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The Southern Colorado Coal Strike of 1927-1928 and New Mexico's Preventive Measures

Charles J. Bayard

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MASTER OF ARTS

Charles J. Bayard

By

Charles J. Bayard

May 23-1949



A Thesis

In partial fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in History

Frank D. Keene

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Mario S. Vargas

The University of New Mexico

1949



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CHAPTER I

ON STAGE FOR BATTLE

During the latter part of 1927 and the early part of 1928 Colorado had the difficult problem of a paralyzing strike in its coal mining areas. The actual causes of the walkouts and picketing, which occurred off and on from August until late February, were numerous. As is only natural, both sides made charges, counter-charges, and refutations. The main reason for a strike at that time can be blamed on the presence and virility of the Industrial Workers of the World. A former Prime Minister of England, J. Ramsay Macdonald, stated the cause of its presence in our country to be as follows:

In America, the Syndicalist has received more encouragement. The corrupt state of American politics, the power of the machine, the electoral difficulties presented by a mixed population speaking in many tongues and brought up under very diverse civil conditions, have hampered the growth of a political Labour and Socialist movement, and have encouraged the activities of the Syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World.¹

The existence of the I. W. W. should have demonstrated to some people, rather forcefully, that there must have been something wrong with the policy of firmness followed by the state. Forrest Bailey, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, which lent its support to reform movements, said that Colorado had "the

¹ J. Ramsay Macdonald, Syndicalism, A Critical Examination, (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., n.d.), p. 35.

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severest strictures on civil liberties"² of any of the forty-eight states. It was charged that the State did not allow the United Mine Workers and other more respectable bodies to take direct action to improve the conditions of the miners.³ The U. M. W. were restricted to merely organizing and gaining recognition. There was little the local union could do as they had no powers of their own and had to rely on the central headquarters for all directives.⁴ In fact this union was so ineffectual that "in the coal fields of Colorado at the time. . .no company recognized labor's right to bargain collectively through the mechanism of the trade union."⁵ Consequently, labor took the alternative of following the I. W. W. to gain its demands.

The I. W. W. which called on all of the workers in the coal fields to support its banner, was indeed a reformist labor body. According to its philosophy, the workers have no money to effect the desired benefits, and since capital will seldom, if ever, help anyone but itself, labor must resort to fear in order to better its position. Since legislatures can do little but cater to the demands of the rich for protection, so the I. W. W. argues, when these labor leaders force a battle, the lawmakers must step in to maintain the

² New York Times, Nov. 13, 1927, p. 20:2.

³ "Blood-spilling in Colorado," Literary Digest, Dec. 3, 1927, p. 6.

⁴ Mary Van Kleeck, Miners and Management, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1934), p. 50.

⁵ Ibid., p. 41.

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² New York Times, Nov. 12, 1937, p. 23:1.
³ "Abolitionism in Colorado," Literary Digest, Dec. 9, 1937, p. 4.
⁴ Mary Van Kleeck, Slavery and Abolitionism, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1924, p. 101.
⁵ Id., p. 11.

peace and welfare for the majority of the population. Yet the temporary changes effected through fear and the arousal of the legislatures, are not the ultimate aims of the I. W. W. and their followers.⁶ They want, and promise to the less fortunate, to take over all property and re-divide it amongst the working classes; they try to show that the worker has nothing in common with his employer; and they demand a unity of action to such an extent that even those who are not members of their organization must abide by their decision and carry out their will, for what affect one, affects all. To them each individual is an important entity and all will share equally. Government, either by a bureaucracy or a professional body of politicians, will not serve their purpose for the one or the other is merely a change of master. The term socialism cannot be used to classify this group for the socialist uses political as well as unified action. The syndicalist says that all life will center about the industrial trade union while the socialist says that the community will own and operate all business.⁷ In reality, the syndicalist, or I. W. W., is a rebel from the

⁶ The followers and members of the I. W. W. might not be in full accord with its philosophy and merely use its forceful leadership as a means to an end. This was the case in the Colorado Strike when the membership boomed temporarily and then subsided as did the effectiveness of the professional strike leaders in that organization.

⁷ James Boyle, Minimum Wage and Syndicalism, (Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Co., 1913), p. 99.

socialist.⁸ This more recent philosophy appeals to the quasi-anarchist who revolts from the discipline of the internally well organized trade unions which fail to accomplish the full desires and necessities of the members. No group "uses the work 'organization' oftener or practices it less"⁹ than the Syndicalist. It appeals to a fourth estate or the lowest stratum in labor's ranks. It is their desire to "eliminate politics, band together. . .with power decentralized. . .and dream of the cooperative commonwealth."¹⁰ Legislation is no cure for their wants. Their members, largely immigrants, have few votes and it is the property owner who rules the lawmakers.¹¹ As a result direct action is the only alternative.

The Syndicalists hope that each strike will be the straw that breaks the camel's back or that it will start a final battle between the property owner and those who have no property. Each strike is to be a step toward the finish of capitalism and the only way to gain anything from their arch enemy. Long strikes are not good. The syndicalist's rule is to strike hard, fast, and with deadliness. The strike is the least offensive method of direct action. Sabotage in all of its glory is also a possibility.

⁸ Macdonald, op. cit., p. 5.

⁹ John Graham Brooks, American Syndicalism: The I. W. W. (New York: Macmillan, 1913), p. 252.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 61.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 128.

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8
 Macdonald, op. cit., p. 8.

9
 John G. Thompson, American Syndicalism; The I. W. O.
 (New York: Macmillan, 1912), p. 122.

10
 Ibid., p. 81.
 11
 Ibid., p. 122.

The I. W. W. has to shock the people into noticing them so that they can be heard. Too much deafness, apathy, and indifference confronts their cause. They also uphold anti-policeism, anti-patriotism, anti-militarism, and "pearl" strikes.¹² When the end of their road is reached they claim that all of the world will bless them hearty for their actions.

The Colorado strike was urged by organizers who harangued the workers and appeared as messiahs. The professional leaders went to Colorado and to New Mexico from various parts of the United States, Canada, and even from Australia. These speakers were not ignorant as charged, for some held college degree and were well trained in the I. W. W. school in Duluth, Minnesota, for their duties, which were performed in many areas. How could the poor and uneducated miners resist these often practice appeals of the agitator? It was suggested that the possible cause for the troubles was in the fact that so many of the workers were foreign born and were more susceptible to the trained speakers.¹³ This

¹² A pearl strike is one in which the workers remain on the job and purposely do their work incorrectly. Charles Watney and J. A. Little, Industrial Warfare (New York: Dutton, 1913), Pp. 28-34.

¹³ Paul Seidler, official of the I. W. W., said that the membership percentages of this group were as follows:

Mexican	47%
Slav and Lett	25%
American	13%
Mixed	17%

Trinidad Chronicle News, Oct. 19, 1927, p. 1:1.

was proven by the fact that the speeches made at mass meetings were given in several languages.

The I. W. W. agitators offered these workers golden dreams of a division of the wealth and a world without the fear of the employer. The miners' checkweighmen would no longer be told to have their weights come out light so that the companies could obtain their coal at no cost as had been practiced in the past years. Supplies would be ready and waiting for the miners instead of the miners ready and waiting for the supplies which had caused the miners to not be able to use their working day to its utmost. They would no longer be restricted to company unions which did not allow for any difference of opinion with the hierarchy. And there would be an equality in responsibility between employer and employee.

The more tangible motives advanced by the I. W. W. leaders for their activities were based on the Jacksonville wage scale as well as on an improvement of working conditions. The wage scale which was accepted by the coal operators in Jacksonville, Florida, in March of 1924, provided for an \$7.75 eight hour day plus other compensatory measures.¹⁴ The demand for this scale when voiced

¹⁴ Hazel Alice Glenny, A History of Labor Disputes in the Northern Colorado Coal Mining Fields with Emphasis on the 1927-1928 Strike (Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado, 1938), p. 76.

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The more tangible motives advanced by the I. W. O. leaders

for their activities were based on the immediate needs of the

well as on an improvement of working conditions. The more

which was accepted by the coal operators in International Union

in March of 1922, provided for a \$4.75 eight hour day plus

compensatory measures. The demand for this eight hour day

14
Hans Allen Gurney, a history of labor in the

Colorado Coal Miners' Union with reference to the

1922 strike. Boulder, Colorado. University of Colorado, 1921.

at the mass meeting held at Aguilar, Colorado, on September 4, 1927, caused some furor. In that day and for that economic era it was very liberal and quite unusual. Some miners in the United States were receiving its benefits but it was not the rule. The adjustments in working conditions included more sanitary wash-rooms, no work delays caused by waiting for materials and tools, less delay in the mantrap service, and fair elections of checkweighmen with no intervention in their duties by the owners' representatives.

Other causes were the general conditions of coal mining in the United States, the miners' distaste for the state industrial commission, and the hangover from the 1913-1914 strike.¹⁵ The final addition to the list of grievances came when the strike was declared law by calling a meeting of representatives of the various camps and serving a thirty day notice to the Colorado Industrial Commission. But the I. W. W. was declared an outlawed body and the strike illegal.

So far as the employees' welfare was concerned, the I. W. W. was a help. In spite of this body's warlike methods, the organization gained many things for which the U. M. W. and A. F. of L. would not even ask, much less strike. The President of the Colorado Federation of Labor showed his fears and desired rather well. He

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 76.

at the same meeting held at Aqueduct, Colorado, on September 1, 1937, several more men, in that day and for some months after, was very liberal and quite unusual. Some minutes in the afternoon, States were receiving the benefits but it was not the case. The adjustments in certain conditions required more money than was available, no more delays caused by waiting for materials and tools, less delay in the meeting service, and this meeting was held. Weighing with no intention to in their hands by the company representatives.

Other cases with the company conditions of the meeting in the United States, the manner, character, and the nature of the adjustment, and the fact that the 1937-1938 period. The final addition to the list of grievances was made by the company was declared law by calling a meeting of representatives of the various groups and serving a thirty day notice to the following Industrial Commission. But the I. W. O. was declared an unlawful body and the strike illegal.

So far as the company's refusal was concerned, the I. W. O. was a help. In spite of this the company's refusal to negotiate then gained many things for what the I. W. O. had in mind. It would not even ask, but was asking. The president of the Industrial Commission of Labor asked the firm and asked for a meeting.

stated that his group was not going out on strike but he believed that the men who were had just grievances.¹⁶ He was to change his stand somewhat, as the strike developed in intensity, to a position of opposing the wobbly portion of the striking body. When the reforming labor organizers in Colorado received such national acclaim and disclaim, it should have been a sign post toward the understandable unrest which was rifle in most labor units throughout the United States. Labor as a whole watched the I. W. W. with interest as it represented the ultimate of "blind revolt of those who feel oppressed. . . ."¹⁷ Employers and government officials were receiving a rude awakening. At first they paid little or no attention to the threatened crippling of business. As the strike developed they began to take more cognizance and notice what was happening. When they decided that the I. W. W. meant business they appealed to all civic minded citizens to help eliminate this nuisance. Frank J. Hays, former international president of the U. M. W., stated that:

The I. W. W.s are a group of ignorant troublemakers representing no body of organized labor and with no permanency of purpose. Their methods are destructive. They have wrecked everything they have touched. The I. W. W. does not work for better conditions or for the welfare of organized labor but for the communistic doctrine of the great revolution.¹⁸

¹⁶ New York Times, Oct. 19, 1927, p. 1:2.

¹⁷ William Y. Elliot, The Pragmatic Revolt in Politics (New York: Macmillan, 1928), Pp. 133, 186n, 187n.

¹⁸ Trinidad Chronicle News, Oct. 19, 1927, p. 4:1.

stated that his group was not going out on strike but he believed
that the men who were not just employees, but who were to be
stand somewhat, as the strike developed in the future, the position
of opposing the working position of the striking men.
reformist labor organization in California regarded such a situation
as a mistake and decided, it would have been a wise move to have the
understandable interest which was felt in many labor organizations
out the United States. Labor as a whole wanted the I. W. O. to
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developed they began to take more notice and to take more
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they appealed to all style minded citizens to help eliminate this
nuisance. Frank J. Kane, former international organizer of the
U. M. W., stated that:

The I. W. O. is a group of men who are not organized
any body of organized men. They are not organized in a
their methods are destructive, they have no social program
have formed. The I. W. O. has not been the same organization
on for the welfare of organized labor and the community
doctrine of the great revolution.

16. New York Times, Oct. 10, 1907, p. 1.
17. William F. Miller, The I. W. O. in California
(New York: Macmillan, 1922), pp. 100, 101.
18. United Chronicle News, Oct. 10, 1907, p. 1.

From the employers' point of view this strike was a definite threat to their businesses. It was not only a threat from a temporary standpoint but also a threat for the future. The mineowners had to worry whether or not the I. W. W. would keep returning until they finally had taken over all the property. In addition, the owners were only receiving so many orders for coal and thus had only a specific amount of income, which made the strikers' demands impossible of fulfillment. If they did meet the requests of the miners then the submarginal mines could not be supported by the more profitable. It was also put forward by the owners that costs were higher in Colorado than in the fields of West Virginia and Kentucky because the railroads were discriminating against the western state with respect to transportation costs.

As in the present post-war era, there was then a definite sentiment against Reds and opinions were expressed that the I. W. W. were an extreme element of the Communistic party. The Pueblo Star charged that Bill Haywood was at that time in Russia and was advancing the designs of his Fellow Workers by getting special contributions to the cause.¹⁹ Because of this antipathy toward Reds and because, to a great number of the citizens of the United States, "labor" was a word to be spoken with a hushed voice, groups such as the I. W. W. had to be treated with an iron hand. This was the method decided upon and acted upon by Governor Richard C. Dillon

¹⁹ "Blood-spilling in Colorado," Literary Digest, Dec. 3, 1927, p. 5.

From the first day of the war, the people of the United States have been

confronted with the question of how to support the war effort.

There is no doubt that the people of the United States have been

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of New Mexico. This was the theory toyed with by Governor William H. Adams of Colorado and which he finally used after everything else seemed to fail. This was the method which played into the hands of the strike organizers, for the "I. W. W. victories have been won by the blunders of their enemies."²⁰ Yet Gov. Dillon's prompt action was applauded and Gov. Adams' seemingly dilatory manner was criticized.

The I. W. W. carefully planned their strike so that it would take place when it would cause the owners the most financial trouble, that is, when there was the greatest demand for coal, which was in the fall and winter months. Therefore, in the locales where the action took place, the strikers and drifters disrupted the public and private community life a great deal. The State of Colorado under the leadership of Gov. Adams had to take action to protect the citizens from both cold snaps, which frequently occur in that state, and irresponsible actions of any fanatics. In spite of forceful measures taken by the two governors, the fear inculcated by the I. W. W. into a large majority of the non syndicalist miners made the strike practically a concerted effort, and resulted in several beneficial changes in the miners' condition which were volunteered by the stricken mineowners.

²⁰ Brooks, op. cit., p. 31.

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CHAPTER II

ACTION IN SOUTHERN COLORADO

After preparing the ground work and sowing seeds of discontent for some time, national leaders of the I. W. W. made their move. A. S. Embree¹, one of the many professional agitators in the fields, issued a call for a meeting of all members. One hundred and forty-three men assembled in Walsenburg on August 6, 1927, and decided that a general strike would be scheduled for September 1. At the meeting the miners heard the facts about the Sacco-Vanzetti case which was then causing such varied reaction all over the world. The leaders told the miners to walk out in demonstration against the unsympathetic Massachusetts court. This was not the general strike, however, which was to occur almost a month later.

Two days later approximately four thousand miners did not report for work. The demonstration was originally planned to last only three days. It was to be a temporary activity; about one-third of the miners answered the call. The Colorado Industrial Commission tried to get an injunction against the demonstrators. Local author-

¹ Embree arrived in Walsenburg in January of 1926 and "Big Bull" Haywood came to help out. Glenny, A History of Labor Disputes. . . , pp. 80-81. Haywood's presence is improbable as he was to die about a half a year later (March of 1928) of diabetes in Moscow, having been "cooped up in a room in the Hotel Lux. . ." for some years, carrying on a constant correspondence with his very close I. W. W. friend, Chaplin. This chain of events can be followed in Ralph Chaplin, Wobbly.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

REPORT OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

ON THE PROGRESS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY

FOR THE YEAR 1911

AND THE PROGRESS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY

FOR THE YEAR 1912

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FOR THE YEAR 1922

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ities closed pool halls and similar meeting places. One hundred and sixty-five deputy sheriffs were on duty. Three of the top members of the Industrial Commission went to the strike area to plead with the miners to go back to the pits.

All of this coercion was unnecessary and really ineffective because it was to be just a matter of time before the companies would be operating at full strength again. Furthermore, relations between the two groups were entirely peaceful as there were no acts of destruction on the part of the strikers. As a matter of fact, on the following day there was another mass meeting which was concerned with recalling the protest strike. At this meeting the men voted to discontinue their actions. Leaders however, announced that there would be a general strike of all western coal and metal miners on September 1 in sympathy with their striking middle western brothers. The strike committee was designated, among whom were A. S. Embree, Paul Seidler, and I. W. W. tough and organizer, A. K. Payne, and Jose Villa, leader of the Mexican I. W. W. forces. All of these men were to gain much prominence as the strike developed.

The walkout for Sacco and Vanzetti was intended² to be merely a demonstration, but it ended as a preview of what was to come and showed the effectiveness of the I. W. W. speechmakers. In the Walsenburg and Aguilar region of southern Colorado over

² Paul Seidler in Rocky Mountain News, Aug. 9, 1927, p. 1:6.

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eleven hundred out of a total of sixteen hundred miners were off the job when the call back to work sounded. In Trinidad only five hundred out of thirty four hundred miners left the job, but this region proved a tougher nut to crack for the radicals all during the strike. It also showed what action the mine, local, and state officials were going to take. Four men, including Jose Villa, were fired from their jobs for striking. It was charged that Villa had handed the foreman of one of the mines a poster upon which was written: "Workers who refuse to strike for justice to Sacco and Vanzetti are signing their death warrant."³ Also two men were arrested for picketing in the Trinidad area. The maximum punishment, which few strikers received, amounted to a \$250 fine and sixty days in jail.

After the miners returned to their jobs from this brief demonstration, the labor situation became quiet once more. This was only a temporary lull before the real storm broke. The professional leaders saw what had had to be done and set out to make their next move felt by all. Kristen Svanum, General Metal and Coal Organizer of the I. W. W. and Chairman of the State Executive Board, arrived in Walsenburg to launch a drive for more members. These officials set about getting their various strike committees girded for the coming battle and getting the demands outlined which

³ Walsenburg Independent, Aug. 12, 1927, p. 1:6.

EXPERIMENTAL
BOND
RAG CONTENT

were to be presented to the mine owners.⁴

The opposition, in the meantime, was busy trying to find loopholes in the strike leader's activities. An United States Immigration Director was making "an investigation of certain radical societies that have established headquarters"⁵ in Walsenburg. The Colorado Industrial Commission had been alerted to probe the matter and to check any moves toward any illegal peace disturbances. It asked the state National Guard to prepare itself for any eventuality such as the rapid spread of violence.⁶ The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company's General Manager, E. H. Weitzel, urged that employers discharge all of their workers who were affiliated with the I. W. W.⁷ This recommendation received unanimous approval from the unaffiliated employees' representatives because they did not desire any interruptions in their work and did not cherish the idea of losing any of their pay checks due to the actions of some out-of-state agitators.

⁴ Accusations were made that the society's central headquarters in Chicago was sending substantial financial assistance into the strike area. This charge was later shown to be accurate from documents which were captured during a raid on the I. W. W. office in Walsenburg as well as from receipts in the local express company. There was little that was done or could be done to alleviate this force behind the strike. Halthusen to Dillon, Nov. 15, 1927, Dillon Papers.

⁵ Walsenburg Independent, Aug. 30, 1927, p. 1:7.

⁶ Trinidad Chronicle News, Sept. 10, 1927, p. 1.

⁷ A. C. F. and I. company law called for the dismissal of any employee who was a member of or who spreads propaganda for any Red organization. Ibid.

BASE BOND
EFFICIENCY

September 4, 1927, saw the opening salvo of formal warfare between the I. W. W. and the State of Colorado. At Aguilar, Colorado, one hundred and eighty-seven delegates from forty-three coal camps met from 9:30 in the morning until 5:30 at night. Kristen Svanum presided over the meeting. Further efforts were discussed to organize Colorado and to step up the tempo in New Mexico. It was decided to file their demands with the Industrial Board against the "C. F. & I., Victor American Coal Company, Calumet Coal Company, Alamo Coal Company, and all other companies operating in Colorado."⁸ The demands issued at the Aguilar Conference were:⁹

1. \$7.75 per day was to be forthcoming.
2. There was to be no work on Saturday and Sunday.
3. Men were to work only six hour per day.
4. A varying scale was set up for the different types of work.
5. Checkweighmen and pit committees of miners to insure their own welfare were to be elected at all mines.
6. There was to be no loading on declared holidays.
7. All materials and timber were to be supplied by the company.
8. There was to be no discrimination against labor organizations.

⁸ Ibid., Sept. 6, 1927, p. 1:1.

⁹ Ibid., p. 1:6.

9. The rent and light in company houses were not to be increased.
10. Union organizers could come and go on company property without being molested.
11. Employers were not to discriminate against miners participating in union activities.
12. Strike breakers would not be employed.

If the coal companies would not comply with these demands there would be a general strike in the coal camps commencing October 8, 1927.

With one month to disburse the gathering storm clouds, the industrialists set out to solve the problem by means of force and suasion. The I. W. W. too set about to consolidate their position. The courts of law and state offices were resorted to in order to establish the constitutionality of the methods of each party. One Juan Noriega, key man in the striking forces, was fired from a C. F. & I. mine because of his affiliation. The I. W. W. lawyers decided to make a test case of this action. In Walsenburg the status of the I. W. W. itself was under consideration. Both of these cases depended on whether this organization was lawful or not. As is only natural, the case of Noriega was watched avidly. If the C. F. & I. were found guilty of discrimination, there would be a flood of cases in the courts since most of the mine owners

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followed the practice of firing undesirable workers.

There was an audible sigh of relief from all peace-loving citizens when a Justice of the Peace found that Noriega's discharge was valid because he had broken a company rule with respect to spreading Red propaganda. However, by the time this decision had been rendered, there had been other announcements issued which had delivered a blow to the agitator's cause. Mr. Thomas Annear, Chairman of the Colorado State Industrial Commission, denounced the Aguilar Conference as illegal because the miners' representatives were appointed by the agitators rather than elected by the men. He also said that all of the voting was done by show of hand rather than secret ballot, thus leaving no option of disagreement with the I. W. W. policy.¹⁰ A. S. Embree said that the representatives had volunteered and were not named by the I. W. W. hierarchy.¹¹

As a result of these blows, the strike leader postponed the strike date until October 18, 1927. To give their cause a purer atmosphere, and to minimize any objections Mr. Annear might have, they proposed to hold open mass meetings at the various mines and to have a representative of the Industrial Commission present. A secret or an open ballot would be held, in compliance with the commission's wishes, to see if the miners would support the strike.

¹⁰ Walsenburg Independent, Sept. 16, 1927, p. 1:6.

¹¹ Rocky Mountain News, Sept. 15, 1927, p. 4:6.

Delegates were being named to the meeting at Pueblo, Colorado, to make final plans for the proposed strike. Although the delegates convened, this meeting was called off by Svanum because the leaders had decided that the strike would be carried out.¹² Then too they had received word that the northern fields of Colorado were interested in the possible outcome of the pending strike. These areas were not in alignment with the southern fields and the organizers needed more time to bring about an effective coordination of action. Also, the leaders had not given up hope of receiving court relief from the discriminatory actions of the employers. Paul Seidler was seeking an injunction against the Toltec Mine, near Walsenburg, for not letting Juan Noriega take over his job. Noriega had been a duly elected checkweighman in this mine but the superintendent had not been allowed to let him work. This order had been given by the mine's president.

Even with these strong arm tactics and support by the civil servants, the owners were not through. On September 24, 1927, the C. F. & I. announced pay increases to become effective October 1.¹³ About forty-five hundred men were to get \$6.20 per day as opposed to \$5.25 which they had been receiving. On October 6 eleven more companies followed suit, so the pay raises embraced virtually all of the miners in Colorado.

¹² Ibid., Oct. 17, 1927, p. 2:4.

¹³ Trinidad Chronicle News, Sept. 25, 1927, p. 1:1.

Delaware was the first to pass a law...

which gave the state the right to...

compulsory education for all...

and provided for the establishment of...

and provided for the establishment of...

schools in the state, and provided for...

such as the establishment of...

organizations having to do with...

of school, and provided for the...

which related to the state and...

and provided for the establishment of...

near the state, and provided for...

which had to do with the state...

superintendent of schools and...

had been given the right to...

from the state and provided for...

schools, and provided for the...

of the state and provided for...

About the year 1800, the state...

to give to the state and provided...

compulsory education for all...

of the state and provided for...

of the state and provided for...

of the state and provided for...

of the state and provided for...

The high command of the I. W. W. had to overcome the employers' forceful tactics. Thanks to the announced pay boost, the miners would not be so likely to walk out on their benefactors. It would be difficult to explain to the workers that there were still many grievances unanswered and that the pay was still not equitable. Another mass meeting was necessary to decide on policy. It was called for about a week after the employers' pay increase announcement. At this meeting on October 16, Kristen Svanum began, once more, to spread the seeds of dissatisfaction. He claimed, by dint of erroneous mathematical calculations, that in order to get the amount of increased pay, the miners would have to produce seventeen tons per day or about three times as much coal as they had been producing.¹⁴ The truth of the matter was, the miners would get about \$3.00 per week more if they continued their same production and could get about \$6.00 per week more by producing only a half ton a day more. The claims of the Svanum and the promises of the employers both appear to be wrong and the actual pay hike appeared to be somewhere in between the two extremes.

In spite of all the neutralizing efforts of the law abiding citizens, the oratory of the organizers tipped the scales and the workers stuck by their strike intentions. Hand bills were printed and distributed which said:

STRIKE! The all state conference meeting in Pueblo Sunday, October 16 confirmed the strike call by the Aguilar Conference.

¹⁴ Ibid., Oct. 14, 1927, p. 1:6.

The strike date is October 18. If you want demands of the Aguilar Conference, STAY OUT OF THE MINES by order of the all state conference of Colorado coal mines. Kristen Svanum, chairman state executive board.

Sheriff's order is that no deputy be allowed to assault or shoot in the course of duty except in self defense.¹⁵

The last paragraph of the handbill was however, refuted by the Sheriff of Trinidad.

Thus it was obvious to the law officers and industrialists that suasion and legal steps were of little use in dealing with the striking employees. This "mere disease of envy and irreligion"¹⁶ was spreading. Consequently, the citizens of Walsenburg and Aguilar held meetings too. Edicts were issued by these groups to the effect that the I. W. W. had better leave town.¹⁷ When the agitators did not take this advice, vigilance committees were formed. In Walsenburg fifty vigilantes raided the I. W. W. headquarters and either seized or burned all papers and records which could be found. They broke all of the windows and escorted all of the leaders present to the highway leading North to Pueblo and ordered them to leave. The Mayor of Walsenburg was soon to admit that these men had taken too much authority into their own hands and said that that town would reimburse the Wobblies for all damage done.¹⁸

¹⁵ Ibid., Oct. 18, 1927, p. 4:4.

¹⁶ Brooks, op. cit., p. 46.

¹⁷ Trinidad Chronicle News, Oct. 17, 1927, p. 1:1.

¹⁸ Rocky Mountain News, Oct. 17, 1927, p. 1:8.

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The last...
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EFFICIENCY
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At a mass meeting in this town the representatives of the Industrial Commission again declared the strike illegal and tried to sway the listening miners.¹⁹ But this announcement was only met with a roar from the workers and there was some difficulty in quieting them down without a pitched battle ensuing. In Aguilar the marshall closed the local I. W. W. office and again records were taken. Seventeen men were put into jail by the sheriff for picketing.

Trinidad officials on the other hand, decided that they would not resort to force unless it was required to enforce the laws. This would give them an air of sanctity and also save them from any retaliatory measures. Thus, when the agitators showed up in the area, the citizens paid them little heed. The law officers watched them closely for any illegal activities and the mine owners kept them off their private property by means of well armed guards. This theory proved, in the long run, to be a fruitful one as the Trinidad mines had a larger force of miners on the job all through the strike period than did the mines in the Walsenburg-Aguilar area. Also, the day after the issuance of the edict of banishment in Walsenburg, the agitators had returned in a much more determined humor and were threatening justifiable legal action against their persecutors.²⁰ About 60%

¹⁹ Trinidad Chronicle News, Oct. 18, 1927, p. 4:1.

²⁰ New York Times, Oct. 19, 1927, p. 1:2.

At a mass meeting in this town the representatives of the
Industrial Commission were present and the following was read
to every the following letter. This was signed by the
met with a view from the present and future and was distributed
in quieting them down about a possible future meeting. In
regarding the material placed in the hands of the officers and
records were taken. Devotion was made but the full of the
ability for picketing.

Trinidad officials on the other hand, decided that they
would not resort to force unless it was required to enforce the
laws. This would give them an air of respect and also save
them from any potential future problems. They then the
showed up in the area. The officials were found in the town. The
law officers watched them closely for any illegal activities
and the mine owners kept them out of their private property by means
of well armed guards. This was very unusual in the town and was
be a familiar one as the Trinidad officials had a long record of
miners on the job all through the strike period. The
mines in the neighborhood were closed. The officials
language of the strike or picketing is necessary. The
had returned in a small group. Trinidad officials were interested
investigate legal action against their possession.

19 Trinidad Tribune, Nov. 15, 1927, p. 1.
20 New York Times, Nov. 15, 1927, p. 1.

of the miners in this region were inactive and were then asking \$8.50 per diem while the C. F. & I., which operated the vast majority of the mines in the Trinidad environs, was operating on an almost normal basis. The various companies' officials in the Trinidad region still believed that the strike was to be short-lived in spite of the fact that the I. W. W. speakers said that it was soon to be more widespread and that they were working diligently to make this threat come true.²¹

Sheriff H. J. Capp of Walsenburg heard reports that the strike organizers had bands of men up in the neighboring hills and that these men had received a carload of guns and ammunition plus four carloads of food. A special agent of the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad claimed that he had proof of that fact. Of course the I. W. W. denied this.²² The Baxter Hardware Company of Walsenburg reported a 50% increase in sale of ammunition.²³ If the strikers did receive this carload of guns and did buy this ammunition they kept it all well hidden, for only a very few guns were turned up in the whole southern area and the strikers practically never used them. Their main weapon was the use of threats and appeals directed at the working men. In instructions sent to his

²¹ Ibid.

²² Trinidad Chronicle News, Oct. 19, 1927, p. 1:4.

²³ Rocky Mountain News, Oct. 22, 1927, p. 1:1.

of the mine in this section was less than 100 tons
\$2.50 per ton while the U. S. M. I. which operated for years
majority of the mine in the United States, was operating
on an almost normal basis. The Western company's estimate for the
Trinidad region still indicated that the strike was to be about
lived in spite of the fact that the U. S. M. I. operators said that
it was soon to be more widespread and that they were working
diligently to make this threat come true.

Sherrill L. J. Corp. of Trinidad had been operating in the
strike organization had been at work for some time in the
and that there was no reason to expect a strike to occur in the
this four months of 1935. A general strike of the miners and
the Grand Western Trinidad district which was held under the
fact, the company the U. S. M. I. had been at work for some time
Company of Trinidad reported a 100% increase in output of production
if the strike was held this output of mine and the strike was
announced they had it all right, but only a very few were
were turned up in the strike situation and the strike was
never used here. The strike situation was not too serious and
appears directed at the company. In instructions sent to the

21 1934.
22 Trinidad District Office, U. S. M. I., U. S. M. I.
23 Rocky Mountain, U. S. M. I., U. S. M. I.

soldiers, Paul Seidler said:

Hello workers:

You are not to abuse anyone. You are not to strike anyone. Tell them they are hurting themselves as well as the rest of us. There will be no rough stuff on this job. The sheriff's orders to his men are that they must not shoot or abuse anyone. If anyone is going to get killed let it be one of our men first.²⁴

The employers' tactics remained unchanged. In Trinidad the firm legal defense method was continuing to pay dividends. The I. W. W. was still making no headway in this region. It is true that the C. F. & I. coal tonnage production had dropped by almost one-third, but a large amount of this loss was attributable to the Walsenburg area. Sheriff J. J. Marty of Trinidad arrested twenty men. These men pleaded "not guilty" to charges of picketing and bond was set at \$500., thus assuring that they would stay in jail and not cause any more unpleasantness. The Mexican Consul stationed in Denver called a meeting of his countrymen, who were employed in the coal mines, and asked them to stay on the job and thus avoid creating any difficulties between the United States and Mexico.²⁵

By the 20th of October, the Walsenburg-Aguilar area was hard hit by the walkouts. Two hundred women of the district had been added to the picketing forces. Because they lacked the guard force such as the C. F. & I. or Victor-American had, the smaller and

²⁴ Trinidad Chronicle News, Oct. 20, 1927, p. 4:3.

²⁵ Ibid., Oct. 22, 1927, p. 1:1.

soldiers, Paul, Walter and...

Halie, Walter...

You are not to shoot anyone, but you are to shoot
anyone. This means that you must shoot anyone who is
as the rest of us. There will be no more of this
kind. The sheriff's order is that you must
not shoot at anyone. If anyone is going to be
killed let it be one of our men first.

The employees' tactics remained unchanged. In this case...

the firm legal defense called the corporation to pay damages.

The U. S. was still making no headway in this matter. It is...

true that the U. S. E. T. 1931 federal government had stopped...

almost one-third, but a large amount of this loss was attributable...

to the shipping area. The U. S. E. T. 1931 federal government...

twenty men. These men picked up only a few dollars of...

the and bond was set at \$100,000. This was the first time...

in jail and not even any more improvement. The federal government...

attended in Denver called a meeting of this organization. The way...

employed in the coal mines, and asked for a better wage...

thus avoid creating any difficulties between the United States...

and Mexico.

By the 30th of October, the United States government was...

hit by the railroad. The United States government was...

added to the shipping losses. Because they had lost so much money...

such as the U. S. E. T. 1931 federal government, the workers and...

24 United States E. T. 1931 federal government

25 United States E. T. 1931 federal government

independent mines had been the hardest hit. At 5:00 A. M. on the 20th, some fifty strikers had made the rounds of five mines in the region and had forced a complete shutdown. The roving band ignored the threats of the guards and formed a human wall through which those miners, who wished to work, had to pass. There was no actual violence, but their threatening presence was enough to scare off the willing workers. The strikers and the strikebound still wanted to get along without recourse to physical violence. There were charges that shots were fired at one worker's home during the night, but this charge was frequently reiterated and little was done by either side to prove or disprove the deed.

Yet it was fear caused by these roving bands and individual terrorists which proved to be so effective for the I. W. W. cause. This effectiveness also caused the employers to wonder whether or not their position was so strong. There were rumors flying that the C. F. & I. head would appeal to the Governor for aid. The former had stated that 90% of his men wanted to work but were afraid to enter the mines. The men of one of his mines had formally appealed for protection.²⁶ These were mostly rumors and at a meeting with Governor Adams it was stated that the owners still felt that there was no cause for alarm and that they had not asked for help.²⁷ Governor Adams was all in favor

²⁶ Ibid., Oct. 20, 1927, p. 1:1.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 1:6.

independent mines had been the hardest hit. At 2:00 A. M. on the 20th, some fifty strikers had made the rounds of five mines in the region and had forced a complete shutdown. The moving band ignored the threats of the guards and formed a human wall through which those miners, who wished to work, had to pass. There was no actual violence, but their threatening presence was enough to scare off the willing workers. The strikers and the surrounding still wanted to get along without recourse to physical violence. There were charges that shots were fired at one worker's home during the night, but this charge was frequently refuted and little was done by either side to prove or disprove the deed. Yet it was that caused by these moving bands and individual sympathizers which proved to be so effective for the I. W. W. cause. This effectiveness also caused the employers to wonder whether or not their position was so strong. There were rumors flying that the C. I. O. had would appeal to the Governor for aid. The former had stated that 90% of his men wanted to work but were afraid to enter the mines. The men of one of his mines had formally appealed for protection. These were mostly rumors and at a meeting with Governor Adams it was stated that the owners still felt that there was no cause for alarm and that they had not asked for help. ²⁵ Governor Adams was all in favor

²⁵ Ibid., Oct. 20, 1927, p. 111.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 110.

of dodging the issue too and did not want anyone to even think about the use of arms much less talk about their use. At least the prospect of state intervention was in the air and not to be discounted. Also Sheriff Capps of Walsenburg had asked for fifty more deputies so that he could place six special deputies at each of Huerfano County's twenty-six mines.

The next few days in Trinidad were rather quiet although it took some rather decisive action on the part of Sheriff Marty. He placed thirty-six pickets in jail. These men had turned back the miners at two mines near the Colorado-New Mexico border. The jailed pickets had come down from Walsenburg to aggravate the unrest and the miners who had quit the mines went home to save trouble. Among the men arrested were Paul Seidler, Juan Noriega, and Roger Francezon, Chairman of the I. W. W. National Executive Board. As a result of this purge, 90% of the miners were on the job in Las Animas County (Trinidad).

Walsenburg continued to be a sore spot to the industrialists. Arrests mounted and women became more and more prominent in the picketing efforts. Sheriff Capps arrested forty-one men and fifteen women. He held the men on no charges after quickly trying to free the troublesome women who insisted on singing the I. W. W. song, "Solidarity." The women refused to leave the jail until their menfolk were released. However there were other women to take their

place in the field. Some ten women led the way up to a C. F. & I. mine. There they threw rocks at the twelve mounted and armed guards and dared them to start a fight. All this time their male escorts remained in the background and the guards tried to pay little attention to their adversaries. Undoubtedly they were happy to see Sheriff Capps arrive and lift the siege. When this group arrived at the jail, they were greeted by their incarcerated buddies who broke windows again, sang "Solidarity," and raised a din in general.

But Sheriff Capps' troubles were not over. The next day he had to go out to the same mine and rescue the guards from the same kind of treatment. There were about sixty strikers in this band, all of whom were added to an equal number already in jail. As a result of these and other actions, more guards were shipped in from the C. F. & I. holdings in Pueblo. This company also electrified the fence about one of their mines in the area and kept armed guards posted on twenty-four hour duty. It was said that tear gas had been used to disperse crowds at mines and that it would be used again if necessary.²⁹ One hundred special deputies were sworn in to ensure a troubled peace. This move, however, was soon to be countermanded by the City Commissioners of Walsenburg who, keeping an eye on their purse strings, would only allow a certain number of deputies. Gov. Adams still refused to

²⁹ Ibid., Oct. 27, 1927, p. 2:3.

place in the field. Some ten women and the boy, all of them,

mine. There they threw rocks at the cattle and then

guards and dated them to start a fight. All this time the

escorts remained in the background and the women tried to pay

little attention to their adversaries. Apparently they were

happy to see the first woman arrive and all the others.

Group arrived at the last, they were greeted by their

buddies who broke windows again, and the women

die in general.

But shortly before the women were sent away. The last day

had to go out to the same place and receive the same

kind of treatment. There were about sixty women in this

all of whom were asked to sit down and wait in jail. As a

result of these and other women, some women were shipped in

from the U. S. A. and kept in jail. The women who

electricity was found about one of their places in the

left almost nothing behind of their own property. It was said

that there had been need to dispose of the women and that

it would be used again if necessary. The women were

deputies were sent in to receive a formal report. This

however, was soon to be recommended by the

of Walsenburg who, having no other power, could only

allow a certain number of deputies. The women were

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 Filed Oct. 27, 1944

move. The State would not act until the Huerfano County (Walsenburg-Aguilar) funds were exhausted. Needless to say the town's citizens were none too happy about the Governor's and Commissioners' decisions. These statements, however, were greeted with cheers from the strikers; "next to the success of our fight against oppressors, this is the best news we have had since we closed the mines of Huerfano County."³⁰

The calm appeared to be rapidly approaching its end in Las Animas County. E. H. Weitzel, General Manager for the C. F. & I., made a direct appeal to the striking miners. He tried to explain the difficulty about anymore pay increases and urged his employees to return to work.³¹ All he got for his efforts was a loud and unanimous "No!" from the crowd.

The District Attorney was the next official to have trouble with the milling mob. Two girls had been lodged in the jail and the idlers decided to try to get their release through coercive methods by rushing his office. But he firmly stood his ground and the strikers retired.

While all this was going on, a third "army" was on the move. This crew had come down from Walsenburg and had made the rounds of seven mines in the Trinidad territory. Francezon was in charge of the operations but the forces were actually led by a giant Slavic woman, Santa Benash. With her as inspiration, the mine guards could

³⁰ Trinidad Chronicle News, Oct. 23, 1927, p. 1:1.

³¹ Ibid., p. 1:4.

move. The State would not not only the interest of the country, but also the interest of the people. The State would not not only the interest of the country, but also the interest of the people. The State would not not only the interest of the country, but also the interest of the people.

These statements, however, were given with a view to the fact that the State would not not only the interest of the country, but also the interest of the people. The State would not not only the interest of the country, but also the interest of the people. The State would not not only the interest of the country, but also the interest of the people.

The District Attorney and the State would not not only the interest of the country, but also the interest of the people. The State would not not only the interest of the country, but also the interest of the people. The State would not not only the interest of the country, but also the interest of the people.

While all this was going on, a certain number of the people of the State would not not only the interest of the country, but also the interest of the people. The State would not not only the interest of the country, but also the interest of the people. The State would not not only the interest of the country, but also the interest of the people.

not stop the marching pickets. Some thirty-three pickets were thrown into a nearby jail which caused the throng to become more irate and to attempt the rescue of their mates. Mrs. Benash "attacked Marshall Sanders, and it is reported, laid him low with one mighty wallop."³² She and one of her companions were arrested. Again the mob became ugly, so all the prisoners were moved to safety into Trinidad.

Nevertheless these demonstrations were effective from the I. W. W. standpoint. Many miners were loitering in the streets of Trinidad. Only sixty-seven out of three hundred and seventy-five were at work in the mines which were visited. Francezon was very happy over their conversion and said that all southern mines would be closed within a few days.³³ The mine officials, in defense, decided to ask the United States Government to deport all alien prisoner pickets.

In spite of these flareups, there were signs visibly pointing to a deterioration of the effectiveness of the strike leadership, a forced peace, or a conciliatory end to the expensive disturbance. It was possible that the financial backing from the I. W. W. central headquarters would soon give out. The General Recruiting Union in Chicago could support the Colorado strike no

³² Ibid., Oct. 24, 1927, p. 1:1.

³³ New York Times, Oct. 25, 1927, p. 13:3.

longer. Word had come from that body that the G. R. U. took in a total of \$400. per month to conduct its affairs in the whole of the United States, Francezon had asked for \$500. per month to carry on the southern Colorado activities alone.³⁴ It can therefore be understood that the local leaders request was impossible to fulfill and that the Colorado affair would necessarily have to be diminished in magnitude on the part of the strikers.

On the other side of the fence the employers had seen the effectiveness of the reformers' methods. The red herring scare of the Ludlow Massacre of 1913-1914 and fear in general had decimated the ranks of their workers. The prospect of paying \$7.75 per day became more and more real as time passed. But the owners still claimed that they would close down before guaranteeing this wage.³⁵ Then, maybe as a result of the ples of the C. F. & I. hierarchy for protection, Governor Adams paid a visit to the southern coal fields to look the situation over.

He arrived at one camp during a demonstration by the pickets. Deputies were guarding the bridge leading to the camp when about seventy-five people arrived in fifteen cars. The demonstrators were cheering and shouting but, other than that, appeared to be orderly; so Governor Adams got close to them and was given a special cheer. The strike organizers thought it was a good idea for him

³⁴ Trinidad Chronicle News, Oct. 25, 1927, p. 1:5.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 1:3.

longer. Word had come from that body that the C. I. U. could not
total of \$400, per month to conduct the strike in the whole of
the United States. Wisconsin had asked for \$200, per month to
carry on the southern Colorado activities alone. It was
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orderly; as Governor Adams got close he knew and saw that a general
chose. The strike organizers thought it was a good idea for him

34 Tri-State Chronicle News, Oct. 22, 1922, p. 1.
35 Ibid., p. 1.

to pay some attention to their efforts. However, the Governor was not so smitten with their presence. He said that the "situation looks bad" but expressed his trust in the sheriffs to handle it.³⁶

R. L. Hair, General Supervisor of the C. F. & I., told the Governor that it was this roving band of strikers who were causing all the trouble and that 95% of his men would work if protected from this mob.³⁷ The strikers thought that the Governor would mediate, so the I. W. W. elected representatives, speakers, and planned a large demonstration for his benefit. Every time his name was mentioned there was a cheer. However, the Governor was in conference with the local peace official and soon came out with a reiteration of the policy of non-recognition of the radical group which was disrupting life in Colorado.³⁸ As a result of this dictum, he refused to meet their delegation. He did meet a group of non-affiliated miners who made their wishes known to him. This conference was ineffectual however.

The peaceful settlement project continued on the downgrade as a result of incendiary efforts of some person or persons unknown. Representatives of the C. F. & I. and miners were holding a friendly meeting in the Trinidad Y. M. C. A. The council was about to approve of the existing wage scale when a fire broke

³⁶ Ibid., p. 1:1.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 4:4.

³⁸ Ibid.

to pay some attention to their efforts. However, the Governor
 has not so far taken any action. In fact, the "situation
 looks bad" but expressed his trust in the officials to handle it.
 H. J. Hall, General Supervisor of the U. S. A. T. S. and
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 Group which was directed into the Colorado. As a result of
 this action, he refused to meet with the delegation. In his mind
 a group of non-affiliated persons who were not known to
 him. This conference was cancelled however.
 The personal statement of the Governor on the above
 grade as a result of insubordination of some persons or persons
 unknown. Representatives of the U. S. A. T. S. and others were being
 in a friendly meeting in the Trinidad T. A. S. The Council
 was about to approve of the existing laws when a fire broke

26 Ibid., p. 111.

27 Ibid., p. 111.

28 Ibid.

out in the rear of the building. Gas and oil soaked rags were found in the vicinity of the blaze and the charges against the I. W. W. for setting the fire soon followed.

Then foreshadowing rumors were circulated by the United Press that Governor Adams had called out the National Guard. This release was denounced in no uncertain terms by the Governor and the Associated Press.³⁹ However, only a few days were to elapse before the Colorado National Guard Adjutant General, Col. Paul Newlon, was to caution his companies to be ready to move.

With their hopes of conciliation shattered and their two top leaders, Kristen Svanum and Paul Seidler, "still in durance vile at the county bastile,"⁴⁰ the pickets set out to make their weight felt. Huerfano County wall all but completely closed down; so they concentrated, during the next few days, on the Trinidad area. Their first efforts were directed toward the mines between Trinidad and Raton Pass. They were effective to a fine degree for only forty out of over three hundred miners showed up in the mines on October 26. Their next move was to the north and Aguilar. Here, however, they achieved little success. Prior to any picketing activities they organized their maneuvers at an open mass meeting and the mine owners got wind of the impending action. When the I. W. W. arrived all the miners, having been warned of the prospects of unpleasantness, were in

³⁹ Ibid., Oct. 27, 1927, p. 1:4.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Oct. 25, 1927, p. 1:5.

out in the rear of the building. One or all could have been
found in the vicinity of the plane and the others against the
I. W. W. for setting the fire and killing.
Then foreboding rumors were circulated by the United
Press that Governor Adams had called out the National Guard.
This release was denigrated in no more than terms by the Governor
and the Associated Press, however, during the day after the
elapse before the Colorado National Guard at Fort Collins, Colo.
Paul Newton, who to mention his resignation as he nearly to leave
with their hopes of revolution shattered and their two
top leaders, Arthur Gurnea and Earl Browder, still in prison
vile at the county jail. The picture set out in some detail
weight felt. The county jail with all the completely closed
down; so they concentrated, during the next few days, on the
Trinidad area. The Trinidad area was divided between the
mines between Trinidad and Fort Collins. There were efforts to
the degree for daily food and other things. The Trinidad area
showed up in the mines on October 10. Their next move was to
the north and against. Here, however, they appeared in the
success. Prior to any shooting and later they examined their
maneuvers at an open mass meeting and the mine owners got wind of
the impending action. When the I. W. W. arrived at the mine,
having been warned of the prospects of unemployment, were in

NO 1014, Oct. 10, 1935, p. 1.
NO 1014, Oct. 11, 1935, p. 1.

their homes instead of on the way to the mine. Notices had been left by the workers for the I. W. W. stating that they had a holiday and would be back to work on the following day.

The mob, led by Amelia (Milka) Sablich, nineteen year old sister of Santa Benash and soon to achieve national notoriety as "Flaming Milka" and "The Girl in Red," would not leave, after their long hike, without some sort of satisfaction. Consequently a fight developed between guards and marchers in which fists and clubs were used freely. Sheriff Marty came to the rescue, arrested a few strikers, and strengthened his jail force in order to keep some in and others out.

While the strikers were thus actively engaged outside of the town, inside the Trinidad city limits the trials of six pickets were underway. The defence attorney, the blind William Penn Collins of California argued for the right of free speech. He showed that, although the men hopped on the running boards of the miners' cars and formed road blocks, they did not actually use force to keep the mines clear of workers. Nevertheless two of the men were found guilty and given jail sentences of five days. This was the usual legal procedure followed by the Colorado authorities during this strike: that is, the men were kept in jail for two or more weeks and then their cases were dismissed or they were given short jail terms.

The company guards in Huerfano County spent the next few

days helping two I. W. W. fanatics enter the ranks of the martyrs. J. B. Childs, who was in the labor limelight in 1923 for his part in the San Pedro, California, harbor strike, and was one of the more physically formidable Wobbly leaders, was leading a group against the Lester Mine near Walsenburg. When he refused to stop as the guards ordered, he was hit "a half dozen times across the head"⁴¹ with a pick handle by W. T. S. James, a C. F. & I. guard captain. This attack did not swerve Childs from his march and only caused his comrades to take heart and follow. Charges of assault and battery were lodged and claims voiced that fifty tough guys were on the way to lead the pickets.⁴²

The other to gain martyrdom was Amelia Sablich. She was leading two hundred and fifty strikers against twenty-five mounted and thirteen bayonet-armed company guards. The guards attempted to seize her when she made a break through the defences. One of the guards galloped after her and dragged her back, breaking her wrist and causing possible internal injuries. This stopped the march but, for the next hour and a half, the guards were uncomfortably entertained by the threatening mob.

The next day, October 29, every mine in Huerfano County was closed for the first time in history. Between three and four hundred strikers made the rounds to ensure that their effective work could endure for sometime. These were met by seemingly friendly employers

⁴¹ Ibid., Oct. 26, 1927, p. 1:2.

⁴² Ibid.

days helping two I. W. O. candidates when the names of the candidates
 J. B. Childs, who was in the labor line, and J. B. Childs, who was in the
 in the San Pedro, California, and was one of the
 more physically fit of the I. W. O. candidates, was leading a group
 against the center line near Washington, when he was
 shot as the guards ordered, he was hit in the lower chest
 across the chest. ⁴¹ With a quick motion he fell, and was
 A. I. guard advised. This attack did not have any effect on the
 march and only caused the guards to stop and look at him.
 Charges of assault and battery were laid against the
 fifty tough boys on the way to the jail.
 The order to march was given and the march began.
 leading two hundred and fifty to the jail. The march
 and sixteen boys were taken to the jail. The guards
 to seize her when she was a week through the doorway, the
 the guards called after her and ordered her back, and she
 wrist and causing great physical distress. This was the
 march but, for the last hour and a half, the guards were
 entertained by the marchers.

The next day, October 20, every sign of the march was
 closed for the first time in history. Between three and four hundred
 strikers made the route to the jail. The march was
 ended for ever.

⁴¹ Ibid., Vol. 10, p. 112.

⁴² Ibid.

who let their men listen to the speeches and offered the army coffee and doughnuts thus changing their tactics of the preceding weeks.

WILLIAM FAIRBANKS

PERASE

WILLIAM FAIRBANKS

who let their own lives be a lesson to the world
and through their lives the lives of the people
were.

THE
LIFE
OF
THE
NATION

CHAPTER III

STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

By October 28, the strike was definitely hurting the employers. They tried to show that their financial misfortunes would be transferred to and shared by the workers. Since the mines were shutdown, or their production sporadic at best, buyers were forced to look elsewhere for coal. Some of these buyers would not bring their business back to Colorado when the strike was over and this would mean a continuation of hard times for some workers.

A more direct malevolent feature of the walk out was that the C. F. & I. announced the banking of every third furnace of their steel plant in Pueblo, Colorado, thus putting five hundred employees on the inactive list.¹ Furthermore this plant had only two weeks supply of coal at the two-thirds capacity production, remaining in the coal bins. When this supply was exhausted between five and six thousand men would be unemployed. Needless to say the men thus affected were unhappy and went so far as to tender their services as mine guards in the southern fields for the duration.

Because the efforts directed toward a compromise had failed,

¹ Trinidad Chronicle News, Oct. 28, 1927, p. 1:4.

CHAPTER III

STRIKE FOR COAL

By October 23, the strike was definitely under way. Employees. They tried to show that their financial situation would be maintained to and shared by the workers. Since the mines were shut down, or their production was at best, buyers were forced to look elsewhere for coal. Of these buyers would not bring their business back to Colorado when the strike was over and this would mean a continuation of hard times for some workers.

A more direct statement of the situation was made by the C. F. & I. announced the banking of every third business of their steel plant in Pueblo, Colorado, thus putting five hundred employees on the inactive list. Furthermore this plant had only two weeks supply of coal at the time the strike began. Remaining in the coal mine. When this supply was exhausted between five and six thousand men would be unemployed. Besides the men time affected were unemployed and some as far as to render their services as mine guards in the coal mines for the duration.

Because the efforts directed toward a compromise had failed.

¹ Triumph Through Struggle, Oct. 1937, p. 114.

the state hoped to spread fear amongst the idle by sending airplanes into the area and thereby to cause less destructive activities. Many of the citizens did not feel this was enough coercion. In Walsenburg the city commission discussed the effectiveness of a strong force of deputy sheriffs. It was decided that even a force numbering two hundred would be insufficient, so they declared that they wanted the National Guard to move in.² The President of the C. F. & I., J. F. Welborn, too was asking for the troops.³

Around the turn of the month, both sides seemed to take a hitch in their respective belts and to rely more on psychological warfare rather than the more active measures heretofore used. One newspaper reported, "Morley has almost full crew--Berwind Canon coming back strong--Walsenburg district gains and general situation takes good turn. Strike pickets lay off. Reports striking miners seek compromise."⁴ Two groups were seeking this reported compromise. The first was the group of miners in the Trinidad area who were trying to get a former district secretary of the U. M. W. to act as their spokesman to the Governor. The other group represented themselves as independent of the I. W. W. They went straight to

² Ibid., p. 4:3.

³ Ibid., Oct. 29, 1927, p. 1:3. The state judiciary too, was having difficulties. Members of the I. W. W. were posting bonds for their imprisoned comrades and they had no property to support their signatures. Thus the idea of bond forfeiture had become a farce and impractical.

⁴ Ibid., Nov. 2, 1927, p. 1:1.

the Governor and were directed to the State Industrial Commission; but the workers refused to appeal to this body for arbitration because it had been dilatory. All they wanted was to be asked to come back to work by their former employers. A few days later, however, one of their leaders agreed to get the strikers to submit their grievances to the Commission.

A third group, with battle still left in their veins and led by Kristen Svamm, voted to continue their picketing methods in spite of the Governor's order against such actions. Food and coal were issued to married strikers and soup kitchens set up by the I. W. W. An estimated eight hundred were fed in this manner. The money gotten for this project had been sent from the headquarters in Butte, Montana. One of the agitators said, "Hooverize. We've enough to buy potatoes till next July."⁵ Peaceful speakers were sent to some of the camps and merely preached to the few miners rather than cursing and threatening them. This, they claimed, was not against the executive order.⁶

In this lull, the coal operators agreed to open their mines on a larger basis. They were determined to protect the men who desired to work but they would not keep the pickets out of the camps. Consequently when an I. W. W. motorcade arrived at one camp they were allowed in and permitted to make their speeches.

⁵ Ibid., Nov. 1, 1927, p. 1:4.

⁶ Ibid., Nov. 3, 1927, p. 1:1.

Again they were fed breakfast after their oratory efforts were completed.

The law-enforcement officers began to realize the high cost of the strike and used this calm to unload some of their political prisoners. Forty pickets were released from the Walsenburg jail because they had cost the town \$500. per month to keep them locked up. Undoubtedly they were released because of lack of evidence but the money reason would have more appeal to the citizens.

The slow acting State government either was not to be fooled by the inactivity or was just getting around to acting. National Guard tanks, trucks, and other equipment were bring over- hauled and readied for any eventuality. Three bombers were ordered from New York, all the necessary military supplies were being strategically placed, and plans of action were being drawn up. The Governor sent Col. Paul Newlon and his staff to took the southern situation over. He also made an agreement with Roger Francezon that thirty hour notice of all action would be forthcoming from the State if Francezon would discontinue picketing. This would insure something the Governor had been demanding for some days in return for something which mattered little.

The miners could not forget the threatening and fear inspiring methods of the I. W. W. In fact the Walsenburg newspaper issued a demand for protective measures for the miners and even tried to prod

Governor Adams on by hinting at efforts to impeach him if assurance was not forthcoming.⁷ The police force's efforts to break up any large meetings followed by frequent arrests offered little relaxation to the men. The miners at the Ideal Mine, near Walsenburg, refused to work unless machine gun emplacements were erected near the tipple. They had seen the mass arrests made and seen the pickets come back for more.

Partially as a result of this growing sentiment and partially as a result of the pressure brought to bear by the owners, Governor Adams ordered the State Law Enforcement Officers to the scene of the disturbances.⁸ The head of this body, Louis Scherf, who had been in charge of that body when prohibition had required much forceful support. He was to be in the thick of much combat between the I. W. W. and the law. The fifteen State officers were soon to be shown their duties for, on the day after their arrival, while protecting mine property near Trinidad, they were rushed by some five hundred strikers. In the battle which followed, gun butts, pick handles, and fists flourished and twelve were arrested including Amelia Sablich. Perhaps the miners did have their protection.

The State, however, was not finished with its efforts against the I. W. W. The Colorado Attorney General, W. L. Boatwright, upheld the Industrial Commission and ruled that the strike was illegal because

⁷ Walsenburg Independent, Nov. 4, 1927, p. 1:6.

⁸ Trinidad Chronicle News, Nov. 4, 1927, p. 1:1.

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the signers of the strike notice were not legally elected representatives of the miners. He also ruled that the owners could seek injunctive relief from their troubles.⁹ These were definite moves toward the satisfying of the grumblings which were growing in volume.

But the next move was designed to completely break the back of the radicals. On November 7 the twenty-five top members of the I. W. W. were arrested and put in jail. There were no charges filed against these men and none were expected to be issued in the future. It had been decided that, without forceful leadership, the strike would die a natural death, the leaders could be released a few at a time with none too veiled threats to hurry them on their way out of the state.

However a few of the strike's rank and file stepped into the gap and formed a road guard. These groups were stationed to keep the officials from transferring their leaders to the Pueblo jail by which move the law forces hoped to lessen the tension. The people of Walsenburg could see bonfires and rockets being fired all through the night. Machine guns were mounted on the county jail by the police and a group of armed deputies patrolled the streets all night long. In spite of the strikers' vigil a goodly number of the leaders were taken to Pueblo, including ten from the northern fields who were in the environs to confer with the southern leaders.

⁹ Ibid., Nov. 5, 1927, p. 1:1.

The signers of the strike notice were not legally elected representatives of the miners. He also noted that the miners could not lawfully reject their trustees. There were further moves toward the striking of the coalfields which came during the winter. But the next move was planned to completely break the back of the radicals. On November 7 the twenty-five day miners of the I. W. M. were arrested and put in jail. There were no charges filed against these men and none were expected to be handed in the future. It had been decided that, without force of legislation, the strike would be a natural death, the miners could be released a few at a time with none too varied demands to hurry them on their way out of the mines.

However, a lot of a strike's work and the struggle to the gap and toward a new world. These things were destined to be the crystalline form of the strike. The strike was to be a new world which move the law force began to break the tension. The strike of Walsenburg could not be broken and would bring it all through the night. Machine guns were mounted on the strike hill by the police and a group of armed men surrounded the miners all night long. In spite of the miners' violent and bloody work the leaders were taken to the police, including the men who were in the mines to work with the miners.

These northern men were soon released when it was discovered that they were seeking a reconciliation between the men and their employers.

During this period, the County officials showed how they were going to clamp down. The Justice of the Peace, Tom Bradley of the City of Trinidad, dismissed the cases of nineteen strikers and the District Attorney, J. W. Hawley, had every one of the immediately put in the County jail. Thus it appeared that the various officials had finally decided to act with determination.

The state lawmen, thinking that their arrests of the top leaders had completely disheartened the strikers, entered the I. W. W. headquarters on November 9 with the intention of making more arrests. This was not a smart move for Major William Howells, Chief of the State Police in the southern district, and four of his assistants were set upon and beaten badly in a short, hot battle. The Major was hit on the head with a brick and the resulting wound required four stitches to close. Another trooper had to have six stitches taken as a result of a knife wound and all five had to fight their way back to safety. In spite of the announced decline of the number of women participants in the strike activities, they seemed to be well represented in this conflict.¹⁰ Possibly as a result of this flareup the total of State Law Officers was soon increased to sixty in this area.

¹⁰ Ibid., Nov. 9, 1927, p. 4:5.

These northern men were soon released and it was discovered that they were seeking a rooming place between the two and I did not play.

During this period, the County Attorney advised that they were going to camp down. The Justice of the Peace, Tom Taylor of the City of United, announced the news of nineteen witnesses and the District Attorney, J. H. Smith, had every one of them immediately put in the County Jail. This is reported that the various officials had finally decided to act with determination. The same afternoon, advising that their arrests at the time leaders had completely disappeared the situation, however, the

I. E. W. headquarters on November 5 with the intention of making more arrests. This was not a surprise since the Mayor William J. D. Chief of the State Police in the southern district, and most of his assistants were out upon and making calls in a house, for battle. The Mayor was hit on the head with a brick and the existing wound reported from a blow to the head. Another report had to have six patients taken to a hospital and a knife wound and all five had to fight their way back to safety. In spite of the announced decision of the highest court, confidence in the police activities, they seemed to be well represented in this condition. Possibly as a result of this the police officers and officers was soon increased to fifty in this area.

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1910, Nov. 5, 1937, P. 4, 5.

To correct the misfortune of being without leaders, the I. W. W. lawyer, William Penn Collins, was trying to get the release of eight of the leaders on a writ of habeas corpus. At their hearing about a week later, November 18, this attempt was all but foiled by a Federal statute which stated that any parties who had been summoned to appear and who resided more than one hundred miles from the place of the hearing had more than twenty days in which to appear. Therefore the hearing was to be delayed for another two weeks and the leaders were to stay in jail.

The miners nevertheless, still leaderless, but with fight left in them, continued to ask for mediation. When they again approached the Industrial Commission they were told that they would have to go back to work before the Commission could act.¹¹ It could only mediate between employers and employees and, as the men were on an illegal strike, they were not employees. But mediation was again sought by the miners who claimed that they were independent of the I. W. W.¹²

As Armistice Day came and went, the employers continued their firm stand and the only foreseeable cessation of hostilities seemed to be a complete capitulation on the part of the miners. The employers insisted that there was nothing to arbitrate although the miners were resorting to the circulation of petitions which

¹¹ Ibid., Nov. 10, 1927, p. 1:1.

¹² Ibid.

To correct the misfortune of being without counsel, the miners
lawyer, William Penn Galt, was tried to get the release of some
of the leaders on a writ of habeas corpus. At their hearing, about
a week later, November 15, this attempt was also failed by a
Federal statute which stated that any person who had been summoned
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firm stand and the only foreseeable resolution of their strike seemed
to be a complete capitulation on the part of the miners. The
employers insisted that there was nothing to strike although
the miners were resorting to the organization of pickets which

¹¹ Ibid., Nov. 10, 1937, p. 143.

¹² Ibid.

were to be presented to Gov. Adams. The mine officials claimed that these petitions were just another means of getting into the camps for stirring up dissatisfaction.¹³ They therefore warned the men that anyone entering mine property with this aim in mind would be treated as a trespasser.¹⁴ Their sincerity in this matter was proven by W. T. S. James, the C. F. & I. guard who had shown himself to be forceful once before. James had used a great deal of force in getting one of these petitions from one of the circulators and again had assault and battery charges filed against him.

The strikers attempted to get safe conduct for their petitioners by promising to withhold striking and picketing activities.¹⁵ They would, that is, discontinue these activities until they had gotten their petitions for reinstatement and adjustments before the Governor. However the employers stood firm and the impoverished miners trickled back to work until the mines were restored to about a half to three quarters of their operating strength. R. L. Hair, official of the C. F. & I., was asked to reopen his mines so that the idle could provide for their families. To accomodate these men, and to earn a few dollars, a new system of admittance and assurance was established. Cards were issued to authorized miners and not issued to the I. W. W. agitators.

¹³ Ibid., Nov. 12, 1927, p. 1:1.

¹⁴ Ibid., Nov. 14, 1927, p. 1:4.

¹⁵ Ibid.

were to be presented to Gov. Adams. The mine officials claimed that these petitions were just another means of getting into the mine for striking up dissatisfaction. 13 They threatened to send the men that anyone entering mine property with the intention of being treated as a trespasser. 14 Their authority in this matter was proven by W. T. S. James, the O. T. & I. man who had shown him- self to be forceful once before. James had used a good deal of force in getting one of these petitions from one of the mine owners and again had assault and battery charges filed against him. The strikers attempted to get extra money for their petitioners by promising to withhold striking and picketing activities. They would, that is, discontinue those activities until they had gotten their petitions for reinstatement and adjustment before the Governor. However the employers stood firm and the impoverished miners trickled back to work until the mine was reopened to about a half to three quarters of their operating strength. 15 A. A. Hall, official of the O. T. & I., was called to reopen the mine so that the idle could provide for their families. To accomplish this men and to earn a few dollars, a new system of strike fund and adjustment was established. Cards were issued to authorized miners and not issued to the I. W. O. strikers.

13 Ibid., Nov. 12, 1937, p. 1.

14 Ibid., Nov. 14, 1937, p. 1.

15 Ibid.

In one trouble spot machine guns were set up by Louis Scherf and his State Police to make sure that no strike leaders would get near the harassed miners. Scherf also kept tabs on the strike plans by sending spies to all of the secret meetings. These spies were termed "interpreters" by Scherf.¹⁶ He learned, via these men, that an affirmative vote had been cast in a secret meeting to return to their strike after the proposed meeting with the Governor. Having learned of this threat, the representatives of the citizens issued one of their own. Thomas Annear of the Industrial Commission announced that if the leaders were successful in the habeas corpus proceedings and obtained their release from jail, they would be rearrested and jailed on other charges and that this process would continue until the strike threat had completely vanished.¹⁷ As a matter of fact, the habeas corpus proceedings were soon to be dismissed because of other complaints which had been lodged against the impounded leaders. These men were reported to have been shuttled back again to the Pueblo jail.¹⁸ Too much business had been lost to the Utah mines for the mine-owners to relax their vigil then.

In spite of these disheartening setbacks, the I. W. W. inspired strikers continued their fight. Two new methods were

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 1:1.

¹⁷ Ibid., Nov. 15, 1927, p. 1:3.

¹⁸ Rocky Mountain News, Nov. 15, 1927, p. 5:1.

In one trouble just reaching that state set up by Louis Brandeis and his State Police to whom also that no certain lessons would be near the harassed citizen. Indeed also that was the state plane by sending again to all of the nearest neighbors. These cases were termed "integrated" by accident. It happened, it seems, that an affirmative vote had been cast in a certain meeting to return to their state after the unbroken night. The Governor. Having learned of this fact, the representatives of the citizens learned one of their own. There a learned of the unbroken night. Commission announced that if the Governor were successful in the habeas corpus proceedings and obtained their release from jail, they would be maintained and tried in their district and that this process would continue until the state is in a normal condition. As a result of this, the state's affairs were soon to be eliminated because of the successful result had been lodged against the integrated citizens. These men were reported to have been arrested and sent to the state jail. Too much business had been lost to the state for the citizens to return their attention. In spite of these allegations, the state is in a normal condition and the state is in a normal condition. The state is in a normal condition.

- 18 Ibid., p. 11.
- 19 Ibid., p. 12.
- 20 Ibid., p. 13.

employed in an attempt to make their presence distasteful to one group and effective to the other. A few men tried to get into a mining camp near Walsenburg under the pretext of paying dues to the Croatian Mutual Benefit and Fraternal Organization. The men had membership cards to this body and said that its headquarters was inside the mine property.¹⁹ The guards, however, would not let them in as they felt it was just another ruse. The other, and very much more threatening measure, was an appeal for recruits through the I. W. W. newspaper, Industrial Solidarity.

Send all foot loose rebels to Colorado. This is the hour for every rebel of the I. W. W. who can possibly march into Colorado for strike duty in the economic war on the C. F. & I. Company and allied robbers of coal miners.²⁰

As a result of this plea a caravan of about sixty cars was sighted in the Castle Rock area, just South of Denver, heading South. Because of this motorcade and because the fund set up for the State Law Enforcement Officers was depleted, the Colorado Attorney General gave the order for the calling of the National Guard.²¹ The Governor still had to be heard from in order to put the force into motion however. By November 18 it was estimated that one thousand foot-loose I. W. W. rebels were in or on the way

¹⁹ Trinidad Chronicle News, Nov. 17, 1927, p. 4:3.

²⁰ Ibid., Nov. 15, 1927, p. 1:3.

²¹ Ibid., Nov. 16, 1927, p. 1:4.

employed in an attempt to make their presence felt in the group and effective to the other. In the case of the latter mining camp near Walsenburg under the name of the group, the Christian Mutual Benefit and Industrial Association, it was had membership cards to this body and said that the Association was inside the mine property. 19

Let them in as they felt it was just another name. The other and very much more threatening nature, was at the time of the

recruits through the I. O. O. F. newspaper, under the name of the

Band all took issue with the statement. This is the hour for every rebel of the I. O. O. F. and the banding name into Colorado for strike duty in the summer of 1917. I. O. O. F. Company and allied robbers of coal mines.

As a result of this plan a number of men were sent was sighted in the Granite Rock area, just south of Denver, heading South. Because of this movement the business the town and up for the State Law Enforcement Officers and conducted, this situation Attorney General gave the order for the calling of the National Guard. 21 The Governor still had to be heard from in order to get the force into motion however. 22 November 15 it was estimated that one thousand foot-loose I. O. O. F. rebels were in or on the way

19 Wyoming Chronicle News, Nov. 17, 1917, p. 1.
20 Ibid., Nov. 18, 1917, p. 1.
21 Ibid., Nov. 18, 1917, p. 1.

²² to Walsenburg. This flow continued as the next few days passed and flares were lighted along the way to guide these newcomers. There were no disturbances reported and Gov. Adams still counted on the state police to handle the job. The C. F. & I. officials felt that the situation was none too good and suspended work in four of its mines near Walsenburg. This was the situation which was to explode early on November 21.

On this fateful morning just when it appeared that the miners' demands were all but stifled, some "fool speed cop,"²³ Louis Scherf, ordered his men to fire on an advancing mob which had ignored his order to stop. Three of the marchers were killed instantly and three more died later as a result of this battle at the Columbine Mine, about thirty-five miles Northwest of Denver. Governor Adams was finally forced to send the National Guard into two northern counties; although martial law was not declared, military rule was in force.²⁴ Two trains were loaded in Denver with Guardsmen and equipment to be ready to shove off for the southern fields in case any equally serious difficulties were to arise. But these troops never took the threatened trip as Governor Adams held firm to his trust in the State Police.

The Columbine killings did set off some demonstrations in the

²² Ibid., Nov. 18, 1927, p. 1:1.

²³ Ibid., Nov. 21, 1927, p. 1:1.

²⁴ Glenny, op. cit., p. 101.

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On this fateful morning just when it appeared that the miners'
 demands were all met and settled, some 7000 armed men, led by Louis
 ordered his men to fire on an advancing mob which had ignored his
 order to stop. Three of the mob were killed instantly and
 three more died later as a result of this battle at the Columbia
 Mine, about thirty-five miles northwest of Denver. Governor Adams
 was finally forced to send the National Guard into the territory
 country; although martial law was not declared, military rule was
 in force. Two trains were loaded in Denver with foodstuffs and
 equipment to be ready to move off for the territory. In case
 any equally serious difficulties were to arise, the trains were
 never took the threatened trip as Governor Adams said them to his
 trust in the State Police.

The Columbia killings did not end the disturbances in the

22 Ibid., Nov. 18, 1927, p. 111.

23 Ibid., Nov. 21, 1927, p. 111.

24 Glenay, op. cit., p. 101.

South. A group of about two hundred strikers set out to make the rounds and visited two mines in the Aguilar area. Forty-three of this group were arrested for picketing and a fight resulted between the remaining strikers and the guards. The pickets rushed the guards in an attempt to free the prisoners. Fists, clubs, and knives were used and twelve were injured but not seriously. In Aguilar itself two men were mobbed and severely beaten up when they voiced their intentions of working in the mines. Also R. R. Maiden, head of the State Law in southern Colorado, ordered the closing of the I. W. W. hall in that town because of the failure of the strikers to cease picketing.²⁵ Of course the men were incensed with the shooting at Columbine, but things were relatively quiet. Walsenburg, which was always a sore spot, had only five men arrested for demonstrations. The strikers, being leaderless, appeared to be angry and willing to fight, but they were handicapped. The National Guard had the North well in hand a combination of State and local police, courts, Industrial Commission, and mine officials held the southern strikers in check. Governor Adams was still trying to straddle the fence between the two factions. He still hoped for a peaceable settlement without being overcome by a bias one way or the other. The public was aroused now and then but not excessively except

²⁵ Trinidad Chronicle News, Nov. 21, 1927, p. 1:1.

South. A group of about two hundred strikers met on the
tomb and visited two mines in the morning. This group
this group were arrested for picketing and a fight resulted between
the remaining strikers and the guards. The guards killed the
guards in an attempt to force the picketers. Strikers, clubs, and
knives were used and twelve were injured and four killed. In
addition itself two men were mobbed and severely beaten up when
they voiced their intentions of working in the mines. The
Maiden, head of the State Law in Colorado, ordered the
closing of the I. W. O. hall in that town because of the actions
of the strikers to cause picketing. Of course, this was in
concess with the shooting at Colorado. The strike was
defeat. Colorado, which was always a strike spot, was only five
miles from the strike. The strikers, being leaders, appeared
to be angry and willing to fight, but they were whipped. The
National Guard had the North wall in hand a combination of state and
local police, courts, Industrial Commission, and mine officials held
the southern strikers in check. Governor Adams was still there to
strangle the fence between the two factions. He still hoped for a
peaceable settlement without being overcome by a side one way or the
other. The public was aroused now and was not too extensively

in the actually effected areas. Frequently the workers themselves only supported the strike half heartedly.

The relative inactivity in the southern coal fields while such a furor was being raised in the North had only one possible explanation. It would have been an ideal moment for forceful demonstrations even if many of the participants would have been arrested. Evidently the central office in Chicago had ordered a cessation of hostilities in this area for the leaders who were still free sent a telegram on November 23 asking this office for instructions to resume activities.²⁶

The strike had its national and international aspects which cropped up around the last week in November. Charges were aired that funds amounting to \$50,000. had been received from Russia via Mexico to continue the strike operations.²⁷ This statement was voiced by E. H. Weitzel of the C. F. & I. and it was further made by the Pueblo Star that Bill Haywood was behind the donation as previously mentioned.

In New York City, John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s office was picketed in protest of the actions which were being taken by the C. F. & I. in which Mr. Rockeller held an interest. These pickets were not very fortunate as they were attacked by a mob of citizens who had anti-Communist sympathies. Four of the pickets were then jailed on disorderly conduct charges and were found to be members of the Communist Party. A few days after this excitement this city was

²⁶ Ibid., Nov. 23, 1927, p. 1:1.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 1:3.

in the actually affected areas. The purpose of the present investigation
only supported the state's belief.
The relative insignificance in the economic field of this work
a factor was being raised in the North and only one possible explanation.
It would have been an ideal subject for historical investigation even
if many of the participants would have been arrested. Especially the
central office in Chicago had ordered a description of conditions in
this area for the leaders who were still there and a religious
November 23 said that the office for investigation was to receive activities.
The studies had its national and international aspects which
cropped up around the time of the war. The studies were also
funds amounting to \$50,000. had been received from the state of New York
to continue the study. The study was continued by
R. H. Weitzel of the C. I. O. and it was the work of the study
that Bill Hargrove was behind the study as a national committee.
In New York City, John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s office was located
in protest of the studies which were being taken at the C. I. O.
in which Mr. Rockefeller held an interest. These protests were not
very fortunate as they were attended by a few of the leaders and had
anti-Communist sympathies. Some of the persons who had joined
on disinterested conduct through and were found to be members of the
Communist Party. A few days after this statement this city was

20 Ibid., Nov. 22, 1939, p. 10.

21 Ibid., p. 10.

again the scene of a demonstration in favor of the Colorado strike. There was a mass meeting in Union Square at which about a thousand people gathered to hear orators' harangue from the soap boxes.

The Outlook took up the cudgel against Colorado's iron-handed methods. It argued that the strikers had no chance to act legally as Gov. Adams thought that even an orderly invasion was illegal.²⁸ With all this national prominence acquired the I. W. W. could congratulate itself for a job half done for public notice was a definite step toward the final goal of ownership of property.

In the meantime, the State Police continued to fill the center of the limelight in Colorado. The high cost of the strike had to be eliminated from governmental expenditures. For this reason R. R. Maiden clamped down more on the troubled area in order to bring a speedy end to the interruption of business. He said to the strikers that, "We are through coddling you fellows and handling your pickets with kid gloves. Hereafter if you want trouble you will get it."²⁹ Then, to reduce the financial burden on the State, the Police force was reduced in members. On November 12 six of them had been told to hand in their badges for they did not report one of their members for breaking the rules of the force.³⁰ Governor Adams undoubtedly took into consideration the fact that things were not too active and that

²⁸ "Colorado Coal Battle," Outlook, vol. 147, Dec. 7, 1927, p. 422.

²⁹ Trinidad Chronicle News, Nov. 23, 1927, p. 1:1.

³⁰ Rocky Mountain News, Nov. 12, 1927, p. 1:2.

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Then, to reduce the financial burden on the state, the Police Bureau
was reduced in members. On November 15 six of them had been told to
hand in their badges for they did not want one of their members for
breaking the rules of the force.³⁰ However, when immediately took
into consideration the fact that wages were not too active and that

²⁸ "Colorado Coal Battle," Outlook, vol. 1, no. 7, 1917, p. 428.
²⁹ Trinidad Chronicle News, Nov. 8, 1917, p. 1.
³⁰ Rocky Mountain News, Nov. 12, 1917, p. 1.

less men and more threats could handle the problem.

The officers who had taken part in the Columbine fracas had been transferred to the southern fields so that their presence would not cause any further demonstrations in the North. The police then proceeded to oppress the efforts of the few I. W. W. leaders still on the outside. These leaders had talked a local man into lending his building for mass meetings. The police moved in and arrested this man for his misdemeanor.

It was revealed at this time that Amelia Sablich had been offered freedom if she would promise to stay away from all the mass meetings. Since she refused to take this oath, she remained in jail for the duration. There were at that time, November 25, thirteen leaders in the Walsenburg jail, one, Svanum, in the Trinidad jail, and the rest in the Pueblo jail. Thus any prospects of concerted efforts on the strikers' part was unlikely.

After the Colorado State cumbersome official institutions had gotten underway, the month of December was spent in bringing the strike to its conclusion. Governor Adams had received the petitions of the strikers by November 25 and was trying to get both sides to accept mediation. These petitions, if taken with a grain of salt, had a great deal of truth in their content. They said that the Industrial Commission was cowardly, side-stepping, and playing politics. The documents further stated

less men and more threats would handle the problem.

The officers who had taken part in the Wilmington march had been transferred to the Western Union as their presence would not cause any further demonstrations in the North.

The police then proceeded to arrest the officers of the I. W. O. leaders still on the streets. These leaders had failed a local man into leading his building for some meetings. The police moved in and arrested him for his misbehavior.

It was revealed at this time that another building had been offered freedom if the union would provide to pay for it. The mass meetings, since the refusal to take this offer, the remained in jail for the duration. There were at that time, November 23, thirteen leaders in the Wilmington jail, one, Gorman, in the Trinidad jail, and the rest in the local jail. There were prospects of concerted efforts on the streets, but the authorities.

After the Colorado State numerous official investigations had gotten underway, the month of December was spent in bringing the strike to its conclusion. Governor Adams had received the petitions of the strikers by November 23 and was trying to get both sides to accept mediation. These petitions, it seems with a grain of salt, had a great deal of truth in their content.

They said that the Industrial Commission was necessary, side stepping, and playing politics. The documents further stated

that neither the strike leaders, the I. W. W., nor the coal operators wanted to compromise, therefore a settlement seemed impossible. It was claimed that, since evils did exist in the mining industry, there should have been some credence paid to the strikers' demands whether the I. W. W. was present or not. In conjunction with the petitions the owners said that they would meet their men but not the I. W. W.³¹ Yet they remained aloof.

At this time the State Federation of Labor offered its services to mediate the existing differences between employers and employees. At the same time they criticized both parties. They said that the companies were driving out the A. F. of L. and U. M. W. and had violated fair trade conditions. But they did not approve of the I. W. W. methods.³²

Since the strike activities seemed to be on a rapid decline, the strike leaders began to get their releases from jail with some minor difficulties. Paul Seidler, Roger Francezon, and Byron Kitto were all released from the southern jails, rearrested, and sent North into the hands of the military authorities. To get this little taste of freedom they had to promise to leave the strike area and stay out.

However, about a week later, December 9, the officials found a better use for these men. On this day it was announced that the

³¹ Trinidad Chronicle News, Nov. 25, 1927, p. 1:1.

³² New York Times, Nov. 25, 1927, p. 21:3.

that neither the strike leaders, the I. W. O., nor the coal operators wanted to compromise, therefore a settlement seemed impossible. It was claimed that since early this year in the mining industry, there should have been some progress paid to the strikers' demands whether the I. W. O. was present or not. In conjunction with the petition the owners said that they would meet their men but not the I. W. O. Yet they remained aloof. At this time the State Department of Labor offered the services to mediate the existing differences between employers and employees. At the same time they criticized the coal operators. They said that the companies were driving out the I. W. O. and U. M. W. and had violated their strike conditions. But they did not approve of the I. W. O. methods. Since the strike activities seemed to be on a rapid decline, the strike leaders began to get their releases from jail with some minor difficulties. Paul Galtier, Roger Harrison, and others were all released from the Western Jail, Westchester, and sent North into the hands of the military authorities. To get this little taste of freedom they had to promise to leave the strike area and stay out.

However, about a week later, December 1, the strikers found a better way for these men. On this day it was announced that the

I. W. W. leaders had offered to submit their proposals to the Industrial Commission for settlement.³³ But the next day the strikers formally asked the Commission to act.³⁴ This plea was not under the leadership of the radicals, and thus fulfilled one of the employers' demands. Immediately the Commission announced that, since the strikers' petitions were legal, they would act.³⁵ They were to carry on a hearing which was to last into the middle of March of 1923. This body's decision was not to be binding on either side which left a loophole for the employers who had little to lose and much to gain by not carrying out its decision.

Surprisingly enough, the County Judge of Las Animas County declared that the coal miners' strike would probably be declared legal.³⁶ To back up his statement he called on the Tri-City case, which ruled that there can be no prohibition of peaceable picketing, and *Dorchy vs. Kansas*, which said that the coal mining industry is not affected with a public interest, and "therefore the strike is lawful in its inception and legal in its conduct."³⁷

The employers, during this month, showed their mettle. The President of the C. F. & I., J. F. Welborn, declared that as far as he was concerned the strike was over by the last few days

³³ Trinidad Chronicle News, Dec. 9, 1927, p. 1:3.

³⁴ Rocky Mountain News, Dec. 9, 1927, p. 1:7.

³⁵ Trinidad Chronicle News, Dec. 11, 1927, p. 1:1.

³⁶ Ibid., Dec. 23, 1927, p. 7:1.

³⁷ Ibid.

I. W. W. leaders had offered to submit their proposals to the Industrial Commission for settlement.³² The next day the strikers formally asked the Commission to act.³³ This plan was not under the leadership of the railroad, and was killed by the employers' demands. Immediately the Commission announced that, since the strikers' actions were legal, they would act. They were to carry on a hearing which was to last until the end of March of 1933. This body's decision was not to be binding on either side which left a loophole for the employers and had little to lose and much to gain by not carrying out the decision. Surprisingly enough, the County Judge of Los Angeles County declared that the coal-miners' action would properly be declared legal.³⁴ To back up his statement he cited on the 21st day case, which ruled that there can be no prohibition of picketing, and Doherty vs. Keweenaw, which said that the coal-mining industry is not affected with a public interest, and therefore the strike is lawful in the absence of any legal in the contract.³⁵ The employers, during this hearing, showed great resistance. The President of the I. W. W., J. K. Brown, declared that as far as he was concerned the strike was legal and the case

³² Trinidad Chronicle News, Dec. 9, 1932, p. 112.

³³ Rocky Mountain News, Dec. 2, 1932, p. 117.

³⁴ Trinidad Chronicle News, Dec. 11, 1932, p. 113.

³⁵ Id., Dec. 23, 1932, p. 114.

³⁶ Id.

in November.³⁸ Although his mines were not entirely up to their pre-strike strength, they were producing all the coal that was needed by other industries owned by the company and all that was called for commercially. He saw little sense in giving the last few hangers-on any satisfaction or meeting any unnecessary demands. On the day before Christmas it was announced that the operators still refused to take back the strikers pending the proposed settlement of the Commission.³⁹ If these men were allowed on the payrolls their case would be legal for they would then be considered employees and their case could be presented to the Industrial Commission. Since they were not employees, there was another way out for the employers.

From November 25 until Christmas night of 1927, there was very little activity on the part of the strikers. Their funds were low, the miners had to work, and there were not many leaders free to lead the strike. It seemed as though, through their firm and somewhat questionable tactics, the mine owners had beaten down this uprising.

There were, however, a few isolated attempts by the strikers to regain their lost ascendancy and independent position. On November 29 in the Trinidad area a railroad bridge leading to one

³⁸ Ibid., Nov. 29, 1927, p. 1:1.

³⁹ Ibid., Dec. 24, 1927, p. 1:4.

in November.³⁸ Although his mine was not entirely up to their pre-strike strength, they were practically all the coal that was needed by other industries owned by the company and all that was called for commercially. He was little more in giving the last few hangers-on any satisfaction or meeting any unreasonable demands. On the day before Christmas it was requested that the operators still refused to take back the strikers pending the proposed settlement of the Commission.³⁹ It then was said allowed on the payroll their case would be kept for they would then be considered employees and their case would be referred to the Industrial Commission. Since they were not employees, there was another way out for the operators.

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There were, however, a few isolated attempts by the strikers to regain their lost autonomy and independent position. On November 29 in the Trinidad area a railroad strike led to one

³⁸ Ibid., Nov. 29, 1937, p. 141.
³⁹ Ibid., Dec. 24, 1937, p. 144.

of the mines was burnt out and obstructions were place on the tracks. This was believed to be an attempt to throttle the flow of coal from one area as well as to cause uneasiness in the miners. There was no direct charge as to who caused the fire and little worry was caused by it since the damage was quickly repaired. On December 12 a mass meeting was attempted in this same area and a slight decrease in working miners resulted. This effort was also spiked for the strikers charged that their meeting was held up by the spreading of nails and tacks on the road by parties unknown.⁴⁰

The more determined leaders saw that little could be done unless some promise of an income could be made to the miners. They therefore decided to gain control of a few mines in the Walsenburg environs. Here again they ran into the determined mine owners. The strikers took over two abandoned mines and the C. F. & I. set out to find the owners thereof and get the poachers thrown off. They rented a third mine from the Union Coal Company, for a dollar a year. This company said they wanted to show that the I. W. W. ideology would not be successful.⁴¹ But the C. F. & I. stopped this arrangement too. They said that there was no contract because the vein had been no good for years and the renting company had been hosting coal from the C. F. & I.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Dec. 12, 1927, p. 1:1.

⁴¹ Rocky Mountain News, Dec. 4, 1927, p. 1:5.

of the mine was burnt out and extinguished were placed on the
tracks. This was believed to be an attempt to destroy the flow
of coal from one area or well as to cause destruction in the
miners. There was no direct charge as to who caused the fire
and little worry was caused by it since the damage was quickly
repaired. On December 13 a mass meeting was arranged in this
same area and a slight decrease in working miners resulted.
This effort was also aimed for the purpose of causing a strike
their meeting was held in the morning at 10:00 and took
on the road by passing through.

The more determined leaders are that this would be
done under the direction of an Indian who is made to the
miners. They therefore decided to give a notice of a strike
in the following evening. Some again they had into the inter-
mined mine owners. The strike took over two hundred miners
and the C. I. A. I. set out to find the owners' houses and got
the postcard returned off. They received a letter from the Indian
Coal Company, for a dollar a year. This company said they wanted
to show that the I. C. A. I. was not a strike and was not
But the C. I. A. I. stopped this arrangement and they said that
there was no contract between the mine and the coal company
and the mining company had been working for the I. C. A. I.

40 Indic. Dec. 13, 1917, p. 111.

41 Rocky Mountain News, Dec. 13, 1917, p. 111.

on a royalty basis.⁴²

Finally on December 19 one of the strike leaders admitted that the strike was at a standstill and the organization was in debt.⁴³ Undoubtedly this announcement was welcomed in all circles except the I. W. W. But the strike was not over and they had not quite given up.

⁴² Trinidad Chronicle News, Dec. 5, 1927, p. 1:1.

⁴³ Ibid., Dec. 19, 1927, p. 1:5.

on a royalty basis.

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not quite given up.

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1934
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AS REQUESTED BY THE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, ON JANUARY 10, 1934.

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CHAPTER IV

"REIGN OF TERROR" AND AFTER

Late in the evening of Christmas 1927 Trinidad city official again misjudged the tenacity of their opposition. Trinidad had passed a sanitation law which made it illegal for the homeless strikers to sleep in their local hall. The Chief of Police, E. A. Clary, after posting the necessary notification of warning went to this building to see if the law was being carried out. Observing that it was occupied with sleepers he went back to the Police Station and gathered four recruits to help him enforce the law. Upon returning to the hall at 11:00 P. M., the police found that the front door would not open. They, therefore, went around to the side door which also must have been barred but which they kicked in. Upon entering, they flashed their lights on and were set upon by a crowd of waiting men.

Four of the policemen pulled out their guns and succeeded, momentarily, in beating off the attack. There was much talk directed at these four in Spanish, so one of them, Isaac Amador, was directed to act as interpreter. Before he could dissuade the inhabitants from violence the police were again attacked. This time they were knocked unconscious and disarmed. Another

THE CASE OF THE "MURDER" OF THE "MURDER"

late in the evening of Thursday, January 12, 1934, the official again managed the business of their operations. The first had passed a notification for which it is known for the homeless situation to which it had been sent. The Chief of Police, J. A. Clark, after receiving the notification of warning sent to this building to see if the law was being carried out. Observing that it was necessary with alacarte he went back to the Police Station and obtained four residents to help him enforce the law. Upon returning to the hall at 11:00 P. M., the police found that the front door would not open. They, therefore, went around to the side door which also must have been closed and which they kicked in. Upon entering, they found that the door was not open by a crowd of children. Four of the policemen pulled out their guns and searched momentarily, in beating off the crowd. Three men were taken directed at these four in 1934, as one of them, James, was directed to act as interpreter. Before he could examine the inhabitants from whom the police were being taken. This time they were known as "MURDER" and "MURDER".

of their force, who had been posted outside, when he saw what was happening, dragged Amador to safety. The rescuer then called the Mayor pro tem, Dr. James Espey, to come to the hall. The Doctor arrived at about 12:30 A. M. and was also captured, but was allowed to administer to the wounded. Clary had received a broken nose, Amador a broken shoulder, and all were well bruised. In the meantime the Sheriff and his men plus members of the Fire Department, who threatened to turn their hoses on the building and soak the attackers, had formed a cordon around the hall. The I. W. W. lawyer, R. W. Henderson, pleaded with the men inside to release the four captives and vacated the place. More than sixty men finally did surrender at about 2:00 A. M. on the condition that their property would not be harmed. Therefore, a little while later, a group of the State Police, which had been summoned from Walsenburg, broke into the hall and all but tore it apart as well as confiscated written records.

As a consequence of this battle and the holding of the Mayor, an edict was issued in the newspaper on December 27 calling all men to arms. It said:

PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, Lawless elements have come into our city, have

of their forces, who had been posted outside, when he saw that
was happening, directed attention to safety. The physician then
called the lawyer to him, Mr. James H. Hays, and went to his office.
The doctor arrived at about 12:15 A. M. and was a few minutes
but was allowed to administer to the wounded. Hays had
received a broken nose, another a broken shoulder, and all were
well treated. In the meantime the sheriff and his men
members of the fire department, who threatened to burn down
houses on the building and took the telephone, and forced a
cordon around the hall. The J. W. Hays, J. W. Hays, J. W. Hays,
pleaded with the men inside to release the four negroes and
rescued the place. There were eight men finally left there
at about 2:00 A. M. on the condition that their property would
not be harmed. Therefore, a little while later, a group of the
State Police, which had been summoned from Kansas City, broke
into the hall and all but two of them were well as discharged
written records.

As a consequence of this battle and the holding of the
Mayor, an office was issued in the newspaper on December 27, 1917.
All men to arms. It said,

DISCUSSION

THESE, however, have been the only ones.

established themselves in our midst, have defied and are openly defying our laws, and have feloniously attacked and seriously injured our police officers;

AND WHEREAS, our regular police force is too small in number to handle the situation;

NOW THEREFORE, I, James G. Espey, as Mayor Pro Tem of the city of Trinidad, do hereby call upon all able-bodied men who are well and anxious to see the laws of our city enforced and order maintained, to appear at the City Hall at 7 o'clock tonight, December 27, 1927, there to register, be appointed and commissioned as special police officers and be on call for duty as such.¹

Heeding this call, a crowd gathered at the City Hall to enlist for battle. Leaders in the churches and schools received the white arm band of the Citizens Law and Order Army. U. M. W. miners who had been strikers in the 1913-1914 massacre at Ludlow, Colorado, were signed up. Spanish-American War and World War I veterans were among the three hundred who marched against the I. W. W. It was even charged that the Mayor had deputized the Knights of Columbus and the Ku Klux Klan for duty.²

It was indeed a large and determined group which carried out the well planned invasion. Advanced scouts had been sent ahead to make sure that the attack would have the desired effect. All traffic along the route of advance had ceased. It was not until after 10:00 P. M. that the march of the citizens army began. The scouts had reported that a goodly number of their prey had left by the time the army arrived. In spite of these reports,

¹ Trinidad Chronicle News, Dec. 27, 1927, p. 1:1.

² Frank L. Palmer, "Solidarity in Colorado," Nation, vol. 126, p. 119, Feb. 1, 1928.

established themselves in the night, five before and six
openly during our laws, and have voluntarily attended and
rationally joined our cause of justice.

AND BECAUSE, our regular police force is too small to
number to handle the situation.

HOW THEREFORE, I, James O. Harvey, do hereby report to the
the city of Trinidad, do hereby call upon all who are
men who are well and anxious to see the laws of our city
enforced and order maintained, to appear at the city hall
at 7 o'clock tonight, December 27, 1923, when to vote
be appointed and authorized as special police officers
and be on call for duty as such.

Meeting this call, a crowd gathered at the City Hall to

exist for battle. Leaders in the crowd and others received

the white arm band on the left arm and right arm. U. S. A.

miners who had been arrested in the 1915-1916 movement at Huelga

Colorado, were signed up. Special-Deputies were also signed up.

veterans were among the three hundred who gathered at the

I. W. O. It was even charged that the Mayor had signed this

Knights of Columbus and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

It was indeed a large and determined group which gathered

out the well planned invasion. Advanced women had been sent

ahead to make sure that the attack would have the desired effect.

All traffic along the route of advance had ceased. It was not

until after 10:30 P. M. that the main body of the demonstrators began

The scouts had reported that a small number of their party had

left by the time the army arrived. In spite of these reports,

¹ Trinidad Chronicle News, Dec. 27, 1923, p. 1.

² Frank L. Palmer, "Laboratory in Colorado," Bulletin, Vol. 23,

p. 112, Feb. 1, 1923.

over forty captives were marched peacefully from the hall in a column of two with arms overhead. The State Police, also in attendance, then boarded up all the windows and padlocked the doors. Most of the captured men were Mexicans; all were held on charges of vagrancy and violation of city health codes. A few of the newly deputized officers continued their search for unruly strikers in the bars and pool halls about town but with little success. Citizens of Trinidad had finally acted and were determined not to have any repetitions of the Christmas night attack.

There was, for the next few days, much speculation and many threats were made as to the future of these jailed men. Immediately after the raid it was determined that the leaders of the mob should be charged with assault with intent to kill. As tempers cooled and a day passed it was thought that charges of assault with a deadly weapon would be filed. But, as the only deadly weapons found in the premises were those of the police, the latter charge was forgotten and simple assault was decided upon as the charge to be filed. When the trial was held, thirty-three men were found guilty of vagrancy and violation of health ordinances and were fined \$400.00 each. The officials, to get the last word in, also promised to enlarge the jail facilities to handle the present occupants more easily and any others who

over forty captives were numbered personally from the left in a column of two with arms extended. The other police, also in attendance, then pointed up all the windows and patrolled the doors. Most of the captives were young men; all were on charges of vagrancy and violation of city health codes. A few of the newly assigned officers continued their search for unruly strikers in the park and hotel halls about town and with little success. A list was of strikers and things noted and were determined not to have any repetitions of the previous night attack.

There was, for the night, much speculation and many threats were made as to the future of these fellow men. Immediately after the attack it was determined that the members of the mob should be charged with assault with intent to kill, as tempers cooled and a day passed it was thought that charges of assault with a deadly weapon would be filed. But, as the only deadly weapons found in the process were those of the police, the latter charge was forgotten and simple assaults were lodged upon as the charge to be filed. When the trial was held, thirty-three men were found guilty of vagrancy and violation of health ordinances and were fined \$200.00 each. The officials, at the last word in, also proceeded to release the jail inmates and to handle the present occupants now waiting for trial and others.

wanted to join them.

The I. W. W. attorneys were also active at this time. They tried to get an injunction to restrain the Trinidad, State, and County officials from carrying out anymore raids. Since this would probably take much time to get, the strikers opened up the hall, thus paid no heed to previous occurrences. Luckily for them, a local judge, although he upheld the health ordinance and dismissed the cases against the county and state law officers for their part in the march on the strikers' quarters, said that the city should not invade the hall either.³ Thus the I. W. W. received bigger gains in their fight to obtain a legal foothold than they had in some time. It is true that their efforts toward an effective strike had been hurt since over thirty of their fellows were lodged in jail and had been fined \$400. each. But this was counteracted by the fact that someone with some responsibility had recognized that they too might have some degree of property rights no matter how small they might be.

Since money was the big stumbling block for the I. W. W., they sent a few of their leaders on a junket toward the East to solicit funds. Flaming Milka Sablich was in New York City for this purpose about the end of December of 1927. While there she made speeches explaining what the miners were fighting for and

³ Trinidad Chronicle News, Jan. 4, 1928, p. 1:4.

wanted to join them.

The I. W. O. attorneys were also active in this line. They tried to get an injunction to restrain the United, State, and County officials from carrying out various orders. They would probably have made some headway, but the officers showed up the ball, thus paid no heed to previous arrangements. Finally for them, a local judge, although he upheld the United, State, and County officials, and dismissed the cases against the county and state law officers for their part in the matter of the injunction, stating that the city should not invade the bail of the I. W. O. attorneys. Several other cases were filed in this regard, but the local judge then they had in mind was. It is true that these officers found an effective strike and were this alone every day of their fellows were found in this way had been that I. W. O. would. This was counteracted by the fact that several other cases were filed, had recognized that they too might have some of property rights no matter how small they might be.

Since money was the one remaining stick in the I. W. O. they sent a few of their leaders as a lobbyist toward the United, State, and County officials. Standing before them was the I. W. O. and this purpose about the end of December of 1907. While there was made speeches explaining that the money was for the I. W. O.

United, State, and County Officials 8

against. She said that she had been lassoed by guards and had had guns shoved in her face by police while leading strike activities. She praised the Ku Klux Klan for trying to make the strikers' Christmas more pleasant through the donation of trees and presents. She also praised the American Legion for their refusal to help break the strike and for attending to the burial of three impoverished miners who had died of natural causes. Then she estimated the strikers' needs to be \$10,000. per week which would give the men \$3. a day, women \$1. a day, and children \$.50 a day.⁴ To receive the expected donations an office was set up on Broadway in that city.

In the meantime the C. F. & I. was also attempting to settle the strike through the miners' pocketbook. They announced another wage increase to be effective New Years Day, 1928.⁵ The new pay base was \$6.52 per day or another \$.10 increase per ton. Las Animas County miners were to get \$.90 per ton and Huerfano County workers \$.94 per ton. This raise should have been a great temptation to the destitute strikers and assurance to the working miners.

At that time a group of Walsenburg merchants had gotten together and were planning to sue their striking debtors who had run up a bill for \$13,000. in the various stores thereabouts. This

⁴ New York Times, Dec. 29, 1927, p. 13:7.

⁵ Trinidad Chronicle News, Dec. 29, 1927, p. 1:4.

against. The strike which had been declared by the miners and had been
shown in the news by police, which is also being reported.
The strike was in the state for the first time.
Christmas more pleasant through the absence of strikes and
The also praised the American Legion for their efforts to help
break the strike and for attending to the needs of the strikers.
ed miners who had filed a national demand. The demonstration for
strikes' needs to be \$10,000 per week which would allow the men
\$5 a day, women \$3 a day, and children \$2 a day. To receive
the expected economic situation in the state was not on the way in the
city.

In the meantime the U. S. A. I. has also attending to the
the strike through the strike, which is also being reported.
wage increase to an effective rate which is also being reported.
base was \$8.50 per day or another \$1.50 increase per day.
Animas County miners were to get \$10 per day and another \$1.50
workers \$9.50 per day. This rate should have been a great help
also to the destitute strikers and families who are working miners.
At that time a group of miners who were working in the
together and were planning to use their striking power and to
up a bill for \$10,000. In the winter strike the workers.

⁴ New York Times, Dec. 22, 1937.
⁵ Trinidad Chronicle News, Dec. 22, 1937.

action would certainly have hurt the impoverished strikers and would have done a good bit toward forcing them back to their jobs; but the suit seems to have been dropped for it received no more publicity.

The State of Colorado was then showing some signs of activity. On December 29th the Industrial Commission announced that their preliminary hearings concerning the causes and justification of the strike held in Denver were ended. They issued a call for the accounting books of the various companies in the strike area in an attempt to ascertain the correct profits and wage scales of each.⁶ The Commission also was ready to gather first hand testimony from both sides in the various areas concerned. Having fenced for three months with the different interested parties, they were finally to come to the southern area during the second week in January and get to the core of the dispute.

In the meantime Walsenburg was undergoing a typical series of disturbing incidents. The local I. W. W. Secretary, Mose Martinez, went out to cure Louis Lopez, leader pro temp of the miners while most of the other leaders were in jail, who was suspected of informing to the police forces of inside facts concerning the strikers plans. Martinez, when he found his victim,

⁶ Ibid., p. 1:1.

action would certainly have been the important thing to do. It would have done a good bit to the relief of the people, but the only reason it was not done was that it was not considered as being in the public interest.

The State of Colorado was then showing some signs of activity. On December 23rd the Industrial Commission announced that their preliminary hearings concerning the miners and the justification of the strike had been held in Denver and that it issued a call for the remaining parts of the strike and that in the strike area in an attempt to ascertain the correct position and was called on. The Commission also was called on. After that had been held, the Commission then held a hearing in the strike area. Having heard for three months the Commission was then interested parties, they were finally to come to the strike area during the second week in January and not to the end of the strike.

In the meantime the Commission was conducting a series of electric investigations. The local N. E. Secretary, John Martinez, went out to the strike area, looked into the situation and while most of the other leaders were to tell him the suggested of information to the local union of the strike concerning the strike. Martinez, who is a union leader, was the only one who was not a union leader.

called him various names and slapped his face. As he, Martinez, walked away he fired a shot which went wild and Lopez returned the fire and wounded Martinez in the stomach. Later Martinez claimed that he did not shoot, the gun just went off.⁷

Near one of the neighboring mines a group of over two hundred strikers put on a demonstration. The police marched this mob back to town and put as many as possible into the jail, releasing the others, who were almost one hundred in number. The town then passed a resolution that there should be no public gatherings, parades, or other demonstrations without the consent of the mayor. By such action they hoped to effect a ban on all radically inspired mass picketing and work stoppages.

But these moves were not to prove efficient enough to the authorities. On January 6th nineteen prisoners were taken from the jail and loaded into cars. They were then driven to Branson, Colorado,⁸ set free, and told to "go south, and if you come back you will be killed."⁹ These men were left with not enough clothes, little food, and no money. All but three paid no heed to the command and headed back north and later absolutely identified Louis Scharf as the ringleader of this maneuver.

⁷ Walsenburg Independent, Dec. 27, 1927, p. 1:7.

⁸ A small town on the New Mexico-Colorado state line about half way between Trinidad, Colorado, and Clayton, New Mexico.

⁹ Palmer, Loc. cit., p. 119.

called him various names and asked him if he was a Communist. He walked away he knew a little while later with his hands behind his back. The first and second witnesses in the courtroom later testified that he did not shoot, the gun was not fired.

Heard one of the witnesses make a claim of over two hundred dollars out of a commission. The police arrested this mob boss in 1936 and put him away in prison. In 1941, releasing the prison, the same almost was released in prison. The fact that he was a politician that there should be no public gathering, parade, or other demonstration without the consent of the mayor. By this action they were to stop a man on all matters. He was arrested and taken to the hospital.

But there were some who were different. The authorities, the January and February witnesses were taken from the jail and loaded into cars. They were taken away to Branson, Colorado, see this, and told to go back, and if you come back you will be killed. These men were told with not enough clothes, little food, and no money. All the time with no food to the command and wanted to be taken away. They identified him as the man who was the leader of the mob.

7. Colorado Independent, Dec. 17, 1936, p. 1.

8. A small town on the border between Colorado and New Mexico, half way between Durango, Colorado, and El Paso, New Mexico.

9. Palmer, pp. 111, 112.

The second week in January ushered in more apparent attempts at sabotage by the more embittered strikers. State officers and mine guards were told by a taxi driver that four men were tearing up a part of a C. F. & I. mine property fence. Upon investigation the officers found a long bomb fuse which may or may not have been an indication of attempted sabotage.

Two days later two bridges of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad were burned and charges of incendiarism were published by the owners in the newspapers. It was charged that the bridges had been saturated with gasoline. With the bridges destroyed, coal shipments would have been halted from the mine.

Sabotage was again feared when a striker was picked up by the police in the vicinity of a mine near Aguilar carrying thirty sticks of dynamite. Little credence was placed in his story that he was going to "blow an oil well"¹⁰ at 2:00 A. M.

These various activities appear to have little backing from the central headquarters of the agitators in Walsenburg and were soon to disappear from the news. Little or nothing was done in retaliation. As a matter of fact, A. K. Payne soon advised the I. W. W. to discontinue picketing and see what the industrial commission would decide to do.¹¹ This was of short duration for on the next day, January 12, Walsenburg had its taste of industrial bloodshed.

¹⁰ Trinidad Chronicle News, Jan. 10, 1928, p. 1:1.

¹¹ Ibid., Jan. 11, 1928, p. 5:6.

The second week in January appeared in most reports
attempts at sabotage by the mine and industrial workers.
Officers and mine guards were told by a local district
men were beating up a pair of a C. I. A. mine guard.
Upon investigation the officers found a few men who may
or may not have been in violation of industrial laws.
Two days later two bridges of the Denver & Rio Grande
Western Railroad were burned and charges of industrial
published by the owner in the newspaper. It was stated that
the bridges had been saturated with gasoline. With the bridges
destroyed, coal shipments would have been halted from the mine.
Charges were again found when a mine was closed by
by the police in the vicinity of a mine near the city.
Thirty sticks of dynamite. In this instance the police in the
story that he was going to blow an old well in the city.
These various activities appear to have little bearing
from the central headquarters of the workers in Washington and
were soon to disappear from the news. Little or nothing was
in retaliation. A matter of fact, a few days later
the I. W. W. no longer existed and the mine was industrial
commission would decide to do it. This was a story, however, was
on the next day, January 12, Washington had the news of industrial
discovered.

10 Trinidad Express News, Jan. 10, 1935, p. 1.

11 Idid, Jan. 11, 1935, p. 1.

The industrial commission was in Walsenburg on the day of January 12th to conduct their hearing in the field. The strikers, knowing about this and desiring to show their sentiments of solidarity and goodwill, formed a parade of about seven hundred people including miners, their families, strike leaders. They marched up Main Street in spite of the mayor's dictum against such activities. The mayor, police, and various other luminaries met them and tried to disband the group. Mayor John J. Pritchard told them to, "Turn around, boys and go back to the hall. This isn't allowed."¹² This seemingly had the desired affect as the parade started to turn around. Suddenly one of the miners stepped out of line and fired three shots at State Policeman Max Lordeman, two of which entered his groin and painfully wounded him. The identity of this assailant was in doubt for some time and it was thought that he was one of the casualties. But it was later decided by the newspapers that the man's identity was unknown. The miners then ran to the I. W. W. Hall and barricaded themselves in. The police, angered because of the serious wound inflicted in one of their comrades, said they would take the hall if they had to storm it with machine guns.¹³ Sniping from both sides then started. Various men had been sworn in to help the law forces.

¹² Walsenburg Independent, Jan. 13, 1928, p. 1:6.

¹³ Trinidad Chronicle News, Jan. 12, 1928, p. 1:4.

The industrial revolution was in progress on the day of
January 18th to search their hunting in the field. The witnesses
knowing about this and desiring to show their knowledge of solid
evidence and good will, formed a parade of their own hands on the
including miners, their families, Arthur Jordan, they carried
up main street in spite of the mayor's efforts against such
activities. The mayor, police, and various other authorities
met them and tried to disband the group. Mayor John L. Hayward
told them to, "Turn around, boys and go back to the mill. This
isn't allowed." 12 This assembly had the desired effect as the
parade started to turn around. Suddenly one of the miners stepped
out of line and fired three shots at those following the parade.
Two of which entered the crowd and painfully wounded two.
Identity of this assassin was in doubt for the time and it was
thought that he was one of the spectators. But it was later
decided by the newspaper that the man's identity was unknown.
The miners then ran to the I. O. O. F. hall and purchased champagne
in. The police, alerted because of the serious wound inflicted
in one of their spectators, said that would take the rest of the day.
had to storm it with machine guns. 13
then started. Workers had been waiting in the hall for the police.

12 Minneapolis Tribune, Jan. 18, 1902, p. 1.

13 Minneapolis Tribune, Jan. 14, 1902, p. 1.

Machine guns were set up in strategic places such as the Court House and "a state of unofficial martial law prevailed."¹⁴

All the town's establishments were closed by the mayor. A reserve militia was kept at the court house to be available for any difficulties. The firing continued for about an hour and the battle-field included about two blocks in the town. During the pitched battle one man was killed instantly and another died of wounds received. At the time it seemed as though Klementz Chavez was shot while sniping out of a second story window and fell from the window, got caught on telephone wires, and then fell to the ground. His body was rescued by his besieged companions. The other man to die was Salistino Martinez who was struck by a stray bullet. Another miner was seriously wounded but was destined to recover. By 5:30 P. M. the firing ceased. Women and children gathered near the hall and sang the I. W. W. song, "Solidarity." By 7:00 P. M. the crowd in the hall had dwindled to about one hundred men. But the law of Walsenburg continued its vigilance and patrolled the streets throughout the night.

Coroner, Edward Slates, did not help the citizens' cause at all. On January 14 he stated that he could not find any evidence of sniping from the I. W. W. Hall as the police contended.¹⁵ There was little

¹⁴ New York Times, Jan. 13, 1928, p. 10:1 and 2.

¹⁵ Trinidad Chronicle News, Jan. 14, 1928, p. 1:4.

Machine guns were set up in strategic places such as the front door

and "a state of emotional anarchy" was generated.

All the town's inhabitants were alerted by the night.

reserve militia was alerted to the extent of being able to be available for any

difficulties. The firing continued for about an hour and the police

field included about two blocks in the town. During the fighting

battle one man was killed instantly and another died of wounds

received. At the time it seemed as though thousands of people were about

while sniping out of a second story window and fell from the window

got caught on telephone wires, and then fell to the ground. The

body was rescued by his horrified companions. The crowd ran to the

was shouting hysterically and was taken by a heavy bullet. Another

miner was seriously wounded but was destined to recover. By

5:30 P. M. the firing ceased. Women and children gathered near the

hall and were the 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, 112th, 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 124th, 125th, 126th, 127th, 128th, 129th, 130th, 131st, 132nd, 133rd, 134th, 135th, 136th, 137th, 138th, 139th, 140th, 141st, 142nd, 143rd, 144th, 145th, 146th, 147th, 148th, 149th, 150th, 151st, 152nd, 153rd, 154th, 155th, 156th, 157th, 158th, 159th, 160th, 161st, 162nd, 163rd, 164th, 165th, 166th, 167th, 168th, 169th, 170th, 171st, 172nd, 173rd, 174th, 175th, 176th, 177th, 178th, 179th, 180th, 181st, 182nd, 183rd, 184th, 185th, 186th, 187th, 188th, 189th, 190th, 191st, 192nd, 193rd, 194th, 195th, 196th, 197th, 198th, 199th, 200th, 201st, 202nd, 203rd, 204th, 205th, 206th, 207th, 208th, 209th, 210th, 211st, 212nd, 213th, 214th, 215th, 216th, 217th, 218th, 219th, 220th, 221st, 222nd, 223rd, 224th, 225th, 226th, 227th, 228th, 229th, 230th, 231st, 232nd, 233rd, 234th, 235th, 236th, 237th, 238th, 239th, 240th, 241st, 242nd, 243rd, 244th, 245th, 246th, 247th, 248th, 249th, 250th, 251st, 252nd, 253rd, 254th, 255th, 256th, 257th, 258th, 259th, 260th, 261st, 262nd, 263rd, 264th, 265th, 266th, 267th, 268th, 269th, 270th, 271st, 272nd, 273rd, 274th, 275th, 276th, 277th, 278th, 279th, 280th, 281st, 282nd, 283rd, 284th, 285th, 286th, 287th, 288th, 289th, 290th, 291st, 292nd, 293rd, 294th, 295th, 296th, 297th, 298th, 299th, 300th, 301st, 302nd, 303rd, 304th, 305th, 306th, 307th, 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594th, 595th, 596th, 597th, 598th, 599th, 600th, 601st, 602nd, 603rd, 604th, 605th, 606th, 607th, 608th, 609th, 610th, 611st, 612nd, 613th, 614th, 615th, 616th, 617th, 618th, 619th, 620th, 621st, 622nd, 623rd, 624th, 625th, 626th, 627th, 628th, 629th, 630th, 631st, 632nd, 633rd, 634th, 635th, 636th, 637th, 638th, 639th, 640th, 641st, 642nd, 643rd, 644th, 645th, 646th, 647th, 648th, 649th, 650th, 651st, 652nd, 653rd, 654th, 655th, 656th, 657th, 658th, 659th, 660th, 661st, 662nd, 663rd, 664th, 665th, 666th, 667th, 668th, 669th, 670th, 671st, 672nd, 673rd, 674th, 675th, 676th, 677th, 678th, 679th, 680th, 681st, 682nd, 683rd, 684th, 685th, 686th, 687th, 688th, 689th, 690th, 691st, 692nd, 693rd, 694th, 695th, 696th, 697th, 698th, 699th, 700th, 701st, 702nd, 703rd, 704th, 705th, 706th, 707th, 708th, 709th, 710th, 711st, 712nd, 713th, 714th, 715th, 716th, 717th, 718th, 719th, 720th, 721st, 722nd, 723rd, 724th, 725th, 726th, 727th, 728th, 729th, 730th, 731st, 732nd, 733rd, 734th, 735th, 736th, 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argument that Martinez was killed by a stray bullet. It was reported that he had made a deathbed statement to Dr. W. S. Chapman which exonerated the state police for his wounds. He said that the shot which caused his death came from the I. W. W. Hall.¹⁶ The Coroner however did not believe this statement. The official statement about his death was that he "came to his death from gunshot wounds from persons unknown to this jury."¹⁷ Chavez's death was directly blamed on the state police. The police were criticised by the Coroner for "showing total disregard for human life by firing through windows into the street outside, . . ."¹⁸ and it was hinted that they had used an explosive bullet, although Scherf denied this. In spite of the set back, the district attorney said that no charges would be filed against the police.¹⁹ Twenty eight of the thirty one witnesses at the trial were in the hall or in the parade and therefore partial to the strike cause.

The courts in Trinidad were beginning to get rid of the occupants of their jail. Nevertheless work was continued to enlarge it to take care of any of the wayward. On the other side of the picture eleven of the strikers were convicted of vagrancy and fined \$300. each. Only three of this group were absolved. At about the

¹⁶ Ibid., Jan. 16, 1928, p. 1:1.

¹⁷ Ibid., Jan. 17, 1928, p. 1:1.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

argument that the witness was killed by a stray bullet. It was reported that he had made a statement to the coroner which exonerated the state police for his death. The coroner however did not believe the statement. The coroner stated that his death was due to his death from gunshot wounds from persons unknown to him. The police were death was directly blamed on the state police. The police were criticized by the coroner for refusing to let the state police life by firing through windows into the street outside. and it was hinted that they had an explosive device. Robert denied this. In court at the time, the coroner attorney said that he was sure that the police were guilty. Twenty eight of the thirty one witnesses at the trial were in the hall or in the house at the time of the shooting. The court in its final verdict began to give the occupants of their jail. Nevertheless work was continued to make it to take care of any of the weapons. On the other side of pictures eleven of the witnesses were ordered to give the \$200. each. Only three of the group were awarded. as much as

- 18. Ibid., Jan. 10, 1938, p. 141.
- 19. Ibid., Jan. 17, 1938, p. 141.
- 20. Ibid.
- 21. Ibid.

same time, January 16, the trials of those who had been active in the Trinidad reign of terror were appearing on the docket. Three of them were found guilty of assault with a deadly weapon. They were soon fined \$250. and sentenced to seven months in jail.

Kristen Svanum's trial started on January 20th. He was arraigned on five charges of inciting picketing. The state contended that he had made a speech at the famous Ludlow strike monument in October of 1927 and had stated that picketing was the backbone of the strike. Svanum said that he wanted to test the unfair picket laws.²⁰ He contended that he had not permitted violence nor the bearing of arms.

On January 23 he was found guilty and given two days plus costs. Secretary of State Frank Kellogg came into the scene at this time. He wanted all the facts on A. K. Orr who claimed to be a British subject. Orr had been held in the Pueblo jail for 21 days without charge and had been beaten.²¹ Gov. Adams supported his police force by vindicating them for the beating charge.

Byron Kitto was the next leader to meet his peers. He was found guilty of picketing but clemency was recommended. This recommendation seems to have had little effect as he was sentenced to 25 days in jail and fined costs. As the days went by and time

²⁰ Trinidad Chronicle News, Jan. 21, 1928, p. 1:1.

²¹ Ibid., Feb. 3, 1928, p. 1:1.

some time, January 18, the trials of those who had been active in the Trinidad reign of terror were continuing on the radio. Many of them were found guilty of assault with a deadly weapon. They were soon fined \$500, and sentenced to seven months in jail.

Trinidad's trial started on January 20. He was arraigned on five charges of having picketed. He stated contended that he had made a speech at the famous London Square monument in October of 1957 and had stated that picketing was the backbone of the strike. Swaine said that he wanted to test the United States law. He contended that he had not committed violence nor the bearing of arms.

On January 22 he was found guilty and given two years plus costs. Secretary of State Frank Belling was into the case at this time. He wanted all the facts on A. R. and the claim to be a British subject. Orr had been held in the Puerto Rico jail for 21 days without charge and had been beaten. Gov. Adams supported his police force by vindictive them for the beating charge.

Byron Riffe was the next member to reach his prison. He was found guilty of picketing and sentenced to 21 months. This recommendation seems to have had little effect as he was sentenced to 25 days in jail and fined \$500. As the days went by and the

30 Trinidad's trial, Jan. 21, 1958, p. 11
31 Ibid., Jan. 22, 1958, p. 11

began to heal the wounds left by the strike more and more of the jailed gained their freedom and only a few were found guilty.

The people of Walsenburg were weary of the strife and desired industrial peace. They therefore took action to rid themselves of some of the trouble makers. Eighteen men who said that they were willing to leave town were released from jail and escorted to the edge of town. It was desired that the wholesale arrests should be discontinued because they had turned out to be expensive. It was also proposed that the past jail costs be assumed by the whole state.²² January 29 the city turned the jail keys over to the state police. Thus it appeared that this town had had its fill of the disruptions caused by the strikers.

The judiciary of this area was not through however. Judge McChesney denied a writ of habeas corpus to three of the men. About a week later, District Court Judge J. F. Symes handed down a decision which seemed, at first, to reverse the decision of his colleague. He ruled that since there was no martial law in the area there would be habeas corpus. He protected himself by stating that he did not care for the I. W. W. and proved this statement by holding the defendants for \$1,500. bail to await appeal which could have taken a long time.²³ It was actions such as these which

²² Walsenburg Independent, Jan. 24, 1928, p. 1:7.

²³ Rocky Mountain News, Feb. 16, 1928, p. 2:1.

began to feel the effects of the strike more and more, and finally

gained their freedom and only a few days later.

The people of Massachusetts were not at all satisfied and feeling

industrial peace. They therefore took action to the improvement of

some of the present workers. It was then the first time that they were

willing to leave town and returned from jail and accepted to the

edge of town. It was decided that the workers should be

be discontinued because they had shown out to be extremely

was also proposed that the next day should be observed by the state

state. January 22 the day when the jail was over to the

state police. This it appeared that this time had been the first

of the disturbance caused by the workers.

The majority of this case was not known however. It was

McDonough tried a suit of habeas corpus on the 22nd of the year.

About a week later, District Judge J. W. Ames handed down

a decision which seemed, at first, to reverse the rulings of his

colleagues. He ruled that since there was no violation of the

area there would be no habeas corpus. He pointed out himself by stating

that he did not see how J. W. Ames could have been so

by holding the prisoners for 22 days. He said in this case that

could have taken a long time. It was not until the 22nd of

22 Massachusetts Industrial Union, Inc. vs. Ames

22 Rocky Mountain News, Inc. vs. Ames

The Nation attacked when they publicized the case of Frank L. Palmer who had been jailed on no charges and detained for some time because he had written articles blasting the local officials.²⁴

The Colorado Industrial Commission received a great deal of adverse publicity, especially from the national magazine, The Nation. It charged the industrial commission with being very slow and timid in acting. The commission opened its hearings on December 19, 1927, instead of in September when the difficulties loomed on the horizon.²⁵ The commission got under way only after men had been killed at the northern Colorado mine of Columbine.²⁶ After denying the I. W. W. any legal status for several months because this body did not represent the miners, their position was reversed through necessity caused by the Columbine disaster.

When the Commission did get down to business in the southern strike area around the latter half of January of 1928, a great deal of interesting information came to the front. The Walsenburg miners stated that they had to undertake to pay for physical examinations, goggles, medical funds, lamps, blacksmithing, and booklets on the Rockefeller plan. When these workmen voiced their opinions about bad working conditions to the proper mine authorities they were told to leave if they did not like it.²⁷ The Trinidad miners

²⁴ Palmer, Loc. cit., p. 118.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 118.

²⁶ "Rebellion in Colorado," Nation, 126:33, Jan. 11, 1928.

²⁷ Trinidad Chronicle News, Jan. 18, 1928, p. 4:1.

The Nation attacked when they mentioned the case of Frank Palmer who had been jailed on no charges and released for some time because he had written articles about the local situation. The Colorado Information Committee received a great deal of adverse publicity, especially from the political opposition. It charged the industrial community with being very close and kind in action. The committee named its report as January 15, 1935, instead of in December when the articles appeared in the Nation. The committee got out very early and had been killed at the northern Colorado mine of Colorado. At that time the mine was any legal status for several months because the mine had not presented the mine. The mine was now owned by the Colorado mine owned by the Colorado mine. When the committee got out to business in the mine strikes were around the latter half of January of 1935, a great deal of interesting information was to be obtained. The committee had stated that they had no intention to get for physical evidence, goggles, medical funds, lamps, hand sawing, and books in the Rockefeller mine. When these were found they found that they had working conditions in the mine and the mine was told to leave if they did not like it.

- 24 Palmer, Frank, 1935, p. 128.
- 25 Ibid., p. 128.
- 26 "Rebellion in Colorado," Nation, 1935, p. 128.
- 27 Trinidad Chronicle, 1935, p. 128.

added to the long list of grievances. They claimed that they had to shovel coal twice to load it with no extra pay for the coal cars were not near enough to the place of excavation and the men were paid for each ton rather than for hours worked. It was also stated that the weights of extracted coal were light, there was not pay for loading rocks, they had to pull empty cars without mules, mine wiring was not well insulated, and they had to walk over two miles to work.²⁸ As is only natural, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. denied this and claimed that they did give rates for dead work.²⁹

The I. W. W. continued to put on a bold front and took measures to assure the strike weary miners of their faith in the cause although the skies looked none too good for them. Five bales of clothes were received from New Jersey sympathizers which were distributed to the needy. A Junior Industrial Workers of the World was established to embrace and encourage the progeny of the miners. The age minimum was set at twelve years, initiation fee at five cents, and dues were one cent per week. This was indeed looking into the future. The Walsenburg soup kitchen was still in operation. The cost to feed one person for one week was estimated to be \$.50 which was reasonable. This was explained by the fact that two

²⁸ Ibid., Jan. 23, 1923, p. 1:1.

²⁹ Ibid., Jan. 26, 1923, p. 1:2.

added to the long list of employees. They stated that they had
 to shovel coal twice a day and that the work was very hard.
 cars were not sent enough to the place of destination and the men
 were paid for each car whether they had any coal in it. It was also
 stated that the weights of the coal were not right, that they were
 not pay for loading the cars, they had to pull empty cars along
 miles, mine wiring was not well maintained, and they had to walk
 over two miles to work. As the only mineral, the Colorado fuel
 and iron ore, landed at this point and shipped to the west coast for
 hard work.

The I. W. W. continued to put out a bold front and took measures
 to assure the strike workers of their faith in the cause
 although the strike looked more and more like a failure. The men
 who were received from the strike organizations were not
 fit to the work. A number of men, however, of the strike
 was established to employ and organize the property of the mine.
 The men who were not at the strike, however, were at the
 cents, and there were one cent per day. This was indeed lacking
 into the mine. The following day the men were still in the mine.
 The cost to feed the men for one week was estimated to be \$100
 which was considerable. This was explained to the men and was

23
 1911, Jan. 22, 1911, p. 111.
 24
 1911, Jan. 22, 1911, p. 111.

men admitted cattle rustling to supply the necessary beef stock for the soup.³⁰

If Louis Scherf can be believed, the Wobblies had a great store of guns stowed away in the Walsenburg area, having received them from the northern fields. The probability of such is doubtful as the radical headquarters in this town were again raided on the last day of January and only one gun was confiscated. It was reported however that many clubs were taken and much correspondence destroyed after the door had been broken down to gain entry by the state police.³¹ This action was not well received by the strike leaders who, under the leadership of R. W. Henderson, demanded \$100,000. exemplary damages and \$500. actual damages for such waywardness.³²

This bluster and determination on the part of the Wobblies were to no avail for capitulation was in the wind. The first sign of this came on February 5th when it was announced that the Poles and Slavs in the strike areas had broken off relations with the I. W. W. and were trying to get their old jobs back.³³ Within a week there was a general tendency to transfer from the strike back to the job. This was followed by definite activity in this direction. However many of the ex-strikers could not get their jobs back as

³⁰ Rocky Mountain News, Feb. 1, 1928, p. 22:5.

³¹ Walsenburg Independent, Jan. 31, 1928, p. 1:7.

³² Rocky Mountain News, Feb. 2, 1928, p. 22:1.

³³ Rocky Mountain News, Feb. 5, 1928, p. 6:2.

men admitted earlier meeting together for the purpose of
for the group.

It would seem that he believed the situation had changed
store of guns stored away in the basement area, having received
them from the northern field. The possibility of a new situation
for as the national headquarters in this town were again
on the last day of January and only one day was left.
was reported however that the situation was not as serious
bondage destroyed after the town had been broken down in gain
entry by the state police. The situation was not self-reported
by the state leaders who, under the leadership of R. W. Henderson,
demanded \$10,000, a large sum for the time being.
such weapons.

This situation and cooperation on the part of the state
were to be available for organization was in the mind. The time
of this case on January 22nd when it was announced that the
and slaves in the state were not to be taken off to the
I. W. A. and were trying to get their old jobs back.
week there was a general strike to prevent from the state
to the job. This was followed by definite action in this direction.
However many of the state leaders could not get their jobs back as

- 30 Booker T. Washington, Nov. 14, 1901, p. 100.
- 31 Washington Post, Jan. 12, 1902, p. 1.
- 32 Booker T. Washington, Nov. 14, 1901, p. 100.
- 33 Booker T. Washington, Nov. 14, 1901, p. 100.

the seasonal slack in demands for coal had arrived.

On February 19 it was voted by 88% of the workers that the strike be called off. Ten day later the Colorado State Police force was withdrawn from the coal fields. As a parting shot at the officials, the strike leaders explained their actions by stating that they did not want to make the mistake of striking during the slack season.³⁴ Their leadership had been felt by many not only in Colorado but also in the neighboring states and even as far as New York. But the mine owners of Colorado had felt the effects more deeply for it was estimated that they had lost one million tons of coal.³⁵

³⁴ Ibid., Feb. 20, 1928, p. 3:4.

³⁵ Trinidad Chronicle News, Jan. 21, 1928, p. 1:1.

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CHAPTER V

NEW MEXICO ON THE ALERT

New Mexico's efforts during the strike were almost entirely directed toward keeping the I. W. W. forces out of their mines in the Dawson, Madrid, and Gallup areas. The Governor's steps were not so much curative as they were preventive. The radical organizers were closely watched from the time of their appearance in the coal fields of Colorado until some time after the strike had been mutually declared over by both factions. When the first serious action threatened to disturb the peace of the neighboring state Governor Dillon took immediate action to prevent its spread.

It was indicated that A. S. Embree was in Walsenburg not too far from the New Mexic-Colorado stateline many months previous to the flareup. He was there by November 24, 1926. It was also indicated that the I. W. W. was definitely interested in boring into New Mexico.¹ In their efforts the Wobblies were very determined and would never say that it was impossible to strike, nor was it permissible to say that they were liable to be raided for that was admitting weakness. This then was the type of action against which the Governor was guarding when he requested that

¹ Svanum to Embree, July 27, 1927, Dillon Papers.

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an officer of the United States Army be sent to investigate.²

In this effort, however, he was thwarted for the Army had no authority in such cases. The Governor therefore had to rely upon his own National Guard and local peace officers, which he did, and whom were alerted to keep a watchful eye for any intruders.

On October 27, 1927, Governor Dillon felt it was time to act and therefore dispatched twenty guardsmen from Las Vegas, who arrived in Raton late in the evening of the same day. The Governor said that he did not want intimidation nor property damage and felt that Governor Adams had not acted soon enough.³ There had been two agitators near the Sugarite and Swastica mines in the Dawson area, trying to get the men to leave their jobs on October 26. It was thought that the miners were satisfied with their conditions and did not want any interference. To support the troops, the future Adjutant General, Major W. J. Halthusen, was also sent into the area to investigate conditions. Because of the small number of the troops there, the commanding officer, Capt. T. V. Truder, soon requested that more troops be sent.⁴ This request was quickly complied with; on October 29 forty more men arrived from Santa Fe.

² Dillon to Commanding General Eighth Corps Area, Oct. 27, 1927. Ibid.

³ Raton Range, Oct. 28, 1927, p. 1:7.

⁴ Truder to Dillon, Oct. 28, 1927, Dillon Papers.

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There seemed to be some apprehension as to the presence of these guardsmen on the part of the citizens of Raton and Dawson. The Phelps Dodge Corporation of Dawson had asked for a strong force even if the people did receive them with mixed feeling. To allay any of the opposition, it was repeatedly announced that the troopers were to be merely investigators until sworn in to assist the sheriff, that they were there to help not to override; and that they were all at the disposal of Sheriff W. B. Davis.⁷

By the first part of December the National Guard contingent had grown to about one hundred officers and men. On November 18 twenty five more men arrived from Clayton, and all of the troops were moved from the Seaberg Hotel in Raton to tourist courts at the foot of Raton Pass so that the men could be closer to their outpost. The Governor and Mrs. Dillon paid the encampment a visit on that date in order to get the proper perspective of the situation. It was expected that the Guard would stay for some time for they had constructed a mess hall in the environs not only to ease the commissary problem but also to cut down on expenses. The Adjutant General, Col. Halthusen, as of November 1, was also taking up semi-permanent quarters in the area.

On December 1 thirty more men arrived, this time from Las Cruces. There was no definite trouble which caused their call to

⁷ Ibid., p. 1:7.

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duty but there were rumors of pending agitation by the I. W. W. On the day after their arrival thirty men were sent to protect the Dawson area from any agitators who might have gotten through the road block set up on Raton Pass. In this area the troopers used the transportation and messing facilities of the Phelps Dodge Corporation, thus demonstrating how welcome their presence was to the vested interests. The road block on Raton Pass was composed of one non-commissioned officer and three enlisted men who were armed with pistols or rifles and a Browning automatic rifle. It seemed to be an efficient method for these men caught four car thieves, turned back many suspected agitators, and put one Wobbly leader in jail who was later turned back into Colorado.

The New Mexico state board of finance also came to the support of Gov. Dillon. They announced that they had placed all their resources in the hands of the Governor as commander-in-chief and backed him wholeheartedly in his effort to keep out lawless elements. But by January 17, 1928, they also announced that a new method of paying for the guardsmen had to be found as they, the Board, had gone as far as they could.⁸ A call was issued for a meeting of various influential men in the State to study the problem of protecting their property. It was suggested that there be an extra legislative session called or that a less expensive police force be organized patterned after Colorado's state police force.⁹

⁸ L. A. Hughes to F. H. Porter, Jan. 17, 1928, Dillon Papers

⁹ Ibid.

This meeting was soon followed by an announcement by the First National Bank of Santa Fe that it had agreed to buy up to \$50,000 in state certificates of indebtedness bearing 4% to cover the cost of the National Guard.¹⁰

Many of the people of Raton came to the aid of Guardsmen by trying to make their stay less wearisome. Passes were issued to the moving pictures, the lobby of the Seaberg Hotel was opened, and dances were proposed. The Methodist Church ladies group fed the soldiers dinner so that the boys would have a change in diet and the ladies could raise money.

There were a few instances of ill feeling existing between the visitors and the citizens. On one occasion a guardsman and a local school principal got into a rather serious fist fight. On another occasion one of the guardsmen was shot and killed by one of his fellow troopers during a drinking bout; this caused a furor in Raton which resulted in all firearms being taken away from the men when in town on duty and in clubs being substituted for the guns. But other than these two incidents things seemed to be rather quiet and routine for the guards.

Besides directing the efforts of the troops the officers acted as observers by frequently travelling to the scene of the disturbances in southern Colorado. Their reports to the Governor

¹⁰ Raton Range, Jan. 31, 1928, p. 1:5.

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of such reconnoitering expeditions and what took place at the road block showed that they had respect for the ability of the leaders and that they intended to combat any threats. Fearing the proximity of the mass meetings at the Morley Mine just across the state line the troops were deputed on October 30. Officials at Madrid and at Gallup were alerted for many cars, whose occupants were possible agitators on their way to other fields, which were reported on their way through the state from Colorado and headed for Arizona. Albuquerque and Sheriff Hubbell were warned that the strike leaders might appear there. A list of car license plates of the strikers was made out so that all such cars could be turned back at the Pass. A list of short biographies showing nationalities and criminal records of Francezon, Svanum, Seidler, Orr, Kitto and Childs were sent to the Governor for his study. Of these Seidler and Childs were sent to the Governor for his study. Of these Seidler and Childs were the only ones who had any records of jail terms; Orr, who was educated in England, had been expelled from the University of Wisconsin for radical tendencies. The officers offered several recommendations. It was suggested, since 84% of the strikers were Mexican, that this type of labor should be eliminated and that each state should have a board of two men to watch for radical movements so that the state would have some manner of being forewarned.¹¹ Col.

¹¹ Truder and Thornton to Dillon, Dec. 8, 1927, Dillon Papers.

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Halthusen frequently advised against the removal of the troops, giving as reasons for so advising that the I. W. W. was constantly getting money and that they would be in New Mexico as soon as the troops left Raton.¹²

The Santa Fe Railroad too was in constant dread of the I. W. W. invasion. Early in the strike they sent company guards to protect the train tunnel in Raton Pass. They feared that the strike leaders might have become inspired to blow it up. And more than once they advised the National Guard command not to leave the Pass unprotected.

The Sheriff of Colfax County, William B. Davis, had quite a job on his hands. But, as already noted, on October 30 he shifted some of his burden onto the shoulders of the Guard. Nevertheless he busied himself by taking trips to Trinidad and Walsenburg to observe the methods of the I. W. W. and by trying to establish an effective policy of combatting the threatened difficulty. During one week he estimated that he and his deputies had moved about fifty men out of the Raton.¹³ During this time the town had an epidemic of robberies which the Sheriff said had been due to the increased number of floaters.¹⁴

In late January and early February of 1928 Governor Dillon had a special investigator in the field. This man had the unofficial designation of public relations officer or New Mexico's publicity

¹² Halthusen to Dillon, Dec. 16, 1927, Ibid.

¹³ The Raton Reporter, Nov. 29, 1927, p. 1:3.

¹⁴ Ibid.

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director, although his titles later came under dispute. As such, Carl H. Sutton took the field in southern Colorado and actually joined the striking forces; he also kept in close contact with the head of the Colorado state police force, Louis Scherf. His job was to correct news and to forward information to the Governor. Most of his information was similar to that which appeared in the Colorado newspapers, although he did manage to get his hands on a few I. W. W. documents which were acquired in one of the raids on their headquarters in Walsenburg. As he was a former reporter, he wrote several articles which appeared in the Santa Fe New Mexican,¹⁵ relating the rigors of the coal mining war which was taking place to the North.

Possibly as result of the reign of terror in nearby Trinidad, on January 10, 1928, Governor Dillon issued the following decree:

"...to suppress insurrection and provide for the public defense, (I) do hereby proclaim the existance of a state of insurrection and declare martial law...in Colfax County."¹⁶ There was no particular difficulty eminent in the area but the Governor seemed to be merely carrying out his policy of strong preventive insurance.

¹⁵ Sutton's articles appear in the Santa Fe New Mexican on Feb. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 1928.

¹⁶ Jan. 10, 1928, Dillon Papers.

So far as any effective actions on the part of the I. W. W. there seemed to be very little actual agitating or striking in the New Mexican mines. It was frequently said that the miners did not want to strike and that they liked the National Guard.¹⁷ The I. W. W. was present and one of the leaders was even arrested. He, Andreas Trujillo, was found in Raton with papers on him which, it was stated, proved him to be a member of this organization.¹⁸ He was soon deported to Colorado. In late November of 1927 there was a small walkout of seven men staged near Raton. This was the only one to be shown on any records.

The strike leaders greatest effect seemed to be in the fear they created. It was reported by the intelligence corps of the National Guard that the radicals had said that they could call out the workers in the Dawson mines anytime they pleased, but they never did.¹⁹ It was also thought that the agitators were not ready to strike in New Mexico and were merely setting up machinery to influence the railroad workers as well as the coal miners. The expected date for this difficulty was stated to be in the Fall of 1928 after the organizers had seen the report of the Colorado Industrial Commission. But there was still the fearful presence

¹⁷ New Mexico State Tribune, Nov. 22, 1927, p. 1:8 and Trinidad Chronicle News, Oct. 28, 1927, p. 1:1.

¹⁸ Raton Range, Dec. 27, 1927, p. 1:3.

¹⁹ Ibid., Dec. 2, 1927, p. 1:3.

of the strike organizers just across the Colorado state line which kept the Guardsmen in Colfax County. The Raton City and coal company officials did not wish to take any expensive chances by disbanding the military until all of the strike threat had vanished.

The first suggestion of any active steps toward evacuating the Guard from Colfax County came on February 6, 1928, when the Governor hinted at the cutting down of this force to a "skeleton organization" by March 1.²⁰ This move began to take shape by the 11th of February when the first contingent left for their home town of Clayton. By the 20th all except a few officers and men who were to close down the various establishments and tie up loose ends were gone. And five days later Raton returned to normal life as there were no more uniforms in the streets.

New Mexico had had a quiet time of the strike in comparison to her neighbor Colorado. The influential men and the newspapers congratulated and thanked the Governor for this blessing. Governor Dillon could rightfully take a good share of these thanks, but the Wobblies were undoubtedly too busy in Colorado to pay much attention to New Mexico. Nevertheless the interests in northern New Mexico did have a scare from this syndicalist threat.

²⁰ Dillon to Halthusen, Feb. 6, 1928, Dillon Papers.

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CHAPTER VI

THE AFTERMATH

Thus by the last of February and the first of March the strike had worn itself out. It left its indelible traces on the purses of the miners and the mine owners and also on the legislative efforts of the State of Colorado. It also resulted in some beneficial changes for the workers and made the employers realize the growing importance of their hirelings. And it left an antipathy for the undesirable leftist labor organizers as well as a sincere hope for the more stable unions such as the U. M. W.

Financially the strike was extremely costly. It was estimated that it cost the miners in wages alone the sum of three million dollars. It cost the railroads in revenue four million dollars. It cost three quarters of a million dollars in unused coal mining supplies. And ten million dollars worth of coal was not extracted during the strike which would have been dug if the miners had been on the job.¹ It cost the mine owners in destroyed property and it cost two lives whose value cannot be determined in dollars and cents. Three hundred and fifty thousand

¹ Carl H. Sutton, "Will the Wobblies Make Headway?" Southern California Business, p. 22. Found in the Dillon Papers.

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man-days were lost by the men during the six months period of the strike. Therefore, this was the worst strike in Colorado from 1927 to 1941. In comparison to the rest of the United States it is estimated that this series of walkouts involved one half of one percent of the total strikers for the country for the two years included in the strike.²

In the aftermath it was the Colorado Industrial Commission which was the key to the whole situation. The miners, near the end of their struggle, had finally rested their case in the hands of this body for consideration. Supposedly, "the Industrial Commission. . . is based upon the idea that informed public opinion will balance the scales of justice in disputes between workers and employers."³ After all of the filing of documents and research in the field and much attack from its opponents the commission rendered its decision on March 20, 1928. In the decision the Attorney General made it plain that the strikers were in the wrong for not staying on the job. After this fact was established

² Kenneth M. McCaffree, Compulsory Investigation of Industrial Disputes in Colorado, 1926-1941, p. 46.

³ Mary Van Kleeck, Miners and Management (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1934), p. 63.

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2. Kenneth L. Roberts, Director of the
Division of Research, U.S. Navy,
Washington, D.C.
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Division of Research, U.S. Navy,
Washington, D.C.

the commission analyzed why the miners took up with the I. W. W. The reasons given were all black-eyes for employers and were as follows:⁴

1. The lack of union organization in the coal fields and the promises of the I. W. W.
2. Intimidation by the bosses.
3. Two wage cuts in 1925.
4. Incorrect weights in the extracted coal.
5. Interference by officials with the elections of checkweighmen.
6. Lack of understanding about pay for dead weight work.
7. Bad air supply.
8. Lost time in waiting for tools, cage, and materials.
9. Lack of collective bargaining.
10. Violation of the eight hour day.

On the strength of these findings the Commission recommended that there be, "restitution of collective bargaining through non-company unions. . .together with the establishment of inspection of pit committees to represent workers."⁵ They wanted more coopera-

⁴ Colorado Industrial Commission, Tenth Annual Report, pp. 54-59.

⁵ New York Times, March 21, 1923, p. 13:4.

tion and understanding between employers and employees in order to avert any further coal disputes. The employers were to follow the letter of all mining codes.

A settlement was initiated by the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company on May 29, 1928, in compliance with the wishes of the Industrial Commission. This company agreed to recognize the U. M. W. as the representative of the miners in order to safeguard itself from further activities of the reforming I. W. W. It was agreed that there should be no blacklisting of those who had struck, that former strikers should be reemployed as soon as possible, and that there should be more strict observance of the mining codes by the employers.⁶

During the decade of the 1920's there were many laws proposed and passed in the United States which were designed to curb any criminal syndicalist movements. In Colorado three were proposed but none of them became embodied in the statutes. In 1929 one such bill was introduced into the Republican legislature of that state. It was proposed "because of I. W. W. activities in the coal strike"⁷ of 1927-1928. The House passed the bill but the Senate Committee on Labor voted to table the measure, five to

⁶ Mary Van Kleeck, op. cit., p. 43.

⁷ E. F. Dowell, A History of Criminal Syndicalism Legislation in the United States. Johns Hopkins University Studies, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1939), p. 101.

one, after much petitioning and the holding of hearings. The other two bills were not passed and scarcely got any publicity in the newspapers which had voiced their opinions so loudly on the first bill. The failure of the passage of these bills was caused, it was stated, by the "unusual array of forces opposed to it."⁸ In the opposition we find the Democrats, the Governor, Scripps Howard newspapers (The Rocky Mountain News), and the President of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company. Thus it can be shown that at the beginning of the strike the I. W. W. were feared little; at the end of the strike they had made the citizens of Colorado recognize their abilities.

⁸ Ibid., p. 113.

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The shootings and disturbances of 1913-1914 culminating in the Ludlow affair should have been ample warning to the citizens of Colorado that the third and fourth estates were attempting to remove the evils of their working conditions and to increase the rewards received for their efforts. In various sections of the United States groups of laborers were making their demands known to the existing powers. Colorado established an industrial commission which was to placate the miners and their employers. This body, as was demonstrated in the 1927-1928 strike, was unsuccessful in its function.

The employers, continued to run their businesses as they pleased and with little concern for the laborer. Company unions which are seldom effective in achieving better conditions and more equitable wages took the place of the U. M. W. The latter body did little for the miners because they could not use the method of bargaining collectively, much less the more formidable general strike.

When the virile I. W. W. saw that there was much discontent

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in the coal fields they moved in to organize the men and promised to lead them on to victory. The miners had nothing to lose for they were earning a bare existence. A number of them, therefore, surrendered themselves to the strike leaders' promises and helped them carry out destructive and coercive activities. The fear aroused by these strikers caused many of the other miners to leave their jobs unwillingly and thus made the strike costly for the employers and the State of Colorado.

The various institutions in the government of Colorado, including the local authorities, did little to aid the coal miners in their efforts to improve their economic status and working conditions. In fact it can be said that the official forces limited the activities of the strikers to such an extent that these men could not effectively voice their distress. The miners' attempts to impress the seriousness of their intentions on the industrialist group were forcefully combatted by the pro-employer judiciary, industrial commission, and police forces. Almost every effort at a show of force on the part of the strikers was countered by their determined opponents.

Thus the employers received the benefits of official protection, and the various governmental agencies of Colorado and New Mexico did not respond favorably to the protests of the strikers merely because they followed the I. W. W., the only available

leadership. However this labor organization must be given some credit for they did a great deal to bring the Colorado coal miners from a backward economic status to a position in the modern way of life. Also it did serve to bring about a more normal function of the U. M. W. and show that labor is a definite force with which to be reckoned.

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CALENDAR OF EVENTS

- Aug. 7-10 Demonstration strike in Colorado for Sacco-Vanzetti
- Sept. 6 Aguilar conference served thirty day strike notice
- Sept. 9 Industrial Commission refused I. W. W. recognition
- Sept. 24 C. F. & I. announced \$.95 pay boost
- Oct. 6 Eleven coal companies followed suit with pay boost
- Oct. 16 Pueblo Conference announced strike formally
- Oct. 18 STRIKE! Strike leaders escorted out of Walsenburg
- Oct. 19 C. F. & I. announced tonnage down by one-third
- Oct. 25 Gov. Adams announced his faith in local policing
- Oct. 27 New Mexico's National Guard sent to Raton
- Oct. 30 Walsenburg's mines completely shut down
- New Mexico's National Guard deputized
- Nov. 3 Strikers sought use of Industrial Commission
- Nov. 4 State Law Enforcement of Colorado sent to South
- Nov. 5 Att'y. Gen'l. Boatright declared strike illegal.
- Nov. 7 Twenty-five strike leaders arrested
- Nov. 15 I. W. W. asked for all foot loose rebels to report
- Nov. 21 Columbine disaster North of Denver
- Nov. 22 Only recorded walkout in New Mexico
- Dec. 11 Industrial Commission to act
- Dec. 25 Five Trinidad officials captured by I. W. W.
- Dec. 29 C. F. & I. announced another pay boost

Jan. 12 Two miners killed in Walsenburg clash

Feb. 20 Strike called off

Troops withdrawn from Raton, New Mexico

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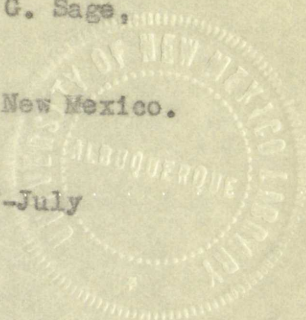
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