

"We are under orders of no one but God and Governor Peabody."—Col. Verdeckberg, Commanding General Military District of Telluride, Colorado, A. D., 1904.

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 Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., January 30, 1904.

"Only the Lord and the military powers know what our next move will be."
 —Judge Advocate McClelland.

THE STORY OF THE COLORADO BULL-PEN

By ALLAN W. RICKER, Staff Correspondent.

THE greatest industrial struggle in the history of the nation is on in the state of Colorado. On one side is the Mine Owners Association, supported and directed by the Citizens' Alliance, having under its control the Governor and the state militia, and on the other is the Western Federation of Miners, supported now by the combined organized labor forces of the state.

Ten years ago the wage workers and farmers of the state elected Davis H. Waite to the executive office on the populist ticket.

The miners of the Cripple Creek district went on strike for an eight-hour work day. The sheriff of the county swore in about eighteen hundred deputies and marched them from Colorado Springs to the scene of action for the purpose of intimidating the miners and driving them back to work. Governor Waite called out the militia, sent them to the district, dispersed the deputy sheriffs and sent them back to their homes with banners trailing. The miners won their strike and have enjoyed an eight-hour work day ever since.

Here we have an example of the powers of government in the control of the class who work for a living. Through the treachery of Senator Tom Patterson and the democrats, Waite was defeated for a second term. In 1902 James H. Peabody was elected Governor on the republican ticket through the votes of all the capitalists, some of the middle class and enough misguided dupes of the "fool dinner pail" to complete the job.

A capitalist administration, pure and simple, now begins. A strike breaks out in the Cripple Creek district once more, after a lapse of ten years, and later at Telluride. The militia is again called out, but this time the capitalists are in control and the guns and bayonets of the soldiers are turned against the toilers.

A reign of terror sets in, men, women and children are abused and insulted in the streets. Homes are broken into at all hours of the night and the terrors of an invading army into an enemy's country are experienced.

Civil law is overthrown and martial law begins in two of the heaviest populated counties of the state.

Surrounded by lofty mountain ranges, cut off from communication with the outside world—except at the sweet will of a military despotism—the workers of the Cripple Creek and Telluride districts have suffered horrors which no words can paint or pen describe.

Homes of workmen have been invaded at the dead hour of night and men torn from their beds to be incarcerated in the bull pen, cold, comfortless and so lousy and filled with vermin that the inmates have raked them off their bare bodies on the red hot stove.

The civil courts in these districts have been ignored and men thrown into prison have been at the absolute mercy of the military despots, who have ruled with a rod of iron. Visitors suspected of friendship to the miners, have been arrested without warrant, thrown into the bull pen, to come forth reeking with vermin and ordered out of town, with threats of dire punishment should they return.

The constitutions of both the United States and the state of Colorado have been violated, arms have been taken away from the people, and where resistance has been offered, as in the case of John H. Glover, a former Missouri congressman, soldiers have fired on the houses, shattering the walls with bullets, wounding men standing on rights guaranteed by Federal and state laws.

When honest boys have refused to do military service and the ranks of the companies have become thinned, through the fact that no self-respecting man in the state not openly concerned in the fight involved, would do military duty, thugs, bums and criminals have been taken into the service, and without uniforms, have paraded the streets with guns and turned loose on a defenseless population.

Men with families have been adjudged vagrants and run out of the district under military guard.

Women have been insulted in their homes and forced to submit to searches; trunks have been torn open and their contents used as foot mats for dirty feet.

These, and deeds too vile to print, and acts too manifold to chronicle have the prostituted hirelings of capitalism perpetrated on the innocent workers of the state.

What means this carnival of military crime, this crucifixion of the law and liberty in the commonwealth of Colorado?

To answer these questions I came five hundred miles from the Appeal office, spent ten days studying the situation before writing a line, interviewing the participants in the struggle, viewing the soldiers on duty and seeking to go to the bottom of the whole matter in order that the workers of this broad land might be given an opportunity to know what they are up against whenever capitalism chooses to turn loose her dogs of war. Here is what I found:

I found a labor union, organized on the principle of industrial unity, with trades affiliated and pledged to support each other to the last ditch.

The Western Federation of Miners unites every class of labor that works in or around a mine, smelts the product, grinds the ore in the mill, runs it through the solution tanks, or in any way handles the ore from the time it is taken from the ground till it is the bright and shiny metal for which men have sold their honor and women their virtue in all periods of civilization.

The Western Federation of Miners is affiliated with the American Labor Union, which spreads out to teamsters, cooks, waiters and all

branches of labor, including even the man who saws wood for a living. Affiliated with this parent body is also the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, which in turn affiliates closely all employees of railroads, from engineers to section men. Under the rules of the great western labor organization, the grievance of one trade becomes the grievance of all. A solid front is presented to capitalism.

The leaders of this western movement are Socialists, men who understand the meaning of the class struggle and who are not the



guests of the Hannas and the Rockefellers, and then, beguiled by the velvet hand of capitalist politicians, betray labor even before it enters into contest with its foes.

Industrial unity—labor organizations—that will some day, if left to grow, confront capitalism with a united front, is a menace to capitalist exploitation that must be checked before that fatal day arrives.

The Western Federation and the American Labor Union must be destroyed.

There was but one way to do this, and that was to force the Federation into a strike.

Let it be understood that working men do not go on strike because they like it. It is not pleasant to cut off the daily wage and face a long siege of battle where hunger comes and the heart grows faint.

All great strikes in history have been forced on the men who struck.

The great Colorado struggle began early in 1903 with a preliminary skirmish in a refining mill in Colorado City. The mill men, who were working 12-hour shifts, and getting pay below the cost of decent living, struck for eight hours and an increase in pay. True to the principles of the Western Federation, the miners who were getting out ore for companies who were shipping to this mill from the Cripple Creek district, refused to furnish ore for the mill, which in the meantime had resumed with non-union help.

This preliminary skirmish was won by the mill coming to such terms as were accepted in good faith by the Federation. This was an object lesson to the mine owners of what they might expect, for with the rapid development of the American Labor Union, such a close affiliation of workmen would soon be formed that their demands would be backed up with power too great to overcome.

The capitalists determined to organize. Now comes the National Manufacturers' Association and the Citizens' Alliance. The year 1903 brought forth these organizations, formed after the plan of the Western Labor Union—a close affiliation of capitalist interests. They decided in Chicago that they must annihilate the Western Federation of Miners and its affiliated bodies.

The Citizens' Alliance of Denver is organized in time to meet a strike of workers that involved 5,000 out of the 15,000 unionists in the city. Here was the first contest fought between the Alliance on the one side and the workers on the other.

Had the union men stood together the Alliance would have been annihilated, but now comes the test of the two policies of the eastern and western labor movements. The unionists of the western movement stood together, but the members of the A. F. of L., true to the tactics of Gompers, dilly dallied, received, expressed sympathy, shed crocodile tears, etc., failed to come out to assist their brothers, and being a divided army against a united one, the strike was lost.

The Citizens' Alliance, flushed with its first victory, now prepares to crush the western movement.

The Colorado City agreement is broken; the edict goes forth that workers holding cards in the Western Federation must surrender them. It is hinted that if men will join the A. F. of L.—that is, split up into unaffiliated bodies, no objection will be raised to their having unions, BUT THE WESTERN FEDERATION MUST GO.

The strike breaks out afresh and is carried to Telluride, away off in the southwestern part of the state, remote from the outside world.

From the very beginning it proved to be a battle royal. The little mine owners themselves did not court the struggle, for in it they saw the loss of dollars galore, but the Citizens' Alliance demanded of them that the battle be fought, promising to furnish the sinews of war.

The lines of battle are now squarely drawn at last, the Citizens' Alliance on the one side and about 5,000 miners on the other.

The Alliance underestimated its foe. It did not know that the Western Federation had a reserve fund that mounted into big figures. Their money was not in the capitalist banks. They have a means of keeping their funds, the secret of which is theirs. Their deposit in the bank never falls, but from mysterious sources is constantly recruited. The Alliance thought the miners would soon be starved into submission. The Alliance was fooled for the miners went on eating three meals per day. The Federation next decided on a master move. They established co-operative stores in the camps, stocked them with goods, AND THE MINERS QUIT BUYING GOODS AT CITIZENS' ALLIANCE STORES. The Alliance was in a fair way to be starved itself.

Something must be done and done quickly. They decided to fill up the mines with scabs, but before a move of this kind could be undertaken they must be in supreme control. They must go into the east and hire men to come to the mountains. They must lie to them, promise them free transportation and then make them work it out after they arrived. They must also be able to compel them to work once they get them in the mines. THEY MUST ABOLISH CIVIL RULE AND ESTABLISH A MILITARY DESPOTISM EQUAL TO RUSSIA.

The Alliance and the governor of the state enter into an arrangement for the use of armed soldiers.

But the state of Colorado has been so full of tax dodgers that there is no money with which to equip and pay the troops. The governor will furnish the troops only on condition that the Alliance will advance the money to pay them until such time as there can be a meeting of the state legislature and bonds issued to pay for the dirty work that is to be done. The Alliance agreed to put up the money and so far have managed to scrape enough together to pay the troops, a sum amounting to several hundred thousand dollars.

The troops are thus hired to the Alliance and martial law is declared in the districts, under the pretext that insurrection exists.

The sending of the troops to the districts was absolutely without legitimate excuse. The western worker is peculiarly and particularly intelligent. Both individually and collectively the world does not possess his equal in point of intelligence, unionism and political knowledge. He is universally generous and broad in his view. I am told, and, from my knowledge of the western worker believe it to be true, that in the Victor union of several hundred every member is capable of holding the responsible position of secretary-treasurer. Moreover, the Cripple Creek district is thoroughly unionized in other crafts. Many of the members are women, who in Colorado are voters and take an active part in Colorado affairs. Neither public nor private property was in any time in danger from the miners.

The militia was sent into the district for two purposes:

First, to torment, browbeat and provoke the workers to the point where they would break out in resistance and thus furnishing an excuse for shooting them down like dogs, for I verily believe that if the union men could have been provoked to any kind of physical resistance to the insults that have been heaped upon them, they would have been annihilated.

Second, to establish a reign of terror; by intimidation keep the scab help brought in from a distance at work, and by resorting to persecution compel the unionists to go into the mines.

Before the militia was brought into the districts the sheriffs, acting under the direction of the Alliance, had scoured the country and collected the lowest element of the population and sworn them in as deputies. Many cases are matters of record where criminals have been taken into this service. The population of the districts became divided into unionists and Citizens' Alliance men, and as the latter consider themselves too good to act as deputies there was no source from which to draw but the element who have been forced so low in the scale of civilization as to be willing to sell themselves to any service, no matter how degrading. With the coming of the militia the deputies were released from service. Some of them went to work in the mines at big wages, others acted as spotters, and the most intelligent were sent out to the east to induce laborers to come to the western field. The methods used to get men into strike districts to take the place of strikers are too well known to need repeating. Free transportation and big pay were offered. The men were not told that a strike was on, and when they arrived on the scene of action many of them would have returned but they found themselves under a military guard and in debt to the agencies which secured them. So soon as they could get free from the Siberian bondage of military ruled Colorado many of them pawned their surplus clothes to get away. Others joined the union men, still others continued at work, but performed little service. When commanded by the foreman to work harder they jeeringly replied that they had "not hired to work, but to scab." The Alliance supposed when the non-union men began to arrive that the union men would beg for their old places in the mines, but not a man weakened.

WHOLESALE PERSECUTION AND INTIMIDATION BEGUN.

Failing to operate the mines with scab help, and still meeting with a solid front from the Federation members, more stringent measures were decided on. The next move was to arrest the union leaders on any kind of a charge, throw them into the bull pen, crowd them together in cold and dismal quarters, feed them on food not fit for swine, and thus bring the strike leaders to their knees.

(CONTINUED ON FOURTH PAGE.)



RHEUMATISM CAN BE CURED



Here is the one physician who has really CONQUERED RHEUMATISM in all of its various forms. Years of study as a specialist, devoted to this dread disease, have made sure his phenomenal success by curing the most stubborn cases.

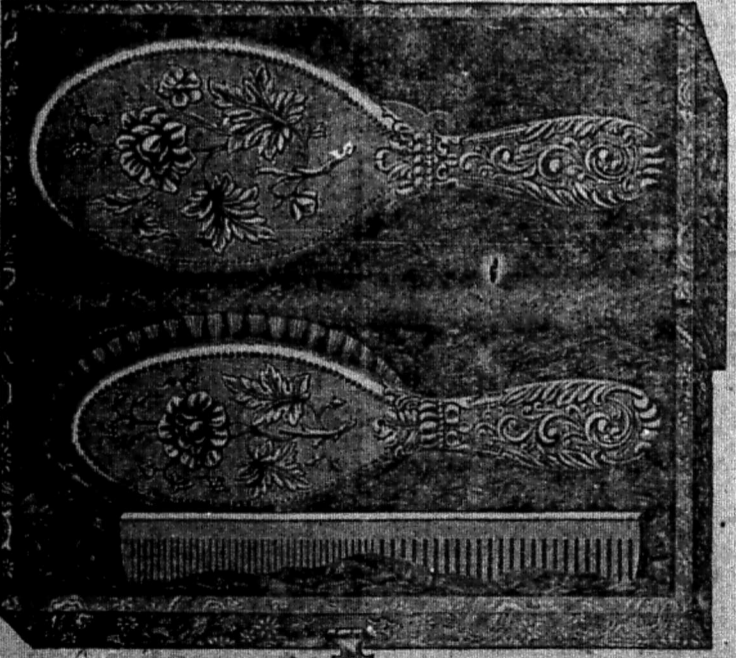
BE A MAN KNOW THYSELF \$6.50 Medical book FREE, 200 Pages, 42 Pictures, first copy cost \$5.00. Sent Free, Postpaid, Guaranteed. Man's duty.

An Intelligent Proposition to Rheumatism Sufferers. Rheumatism is a BLOOD disease and can only be cured when treated as such.

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THIS BEAUTIFULLY DECORATED TOILET CASE GIVEN TO YOU ABSOLUTELY FREE for only a few hours of your time.

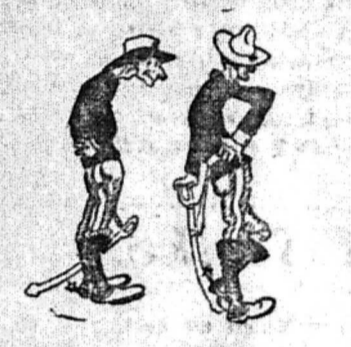


This charming toilet case is regular size suitable for either ladies or girls. The outside of the case is most exquisitely decorated, and the top is embellished by a handsome colored medallion.

AGENTS WANTED The Great Chicago Fire Disaster... WE PAY CASH for Newspaper Clippings... PHOTOGRAPHER... READ...

ONE MORE MONTH. We promised to print the names of the volunteers for 1924 in this issue, but they are crowded out by the pressure of the Colorado matter.

ARMY COLUMN



"Captain, what do you think," I asked, "of the part your soldiers play?" The captain answered, "I do not think, I do not think, I obey."

ARE YOU? Dear Comrade—After reading No. 423 my conscience would not allow me to remain still any longer.

EIGHT CENTS SHARE for a short time only. Par value \$1.00. Full paid, non-assessable. Buy now at the lowest price and join us on the ground floor in the Five Bears Mining Co.

ADDITIONAL SECURITY CO. 453 Gaff Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

FIGURES DON'T LIE. From the days of my childhood I have had this saying dinned in my ears as one of the uncontrovertible facts, but even before I quit trying to hide the gray hairs around my temples so my wife couldn't see them, I discovered that, while as a general proposition it is true, that figures don't lie, they do sometimes leave a wrong impression that's as bad as a lie.

OFF ON OFF ON Alabama... Arkansas... Arizona... California... Colorado... Connecticut... Delaware... Florida... Georgia... Idaho... Illinois... Indiana... Iowa... Kansas... Kentucky... Louisiana... Maine... Maryland... Massachusetts... Michigan... Minnesota... Missouri... Montana... Nebraska... Nevada... New Hampshire... New Jersey... New Mexico... New York... North Carolina... North Dakota... Ohio... Oklahoma... Oregon... Pennsylvania... Rhode Island... South Carolina... South Dakota... Tennessee... Texas... Utah... Vermont... Virginia... Washington... West Virginia... Wisconsin... Wyoming.

DOWN IN DIXIE. "Please send me one hundred copies of the Billie Bill for this Bill," writes Comrade Benkert, from the Blue Grass State.

JOIN THE BLUE PENCIL BRIGADE. Comrade Irene H. Beebe, writes from Burlington, Ia., that she has the Appeal envelopes for all Blue Pencil Brigades.

Winners of the Drums. The Drum Corps sent me a splendid Local Appeal for week ending Jan 23, on a job of 125 subs.

NOT LONG AGO writes Comrade Joe Peiffer, of Chicago, a crowd of us boys subscribed for this Appeal paper and we got a great paper we passed them on to some of our shop mates. Today I took a little walk around and with me was the Appeal and I found the "shop mates" that the way it works, comrades.

George Schiebel, Ottavilla, Mich: "I have been a Republican an old soldier from '63 to '65, always voted the republican ticket and helped make millionaires and cut my own throat. A few months ago the Appeal found its way to my house and I thought I'd give it a try. Well, it has been a great blessing and I don't know how to thank it. It has given me a new heart and a new life. It has given me a new heart and a new life. It has given me a new heart and a new life."

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Thousands Have Kidney Trouble and Don't Know It

To Prove What Swamp-Root, the Great Kidney Remedy, Will do for YOU, Every Reader of the Appeal to Reason May Have a Sample Bottle Sent Free by Mail.

Weak and unhealthy kidneys are responsible for more sickness and suffering than any other disease, therefore, when through neglect or other causes, kidney trouble is permitted to continue, fatal results are sure to follow.

Your other organs may need attention—but your kidneys most because they do most and need attention first. If you are sick or "feel badly," begin taking Dr. Kilmer's Swamp-Root, the great kidney, liver and bladder remedy, because as soon as your kidneys begin to get better they will help all the other organs to health. A trial will convince anyone.

heart disturbance due to bad kidney trouble, skin eruptions from bad blood, neuralgia, rheumatism, diabetes, bloating, irritability, worn out feeling, lack of ambition, loss of flesh, sallow complexion, or Bright's disease.



settling, or has a cloudy appearance, it is evident that your kidneys and bladder need immediate attention. Swamp-Root is the great discovery of Dr. Kilmer, the eminent kidney and bladder specialist. Hospitals use it with wonderful success in both slight and severe cases.

EDITORIAL NOTE—So successful is Swamp-Root in promptly curing even the most distressing cases of kidney, liver or bladder troubles, that to prove its wonderful merits you may have a sample bottle and book of valuable information, both sent absolutely free by mail.

THE ELECTRIC BELT. IT IS YOURS for the asking without one cent of cost. This is no deposit scheme; no 30 day trial scheme. You simply send us your name and address and we send you the Belt. It is your own, and we will not let it go until you are cured.

MAKE MONEY RAISING CATS. Beautiful Angora Cats are in great demand and sell at \$50.00 to \$100.00 each and are as easy to raise as the common cat. I buy cats by the dozen. Exhibitions of fancy cats are now held annually in New York, Chicago and other large cities and the demand for fine cats is rapidly increasing.

THE \$100 PIANO PLAYER. The Common Sense Piano Accompanist. This is a new and revolutionary method of playing the piano without the knowledge of musical notation.

LOTS OF MAIL & BOOKS FREE. I have a large stock of books and mail order catalogs for sale. I will send you a book or catalog for the asking without one cent of cost.

For Homesteads Under Co-operative Irrigation. Colorado Co-operative Co., Ft. Collins, Colo.

FREE BREAKFAST, DINNER or TEA SET. \$1000 PAID TO ANY PERSON WHO CAN PROVE WE DO NOT MEAN WHAT WE SAY. A chance of a lifetime. An honest proposition—No humbugging. No boasting about the dish. We will give away 1000 Beautifully Decorated Breakfast, Dinner or Tea Sets.

THE SOCIALIST PLATFORM

(Adopted at Indianapolis, Indiana, 1901.)

THE Socialist party in national convention assembled reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the Working Class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government, and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple, and owned by individual workers. Today, the machine, which is an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalist and not by the workers. The ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the working men to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The democratic, republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism by constructing themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depends upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We therefore consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines; no part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on the property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor for the employes, and to the improvement of the service, and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose, in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of 18 years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries, and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

"The militia will stay in Cripple Creek until Unionism is wiped out."--Gen. Chase.

COMING NATION

"To hell with the Constitution; we are not following the Constitution."--Gen. Bell.

AN INTERVIEW

A Colorado Capitalist Tells the Appeal Staff Representative Some Things Which He Did Not Expect to Be Printed

ORDINARILY when a newspaper man interviews a capitalist, the latter is at once on his guard, and his statements are correspondingly conservative. The journey from Denver to Kansas City is a long one, and time hangs heavily on one's hands. On the home-bound trip I met a Wall Street capitalist, who has western interests, and who was also homeward bound. Time evidently hung heavily on his hands also, and in response to that subtle tribal instinct which moves all members of the human race to seek company, we fell into conversation, which was prolonged for hours. The gentleman shall be nameless here, and it is only necessary for the reader to know that he is several times a millionaire, a heavy stockholder in the Cripple Creek mining field, and had been in the district looking after his interests. My own identity was not revealed, and had the gentleman known that he was conversing with a representative of the class that is organizing to put his class out of the exploiting business, I am sure that his frankness would have taken wings. For five hours I led him to talk of things incidental to the capitalist world, and the insight he gave me into the methods of his class could not have been gained otherwise in months of study. I led him to discuss the Western Federation of Miners, whose officers he condemned as men who deserved hanging. He had no objection to his men (he called them his men), organizing themselves into a union, but he did not want its scope to extend beyond the place where they worked. He said: "We can always control OUR men, if we can keep them from uniting themselves with other crafts, for of themselves they are not strong enough to resist our dictation. We must crush the western labor movement before it gets strong, for if we don't it will get where it can tie our hands. If the workmen of mines, factories and railroads are permitted to join one general organization, whose executive officers have the power to call them ALL on strike, we would have no alternative but to submit.

"We have the eastern movement well in hand," Senator Hanna, by his masterly diplomacy, conceding a little here, praising a little there, and by his disposition to treat with the leaders, controls the situation.

"We are putting up a big building in New York now with non-union help, and doing it without opposition, for we can air all the non-union men we need from the surplus labor and as we have labor divided into unaffiliated crafts, we meet with little opposition. Where organized labor meets our terms, and where we can contract with its officers and members on suitable terms, we do it, but where we can't we are in a position to tell them to go to the devil. In the east we also have the courts, and when the unions declare boycotts we can attach their treasury, and even the homes of the workers. We did that recently in a Connecticut factory, and the boycott was soon lifted.

"In the west the courts are not so friendly. In the political upheaval of the early '90s the judiciary of the west fell into the hands of judges unfriendly to us, and we have not as yet been able to clean up."

"What will you do in Colorado if the Citizens' Alliance exhausts its resources and can no longer pay the troops which the governor has hired to them?" I asked.

"We have an understanding with the War Department of the Federal government to supply us with the regulars," he replied.

"Will you give up to the Western Federation?"

"Never. We intend to crush it and drive it out of the west."

The conversation was then led around to the national situation and affairs in Wall street. He told me how the capitalists controlled the newspapers, and how the editors and reporters are subsidized, mentioning by way of illustration the fact that one big daily in New York which has a morning and evening edition, supports one financial interest in the morning and another in the afternoon. This is done by buying the two sets of editors and reporters. He told me how Hanna bought the democratic leaders of Kentucky in the campaign of 1896, how the state of New York is manipulated by the republican and democratic leaders, the close understanding that exists between them, and the trades they make, and many other things not germane to our subject. When he told me these things I thought of the poor dupes on farm and in factory who read these manufactured editorials and the manipulated news, and who swallow it all as truth. I thought of the work before us, and then I thought that over against this power of capitalism, was only the Socialist press, led by the Appeal. When viewed by the capitalist newspaper man the circulation of the Appeal is a constant source of wonder, but to us it is insignificant, for we remember that before liberty can come to us millions must be reached. Comrades, I never wanted circulation for the Appeal so much in my life as when the cold, glittering words of truth about capitalist methods fell from this man's lips. Let us never falter in the mighty work before us, but persevere in our efforts to get the millions to read our books and papers. We have the numbers in our class, but they are ignorant. Education is the need of the hour. This is our only hope, our only possible means of escape

CO-OPERATIVE STORES.

A Good Weapon of Defense in the Hands of the Workers, And Under the Wise Direction of the Federation Destined to Cripple the Alliance.

ONE of the measures adopted by the labor convention that will have far-reaching effect, was the resolution favoring the starting of co-operative stores wherever the Citizens' Alliance is organized. Chief among the members of the Alliance are the retail merchants, the class that fawns at the feet of the very capitalist class that is destined to soon wipe the middle class out of existence. These little business men with capitalist minds, who have fattened off the trade of the workers, are the chief yelpers of the Alliance. The unionists are now starting co-operative stores that will be able to supply their members with all they need to buy, from a needle, a pound of sugar, to a suit of clothes.

This is a good defensive weapon, as it will hasten the destruction of the middle class and make shorter the class struggle. The Western Federation has started four stores and one is now being organized in Denver.

The Alliance is already squirming over the situation, and is doing everything in its power to create dissension in the union ranks.

Max Morris, the western member of the executive board of the A. F. of L., is opposing the measure and trying to keep the retail clerks, of which he is an official, from participating.

His motives are appreciated by the western unionists, however, and his antagonism is of little moment.

Notes and Comments

ON THE WESTERN LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE COLORADO SITUATION...

The workers are getting dinner pails chuck full--of bullets.

The respectable Citizens' Alliance never got such an airing as it will get in this issue.

Bring on your oppression, Mr. Capitalist. That's the way we got three million votes in Germany.

One hundred non-union men employed in the mines at Telluride quit work, being tired of scabbing.

The Socialist prayer: Lord, give us more Peabodys, and lay on the lash. We will then hump ourselves to the ballot box.

Even hogs will unite in each others' support when one of their number is attacked by an enemy. Workers, haven't you as much sense as the swine?

Boys, you never had such an opportunity to make things count as now. I am wondering if the old press won't groan before you get through ordering this issue.

If the workers won't learn the philosophy of the class struggle from the Socialist agitator, they will in the capitalist bull pen. Sic 'em capitalist; it's tough I know, but it's the making of the pup.

"Oh, for a Sammy or a Johnny!" sighs the Colorado Capitalist Charley Moyer, Billy Haywood and Johnny O'Neill are not union leaders after the capitalist's heart. They don't scab on their class.

The capitalist papers of the state have, in the main, printed the news, but they have been careful to give their readers no conception of what the struggle means. The Citizens' Alliance have advertising to give and the papers are hushed.

The prostitutes of Denver never vote unless they are forced to do so. They voted against Waite, and they will have to vote this fall. The Alliance needs them. Capitalism is the father of prostitution and of course the head of a family must rule it.

The attorney general has prepared a defense of the state's position to be issued in pamphlet form and circulated to every county office in the nation. You ought to get a copy. Mail a postal card to the attorney general of the state and request one. It will make good propaganda.

The unionists of Colorado have voted a weekly assessment of 5 cents on their membership for the support of the Federation. This will not only help furnish the sinews of war, but it will unify the workers of the state. Organized labor of Colorado is at last united in the fight of its life.

Union boys, the fight of the century is on in Colorado. The Federation will never give up so long as there is a nickel in the treasury. Get the boys together and raise a fund for the fighting giants of the west. Send your donations to Wm. D. Haywood, 625 Mining Exchange Bldg., Denver, Colorado.

Are you not glad that you have a paper that can carry the truth about the Colorado strike to a million eyes, for certainly not less than that number will look on these pages. You have a solemn duty to perform at this juncture--get this paper into the hands of the people, so that they may see what's coming.

Say, let's show the administration of Colorado how the Army does business. Let's every one of us invest one cent in a postal card and write to the Attorney General, Denver, Colorado, and get a copy of the governor's defense for sending the militia into peaceful communities, and declaring martial law. The governor will think a cyclone has struck him.

President Roosevelt sent a commissioner from Washington to investigate the strike situation. This individual was wined and dined by the Alliance, never called on the representatives of the union or asked for any testimony other than that furnished by the capitalists. He went back and reported that the state forces were as yet able to handle the "insurrection." How Roosevelt does love the working men.

There is in the Judicial Department of the state a few relics of populist reign. These judges, if given an opportunity, would nullify the acts of the military, but they are given no chance, for the Peabody administration does not permit the miners to get into court. Three thousand union men from Denver have offered to march into the strike district to enforce a court order, but the court gets no opportunity to act.

The western labor movement has never been partisan, in relation to the eastern. In the great anthracite strike, one of the locals of the Western Federation, Butte, Mont., sent \$20,000 to their eastern comrades, and the executive officers of the Federation say that nearly \$150,000 went from their organization to help the anthracite strikers. The eastern comrades now have an opportunity to reciprocate, for the Federation is fighting the most desperate battle against capitalism in the history of the nation.

In 1899 Tom Patterson, senator from Colorado now, but then the democratic editor of the News, said: "The republican party is 10 per cent silver, the democratic party 40 per cent, and the populist 100 per cent. I am a populist." The worker can now say: "The republican party is 0 per cent working class in its policy, the democratic party 10 per cent (?) and the Socialist party 100 per cent. I am a Socialist."

John M. O'Neill, editor of the Miners' Magazine, and one of the leading spirits of the western labor movement, is a gifted orator and scholar. He has spent most of his life in the mines and is one of the most expert workmen that ever handled a drift. He has a voice like a

trumpet, and his sentences are rounded out with the fervor and genius of a Henry. He is quiet and modest in his demeanor, with a heart as gentle as a woman's, but with a latent fire that, once aroused, moves multitudes to action. He wields a forceful pen, and his literary ability is so much needed at headquarters that he has little time for platform work.

Organizer White of the A. L. U., says that many of the Montana farmers are joining the union and are cheerfully paying the strike assessments. There is a good field for union propaganda among the farmers. The co-operative store feature of the western movement will appeal to them strongly. The old Alliance feeling is still strong among the farmers, and the steadily on-coming industrial depression will put them in a good humor to join this radical organization. It's a good move and ought to be pushed. When the two wings of the industrial army understand each other it will be found that their industrial enemy is a common one.

When the order to search the houses of the union men of Cripple Creek for arms and take them away was issued, the Federation attorneys were asked for an opinion concerning the matter. They advised that the constitution guaranteed to the citizens the right to bear and keep arms, and that the armed thugs of the Alliance had no more right to take arms out of the homes of the citizens than furniture. The Federation leaders pointed out the fact that Roosevelt carries concealed weapons in defiance of law, but advised the miners not to do so, but to give up no arms that might be in their homes. The soldiers did not get enough guns to arm a squirrel party.

When I called, with the committee from the labor convention, on Governor Peabody, introducing myself, I said: "I represent the Appeal to Reason, perhaps you know of the paper."

"Yes," said the governor, "I have heard of it."

We won't have to send him a copy of this issue; he will be hunting for it. When I departed I shook hands and said: "I am glad to have met you." I was. I admire a man who is true to his class, and the governor has certainly filled the bill. If the workers were half as true to their class as the governor has been to his, we would soon end the struggle and have universal peace.

The legislature to be elected this fall will have to face the question of paying the soldiers who have done the dirty work of the Citizens' Alliance. Every candidate will be compelled to go on record as to his position on this question before the ballots are cast. The "insurrection debt" of the state may amount to a million dollars before the struggle is over. At present the Citizens' Alliance is putting up the cash on the promise that the state will issue insurrection bonds. The unions will fight the payment of this debt, arguing that he Alliance has made the fight and ought to pay the bills. It is not unlikely that on this question many of the farmers will stand with them.

In the streets of Victor I saw a tall flag staff carrying Old Glory. I stopped and gazed on its stars and stripes. I thought of Valley Forge, where my ancestors marched behind the starry emblem with frozen feet and shivering bodies, to strike a blow for human liberty. I thought of it waving triumphantly over Yorktown, at last the banner of liberty achieved. I saw it in my mind at New Orleans waving defiance to British hosts, and again at Appomattox, where its blood-red bars became the emblem of redemption to millions of chattel slaves. I followed it to the Philippines, where for the first time in our proud history, it became the emblem of military oppression and the foe to liberty. I saw it now, waving over the streets of a peaceful village, whose only crime was that its workers had dared to demand a little easement from capitalist oppression, and for the first time in my life I was ashamed to stand under its folds.

The flag was there, but the constitution had not followed it.

In anything that I may have said in the report of the Colorado situation that in any way reflects on the officials of the American Federation of Labor, I wish it clearly understood that I have not been moved to do so by the fact that the Boston convention of that body failed to pass a Socialist resolution. I am in full accord with the St. Louis declaration of the Socialist party on the question of its position toward the trades union movement. I doubt if a Socialist resolution passed by any labor convention is of value to the Socialist movement. Ours is a political battle, directed toward a final and complete reconstruction of social industry, while the trades union movement is purely industrial and assigned to serve the workers' immediate interests. I am a member of the A. F. of L. and my criticism of that body relates wholly to its system of craft organization, which affords no basis of united action of the entire organized working class.

My own sympathy for the western movement, and the criticism of A. F. of L. leaders is wholly aside from the fact that the western movement is tinged with Socialism, and is due to the fact that the A. L. U. and its federated bodies are moving toward industrial unity, a federation of all branches of labor, each supporting the other, the parent body having the power to call a strike of every craft when necessary.

It is the next step in the evolution of the workers' effort to resist the greed of capitalism, and the only form of organization that has a shadow of a chance to make its resistance of any moment. This is why the capitalists are trying to crush it. Think not, my brothers of the A. F. of L., that we can gain any substantial benefit to ourselves by intriguing and compromising with capitalism. Our executive officers may honestly believe that by wining and dining with the Elliots and the Hannas that more can be gained for us than by open antagonism, but it is a mistake. Capitalists do this to gain time, and to better perfect their machinery wherewith to finally crush us.

The miner in his uncarpeted shack cannot but distrust a leader whom capitalism welcomes at its banqueting board. While it may speak gentle words into his ear to gain time, it has secretly declared that ORGANIZED LABOR MUST BE CRUSHED, AND IT ONLY WAITS FOR THE PROPER MOMENT TO ARRIVE WHEN THE WORD WILL GO FORTH--DOWN WITH ORGANIZED LABOR EVERYWHERE.

The Appeal Agitation League.

What is the object of the Appeal Agitation League? I presume several of you have asked that question mentally. The principal object is to bring together the man who has money to spend for Socialism but no spare time and the man who has surplus time but no money. If you have a dollar to invest in Socialism you cannot do better than put it in the League fund. Every cent of this fund will be used to place literature where it will do the most good.