

AHMEEK MINING CO.

The average earnings of miners stoping, drifting, and drift stoping with the two-man drill for the last six months of 1912 were \$2.98 per day. The average earnings of miners stoping, drift stoping, and drifting with the one-man drill for the first six months of 1913 were \$3.61 per day. The per cent of increase in favor of the one-man drill is 21.14.

TAMARACK MINING CO.

The earnings of miners using the one-man drill 837 shifts were \$3,205.11, an average of \$3.83 per shift. The earnings of miners using the two-man drill 20,773 shifts were \$67,269.55, an average of \$3.24 per shift. This shows 18.21 per cent increased earnings in favor of the one-man drill.

ALLOUEZ MINING CO.

The average earnings of miners using the two-man drill during the last six months of 1912 were \$3.02 per day. The average earnings of miners using the one-man drill during the first six months of 1913 were \$3.70 per day.

SUPERIOR COPPER CO.

In 1909 and 1910 when the two-man machine was used exclusively, \$2.54 per shift was company-account pay. On the same shift basis with the one-man machine, company-account pay was \$3.02, but due to the introduction of the contract system and gradual improvement of the one-man machines, the average of all miners using one-man machines exclusively was \$3.55 per day for the first six months in 1913.

CENTENNIAL COPPER MINING CO.

The average earnings of miners using the two-man drill during the last six months of 1912 was \$2.71. The average earnings of miners using the one-man drill during the first six months of 1913 was \$3.52.

LA SALLE COPPER CO.

No statistics of comparative earnings on one-man and two-man drills are available. The average daily earnings for work done on one-man drill in 1913 were \$3.98.

LAURIUM MINING CO.

The earnings of miners on two-man machine during the last six months of 1912 were \$3.01 per day. The earnings of miners on one-man machine during the first six months of 1913 were \$3.26 per day.

COPPER RANGE CONSOLIDATED CO.

In general it has been our custom to pay men working on a company account basis with the Leyner drill \$4 or \$5 per month more than the company account rate on the two-man drill. Earnings on contract vary considerably even under uniform conditions, and it

would be inaccurate to attribute all of the difference between earnings of men on Leyners now to the difference in machines.

The pay rolls of the Baltic mine show the earnings of 12 miners during the six months from January to June, inclusive, 1912, when they were using two-man drills, and the earnings of the same 12 men during the three months, April, May, and June, 1913, when they were using one-man drills. The earnings for these men were as follows, the first figures in each case being the average for the first period and the second figures being the average for the second period: John Lasick, \$2.79, \$3.15; Mike Lassick, \$2.79, \$3.15; Mike Muhvich, \$2.54, \$3.24; Herman Keraven, \$2.61, \$3.27; John Harmainen, \$2.75, \$3.37; John Poak, \$2.73, \$2.91; Joel Kaugas, \$2.89, \$2.94; Herman Kaugas, \$2.69, \$3.48; Charles Johnson, \$2.75, \$2.87; Appo Lythenen, \$2.42, \$3.48; Carl Stark, \$2.74, \$3.48; John Raisanen, \$2.75, \$3.48.

QUINCY MINING CO.

Men Nos. 3981, 3338, 3034, and 3040, in contract No. 12, using one-man machines in drifting and stoping work, over a period of six months, averaged \$4.08 per day each; same men with two-man machine earned \$3.04 each. Men Nos. 4223 and 4365, in contract No. 191, averaged \$3.78 per day each for a period of six months; same men with double machine earned \$3.04. Twenty-one men on stoping work averaged \$3.38 per day each against \$3.04 with double machine.

MOHAWK MINING CO.

The average earnings of Thomas Ellis, on a two-man machine prior to August, 1912, were \$3.10 per day. The average earnings of the same man on a one-man machine from August, 1912, to June, 1913, were \$3.47 per day.

WOLVERINE COPPER MINING CO.

The one-man drill has not been in use a sufficient time to enable us to form a comparison.

FRANKLIN MINING CO.

Following are the average daily earnings of four miners using the two-man drill from July to December, inclusive, 1912, and the average daily earnings of the same men using the one-man drill during the next six months. The figures first given show the average for the first period and the second figures show the average for the last period: Peter Horwhat, \$3.10, \$3; Ben Horwhat, \$3.10, \$2.78; Mike Kochin, \$2.49, \$2.98; Ed Isojarvi, \$2.50, \$2.78.

WINONA COPPER CO.

For the first six months of 1912 Samuel Phillips and Benjamin Hocking were drifting on the thirteenth level, south, of No. 4 shaft. They used an Ingersoll-Rand 3½-inch two-man drill, and made an average of \$3.13 per day during this time. These same men started

the first Leyner one-man drill and used it in drifting at the same place. Their average wages for the last six months of 1912 were \$3.45 per shift. The cost of miners' labor per foot of drifting with the two-man drill was \$4.12; the cost of drifting with the one-man drill was \$2.99.

MASS CONSOLIDATED MINING CO.

When two-man drills were used exclusively the wages were \$2.25 per man per shift, net. After the one-man drill was introduced, the wages of men on the few two-man drills in use were increased to \$2.35, while the wages of men on one-man drills were established at \$2.50 per shift. A bonus system was introduced for work done by men using stopers, whereby men were paid a bonus for all drilling over and above an average of 50 feet per day of drilling per shift during the month. Under this system the highest wage earned has been \$3.15 per shift.

HANCOCK CONSOLIDATED MINING CO.

The monthly wages are \$68 for miners on one-man drills, and the same for miners on two-man drills.

ONECO COPPER MINING CO.

The wages of miners on two-man drills are \$68 per month (26 working days). No one-man drill used.

LAKE COPPER CO.

The daily average earnings of all miners doing drifting and cross-cutting on contract from May, 1911, till the strike was as follows: Men on large machines, \$3.16 per day; men on small machines, \$3.57 per day.

DEDUCTIONS FROM EARNINGS.

All companies make deductions from the earnings of miners on contract work for oil used to lubricate the drills, for dynamite, fuse and caps used in blasting, and for carbide used in acetylene lamps. Miners that work "on company account," or monthly basis, are not charged for these materials.

One company charges the miner not only for these things, but for other articles that they use, the price for each being as follows:

Powder (dynamite), \$10 a box of 50 pounds; fuse, \$10 per 1,000 feet; caps, \$2 a box of 100; steel (i. e. the weight of the drills worn by use), 10 cents a pound; machine oil, 25 cents a gallon; quart oil can, 35 cents; acetylene lamp, 75 cents; old-fashioned lamp, 25 cents; wrenches, \$1 each. Trammers are charged for pick handles, 25 cents each; for shovels, \$1 each. This company also charges men 50 cents a month for the use of the dry house, where the men change their clothing.

All companies make a deduction from the earnings of employees for medical attention and medicines. The charge is \$1 per month for married men and 50 cents for single men, and married men are entitled to medical treatment for dependent members of their families. The

Mass Co. and Lake Co. are the only two that make additional charge for obstetrical cases.

Most of the mining companies deduct 50 cents a month from the earnings of each employee for a sick-benefit fund, also called an "aid fund," and often called a "club." From this fund payment is made to employees who are ill at the rate of \$1 for each working day, or \$25 per month. Usually payment begins on the sixth day of illness, but if the patient is ill for 20 days payment per day is made from the beginning of the illness. The Michigan State law provides that in case of accident to an employee at work he shall be paid compensation after 14 days of disability. The employees of some companies who are injured by accident are paid \$1 for each working day, beginning with the sixth day of disability and continuing until compensation begins on the fifteenth day. Out of the aid fund of several companies the heirs of an employee who dies from an accident are paid \$200 or \$250. The companies do not contribute to the aid funds, but on account of the large amounts in the aid-fund treasuries the Calumet & Hecla, Osceola, Ahmeek, and Isle Royale companies have made no deductions for this purpose since August, 1912. The only companies which reported that they had no aid funds were the Quincy, Franklin, Hancock, and Oneco companies.

The companies that have hospitals charge \$7, \$10, or \$13 a week for hospital service, including board and the attention of a physician and nurse. Employees who are accidentally injured, so that hospital treatment is necessary, are not charged for the first three weeks they are in the hospital, as provided by the Michigan compensation law, but after three weeks they are charged at the rate of from \$20 to \$40 a month. The Copper Range Co. reports: "No deductions made for hospital service to employees, whether required on account of disease or accident, but for members of an employee's family in the hospital \$1 per day is collected." The Hancock and Oneco companies report: "Hospital care is provided gratis by company until employee's recovery. Same is true of members of employee's family." The Mass Co. reports: "Hospital expenses are provided until such time as patient is discharged by physician." The Quincy Co. reports: "Hospital expenses provided as long as necessary." The Osceola Co. reports: "In frequent cases all hospital charges are canceled by the company when the employee is in poor financial condition."

Deductions from earnings are made on pay day for rent of houses occupied by employees, and for coal, wood, or electric lights that the company may furnish to them.

THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

The Western Federation of Miners is the only organization of mine workers in the metal mines of North America. It was organized at Butte, Mont., May 19, 1893. The preamble and first article of its constitution follow:

PREAMBLE.

1. We hold that there is a class struggle in society, and that this struggle is caused by economic conditions.
2. We affirm the economic condition of the producer to be that he is exploited of the wealth which he produces, being allowed to retain barely sufficient for his elementary necessities.

- 3. We hold that the class struggle will continue until the producer is recognized as the sole master of his product.
- 4. We assert that the working class, and it alone, can and must achieve its own emancipation.
- 5. We hold, finally, that an industrial union and the concerted political action of all wageworkers is the only method of attaining this end.
- 6. Therefore we, the wage slaves employed in and around the mines, mills, smelters, tunnels, open pits, and open cuts have associated in the Western Federation of Miners.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. This organization shall be known as the Western Federation of Miners, and shall be composed of all persons working in and around mines, mills, smelters, tunnels, open pits, and open cuts organized into unions paying per capita tax to the federation.

SEC. 2. The objects of this organization shall be to unite the various persons working in and around the mines, mills, smelters, tunnels, open pits, and open cuts into one central body, to practice those virtues that adorn society and remind man of his duty to his fellow man, the elevation of his position, and the maintenance of the rights of the workers to increase the wages and improve the conditions of employment of our members by legislation, conciliation, joint agreements, or strikes.

SEC. 3. Whenever 20 or more persons working as specified in section 1 of this article shall be found that will be self-supporting, they shall, on application, be granted a charter. Provided that no charter shall be issued the effect of which is to segregate the crafts engaged in the mining industry.

Following is a copy of the blank which mine workers are required to sign on application for membership:

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

APPLICATION BLANK.

Union No.
 Name.....
 Age..... Complexion.....
 Height..... Color of eyes.....
 Name and address of nearest relative.....
 Have you ever been a member of organized labor?.....
 When and where?.....
 What organization?.....
 Where have you worked during the past five years?.....
 Have you ever taken the place of strikers?.....
 Have you ever assisted in putting scab labor in the place of strikers?.....
 Have you ever assisted as a deputy sheriff, Pinkerton man, or in any manner assisted corporations or individuals to oppose the demands of organized labor?.....

Our motto—"Justice to all."

I hereby voluntarily pledge and obligate myself on my word of honor that the above is a true and correct statement in answer to the questions asked, and I further promise to obey all laws and lawful summons of the W. F. of M. that may be now or hereafter in existence.

..... Applicant.
 Proposed by.....

N. B.—Initiation fee must accompany application.

Applicant.....	Rejected.....	191.....
Application made.....	Initiated.....	191.....
Elected.....	Union No.....
.....	Secretary.....

N. B.—Secretaries receiving this blank from applicant must have same kept on file for future reference.

Statistics published in the Official Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention, Western Federation of Miners, show that on March 31, 1912, the membership was 38,016.¹ The officials claim that in 1913 the membership was over 45,000. The official organ of the Western Federation of Miners is 'The Miners' Magazine, published weekly in Denver. Each issue contains a directory of the local unions of the organization. The issue for August 7, 1913, shows that the number of local unions was 180. The federation was established in 22 States, and in each of these States and in Alaska, British Columbia, and Ontario, the number of local unions was as follows:

Alaska, 6; Arizona, 11; British Columbia, 14; California, 10; Colorado, 18; Idaho, 8; Illinois, 3; Kansas, 6; Kentucky, 1; Michigan, 13; Minnesota, 1; Missouri, 16; Montana, 19; Nevada, 21; New Jersey, 4; New York, 1; New Mexico, 1; Oklahoma, 2; Ontario, 8; Oregon, 1; South Dakota, 3; Texas, 1; Utah, 7; Washington, 3; Wisconsin, 2.

The Western Federation of Miners was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor from 1896 to 1898, and the affiliation was renewed in 1911. Further details about the history of the Western Federation of Miners are given in the following extract from the report of its president, Charles H. Moyer, to the twentieth annual convention, held in 1912:²

The tenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners declared in favor of a policy of independent political action and a vigorous policy of education along the lines of political economy. Do sound industrial unionists desire to change this policy? If not, then I reiterate that the advocates of a change in our policy are not sincere, but that, while attacking our policy and offering nothing substantial to take its place, their sole aim is to again change our attitude in the labor movement.

Going back to the inception of our federation, we find that we were organized in 1893, and for three years, or until May, 1896, we were an independent organization—that is, we held no affiliation with any national organization of labor. In 1896 it was decided to change our attitude and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. This affiliation continued until 1898, when we again changed our position by discontinuing such affiliation and attached ourselves to what was then known as the Western Labor Union. I shall not go into the history of the Western Labor Union; suffice to say that our affiliation continued until its dissolution, in 1905, and that it was formed on the industrial-union plan.

In 1905 our organization, in convention, realizing that the Western Labor Union had failed, took part in initiating another movement, known as the Industrial Workers of the World. While the working policy of this organization differed in some respects from the Western Labor Union, yet the idea of organizing the workers in industries was identical. The Western Federation of Miners continued to take an active part in the affairs of this organization until its second annual convention, when developments in its management were such as to cause a referendum vote to be initiated in our federation, which resulted in its repudiation, the membership declaring by their ballot that it should not longer be recognized as a bona fide labor organization; and so, in 1908, the Western Federation of Miners again changed its attitude, and was without affiliation until May 9, 1911, when it reaffiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

During this entire period the miners' organization adhered strictly to its idea of industrial organization, yet during that time we, as stated, on seven different occasions changed our attitude in the labor movement. Has this been for the best interest of the men of the mines? Has our organization prospered because of these various changes? Have they been a medium for the organizing of the workers of our industry? Let us in all seriousness ask ourselves, and especially those who are loud in their denunciation of the present attitude of our union, whether it might not have been well for the metal miners to have adhered more strictly to a definite position, as has our sister organization, the United Mine Workers of America?

¹ Page 173.

² Pages 4-6.

Between 1897 and 1899 there was organized in Michigan what was known as the Northern Mineral Mine Workers. It had local unions throughout the iron district of Michigan and the lead districts of Missouri, and was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It went through several strikes which were unsuccessful and reduced its membership to zero. In 1904 this organization applied to the Western Federation of Miners to become a part of that organization. The convention of the Western Federation of Miners held in 1904 accepted the proposition, and took over such locals as had been established in Michigan and Missouri.

Prior to 1904 the eastern boundary of the Western Federation of Miners was the Missouri River. The Northern Mineral Mine Workers had no organization in the copper district of Michigan, but in the same year, after its amalgamation with the Western Federation of Miners, local unions were formed in practically all of the mining camps of Michigan and especially in the copper district. On account of lack of interest these locals became extinct in the latter part of 1906 or early in 1907.

During 1908 communications were sent to the headquarters of the Western Federation of Miners in Denver, asking for organizers to be sent to the iron and copper mining districts of Michigan. Organizers were sent and local unions were again organized. In 1913 there were five local unions in the Michigan copper district. The numbers of these unions, their names, and the dates when they were organized are as follows: 203, Copper (Calumet), November 22, 1908; 200, Hancock Copper, February 14, 1909; 196, South Range, May 22, 1909; 215, Mass City, May 8, 1912; 129, Keweenaw, May 30, 1913.

THE VOTE FOR A STRIKE.

The Western Federation of Miners was never recognized by any of the copper-mining companies in Michigan. The members became dissatisfied with their working conditions and began in 1912 to agitate the question of making demands on the companies for improved conditions and of striking, if necessary, to secure the demands. Their organization, however, was not complete, and for prudential reasons the general officers of the federation in Denver endeavored to restrain them from hasty action. President Charles H. Moyer wrote from Denver to Thomas Strizich, a national organizer at Calumet, Mich., on March 25, 1913, as follows:

I was much pleased to hear of the progress being made in the way of organizing in Michigan and sincerely trust that the men there will realize the importance, in fact the absolute necessity, of deferring action that may precipitate a conflict with the employers until they have practically a thorough organization.

The organized copper-mine workers in Michigan insisted that their working conditions should be remedied, even if a resort to a strike should be necessary. The provisions in the constitution of the Western Federation of Miners for calling a strike, section 1 of Article VIII, is as follows:

SECTION 1. It shall be unlawful for any union to enter upon a strike unless ordered by two-thirds of the votes cast upon the question; such questions shall be decided by referendum vote, notice of such referendum to be posted three days in advance, vote to be by ballot, and polls to be open for not less than eight hours. No call shall be made for a referendum vote on a strike until after having received the approval of the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners.

In June, 1913, slips were issued to all members of the five local unions of the Western Federation of Miners in the Michigan copper range, asking them to answer the following questions:

Do you think the union should demand better conditions now?
How many weeks could you support yourself without calling for relief?
Are you a member of a building and loan association? What are your monthly payments?
If a strike vote is taken, will you put \$5 in the union defense fund?
Name.

A large majority of the answers were in favor of making a demand for better working conditions immediately. The officers of the Western Federation of Miners in Denver were anxious that there should be no strike in the Michigan copper district until the mine workers should be more completely organized, and especially until more of the surface men and some of the stamp-mill and smelter men should be organized. They urged that it would be better not to strike until April, 1914, when it was expected that the membership would be much increased, and when there would be six months of good weather ahead. The mine workers, however, were so insistent that immediate measures should be taken to secure better conditions that the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners reluctantly consented to a referendum vote being taken on the question of asking for a joint conference with the employers, or of calling a strike in case a conference should be refused and no concessions granted. The executive board consisted of seven members—Charles H. Moyer, president; C. E. Mahoney, vice president; Ernest Mills, secretary-treasurer; J. C. Lowney, Yanco Terzich, William Davidson, and Guy E. Miller. At the time that a referendum vote was approved, President Moyer was in Europe, in attendance on an international labor congress.

Printed ballot slips were issued by the president and secretary-treasurer of district 16, which was composed of the five local unions of the Western Federation of Miners in the Michigan copper range. The form of the ballot was as follows:

OFFICIAL BALLOT.

Following the instructions of the convention of the copper district union held on June 29, we hereby submit the following questions for referendum vote of the members of the local unions of the Western Federation of Miners in copper district of Michigan.

C. E. HIETALA, *Secretary-Treasurer.*
DAN SULLIVAN, *President.*

Shall the miners' unions, acting through the district union, ask for a conference with the employers to adjust wages, hours, and working conditions in the copper district of Michigan?

YES
NO

Shall the executive board of the copper district union, acting in conjunction with the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners, declare a strike if the mine operators refuse to grant a conference or concessions?

YES
NO

The polls were opened on July 1 and remained open in the hall of each of the five local unions until noon July 12. Notice of the referendum was given out at the regular weekly meetings of the locals on Tuesday, and each local appointed men to visit members at the various mine locations and remind them that a vote was being taken. The referendum was also advertised in the papers printed in foreign languages and published in the district. Announcement of the vote was not made in the three daily papers of Calumet, Houghton, and Hancock, as those papers are more or less indirectly controlled by the mining companies. Without doubt all members of the federation in the district were informed that they had the opportunity of voting on the two questions.

The statement of the federation officers is that 98 per cent of the votes cast were in the affirmative on each of the two questions proposed on the ballot. The federation officials claim that at the time of the strike, on July 23, 1913, there were nearly 9,000 members in the five local unions in the Michigan copper district. At some of the mines practically all of the workers, underground and on the surface, were members. At others, only the underground men and a few of the surface men were members. At the largest mines, however, those of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co. and its subsidiary companies, where about two-thirds of all the mine workers in the district were employed, the number of members of the federation was much smaller in proportion to the total number of employees than at any other mines in the district. While definite figures are unobtainable, it is probable that not over half of the men employed underground by the Calumet & Hecla combination were members, and possibly the number did not exceed one-third, and of the men employed on surface work very few were members.

The Calumet & Hecla Co. is much the largest mining corporation in the district. It has in its employ nearly all of the Cornishmen and Scotchmen that are engaged in mining in the district. Most of these English-speaking persons occupy favored positions, as mine "captains" (i. e., foremen) and mine bosses. At all of its mines this company pays its workers higher rates than are paid at any of the other mines. It is well known that all of the mining companies were strongly opposed to the Western Federation of Miners, though previous to the strike no mine workers were discharged on account of their membership in that organization. The employees of the Calumet & Hecla Co. were better satisfied than were those of any other company, and therefore a much smaller proportion of them joined the federation.

BEGINNING OF THE STRIKE.

Before 1913 there had been but few strikes in the Michigan copper district and no general strike that involved all of the mines. All of the mines have been operated on the open-shop principle.

On July 14, 1913, the president and secretary-treasurer of district 16 of the Western Federation of Miners sent a letter to each of the mine managers, which notified them that the organized mine workers desired to "sell their labor collectively," and requested that a joint conference be held to discuss wages, hours of labor, and other working conditions. It also notified the managers that unless the request were granted the mine workers were ordered by a referendum vote to

strike. The letters to all managers were the same in form. A copy follows:

COPPER DISTRICT UNION,
WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS,
Box 217, Hancock, Mich., July 14, 1913.

To the Calumet & Hecla, Tamarack, Alameck, Allouez, Centennial, Superior, Laurium, Isle Royale, and all other copper mining companies connected with and under the management of Calumet & Hecla; James MacNaughton, manager.

GENTLEMEN: Your employees, organized into various unions of the Western Federation of Miners, have decided by referendum vote to ask that you meet their representatives in conference on some day during this month for the purpose of discussing the possibilities of shortening the working day, raising wages, and making some changes in the working conditions.

The men working in your mines are dissatisfied with the wages, hours, and other conditions of employment. Realizing that as individuals they would not have sufficient strength to correct these evils or to lessen the burden placed upon them, they have organized into the local unions of the Western Federation of Miners, and through the local unions they have formed one compact body of the whole copper district, with an understanding and hope that from now on they may be enabled to sell their labor collectively with greater advantage for themselves as well as their employers.

While the men have decided that they must have greater remuneration for their services and that the working day must be shortened, it is not their or our desire that we should have a strike, with all the sufferings that it is bound to bring to them, to the employers, and to the general public. On the other hand, we earnestly hope that the questions that have arisen between us would be settled amicably, with fairness and justice to both sides. Should you have the same feeling, we believe that the friendly relations that have existed between you and your employees in the past will continue in the future.

However, should you follow the example given by some of the most stupid and unfair mine owners in the past, the men have instructed us by the same referendum vote to call a strike in all the mines owned and controlled by your company.

We deem it unnecessary to set forth the facts and reasons for the demand for higher wages, shorter hours, and other things, in this letter, as we intend to do that in the conference—should you be fair enough to meet us.

We hope you realize that labor has just as much right to organize as capital, and that at this age these two forces, labor and capital, while their interests are not identical, must get together and solve the problems that confront them.

We expect to have your answer not later than on the 21st of this month. If you agree to meet us our representatives will be ready for a conference on any day and at any place you may choose; provided you do not set the date any later than the 28th of this month.

Your failure to answer this will be taken as a proof that you are not willing to meet us and to have the matters settled peacefully.

Hoping to hear from you soon, we remain,

Respectfully, yours,

DAN SULLIVAN,
President Copper District Union of the Western Federation of Miners.
C. E. HIETALA,
Secretary Copper District Union of the Western Federation of Miners.

Address all communications to C. E. Hietala, box 217, Hancock, Mich.

It will be noticed that this letter did not mention a minimum wage, but a circular addressed by the president and secretary-treasurer of district 16 "To organized labor, its friends and sympathizers," and dated Hancock, Mich., August 15, 1913, said:

On the 23d of July, 1913, the greatest strike in the history of American metal miners began in the copper district of Michigan. Fifteen thousand men in and around the mines laid down their tools, demanding recognition of the union, an eight-hour day, a minimum wage of \$3 for all underground workers and engineers, with an increase of 35 cents per day for surface employees. Also that two men shall be engaged in the operation of all mining machines.

A circular issued by Charles H. Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners, and dated August 25, addressed to the officers

and members of all local unions of that organization, said that the strikers asked for "a minimum of \$3" per shift.

The letters sent by the president and secretary-treasurer of district 16 to the managers, dated July 14, and asking for replies by July 21, were registered and sent by special delivery. The letter to the Quincy Mining Co. was returned unopened. The other companies made no reply by July 21 or afterwards.

At a meeting of district 16 on July 22 a strike was called immediately, and each of the five local unions in the district was notified. The strike began in most mines on the morning of July 23, but in others it did not begin until the beginning of the night shift on that day. By July 24 all mining work was suspended in all mines in the Michigan copper range, except two very small mines, those of the White Pine Copper Co. and the Victoria Copper Mining Co., which are at the extreme southern end of the range, where the federation had effected no organization. At the mines that were involved in the strike the number of employees on July 22, the day before the strike, was reported as follows:

HOUGHTON COUNTY.	
Calumet & Hecla Mining Co.	4,107
Allouez Mining Co. ¹	308
Centennial Copper Mining Co. ¹	118
Isle Royale Copper Co. ¹	709
La Salle Copper Co. ¹	43
Laurium Mining Co. ¹	25
Oscola Consolidated Mining Co. ¹	978
Superior Copper Co. ¹	162
Tamarack Mining Co. ¹	543
Copper Range Consolidated Co.	2,716
Quincy Mining Co.	1,800
Wolverine Copper Mining Co. ²	344
Franklin Mining Co.	322
Winona Copper Co. ³	293
Houghton Copper Co. ³	23
Hancock Consolidated Mining Co. ⁴	161
Oneco Mining Co. ⁴	25
	12,677
	12,677
KEWEENAW COUNTY.	
Ahmeek Mining Co. ¹	585
Mohawk Mining Co. ²	686
	1,271
	1,271
ONTONAGON COUNTY.	
Mass Consolidated Mining Co.	176
Lake Copper Co.	154
	330
	330
Total in the three counties.....	14,278

¹ Subsidiary to the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co.
² Wolverine Co. and Mohawk Co. have same management.
³ Winona Co. and Houghton Co. have same management.
⁴ Hancock Co. and Oneco Co. have same management.

The strike also affected the mines of the Indiana Mining Co., North Lake Mining Co., South Lake Mining Co., and Algomah Mining Co., in Ontonagon County, and the Cliff Mining Co., Gratiot Mining Co., and Seneca Mining Co., in Houghton County. These mines are in the early stages of development and employed about 250 men.

Of the 14,528 employees of these companies on July 22 (including the 250 employed by these "prospect" mines) about 11,700 worked underground, and the remainder on the surface. Underground work came to a complete standstill, and this caused practically all of the surface men to be idle. As before stated, the Western Federation of Miners was not largely organized among the surface men. It was not at all organized at the stamp mills and smelters located on lakes several miles from the mines. No employees at the stamp mills and smelters struck, but these employees, numbering about 1,500, were also compelled to be idle after the supply of rock on hand had been stamped and smelted.

Many of the employees of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co., the largest mining company in the district, had not joined the Western Federation of Miners, and when those who were not members started to go to work, on the morning of July 23, they were attacked by the strikers. The strikers assembled in large crowds at the various shafts to prevent men going to work, and serious riots occurred in which the men going to work were struck with rocks and clubs. Many employees of the company had been sworn in as deputy sheriffs, but they had no firearms. The strikers overpowered these deputies, took away their badges, and in some cases beat them. Rioting continued on July 24. Following is a list of the company's employees who were injured sufficiently to be taken to the company's hospital:

No. 3718. Andrew Ristvedt; age, 67; sprinkler; 4317 Oak Street; injured July 23 at Calumet Dry; he had his dinner pail taken away from him; strain of tendons of right wrist.

No. 10999. Gabriel Popovich; age, 44; timberman; 25 Second Street, Tamarack; injured July 23 at Hecla No. 6; attacked and struck over head and left shoulder; scalp wound 1 inch long; contusion of left shoulder; disabled from July 24 to August 7.

No. 750. William J. Thomas; age, 45; captain; 823 Rockland Street; injured July 23 at Calumet No. 4; struck on head with his dinner pail; right ear hemorrhagic; lost no time.

No. 2914. Thomas Matthews; age, 49; captain; 277 Rockland Street; injured July 23 at Calumet No. 2; attacked by strikers and hit on head behind right ear, swelling behind right ear extending down on neck; disabled from July 23 to August 27.

No. 6509. Kenneth McLeod; age, 49; watchman; Palace Hotel, Laurium; injured July 23 at Red Jacket shaft; hit by thrown rock while resisting attempt of strikers to gain entrance to engine house; contusion of right eye, fracture of nose, punctured wound about nose and over right eye; disabled from July 23 to August 26.

No. 6158. Edwin Danbom; age, 31; drill sharpener; 273 Rockland Street; injured July 24 at drill shop; two cuts on head from club or rock, bruised shoulder resulted from kicks, two scalp wounds 2 inches and 1½ inches long, contusion of left shoulder; disabled from July 24 to August 11.

No. 639. John T. Hand; age, 41; miner; 524 Florida Street; injured July 24 at Calumet No. 4; struck by piece of gas pipe; contusion of left side of chest with fracture of eleventh rib; still disabled September 11.

No. 7921. William T. Richards; age, 66; blaster; 1806 Cemetery Street; injured July 24; injured by strikers; two scalp wounds and contusions of back; disabled from July 24 to August 31.

No. 892. Anton Miglia; age, 50; miner; 1607 Laurium Street; injured July 24 at Calumet No. 4; hit on thumb with a stick; contusion of left thumb; disabled from July 24 to August 1.

No. 7977. John T. Harry; age, 51; miner; 2465 C Street; injured July 24 by strikers; struck with clubs and rocks; abrasion of left cheek, contusion of right shoulder; disabled from July 24 to August 4.

No. 2165. Frank Traven; age, 36; lander; 569 Cedar Street; injured July 24 at No. 16 shaft; beaten, kicked, and trampled on; contusion of head, chest, back, and legs; disabled from July 24 to August 25.

No. 2989. Simon Trestrial; age, 69; blacksmith; 2367 A Street; injured July 24 by strikers; scalp wound; disabled from July 24 to August 11.

No. 13158. Michael Maurin; age, 31; timberman; Elm Street; injured July 24 near Calumet No. 2; was chased by strikers and struck on head with a stick; scalp wound 1 inch long; disabled from July 24 to August 4.

No. 3002. William Sody; age, 47; machinist; 200 Rockland Street; injured July 24 at Calumet No. 2; scalp wound from a stick, two blows on back from rocks, scalp wound 3 inches long, contusion of back; lost no time.

No. 1183. J. M. Betzing; age, 46; foreman, RR.; 1514 Hecla Street; injured July 24 near Calumet No. 2; struck with iron bar above left elbow and across right shoulder with a board; contusion of left arm and right shoulder; disabled from July 24 to August 4.

No. 1020. George Unsworth; age, 54; mechanic; 128 Calumet Avenue; injured July 24 near Calumet No. 2; struck by a rock on head and hit on body with an iron bolt; scalp wound, abrasions of both knees, contusions of body; disabled from July 24 to August 1.

No. 1886. Jos. Gazvoda; age, 43; deputy; 4034 Oak Street; injured August 20 on Oak and Tenth Streets; was attacked and struck on head; scalp wound 1½ inches long; bruise between shoulders; disabled from August 20 to 26.

CONTINUATION OF THE STRIKE.

In anticipation of the strike some mine workers left the district before it began, and many others, probably 1,000 in all, left afterwards. They went to the iron mines in Michigan and Minnesota, some got employment from the timber companies, and many worked as harvest hands in Michigan and neighboring States. Some found work in building county roads in Houghton County.

After the arrival of the troops, on July 25, the strike was very quiet for two weeks. The strikers were overawed by the army of soldiers and by the Waddell men and the large number of deputy sheriffs. The deputies were provided with heavy "night sticks" and with revolvers. There was, however, no occasion for disorder during these two weeks, as during that time no effort to resume work was made by any of the mining companies. The strikers hired halls, held public

meetings, and paraded daily through the village streets, over county roads, and over some roads on company property which had long been regarded as public roads. The paraders included many women and children. They carried United States flags and the larger parades were headed by a brass band. The inscriptions on some of the placards carried in the parades were as follows:

Toiling 6,000 feet below, we want more light, more money.
Western Federation of Miners' headquarters—Denver.
Calumet & Hecla headquarters—Boston.
Waddell thugs' headquarters—Sing Sing.

In Calumet and also in Houghton a large rink was rented for special occasions, when addresses were made by labor leaders. These included at various times President Charles H. Moyer and Vice President C. E. Mahoney, of the Western Federation of Miners; John Mitchell, formerly president of the United Mine Workers of America; John B. Lennen, treasurer of the American Federation of Labor; John M. Walker and John L. Lewis, of the mining department of the American Federation of Labor; Emmett Flood, an organizer of the American Federation of Labor; and Mrs. Mary Jones, who has been a prominent character in many strikes and who is affectionately called "Mother Jones." They addressed audiences of from 4,000 to 6,000 people. At all meetings speeches were made in various languages.

At the beginning of the strike the mine managers began holding semiweekly meetings at the Houghton Club in Houghton. They insisted that they had not formed a mine managers' association, but they acted together on all matters relating to the strike.

The three daily papers published in English in Houghton County espoused the views of the mine managers, maintained that labor conditions in the district were better than in any other mining district, asserted that no good reason for dissatisfaction existed, and, taking the cue of the mine managers, roundly condemned the Western Federation of Miners as a lawless organization. They called the national officers and organizers of the federation "Western agitators," and put all the blame on them for the strike.

Having no local medium for presenting the labor side of the controversy, except a socialistic daily published in the Finnish language, and some weekly papers printed in other foreign languages, the Western Federation of Miners started a paper of its own. It was called the Miners Bulletin, and it was published triweekly and distributed broadcast free. The first issue was on August 9. The editor was Guy E. Miller, of the executive board of the federation, but articles were contributed by various other leaders.

This paper represented the Michigan copper mines as the richest in the world, but with the worst labor conditions, because of low pay, long hours, and the depth of the lower levels. It roundly denounced the Waddell "gunmen," the deputy sheriffs, and the "scabs." It criticized the discipline of the troops and the conduct of the soldiers. It severely criticized Gov. Ferris for sending the troops to the district, and for not forcing arbitration on the mine managers, for not coming to the district to investigate the strike personally, and for not calling an extra session of the legislature to take measures for settling the strike.

A meeting of former employees of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co. who had been thrown out of work on account of the strike and who were not members of the federation, was held on August 7 in the Washington School Building, a public schoolhouse, built by the company and rented to the township. These nonunion employees declared that they wished to return to work, and they appointed a committee to wait on General Manager MacNaughton and inform him of their wish, but also to ask that the working time be reduced to eight hours per shift, that the minimum wage be \$3.50 for miners and \$3 per shift for trammers and timbermen, with double pay for Sunday work, and that two men or one man and a boy work on each drill.

The officials of the Calumet & Hecla Co. and of other mining companies had always asserted that they would give a hearing to employees, individually or through committees, and would consider any grievances they might present. General Manager MacNaughton received the committee of nonunion men, but refused to grant any of the requests they presented. In reply he said that they asked for more even than the federation had asked for; and furthermore said that he could not afford to make any concession at that time, because if he yielded on any point the federation would claim that it had won a victory.

For several days meetings were held in the school building, and those who attended decided, though their requests for improved conditions had been refused, to go back to work if protection were afforded them. Registration slips were provided for former Calumet & Hecla employees to sign. The heading on these slips was as follows:

CALUMET, MICH., August 8, 1913.

We, the undersigned employees, hereby petition the management of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co. to resume work at the earliest possible date and to furnish such protection while working as may be necessary.

During the following week the registration list was kept open, and by signing it hundreds of employees signified their desire to return to work without conditions, except that they should receive protection. The following paragraph is clipped from the Houghton and Calumet Daily Mining Gazette of August 9, a paper which strongly opposed the strike and the Western Federation of Miners:

It is significant that nearly all of the men signing the list are miners, timbermen, pump men, shaft men, laborers, and surface employees, and the situation seems to be narrowing down to a strike of the trammers. If necessary the other employees are willing to do tramming until trammers can be hired.

A meeting of former employees of the Quincy Mining Co. who wished to return to work was held on August 8, and they adopted the following resolutions and presented them to the management:

Resolved, That we as employees are not and have not at any time been in favor of the present strike, which was caused by outside agitators and organizers from the Western Federation of Miners, who have been working in this district to stir up discontent and who have brought about present conditions.

Resolved, That we ask the Quincy Mining Co. to be allowed to return to work at once or as soon as possible. Many good employees have been forced to join the Western Federation of Miners under various threats. The strike was started largely against their will and we believe they will continue to remain loyal employees and should be permitted to return to work. On the other hand, many men who are members of the Western Federation of Miners who have sought by threats of violence and bodily harm to our families and ourselves and damage to our property to prevent our return-

ing to work should not be allowed in the mines, as we do not care to be forced to work beside such men, who have threatened us and are liable to again stir up strife and violence.

Within a week work was resumed by several hundred men in the mines of the Calumet & Hecla Co., but a large number of these men were mine bosses, and many of them and also many who had been miners before the strike were required to do tramming. About the same time some work was resumed at the mines of the Quincy Mining Co., and a little later at the mines of the Copper Range Consolidated Co. These three companies, which are the largest in the district, were the first to resume work, but the number of men that returned to work at the Quincy and the Copper Range mines was small and continued to be small for a month or more. All men who were taken back to work were required to quit the Western Federation of Miners if they belonged to it and were required to promise to have no future connection with that organization.

About the middle of August the employees of the mining companies and the strikers were paid for the work they had done in July. The strikers were paid for three weeks' work. About September 1 the five local unions of the Western Federation of Miners began paying money to the strikers for the support of themselves and their families. Before this was done members were required to fill out an inquiry blank, showing the number of members in the family of each. The form of the blank follows:

INQUIRY BLANK.

Name.....
 Nationality.....
 Residence.....
 Married: Yes [....]. No [....].
 Wife's name.....
 Are you willing to send children away? Yes [....]. No [....]. If so, how many....
 Ledger; page

Names of children or other supported relatives.	Girl	Boy	Age.
	(woman).	(man).	
.....			
.....			
.....			
.....			
Total.....			

Remarks:.....

No children of strikers were sent away from the district up to November 1. The aid given to each member of the federation depended on the number in his family and on his financial condition. Single men who were not employed were paid \$3 a week and married men as much as \$10. The money with which strike benefits were paid came from the national treasury of the Western Federation of Miners in Denver and from various other sources. The local unions of the federation in Butte, Mont., levied an assessment of \$2 per capita per month on their 8,000 or 9,000 members. The unions of the United Mine Workers of America in Illinois, the organization of coal miners, contributed \$100,000. On September 29 the execu-

tive council of the American Federation of Labor issued an appeal to all organized labor to support the strike, and called on each local union to make an appropriation of not less than 5 cents for each of its members for the benefit of the strikers in the Michigan copper district. As the American Federation of Labor has over 2,000,000 members, this appropriation should amount to over \$100,000. The appeal of the executive council follows:

WASHINGTON, September 29, 1913.

To all organized labor:

Each new advance in human betterment leaves its furrows of pain and suffering across human hearts and lives. There is scarcely a worker in all America who does not know the meaning of a strike, during which the workers and their families have suffered and endured in order to obtain justice, or who has not felt the terrible fear for the physical safety of loved ones in the thick of the contest, or the heartbreaking pain because of inability to supply even the barest necessities of life for those dependent upon him. To you, members of organized labor, the brave struggle of the copper miners of Calumet, Mich., will appeal with greatest effect.

After exhausting all other means of securing the just demands which they made upon their employers, these miners laid aside their tools on July 23 and went out on strike. They had been working a so-called 10-hour day, which in reality was an 11-hour day, for wages that would not permit American standards of living. Miners have been forced to handle individually heavy drilling machines which had formerly been operated by two men. After considering all matters, the men decided to demand an 8-hour day, \$3 as the minimum wage, and two men to handle drilling machines, as formerly. All requests for conferences or consideration of these just demands were ignored and treated with contempt.

Despite the fact that the strike was inaugurated peacefully and has been conducted by the miners without even the slightest show of violence, seldom has there been such a display of arbitrary methods on the part of the mine operators and governmental authorities. The morning after the strike began hundreds of deputies were sworn in; the employers imported companies of Waddell-Mahon guards; finally State troops were sent to the mining district that the mine owners might be enabled to operate their mines and the voice of labor in its appeal for justice might be silenced. All of this display of force was under the pretense of protecting property (when the miners did not attack it nor contemplate attacking it); when the miners attempted to protect and promote human rights they were ridden down in the streets, clubbed, fired upon.

Though there have been the usual efforts to foment strife and to stir up violence among the strikers, yet no property has been destroyed, and the miners have remained steadfast in their determination to win their rights, and in their determination not to be forced into lawlessness.

The officials of the miners asked for an injunction restraining the appointment of additional deputies to serve the mine operators. Their request was refused. The mine operators asked for an injunction restraining the strikers from picketing, "molesting," men going to or from work and from parading in the vicinity of the mines. That order was granted.

Such are the conditions under which these copper mines are waging their fight for justice and a life somewhat better worth living. With all the forces of capital and organized society working against them, they have maintained courage, determination, and good spirit. There are 16,000 miners engaged in this struggle. A large number of miners and their families were evicted from their homes, owned by the corporations. The lives, safety, and welfare of something like 50,000 men, women, and children are bound up with its fate. The strike has now been in progress for over two months, and still the mine operators maintain stubborn resistance and unreasonable refusal to consider the demands of the men. The long, hard winter of northern Michigan is approaching, and these brave men, women, and children who are bearing the brunt of this fight for industrial justice for American workmen are in need.

Two members of our executive council, John Mitchell and John B. Lennon, have been among these strikers and presented to us unquestionable evidence of the conditions there. After consideration of the conditions, the need and importance of the issues involved, the executive council makes this appeal to all the members of organized labor for prompt and generous financial assistance to aid these needy and suffering fellow workers, their wives, and children.

We appeal in the name of all labor and common humanity that each local union at once make an appropriation from its funds of not less than 5 cents for each member,

that each central labor union select a committee to appeal to all workers and friends to contribute promptly and as generously as possible, and to use every other honorable means by which funds may be secured. The men and women and children of Calumet, Mich., must not be starved into submission. They must and they will win, if the toilers of our country will but do their duty.

Remember that the splendid solidarity of the workers of America largely aided in securing the magnificent victory of the anthracite miners a few years ago. The newspapers have suppressed nearly all reference to the Calumet miners' strike. In this appeal we hope to reach the minds, hearts, and the consciences of our fellow workers and friends and thereby secure their ready response to the call for aid.

Send all contributions to Frank Morrison, secretary American Federation of Labor, Ouray Building, Washington, D. C., who will return receipt for the same and promptly forward every dollar to the immediate aid of the struggling miners of Calumet.

Fraternally, yours,

Executive council, American Federation of Labor: Samuel Gompers, president; Frank Morrison, secretary; James Duncan, first vice president; John Mitchell, second vice president; James O'Connell, third vice president; D. A. Hayes, fourth vice president; Wm. D. Huber, fifth vice president; Jos. F. Valentine, sixth vice president; John R. Alpine, seventh vice president; H. B. Perham, eighth vice president; John B. Lennon, treasurer.

About August 20 posters were printed and distributed in quantities to labor unions in adjoining States. They were intended to be displayed in conspicuous places to call attention to the strike and to warn workmen not to come to the Michigan copper district. The form of the poster follows:

STRIKE.

Stay away from the copper mines of Michigan. Fifteen thousand miners are striking for higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions.

Don't be a scab.

Wages are low, the labor required excessive, hours long.

No real man will come to the copper district until a settlement is made.

Men hired for Michigan points are hired to scab.

Stay away.

By order of Western Federation of Miners.

On September 4 the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co. fitted up a powerful searchlight on a tall tower, and later the Quincy Mining Co. followed the example. The reason for installing these great searchlights was not apparent, as the strikers had shown no disposition to damage property.

THE MILITIA, DEPUTY SHERIFFS, AND IMPORTED GUARDS.

On the night of July 23-24, James A. Cruse, sheriff of Houghton County, telegraphed Gov. Woodbridge N. Ferris, asking that 2,000 of the State troops be sent to prevent further disorder. Following is part of the telegraphic correspondence:

HOUGHTON, MICH., July 24—2 a. m.

GOV. WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS.

Alpena, Mich.:

General strike has been called to-day in all the mines in Houghton County, backed by the Western Federation of Miners. Armed rioters have begun to destroy property and have threatened the lives of men who want to work. I am unable to handle the situation, because the territory to be covered is 28 miles long. The strike is on in 20 mines, with 15,000 men idle.

I have taken every means in my power to control the outbreak, but I am convinced that the situation will become worse and will result in great destruction of property

and possible loss of life unless I receive the aid of State troops. I will require about 2,000 men to cover the territory, and as Sheriff of Houghton County I ask that you call out troops to that number and detail them for service here at once.

JAMES A. CRUSE,
Sheriff of Houghton County.

HARRISVILLE, MICH., July 24, 1913—4.38 a. m.

JAMES A. CRUSE, Sheriff, Calumet, Mich.:

Have ordered troops sent to copper country immediately.

W. N. FERRIS, Governor.

LANSING, MICH., July 24, 1913—9 p. m.

JAMES A. CRUSE,
Sheriff of Houghton County, Calumet, Mich.:

Gov. Ferris has ordered troops to go to your county at once. Some have started; others in the morning.

E. C. AUSTON, Executive Clerk.

LANSING, MICH., July 24, 1913—11.20 p. m.

JAMES A. CRUSE,
Sheriff Houghton County, Calumet, Mich.:

Wire to-morrow morning, Friday, exact conditions of affairs in detail. Is situation as grave as first anticipated?

WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, Governor.

BAY CITY, MICH., July 25, 1913—12.33 a. m.

JAMES A. CRUSE,
Sheriff Houghton County, Calumet, Mich.

What is the situation now? Do all in your power to avoid calling troops. Will send troops if absolutely necessary. Property and life must be protected. At Bay City until noon. Arrive Alpena 5 o'clock.

WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, Governor.

LANSING, MICH., July 25, 1913—1.15 a. m.

J. A. CRUSE,
Sheriff Houghton County, Mich., Calumet.

Adjoining counties need troops; the sheriffs of respective counties must appeal to governor direct. Present calling out of troops applies only to Houghton County.

WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, Governor.

Gov. Ferris ordered the whole National Guard of Michigan to the scene of the strike in Houghton County. The various companies began to entrain on the evening of July 24 and some arrived on the morning of July 25. By July 27 all had reached their destination. The armed force consisted of 2 batteries of artillery, 2 troops of cavalry, mounted signal corps, 1 company of engineers, and 3 regiments of infantry, each with 12 companies; also 2 ambulance companies and 3 brass bands. The entire force numbered 211 officers and 2,354 enlisted men, under the command of Brig. Gen. P. L. Abbey, of Kalamazoo.

The soldiers were distributed to the various mine locations in Houghton County and encamped in tents on land belonging to the mining companies. On their arrival the rioting ceased, and there was no further disorder until some of the mine workers started to return to work. At some mines the stoppage of the pumps caused

water to accumulate in the bottoms of the shafts. The strikers, however, made no effort to damage any of the property of the mining companies at the beginning of the strike or later. At the beginning of the strike it was directed by three members of the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners who were on the ground—Guy E. Miller, J. C. Lowney, and Yanco Terzich. Vice President C. E. Mahoney arrived on July 26. The next day a protest against the presence of the troops was adopted at a meeting of the strikers, and Mahoney left for Big Rapids where he presented it to Gov. Ferris. The governor was reported to have said in an interview on July 28:

The mine operators had nothing to do with calling the militia. The order was issued after the authorities informed me they were powerless to control the situation. I believe the troops are necessary at present to protect lives and property. I will return to Lansing to-morrow, and at the present time I see no reason why I should go up to the upper peninsula.

Gov. Ferris never visited the copper country during the strike. His order for the National Guard to go to the district was in pursuance of the State military law, which provides that the governor—

may order out any portion of the militia for the service of the State to suppress riots and to aid civil officers in the execution of the laws of this State or of the United States.¹

Some companies of the National Guard were stationed in the lower end of Keweenaw County to guard the property of the two mines there, the Mohawk and the Ahmeek. All the rest were stationed at mines in Houghton County. On July 29 John Hepting, sheriff of Keweenaw County, asked Gen. Abbey, by telephone, to withdraw the troops from that county. He said that there were no disturbances in his county and that he had not requested that soldiers be sent to the county, but merely that they might be placed near the Houghton County line to be available if needed. Later on the same day, however, he signed a paper as follows:

MOHAWK, MICH., July 29, 1913.

Gen. P. L. ABBEY,
Commanding Michigan National Guard:

The conditions at Mohawk mine are such that I ask you to protect the people and property at Mohawk until the Mohawk Mining Co. is satisfied that order is restored.

JOHN HEPTING,
Sheriff of Keweenaw County.

Gen. Abbey secured written authority from J. A. Cruse, sheriff of Houghton County, to make arrests and to use such force as might be necessary to preserve order in that county. The authorization given by Sheriff Cruse was similar in form to another written authorization, which was signed by Sheriff Hepting on August 3, a copy of which follows:

MICHIGAN NATIONAL GUARD,
Calumet, Mich., August 3, 1913.

Brig. Gen. P. L. ABBEY,
Commanding Michigan National Guard,
Calumet, Mich.

SIR: The governor of the State of Michigan having at my request authorized the use of the National Guard within the confines of the County of Keweenaw for the purpose of aiding the civil authorities therein in the preservation of peace and the execution of the laws of this State, therefore I, as sheriff of said county, do authorize you as commanding officer of the military forces on such duty to station said forces

¹ Act 84 of Public Acts of 1909, as amended by act 67 and act 172 of Public Acts of 1911.

in any part or portion of my bailiwick as in your discretion seems best, and with the use of such troops to prevent any violation or violations of the laws of this State, to break up any unlawful assemblages, to prevent rioting or other unlawful acts being committed, to make arrests of persons engaged in any breach of the peace or in the commission of a felony, or aiding or abetting the same, and to use such force as may be necessary and justifiable in carrying out the authority herein given.

JOHN HEPTING,
Sheriff of Keweenaw County.

Before the strike began James A. Cruse, sheriff of Houghton County, had sworn in about 430 deputy sheriffs, at the request of the mining companies, nearly all of them employees of the companies. Some of these had been deputized months before the strike began. After the strike began he increased the number of deputies until November 1, when they numbered about 1,700. Many of this additional force were employees of the companies, but some were men who were not so engaged. In a telegram to Sheriff Cruse, Gov. Ferris warned him that he must observe the statute regarding the appointment of deputy sheriffs. A copy of the telegram follows:

LANSING, MICH., August 7, 1913--10.15 a. m.

JAMES A. CRUSE,
Sheriff Houghton County, Calumet, Mich.:

In appointing deputies observe section 2596, Compiled Laws 1897, which says "The people of the State of Michigan enact, that hereafter no sheriff in this State shall appoint any undersheriff or deputy sheriff, except the person to be so appointed shall have been a bona fide resident of the county in which the appointment is made for three months next preceding the time of appointment."

WOODBIDGE N. FERRIS,
Governor of Michigan.

The deputy sheriffs appointed by the sheriff were given authority to carry arms, under section 3, act 274, Public Acts of 1911, which provides that the prosecuting attorney and the sheriff of a county shall have power to grant licenses for carrying arms. This section is as follows:

SEC. 3. The prosecuting attorney and sheriff, in counties in which no regularly organized police force exists, and in counties where one or more regularly organized police forces exist, the prosecuting attorney, sheriff, and chief of police of the city within which such license is sought shall constitute a board, whose duty it shall be and who shall have power to grant licenses to carry a revolver, pistol, or pocket billy, and the said board shall meet on the first Monday in each month at the county seat for the purpose of hearing applications to carry a revolver, pistol, or pocket billy. A majority of said board shall constitute a quorum.

The employees of the mining companies that were sworn in as deputy sheriffs were permitted to carry arms under section 4, act 274, Public Acts of 1911, which provides that upon payment of \$10 by such a company any of its employees, the number not being restricted, may obtain a general license for them to bear arms. This section, which is called a "blanket license" act, follows:

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of said board to issue licenses to go armed with a revolver, pistol, or pocket billy to all peace officers and such other persons who in the judgment of said board should be permitted to go so armed: *Provided*, That upon the payment to said board of the sum of ten dollars, mining companies, banks, trust companies, railroad and express companies may obtain a general license good for any of their employees actually engaged in guarding any property or the transportation of moneys or other valuables. Licenses issued to peace officers or to employees of railroad and express companies shall permit such persons to go armed anywhere within the State while in the discharge of their duties.

Following is a copy of a letter from the governor to the sheriff:

STATE OF MICHIGAN, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Lansing, August 9, 1913.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of August 4 came to Big Rapids and was read to me over the phone, so that I received it while I was at the executive office. I also received your telegram with reference to appointing deputies. No doubt Gen. Abbey has told you that his plan is to withdraw the troops gradually, but solely with reference to the safety and welfare of the citizens of the strike region.

There is no occasion for my writing a long letter.

Very sincerely, yours,

WOODBIDGE N. FERRIS, Governor.

JAMES A. CRUSE,
Sheriff Houghton County, Houghton, Mich.

The strike that began on July 23 had been talked of as a probability for six months, and for a month before that date it had been very confidently expected. Two weeks before that date James A. Waddell, president of the Waddell-Mahon Corporation, of New York, arrived in Houghton County for the purpose of making a contract with the county board of supervisors or with the mine managers to furnish guards. The board of supervisors is composed of 18 men, one selected by each of the townships in the county and one from each of the four wards of Hancock City. This board is completely dominated by the mine managers. A number of its members are mine managers, and nearly all of the others are connected directly or indirectly in business relations with the mining companies.

James McNaughton, general manager of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co., the largest mining company, is one of the 18 supervisors, and he is credited with being the controlling spirit in the board of supervisors, and also among the mine managers. At first he was opposed to employing men as guards from Waddell, because he felt that the strike would last but a short time and that the men who wished to continue at work and the property of the mining companies could be protected by the local deputies, who were mostly employees of the companies. After the riots of the first two days of the strike, however, the board of supervisors decided that the force of local deputy sheriffs was inadequate to preserve order, and the board authorized Sheriff James A. Cruse to employ Waddell men. Men in Waddell's employ left New York on July 25, reached Houghton County two days later, and were distributed to various mine locations in the county. The number of Waddell men employed by the county was 52. The Waddell men were appointed under section 2590 of the Compiled Laws of 1897, which is as follows:

(2590) SEC. 81. Any sheriff, deputy sheriff, coroner, or constable may require suitable aid in the service of process in civil or criminal cases, in preserving the peace, or in apprehending or securing any person for felony or breach of the peace, when such officer may have power to perform such duty; and when any such officer shall find resistance made against the execution of any process, or shall have good reason to believe that such resistance will be made, he may take the power of the county, and proceed therewith in proper person to execute such process.

Following is a copy of a letter from the sheriff to the governor:

HOUGHTON, MICH., August 10, 1913.

HON. WOODBIDGE N. FERRIS, Governor,
Lansing, Mich.

SIR: As sheriff of the county of Houghton, I wish to lay before you to the best of my knowledge the present situation with regard to the pending strike called by the

Western Federation of Miners and involving a portion of the employees of the various mining companies of this county.

At the beginning of the strike, which occurred simultaneously at the several mines and covered a district about 28 miles long, I found myself without sufficient force to cope with or effectively resist the disorder and violence which accompanied it. My deputies were attacked. The authority of my office was ignored. It was not until the arrival of the Michigan National Guard that order was restored, and I believe that it is the presence of an adequate force alone which results in its continuance at the present time. I believe upon information coming from various sources to my office that without an adequate force for the maintenance of the public peace violence to person and property will at once ensue; that the people inclined to violence are lying low for that chance. It is also my belief, based on similar information, that if the public peace is maintained and lawlessness and disorder effectively restrained for a while longer the strike will soon end by the voluntary returning to work on the part of the employees, a large part of whom have already expressed their wish to go to work. With the return of confidence the number expressing this feeling is increasing daily, and I am informed that there is a growing sentiment among the strikers themselves to the same effect. Anything to destroy the confidence of the community in the preservation of order and the protection of life and property will, in my judgment, seriously prolong the present situation.

The above is the situation as it is viewed by myself from all the information available to me and from my personal observation. I now desire to state to you fully and frankly just the position I am in with reference to maintaining order and protecting life and property through the authority and forces at my command as sheriff of this county.

This has been a peaceable community and there has never been any organized force available for official action. The force directly attached to my office has consisted of the few deputies necessary for the ordinary serving of process. I have at present, under recent appointment throughout the county, about 600 deputies, but they are, as to nearly the whole number, local men at the several mining properties, employees of the mining companies, who have been deputized to give them the authority of officers, but who act merely as watchmen and caretakers of the property. If any disorder should occur, I could not depend on any sufficient number to respond to a call from my office for the suppression of violence or riot.

I have found it impossible so far to obtain men in whose efficiency I could have confidence who could be organized into a regular force; and while it is my strongest wish to be able through my office to control any disorder or attempts at disorder that may arise, I feel that the gravity of the situation and the extent of territory to be covered make it impossible for me to meet the situation with any force upon which I could depend.

I have employed, through the Waddell Agency, 52 men from outside the State. These men are not deputized, and under the law I can not confer upon them the authority of deputy sheriffs; but I am using them as aids and for the purpose of organizing and instructing deputy sheriffs, and as watchmen in the guarding of property. This I felt justified in doing because of the impossibility of finding men for the purpose locally.

Should it happen that I must handle the situation alone while the possibility of violence and destruction of property continues, I can see no way of meeting the situation except to employ, on behalf of the county, a body of men from outside to act as my aids in the suppression of riot, if necessary, and in the protection of life and property. I should be very unwilling to do anything of this kind, and it would be only as a last resort in carrying out my sworn duty in the maintenance of the public peace. Of course, with the aid of the Michigan National Guard, no such step will be necessary.

I feel that a reduction in the number of the troops which I am told is about to take place, is reasonable, but I also feel that the removal of the entire force is not now justified and would be followed by a situation of great danger to this community.

I have been and am doing my best to find among residents of the county reliable men whom I can appoint as deputies. I hope to have a number who can guard endangered property as the number of the troops is reduced, but to obtain a sufficient organized force for the suppression of riot, or the enforcement of law and order in the existing situation, is beyond my power. An insufficient or an unorganized or undisciplined force of deputies would, in my judgment, be not only useless but would be a menace.

My sole and only wish is to do my sworn duty in the preservation of the public peace, the enforcement of law, and the protection of life and property. I have tried to make clear to you that with my best efforts I do not feel that I can control the situa-

tion with reference to the peace and order of the county with any local force which I may be able to get together. I do not feel that I can maintain order, or give proper legal protection to life and property without the assistance for a time of the Michigan National Guard. If I should have to maintain order without that assistance while present conditions continue I should fear an immediate renewal of violence, which would force upon me the employment of outside armed assistance. For the good name of the State this should be avoided. The community has thus far depended solely upon the public authorities of the State and county for protection of property and the restraining of intimidation and violence. Their growing confidence in that protection should be preserved.

Yours, respectfully,

JAMES A. CRUSE,
Sheriff of Houghton County.

Following is a summary of an interview with James MacNaughton, published in the Detroit Free Press, which appeared in the Hancock Evening Copper Journal of August 11:

According to an interview published in the Detroit Free Press, James MacNaughton, general manager of the Calumet & Hecla, declared he would just as soon have "Lefty Louie" or "Gyp the Blood" in his employ as a peace officer as James Waddell, the strike breaker imported from New York.

He furthermore declared that the Calumet & Hecla had not been concerned in the engagement of Waddell; that none of its officers knew Waddell was engaged until after he had arrived; that Waddell had obtained an audience with him under false pretences and that Waddell had been shown the door the moment his identity was revealed.

Furthermore, MacNaughton stated that not one cent of Calumet & Hecla money would go to Waddell and that none of Waddell's men would be permitted to act as guards on Calumet & Hecla property.

Mr. MacNaughton, in making the statement, declared that he did not hold one of the company's striking employees responsible for the strike.

"We have Croats, Austrians, Hungarians, Italians from northern Italy, Poles, and other nationalities working for us, and they are industrious, loyal men; but they do not know our language or our customs, our laws, nor our ideals. They have been influenced by Western Federation of Miners' organizers and hired men who have been here in some cases for years. Constant dropping will wear a stone.

"We challenge inspection of pay rolls, housing conditions, and our treatment of men in every particular. But our men, told day after day that they were being mistreated, underpaid, or otherwise oppressed, finally were persuaded. We hold nothing against them, understand just exactly how they were induced to strike. They are coming back, because they are learning what the union is not doing for them.

"We will not even evict a single tenant, striker or otherwise, for nonpayment of rent. The men now idle are not paying their \$1 per family per month for medical, surgical, and hospital attendance, which is continued for all miners and their families, irrespective of their union affiliations, whether strikers or not. We do this because we know that our men have been misled."

When the Waddell men had first been brought into the district the sheriff and prosecuting attorney of Houghton County had issued authority for them to carry arms under section 3, act 274, Public Acts of 1911, which is quoted on a previous page. After the shooting at Painesdale on August 15, in which one striker was killed and four wounded, one of them fatally, by four Waddell men and two deputy sheriffs, Prosecuting Attorney Anthony Lucas served notice on Sheriff James A. Cruse that he withdraw his consent for any of the Waddell men to carry weapons, but as the board for authorizing the carrying of weapons is composed of only two, and as Sheriff Cruse did not withdraw his consent, the Waddell men continued to carry arms while they remained in the county.

The seven members of the executive board of District Union No. 16 of the Western Federation of Miners petitioned the State circuit court for an injunction to restrain James A. Cruse, sheriff of Houghton County, from continuing Waddell-Mahon men in his employ in the

service of process in civil or criminal cases, in preserving the peace, or in apprehending or securing any person for felony or breach of the peace. The petition stated that at all times the sheriff could have secured the services of suitable men who were residents of the county to serve as deputies, as required by law; that Waddell-Mahon men had deliberately and intentionally sought to pick quarrels with peaceful and law-abiding citizens; and that these men had been brought into Houghton County not for the purpose of preserving peace and protecting the lives and property of citizens, but to harass the strikers and to break up the strike. The petition further declared that not a single shot had been fired by a striker since the strike began; that two of the strikers had been shot in their legs; and that the Waddell-Mahon men had shot into a house at Painesdale in which there were 15 persons, resulting in the death of two and the wounding of two others. The statements in the petition were supported by affidavits signed by a number of the strikers. E. F. Le Gendre, an attorney, filed an affidavit that James A. Waddell was virtually in charge of the sheriff's office; that he made that office his headquarters; and that he dictated everything the sheriff did with regard to making arrests of strikers and serving processes on them. An affidavit was filed from a justice of the peace which showed that a warrant which was returned by a Waddell-Mahon man had to be served a second time by a duly authorized deputy sheriff. The petition in part follows:

SEC. 7. That in addition to this force (militia), which was under the control of the sheriff and with which, without doubt, it was in the power and ability of the said sheriff to serve the process issued by the courts of the county, to maintain peace and preserve order therein, and to protect [prevent] the destruction of property therein, and to enforce protection to the citizens of the county, your orator alleges that, in violation of the law, the said sheriff brought into the county of Houghton numerous so-called strong-arm men who were in the employ of the so-called Waddell-Mahon corporation in large numbers, as your orator is informed and believes, and therefore charges the truth to be in excess of 200; that your orator can not say definitely how many there are of such men in said county, but alleges that on, to-wit: Tuesday, the 12th day of August, A. D. 1913, the board of supervisors of the county of Houghton allowed to the Waddell-Mahon corporation the sum of \$6,621, which your orator is informed and believes represents and paid for the transportation of said Waddell-Mahon men from the city of New York to Houghton County, with their salaries or compensation for the eight days immediately preceding the 1st day of August, A. D. 1913, and that in addition thereto the sum of \$803 was allowed by said board of supervisors for the board and lodging of said Waddell-Mahon men.

SEC. 8. Your orator alleges, upon information and belief, and charges the truth to be, that a number if not all of the men of the so-called Waddell-Mahon men employed by said sheriff were made and are now acting as deputy sheriffs of Houghton County under appointment by said Sheriff James A. Cruse in violation of the statute in such case made and provided.

SEC. 9. That the employees of said Waddell-Mahon corporation have been used by said sheriff for the service of process and in the transportation of prisoners to and from the jail and in acting as court officers and in making arrests and in transporting prisoners from the place of arrest to the county jail; that said Waddell-Mahon men are tall, large, and muscular men of the prize fighter variety; that since they have been in the said county of Houghton said Waddell-Mahon men have deliberately tried to incite the citizens of said Houghton County to riot and disturbance; they have deliberately and intentionally tried to break up and molest the peaceful parades of the striking employees of the said county of Houghton while walking along the public highways of said county; that these Waddell-Mahon men have been in practical control of the sheriff's office of said county of Houghton and directing the execution and enforcement of the laws in said county of Houghton; that in transporting men arrested in said county of Houghton to the county jail the said Waddell-Mahon men have beaten their prisoners while in automobiles; and that while in the county jail of said county of Houghton prisoners arrested in connection with said strike have been unmercifully and cruelly beaten by the said Waddell-Mahon men, all while

the said prisoners were not obstructing or resisting arrest and while they were behaving as prisoners; that under the direction of, if not by the direct authority of, the said sheriff the said Waddell-Mahon men have made numerous arrests in said county of Houghton of men on strike without any cause therefor, and without any evidence of any offense having been committed by said prisoners; that on many examinations conducted after the arrest of said prisoners it was found that not a scintilla of evidence was produced or was in the possession of the said sheriff of said Houghton County or said Waddell-Mahon men in any way connecting said prisoners with the violation of any law or the commission of any offense; that many of said strikers have been arrested for the alleged commission of misdemeanors not in the presence of the said sheriff or any of his duly authorized deputies, without warrant, contrary to the laws of the State of Michigan.

A. A. Kerr, attorney for the Western Federation of Miners, quoted section 2590 of the Compiled Laws of 1897, providing that—

Any sheriff, deputy sheriff, coroner, or constable may require suitable aid in the service of process in civil or criminal cases, in preserving the peace, etc.

He claimed that the Waddell-Mahon men were virtually acting as deputy sheriffs, and that this was a violation of section 2596 of the Compiled Laws of 1897, which provides that no person shall be appointed deputy sheriff—

except the person to be so appointed shall have been a bona fide resident of the county in which the appointment is made for three months next preceding the time of appointment.

Attorney Kerr claimed that the sheriff had gone beyond his authority in calling to his aid persons whom the legislature never intended should be employed as peace officers. He further claimed that the records of the Waddell-Mahon men showed that they were not "suitable aid" for the sheriff.

Charles S. Watson, counsel for the sheriff and the Waddell-Mahon Corporation, claimed that there were allegations in the petition which were not supported by affidavits. He also argued that the use of the word "suitable" in the statute referred not to the moral caliber of the men but to their number. He insisted that the sheriff had a perfect right to appoint persons as aids who came from other States.

This petition for an injunction was decided by Judge P. H. O'Brien on August 23. He decided that under the law persons from outside the State could not be appointed deputy sheriffs, but that such persons could be appointed as "aids." His decision in part follows:

I have come to the conclusion (it may be a little premature) I have no power to grant this injunction. I would have had the authority to prevent the appointment of these men as deputy sheriffs, but it appears they are merely training deputy sheriffs.

The court has no right to pass on the suitability of the officers, but I am inclined to believe that when a deputy goes beyond his power of duties the court can restrain him. I have no doubt that if men in the guise of police officers are stirring up riot and trouble, and that it is probable that these conditions will continue, the court has a right to enjoin them, even if they were legally appointed. The sheriff under present conditions has broad power, but men appointed by him should be the ones to keep the peace, and not to stir up trouble.

I shall expect the sheriff to keep his deputies and others in his employ within the bounds of their duties. They must not break up peaceful parades. The sheriff must assist neither the mining companies nor the strikers. This is a time for discretion, both on the part of the sheriff and the parties involved in the dispute. I understand the difficulties the sheriff has labored under, and I have confidence in his good faith. But no one in his office can be employed to break a strike. As long as we have no arbitration court in which to settle labor disputes, all the officers of the law can do is to preserve life and property. I regard it as a disgrace to civilization that no forum has been created for the settlement of these disputes, but as long as no such forum exists we, as officers of the law, must keep our hands off. I don't see, without

passing on this bill, how I can interfere with the sheriff. The law provides a remedy when the sheriff exceeds his duty, and in this court it will be a real substantial remedy. It ought to be the effort of both parties to this controversy to get together. We ought to have more Christianity.

There is absolutely no precedent in the courts of this or any other county for such action as is being brought here. As far as I know no such suit has been brought before. If after more careful study I find the order should be issued, it will be issued. I may hand down a final ruling and opinion within the coming week.

The intimation by Judge O'Brien that if evidence were brought to him that the Waddell-Mahon men thereafter stirred up strife and trouble he would enjoin them, even though they had been legally appointed as aids, served as a restraint on these men, and they did not serve processes, and for some time were more careful not to incite persons to violence.

The Waddell men remained in the district for months, and the county paid to Waddell \$5 a day for each of them, and also paid their traveling expenses and their hotel bills at places in the county where they were stationed. Receiving \$5 a day each for the men, Waddell paid them \$3 a day, making \$2 a day on each man.

Two of the mining companies employed men from Waddell and themselves paid for these men. In September Waddell was furnishing to the county 52 men, and he furnished to the Copper Range Consolidated Co. 32 men and to the Quincy Mining Co. 28 men—a total of 112 in the district. The Calumet & Hecla Mining Co. also employed some Pinkerton men especially as a bodyguard for its general manager and other officers.

The strikers were much more incensed at the bringing of Waddell men to the district than they were at the governor for sending soldiers to the district. They called the Waddell men "gunmen" and denounced them as "thugs." They made a vain appeal to the governor to have the Waddell men withdrawn on the ground that these men were desperate characters, and that to bring men from a distant State to act as "aids" to the sheriff was a violation of the law which provides that deputy sheriffs should not be appointed unless they had been bona fide residents of the county for three months. The strikers were much more enraged by the employment of these Waddell men than by any other circumstance that occurred during the whole strike.

At a meeting of the board of supervisors of Houghton County on August 12, bills were approved which aggregated \$9,507, and which amount was incurred in preserving order during the strike from the time it began on July 23, to the end of that month. Of this amount the Waddell-Mahon Corporation of New York received \$7,606.38 in settlement of the salaries of men furnished by that corporation and in payment of their traveling expenses and hotel bills; \$630.50 had been paid for deputy sheriffs and \$1,270.12 spent for automobile hire. The supervisors at this meeting adopted resolutions which highly commended Sheriff James A. Cruse for his action in bringing to the county men from New York to protect life and property during the strike. Only one of the supervisors opposed the adoption of these resolutions. The sheriff was authorized to proceed as before and to secure and arm such additional deputies as he might consider necessary for the purpose of preserving order.

At a meeting of the board of supervisors on September 9, bills for August were allowed and ordered paid. These included \$10,344.83

for services by Waddell-Mahon men; \$4,208.75 for wages of special deputy sheriffs; \$1,504.23 for board of deputies; \$27.63 for transportation of deputies; \$1,656 for automobile hire for the sheriff and deputies; and \$1,304.33 for revolvers and ammunition, a total of \$19,045.77. The following item is copied from the published proceedings of the board:

The following amendment was offered by Supervisor Rourke: Moved that all bills be allowed and ordered paid with the exception of the bills of the Waddell-Mahon Corporation and all bills accruing from their employees in Houghton County. There being no support to the said amendment, the motion was declared of no avail.

The following was published in the local columns of the Houghton and Calumet Daily Mining Gazette for September 29:

Sheriff Cruse, who returned Friday noon from a conference with Gov. Ferris at Lansing and thereafter was so busy he could not be seen, said yesterday that the conference was an informal affair and resulted in no official action of any sort.

The governor asked for the conference because he thought Sheriff Cruse could tell him best how the chances are for getting the remaining troops out of the county. That the chances are not good is evident from the fact that the mounted patrols, the only guardsmen remaining are prepared for an indefinite stay.

The sheriff says he enjoyed the conference greatly, that he returns with a high opinion of the governor's judgment and of the governor personally.

Some of the lower State papers said that the conference resulted in the governor's requesting the removal of the Waddell-Mahon men. The sheriff denies this.

The sheriff says that there is much feeling in lower Michigan over the cost of bringing the troops to the copper country, though that some people who look into the situation calmly consider it was a good investment as it cost little more than twice as much as one State encampment and gave the men as much experience as half a dozen such mobilizations.

The board of supervisors of Keweenaw County did not authorize the employment of Waddell men. On September 1, Sheriff Hepting told Maj. A. H. Gansser, commanding a regiment of militia at the Mohawk and Ahmeek mines, that he would not appoint Waddell men even if he should be ordered by the supervisors to do so. No Waddell men were employed in Ontonagon County.

A circular, issued by the Waddell-Mahon Corporation, "an organization that specializes in labor disputes," and sent to corporations throughout the country that have large numbers of employees, says:

As an evidence of our ability as strike breakers, we invite your attention to the labor difficulties now ensuing along the copper range of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan between the Calumet & Hecla Copper Co., the Commonwealth Copper Co., the Quincy Copper Co., et al., and the Western Federation of Miners. In amount of capital and number of men involved this strike is the most important of the present year. We point with pardonable pride to the fact that this corporation has been selected by Sheriff James A. Cruse, of Houghton County—the storm center of the strike—to aid him in maintaining the integrity of the law. We are now engaged in "policing" the 1,019 square miles of territory contained in Houghton County. We are safeguarding the property of the mine owners against intrusion and violence. We are also protecting the lives and the homes of the 80,098 men, women, and children of Houghton County against overt acts. The Western Federation of Miners is doomed to inevitable disaster and defeat in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. We make this prediction at this time, and if you will follow the story of the strike as it appears in the daily newspapers, and particularly in the Boston News Bureau, the well-known financial organ, which has a special correspondent on the ground, you will see that our prediction will be fulfilled daily. We are sure of defeating the Western Federation of Miners in this operation because we have met and defeated them before. Last year, when the agitators of this union sought to paralyze the copper industry of Nevada and Utah, we were retained by the Utah Copper Co. and the Nevada Consolidated Copper Co., and broke the great strikes at Bingham Canyon, Utah, and at Ely and McGill, Nev. We ask you to watch the progress of the present strike, because we know it will be a triumph for law and order, a triumph for the mine owners, and will

furnish still another evidence of the success we have always met with in breaking strikes. We ask you to judge us by results.

On September 29, guards employed through the Ascher Detective Agency of New York began to arrive in the district. About 30 arrived on that day, 30 on September 30, and 60 on October 1. They were distributed to the mines of companies subsidiary to the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co. in the upper part of Houghton County.

INJUNCTIONS AGAINST PICKETING.

On September 20 Judge P. H. O'Brien, of the State circuit court, issued an injunction restraining the Western Federation of Miners, their officers, many of their members who were named, and "each and every person affiliated with the said Western Federation of Miners as a member thereof," from committing various acts complained of in the bill of complaint filed by the mining companies. The injunction said the bill stated, among other things, that the defendants "are combining and confederating with others to injure said complainants touching the matters set forth in said bill," and that their "actions and doings in the premises are contrary to law, equity, and good conscience." The injunction commanded the defendants, "their aiders, abettors, agents, counsellors, and all others" acting with them to desist and refrain—

From in any manner interfering with, molesting, or disturbing any person or persons now in the employ of said complainants above mentioned or any of them, and from in any manner interfering with, molesting, or disturbing any person or persons who may desire to enter the employment of the said complainants, or any of them, by way of threats, personal violence, intimidation, or by any means whatsoever, calculated or intended to prevent, against their will, such persons or any of them from entering or continuing in the employment of said complainants or any of them, or calculated or intended to induce, against their will, any employees of said complainants, or any of them, to leave the employment of said complainants, or any of them, or to desist or refrain from working for said complainants, or any of them, either temporarily or permanently.

From "picketing" in or about or in the vicinity of the mines, works, properties, or premises or any thereof of the said complainants or any of them, or on or near the highways or ways used by the employees of said complainants or any of them, in passing to or from their work, or at or near or in the locality of the homes or residences of the said employees or any of them.

From in any manner interfering with the free access of the employees of said complainants or any of them from their homes to the premises of said complainants or any of them, and the free return of said employees to their homes.

From gathering and parading in large numbers or in any numbers at or in the vicinity of the premises of said complainants or any of them, or on the highways or other ways along and over which the employees of said complainants or any of them pass to or from their work or about or in the vicinity of the localities of the homes or residences of the said employees or any of them, during the morning or evening hours when the employees of said complainants or any of them, are going to or returning from their work.

From impeding, obstructing, molesting, or disturbing the employees of the said complainants or any of them by threats, violence, insults, gatherings, parades, or any form of intimidation whatsoever, or by any acts of any kind calculated or intended as or for intimidation of the said employees or any of them.

From doing any other act or thing whatsoever in furtherance of any combination or conspiracy to cause the employees of complainants or any of them, or any other person, against their will, to desist or refrain from working in the employment of the said complainants or any of them.

All of which we strictly command you to observe until the further order of this court in the premises.

Judge O'Brien was severely criticised in the Miners' Bulletin and by members of the Western Federation of Miners for issuing this

injunction. The order that was most criticised was that forbidding picketing even when no force was used, and this order, it was claimed, was contrary to judicial decisions elsewhere which permitted peaceful picketing during strikes. The injunction, however, was obeyed by the strikers, and they discontinued picketing parades until September 29, when on application of the defendants Judge O'Brien dissolved the injunction. Thereafter there were early morning picketing parades in various locations throughout the district.

On October 8, on application of the mining companies, the State supreme court reinstated and continued in force the injunction which Judge O'Brien had issued on September 20 and had dissolved on September 29. The supreme court order modified Judge O'Brien's injunction to the extent that peaceful meetings and parading were not prohibited. On the same date the supreme court issued an order to Judge O'Brien to attend a hearing on November 4 to show cause why a mandamus overruling his writ dissolving the injunction should not be issued against him. This order of the supreme court was secured by Allen F. Rees, attorney for the Calumet & Hecla and subsidiary companies, and acting attorney for the other companies.

On October 23 Judge P. H. O'Brien issued an order to the deputy sheriff, undersheriff, and all deputy sheriffs of Houghton County. The order said that it had been made to appear to the court that the order of the supreme court, dated October 8, had been "openly disregarded and ignored" by the defendants, the Western Federation of Miners or members thereof; that except in a few instances the names of the persons who had violated the order could not be identified or their names learned, and that it had been made to appear to the court that further violations of the supreme court's order might be committed by persons unknown and unidentified. Judge O'Brien continued:

Therefore, you, the said sheriff of the said county of Houghton, the undersheriff of said county, and all deputy sheriffs of the said county of Houghton, are hereby directed and commanded that, with such power and assistance as may be necessary to use, you, and each of you, do enforce the said writ of injunction and order of the court in the premises, by preventing violations of the said writ of injunction and of each and every provision thereof, and further that you, the said sheriff, undersheriff, and deputies, and all such assistants as may be deemed necessary by you, to that end, do attach the bodies of the defendants, members of the said Western Federation of Miners, or others enjoined and restrained by the said writ of injunction according to the terms and provisions thereof, who may be found by you, or any of you, and in the view of you, or any of you, in acts of violation of the said writ of injunction, and forthwith, or as soon thereafter as may be, to bring the persons whose bodies are so attached, before the said court to answer for such misconduct.

And you are further directed and commanded that in the event that such persons whose bodies may be attached by virtue of this order, cannot, for any reason, be brought forthwith before said court, that each of such persons whose bodies may be so attached, be let to bail by the said sheriff in the sum of \$200, conditioned for his appearance before the said court upon the first day upon which said court shall thereafter be in session.

Under a blanket writ issued by Judge O'Brien at midnight October 23 the militia and deputy sheriffs arrested 141 men at Allouez mine and 68 at the Mohawk mine, on the charge of violating the order of the supreme court. The men were brought on street cars to Houghton and a hearing was set for the afternoon of the day of their arrest, October 24. A. A. Kerr, attorney for the Western Federation of Miners, objected to the proceedings, and moved that the men