bull pen" fame, published in the Spokane Spokesman, the organ of the mine owners, we can more easily judge his servile character than attempt to describe it.

"At the same time, since the trouble largely originates in hostile organizations of men known as labor unions, I should suggest a law making the formation of such unions or kindred societies a crime." "Surely history furnishes argument sufficiently in favor of such a course."

"I am forced to believe that the only way to quell these disturbances is by the aid of martial law—a one-man power; where gun shall be met with gun and dynamite with dynamite."

At a meeting held in this city (Spokane) Sunday, at the instance of Attorney General Hayes of Idaho and General Merriam, commanding the U. S. troops in the Coeur d'Alenes, the following ultimatum was presented by General Merriam to the mine operators present:

"Mines of Shoshone county, Idaho, that propose to operate during the reign of martial law may do so only on condition that they do not employ members of the Coeur d'Alene Miners' Union."

Here is a true example of what militarism means—innocent men against whom nothing has ever been proven—not even charged with committing a crime—are denied the right to work by the orders of a pompous fraud clothed with a little brief authority and backed by the U. S. army.

In this wanton persecution of the miners, General Merriam had a personal motive.

We are reliably informed that he is a large owner of real estate in Spokane, a city which owes its existence to the Coeur d'Alene mining country, and a shut-down of the mines might lessen his rental income.

The situation in the Coeur d'Alenes would be an object lesson to the American workingmen were they not blind to their best interests. It would be this: That between Republicans and Democrats there is no difference so far as the interests of the laboring people are concerned.

On April 29, 1899, the Bunker Hill concentrator at Wardner, Idaho, was destroyed by an explosion of dynamite by a mob of men.

Immediately, without consulting the sheriff of the county, Governor Steunenberg wired President McKinley for troops and issued a proclamation declaring the county under martial law.

When the troops arrived under the command of General Merriam, the sheriff and two members of the board of county commissioners, and every man who was known to be a member of the Miners' union or sympathized there, with, to the number of sixteen hundred, were arrested and confined in a filthy stockade from one to twenty-seven weeks under the guard of federal soldiers.

Proceedings were instituted against the sheriff and board of county commissioners before Judge Stewart, who was sent from Boise, a distance of nearly six hundred miles, on account of his hostility to organized labor.

On the flimsy pretext of neglecting their duty, the sheriff and board of county commissioners were removed from office, the mine owners selecting their successors.

With the county government in their own hands and supported by the state and national governments, the mine owners determined to destroy organized labor in the county.

Paul Corcoran, secretary of Burke Miners' Union, was tried for murder, and although there was no evidence against him, a packed jury found him guilty and he was sentenced to seventeen years in the penitentiary by the foulest methods that ever disgraced a court of justice.

Ten other prisoners were tried in the U. S. Court for delaying the mail train and sentenced to twenty-two months in San Quentin penitentiary.

While these sixteen hundred men were held in prison, Governor Steunenberg declared that every one of them before the Industrial Commission in the town of Wallace was guilty. His man Sinclair, the state auditor, testified that every man then in the bull pen was guilty.

Now eight months have passed since the Bunker Hill mill was destroyed and sixteen hundred men have been arrested and held in the bull pen by federal soldiers for participating in its destruction, yet not one of these men has been brought to trial for the crime for which they were arrested.

No man has been tried for complicity in the attack on the above named property. Notwithstanding this fact, we see the Democratic governor of Idaho and a Republican president working assiduously to destroy organized labor, at the request of the rich mining companies of the Coeur d'Alenes.

Soldiers are left in the Coeur d'Alenes, so says Sinclair, to menace the miners and prevent them from organizing a Miners' union.

During all this time workingmen in almost every city in the United States passed resolutions condemning the inhuman treatment of the prisoners by the military authorities, and forwarded them to President McKinley to be by him consigned to the waste basket, which shows how little he cares for their protests.

Next fall we will see these same workingmen who condemn McKinley and Steunenberg line up and support these gentlemen, forgetting their resolutions of one short year before. Truly the workingman is his own enemy.

---

We call the reader's attention to two poems in this issue. One written by Henry Labouchere of London Truth, the radical English journalist and member of Parliament, the other is written by Dr. Cohen of Philadelphia, an eminent physician of that city, and a single-taxer. In two very different styles of verse do these gentlemen puncture the silly and hypocritical pretensions of their countrymen regarding the motives that lead them to war. We commend them to such of our readers as imagined that there was any real sentiment or truth in Kipling's "White Man's Burden," which a great many good people attempted to admire when it appeared, and were ready to swallow it, barrel organ metre and all.



Think of it, gentle reader, England sends out men to civilize the savages, yet among none of the savages she deals with is there as much poverty, hardship and vice as in the slums of London. London, whom the progressive English writers compare to a huge cancer or wen, because of the corruption and uncleanness it contains. And America sends out armies that the Cubans, Porto Ricans and Filipinos may be taught to do things as we do them and to be like us! In what respect, pray? Like our Hannas, and Quays, and Crokers in politics? Are they to be taught to huddle together, 400,000 of them, on one square mile, as in New York, until it is almost impossible for them to breathe and until thirty people get consumption every day as they do in that city, while there is plenty of vacant land all around New York, but not for them?

Are they to reach our stage of civilization so that their sewing women will get 5 cents for four hours' work, as in Chicago, and their miners get \$12' and \$15 a month, as in some of the central states?

We do need an army to civilize people, but not other people. The army is needed at home, and not the kind which is so painfully in evidence now, shooting "the little brown men" and looting churches, but an army of teachers, writers, lecturers and the like, who will give battle to the various superstitions, particularly the political and economic ones. In such an army we are willing to enlist and ask our fellow citizens to do likewise.

---

The action of the Coeur d'Alene mine owners in circulating reports that they cannot operate their mines without the consent of the miners' union surpasses every attempt at blackmailing we ever read.

From our personal knowledge we know that these mine owners have said repeatedly that they were anxious to cease mining operations in the district on account of the unions.

In addition to this they have done everything in their power to discourage other mining companies from investing, saying that if the property in question was good they would have bought it; but knowing the character of the country so well, they would not invest.

These same mining companies are buying every prospect that shows ore, and in many instances they have

robbed the poor locators of their property by relocating their mining claims or ran tunnels through them, and take their ore.

This is particularly true of the Bonker Hill and Sullivan company at Wardner.

How strange it is that these same companies that have lived in mortal dread of their employes—which makes it necessary for Governor Steunenberg to maintain a black list and President McKinley to maintain a standing army in the district for their protection—should be so anxious to own the entire county.

All the mining companies mentioned in General Merriam's proclamation printed on another page, own from three to eighty mining claims, respectively, and are still grasping for more.

---

### THE WESTERN LABOR UNION.

---

For the information of those who are not familiar with this young organization, an infant in years though a giant in strength, the following brief history will enlighten them relative to it from its inception until it took its place among the national labor bodies of this country.

We do not attempt to speak for its officers, as we hope to be able to furnish our readers with a letter from them regularly in the future.

On the evening of December 28, 1897, the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners met in their headquarters in room 29, Owsley building, Butte, Montana, and adopted the following resolutions after a brief discussion, and forwarded them to each union of the national body for their consideration:

“Do you favor the executive board extending an invitation to the various labor organizations of the West to meet with us for a two or three days' discussion, for the purpose of bringing all labor organizations of the West into closer touch with one another upon all matters pertaining to the interest of labor?”

“As the laboring people of the West have never met to discuss matters pertaining to their welfare, the executive board favors such action.”

Upon the adoption of this resolution by all the unions



in the federation the following invitation was sent to the secretaries of all unions in the West:

Dear Sir—At a meeting of the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners, held on December 28, 1897, the following resolution [inserted above] was submitted to all unions of the Western Federation of Miners, requesting them to report back January 31, 1898.

A majority of the unions having reported favorably, it became our duty to invite your union to send delegates to Salt Lake City, May 10, 1898.

JAMES MAHER, Secretary-Treasurer.  
EDWARD BOYCE, President.

The response to this invitation was very flattering, especially from Montana and Idaho and parts of Colorado.

On the morning of May 10th Edward Boyce called the meeting to order, and after welcoming the delegates announced that the first order of business was the election of a chairman.

James A. Ferguson of Missoula, and president of the Montana Labor Council, was unanimously elected temporary chairman and afterwards made permanent chairman, and it is safe to say that no better chairman or more faithful worker in behalf of labor ever lifted a gavel to preside over a body of workingmen.

All his rulings, though sternly executed, were fair and impartial to all, and through his great force and ability all heated discussions were avoided on all questions, and what at first appeared to be the labor of one week was completed in three days.

M. J. O'Donnell of Victor was elected temporary secretary.

*The second day the committee on resolutions reported that an organization composed of workingmen be organized, to be known as the Western Labor Union, which was adopted after a brief discussion.*

The third day Dan McDonald of Butte, Montana, was elected president and M. J. O'Donnell of Victor secretary-treasurer, but he afterwards resigned and was succeeded by M. A. Andrews of Cripple Creek, who filled the office during the unexpired term, but did not attend the convention in 1899.

At the last election, which was held in Salt Lake City at the same time the Western Federation of Miners



was in convention, Dan McDonald was re-elected president without opposition, which proved how much the delegates appreciated his work during the year, although he had many obstacles to contend against and met with much opposition in his arduous labors—for one who has never had experience has no conception of the difficulties that beset the president of a new labor organization.

M. J. Geiger of Butte was elected secretary-treasurer.

The Western Federation of Miners affiliated with the Western Labor Union when it was organized, and both held a joint meeting at their last convention.

Their relations are of the most harmonious nature on all questions.

It is not too much to say that within a few years the Western Labor Union will be one of the strongest unions in the United States, for all its members are faithful, earnest workers and take great interest in their organization.

---

To the Slocan Miners' Union belongs the credit of being the first union to send a list of subscribers for The Miners' Magazine and the first to contribute an article for publication.

Read the article. It is well written and contains information that is instructive and useful to union as well as non-union men.

With such articles we expect to make the Miners' Magazine a bureau of information for all who read it.

We trust other unions will follow the example set them by this union.

---

### WORKINGMEN STAY AWAY FROM THE COEUR D'ALENES.

The following is the proclamation issued by Sinclair and Merriam. It is still in full force and effect. Workingmen are requested to stay away from the Coeur d'Alenes until further notice. They cannot get work in the mines without signing a permit, and this gives him no assurance of employment because it can be revoked at any time by the so-called State Representative or his dep-

uties. Besides there are still two companies of soldiers stationed in the center of the district, by President McKinley, to help enforce the permit system and terrorize the workmen and women there.

### PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, the following notice has been served upon the mine owners of Shoshone county by the duly constituted state authorities, by whom martial law has been declared, to-wit:

#### TO THE MINE OWNERS OF SHOSHONE COUNTY:

"Certain organizations or combinations existing in Shoshone county have shown themselves to be criminal in purpose, inciting and, as organizations, procuring property to be destroyed, and murders to be committed, by reason whereof it has been twice necessary to declare martial law in Shoshone county:

"You are therefore notified that the employment of men belonging to said or other criminal organizations during the continuance of martial law must cease. In case this direction is not observed your mines will be closed."

Therefore, in order to carry into effect the spirit of the foregoing notice and restore industries of the district as far as possible, it becomes necessary to establish a system by which miners who have not participated in the recent acts of violence and who are law-abiding people, may obtain work, and, that order and peace may be established, the following is promulgated for the guidance of all mine owners and employes in the affected district:

All parties applying for underground work in any of the following mines will be required to obtain from Dr. Hugh France, the duly authorized agent for the state of Idaho for this purpose, or his deputy, at Wardner or at Wallace, a permit authorizing said person to seek employment in any of the following mines: Bunker Hill and Sullivan, Last Chance, Empire State-Idaho, Consolidated Tiger and Poorman, Hecla, Mammoth, Standard, Helena-Frisco, Gem, Morning, Hunter and such others as may be hereafter included in the above list. Parties applying for such permits must be prepared: First, to deny all participation in the riots of April 29, 1899, in Shoshone county and, Second, to deny or renounce membership in any society which has incited, encouraged or

approved of said riots or other violation of public law.

Mine owners must refuse employment to all applicants for underground work who do not present a duly signed permit authorizing same. Such permits will be deposited in mine owners' office subject to periodical inspection.

All parties now under employment by any of the mines above named will be required to procure within ten days from this date the permits above referred to as a condition to their remaining in the service of their respective companies.

By order of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

BARTLETT SINCLAIR, State Auditor.

Examined and approved: H. C. MERRIAM,  
Brigadier General, U. S. Army.

Dated, May 8th, 1899.

The application for permits to seek work which union men must sign is as follows:

Applications for leave to seek employment in the mines of Shoshone county.

To Dr. Hugh France, State Representative:

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

I am a ..... by occupation.

I am a native of ..... and am a .....

..... citizen of the United States.

I last worked at the ..... mine, in .....

My shift boss was .....

Heretofore I have been a member of ..... Miners' Union.

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



Dated this.....day of .....1899.

The application which non-union men must sign is as follows:

Application for leave to seek employment in the mines of Shoshone county:

To Dr. Hugh France, State Representative:

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

I am a.....by occupation.

I am a native of....., and am a.....

.....citizen of the United States.

I last worked at the.....mine in.....

My shift boss was.....

I have not been for.....years a member of any miners' union.

I took no part, either actively or passively, in aiding, assisting or encouraging the perpetration of the crimes committed at Wardner on the 29th of April, 1899.

I solemnly pledge myself to obey the law.

Dated this.....day of .....1899.

At this writing no union men are allowed to work in the county—the meetings of the miners' unions are prohibited.

---

THE FLAG OF ENGLAND.

---

Henry Labouchere in London "Truth."

---

Where is the flag of England?  
 And the winds of the world made answer,  
 North, south and east and west,  
 Wherever there's wealth to covet,  
 Or land that can be possessed;  
 Wherever are savage races  
 To cozen, coerce and scare,  
 Ye shall find the vaunted ensign,  
 For the English flag is there.  
 Aye, it waves o'er the blazing hovels  
 Whence African victims fly,  
 To be shot by explosive bullets,  
 Or to wretchedly starve and die.  
 And where the beach-comber harries

Some shells in their trenches to open the fun;  
 Then a yell and a rush that will start them to run—  
 Now the best of the sport comes. Aim low, One by one—  
 You can pick off the little brown men.

## Chorus.

O, there is hunting of lion and bear,  
 There is hunting of rabbit and hare,  
 There is hunting in forest and fen,  
 But the sport of all sports I declare,  
 With which there is none to compare,  
 Is the hunting of little brown men!

The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof,  
 (Hunting the little brown men),  
 And the Saxon is lord here below and above,  
 (We'll go hunting the little brown men).  
 In Heaven the harp, but below drum and fife;  
 In Heaven, dull peace, but below, glory's strife;  
 Then hurra and hurra for the strenuous life,  
 As we pick off the little brown men.

---

 PEOPLE'S PARTY CENTRAL CLUB OF RAMSEY COUNTY.
 

---

413 Phoenix Building, St. Paul, Minn., Dec. 6, 1899.

To the Miners' Magazine:

At a citizen's mass meeting held in the House of Representatives in the state capitol, attended by about 800 citizens, addressed by the eminent orator, W. W. Erwin, the following resolutions were adopted without a dissenting vote, and I hasten to transmit them to you, hoping it will encourage you to continue your gallant fight against corporate wealth:

"Whereas, the state of Idaho has been invaded by an armed force in the employ of the Standard Oil Company, Governor Steunenberg and Brigadier General Merriam, acting as its agents, in accomplishing its unlawful and treasonable purposes; and,

"Whereas, through the actions of the Standard Oil Company, hundreds of honest, industrious men have been imprisoned and tortured, their rights as American citizens violated and the last bulwark of wage labor against

slavery; the right of organization, denied them; therefore be it

“Resolved, we demand that President McKinley immediately end the reign of martial law in Shoshone county, Idaho, withdraw his support from the state authorities in imprisoning men without giving them a trial, and use his influence in maintaining law and order; and be it

“Resolved, that we extend the hearty sympathy of St. Paul to the victims of these outrages and extend to them such moral and financial support as we can command, and denounce Governor Steunenberg as a conspirator against the liberties of workingmen, and a hireling of the Standard Oil Company.”

I have been instructed to forward a copy of these resolutions to President McKinley and to Governor Steunenberg to show that tyrant what the citizens of St. Paul think of him.

The next meeting will take place in Minneapolis. You will see by the enclosed handbill (printed on another page) that the meeting was a citizen's meeting and not a labor meeting. As soon as we stir up a little enthusiasm in Minnesota we will appoint a responsible citizen as treasurer and collect a fund which we will forward to you. You will have to overlook the fact that we were unable to commence sooner, but you cannot imagine the difficulties we have had to get up our meeting. Yours respectfully,

ADOLPHE PARADIS.

Slocan City, B. C., Dec. 10, 1899.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

Slocan City now displays considerable activity in the mining line, there being employed in the Division about 200 men. A strong union sentiment prevails among all classes. Even the mine managers, being fair-minded men, wish to see their employes well paid for their labor. There is a Miners' Union here which was recently organized, now numbering eighty members and increasing rapidly, new applications coming in at each meeting. This place has not been as unfortunate as neighboring towns, in fact not having felt the effects of the close-down caused by the Mine Owners' Association after the enactment of the eight-hour law by the Legislature of British Columbia. Of course we have been affected in the lack of enterprise shown in investing and developing resultant from re-



him. When his term of office has expired he will of necessity be compelled to return to the classic banks of the Kootenai river and catch another squaw, while his great chief, Steunenberg, can live for several years off the money he secured from the B., H. & S. and the lumber syndicate of Wisconsin.

E. J. FLANAGAN.

iii

### A LETTER FROM ST. PAUL, MINN.

Editor Miners' Magazine—The meetings, under the auspices of organized labor, the churches and certain politicians, that were held last winter, are about to be resumed.

Whatever the character of this movement may be, it is well that working men who respect themselves should, before taking part in it, take into consideration certain pertinent facts. First, anything that receives the commendation of such papers as the St. Paul Globe and the passive, if not active, approval of the rest of the daily papers of this city, should be looked upon with suspicion. The daily press is not a friend of labor; it is a friend of the exploiters of labor.

Second, men of the Dave Morgan stripe, whose interest in labor has taken the form of employing at 35 and 40 cents a day, paid in cast-off clothing and pauper victuals, are not likely to suddenly reverse their policy. At least we are justified in examining pretty carefully whatever project receives their indorsement.

Third, the general character of the church and organized labor, as it exists in this city, is not of such a nature as to induce honest, intelligent men to co-operate with them. Let us examine this last statement.

We have witnessed in this city and in various parts of the country in the past few years some of the most damnable outrages recorded in the annals of history. What has been the attitude of the church towards the treasons and murders of plutocracy? It has been one of passive approval. Where has there been any serious protest by the church against the wanton murder of the coal miners at Hazelton, Pennsylvania?

What has it done regarding the treasonable invasion of the state of Idaho by the Standard Oil conspiracy? When a mass meeting was held in this city a year ago to protest against the bull pen horrors of Wardner, where, then was the zeal of these clerical and organized labor reformers? It prudently skulked within the sacred precincts of its "law and order" tactics and held aloof from an effort that might prove unpopular or excite the suspicion and alarm of the "orthodox" politician and ecclesiastic.

There is urgent need of reform in this city. The weak, the defenseless and unfortunate, excite but one feeling in the hearts

of the "Christians" of this town—that is the hankering to take advantage of their helplessness to rob them. "Trade" flourishes upon the wrecked lives of women who have been denied a decent living by the "Christians" who have exploited them, and the rank growth of their ostentation has been nourished in the fertile soil of squalid poverty, out of which has sprung the palace and the slum, the church and the brothel. If ever there was a time or place that needed men and action, that time and place is now and here.

When theft and rapine stalk brazenly upon the highway and honesty and virtue must slink along in the by-ways; when hypocrisy preaches in the pulpit and lawless, brute force usurps the judicial function; when it is criminal to speak the truth and "respectable" to lie and cringe and sneak, then it is high time that there should be men and the deeds of men. Not the sort of men whose lips tremble lest the words that come from them shall offend the hypocrite and thief, but men who dare to think, and speak, and act.

The deviltries we have to deal with may not be pleasant to speak of, but they exist and the man who refuses to recognize them connives at their existence. Let us have a reform movement here; let it be one unmistakable in meaning; one that does not propose to rescue the victim of social injustice and still retain the favor of its perpetrator. We cannot serve God and Mammon.

F. R. HAYS.

---

#### A SAD CASE OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.

Butte, Montana, Sept. 10, 1900.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

Dear Sir—In the last issue of your magazine I was surprised at an editorial headed "Socialism as She Is Taught," aiming at and intended to be an attack upon the article I contributed in April last, which you saw fit to publish in the July issue. In view of the fact that I handed said article to you in person, in the Federation office in Butte, and that you expressed your approval of it, your attitude now seems inconsistent, to say the least. Furthermore, I want to remind you, you assumed the privilege of labeling it "Socialism." Through an oversight on my part I forgot to head it (Old and New Trades Unions). However, since you have labeled it "Socialism," and chosen to attack it, I am prepared to defend it against you or your scatter brained "Anarchist Individualist" colleague, Cohen, your editorial writer. If you are honest in your attack upon socialism you are doubtless willing to acknowledge that all your past utterances in favor of it were mistakes, and that your address to the convention in Salt Lake City, May 8, 1899, was a big mistake, when you said (see page

mental, except for a plaything in the hands of some employer who uses it to further his schemes and reduce all depending upon him to a state of docility by controlling the union through the fear it inspires.

### THE PASSING OF STEUNENBERG.

On the 10th of January, 1901, Frank Steunenberg, governor of Idaho, will sink into obscurity from public view, where he shall forever lie buried, damned for the outrages he committed upon the workingmen of the Cœur d'Alenes during the past twenty months.

For twenty months this Hessian descendant that would disgrace Ananias, resorted to deeds from which Nero would shrink, even in the zenith of his glory, and all was done for the greasy dollars of the Standard Oil Company. Four years ago, when the president of the Western Federation of Miners helped make this monstrosity governor of Idaho, believing that he was a member of the International Typographical Union, which he declared himself to be in the presence of witnesses on the streets of Boise, which was a deliberate lie, he said he did not have \$20 in cash; and two years later, when he was re-nominated for governor, he was unable to pay his campaign expenses. But four years later, in 1900, he was able to spend \$4,000 to manipulate the Democratic state convention to secure a third nomination.

In 1898 he was unable to pay his campaign assessment to the Democratic state central committee, but two years later, on a salary of \$3,000 a year, he was able to spend \$4,000 to control the Democratic state convention and, in addition to this, in less than two years he has bought several thousand sheep and holds bank stock and other valuable property, all of which he is trying to conceal, and well he may; for a scoundrel always conceals his deeds.

How this villain has risen in four years from editor of a weekly paper on the Snake River desert to a wealthy sheep-owner, mine owner and stockholder!

Where did he get the money to make those investments, except from the mine owners whose lackey he was from the day he was elected governor?

When men and women will bless the name of Paul Corcoran, the model husband, the honest man, imprisoned by this filthy reptile, Steunenberg's name will be uttered with loathing.

Farewell, Steunenberg, once governor of Idaho; your political career is ended.

You have done everything within your power to send the men who made you governor to the penitentiary, and, worse than all, you stand before the world a convicted perjurer before



a congressional investigating committee. But your cheek has long since lost the blush of shame and your damnable deeds will never appeal to your manhood, for such you never possessed. Your sole ambition was money, which in your estimation was superior to honor, but you are gone and upon your political tombstone shall be inscribed in indelible words, "Here lies a hireling and a traitor!"

---

### TO OUR FRIENDS.

---

With this issue the Miners' Magazine enters upon its second year after passing through a year of experiment in the arena of journalism, where it has been kindly received by the people throughout the mining regions.

When we undertook the publication of a magazine one year ago many friends experienced in the publishing business predicted a failure for the enterprise, because the members of the organization were not assessed for it the same as their dues and claimed they would not subscribe for it. This is true to a great extent, as non-members have done more for it in many instances than the rank and file of the organization.

We have passed through one year and we are glad to announce that the Magazine is upon a paying basis and has proved a useful factor as a news agency for the members of the organization, because its columns were open to all who wished to write upon any subject pertaining to the welfare of the people.

We have received numerous letters from friends congratulating us upon its independent position and editorial policy, all of which we appreciate, and in return we assure those friends that its policy in the past will not be changed while it remains under the present management.

In thanking our patrons for their generous support, which we appreciate, we trust they will give us the same support during the ensuing year, which will enable us to continue the fight for the principles we advocate—"Equality for all."

To the members of the W. F. of M. we say the Magazine is yours; it belongs to no individual and it remains entirely with you to say whether you wish to support it or not. We have no appeal to make in its behalf; its pages are open to your scrutiny and if it does not represent your interest, we do not ask your support.

If you believe it does represent your interest, then we say to you that it cannot thrive without your support, which is \$1 per year, which is a very small amount compared with what we spend for other purposes.

We ask each member to send us their subscription without delay, for we have no traveling agent and must depend entire-

# The Miners' Magazine

Published by the Western Federation of Miners at 1613 Court  
Place, Denver, Colorado; P. O. Box 1615. \$1.00 a Year.

**EDWARD BOYCE, Editor.**

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 pub-  
lished.

Subscribers not receiving their Magazine will please notify this  
office by postal card, stating the numbers not received. Write plainly,  
as these communications will be forwarded to the postal authorities.

Entered at the Postoffice at Denver, Colorado, as second-class matter.

## William McKinley

CANTON, OHIO

## Teddy Roosevelt

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

The Greatest Opponents of Organized Labor  
A Combination of Weakness and Impudence,  
Catering to Power and Privilege

### VOTE AGAINST THEM

publication.

Write plainly, on one side of paper only; where ruled paper is used write only on every second line.

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

Subscribers not receiving their Magazine will please notify this office by postal card, stating the numbers not received. Write plainly, as these communications will be forwarded to the postal authorities.

Entered at the Postoffice at Denver, Colorado, as second-class matter.

# William McKinley

CANTON, OHIO

# Teddy Roosevelt

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

The Greatest Opponents of Organized Labor  
A Combination of Weakness and Impudence,  
Catering to Power and Privilege

## VOTE AGAINST THEM



## THE MINERS' MAGAZINE.

### NOTICE.

We have ordered 10,000 pamphlets of Job Harriman's "Class War in Idaho" for distribution among the different unions of the W. F. of M. We hope none of our members are too busy working for a corporation to take a lay-off and read it and hand it to their neighbors. It will help you. This is the only true and correct history of the situation in the Cœur d'Alenes ever published.

### HOLD-UPS.

During the early part of the coal strike some deputies, sons of business men, who had been sworn in to make the miners behave, ~~were themselves~~ arrested for holding up citizens, thus taking the cue from the mine owners they were protecting, who hold up the miners on one side and the consuming public on the other. It is a game of hold-up all around.

### D. P. MCGINLEY RE-ELECTED.

The numerous friends of D. P. McGinley who met him at the last two conventions of the Western Federation of Miners will be delighted to know that the members of the Free Coinage Union appointed him secretary after Charles Dillon's death and at the regular election in September re-elected him without opposition. We are glad that his union used such good judgment, for few unions in the Federation have a secretary so well qualified for that position as Dan McGinley.

### STEUNENBERG REGRETS.

The day after the San Quentin men were ordered released by the Circuit Court of Appeals, Governor Steunenberg was interviewed and said he regretted the decision. Think of the monumental impudence it must take for an ignorant yahoo like this to comment on the action of this court. The reasons for the court's decision is something that never could penetrate his thick skull, even were he to express himself as he pleased instead of conforming his views to the Standard Oil gauge.

### FOLEY NOMINATED FOR PARLIAMENT.

In the city of Nelson, British Columbia, October 4th, the Independent Labor party in convention assembled nominated Chris Foley for the dominion House of Parliament, an act that all who participated in can well feel proud of.

It has been our good fortune to be associated with Mr.



THE REPUBLICAN WAR CRY.

Four years more of the full dinner pail continues to be the battle cry of the Republican party and it is surprising to see the number of deluded fools among the working men who be-

the Guggenheim smelters at Pueblo and the Argo smelter at Denver were kept running while the men of the trust smelters were out. In that connection the late ex-Senator N. P. Hill caused to be published in the Denver Republican several editorials, expressing his appreciation of the wisdom of Mr. Coates' course and declaring that the public owed him a debt of gratitude.

Mr. Coates is a young man of high courage and ability. There is not a shadow of a doubt that he is sincere in his views, and absolutely loyal. He speaks fluently, and discusses the issues of the day with intelligence and feeling. He is emphatically a union man, and all his brothers, and he has six of them, are union workmen also. They have inherited it, and in their own lives the "class consciousness" goes back to the days of their childhood, when they attended the annual "Demonstration Days" in the Durham coal fields in the north of England, and saw the ranks of allied labor making a stand for their common welfare. Coates is brave, honest and conscientious. He will reflect credit upon his party, his constituents and himself during his term in the state house. We feel sure the members of the W. F. of M., of which Mr. Coates is an honorary member, will vote for him unanimously.

---

#### JUSTICE AT LAST.

---

On October 1st the ten men sentenced by Judge Beatty to twenty-two months in San Quentin penitentiary for alleged interference with the United States mail at Wardner, April 29, 1899, the day the Bunker Hill and Sullivan concentrator was destroyed, were released by the Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco, which is composed of Judges Gilbert of Los Angeles, Morrow of San Francisco and Ross of Portland.

The prisoners were confined in the bull pen at Wardner by orders of Governor Steunenberg from May 5th till the month of October, when they were tried at Moscow by a packed jury selected to convict regardless of evidence, and before a judge whose equal for bigotry and animosity towards laboring men is unequaled either in the state or federal courts. Those who know the man in public and private know that no greater joke was ever perpetrated than his appointment.

Dragged as he was from a life of obscurity and placed upon the bench to mete out justice fearlessly and impartially, he was enabled to ascend from a lawyer in a village so obscure that it does not appear on the map of the Snake River desert to a seat on the federal bench.

One of Beatty's first acts after receiving his appointment was to issue an injunction against the miners in Shoshone county in 1892 at the request of the mine owners' association



and sentence twelve men to Boise jail for six months for contempt of court and four men to Detroit reformatory for conspiracy, where they remained until liberated by the Supreme Court of the United States. So this is the second time that the higher courts have turned him down.

The liberation of the men in San Quentin is similar to the liberation of the men in 1893, which is a complete vindication of the miners and organized labor in Shoshone county, notwithstanding the lying assertions of the martial law tyrants and serfs of the Standard Oil monopoly. It proves that in Idaho there is no justice for members of organized labor. It proves that Steunenberg, that perambulating monument of corruption who maintains martial law in Shoshone county and forces all men to obtain a permit before seeking employment, has used his high office to persecute innocent men.

Towering above all else, it is a vindication of that grand old Roman, Patrick Reddy, who is now in his grave, that the argument he prepared on his death bed, completing it three days before his death, was filled with logic and truth. How could it be otherwise? Here lay a Christian in the presence of his Creator, before Whom he knew he would soon appear, and dictated his argument while the angel of death stood guard impatiently awaiting the last words before he would summon him to appear to a higher court far removed from all earthly influence, not to defend a poor client, as he had often done, but to be himself judged. Upon this argument, which was prepared in the presence of death, the Circuit Court of Appeals based its decision and ordered the release of ten innocent men, and, practically speaking, declared that justice still lives, though traitors seek its destruction.

All hail to the noble judges of the Circuit Court of Appeals that rendered such a just decision. Like grand Patrick Reddy their names shall be revered by their countrymen when the memory and name of those miserable lackeys of corporate greed shall be held up to scorn by generations yet unborn.

In the meantime the miners of the Coeur d'Alenes who have suffered as the early Christians suffered in the catacombs of Rome, will emerge from the reign of persecution and terror to lead men on to a higher and nobler standard of civilization when the names of their persecutors will appear in the same category with Judas Iscariot.

---

### TWO WEEKS IN THE BLACK HILLS.

---

For those traveling to the Black Hills from Colorado the trip is no longer one to be dreaded, as the new line of the Burlington railroad from Denver north to Alliance reduces the time between Denver and Deadwood to half.



**GEORGE A. PETTIBONE**

**FIRST PRESIDENT OF GEM MINERS' UNION  
GEM, IDAHO**

T H E  
**MINERS' MAGAZINE.**

November, 1901.

---

Published by the Western Federation of Miners.

\$1.00 a Year.

EDWARD BOYCE, Editor.

Room 625 Mining Exchange Building, Denver, Colorado.

---

Unions are requested to write some communication each month for publication. Write plainly, on one side of paper only; where ruled paper is used write only on every second line. Communications not in conformity with this notice will not be published.

Subscribers not receiving their Magazine will please notify this office by postal card, stating the numbers not received. Write plainly, as these communications will be forwarded to the postal authorities.

---

Entered at the postoffice at Denver, Colorado, as second class matter.

---

**GEORGE A. PETTIBONE.**

---

The subject of our frontispiece needs no introduction to our readers, as he is well and favorably known to every delegate who attended the conventions of the Western Federation of Miners in Denver and to our numerous readers under the nom de plume of the "Magazine's Devil."

Mr. Pettibone is the descendant of an old historic family of Connecticut, whose origin dates from 1664. They took an active part in the Revolutionary War, earning for themselves distinguished honors.

Jonathan Pettibone, colonel during and after the war, served in the Legislature of Connecticut for many years, and always as a champion and defender of the rights and liberties of the people.

Thus it is easily seen that the subject of our sketch inherits naturally the qualities that make for sterling manhood; added to these a genial disposition, with a quaint fund of humor.

Mr. Pettibone was born on a farm in New York in



1862. Being of an ambitious nature he cared little for farm life and went westward to the state of Montana when a very young man, where he engaged in mining. Leaving Montana, he went to Idaho during the Coeur d'Alene excitement, where he again engaged in mining and was elected the first president of Gem Miners' Union.

After the famous Coeur d'Alene labor troubles of 1892 Mr. Pettibone moved to Denver, where he has since become a successful business man.

### IN THE ASCENDENCY.

At no time in the history of the Western Federation of Miners has the organization experienced such an increase in membership and general prosperity as it has during the past six months.

With few exceptions, all unions have increased their membership and are very active in promoting the interests of the Federation, which goes to show that at least the miners and smeltermen of the West have awakened to the needs of the hour and are relying upon themselves, and not upon their employers to determine what is for their best interests.

Since the Ninth Annual Convention, held in May last, twenty new unions have been organized, with bright prospects for organizing other camps.

This splendid increase in membership is largely due to the work of our efficient organizers now in the field, who have worked so faithfully to promote the advancement of organized labor where its principles were hitherto unknown.

Charles Moyer, in addition to devoting part of his time to the smelter centers of Kansas, advising smeltermen there not to take the places of their fellow smeltermen now locked out in Northport, Washington, has organized several unions in Kansas and Colorado.

J. C. Williams has been equally successful in California and Nevada, and Phil Bowden has done good work in Montana, where he had to contend with the powerful smelter trust at Helena, where men employed in the smelter were discharged for organizing a union of their craft.

Tim Shea, who has always been an active member of the Federation, and the only man who made a success of

That these murders are a part of their program is clear. This Adams was imported into the Coeur d'Alene district as a fighting man in 1892. He was the leader of the gang of murderers that fired upon the miners on July 11, 1892. After that trouble was over he had to leave the county because his presence in a decent community would not be tolerated, and so we find that when martial law was declared in 1899 he was recalled to accept his old position as bully and murderer.

The mine owners are sowing the wind, let them beware of the whirlwind.

### THREE GRAND VICTORIES.

While the election in the East was against us, McKinley being re-elected and Pettigrew and Lentz retired, in the West we have been more successful.

The good people of the Coeur d'Alenes, Butte and Leadville won a magnificent victory in the election, in spite of martial law, coercion and the intimidation of the mining corporations to elect their candidates. After eighteen months of martial law, murder and robbery by the hired assassins of Governor Steunenberg, organized labor won a complete victory in Shoshone county and elected an entire ticket opposed to the Standard Oil ring except the sheriff. The lackey, Sutherland, who was appointed by Steunenberg to select a jury to convict Paul Corcoran, was elected sheriff. Mose Simmons, the deposed county commissioner who served in the bull pen, was elected by a large majority. Thomas Heney, ex-sheriff of the county, who served six months in the bull pen, and John Kelly, who was put in jail for defending the miners' union hall in Burke against hired thugs, were elected to the legislature to examine the rotten transactions of corrupt Steunenberg.

This splendid victory in the face of overwhelming difficulties was largely due to the noble women of Shoshone county, who have always been true to the principles of honor and justice.

In Butte the victory for organized labor was complete; all but five candidates elected are members of organized labor, and those were not eligible.

Begining with the indomitable old war horse, Judge Clancy, the cohorts of organized labor swept the field, driving the enemy before them until not a vestige of the Standard Oil Company's wavering banners could be found in Silver Bow county with a microscope.

Peter Breen, prosecuting attorney, ex-member of the W. F. of M.; James B. Furey, member of the executive board, W. F. of M., elected sheriff; James Maher, secretary-treasurer W. F. M., elected treasurer; Sam Roberts, ex-president W. F. M.,

elected clerk of the court; C. Johnson, member of the Mill and Smeltermen's Union; elected coroner; Patrick Peoples and M. P. Hagerty, county commissioners, including members of the legislature, all belonging to organized labor.

The 6th of November will be known as "Black Tuesday" for the Standard Oil agents in Butte.

While the union men in Leadville did not get such representation as in Butte, nevertheless those elected are friends of the cause.

But Leadville's grandest victory was the election of the "Napoleon of the Rockies," Judge Owers, the incorruptible judge and fearless champion of justice.

But Colorado did well by all our candidates. Coates was elected lieutenant governor and a goodly number of union men will be in the next legislature, including two members of the W. F. M., John Kennedy of Ouray and B. P. Smith of Arapahoe. The former was in the last legislature and is well known to the readers of this magazine through his contributions to its pages. The latter is the secretary of Smeltermen's Union No. 93 of Denver, having held that job since it was organized. He piloted them through their strike of a year and a half ago.

Wolcott's overthrow is complete. Out of the 100 votes in the legislature he will only have ten.

Men and women of the Coeur d'Alenes, Butte and Colorado, you have done noble work, which will bring happiness to others when you are in your graves; push on in the good work you have begun; where you lead others will follow, filled with determination to continue the fight until all who labor shall receive what they produce.

---

### THE POTENT BOYCOTT.

---

In the struggle for better conditions there is a great difference of opinion as to what is wanted. When, after almost endless discussion, a certain object is seen to be desirable, a new discussion springs up. How can it be gained? Are there several ways, and which is the quickest? Oppression must be resisted. What is the most effective weapon of resistance? To my mind passive resistance is the greatest when the fight is a defensive one and the boycott is the best when we must take the initiative. Neither is appreciated as it should be, because its merits have not been sufficiently considered.

Boycotting is looked upon very much like a club or a pistol. Courts pronounce it illegal and boycotters are imprisoned. When the plea is made for their release, it is oftener on the ground that they were working for a good object than that they had a perfect right to boycott as often and as long as they



will tend to make those using it very careful and discourage all attempts to use it for any but the best of reasons. Its effectiveness, however, when it is used will make all antisocial people sufficiently afraid of it so that it will have to be brought into play less and less often.

There are many evils to-day which legislation has tried to reach again and again, but in vain, and which a good boycott, effectively pushed, would have put an end to.

The prejudice against the boycott has been kept alive by capitalistic writers, because they know full well with what disastrous results it could be used against them. Hardly a thing said or done by labor people seems in such bad odor, yet no method is so valuable, so fruitful of results, so easily and cheaply put into operation. It is labor's greatest weapon.

### THE ELECTION OF 1900.

McKinley and Roosevelt elected were the words that flashed across the continent after the polls closed on election day and the counting of ballots continued.

The result should be no surprise, for the money power decided the question long before it went to the American people for ratification on November 6th.

It is doubtful if any contest ever occurred in the United States where manhood was at such a discount and money at such a premium. This may appear to be an extravagant assertion, but nevertheless it is true, for everywhere the wealthy aristocracy not only supported the Republican candidates, but used their influence to compel others depending upon them to acquiesce in their nefarious work to elect the men of their choice whom they knew would serve their purpose when called upon, regardless of the people's welfare.

President McKinley had nothing to appeal to the American people except his weakness, for of all the men that ever filled the presidential chair he is without exception the weakest of them all.

He has ever been found on both sides of all important questions unable or afraid to decide, lest he might offend his superiors, the money-changers on Wall street, and when he did, upon his own judgment, in the case of the people of Porto Rico, recommend that those hospitable people be granted the same constitutional privileges as the people of the United States, he retracted the words he incorporated in his message and signed a bill imposing a fifteen per cent. tariff on the products of Porto Rico at the dictation of the trusts and combinations that elected him president.

But why complain of the character of this servant of Wall street Shylocks, or even refer to the blustering bully, Roosevelt,

who will preside over the Senate for four years—presumably, judging the future by the past—in a suit of buckskin with a Colt's navy six shooter for a gavel and a Bowie knife behind his ear? The men who elected those men approve of all they have done in the past, and are willing to uphold what they shall do during the next four years.

Slaughter the Filipinos, fighting for liberty; rob the Porto Ricans, plunder Cuba for the benefit of worthless sons of unscrupulous politicians, combine with European powers to destroy weaker nations and small republics, increase the standing army to guard more bull pens and kneel before the shrine of mammon and in an attitude that would shame Judas Iscariot when he betrayed Christ with a kiss, pretend that the salvation of this republic is their highest ambition.

Who are the men that elected McKinley and Roosevelt?

It was the sovereign workingmen, who possess no higher conception of life than a fifteen-cent lunch in a tin pail, and work for a corporation twelve and fourteen hours each day and raise children to become the slaves of these combinations of organized capitalists that have less regard for them than they have for a mangy dog.

We trust that these people will get what they voted for during the next four years, and when they are enduring the scourges of oppression which they will, we trust that the intelligent people of this nation will not squander their money foolishly upon them, for they will not be objects of charity; let them live on what they voted for.

This election teaches us another lesson which we cannot ignore. It shows plainly and conclusively that the Democratic party is dead and buried, never to be resurrected.

It nominated the strongest man within its ranks and it made as energetic a campaign as possible, nevertheless it was defeated, which proves beyond all doubt that it can never hope to again rally as many voters to its support, for the people have lost confidence in it, and when confidence is gone there is little hope for any political party.

There never was a time in the history of the United States when honest men should be so ready to come together and agree upon a plan of action in opposition to the money changers as the beginning of the twentieth century, and if the opportunity is neglected we shall yet mourn the loss of what liberty we yet enjoy.

However, we firmly believe that it is the height of folly to attempt to unite the people under the Democratic banner if we desire a victory.

Socialist principles and ideas are fast taking possession of the people and it is nothing short of insanity to attempt to lead the people away from them.

who will preside over the Senate for four years—presumably, judging the future by the past—in a suit of buckskin with a Colt's navy six shooter for a gavel and a Bowie knife behind his ear? The men who elected those men approve of all they have done in the past, and are willing to uphold what they shall do during the next four years.

Slaughter the Filipinos, fighting for liberty; rob the Porto Ricans, plunder Cuba for the benefit of worthless sons of unscrupulous politicians, combine with European powers to destroy weaker nations and small republics, increase the standing army to guard more bull pens and kneel before the shrine of mammon and in an attitude that would shame Judas Iscariot when he betrayed Christ with a kiss, pretend that the salvation of this republic is their highest ambition.

Who are the men that elected McKinley and Roosevelt?

It was the sovereign workingmen, who possess no higher conception of life than a fifteen-cent lunch in a tin pail, and work for a corporation twelve and fourteen hours each day and raise children to become the slaves of these combinations of organized capitalists that have less regard for them than they have for a mangy dog.

We trust that these people will get what they voted for during the next four years, and when they are enduring the scourges of oppression which they will, we trust that the intelligent people of this nation will not squander their money foolishly upon them, for they will not be objects of charity; let them live on what they voted for.

This election teaches us another lesson which we cannot ignore. It shows plainly and conclusively that the Democratic party is dead and buried, never to be resurrected.

It nominated the strongest man within its ranks and it made as energetic a campaign as possible, nevertheless it was defeated, which proves beyond all doubt that it can never hope to again rally as many voters to its support, for the people have lost confidence in it, and when confidence is gone there is little hope for any political party.

There never was a time in the history of the United States when honest men should be so ready to come together and agree upon a plan of action in opposition to the money changers as the beginning of the twentieth century, and if the opportunity is neglected we shall yet mourn the loss of what liberty we yet enjoy.

However, we firmly believe that it is the height of folly to attempt to unite the people under the Democratic banner if we desire a victory.

Socialist principles and ideas are fast taking possession of the people and it is nothing short of insanity to attempt to lead the people away from them.





PATRICK REDDY,

ATTORNEY FOR THE COMMISSIONERS OF ALIEN MINERS.

pose, or the one in the magazine, is one we must insist upon. All subscriptions sent in any other way will be returned. The reason is these applications help us to simplify our book-keeping. We would also ask agents to send us a duplicate of every advertising contract signed.

The sample copies sent out are for free distribution and are not to be counted in subscriptions. Subscriptions will begin with the next issue after they are received at this office.

### KENEHAN AND HIS MAGAZINE.

The first number of the International Horseshoers' Monthly Magazine has reached us. It is edited by Roady Kenehan, the international secretary of that organization, and will do much to strengthen it.

We have known its editor in various capacities—as a labor leader, as an advocate of cold water, especially for workmen, and as a judge of the Board of Arbitration, which in Colorado is a state court. His record in all is the best, and he ought to be as good an editor as he is a preacher or judge. Of the latter we will have something to say in the near future. He is the very best of good fellows, intelligent, courageous and faithful, and we wish him and his every success.

### THE COMING CONVENTION.

The eighth-annual convention of the W. F. of M. will meet in Denver, May 14, 1900.

On the same date the W. L. U. will meet in the same hall. This will be the most important convention ever held by the W. F. of M., and may mark a new era in the history of the organization. Every union should be prepared to send its full representation, and every member of the organization who can come to Denver at that time should not lose the opportunity of attending the sessions, as they will be instructive and of much benefit to every member who attends. Besides this, the W. F. of M. is not a one-man organization, and the counsel and advice of every member is solicited in shaping its future policy, be he delegate or not.

We hope that all members who intend to take a few weeks' vacation will take it while the convention is in session and attend its meetings.

### ANOTHER OUTRAGE.

We are in possession of information from the Coeur d'Alenes saying that Governor Steunenberg, in conjunction with the mine operators, have a petition in circulation, to be

forwarded to the secretary of war to continue the troops in that district permanently.

This petition did not meet with the approval of the people of the district, who naturally objected on the ground that such a procedure was unnecessary and was an insult to the people living in the county.

To the governor's surprise, when his deputies took the petition to the miners, even the permit men, who are allowed to work by the governor's permission only, refused to sign it. When this news reached the governor at Boise he immediately shipped the notorious Sinclair to the Coeur d'Alenes with instructions to carry out his orders.

When Sinclair reached Wallace he issued an order that all people who refused to sign the petition should leave the county. He then obtained the names of the men employed at the mines who refused to sign the petition and instantly revoked their permit and had them discharged immediately. Twenty-five men at the Tiger mine at Burke were discharged for refusing to sign, and a larger number at the mines in Mullan and Wardner were discharged on this account. Some of them were afterwards told that they could return to their employment if they would sign the petition. This is American freedom with a vengeance.

It is doubtful if such arbitrary acts as this were ever perpetrated upon the people of any country; not even in Russia.

This petition will be sent to the secretary of war and of course it is very easy to surmise that he will act favorably upon it, for the national administration from the day General Merriam arrived in Idaho have worked hand in hand with the Democratic governor of Idaho in the interest of the Standard Oil trust and the other rich mining corporations.

This act proves conclusively that the military are to be used by the mine operators to reduce wages in the Coeur d'Alenes when the proper time arrives. This precedent, once established, will never be abandoned.

Knowing Governor Steunenberg as well as we do, we have no hesitation in saying that he is well paid for persecuting the miners and destroying their unions.

Upon close observation and careful study you can see the Hessian in every line of his countenance and in all his actions.

There is nothing too vile for this man to descend to; he is utterly unscrupulous in all his acts, and from personal knowledge we can truthfully say that we have never known him to articulate the truth. His sole and only ambition is money, no matter how he obtains it.

---

The "Industrial Union" mentioned by the Idaho State Tribune, will have the power to do everything but protect



its members. It will be very much like a race horse that can do everything but run.

---

In the affidavits which appeared in our first issue, the signatures of two of the affiants were omitted, only the initials appearing. We are ready to give the names to the proper parties whenever necessary, but we did not feel that we had a right to make it possible for the mining companies to further persecute these women and their husbands.

---

The article on boycotting by V. Y. on another page, was written by that gentleman for Liberty, the New York sociological paper, shortly after the Cleveland car men's strike. The bitterness against that boycott was because it was in a large measure effective. One cannot hold in contempt any one that he fears. When one has incurred the enmity of the opposition it means they consider you a foe who is their equal.

---

The Coeur d'Alene affair has been taken up in Congress. The ball was opened by Senator Chandler of New Hampshire introducing General Merriam's report. Senator Pettigrew then introduced the circular letter sent out by us in October denouncing John L. Kennedy. This was replied to by Senator Kyle, also of South Dakota, introducing a letter of denial from Mr. Kennedy. Next month we hope to pay our respects to this agent of the Standard Oil Company.

---

In this issue we print a poem from the pen of William Lloyd Garrison, a son of the famous abolitionist of the same name. He really combines the sentiment of the two poems we printed last month.

Garrison the elder was dragged through the Boston streets when the abolition movement was young. His statue now occupies a place on Boston's finest avenue. As time goes on the public conscience, always tardy, may endorse the poem, which now is only looked upon as a "copperhead" effusion.

---

Reports from the mine owners state that while the wages paid are the same, the profits of the companies have doubled. Surely there has never been a more shameless confession. That such conditions should satisfy the rapacity of the robber class in the Coeur d'Alenes is not strange, but that it should be given out to the public, as one of the good results of the Russian methods employed in that district, caps the climax of "gall." Of course the rate of wages now paid will be reduced when things again reach their normal state, provided the present workingmen are retained. After that we will see a fifty per cent. or perhaps a still greater increase in profits.

and a reduction of twenty-five or thirty per cent. in wages. Then the citizens of the Coeur d'Alenes will see all the beauties of "law and order" at once.

---

We expect to begin the publication soon of a series of articles on economics. They will consist of discussions on money, land, etc., and we hope from time to time to take up these subjects and discuss them with our readers. The many different views now running counter to each other, and the various interests of their advocates, have so far only brought about misunderstanding and bitterness, and what should have been a sober scientific discussion of principles has degenerated into abuse and vituperation, and these this magazine will never tolerate for a moment. It is possible to discuss these things quietly. Facts can be marshaled, comparisons can be made and the arguments of the other fellow punctured without calling names. And while all this is going on the reader is seeing the strong and weak points of each side, and the reading is at the same time more interesting, especially to those who are just beginning their studies in this line.

We hope to prove to our readers that a subject can be taken up and debated without bitterness. That it can be written in simple language so that all may read it and understand it. No subject is of greater importance, and especially to the toiler, yet no subject is so little understood. And it never will be understood until systematic teaching is begun and continued, just as it is with everything else in this world that is taught and learned.

We must, however, ask our readers to be patient. We hope to get around to all the things that should be considered, and say a good part of the things that ought to be said. But our space is limited and things will have to take their turn. So do not imagine because something of importance has been neglected that we are unmindful of the same.

---

In the report issued by Coroner France of the present condition of the Coeur d'Alenes he speaks of the quiet prevailing there and that half of the men employed are American born. This suggests the idea that there are a larger percentage of Americans working there than before. The foreigners are smaller in proportion to the whole number than formerly. If the foreign population in the Coeur d'Alenes was larger formerly, it simply means that the foreigners were less ready to sign the applications for permits than the Americans. In other words, the foreigners showed more independence, manliness and courage than that particular brand of coyote Americans, who are willing, in order to get a job, to promise never to join an organization, nor to have any opinions



VOLUME I

NUMBER 2

THE  
MINERS'  
MAGAZINE

FEBRUARY 1900

---

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

ORGAN OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

Publication Office 1613 Court Place, Denver, Colorado.

---

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR



# THE CLASS WAR

---

## IN IDAHO.

---

An Indictment of Combined Capital, in Conspiracy with the Democratic State Officers and the Republican National Administration, for Atrocities Committed Against the Miners of the Cœur d'Alenes.

### The True Story of the Bull Pen

BY JOB HARRIMAN.

---

Single copies 5 cents. In quantities to party organizations or to dealers, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  cents each.

Sold by the Publishers at 184 Williams Street,  
New York, N. Y.

BUY IT. READ IT.  
CIRCULATE IT.

## WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

The miners have a Federation, the grandest ever known;  
And it gives emancipation to slaves the rich men own.  
Her name is heralded with joy throughout the western land,  
And though the "rich combine" arroy, her deeds of fame  
expand.

In the horn of plenty's legion her choicest gifts are strewn;  
And her name in every region on labor's hearts are hewn.  
Her march is in the sunlight ray of intellect and fame;  
Her every act just means fair play, and justice gilds her  
name.

'Twas on old "Bull Hill's" towering crest she waged her fore-  
most fight;  
There capital entrenched its best, was forced to onward flight  
On Leadville's rocky mountain brow the miners' fight was  
gained,  
And since the Federation's prow the heights of fame attained.

On Coeur d'Alene's eternal hills her power sublime is known,  
And o'er her vales and crystal rills she rules upon her throne.  
No martial law, nor tyrant hand her onward march can check;  
Her mandates reign throughout the land, her sons are all on  
deck.

And when she gave the world her laws, and call'd her sons to  
arms  
She met the people's glad applause and filled the earth with  
charms:  
And like an eagle in her nest upon the mountain's brow,  
She holds her place, Queen of the West, while knaves before  
her bow.

"Old Steinenberg" now hides his head in dark oblivion's  
gloom,  
His aspirations are all dead, he met a traitor's doom;  
And "Dirty Hughey" in his den, shall long regret the day  
That he was chief of the "Bull Pen," or ever there held sway.

"Old Sinclair" and his godless gang, have hid their heads in  
shame,  
Their tocsins have given a last clang, oblivion hides each  
name,  
While Corcoran's name, on deathless wing, shall ever live  
sublime;  
Unborn millions his praise shall sing, adown the years of Time.

hazing, were delighted, and the "murders" they frothed about were forgotten.

If the indignation which swept over the country when these revelations were made was genuine it would result in abolishing West Point, and congressmen would be asked to vote down all appropriations for that institution, but it was not genuine. One can hardly say with what to be the most disgusted, the West Pointers, the congressmen or the indignant public.

#### EXPENSE OF MARTIAL LAW IN IDAHO.

Bartlett Sinclair, in his report as state auditor, shows that there are deficiency warrants outstanding to the amount of \$59,849.96 in addition to what Shoshone county and the Mine Owners' Association paid for the reign of terror.

The people of Idaho are expected to pay these illegal warrants contracted by an irresponsible villain in the pay of the Mine Owners' Association. It is quite evident that Sinclair and Steunenberg are much interested in having the Idaho Legislature allow these warrants, so they can get their rake-off, as Sinclair invited Thomas Heney and John Kelly, members of the Legislature from the Coeur d'Alenes, who were imprisoned in the bull pen by Sinclair and Steunenberg; to come to Sinclair's room, as he wanted to pay them for the time they were unjustly incarcerated.

There were 1,400 other men unjustly incarcerated in the bull pen, but Sinclair don't propose to pay them for their time while there because they are not members of the Legislature and cannot raise their voice against him and Steunenberg and expose their thieving methods during their reign in office.

Think of a governor and state auditor imprisoning 1,400 men for terms ranging from one to seven months, without a trial, and during this period supported by the courts and the President of the United States, to bribe and intimidate witnesses to swear them into the penitentiary, and after failing in their dastardly work, go to two of the members who were elected by the people of the county and say: "We want to pay you for the time we imprisoned you."

If Sinclair and Steunenberg had succeeded in sending Heney and Kelly to the penitentiary they would not offer to pay them, but the people sent them to the Legislature and Sinclair tries to bribe them and there is no law to bring this criminal to justice.

Of the \$59,849.96 expended by Sinclair, which the state of Idaho is asked to pay, most of it is for deputy sheriffs, com-



LABOR  
PRODUCES  
ALL WEALTH

# WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS CHARTER

Where All Men by These Presents, That acting under the authority vested in us  
by the laws of the above named organization in the undersigned do hereby grant this  
Charter to a body of **Delegates** who are to be chosen and designated  
at the **22<sup>nd</sup> Annual Convention of the W. F. of M.** Union No.

To be held by them and their Successors. And the officers of the said body to be installed with full  
power to act and execute all the usual forms and duties of a duly constituted body of persons  
and fully empowered to amend, alter and change the Constitution of the said Union of the W. F. of M.  
To be held at **St. Louis, Mo.** on the **10<sup>th</sup> day of June** 1900. And the officers and those  
to be appointed to the said Convention shall and they shall have full power to act and  
execute all the usual forms and duties of a duly constituted body of persons  
and fully empowered to amend, alter and change the Constitution of the said Union of the W. F. of M.  
To be held at **St. Louis, Mo.** on the **10<sup>th</sup> day of June** 1900. And the officers and those  
to be appointed to the said Convention shall and they shall have full power to act and  
execute all the usual forms and duties of a duly constituted body of persons  
and fully empowered to amend, alter and change the Constitution of the said Union of the W. F. of M.

WEALTH  
BELONGS TO THE  
PRODUCER THEREOF.

should be written up correctly, and not depend upon the memory in a question of such importance.

This is also true regarding resolutions and platform which shall guide the officers of the organization and stand as the recognized policy of the Federation for the ensuing year. We trust that each delegate will realize the importance of his position and will come to the convention prepared to act wisely in the interest of those who elected him as their representative.

#### NEWSPAPER HEADINGS ON THE INVESTIGATION.

Notwithstanding the meager accounts sent out by the Associated Press of the Congressional Investigation, the papers to whom they are sent have a good idea of what is being revealed at the sessions of the committee. The Associated Press sends out the news without headings; these are put on by the individual papers themselves, and while some papers had tame and non-committal headings, others expressed themselves as follows:

Denver Rocky Mountain News, "Imprisoned Without Trial.—Washington, D. C., Star, "Mr. Sovereign Regarded the Attitude of the Troops as Unnecessarily Severe."—Boston Herald, "Objected to Martial Law."—Sacramento Bee, "Bunker Hill Owned by Standard Oil Company."—Atlanta, Ga., Journal, "McKinley Approved Merriam's Wardner Bull Pen."—Great Falls, Mont., Tribune, "The Wardner Investigation Continues to Elicit Tales of Astounding Tyranny."—Toledo, O., Bee, "Queer Justice Out in Idaho."—Cleveland, O., Recorder, "Revolting Was the Treatment Received By an Editor in the Bull Pen."—Wheeling, West Va., News, "More Facts About the Military Tyranny in the Coeur d'Alenes."—Grand Forks, N. D., Herald, "The Soldiers Were Brutal."—Dubuque, Iowa, Herald, "Idaho's Deep Disgrace."—Chicago Journal, "Idaho Editor Tells of Harsh Treatment."—Atlanta Journal, "Stewart Lays Outrage Bare."—Louisville, Ky., Courier-Journal, "Kangaroo Court Passed Sentence on Idaho Newspaper Man."—Grand Forks, N. D., Herald, "More Evidence Adduced Regarding the Mining Scandal."—Massillon, O., Item, "The Bull Pen Prisoners Crazed by Brutal Treatment and Shot Down."—Rocky Mountain News, "Repetition of Andersonville."

#### THE WORSHIP OF THE GOLDEN CALF IN MODERN TIMES.

The reason why many people wish to see the triumph of British arms in South Africa, is because "the Boers are not civilized. They have gold mines and do not want to work them." To the average citizen of the present day, the lust for

company were ordered to live within the city limits; we know that shift bosses and every miserable lackey of that company attend the polling booths and check every man that votes on election day.

The man who does not vote as he is told, board where he is told, and trade at the company's store; in short, become wholly dependent on this monster corporation can not work in any of its mines, mills or smelters.

These are facts well known to the people of Butte, and yet a shyster attorney has the effrontery to testify that no intimidation has been used by the manager.

---

### CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION.

---

The committee on military affairs is investigating the conduct of the military in the Coeur d'Alenes and will soon submit its report to Congress.

Considering the attitude of the Republican members of the committee, President McKinley and Governor Steunenberg will be exonerated and General Merriam upheld for his cowardly persecution of the miners of Shoshone county, Idaho.

Throughout the investigation the Republican members showed their hostility to organized labor in their vain attempt to prevent the truth from being known.

The Associated Press treated the investigation as a secret and only allowed a few garbled statements to reach the public when the miners' witnesses testified:

All of which proves that the laboring people of this republic in name must be crushed and made to bow in meek submission to the monied oligarchy that controls every department of the government.

Fourteen witnesses appeared for the miners. Every one of them are truthful, honest men; against their character and integrity not a word can be said. They testified that men who were arrested and imprisoned for six months without any charge being preferred against them were treated worse than criminals by the military despots.

Mr. Cozier, United States prosecuting attorney for Idaho, who was a witness for General Merriam and Governor Steunenberg, testified that in his opinion the arrest and imprisonment of the men in the "bull pen" was illegal, unlawful and contrary to the constitution of the United States.

He further testified that Governor Steunenberg requested him to try the prisoners in trainload lots on the charge of obstructing the United States mail.

This request, coming from Governor Steunenberg, was the request of the Standard Oil Company and the mine owners of Shoshone county, for every act of Governor Steunenberg was



care what politics Governor Steunenberg and associates professed; he wanted to see justice done to the miners' union and the perpetrators of the Coeur d'Alene outrages punished. Such is Lentz, and if he were the chief executive the United States would be governed differently than they are now by McKinley, Hanna, Dick, the big trusts, and the English ambassadors.

---

**"YOU ARE A LIAR AND YOU KNOW IT."**

---

On April 2 in the city of Washington, before the military commission investigating the persecution imposed upon the men unlawfully imprisoned in the Standard Oil "bull pen" at Wardner by General Merriam and his disreputable associates, Governor Steunenberg swore that Ed Boyce went to Wardner and secretly organized twenty men who in turn organized a like number, until they reached 160 and these were the men who destroyed the Bunker Hill mills.

When asked how he knew this, said, "James R. Sovereign, former master workman of the Knights of Labor told a friend of mine."

Mr. Sovereign, who was present, rose to his feet and shaking his fist at the governor, said: "You are a liar, and you know it." The governor steadfastly declined to divulge the name of his friend who gave him the information. At last, under pressure, he said, A. B. Campbell of Campbell & Finch, agent for H. H. Rogers of the Standard Oil trust.

On another page we print a letter received from Mr. Sovereign, which covers this important matter and places the perjured governor of Idaho in a very unenviable position.

It is doubtful if history records such a disgraceful spectacle as the governor of a state perjuring himself before the world for the dollars of a corporation, and to add to this humiliating disgrace he acknowledges Mr. Sovereign's accusation: "You are a liar and you know it," without a protest; something that an honorable man would resent, even at the sacrifice of his life.

Were he not lower than the brute creation he would not have button-holed union men and told them that he was a member in good standing of the International Typographical Union, as he did in 1896, in Boise, Idaho, when he was aspiring for the nomination for governor, and succeeded in receiving it through the efforts of the president of the Western Federation of Miners, a fact that can be readily attested by honorable citizens of Idaho.

At the time we secured the nomination of this treacherous perjurer in 1896 we believed his lying words: that he was then a member of the typographical union in good standing,

who carried his union card, but had left it at his home when he came to the convention.

Since that time we learn that he was not a member of the typographical union, but was made an honorary member of the union in Boise after he began to incarcerate the members of the miners' union in the "bull pen," in order that he might deceive the laboring people and under the guise of organized labor carry out the dictates of the Standard Oil magnates, "his friends."

We are not surprised at the sworn statement of this vile wretch, who has persecuted the laboring people for the dollars of J. D. Rockefeller and his associates. He would swear away the life of every member of organized labor at the dictates of the corporations.

---

#### A. M. DEWEY.

---

For one year Mr. A. M. Dewey has traveled in the western states as special commissioner pretentiously collecting data in connection with the various strikes and lockouts that occurred during the past five or ten years in the western states.

In one place Mr. Dewey says he is empowered to investigate all strikes and lockouts. In another place he is the special agent of President McKinley, appointed on account of his pronounced views in favor of unionism, to report direct to the President the true condition of the working people.

In the Coeur d'Alenes he represented that he was sent there as special agent to make a thorough investigation, while in our office in Butte he said emphatically that he would not visit that country. However, he arrived there and spent most of his time with the mine operators and their minions in uniforms.

In one place he is a true Knight of Labor; in another he is a pure and simple trades unionist; in another he is a socialist; in another he is a communist; in another he is a single-taxer.

It is safe to say that President McKinley could not send a better agent among the people to ascertain their true feelings; he did his work faithfully and succeeded in deceiving the people who were foolish enough to be deceived by his plausible talk and revolutionary speeches, for which, if uttered by an honest laboring man, he would be arrested immediately and sent to the penitentiary.

When this administration detective arrived in San Francisco he found all of the active men in the labor movement and in the socialist ranks and told some of them about the terrible persecution inflicted upon the Standard Oil Company's agents in the Coeur d'Alenes by the Irish, who were so bloodthirsty

who carried his union card, but had left it at his home when he came to the convention.

Since that time we learn that he was not a member of the typographical union, but was made an honorary member of the union in Boise after he began to incarcerate the members of the miners' union in the "bull pen," in order that he might deceive the laboring people and under the guise of organized labor carry out the dictates of the Standard Oil magnates, "his friends."

We are not surprised at the sworn statement of this vile wretch, who has persecuted the laboring people for the dollars of J. D. Rockefeller and his associates. He would swear away the life of every member of organized labor at the dictates of the corporations.

---

#### A. M. DEWEY.

---

For one year Mr. A. M. Dewey has traveled in the western states as special commissioner pretentiously collecting data in connection with the various strikes and lockouts that occurred during the past five or ten years in the western states.

In one place Mr. Dewey says he is empowered to investigate all strikes and lockouts. In another place he is the special agent of President McKinley, appointed on account of his pronounced views in favor of unionism, to report direct to the President the true condition of the working people.

In the Coeur d'Alenes he represented that he was sent there as special agent to make a thorough investigation, while in our office in Butte he said emphatically that he would not visit that country. However, he arrived there and spent most of his time with the mine operators and their minions in uniforms.

In one place he is a true Knight of Labor; in another he is a pure and simple trades unionist; in another he is a socialist; in another he is a communist; in another he is a single-taxer.

It is safe to say that President McKinley could not send a better agent among the people to ascertain their true feelings; he did his work faithfully and succeeded in deceiving the people who were foolish enough to be deceived by his plausible talk and revolutionary speeches, for which, if uttered by an honest laboring man, he would be arrested immediately and sent to the penitentiary.

When this administration detective arrived in San Francisco he found all of the active men in the labor movement and in the socialist ranks and told some of them about the terrible persecution inflicted upon the Standard Oil Company's agents in the Coeur d'Alenes by the Irish, who were so bloodthirsty



who carried his union card, but had left it at his home when he came to the convention.

Since that time we learn that he was not a member of the typographical union, but was made an honorary member of the union in Boise after he began to incarcerate the members of the miners' union in the "bull pen," in order that he might deceive the laboring people and under the guise of organized labor carry out the dictates of the Standard Oil magnates, "his friends."

We are not surprised at the sworn statement of this vile wretch, who has persecuted the laboring people for the dollars of J. D. Rockefeller and his associates. He would swear away the life of every member of organized labor at the dictates of the corporations.

---

#### A. M. DEWEY.

---

For one year Mr. A. M. Dewey has traveled in the western states as special commissioner pretentiously collecting data in connection with the various strikes and lockouts that occurred during the past five or ten years in the western states.

In one place Mr. Dewey says he is empowered to investigate all strikes and lockouts. In another place he is the special agent of President McKinley, appointed on account of his pronounced views in favor of unionism, to report direct to the President the true condition of the working people.

In the Coeur d'Alenes he represented that he was sent there as special agent to make a thorough investigation, while in our office in Butte he said emphatically that he would not visit that country. However, he arrived there and spent most of his time with the mine operators and their minions in uniforms.

In one place he is a true Knight of Labor; in another he is a pure and simple trades unionist; in another he is a socialist; in another he is a communist; in another he is a single-taxer.

It is safe to say that President McKinley could not send a better agent among the people to ascertain their true feelings; he did his work faithfully and succeeded in deceiving the people who were foolish enough to be deceived by his plausible talk and revolutionary speeches, for which, if uttered by an honest laboring man, he would be arrested immediately and sent to the penitentiary.

When this administration detective arrived in San Francisco he found all of the active men in the labor movement and in the socialist ranks and told some of them about the terrible persecution inflicted upon the Standard Oil Company's agents in the Coeur d'Alenes by the Irish, who were so bloodthirsty

who carried his union card, but had left it at his home when he came to the convention.

Since that time we learn that he was not a member of the typographical union, but was made an honorary member of the union in Boise after he began to incarcerate the members of the miners' union in the "bull pen," in order that he might deceive the laboring people and under the guise of organized labor carry out the dictates of the Standard Oil magnates, "his friends."

We are not surprised at the sworn statement of this vile wretch, who has persecuted the laboring people for the dollars of J. D. Rockefeller and his associates. He would swear away the life of every member of organized labor at the dictates of the corporations.

---

#### A. M. DEWEY.

---

For one year Mr. A. M. Dewey has traveled in the western states as special commissioner pretentiously collecting data in connection with the various strikes and lockouts that occurred during the past five or ten years in the western states.

In one place Mr. Dewey says he is empowered to investigate all strikes and lockouts. In another place he is the special agent of President McKinley, appointed on account of his pronounced views in favor of unionism, to report direct to the President the true condition of the working people.

In the Coeur d'Alenes he represented that he was sent there as special agent to make a thorough investigation, while in our office in Butte he said emphatically that he would not visit that country. However, he arrived there and spent most of his time with the mine operators and their minions in uniforms.

In one place he is a true Knight of Labor; in another he is a pure and simple trades unionist; in another he is a socialist; in another he is a communist; in another he is a single-taxer.

It is safe to say that President McKinley could not send a better agent among the people to ascertain their true feelings; he did his work faithfully and succeeded in deceiving the people who were foolish enough to be deceived by his plausible talk and revolutionary speeches, for which, if uttered by an honest laboring man, he would be arrested immediately and sent to the penitentiary.

When this administration detective arrived in San Francisco he found all of the active men in the labor movement and in the socialist ranks and told some of them about the terrible persecution inflicted upon the Standard Oil Company's agents in the Coeur d'Alenes by the Irish, who were so bloodthirsty

who carried his union card, but had left it at his home when he came to the convention.

Since that time we learn that he was not a member of the typographical union, but was made an honorary member of the union in Boise after he began to incarcerate the members of the miners' union in the "bull pen," in order that he might deceive the laboring people and under the guise of organized labor carry out the dictates of the Standard Oil magnates, "his friends."

We are not surprised at the sworn statement of this vile wretch, who has persecuted the laboring people for the dollars of J. D. Rockefeller and his associates. He would swear away the life of every member of organized labor at the dictates of the corporations.

---

#### A. M. DEWEY.

---

For one year Mr. A. M. Dewey has traveled in the western states as special commissioner pretentiously collecting data in connection with the various strikes and lockouts that occurred during the past five or ten years in the western states.

In one place Mr. Dewey says he is empowered to investigate all strikes and lockouts. In another place he is the special agent of President McKinley, appointed on account of his pronounced views in favor of unionism, to report direct to the President the true condition of the working people.

In the Coeur d'Alenes he represented that he was sent there as special agent to make a thorough investigation, while in our office in Butte he said emphatically that he would not visit that country. However, he arrived there and spent most of his time with the mine operators and their minions in uniforms.

In one place he is a true Knight of Labor; in another he is a pure and simple trades unionist; in another he is a socialist; in another he is a communist; in another he is a single-taxer.

It is safe to say that President McKinley could not send a better agent among the people to ascertain their true feelings; he did his work faithfully and succeeded in deceiving the people who were foolish enough to be deceived by his plausible talk and revolutionary speeches, for which, if uttered by an honest laboring man, he would be arrested immediately and sent to the penitentiary.

When this administration detective arrived in San Francisco he found all of the active men in the labor movement and in the socialist ranks and told some of them about the terrible persecution inflicted upon the Standard Oil Company's agents in the Coeur d'Alenes by the Irish, who were so bloodthirsty



that life and property was not safe in that district unless surrounded by federal bayonets.

So anxious was this walking barometer of deceit and falsehood to shield McKinley in his dastardly work of disrupting organized labor in the Coeur d'Alenes to obtain the support of the Standard Oil magnates to again make his President by methods that would make the heartless pirates on the high seas blush with shame, that he sought to drag the Sisters of Charity into the blowing up of the Standard Oil concentrator at Wardner.

By this means he sought to prejudice the minds of those he thought silly enough to listen to his calumny and tissue of lies.

He then proceeds to Los Angeles and there addresses a Socialist meeting and weeps crocodile tears over the condition of the poor proletaire and belabors the heartless, soulless corporations for their unjust methods and corrupting influence, while two days before he told laboring men that he visited the bull pen and found it almost a palace, where the prisoners were rolling in luxury, while on the other hand the manager of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan company invited him to the office of poor company, where he lives in mortal dread of the Irish and the Sisters of Charity, and there showed him the company's books to prove that the property did not belong to the Standard Oil Company.

We are puzzled to understand why socialists and union men are deceived by A. M. Dewey? Every one of them should know that he is a paid spy in the employ of the administration to ascertain the feelings of the people and report the same to the White House. Socialists and union men should not be deceived by him for in treachery he far excels Robert Pinkerton or any of his men.

---

#### SO THE PEOPLE MAY KNOW.

---

For six months the Clerks' union of Butte, Montana, the supposed citadel of organized labor, has advocated the closing of stores at 6 o'clock p. m., except Saturday, when stores should remain open till 10 o'clock p. m.

In order to ascertain the attitude of the merchants of Butte on the proposed early closing a committee from the clerks' union waited upon all the merchants in the city and without hesitation every one of them replied that if the Clerks' union wanted the stores closed at that hour they were satisfied.

The Clerks sent a committee to each union in the city and asked for their endorsement, which was granted without a dissenting voice.

The union next called upon the pastors of the various

that life and property was not safe in that district unless surrounded by federal bayonets.

So anxious was this walking barometer of deceit and falsehood to shield McKinley in his dastardly work of disrupting organized labor in the Coeur d'Alenes to obtain the support of the Standard Oil magnates to again make his President by methods that would make the heartless pirates on the high seas blush with shame, that he sought to drag the Sisters of Charity into the blowing up of the Standard Oil concentrator at Wardner.

By this means he sought to prejudice the minds of those he thought silly enough to listen to his calumny and tissue of lies.

He then proceeds to Los Angeles and there addresses a Socialist meeting and weeps crocodile tears over the condition of the poor proletaire and belabors the heartless, soulless corporations for their unjust methods and corrupting influence, while two days before he told laboring men that he visited the bull pen and found it almost a palace, where the prisoners were rolling in luxury, while on the other hand the manager of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan company invited him to the office of poor company, where he lives in mortal dread of the Irish and the Sisters of Charity, and there showed him the company's books to prove that the property did not belong to the Standard Oil Company.

We are puzzled to understand why socialists and union men are deceived by A. M. Dewey? Every one of them should know that he is a paid spy in the employ of the administration to ascertain the feelings of the people and report the same to the White House. Socialists and union men should not be deceived by him for in treachery he far excels Robert Pinkerton or any of his men.

---

#### SO THE PEOPLE MAY KNOW.

---

For six months the Clerks' union of Butte, Montana, the supposed citadel of organized labor, has advocated the closing of stores at 6 o'clock p. m., except Saturday, when stores should remain open till 10 o'clock p. m.

In order to ascertain the attitude of the merchants of Butte on the proposed early closing a committee from the clerks' union waited upon all the merchants in the city and without hesitation every one of them replied that if the Clerks' union wanted the stores closed at that hour they were satisfied.

The Clerks sent a committee to each union in the city and asked for their endorsement, which was granted without a dissenting voice.

The union next called upon the pastors of the various

Daly's department store in Butte, where women stand behind a counter two hours each day in opposition to their union that stands between them and the tyranny of a heartless wretch like Daly who was forced to fly from the land of his birth on account of such persecution.

There is not a city in the United States where scab-made goods are bought so readily as in Butte; over ninety-five per cent. of the miners who claim to be union men use nothing except scab-made goods; they know not what a union label looks like, neither do they care.

Those are the men who go into union camps in the West and take advantage of conditions perpetuated by the influence of unionism and do everything in their power against union principles. We trust the unions of the W. F. of M. will bear this in mind.

---

### SOVEREIGN EXPOSES STEUNENBERG.

Frank Steunenberg, governor of Idaho, in his recent testimony before the committee on military affairs of Congress, seems to have relied on statements half truth and half falsehood, and it is acknowledged the world around that the meanest of all lies is the one that is half truth.

On the 2d of April, Steunenberg, with the evident purpose of bolstering up his outrageous conduct toward the people of the Coeur d'Alene mining district, testified that A. B. Campbell told him that I said that Ed Boyce came into the district ten days before the destruction of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mill on April 29th of last year and inaugurated a perfect conspiracy by swearing in twenty men from the different mining camps; that those twenty men chose one each and swore them in, that the forty chose one each and swore them in, that the eighty chose one each and swore them in, and in that way 160 men were secured in the conspiracy to do this thing. This statement of Governor Steunenberg in so far as it refers to Ed Boyce is an absolute falsehood. No such statement was ever made by me to any one. What I did say and what I have said a hundred times and what was a matter of common notoriety, was that a demonstration was organized on the night of April 28th without the knowledge or consent of any labor organization or labor leader, and whoever among the labor organizations participated in the riot of the next day did so entirely on his personal responsibility. But now comes Steunenberg and prefixes a lie to my statement and, strange as it may seem, he attempts to make me the author of the very information I publicly challenged him and his representatives to furnish me. From April 29, 1899, to the time I left northern Idaho I publicly and privately



offered repeatedly to co-operate with public officers or private citizens to ascertain if Ed Boyce or the miners' unions conspired to commit any of the crimes committed on April 29th, and if it could be shown that they were guilty I would publicly denounce them and reverse my attitude to conform to the policy of Steunenberg and General Merriam. But every time real incriminating facts were demanded, Steunenberg and his henchmen were as silent as the grave. Now this same Steunenberg, whose appearance on the witness stand before Congress was conspicuous only for the utter absence of his memory and who hid behind his forgetfulness to conceal his own crimes, speaks behind a third person to make it appear that my statements were justification for a reign of martial law that would challenge the admiration of Louis XIV.

Let us suppose that I really did say to Mr. Campbell all that Steunenberg swore I said: it only the more proves the perfidious character of the governor himself. A logical analysis of the statement applied to the chain of events under the orders of Steunenberg only tends the more forcibly to expose his own treachery and dishonesty in the management of public affairs.

In the first place, Steunenberg on May 31 declared all Idaho shone country to be in a state of insurrection and rebellion and put the entire State of Idaho under martial law, arrested without warrants the persons of citizens and imprisoned them in a jail built for without charge or the privilege of a trial. The privileges of the habeas corpus were suspended; that most sacred of all writs guaranteed by each constitution and statute to be held inviolate for the protection of the people against arbitrary seizure and detention. Therefore, there was no court to interfere with the hanging apparatus of the government for the bodies of men. He suspended the constitution and trampled all law under his feet to imprison and persecute hundreds of people against whom no charge of crime had ever been made either by himself or anybody else. The only apology he ever offered for this outrageous conduct was that he did all these things for the sole purpose of punishing criminals and conspirators. Yet all this time he knew that Ed Boyce was the arch-conspirator because I had told A. B. Campbell how he swore in the first twenty men in the conspiracy to destroy the Bunker Hill mill. Now if Steunenberg, through me, and I stand to A. B. Campbell what he swore I did, why was I not taken before the coroner's jury which sat on the night of April 29th for more than three months? Why was I not summoned before the grand jury that returned more than 200 indictments in five days? Why was I not subpoenaed before the trial court? Why was not Ed Boyce arrested and brought to Idaho to answer to the charge of conspiracy, arson and murder which was committed

at Wardner on April 29, 1899? Ed Boyce was never in hiding. He was never shielded by the executive of another state who refused to honor a requisition on behalf of Idaho. There never has been an hour since the riot of April 29, 1899, that the whereabouts of Ed Boyce was not known to the public. There has not been an hour from that time to this that the arrest of Ed Boyce involved anything more than the ordinary formality of service. Either Governor Steunenberg has no confidence in the statement he credits to me or he wilfully allows Ed Boyce to run at large with available evidence of a most dastardly crime hanging over him. The logic of this circumstance is of itself an impeachment of the governor's statement. He must either confess that he had no foundation for the statement or he must confess that he allowed me to remain in the Coeur d'Alene district for more than six months following the riot of April 29, without ever having been questioned by himself or subpoenaed before any jury or court to answer questions concerning the statement he swore I made to Campbell, or that he wilfully permits Ed Boyce to enjoy his liberty, while he has evidence of his guilt in his possession. I care not from which box he chooses his pill, the medicine is of his own preparation and he must swallow it. The statement referred to is a rank falsehood and needs no better refutation than the governor's own acts.

J. R. SOVEREIGN.

---

### LIFE INSURANCE FOR THE W. F. OF M.

BY JOHN H. MURPHY.

Remembering that, of the many classes who make up our complex civilization, the miner and the farmer occupy positions which make them, of all other classes of people, the most useful and valuable members of society, it should, therefore, be the aim of the one who is privileged to address either class to endeavor to suggest something which, if adopted, may be at least a slight return to them in the way of substantial benefits for the incalculable good their services have been to mankind. The desire to make helpful suggestions is augmented all the more when it is considered that it is by their brain and muscle the interior world is made to yield up its treasures for the advancement and happiness of mankind, yet, nevertheless, as a class they bestow little thought upon self, nor do they plan very extensively for their own future general welfare. It is not fulsome praise nor an undeserved compliment to say that the miner is one of the most useful members of society. For modern civilization could not have attained its present stage of marvelous accomplishments if it were not for the base metals, coal, and the precious metals taken from beneath the earth's surface by the hand of the sturdy miner. Moreover, when it is

CHAS. H. MOYER

W. N. BURNS

JAMES B. FUREY

JOHN C. WILLIAMS.



CHRIS. FOLEY

JAMES MAHER

EDWARD BOYCE

JOHN F. M'DONELL

W. D. HAYWOOD

EXECUTIVE BOARD, N. Y. C. N. 1900-1901.



CHAS. H. MOYER

W. N. BURNS

JAMES B. FUREY

JOHN C. WILLIAMS.



CHRIS. FOLEY

JAMES MAHER

EDWARD BOYCE

JOHN F. McDONELL

W. D. HAYWOOD

EXECUTIVE BOARD, N. E. G. M., 1900-1901.

government at Washington may be in existence, for we see those peoples supplanting white labor by the thousand, especially on railroads where there is no organization among the employes to oppose them.

For years the Standard Oil Company has operated mining property at Wardner, Idaho, and paid its employes \$1.50 and \$1 per day less than was paid by other mining companies operating in the same district and in addition maintained a rigid blacklist against members of organized labor, which was approved by nearly all the mine operators of the district, who sought the destruction of the miners' unions.

On April 24, 1899, the employes of the Standard Oil Company at Wardner, who were all non-union men, signed a petition requesting the manager to pay the same wages as was paid throughout the district. This he refused to do and immediately discharged the men whose names appeared on the petition, and in addition to this he armed fighting men, who assaulted and abused the discharged men without provocation. These repeated attacks became unbearable. The discharged men, who had committed no offense except to petition the manager for the prevailing wages of the district, refused to further submit to the assaults of drunken guards armed with Winchesters. This culminated in a fight, ending in the destruction of the company's concentrator. This was the signal for the destruction of the miners' unions of the Coeur d'Alenes. All the machinery of the government was set in motion by President McKinley and Governor Steunenberg of Idaho to destroy these unions. Governor Steunenberg and President McKinley complied with every request of the Standard Oil company and other rich mining companies by declaring martial law and arresting every man who belonged to the miners' unions or sympathized with the members thereof.

Negro soldiers, under command of an ignorant tyrant clothed in the uniform of a general (H. C. Merriam), arrested the county officials and 1,500 men and confined them in a filthy "bull pen" for terms ranging from one to seven months, during which the cruelty of their treatment exceeded any punishment imposed upon prisoners by penitentiary authorities of which we have any record.

In addition to inferior food, unfit for human use, they were bayoneted by the soldiers and compelled to stand erect eight hours each day under a burning sun, while a miserable lackey named Captain Edwards exhibited his cowardly nature by calling them cowardly curs and other vile names. They were denied the right to consult with counsel or to read newspapers that did not approve of the unlawful acts of their persecutors.

So outrageous was their treatment that one unfortunate man (Mat Johnson) went insane from its effects, who, upon being conveyed from the "bull pen" to the county jail by two negro soldiers in charge of Dr. France, the company's doctor, to await the arrival of a guard to take him to the asylum, jumped into the Coeur d'Alene river to escape imaginary execution, when Dr. France ordered the soldiers to fire upon him and poor Johnson was dragged from the river a corpse. Mack Devine, another unfortunate prisoner, on his dying bed asked for a priest, but his dying request was denied—a request that was never denied the vilest criminal on earth. Although this victim of commercial despotism died a martyr in the cause of human liberty and justice, his spirit remained unconquered. His dying words—"bury me in the Miners' Union cemetery and tell our union men not to sign the permits"—should appeal to working men to do their duty on election day and by their votes relegate President McKinley, the man who is responsible for those cruelties, to political obscurity before he reduces them to a state of peonage from which they will never escape.

After deposing the sheriff and Board of County Commissioners and county attorney Governor Steunenberg appointed men selected by the mine operators who would carry out his instructions and railroad men to the penitentiary regardless of law or justice. It has developed that some of

Steunenberg's appointees are not citizens of the United States, nevertheless they served on the grand jury that indicted citizens and sent Paul Corcoran to the penitentiary for seventeen years.

Since May 8, 1899, it is a criminal offense for any man to work in Shoshone county without a permit, which he must obtain from the state of Idaho, and which declares that labor organizations are criminal.

Paul Corcoran, secretary of Burke Union, was sentenced to seventeen years in the Idaho penitentiary. His case has been appealed to the Supreme Court of the state and will be argued this week.

Ten other men were convicted in the Federal Court for delaying the United States mail and were sentenced to twenty-two months in San Quentin penitentiary. Their case was appealed to the Appellate court and was argued before that court in San Francisco on the 10th inst., but no decision has been rendered.

The unions in Shoshone county have been in a deplorable condition for the past year, but knowing the character of their members I firmly believe that within the next year they will regain their former strength.

Through the efforts of United States Senators Heitfeld and Pettigrew and Congressmen Lentz and Sulzer an investigation was instituted by the Military Committee of the House. The investigation lasted over two months and a large number of witnesses were examined on both sides. The committee has not, as yet, reported. The people of the United States did not fully appreciate the magnitude of the cruelties perpetrated on the "bull pen" victims until the disclosures were made before the committee. Even the opposition press could not excuse them. The Republican members of the committee tried to stifle the truth all along. Their most barefaced and successful attempt was when Governor Steunenberg testified that A. B. Campbell told him I had planned the destruction of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan concentrator and that this information had been given to him by J. R. Sovereign. This was hearsay evidence at third hand, which no court of justice would hear for a moment. But when our side asked to put Mr. Campbell on the stand (he being present) it was refused by a strict party vote. Then I requested an opportunity to be heard and submitted the following affidavit. This was also refused. The Republican members of the committee are as cowardly and obedient timeservers of the administration as are the military who executed its orders last year:

Butte, Montana, April 24th, 1900.

To the Committee on Military Affairs of the Fifty-Sixth Congress, Washington, D. C.:

Gentlemen—I am informed through the Associated Press dispatches that Governor Steunenberg of Idaho testified before your honorable body that I went to the town of Wardner, Idaho and secretly organized twenty men, members of Wardner Miners' Union, into a conspiracy, who, in accordance with my instructions, organized a like number until the number reached 160 men.

That those were the men who attacked and destroyed the Bunker Hill and Sullivan concentrator, April 29th, 1899, under my instructions.

I deny this accusation of Governor Steunenberg as false and malicious, and that he knew the same to be untrue when he testified before your honorable body.

In justice to myself and the laboring men I represent, I make this statement and am ready at any time to appear before your honorable body and prove that the accusation Governor Steunenberg made against me is false in every particular.

EDWARD BOYCE,

President Western Federation of Miners,

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of April, A. D. 1900.

(Seal.)

LEWIS P. FORESTELL,

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



hearty appreciation and thank the honorable members of said committee for their noble, earnest and untiring efforts in behalf of justice, a quantity the laboring classes are greatly in need of, and be it further

Resolved, that this resolution be spread upon the minutes of our Federation, a copy forwarded to the Hon. John J. Lentz, Hon. William Sulzer and the press.

### IDAHO VOTERS DO YOUR DUTY.

It will be seen by the following resolution that the people in southern Idaho, Governor Steunenberg's home, intend to relegate the obnoxious tool and his associates to political obscurity. We trust their efforts will meet with success in routing this disgraceful band of boodlers from the state to where they belong—in the penitentiary.

Whereas, on the 3d day of May, 1899, Frank Steunenberg, governor of Idaho, declared martial law in Shoshone county of said state, which has been continued and still continues arbitrarily and without reason; and

Whereas, the said governor arbitrarily and without reason decreed that each person seeking employment in said county must make application for a permit to do so to one of the agents of said governor; and

Whereas, in making such application the applicant must renounce all unions of the Western Federation of Miners; and

Whereas, the said governor of Idaho has by such arbitrary decrees violated those fundamental principles of right, justice and humanity guaranteed to the people by the constitution of the United States, which is the right to pursue life, liberty and happiness without dictation from anyone whomsoever; therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Western Federation of Miners, in convention assembled, that we condemn such arbitrary action of the said governor of Idaho as usurpation worthy of the tyrants of the Middle Ages, and that such a man is unworthy of the respect and support of all liberty-loving people; and it is further

Resolved, that we urge the voters of Idaho to refuse to support said Frank Steunenberg or any one who may give support to him, to the end that the state of Idaho may be purged of the unjust, inhuman and freedom-subverting administration of said Frank Steunenberg, Bartlett Sinclair and all who have supported said administration in its unjust and illegal actions in said Shoshone county.

E. S. STOWE, Silver City, Idaho.

F. H. DAVIS, Silver City, Idaho.

WM. D. HAYWOOD, Silver City, Idaho.

JOS. P. LANGFORD, De Lamar, Idaho.

G. A. SAWYER, Custer, Idaho.

T. A. MARTIN, Gibbonsville, Idaho.

### COEUR D'ALENE DELEGATES.

Resolutions of thanks from the delegates from Shoshone county, where martial law rule is supreme:

Whereas, on the 29th of April, 1899, serious trouble arose between the miners and mine owners of Wardner, Shoshone county, Idaho; and

Whereas, at the request of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Company the governor of Idaho declared martial law and was supplied with federal troops to enforce the will of the mine owners; and

Whereas, upon their arrival the officers in charge of the federal troops

and respectfully urge all working people to give the subject the thoughtful consideration its importance deserves.

8th. That a graduated tax be levied on incomes and inheritances, and property tax should be levied on land values alone.

9th. We demand the rehabilitation of silver as a money metal and its free coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1.

10th. We denounce the national banking system as an institution established and maintained in the interest of capital alone, and inimical to the best interests of the producers, and demand the system be abolished and a postal savings bank system be substituted instead; and we further demand that all moneys—gold, silver and paper—be issued by the government of the United States direct to the people.

11th. We stand unutterably opposed to the immigration of cheap labor and demand that the prohibitions of the Chinese exclusion act be extended to the Japanese and all other Mongolian races.

12th. We believe the time has arrived when all labor unionists should study and discuss economical and political subjects, with the view of supporting the candidate for office best calculated to inaugurate the reforms for which we stand.

13th. We recommend that when a member of organized labor is available for public office he should be advanced and supported in preference to all other candidates.

14th. We recommend the full and free discussion of all economic and political questions by all unions of the Federation.

#### STEUNENBERG'S FALSE TESTIMONY CONDEMNED.

Whereas, Governor Steunenberg of Idaho has made serious charges against Ed Boyce, president of W. F. M., to the effect that Ed Boyce did conspire for the purpose of blowing up and destroying mining property belonging to the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Company of Wardner, Idaho:

Therefore, be it resolved that the W. F. of M. in convention assembled, refute and condemn such utterance as unfair and detrimental to our organization and all other labor organizations.

As President Boyce was denied the privilege of refuting such statements by the investigating committee at Washington, D. C., be it further resolved that we believe such statements untrue in every detail and express our full confidence in the honesty and integrity of President Ed Boyce.

#### M'KINLEY'S IMPERIALISTIC POLICY DENOUNCED.

We, the delegates of the Federation of Miners, in convention assembled, deliberately record our views on the relations now existing between the United States government and its oriental possessions recently acquired through the Spanish-American war and the Paris convention.

We denounce the spirit of imperialism and commercialism which induced our representatives in that convention to acquire the Spanish right in the Philippine Islands for a moneyed consideration.

We deplore the futile efforts put forth by this government to make good the questionable title at that time acquired. The sacrifice of human life and treasure involved in that effort we regard as a distinct loss to humanity and worthy of the denunciation of all civilized men.

The cause of human liberty is the most exalted sentiment in the mind of man. As an organization, actuated by this sentiment, we denounce, as unjust and criminal, the war now being prosecuted for the subjugation of these islands. The avarice and commercial greed which has inflicted upon our people the unfortunate war in the Philippines we believe to be the

ington, to meeting with the miners in overalls covered with candle grease on the summit of the Rocky mountains.

No doubt the President will tell the miners on the hill, who have been ordered out of the mines by President Scallon of the Amalgamated Copper Trust to hear and see the President, that they are intelligent, patriotic, etc. No doubt he will use the same language he is so well accustomed to use, that nowhere on earth are the workingmen so well off as in this glorious "land of the free and home of the brave."

So far as the workingmen are concerned, President McKinley deserves no welcome or courtesy at their hands. He has never been their friend, but on the contrary, their uncompromising foe, and why workingmen should condescend to receive a man whose record in the past, so far as the interest of the toilers is concerned, is on a par with that of Carnegie, Rockefeller and others, is hard to understand. He has no sympathy with the laboring people. If there is one sympathetic chord in his heart for their interest and welfare he has never displayed it, and the working people of the mining regions of the West are to blame if they neglect this opportunity to place the seal of their disapproval upon any welcome being extended to him on account of his past record.

---

#### THE SITUATION IN THE COEUR D'ALENES.

---

Since martial law was declared in Shoshone county, Idaho, by ex-Governor Steunenberg, May 4, 1898, at the request of the Standard Oil Company and the Mine Owners' Association of that county, it has been one continuous reign of terror carried on by hired murderers imported by the mine owners to run union men out of the county and murder those who refused to go.

While martial law was in effect, those thugs were supported by the soldiers in their foul deeds, and at no time were they in danger of being prosecuted, but at no time were they as secure as they have been since martial law was abolished by Governor Hunt.

The cause of those murders is due to Sheriff Southerland, who was appointed to that office by ex-Governor Steunenberg at the request of the Mine Owners' Association.

For years the people of the Coeur d'Alenes have demonstrated that they cannot be controlled by any political party, and to the everlasting credit of the union men of the county it must be said that they took the initiative and voted for men from their own ranks.

There is nothing on earth so obnoxious to the capitalists of any country as political action by workingmen, because they



know that men who are intelligent enough to vote for their rights will not suffer under their lash indefinitely.

For this reason, more than any other, the corporations in Shoshone county have done everything in their power to destroy the influence of organized labor in the county, and have through Sheriff Southerland, hired those cowardly villians to murder innocent men under the protection of a deputy sheriff's badge.

Within three months four innocent men have been murdered by those thugs and others assaulted, but not one of them was prosecuted for those crimes because the sheriff's office protects them.

Beginning with Sheriff Southerland, we wish to show our readers what kind of men are entrusted with preserving the peace of the county.

Sheriff Southerland was repeatedly charged with holding up and murdering a man in the state of Washington for his money.

For publishing an account of this affair he brought suit against Mrs. Hutton, but at last accounts he withdrew it.

If Southerland had a good cause for libel against Mrs. Hutton, with the district judge and county attorney in full accord with him in all his actions, he certainly would not withdraw his suit.

Since the day Sheriff Southerland came to Idaho he has been closely identified with corporations, and at all times was an avowed enemy of organized labor.

The county commissioners allow him an under sheriff and jailer, the same number as his predecessors had, but in addition to this he appoints over twenty others, which the county does not pay, yet those deputies do no work.

It is not reasonable to suppose that drunken thugs of this character, who have no visible means of support, are giving their service free for the good of the county.

One of those deputies, named Adams, whose business it is to follow up labor troubles in the capacity of deputy sheriff or marshal, shot William Kennedy and Dan Kildea in the town of Gem, for which he was never prosecuted.

Two days after martial law was abolished two more of those imported desperadoes, named Williams and Rose, murdered Jack Powel at Mullan and the following night Sam Finley shot Martin Fisher in the presence of witnesses in the town of Gem without cause or provocation.

The coroner's inquest found Finley guilty of this murder, and to make some pretense at bringing Finley to justice Judge Mayhew, a confirmed inebriate, had a grand jury empaneled which was composed of men who spent all the years of their lives cringing at the feet of corporations.

Some of those thugs that were acting as deputy sheriffs were on the grand jury, so it is easy to imagine that the grand jury, unlike other grand juries in that corporation-ridden county, were selected to acquit, not indict, so Finley and his brother murderers were turned loose to continue their work of murder and intimidation for the mine owners.

This man Finley, who is well known in Colorado as "Big Sam," has followed labor troubles all his life, and is a professional in his business.

He went to Cripple Creek during the labor troubles of 1894 and acted as a deputy sheriff and figured in several gun plays while there and murdered an innocent man named Connors.

It is surprising how the people in the Coeur d'Alenes permit Sheriff Southerland to murder people without taking some action to prevent him. They should get together and notify him that they will not permit him to continue this cowardly work under cover of sheriff.

Grant, for the sake of argument, that it is necessary to have deputy sheriffs to preserve the peace of the county, decent men who have lived in the county and made it their home for years, whose character is unimpeachable, should be appointed, and not those hired assassins that are willing to commit the most heinous crime imaginable for money.

Without exception, the Coeur d'Alenes is the greatest mining country in America, and the majority of its people, for generosity, hospitality, principle and honor, are pre-eminently the peer of any people on earth, notwithstanding the false accusations so freely used against them by their enemies.

They should take immediate action and for their own welfare end the reign of murder by hired thugs.

#### THE NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION.

At this time it is unnecessary for us to offer advice to the delegates attending the ninth annual convention because every one of them has certain ideas which, no doubt, he will be anxious to see put in operation, and it is never logical for the officers of a labor organization to force their views upon a convention of men selected by the different unions. It is infinitely better to allow the delegates to act in accordance with the instructions which they received from their associates in their respective unions.

However, we trust that the delegates will allow their minds to expand, and in doing so that they will discuss not only the question of wages, but will take up those economic questions that are of such vital interest not only to the working people but to the common people in general.

On another page we publish a contract submitted by the



"MARTIAL LAW" AT WARDNER, IDAHO.

General Merriam's Negro Soldiers Refused to Allow Priests to Administer to Dying "Bull Pen" Victims, Where Innocent Men Were Tortured to Death.—From "The Atlanta Journal," March 17, 1900.



"He wud 've stopped there, but Mark gave him a poke with th' bung-starter, an' says: 'Go on or ye'll be lynched be th' hotelkeepers.'

"So he resumed his oration. He panted with pride to th' progress made be th' counthry in four years. Four years ago th' sthreets was crowded with men seekin' wurruk or food, or both, at th' discretion iv th' court. To-day iv'ry honest toiler has his automobile or knows where he can get wan. Four years ago we had only twinty millyon happy naygurs in our possessions. To-day we have th' Lord knows how manny, friskin' among th' palms an' sagoes an' all-spice threes in those island possessions that shine like jools on th' brow iv liberty where we have listid our flag, an' there she waves, buy gum, so long as our brave sojer boys care to remayn an' injiye th' chase. Who wud change fr'm this condition?" He was sure no wan in reach of his voice wud, and that was iv'rybody. So Rafferty says 'tis a cinch fir Mack.

"I see Taylor of Kentucky was there," said Mr. Hinnessy.

"He was," said Mr. Dooley. "He's on th' platform comity."

"What kind of a platform will he stand on?"

"I dun naw," said Mr. Dooley. "But I know th' kind he'd stand on if the dimmycrats in Kentucky had their way."

### THE MINORITY REPORT.

The minority report, as given out by Representatives Lentz of Ohio and Hay of Virginia, who drafted it, is as follows:

"The minority point out that the evidence taken during the investigation shows that there was absolutely no rioting in Shoshone county, Idaho, after April 29, 1899; that when the United States troops arrived upon the scene quiet was restored and no resistance was being made to state authorities, who were arresting as rapidly as possible those who were suspected of being implicated in the crime of April 29, 1899.

"It is maintained by the minority that the troops sent to Idaho by the president of the United States continued to be under the control of the president, and the military commander could only use the troops to preserve peace and order and prevent resistance being made by the lawless persons to the process of the courts and the proper civil authorities of the state. The president of the United States has kept, and is still keeping, soldiers in that community, and by so doing is upholding a tyrannical course of conduct pursued by the governor of Idaho.

"The minority point out five flagrant instances of abuse of power and violation of law by General Merriam, the commander of the troops:

"1. General Merriam sent on May 3rd about 150 troops to

the town of Burke and arrested without warrant the entire male population of that town, consisting of about 300 persons. It was an outrage upon the liberty of the citizens which has no parallel in the annals of this country.

"2. General Merriam sent a detachment of troops into the state of Montana for the purpose of arresting fugitives from Idaho, an inexcusable exercise of arbitrary power by General Merriam.

"3. Lieutenant Lyon, acting under the orders of his superior officer, by threats of violence forced certain citizens to work in the Tiger-Poorman mine against their will. No such flagrant invasion of the right of the citizen can be cited in the history of this country.

"4. Major Smith suppressed the Mullan Mirror, a newspaper published at Mullan, thus denying free speech and free press. This was a gross violation of law, wholly unjustified.

"5. The permit system, in fact a blacklist system, approved by General Merriam and kept in operation to this day by the presence of the military forces of the United States, is a violation of law which can not be defended."

In summing up the minority say they "are satisfied from the evidence adduced before the committee that General Merriam was wholly mistaken as to his powers and duties; that his conduct has resulted in the gravest injuries to the liberty of the citizen and the rights of individuals. Innocent men have been kept in prison for months without trial and have been finally discharged without any charges being preferred against them.

"At one time or another there were over 1,100 men in the prison at Wardner, known as the 'bull pen.' They were kept there many months. They were not tried. They were not charged with any crime; they were held and guarded by the United States troops. It was the duty of General Merriam and of the president of the United States to inquire into the causes and reasons for the detention of so many American citizens. No such inquiry was ever made. Such indifference is hard to understand and harder to explain.

"The plea that General Merriam was acting at the request of the governor of Idaho and his state representative, Bartlett Sinclair, is not good. Neither the governor nor Sinclair had the right to violate the law. And General Merriam knew it, or should have known it.

"Although the governor of Idaho has for a year and more been governing Shoshone county by martial law, he has never called the legislature together; the laws of Idaho provide that a session of the legislature can be called on twenty days' notice." The minority hold that the president is not justified in keeping United States soldiers indefinitely in Shoshone county

# The Western Federation of Miners.

**EDWARD BOYCE.**

President.

**JOHN F. McDONELL.**

Vice President,  
Virginia City, Nevada.

**JAMES MAHER.**

Secretary-Treasurer.  
Box 307, Butte, Montana.

## EXECUTIVE BOARD.

John C. Williams.....Grass Valley, California  
 W. D. Haywood.....Silver City, Idaho  
 James B. Furey.....Butte, Montana  
 W. N. Burns.....Ouray, Colorado  
 Charles H. Moyer.....Lead City, South Dakota  
 Chris Foley.....Rossland, British Columbia



## DIRECTORY OF LOCAL UNIONS AND OFFICERS.

No.....	Name.....	Meeting Night.....	President	Secretary	P.O. Box..	Address...
<b>ARIZONA.</b>						
77	Chloride.....	Wed.	Thomas Roe....	Wesley Frazer..	...	Chloride.....
60	Globe.....	Tue..	Simon Kinsman	O. H. Bru.....	120	Globe.....
17	Helvetia.....			J. A. Tracey....	...	Helvetia.....
<b>BRIT. COL'BIA.</b>						
76	Gladstone.....	Thur	A. E. Paff.....	Wm. Goddard...	...	Fernie.....
22	Greenwood.....	Sat..	John Hescott....	M. H. Kane.....	134	Greenwood....
69	Kaslo.....	Fri..	Robert Pollock..	D. McPhail.....	...	Kaslo.....
43	McKinney.....	Sat..	John Corby.....		...	Camp McKinney
71	Moyie.....	Tue..	D. J. Elmer.....	W. R. Hocking..	...	Moyie.....
96	Nelson.....	Sat..	M. R. Mowatt...	James Wilks....	106	Nelson.....
97	New Denver.....	Sat..	D. J. Weir.....	C. M. Nesbitt...	...	New Denver...
8	Phoenix.....	Tue..	Frank Huckleby	John Riordan...	...	Phoenix.....
94	Rossland Mech'ic	Fri..	E. Hartell.....	J. R. Connell...	764	Rossland....
38	Rossland.....	Wed	H. E. Abell.....	Jas. Devine.....	421	Rossland....
81	Sandon.....	Sat..	George Smith...	W. L. Hagler....	S	Sandon.....
95	Silverton.....	Sat..	W. S. Horton...	J. H. Elliott....	...	Silverton....
62	Slocan.....	Wed.	J. A. Baker.....	A. E. Teeter....	...	Slocan City...
79	Whitewater.....	Sat..	Joseph McDonal	B. F. McIsaac..	...	Whitewater...
85	Ymir.....	Wed.	A. J. Hughes....	Alfred Parr....	...	Ymir.....
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>						



PHILIP BOWDEN

JOHN KELLEY

T. J. SULLIVAN

CHAS. H. MOYER



JOHN C. WILLIAMS

JAMES WILSON

EDWARD BOLCE

W. D. HAYWOOD

J. A. BAKER

THE BOARD OF THE N. Y. POLICE

# Request to Miners.

There being a disagreement between the mine owners and the miners of the Coeur d'Alenes, all miners, mill men and mine laborers are requested to

## Remain Away from the Coeur d'Alenes

Until martial law and the permit system are abolished. The following is the permit all men employed in and around the mines of this district must be armed with before they can ask for employment. Those known to be union men cannot get permits:

<p><b>PERMIT TO SEEK EMPLOYMENT.</b>                  No.....1900.                  This is to certify that.....                  a.....by occupation, is qualified under the proclamation issued by order of the Governor of Idaho, May 8th, 1899, to seek employment in any of the mines in Shoshone County, and has permission by virtue hereof to do so. This card is to be deposited with the manager or superintendent of the mine where the person above named is employed and must be held for the purpose of periodical inspection pursuant to the terms of the aforesaid proclamation.                  Witness my hand this.....day of 1900.                  DR. HUGH FRANCE.                  By .....Deputy.</p>		<p><b>DESCRIPTION.</b>                  Eyes .....                  Complexion .....                  Hair .....                  Height .....feet.....inches                  Age ..... years                  Nationality .....                  Signature .....</p>
--	--	--

There are two men here now for every job. Don't be fooled.  
 BY ORDER OF IDAHO STATE LABOR COUNCIL.  
 Wallace, Idaho, June 5, 1900.