

Under the Law of the People in Cripple Creek.

REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC?

Pluralities in the Five Big Doubtful States in the Last Seven Elections.

	1876.		1880.		1884.		1888.		1892.		1896.		1900.	
	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.
NEW YORK	—	32,742	21,033	—	—	1,047	13,002	—	—	45,518	268,469	—	143,606	—
INDIANA	—	5,515	6,642	—	—	6,512	2,348	—	—	7,125	18,181	—	26,479	—
NEW JERSEY	—	12,445	—	2,010	—	4,412	—	7,149	—	14,974	87,692	—	56,899	—
WEST VIRGINIA	—	14,564	—	11,148	—	4,221	—	506	—	4,174	11,497	—	21,022	—
CONNECTICUT	—	2,900	2,656	—	—	1,284	—	336	—	5,365	53,545	—	28,570	—

NOMINEES ELECTED AND DEFEATED.

1876 HAYES.	(R.)	Received 185 Electoral votes against	184 for TILDEN.	(D.)
1880 GARFIELD.	(R.)	Received 214 Electoral votes against	155 for HANCOCK.	(D.)
1884 CLEVELAND.	(D.)	Received 219 Electoral votes against	182 for BLAINE.	(R.)
1888 HARRISON.	(R.)	Received 233 Electoral votes against	168 for CLEVELAND.	(D.)
1892 CLEVELAND.	(D.)	Received 277 Electoral votes against	145 for HARRISON.	(R.)
1896 McKINLEY.	(R.)	Received 271 Electoral votes against	176 for BRYAN.	(D.)
1900 McKINLEY.	(R.)	Received 292 Electoral votes against	155 for BRYAN.	(D.)

It was evident the intent was to, with this culminating violence—a former plot similarly prepared had miscarried and only killed two where it was intended to kill three. It was a desperate attempt to win the strike for the Federation. They had the civil authorities with them; the military had been recalled. But the plotters oversteered the mark. Had the people remained neutral the crime might have struck sufficient terror into the non-union men and their employers to have accomplished the desired end; but the people awoke. They arose. As a man they charged the Western Federation with the crime. There should be no more like it! Not a member of the organization should remain in camp to make such crimes possible. That would stamp it out as effectively and as unflinchingly as they would a den of snakes. To know what happened then in Cripple Creek, read Carlyle's French Revolution, eliminating the guillotine and make the motive of the people not revenge, but peace; allow that they were Americans whose first desire is for order, for undisturbed conditions that make for law and order the business property.

OFFICERS RESIGN.

To officers who had winked at lawlessness, they said: "Resign—give back the trust we imposed in you." They said it in a way the officers could not dispute; some held ropes in their hands when they said it, others, guns. The officers resigned; new ones were chosen in their places; but for a time there were 3000 police officers of the people—themselves. The people ruled supreme; their efforts were all aids, not principals, in enforcing the laws. Members of the tabernacle Federation who had not taken guilty flight to hiding were taken where they might be found. The Victor public well, available room combined—the hall in which President Roosevelt was once prevented from speaking by the clamor of many of these same riotous Federation miners—was improved, a prison was thrown and kept under guard until a military commission chosen from all ranks of citizens and sitting night and day as a board of inquiry could examine into the right or fitness

of each to remain as a citizen of the community. This commission had before it during its six weeks of sessions, 1,569 men. It dismissed 1,232, many of whom declared they would renounce their support of the outlawed organization and were permitted to remain; 239 were declared unfit to live in Cripple Creek. Some of these last were one thieves, forty officers, saloon huns, vagrants, but the majority were formed of Federation miners. The district was to be cleaned without these; the sentence of banishment was given them. Forty-two against whom the criminal evidence was strong; the accumulation of the long era of lawlessness but still the lesser criminals since the principals had taken alarm and fled after it became manifest to them that the people were going to assert themselves and that their immunity from arrest was to be a thing of the past. Many of the 42 had fired from the union hall on the people who were holding on a vacant lot opposite it a mass meeting to protest against the Independence outrages. It was the same assault upon the tribune of the people of which Carlyle tells.

LYNCHING CONSIDERED.

What to do with those sentenced to be banished was the question. It was a vote that the people should use no violence; they were protecting, not taking life. But many were saying that the most effectual way to restore order and assert the might of the people would be the old way of the early days—lynch a few. Thousands stood ready to put that idea into practice, saying that such a method never failed of having a wholesome effect on a community. These demanded a life for each of the 17 lives the strikers had taken. But for the good name of the camp it was voted that the men should be banished instead. One sentenced man who promised to go if released, was turned loose; a few minutes after there came a hurry call for soldiers to take him from the mob, to protect him. He was glad enough when the decision was told him that all would be taken away—not left free to go. Under guard of the militia the banished were put on passenger trains and taken as far as possible from the camp and ordered not to return. There was no suffering, no abuse. The federation with its unlimited funds sent in or begged from outside unions which were being given the false idea that the Colorado people were in saddle to stamp out all unionism, cared for them after they were turned loose by the military.

From June 24, the day of the Independence atrocity to the end of the military rule on July 26, the people were cleaning house. At the end of that time they again said to their officers: "Protect us; enforce our laws," and so returned to business to the work of adding nearly two million dollars worth of gold to the coining of the world each month.

And pretty near everybody you meet in Cripple Creek these days is wearing on his coat lapel a button that says: "They must come back." Now and then one comes back and he is promptly taken out again. Having said it, the people mean to enforce their order and they will. The outsiders may hear from time to time of deportations. It will be nothing more than the re-education of men who have violated their sentence of banishment. Otherwise the people are doing nothing but their daily business of mining gold.

LUTE H. JOHNSON.

Special Correspondence.
Cripple Creek, Colo., Sept. 15.—Having once said to its officers, "these are our laws, enforce them for us," may not a community later say to the same officers, "stand aside; we will enforce our laws ourselves?"
Particularly may it not do so when the officers have been lax in enforcing the laws?
All laws being for the protection of the community, may not that community make a new law for its own governing when it finds one needed to give security of person and property to the whole?
These are the questions the people of Cripple Creek propound to inquirers into the reason for the seeming extraordinary happenings in the Colorado gold camp that grew out of a protracted struggle between the Western Federation of Miners and the Cripple Creek mine owners.
To the looker-on from afar things have been done by the people that demand an explanation. Men were taken prisoners, herded into a "bull pen" for a time, later to be taken to the state boundary and dismissed without legal trial. These were in most cases said to be union men and the supposition grew that their deportation was because they were union men.
PLOT AGAINST UNIONS.
Word was passed to the outside with much apparent indignation that the people of Cripple Creek, the Mine Owners' association, a certain Citizen's Alliance, the governor of the state, the state militia and its commander, Gen. Bell, were all united in a plot to stamp out unionism; in an unprovoked assault upon the right of laboring men to organize, and the world stood aghast at the heartlessness thereof.
Cripple Creek was too busy cleaning house to talk; it was its own affair anyhow; if the leaders of unions and the politicians wanted to make capital out of what they were doing, let them, they were busy cleaning house.
For ten months the camp had endured the activities of an organization that had been seeking through lawless intimidation and crimes to force the reversal of a decision by the mine owners that they would never again take into their employ members of the Western Federation of Miners. For three years that body had been seeking to force 2,000 of the 5,000 miners working on the "open shop" principle to join their organization. The 2,000 had refused. They insisted upon their rights to remain unattached from the union. They were resorting to intimidation, taking individuals from their homes at night, beating them up and in at least one case murdering a miner who had refused to join. The officers of the law were in sympathy with the union. There was never an arrest for such an offense. When complaint was made to a peace officer that such an offense had been committed the officer would reply: "Served him right; he ought to be beaten up for not joining."
THE UNION'S MISTAKE.
After three years of this bushwhacking warfare against the non-union men who are working alongside the union

in the mines, the union under new management turned to a new point of attack and demanded that the mine owners cease employing non-union men. This was in violation of the existing "open shop" contract. Moyer and Haywood, Socialists, whose extreme lawless ideas had divided the Western Federation of Miners from the American Federation of Labor, in assuming control of the miners organization, had relegated to themselves the sole right to call a strike. They forced the Cripple Creek mine owners to agree to a new contract, while they were anxious to increase their own membership in any possible way from among the miners they were not willing to go to the extreme of a strike against their employers—to go upon a strike. No demand was made upon the mine owners for either shorter hours or more pay. The wages and hours were the best paid in any camp in the United States. The lowest wage was and is \$3 for eight hours work; the scale had been in existence for nine years and is in force today when nearly as many men are working as were before the strike, all on the same wages and hours but all non-union. The union leaders had hoped to gain only the complete unionizing of the mines; they effected the complete de-unionizing of them.
The Cripple Creek mine owners knew the Western Federation of Miners to be a dangerous organization. Its avowed Socialism, its disregard of all property rights, its well-known plan to destroy whatever it cannot control, its arbitrary control of the men at the whim or greed of two leaders like Moyer and Haywood, its disunioning method, made it an organization to be feared if placed in full authority over the men. Besides, nearly half their old men were non-union from choice; their right to work was to be considered. The mine owners organized to meet the demand; they said to their workmen that they were willing to place their properties in the control of such arbitrary and irresponsible Socialists as Moyer and Haywood; they advised their union men to get together in their unions and renounce their allegiance to the Western Federation of Miners, to retain their local unions but to withdraw them from the Federation and so free themselves from the mastery of Moyer and Haywood—allies to the state and the Cripple Creek district.

While not five per cent of the local union men wanted to strike, they could not face the opposition to the parent body such action would entail and so they reluctantly accepted the alternative, obeyed the order and ceased work. When they did so they knew that they had been driven from further working in the best camp from a miner's standpoint in the United States, that the strike would be lost. Many of the more conservative went quietly away to other camps and to work at \$2.50 a day for 10 hours where they had in Cripple Creek received \$3 for eight. They made the sacrifice to their unions. Others—fully one-third—seeing the hopelessness and the folly of the strike, deserted their leaders and their unions and remained to work as non-union miners in their old places.
SALOON-KEEPERS' PART.
A few, the irresponsible, the drift, the saloon-supporting element of the unions forged to the front in the fight that was on between mine owners and the Western Federation. The directing officers in the union were filled from these. The head of the most aggressive of the five local unions was a saloon keeper when chosen for the position. He has been the real director of the strike.
Then ensued a period of conflict with the mine owners on the one side fighting to protect their properties from destruction, helping their non-union miners to protect themselves and they together working for independence of action, freedom from arbitrary dictation of Federation leaders; on the other

side was the lawless remnant of the unions using threats, intimidation, beating the workmen, murdering, using every known form of intimidation to drive the non-union workmen from the camp and compel the mine owners to rescind their avowed de-unioning never again to accept a Western Federation supporter into their employ. On the side of the union men were the officers of the law awed into complacency by violation of laws by union men by the fear of union votes ending their political careers. The sheriff of the county was himself a member of the miners' union. When the governor of the state was called upon to supply in the state militia the peace authority which the civil officers would not exert, the union turned upon the state authority, defied it, bought more guns and in secret armed against it. It was organized and protected lawlessness; armed rebellion against the state.
For months the people stood aside. Scarcely neutral, leaning rather toward the unions as a power in trade and politics to be feared, yet taking neither side—waiting. It was a period like unto that knitting one Dickens describes and Carlyle as preceding the French revolution. An American would say "the people were saving word." They saw crime after crime go unpunished, business depressed, the progress of the camp at a standstill.
While the state authority was locked with the Federation in a contest between law and lawlessness, the mine owners were locked in one over the right to run the mines; neither side

could terminate either contest. The people "saved word."
There came a convention of the Federation in Denver. It was the annual business meeting. Delegates from afar had seen the futility of the strike Moyer and Haywood had called. There was a committee sent to Cripple Creek to decide whether the strike had not been lost and should not be called off even over the objection of Moyer and Haywood and the local union leaders. The committee visited Cripple Creek on Saturday. It found every mine running full-handed with non-union men and not a union miner working in the camp. The committee went back to Denver. It would report to the convention on Monday.
Sherman Parker, the saloon-keeping president of the Independence union, remained in the camp after the committee had gone. He had insisted that he would yet win the strike; that his methods were the ones that would win in the end; he did not want the strike called off. Sunday afternoon Parker left the town of Independence for Denver to continue attendance at the convention. Ten hours after his departure, at 2:30 o'clock Monday morning, hours before the convention would be called to order in Denver, the Independence depot of the Golden Circle railroad was blown up by an infernal machine. The platform was filled with non-union men waiting to take the train to their homes at the close of work; 15 of them were killed—blown to bits—seven were so maimed that they will be but half-workmen for the remainder of their lives.

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