

The commemoration was exceptional inasmuch as no compromising note or disclaimer against immediate reform found expression. Mr. Adams declared himself an unreserved free trader to the extent of abolishing custom houses. Mr. Atkinson, who was not in his usual bodily vigor, yet spoke with unusual force and feeling, riddled the claim of Chamberlain that the United States owe their prosperity to the protective tariff, incidentally calling attention to the land question in Great Britain and Cobden's denunciation of the landlords. Mr. Ehrich's address was an eloquent and ethical treatment of the philosophy of the free trade movement.

Taken as a whole, the gathering was most encouraging, indicating the advance made in the twenty years since the organization of the "Tariff Reform League." At that time, when Charles Francis Adams, its first president, declared himself a free trader, the announcement was met with humorous toleration, such as would have greeted an expressed belief in the near approach of the millennium.

It was refreshing to see the cordial reception accorded John DeWitt Warner's pregnant words: "Free trade is an inalienable right—for trespass upon it, revenue is as little justification as 'protection';" a significant sentiment, as the constitution of the League which has just put him at its head draws the line at tariff taxes "except those imposed for revenue only." It is evident that the limit must be removed if the League is to do effective work on the lines of principle. While that restrictive clause is retained an excuse will always be afforded the timid and half-hearted to hold back and discourage an aggressive propaganda. It is trusted that the change will be accelerated by the accession of new members who are concerned more for fundamental principles than for present expediency or political advantage.

It is now time for the League to broaden its efforts into national and international scope. Beginning as a State, developing into a New England organization, it finally assumed the national name. It has a few Canadian and English members and will welcome more, free trade knowing no geographical divisions.

The present management, unexpectedly called to the position, have taken up the work in the faith that fresh recruits and added enthusiasm will accrue to the association. The rules of membership make no distinction of sex; women are cordially invited to participate on equal terms. The growth of the woman's movement could hardly be better served than by such economic education as is to be had in this and the inseparable and wider movement which is aimed at land monopoly.

The annual fee of one dollar entitles a member to all documents published by

the League and to any of the past publications on hand. Those at a distance could do valuable work by the circulation of free trade literature, to be obtained on application at headquarters. Besides the material aid upon which all organizations must depend, there is also urgent need for earnestness and zeal to make head against the tide of materialism now threatening the foundations of democracy and civilization. In the moral uplift and association that come from unselfish assistance in a noble cause there is exceeding great reward.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, June 16.

The amazing lawlessness in Colorado (p. 153) continues with few signs of abatement. After the censorship on the 7th of the organ of the Western Federation of Miners, the Victor Record (p. 156), the employes of that paper were driven away under threats of death by a mob acting under the protection of the militia, and under the same protection the plant of the paper was wrecked. After the attack by troops upon a labor camp at Dunnville on the 8th (p. 157), in Fremont county, a county adjoining Teller and not under martial law, an attack was made by troops upon labor union men at a place called Big Bull Hill. In these attacks the militia suffered no injury, but some of the persons attacked were wounded, one was killed, and the rest were taken prisoners. The military began deporting union miners on the 9th, and on the 10th about 75 Teller county miners, charged with no offense known to the law, were violently escorted by a detachment of Colorado militia to the Kansas line. They were there ordered out of the railroad train, which returned, and were warned to leave the State of Colorado. The militia left them on the open prairie without food or shelter, and they were met by a Kansas sheriff who ordered them back. They were finally cared for by the Salvation Army at Holly, Colo., near the Colorado-Kansas line. Further deportations were made on the 14th and there have been a large number of military arrests. Most of the persons arrested are confined by the military at the mine owners' headquarters, but

some have been taken to the county jail charged with murder in connection with the Independence explosion. Among the military prisoners against whom no charge is made is Frank J. Hanks, a lawyer and the leading attorney at Cripple Creek for the Western Federation of Miners. The regularly elected judge for the judicial district and the Teller county judge refuse to hold court in Teller county while this reign of military lawlessness continues. They explain that if they were to appear within the sphere of the military operations they would incur the danger of being forced by the Mine Owners' association to resign under threats of death, as so many other civil officials have been already forced to do.

The military on the 9th ordered the Portland Gold Mining Company (which has refused to join the Mine Owners' association), to close down its mine. This mine has not been involved in the strike and was being lawfully and peaceably operated. According to the Cripple Creek news dispatch published in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 10th—

The Portland mine does not belong to the Mine Owners' association. Last August it conceded the demands of the union and since has given employment to about 500 unionists. The mine will be allowed to reopen only with men holding cards issued by the Mine Owners' association.

Gen. Bell's explanation of this act, as given in his closing order, is as follows:

Whereas, The Portland mine, situated in said county, is, and for a long time has been engaged in employing and harboring large numbers of dangerous, lawless men who have aided, encouraged and given comfort and assistance to those who have been so guilty of said crimes and outrages, so that said mine has become, and now is, a menace to the welfare and safety of the good people of said county, and a hindrance to the restoration of peace and good order. Now, therefore, by virtue of the power conferred upon me as commander of the military forces, it is ordered that said mine be at once closed, and all persons found therein or thereabouts, who are dangerous to the community be arrested and held until further orders.

The "comfort and assistance," etc., mentioned in the foregoing recital, consisted in contributing

money for the support of unemployed miners on strike against the Mine Owners' association. The same Record-Herald dispatch further stated, with reference to contemplated proceedings in the Federal courts for injunctions in behalf of this mine that—

James F. Burns of the Portland Mining Company, in his petition for a restraining order, will also ask that the military be withdrawn from the vicinity of his property and that he be allowed to protect his men when they go back to work. The military authorities are credited with saying that when the injunction is asked for Burns will be arrested on the criminal charge that he incited riot, not personally, but by maintaining the unions in employing union laborers.

A like statement appeared in the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Chronicle of the same date. No further reports regarding injunction proceedings are yet at hand.

The regularly elected coroner of Teller county, Mr. Doran, undertook on the 9th to impanel a coroner's jury for the investigation of the assassinations by the infernal machine at Independence (p. 153), but the military authorities ordered him to desist. He had resigned his office under duress a few days before, a mine owners' mob having demanded his resignation or his life, as they had that of the sheriff (p. 156), but he insisted that a resignation so obtained was void, and for that reason was proceeding with the investigation as coroner. The military promptly forbade this, and protected in that function one George Hall, a mine-owners' representative, who had been appointed coroner by the county commissioners upon the demand of the mine-owners' mob after they had forced Doran to resign. The jury empanelled by this coroner rendered a verdict on the 11th finding that—

said explosion was exploded by an infernal machine purposely and willfully set and discharged by some person or persons to your jury unknown, for the purpose of willfully, maliciously and feloniously killing and murdering said persons and others; that said crime is one of the similar crimes designed and committed in the Cripple Creek district during the past few months and perpetrated for the purpose of killing and intimidating nonunion miners, and there-

by preventing them from working, and that said crimes are the result of a conspiracy entered into between certain members of the Western Federation of Miners, and known, incited and furthered by certain officers of that organization.

The good faith of that verdict is criticized on the ground that a jury which was unable to identify the criminal or any of his confederates could not have been in possession of sufficient incriminating evidence to indicate so definite a purpose. The verdict is therefore denounced as a mere mine-owners' statement. In an authorized statement on this subject, on the 11th Gen. Bell said:

I have indisputable evidence in my possession which will lead to the conviction of a number of union men for the murder of nonunion men who were killed in the Independence depot explosion. We have between thirty-five and forty men in the bull pen who will swing for this crime. We are only waiting to capture two or three men before we tell what our evidence is.

But the Western Federation of Miners, in a statement made on the 11th, charge this Independence crime to the Mine Owners' association.

That statement of the Federation, made officially by the executive board, is as follows:

The cause of the strike of the Western Federation of Miners in Colorado is one of long standing and involves the failure on the part of mine managers in various parts of the State to live up to their own written agreements. As far back as 1884, as a result of the strikes at that time, the mine owners agreed that eight hours should constitute a day's work, that the minimum daily wage should be \$3, and that there should be no discrimination against union men in the hiring and discharge of labor. At the outset of the present trouble Manager MacNeill of the Standard mill at Colorado City, peremptorily discharged forty-five men, members of the Western Federation of Miners, for no other reason than that they had become union men. All of these were old employes of from two to six years' standing. Millmen are affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners, and are entitled to all of the protection that goes with such membership. To-day the only questions involved are the enforcement of the eight-hour day, the right of men to organize in the unions and to prevent discrimination against union men of all kinds. The responsibility for the lawlessness connected with the contests rests entirely on the shoulders of the mine operators, the Citizens'

Alliance and their allies, backed up by the ready power of the State government. The responsibility has been placed on these persons and organizations by District Judge Theron Stevens, who denounced the military usurpation of Telluride in strong language from the bench; by District Judge N. Walter Dixon, Republican, who openly condemns Governor Peabody and severely criticizes his acts, involving the deportation of men from the State without trial or other chance of hearing; by ex-Governor Charles S. Thomas, who plainly points to the Mine Owners' association and Citizens' Alliance as being responsible for the many outrages committed on the persons of helpless and innocent miners; by the recent Democratic State convention which denounced in scathing terms the line of policy pursued. The events of the present week in the Cripple Creek district justify every accusation contained above. The following crimes on citizenship have followed swiftly upon one another: The resignation of Sheriff Robertson of Teller County, forced by a mob at the point of a pistol and a coil of rope; the forced resignation of Coroner Doran of Teller County, of the city marshal of Victor, of various aldermen and justices of the peace in the district, the entire official directory of the city of Goldfield; assault upon and demolition of the union hall in Victor; forcible entrance into the four union cooperative stores and destruction of the contents; destruction of the Victor Record by an armed mob; invasion of Dunningville, outside the military lines, by an armed force under military command; arrest of men at their work and incarceration within the military lines; hundreds of men confined in unsanitary bull pens; forcible shut-down of the great Portland mine, employing union men, by order of the military commandant on the plea of military necessity, and subsequent deportation of the men therein employed.

Concerning the explosion which wrecked the depot at Independence and killed sixteen unfortunate non-union miners, it need only be said that the self-confessed train wrecker, McKinney, in the employ of the Mine Owners' association, had a few days previously been released from custody at the behest of the attorney for the association, and that this same McKinney was observed going down Potts Canyon in the immediate vicinity of the wreckage only a short time after the disaster, and that the bloodhound used to follow the trail of the criminal went directly to a house occupied by a detective in the employ of the Mine Owner's association, and was promptly called off. McKinney stated on cross-examination during the trial of the union miners who were accused of the attempted train wrecking that he and other detectives said that for a money consideration he would pull spikes and wreck a train.

Photographs of marked miners re-

ferred to by General Bell, who, he claims, were marked for death, must be regarded as an invention of his own brain. The photographs in question are those of strike-breakers, and were kept for the purpose of publishing a scab list with the pictures of the men accompanying their description, so that members of organized labor all over the country would become thoroughly acquainted with these men, who have committed treason to themselves and to their class. The pictures are nothing more than the ones which those having charge of the strike in the district have publicly used for many months.

Charges that miners are not allowed to vote on questions of strike are utterly absurd. The present strike is a result of a direct vote of the unions of the district.

Absolutely no deaths have occurred during the contest for which the Western Federation of Miners can or ought to be held responsible. Some fifteen men were killed in the Stratton Independence mine through the incompetency of the men employed and the culpable negligence of the management. These men were unfamiliar with the work, and were such as this mine and other mines in the district have been compelled to employ at the behest of the mine owners' employment agency.

We are unfortunately forced to abide by the acts of an unbridled military despotism that is driving our members from pillar to post. Their fortitude under the circumstances is a marvel of the age, and shows that the Western Federation of Miners is composed of the highest type of American citizenship.

Besides issuing the foregoing statement, the Federation made the following appeal by telegraph on the 10th to President Roosevelt:

A duty devolves upon you as President of the United States to investigate the terrible crimes that are being perpetrated in Colorado in the name of law and order. We will render every possible assistance to the proper authorities in such investigation, to the end that the people of the country may realize the outrages that are being inflicted on innocent persons by those in temporary official power.

To this appeal President Roosevelt is not yet reported to have made any reply, other than is hinted at in the following news dispatch of the 11th from Washington:

It was given out at the White House to-day that the President will not send troops into Colorado in response to the plea of the miners to stop the persecution by the civil and military authorities. The President will not act

unless the legislature petitions for interference.

Several labor organizations have taken notice of the Colorado crisis. The Chicago Federation of Labor on the 12th appealed—

to the President of the United States to at once set the machinery of the government in action to the end that the working people of the State of Colorado may be given the protection which the Constitution of the United States guarantees to them; that they be protected in their right to organize and meet in peaceful assembly, and that, if necessary to enforce such condition, he send the Federal troops into that State.

This body decided also to appoint a general committee to procure legal advice and take whatever action may be deemed proper to aid the Colorado miners, and it telegraphed a long message to President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, asking him to take immediate action looking to the assembling of an emergent delegate conference of that Federation. On the same day the Industrial Council of Kansas City, Mo., which claims to represent 25,000 union men, urged President Gompers to call a meeting for the purpose of devising means to settle the Colorado labor trouble, and it telegraphed President Roosevelt asking him to investigate. To Gov. Peabody it sent a telegram condemning his action as un-American, uncivilized, and barbarous. To this Gov. Peabody replied, with an assumption that the Kansas City labor body approves crime, an assumption which its telegram at any rate did not warrant. He said:

The fact that your council indorses assassinations, train wrecking and dynamiting by the lawless element in the Cripple Creek district but proves the necessity for my present action in suppressing all such from the soil of Colorado. Become wise before you attempt to teach.

The Federation of Labor of Minnesota, in session at New Ulm on the 14th, is reported to have adopted a sweeping resolution of condemnation of the action of the Governor of Colorado in the Cripple Creek mining strike, and as appealing to the President of the United States, as commander-in-chief of the military forces, to

compel an investigation of Gen. Bell and Gov. Peabody. At the meeting of the Illinois miners' officials at Springfield on the 15th the acts of the military authorities of Colorado were denounced as murderous, despotic and unconstitutional. Telegrams were sent to President Roosevelt and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, asking them to use their power and influence to bring the conditions to an end. The Allied Printing Trades Council, also in session at Springfield on the 15th, asks Gov. Yates to request President Roosevelt to take some action.

Legal measures were taken by the Colorado miners on the 15th to check the military aggressions against them. They appealed to the Federal court in session at St. Louis, for a writ of habeas corpus in behalf of their president, then in military custody at Telluride, San Miguel county, and in whose behalf the Supreme court of the State had refused to interfere (p. 155). Their application was based upon the contention that Moyer is held without due process of law, that he is deprived of his liberty as a citizen of the United States, and that no specific charges have been made against him. After an argument lasting three hours the Federal judge, A. M. Thayer, granted the writ of habeas corpus. It is directed to Gov. Peabody, Gen. Bell and Capt. Wells, and commands them to produce Moyer before the Federal court on the 5th of July. As soon as this decision had been made the State authorities abandoned their assertion of military power in San Miguel county. Gov. Peabody declared martial law at an end in that county and dismissed the troops from duty there. In consequence, the military delivered Moyer into the custody of the local civil authorities, to whom the Federal writ of habeas corpus is not directed.

An important revelation regarding mine-owning interests was made by general press dispatches on the 13th. These dispatches came from New York and stated:

Official announcement will be made soon of a gigantic new combination of capital in the United States and Eu-

rope. It is nothing less than an amalgamation of all the valuable metal mines of America, and the man who is to consummate this stupendous transaction is John D. Rockefeller. Men who have some knowledge of the work going on in furtherance of the plan say the new corporation will have a par capital of \$2,500,000,000. It is expected to control absolutely the mineral output of the United States except, possibly, that of the Calumet and Hecla copper mine of Michigan.

The same dispatches allude to Standard Oil interests as controlling 70 per cent. of the producing gold, silver and lead mines of the middle Rocky mountain district. Dennis Ryan, of St. Paul, said to be one of the best known mining men in the Northwest, is quoted in those dispatches as saying with reference to Mr. Rockefeller and his plan for this great combination:

I don't know very much about it, except when he gets the thing in working shape and springs it on the public it will take people's breath away. When he discloses what he controls in the way of mines that are producing real ore he will make the mining speculators of the world wonder whether they have been awake or asleep for the last ten years.

Democratic conventions (p. 157) have been held this week in the States of Utah, Virginia, Arkansas and Mississippi. The Utah and Virginia conventions, meeting on the 10th, did not instruct, the latter refusing instructions asked for in behalf of Parker. At the Arkansas convention, which met on the 15th, instructions were ordered for Parker by a vote of 258½ for Parker to 182½ for Hearst. In Mississippi, also, and on the same day, instructions were ordered for Parker.

The most important Democratic convention was that of Illinois, which met at Springfield on the 14th. There were three strong factions here, which converged and diverged in a puzzling manner. They may be loosely described as the "reorganizer" and corporation or Hopkins faction, the Mayor Harrison faction, and the Hearst faction. Some of the Hearst delegates had been elected by means of local combinations with Hopkins at the primaries, while others had been elected in opposition to Hopkins. The outgoing State committee, which

had authority to pass primarily on delegates' credentials and to name the temporary officers of the convention, was under the control of Hopkins, who used this power to dominate the convention. His first act was to admit contesting delegations regardless of the merits of contests. He then chose the temporary chairman and refused to allow a roll call. By such means the permanent organization was arbitrarily secured, the temporary officers being made permanent by the declaration of the temporary chairman without a roll call. Harrison's faction was turned out almost bodily, and Hearst, although he had an overwhelming majority, barely escaped the loss of binding instructions for himself as the State's choice for Presidential candidate. For some reason the chairman allowed a roll call on this question, and Hearst won by 936 to 395. Following are the instructions as they passed:

Believing William Randolph Hearst, as President of the United States, would not make terms with monopolies or criminal trusts of any kind, however rich or powerful they may be, that transgress the fundamental doctrine of equal rights for all and special privileges for none; and recognizing him to be the champion of the commercial, laboring, and producing classes as against the oppression of aggregated wealth in the hands of the unscrupulous; and furthermore believing the principles of true democracy as advocated by him are in accordance with and prolong the lines of principles as advocated by Jefferson and Jackson, we instruct our delegates to the Democratic national convention at St. Louis, July 6, 1904, to vote for William R. Hearst as long as his name is before the convention as the candidate of the Democratic party for president.

These instructions, as originally presented, would have required the national delegates to vote for Hearst "as the candidate of the Democratic party for the Presidency and to use all honorable methods to secure his nomination." But Hearst's supporters were not satisfied, and successfully insisted upon changing this clause to the words of the final clause of the resolution as adopted. All other questions were peremptorily decided without a roll call vote by the chairman's gavel; and notwithstanding his victory as to instructions, Mr.

Hearst was able to get only one Hearst supporter upon the delegation at large. This was one of his editors, Andrew M. Lawrence. His political manager in the State, M. F. Dunlap, a leading Democrat of the State, was kept off the delegation. The other delegates at large are John P. Hopkins, Ben T. Cable and Samuel Alschuler, none of whom are Hearst men.

Owing to the arbitrary manner in which the convention had been managed, two of the three leading candidates for governor refused to allow their names to go before it. One of these was William Prentiss, of Chicago. In withdrawing Mr. Prentiss said:

An arbitrary State committee has ruthlessly unseated a large number of representatives of the Democrats of Illinois fairly chosen. They have been deprived of speech in this convention, and others are occupying their seats, although without right or title. This convention, therefore, does not represent the Democracy of Illinois. Even the delegates who are seated are not permitted to vote on questions before the house. A man is in the chair who would not have been chosen if Democratic representatives had been given a voice. The delegates to a noble convention have been silenced by the gavel of one man. As a Democrat who loves his country, as a Democrat who believes in the principle that the people shall rule, I could not go before the people with the gavel stamp. If Democrats were allowed to speak, this procedure could not be tolerated. The people will not place in the gubernatorial chair one who comes forth the product of the gavel of one man. As a man who loves his country I cannot allow my name to be gavelled through or gavelled down. I've a record to conserve, and I decline to have my name presented to this convention.

The second candidate, Mayor Crolius, of Joliet, followed Mr. Prentiss, saying:

I arise to second every utterance, every sentence, every syllable, uttered by Judge Prentiss. The success of Democracy demands that law be obeyed. When men who try gavel rule and gag law have learned this lesson, then, and not till then, will the dreams of Jefferson and his peers among the party leaders be realized. I would not go home to my family with a nomination that had the stain of dishonor about it. I could not go back to the people who have honored me with their indorsement with a