Fire in the Hole – The Interviews

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Let's begin with an effort to take people back to the Coeur d'Alene district of the 1890s. If you were to bring someone back to the Coeur d'Alene district and try to describe what this district is like in this era, how would you describe it to them?

Well, for one thing the environment is incredibly beautiful. It is all timber and I think sometimes miner's forgot about that part because they were underground so much. , it's also an area that is full of canyons and river valleys, so people have to build on hillside in very limited space. So, what you end up are these wooden house that are very close together in places where the terrain allows for that, all built out of wood, even the sidewalks are built out of wood. When I think about the Coeur d'Alene mining district the image that I have is when all those miners come out of the mine at the same time and they walk down that sidewalk made of wood, with their heavy boots carrying their things. The noise that it makes as they sort of tramp exhausted at the end of that ten hour day, out of the mine and down that wooden sidewalk. Their wives and others can hear them come, for quite a distance and try to get ready for them to come and they kind of collapse into their houses at the end of, at the end of the day. It was incredibly difficult dangerous work.

What's it like to be a miner, a hard rock miner back then?

Well, you had to have a certain mental outlook, I think. Miners especially at the beginning of the 1890's were allowed three candle that they took in at the beginning of their shift. So, they're working far underground just illinated by the light of a candle which you know is, is not much. It's incredibly warm, hot actually in a lot of the mines. Which I think there's a tendency to think it's going to be cold because you're underground but actually it's very warm. And several of the Coeur d'Alene district mines are also wet, so there's water that kind of runs and so, the hidity is incredibly high, in the nineties , under underneath the, the ground. And it's, you never know when that might be a cave in or some other kind of, of accident. You're trying to timber the mine and make sure that things are, are sturdy, but you don't know. You're also mining in places where you may hit power and explode yourself. That something hasn't exploded before, that the shift. . . there's just all kinds of things that can happen to you everywhere that you, you work and it's very demanding physical work, mining is. And plus you have to know what you're doing, you don't want to drill a hole in the wrong place and have everything collapse on top of you. Miners worked ten hours a day, seven days a week, in these very difficult circstances and were paid very little, three dollars a day, sometimes three fifty a day in the Coeur d'Alenes.

Let's talk a little about the emergence of a couple of groups on both sides of the employment equation. First of all is this notion of union activity of miners banding together, what contributes to that effort?

One of the main issues is what we've just been talking about, mine safety. It's such dangerous work that miners are compelled to act in some way to try and protect themselves as best they can and to make demands about their own safety. And I think that's the first sort of impetus to organization and related to that is, in the Coeur d'Alene and lots of other mining areas you were required to contribute a dollar a month to this hospital fund. And the hospital was incredibly important to miners because there are lots of accidents, and miners were convinced that the company was taking that dollar and not spending it all on getting them the best hospital care that was available. And so, that certainly is an issue, in the Coeur d'Alene that causes them to come together. And I would say thirdly, that this 1890's is a period of huge technological change as mining is going from being hand work, to be done with drills especially compressed air drills. And anytime you bring new technology into the work place that means that there are changes in relationships between workers and supervisors, and between workers themselves, and between workers and their work. And one of the things that was most important to miners was being in control of the pace of their work and the nature of their work. And new technology made it more difficult for them to achieve that goal. And that's one the things that prompts them to band together as a way to try to regain some of that control over their workplace.

It would also seem to speak to the issue of the worth of the work. The way they were perceived, the worth that was assigned to them. Was that impacted by the new technology?

Yes, in a very dramatic way. , what traditional mining involved is, especially in the Coeur d'Alene and most cases is, is what we call double jack mining, where one man holds this kind of steel kind of bar , up against the mining face and the other man hits it with a big hammer basically. And then you turn the bar and it's hit again and you

drill these holes and then you put explosives in each of the holes and then at the end of the shift somebody else, "Fire in the Hole", you explode them and rock falls down and that's the ore that's then taken out of the mine to be processed and get the metals. Well, compressed air drills are machine drills, made it possible to make so many more of those holes a shift than before that you could explode so much more rock that you didn't need as many miners, the people that make the holes and put the explosives in but you needed a lot more of people we call muckers, people who , shovel the rock into ore cars and took it out. And those people were paid in the Coeur d'Alenes fifty cents less a day, at least that's what mining companies wanted to do and so a lot of people who had been miners not only made more money, but their skill and position was very important to them found themselves demoted to being muckers or shovelers. Because the technology created much more need for that position than for miners. And so, that was very difficult for them.

You talked a little bit about the coming together of miners as a means of almost protecting themselves in a very unsafe environment. Was there a sense that their safety was not being protected by the mine owners?

I think there certainly was a sense of that, and I want to be very careful. In the Coeur d'Alene and it was true of most mining district in the early years, people who were in management tended to know their workers by name, and at least at one level of management lived in the community. I would not want to portray them as uncaring about accidents. There's lots of evidence when there's an accident in the mine, mine owners and managers are just as upset as anybody else because it's somebody they probably knew and they might have a family and that kind of thing. On the other hand, there certainly was a strong sense that accidents were just something that came with the nature of mining. Accidents were unexpected risks or a cost of doing business. Mine owners recognized that was just one of the things that was associated with theirbwork, and they didn't really think it was their responsibility to spend a lot of money or a lot of time and effort trying to prevent accidents. They did want to prevent accidents because accidents could be costly from a monetary sense, and also because they really cared about the people. However, I think the only thought they had was there was only so much they could do, and that once they had done that they didn't have other kinds of responsibilities.

So, the workers start to come together, take these steps towards unionization. So to does it appear the mine owners make the choice to associate, not as competitors, but against common concerns. Why do the mine owners come together in an association?

Well, I think you're right it's a very difficult decision for them because mining is incredibly competitive especially in the Coeur d'Alene and there really is no love lost in a nber of ways between various mine owners there. And yet, the one part of the equation for , earning a profit in mining that owners thought they had some control over was labor. And so, they were very interested in controlling that part of the cost so that they could make money. And it soon became very clear that miners could easily go from one mine to another, there's a lot of mobility in that way and that if they were going to keep a close tab on labor costs they were need to work together.

Fix the wage?

Right. And also be able to prevent so called activist from getting employment anywhere, they needed to have a community of interest in that way as well. They also come together in the Coeur d'Alenes I would add in opposition to railroads and some other large corporation that they believed were trying to control them.

Now we have the emergence of union miners, we have the emergence of a mine owners association. How do they view each other? Is it us and them?

Yes, it certainly is a case of us and them. And even though it takes mine owners and mines to employ miners without them, they have no work. And without miners, mine owners can't make a profit so, you would think they would have a lot of things in common, but it's pretty clear by the early part of the 1890's that what's upper most in both of their minds is a very adversarial idea about their, their opponents.

What contributes to that emerging tension? As we look at 1891, and 1892 there seems to be a nber of issues that have miners' attention and the mine workers' attention. But what contributes to the tension?

Well, I think we've talked about a couple of the things that contribute to the tension. One is this new technology and having it come into the mines creates a lot of tension on both sides. I think that's part of it. I think the whole issue of health care and the hospital , accommodations is one of the issues. But also in the Coeur d'Alenes there's very much an issue of ethnicity, as a nber of miners are Irish, Irish Catholics. And mine owners especially at the Bunker Hill were Protestant. And were very worried about what Irish Catholics brought to the community not just to, to the mine.

We come to the point where it starts not just to simmer, but now boil. We actually have a strike that

comes into place. I'm interested in this notion of a strike being affected and then what the mine owners do to counter workers going out on strike.

Well, I think the big issue in 1892 that we sometimes forget is that mine owners have pressures as well. And when railroads attempt to raise rates, think about where Coeur d'Alene is, and where you have to ship things in order to make a profit and have ores processed. So, raising the railroad rate really impacts the ability of mines to be profitable. And so, we always think of mine owners , exploiting workers but in this case mine owners in the Coeur d'Alenes felt like they were small fish in a big sea, that these powerful railroad companies which are the most powerful corporate entities in the United States in the 1890's were applying pressure to them. And so, when rates are raised mine owners in this organization that we've talked about decide that they need to make a stand. And so, they shut down the mines. They shut them down and say we're willing to forgo our profits, and it's a big sacrifice to us by naturally, but we'll do that because we can't pay this increased railroad rate and we think that railroads are inflicting this upon us because they think we're powerless against them. So, once they close the mines that just throws miners out of work. And there's no safety net for them, they just have no money coming in. The longer the mines are closed the more desperate miners become and they also begin to suspect that it's more than just the railroad rate increase that is at play here. They begin to suspect that mine owners have closed their mines, in effort to apply, apply pressure on workers and convince workers to come back to work at a lower wage rate than they were receiving at the time of the closure. And it turns out that once the mines are reopened in the Spring, that's exactly what mine owners attempt to do, have miners come back at fifty cents a day less than they were making before , the closure took place and Coeur d'Alene miners refused to do that.

And so, how do the mine owners respond. If the workers won't come back, how do the mine owners respond?

Mine owners attempt to deal with that as traditionally companies try to deal with it in a lot of incidences. They attempt to hire scabs or strike breakers depending upon your perspective, when companies decide to import workers as strike breakers in the Coeur d'Alenes the situation is very inflammatory. Because these people are coming into the district taking jobs away from miners who have been out of work for several months at this point and they're also people who are not members of the miners union. All of those things create tension.

It really does result in non-union miners being beaten in the streets of Creek Canyon, correct?

Yes, it does. And besides those incidents of violence there are several incidents where mine union members patrolled railway stations and railway stops. Simply, if you were a scab or strike breaker coming into the Coeur d'Alenes, and you started to get off the train and you looked down on the platform and here were a group of miners, perhaps holding picks or sticks or shovels, you might rethink your situation about whether or not you were really willing to get off the train and work through that group of miners and go into the mine. A lot of times, mine union members were able to intimidate potential strike breakers without having to resort to violence.

As this conflict between the mine owners bringing workers in escalates, it seems the mine owners take a couple of extra steps towards the notion of security their ability to conduct business. They bring in one of the nation's best known private detective agency, The Pinkertons, to help them better control the situation. How do the Pinkertons help to control the situation?

Well, they hire Pinkertons and also other detective agency as well. And they're able to infiltrate a lot of the union locals in the district and they're primary purpose I think on, in behalf of mine owners is to provide information about who are active union members, what strategies the union is discussing, what moves the union is discussing and to report those back , to mine owners so that mine owners are really a step ead of the game in trying to deal with the union.

Tell me about Charlie Seringo.

Well, Charles Seringo is a very famous Pinkerton detective, he was one of their best operatives, when they sent him they knew they were sending somebody that had the requisite skills to do the job. He was so good at his job, which primarily the way that detectives made contact with union people throughout the Coeur d'Alene and I suspect elsewhere was by going to local saloons and buying drinks for miners, in the time that they were off work and be sort of good fellows and that sort of thing. And , once he had done that he was able to get the trust of miners, and he was also, wasn't a very big man physically, he was only about 5'8 weighed about 130 lb. But he was a good worker and one of the problems that some Pinkerton detectives had was, once they went to work in the mine it was patently obvious to other workers that these were not really workers but in the case of Charles Seringo, he was able to do the labor that miners did and so they trusted him so much so they elected him an officer in their local.

We're starting to move up to a time where the strike is stretching on the union miners are getting more frustrated and the nature of the conflict starts to escalate. Can you help me understand how the miner started taking weapons into their hands at Creek Canyon, and the showdown that results around the Frisco Mill.

Well, first of all I think we should remember that this is the West, and the 1890's and having a firearm was something that everyone needed to do for their own protection sometimes, for hunting and firearms were readily available and so, it's not as if this was a huge departure from people's practice. Everybody was accustomed to using firearms, and and having them. But it soon became clear I think, to union members that perhaps they needed to gather together larger amounts of of weaponry which they did. And cached in several locations in, in the district and it became clear to them that mine owners would have access to weapons and had money to buy them. And so that, they needed to counteract that and be armed as well. And things just escalated and so that everybody was pretty much armed in the area. And people were I think weary of a possible confrontation, and they wanted to be prepared. People on both sides, wanted to be prepared. You don't want to be the one that has no weapon when that confrontation takes place, you want to make sure that you're at least equally well armed as the other side. And I think that's what both sides were thinking as they prepared for this.

The escalation literally becomes explosive.

Yes. Just like with weapons I think we're always amazed about the Coeur d'Alene story that there all these explosions but dynamite is a requisite tool for mining and everybody whose a miners or lives in that area has some expertise in dynamite. And so, when you have dynamite available and you have people who know how to use it, it doesn't seem to me much of a surprise that often the method of choice , for engaging in acts of, of violence.

So, back East they might interpret this as a mad bomber run amuck.. Exactly. But even local people who didn't work in the mines tended to have a little dynamite around because everybody prospected and was hoping to strike it rich. And so, dynamite was very accessible, readily available and skilled miners knew how to use it.

And they used it in 1892 at Frisco Mill. Tell me about that.

Yes, they did. Well, all of these incidence are in some ways clouded as to exactly what happened but what happened I think the best, I think the best explanation of what happened in 1892 is that the miners union discovered that Charles Seringo had in fact infiltrated their local. And they became very upset about that and they saw it not just as a, as a treasonous act on his part, but they were very upset at mining companies for hiring him and attempting to infiltrate their organization. And so they were searching for him and for others who were detectives who were part of their organization. They were upset about the issues that we have, have talked about. And they were determined, I think to , make a statement that they were not going to tolerate either that kind of infiltration, the kind of treatment they were receiving.

How does the state government respond when the explosion takes place?

Well, Governor [Norman] Willy sides with mine owners which is fairly typical I think of state government at the time. . He declares marshal law, he sends people into the Coeur d'Alenes to try to regain or restore order and you have to remember that from his perspective and maybe rightfully so, they had destroyed someone else's property. And one of the rules of government is to protect people's property and insure their rights to their private property. And so, and this was clearly a lawless act. And the governor believed that it was role, as the state government to intercede on behalf of those mine owners.

There are people who would interpret that state government is then in the pockets of the industrialized interests because it's quick to rise to the defense of private property, but very slow to rise to the defense of the individual worker. Is that a fair characterization?

Well, I think that is a fair characterization. Idaho is very small in the 1890's, well between a hundred thousand and a hundred and fifty thousand people as we go across the 1890's, and so, there not a lot of influential people in the state, and mine owners were influential.Tthey had money, they contributed to campaigns, and they were a very important part of the economy. Mining was one the key elements of Iahdo's economy, the state could not afford to make mine owners unhappy with the way things were going.

Tell me about the use of the bull pen. What is a bull pen and how is it used in Wallace in 1892.

Well, when marshal law is in effect and they begin to round up people who they consider to be trouble makers. Which basically turned out to be anybody that had anything to do with mining. There were no jails large enough to accommodate all of the people that they were arresting, so they had to build temporary jail facilities. They built

corrals by basically just putting fences up around a significant amount of land and locking these people into these enclosures that they called bull pens.

What were conditions like? I'd imagine they were pretty rough.

They were very unfavorable to miners. Let's face it when you round up five hundred or so people and you have no sanitary facilities to accommodate them. You have no way really to feed them. There's little shelter, when the weather is inclement. They tend to be in areas that are very unsavory and unpleasant place to be. Anytime when you get five hundred men and you put them in fairly close quarters with nothing to do to occupy themselves, it's a very unpleasant situation.

And they also seem to be a breeding ground if you will for dissatisfaction with the process.

I think that's exactly true. And certainly when you are incarcerated, your families have no way to make money to provide for themselves, because you're in the bull pen and aren't making , aren't working in the mines. So, you're worried about your family. You have time to talk, which when you work ten hours a day, seven days a week, and came home exhausted you had little opportunity to do that. You can't go to the saloon which was one of your primary activities when you were working, so you seethe I think with animosity towards the people who you think are responsible for putting you in that position.

But the round up of hundreds of people, in effect crushes what makes up 1892 strike. Does that usher in a era of quiet, peaceful co-existence in the Coeur d'Alene district?

No, we focus on the 1892 incident and 1899 incident but in reality the entire 1890's is full of various incidents of violence, of animosity, of . . . acts of terrorism I suppose we would, would describe them. And, and really the whole decade is a tension filled decade for both sides. And they really are at one and others throat throughout that whole period. It's a very unsteady kind of peace. And it's clear that maybe on the surface things are going okay but underneath there are just these undercurrents of dislike, and jockeying for position. And and the whole 1890's is the story of that kind of attitude.

Ethnicity manifest itself throughout this region in many different ways. How does it manifest itself in Northern Idaho during this period?

Well, one of the biggest issues is the issue of mine union leadership especially, but also mine union activists being Irish Catholic and so, companies particularly the Bunker Hill Company, sought to counteract that by creating a branch of the American Protective Association, an organization whose main purpose was to oppose particularly Roman Catholic, Irish, people in the country. They organized that and funded it and used it as a way to counteract what they saw, as the, the predominant position that Irish Catholic held. In addition, some of the mine owners were Catholic as well, and Bunker Hill company which is the main player in 1899 situation, then didn't trust some of the other mine owners who they believed had a close association with miners who were also Catholic and Irish. So, ethnicity is a very important part of the mix in this whole story in the 1890's. There are also certainly occasions when mine owners would seek to use other ethnic groups. Bunker Hill for example hired Italians to do particularly arduous work. And they were willing to work with less complaint, at least according to Irish union members, they feared that Italians didn't make as good as union members as the Irish and so they were very reticent about that as well. There also a fairly large Scandinavian , population in the Valley and mine owners thought particularly Finns were radical Union members. And especially up the creek towards Burke, there were large Finnish populations and mine owners were worried about them being Union radicals.

One other group that becomes identified as radicals in a lot of people's minds is the group known as the Western Federation of Miners. Certainly not as radical as the IWW later. But this notion of an emergent regional-based union appears to be a significant development in the region.

Well, the Western Federation of Miners is certainly tied to the Coeur d'Alenes because the way that it began is that twenty five of the people who are incarcerated in the bull pen in 1892, were sent to Boise to the federal penitentiary to await trial. And it's while they're in Boise, in prison awaiting trial on the 1892 charges that they begin to discuss this notion of creating the Western Federation of Miners. So, that in fact has its origin as a result, a direct result of the 1892 situation. And when they get out of prison, they then take that idea to Butte, and elsewhere and into the Coeur d'Alenes and it becomes very central to the union experience. And Ed Boyce who becomes the International President of the Western Federation of Miners, was one of those 1892 prisoners, who was imprisoned in Boise and comes back not only to be President of of the Union, but he's elected then to the Idaho State Senate and serves as a senator after his incarceration and so it really is the beginning of his career as well.

How does Bunker Hill react to Western Federation demands for union recognition?

Frederick Bradley, who is the President of Bunker Hill, well he's the manager of Bunker Hill and who is the most active Bunker Hill official in this whole 1890's situation. Is stridently opposed to union, he believes that they limit managerial prerogative. He refuses to have that happen. Part of it is, he doesn't want to pay the higher wages but I think in Bradley's case that only part of the story. He thinks that it's a control and power issue. And he's determined that company have control over the work place and over managerial kinds of issue and so, he is strongly opposed to union organization. He's also a conservative Republican, and he believes that business has to have freedom of of action. And that unions threaten that and so he opposed I think to their organization in general as well as specifically at his own company.

The Western Federation of Miners attempt to unionize the Bunker Hill work force.

Well, he employs a nber of strategies to prevent that from, from happening. He employs detectives as we've discussed, to spot people who are members of the union and then those people can be discharged. He's also a fairly courageous individual, like on one occasion right before the 1899 situation he goes to the Union Hall to confront the the union on this issue of recognition and is willing to go by himself and stand there in front of this fairly angry group of miners and say we're not going to tolerate union recognition in our our mine. He argues that we'll be in control of all kinds of Catholics if we do that and he does not want to do that.

But isn't it true, the Western Federation of Miners will not take "no" for an answer, and actually, quietly, does start to recruit at Bunker Hill?

I am not sure it's secretly and or quietly. , throughout the 1890's the Western Federation of Miners recognizes that Bunker Hill is the major stbling block to their complete success in the Coeur d'Alenes. By this time one of the largest if not the largest of the mines, and and Bradley is the most , determined to stop them. And so it becomes very clear that if they want to succeed totally in the Coeur d'Alenes they are going to have crack that Bunker Hill nut and they're determined to do that. And so, they utilize everything at their disposal. They certainly have members inside the Bunker Hill organization and they try to recruit more members, they also make it clear to, in other work places that the Bunker Hill a main enemy, we need to direct our attention there. So, they really are determined to to deal with that.

And Bunker Hill is paying the same rate that exists in other areas, or are their pay rates different?

During the period that we're talking about, Bunker Hill refuses to pay what was call the union rate. Bunker Hill is paying fifty cents a shift less and they are not willing to increase that rate. So, certainly pay is part of it. But union recognition is the main issue, and I think thats hard for people in the 1990's to see why that's so important. But it's important for miners not just for their sense of work place sorts of issues, but for their sense of themselves that their union, their organization be recognized.

In this decade of the 1890's what was a miner's work day, and work week? What went into that? And what were they paid?

Miner's worked ten hours a day, seven days a week. They received three dollars a day for miners, two dollars and fifty cents for muckers, or shovelers.

This confrontation is brewing at Bunker Hill. Bradley says, 'No union... not in my mine.' The union says, 'This is one we've got to crack.' How does it boil over? What happens that makes this a major cataclysmic event?

Well, the union has escalated the number of demands that it's making on Bradley. Demanding union recognition, demanding the he raise pay rates fifty cents a day for all the categories of underground workers. They begin to attract more membership, and hold more meetings, and it becomes clear that the moment is I think on their side. On April 29th, they have a meeting at Burke and there's some discussion about what to do next and we aren't exactly sure how this happened but they determine to hijack a Northern Pacific train which they do at gun point and force the engineer to drive them down the Burke canyon. Eventually they force him to take them all the way to Wardner, where the Bunker Hill's company works are. All along the way they stop and pick up more miners. They're armed, many of them are drinking. Once they get to Wardner, they drink some more, the numbers increase, they discuss the things that Bunker Hill has done to them and as often happens in times when there are mobs, things just get out of hand.

And it leads to what?

Well, I think there's some question. The end result is that the Bunker Hill concentrator which was worth about a quarter of a million dollars, a lot of money at the time, is exploded by dynamite. And the Bunker Hill Mine Office is burned. I frankly think there's still some question about who is responsible for the dynamite, but clearly the

blame falls to these union miners who had hijacked the train. Once the explosion takes place, they get back on the train and go back up the canyon to Burke. The train stops and lets people off all along the way. And the next day almost all of those miners reported to work as usual. Thinking that perhaps, things could just go along as they had.

Obviously, Bradley sends out an emergency plea. Lands on the desk of the Governor of Idaho, a man by the name of Frank Stunenberg. Who is Governor Stunenberg?

It is not exactly an emergency plea. I mean Frank Steunenberg and the Bunker Hill Company had been in constant communication for at least two years before the 1899 incident. And so, Steunenberg was prepared for the eventually or possibility of violence and they had discussed what his action might be, and he had in fact given them advice about what kind of firearms to purchase, had sent firearms to the militia there, so it's not as if there's suddenly this surprise request from him to respond to this incident. He had been discussing that for several years and so had the Bunker Hill people. So, I think that's part of the story. Who is he? Frank Steunenberg really was much more sympathetic to labor than most other government officials. He had been a member of the printer's union, labor had supported him in both the 1896 and 1898 elections. And so, he certainly had a reputation as being a friend of workers. But the nature of this act of violence, this destroying the concentrator, (it looks like match sticks when you see a picture is all that's left of it) prompted him to act.

And how does he act?

Well, it's difficult. He's ill at the time, he has a serious case of the flu, part of the time he's even in the hospital. And he's not exactly sure what to do because Idaho's militia is serving in the Spanish American War. They've been called up and they're gone. So, he doesn't have state militia at his disposal. And eventually he determines that he needs to get federal government troops to come and help restore order, , in the Coeur d'Alenes. But he doesn't come to that conclusion until three or four days after the April 29th incident. By that point it becomes clear to him that he needs some assistance and he asks the federal government for assistance and they provide it. And federal troops come to the Coeur d'Alenes to restore order and instigate marshal law there.

Is it significant that one of the military units assigned is the 24th Regiment from Fort Douglas? The Buffalo Soldiers?

These are African American troops who come and certainly that is significant. In some places, African American troops were purposefully chosen to put down labor uprisings because of the racial element. It's my suspicion in this case that that probably wasn't true, that these troops came because so many troops were gone fighting in the Spanish American War that there weren't a lot of options about who to send. But it's also the case that people in the Coeur d'Alene were not very sympathetic to people of color. They had voted to exclude Chinese, , they really did not like people who were not white, so the fact that these are African American troops that come , to incarcerate folks in bull pens only adds to the animosity that workers felt towards both the Government and mine owners.

The bullpens are back once again and this time with even greater force than in 1892. Tell me about the duration of their use in 1899 and how they were used.

Well, once again, they rounded up everybody. . . even Al Hutten who was the engineer of the train that was hijacked at gun point, is one of the people incarcerated. They incarcerated the sheriff, who was a Populist and who the governor thought was sympathetic to miners. They incarcerated for a while two of the three county commissioners. , they rounded up just this huge nber of people who and kept them for several months , under the control of these African American troops, in these bull pens.

Were they charged?

They were not charged immediately. They were incarcerated without habeas corpus, you know it's not like in the 1990's there aren't any lawyers to come to their assistance. , there just there and they really have no recourse, they can't get out. They have no ability to control their situation. I mean these people had basically no rights. They were men who were, locked up basically and practically the key was thrown away. And once again they had, many of them especially by the 1899 situation had families that they were responsible for being the sole provider for those families and they had no way of, of really dealing with that. And so they had worries about people that, their loved ones who were outside.

I would imagine that this was economically devastating for these people who were pulled in. . . the families. . . that it affected thousands of lives.

Yes it did. And they many of them never really recuperated from that. And eventually what's going to happen is

there's a system for eliminating union miners from the work force in the Coeur d'Alenes and so, those people really have lost their lively hood as a result of this.

There's a quote and I've seen it attributed both to Governor Steunenberg and also Attorney General Sam Hayes, speaking of the Western Federation of Miners after they've got them rounded up in the bull pens, the quote is this, "We've taken the monster by the throat and are goin' to choke the life out of it."

I think that's true it was of interest to the state because of their history now of violence. The state was able to point to 1892, all of the 1890's, and 1899 and say that this is a dangerous organization. And mine owners certainly had been trying to combat this organization now for a whole decade. They saw it as the opportunity to finally eliminate what was the major thorn in their side. And they really applied a lot of pressure on state official to help them do that.

But from an institutional perspective, our institutions might perceive union efforts as almost terrorist organizations.

Yes I think in this case they might very well perceive that. They might have perceived them as terrorist agents the way we would use that term. The term that was mostly used in 1899 was that they're anarchists. That somehow they were outside of government and really a society and civilization and I think that was what frightened people.

Dec. 1905 Frank Steunenberg's out of office, gone back to Caldwell to rese a successful private business life. Politics has past him by. Six years just about removed from the Coeur d'Alene activities in 1899. What happens?

Well, he did live, lead a quiet life. He would walk everyday down to town, Caldwell, to his bank and to his business and come home for lunch and spend time with his wife and children. And one day in December of 1905 he walked out of his house and opened up the front gate and an explosion , killed him.

From the outset, it seems the investigation has a very strong private component to it. The mine owner seems to become rapidly interested in this death of the former governor, and the Pinkertons are very quickly brought into the investigation. Why are these private agencies so quickly involved in the investigation into the death of the governor?

Well, first of all I think the whole incident speaks to how powerful the whole 1899 episode was, because immediately his family, , state officials, people in the Coeur d'Alene mining district, asse that his assassination is related to the 1899 episode which I think is indicative of how powerful that episode was. And I think in Idaho in 1905 there weren't a lot of public resources to deal with this kind of situation. I mean after all a former governor has been assassinated in front of his, his house. And the Pinkertons had a lot of experience in this kind of area and there really weren't people in the state of Idaho that did, and so I think that enters into it. And also mine owners I suspect are rightfully nervous that this s happened to Stunenberg, they're fearful that it might happen to them, that it might happen to their property, they have this long association with the Pinkertons, that we've talked about dated since the early part of the 1890's. And so, they seem to be a logical institution to involve.

And the Pinkertons obviously put a high priority on this investigation because one of their top men becomes involved, a man by the name of James McParland. Tell me about him.

They have James McParland come and I hesitate to use the term legendary because I think it's overused but in his case he is, the legendary Pinkerton operative. He had infiltrated the Molly McGuires in Pennsylvania and had succeeded in really destroying that union. He had become very prominent in western mining communities and now was the head of western operations for the Pinkertons. And so, he was really the top operative and that's who they sent.He takes complete charge and it's also clear to me that he has a preconceived notion about who is responsible for this and is determined to make sure that he can find proof that established that his notion is the correct one.

The first step in resolving this case apparently leads to a man who isn't immediately identified as Harry Orchard, but identify him as Harry Orchard since that is how he is best known. A waitress says, 'I saw this suspicious man shortly after the explosion.' How does Harry Orchard come to be involved?

Harry Orchard is a character that I think lots of historians have pondered: Who exactly is he? But he had been in the Coeur d'Alene district as a miner and he had even been a partner in the Hercules Mine. , and so he had a long term associations with , area mining and least the way he tells it, he had a strong association with the Western Federation of Miners and according to his story he was employed by them as sort of their in house assassin terrorist, if you will. That his job was to destroy property and basically kill people on behalf of the

Western Federation of Miners.

This seems to fit with McParland's notion of responsibility. In fact, Mcparland personally conducts the interrogation of Orchard, doesn't he?

Yes, he does. And I think the evidence is fairly clear, that he convinced Orchard that if he identified Western Federation of Miners as key players in this conspiracy that he might even go free. Because that's what had happened in the case of the Molly McGuires, the people who had provided the evidence were allowed in fact, to go free and everybody knew that McParland had played that role there and so it kind of made sense I think for Orchard to think that perhaps he might get that kind of deal in Idaho as well.

How unusual is the effort by Idaho and McParland's operatives to round up the Western Federation of Miner leaders for trial?

Well, I think unusual is not a strong enough word. It's unprecedented. What they do is they go to Denver and kidnap Big Bill Haywood, and George Pettibone, and Charles Moyer. And force them onto this special train, that travels secretly from Colorado to, to Idaho and brings them back for trial and even the United States Supreme Court says that is totally illegal. There's no question that that is illegal. But once it a fait accompli, they are held for trial.

The Supreme Court seems to say, 'What you did was wrong but now that you've done it, the greater right is that these people stand trial.'

Right. And I think that's what attracted civil libertarians and, and others to this case the fact that it was so illegal and unfair really the tactics that allowed these people to be arrested to begin with.

In 1906, 1907 they're calling it the "trial of the century", which seems to be a bit of a leap that early into the new century. But yet, ninety plus years later, it still does rank as the trial of the century in many respects. Why was the trial of Big Bill Haywood in Idaho the trial of the century?

Well, I think it's the trial of the century for a nber of reasons. I think Big Bill Haywood himself is a very colorful character. I mean he's made for journalist to write about. He has a patch over one eye, he's a powerfully built miner. , and he is very well spoken and expresses himself well and I think that attracts attention. The attorneys certainly attract a lot of attention. William Bor had just been appointed United States Senator from Idaho, so he's the new senator. Clarence Darrow, the famous defense attorney comes to defend Big Bill Haywood. And laboring people, workers throughout the country were attracted to this trial because of the way, the underhanded way to their way of thinking, that these people were arrested. And so, they provided the money that paid for Darrow to come. It was raised in small contributions primarily from workers not just in the United States but around the world who saw this as a case that pitted workers against huge management and their government allies. And they believed it was in their best interest to, to defend Haywood.

We're talking about this trial playing out in Idaho, and we're talking about the trial of the century for Idaho, but that's kind of a misnomer because this is a trial that truly attracts national, in some senses even global interest.

Yes it does. And reporters from all around the country and world come to Boise to follow this trial and to report on it.

This trial really was about the future of our country in a lot of respects, wasn't it? You have both sides struggling for what they view as the greater essential decency. On one side mine owners, who believe they're doing what's best for the good of the nation to build a strong American economy. On the other side, the individual laborer seeking to build the dignity of the individual. They both feel to be struggling for the very soul of the country.

I think that's true and they also are positioning themselves for a new century, they recognize that the issues at hand in this trial will play out for the next hundred years. And they want to establish their position in light of that.

But it all comes down to a very simple act of a jury, after long deliberation, filing back into a courtroom in Boise, Idaho and a foreman saying the simple words, we find the defendant, William Haywood not guilty. What is the reaction to that verdict?

Well, I think the reaction depends upon who you are. Certainly in the Coeur d'Alenes workers rejoiced at the verdict, and they saw the verdict as validating the opinions that they had held all along, that Big Bill Haywood was a pawn in a game being played by companies and government and that he was a victim. And I think people applauded here because the system had worked which American always think is, is important. The jury had

found him not guilty and he's free to just walk out of the courtroom, a free man and go on about his business. And so they were certainly ecstatic. Mine owners who had paid for most of the trial, actually in the Coeur d'Alenes , were very disturbed by the victory which , they thought represented , an opportunity for mine union people to begin to organize again. They were fearful that its results , might provide impetus for that.

It's been said the actions and tactics of one side in these mine wars are appalling until viewed in the context of the actions and tactics of the other side. Is that a fair assessment?

I think that may be a fair 1990's assessment. I think we are put off by the violence that is apparent on both sides of this conflict. But we need to remember that in the 1890's violence was a much more acceptable form of behavior and was much more a part of people's everyday existence. The way that you made a point was often through violence and certainly in the West there's a strong association with violent tactics and both sides , see them as legitimate ways to make a point in the 1890's.

Was there a legacy? Was there a short term legacy that played out in the few years that followed this period?

Well, certainly there's a short term legacy in the Coeur d'Alenes in part because one of the things that Harry Orchard confessed to was the attempted assassination of Frederick Bradley. He was walking out of his San Francisco home, and a baby carriage that was sitting in the entryway exploded, a wicker baby carriage and the wicker all went in his face and cut off part of his ear and nearly blinded him and almost killed him. And it turned out that Harry Orchard admitted to that as well. So it only increased Bradely's animosity to the union and since he was President of Bunker Hill 'til 1933, through all those decades his opposition to the Western Federation of Miners continued. And the same was true in the mining industry in general. Mining engineers and mine officials, saw this union as the enemy and they were determined to prevent its organization and in the Coeur d'Alenes they were successful. 1899 basically destroyed the Western Federation of Miners there, and they aren't able to organize mines in the Coeur d'Alene districts again until the 1930's and 40's. So that clearly is one of the short term results.

Was there a longer term legacy?

I think there is a longer term legacy, it continues to resonate deeply for residents in the Coeur d'Alene area all the way into the 1990's on both sides. Both mine owners, and miners themselves and workers carry this adversarial relationship throughout the life of the Coeur d'Alene district which is still in existence so I think that certainly is part of it.Much of the long term legacy is shaped when the mining companies put in a permit system. Where you could not get a job, in a Coeur d'Alene mine unless you could prove that you weren't a member of the Western Federation of Miners and that you hadn't been a member of the Western Federation of Miners. And so basically, it excluded most union workers from work there and it was a very successful permit system. That made it impossible for a union really to operate there. Now there's not a strike at the Bunker Hill Works until 1949. So, fifty years of labor peace is what they got for their efforts. So from the company perspective it was an incredibly successful experience.

The organization was crushed. And no one was able to successfully organize a labor union in the Coeur d'Alene district until the 1930's, and at the Bunker Hill Company they were not able to create a work stoppage and apply pressure to the company until 1949. So it really strengthened the position of the company. And in addition the company got a new concentrator that was state of the art, to replace an old one. And they got stockholders off their backs. From their perspective it was really a pretty positive experience in a lot of ways.

A prolific writer, Lynn R. Bailey has authored more than twenty books on Western history. He directs the Westernlore Press in Tuscon, Arizona.

You have said that copper was the very underpinning of Arizona back at the turn of the last century. Can you offer perspective on that?

Very big. It was the economy of Arizona territory at 1900. You know you had Jerome, Bisbee was the premier mining camp producing seven thousand tons of copper a day--a fantastic amount. Bisbee was the financial center of Arizona territory. Mining provided the, the income to support the territory.

Was it a magnet for people coming to the territory?

Yes.

Who did it draw to the territory?

It drew immigrants. It drew American professional people. It drew a wide spectrum of people. If you couldn't make money in the West something was wrong with you. You know many, many men came and found work as miners, they didn't like mining so they went into business, they started as a, they started little grocery stores, some went into the saloon business, others went into, became freighters and teamsters. It also drew professional people--lawyers, doctors, who had services to offer the population that was developing in Arizona territory.

So, I would imagine that the success of copper mining, the rather extraordinary success of Arizona copper mining, created a great deal of wealth in this territory?

Yes. Not in so far as merchants. It created a great deal of wealth for the copper companies and that wealth funneled down to the others, the lower strata in the community of merchants and professional people.

We started talking about Bisbee as a financial center. Can you describe the life of Bisbee, the society of Bisbee back in those years just before World War I? What kind of a town was Bisbee?

It was a white man's mining camp. Queen of the copper camps. At the top were three mining companies. If we're talking about the turn of the century it would be The Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company was at the top, then below that were, were merchants and professional people who really owed their very existence to the copper company. The copper company employees bought their supplies, their daily goods, at the local stores, drank at the saloons, spent their money in the various centers of entertainment up Brewery Gulch. But at the top was this great paternal organization, Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company.

How we can characterizes the leadership of the copper mines in terms of the community?

I think it was benevolent. At a very early date they built a library. They built hospitals, they brought in the YMCA, and they funded church organizations, a general store, and mercantile company. I think the mining companies wanted to promote a stabilizing influence in the community, they wanted to bring in miners with families, and that's why they spearheaded this campaign of moral uplift in the community. Which kind of progressed in stages. You know they began by restricting the tenderloin section to upper brewery gulch and then slowly abolished prostitution all together. In 1914 liquor was abolished and somewhere in between gambling was abolished. But the reasons for doing this were to eliminate absenteeism in the mines, to cut down on accidents, you know nothing was more dangerous than a drunk miner on the job.

How did mine ownership view emerging Union movements?

With a jaundiced eye. They were dead set against unionism. The miners in Bisbee were paid above average wages for the region. The mining companies were relatively generous. Of course the wage was pegged to the price of copper. If the price of copper declined then, the miner's wages declined but generally I believe miners got wages above average for anywhere in America. They made good money.

Was there an era of good will before World War I?

Oh yes. I would say between 1882 to 1900 Bisbee was one big family. An example, a good example of this is when a gang robbed the Goldwater Store in Bisbee in December of 1883. A number of people were, including a Mrs. Roberts who was pregnant. The Copper Queen Company posted a sizeable reward for the apprehension of the outlaws. When they did apprehend them, they were convicted. However one got off, didn't get the death sentence. A large crowd from Bisbee. . .miners, storeowners, a real cross section. . . went over the mountain and captured this guy and hung him. And all with the good wishes of the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company.

A western manifestation of community spirit?

Yes. Ben and Louis Williams posted the reward, I think it was several thousand dollars, fifteen hundred, two thousand dollars. The governor of the territory offered an additional amount.

The outbreak of World War I changes a number of things, but how did it impact the community of Bisbee and specifically the copper mining interests?

Put the fear of God in it. First you had this fervor, this patriotic fervor that swept the camp. The outbreak of World War I in 1914, actually had the effect of creating a slump in copper prices. Due to the unrestrained submarine warfare and an embargo on copper. Then with our entrance in 1917 copper rose in value, it went up from fourteen cents to twenty-seven cents and then ultimately in 1917 up to around thirty-five cents a pound I believe. So that stimulated mining. . . because copper is a vital component of munitions.

And yet, with the national security imperative and the rising prices. . .there is still a clear indication that all is not well in Bisbee.

Well, you also had inflation. The miners at 1917 were probably not any better off than they were in 1903 or 1906 as far as actual earning power. That added to the discontent. You had a polarization of political ideas. You had the influx of labor agitators. You had the fear of war, a fear of invasion from Mexico by military forces. You know there's a lot of factors that created this war time hysteria at Bisbee in 1917. You had the fear of sabotage when the wobbly, the IWW entered the district and started advocating slow down and sabotage and threatening miners and business people.

It was a time of great uncertainty and fear.

Well that's a double edged question, you have uncertainty and fear from the stand point of management who wanted to keep their mines producing at, at high rate fulfill the war effort. They felt threatened by the IWW and labor agitation. The business people felt threatened because they were being coerced and antagonized by the IWW and they didn't want their profits waning.

And what about the miners. Did they have their own fear and uncertainty?

I think they probably felt they were not sharing in the skyrocketing profits of copper.

You have mentioned the IWW, the Industrial Workers of the World. If you were a manager of a copper mine in Bisbee in 1917 how would you view the IWW and its rhetoric?

Well, I would view them with a very jaundiced eye. I would feel very threatened. Here's a bunch of fellows advocating sabotage, which was a very real possibility. They felt they were prone to violence, and history bears that out. For instance, if they sabotaged the Junction Mine, the Junction mine being the deepest workings in the district. Drain the district. They could shut down the entire district if they sabotaged the Junction Mine. They could shut down the Shattuck Mine if they sabotaged the tramway. And they were threatening to do those things. They put up picket lines around mine collars and kept loyal employees from going to work, threatened them. If I was a mine owner I would want to deal very harshly with them. I would want to take steps to protect my interest and the governor of the territory advised mine owners to do that and so did John Persing the commander of the of the military district advised protecting the property at all costs.

There is also a sense that IWW are outsiders, isn't there also a sense that they might even be foreign agents at work within the IWW, isn't that part of the sense that's going on at the same time?

There was fear that they were German agents, Russian agents. . . men bent on sabotage. Yun-American. Yeah, and the fact that the IWW focused on immigrant labor, the lowest rung on the ladder of labor, the Southern Europeans, the Serbs, Croatian, and Montanegrans, who were not always welcomed in Bisbee.

Where do they sit? Where do those groups sit in the social order?

Low. They had the lowest paying jobs in the mines. But they were also very vocal. You can see this in Kosovo today. They carry that conflict that they've bee fighting for six hundred years in Kosovo, in Serbia to the American mining camps. And they squabbled and fought and feuded among themselves just as much in America as they did in Serbia, which was not Serbia than it was the Austrian Hungarian Empire.

So, they we're viewed as a very volatile group?

Yes.

The IWW begins organizing efforts in the Bisbee Mines in 1917. How are they perceived by the mine companies? Are they considered a dangerous addition?

Well, I think they were there's no doubt about that. And they did find some stashes of dynamite, they really threatened business people.

And this is why you have the rise of the Bisbee Citizens Protective League and the Workmen's Vigilance Committee? Tell me about those groups. What's the purpose of those?

To maintain law and order. You have one group that's formed by the mining company, loyal employees and you have another group that represented the business people of the community. And then you have the sheriff that's coordinating their activities. And who at an instant's notice could summon aid by, by a call from the switchboard at the Copper Queen Hotel, which was the command center.

And who was in command?

Harry Wheeler, Sheriff of Cochise County and an ex-Arizona Ranger and Roughrider with Teddy Roosevelt during the Spanish-American War. At least, that is how he is identified in the era, but his service record prior to World War One is a little difficult to confirm. But he was a pugnacious no-nonsense Texan.

And whose interest had to be served?

Industry, copper companies. Keep the mine's safe. It's been asked why didn't the community, why didn't the mining companies call on the military, call out the militia to maintain order.

The military thought there was military assistance close enough at Fort Huachuka, and the copper companies thought they could handle the situation themselves through either their own efforts or through the efforts of the Sheriff's department of Cochise County. Which they did.

When does it start turning? When did it start moving into the direction of saying we've got to take direct actions against these people, meaning we may have to kick them out of here?

Within a day or so of the roundup--July 8 through the 11th. There were a series of meetings of copper company executives. And they planned and formulated the, the deportation. First Walter Douglas [President, Phelps-Dodge Corporation, owner of the Copper Queen Mine in Bisbee] says you can't negotiate with a rattlesnake, and then John Greenway [Bisbee mine executive] says dump them into boxcars and ship >em to Columbus, New Mexico. Dr. Bledsoe [a town doctor] talks about a surgical removal of a cancer.

Who were these people that were ultimately rounded up in Bisbee?

They were people who were viewed as threats, they were the perceived threats to the mining company. They had walked off the job. . . in the middle of a war effort to produce copper. . . and were portrayed as un-American and dangerous. They tossed in a few general "undesirables" also. If you're going to ship people out, you know your going ship out any local troublemakers. But generally they were the men who went out on strike. I don't know how many went out, the estimate range from one-third to two-thirds of the mining force.

We have a number of twelve hundred-plus.

Yes.

Were they all card-carrying members of the IWW?

No. Very few actually.

But they were the strikers, and if they could round up the agitators the companies felt they could crush the disturbance and continue to pull in their profits. But they reached pretty far. Maurice Den, one of the stockholders of the Shattuck-Den Mining Company was detained. He only escaped the deportation when he was recognized by people who actually worked for him. But he may have been detained solely because he was married to a Serbian woman.

Was ethnicity an issue in the Bisbee deportation? Were Mexican nationals who worked in the mines rounded-up?

A few hundred of those went. A lot of Southern Europeans.

Not all of the mine owners were adamantly for deportation of the striking workers. You have written about one owner, Lemuel Shattuck.

I believe Lemuel Shattuck was against deportation. If negotiations could have ironed out the problem he would have negotiated. He had a closer affinity to the miners, to the working class than did John Greenway, or Walter Douglas. Although he could be hard as nails. I think he felt an affinity to the miners, he may have felt torn. He was getting instruction from the President of the Corporation to protect his mine at all cost. His feeling was that he would shut the mine down rather than capitulate to the demands of the IWW. Which he did.

Another person who expressed that same sentiment was Walter Douglas. That rather than give into the IWW he would shut the mine down.

Yeah, it was their patriotic duty to keep those mines running. "You can't negotiate with a rattlesnake." Those were his words. He viewed the IWW as having absolutely no merit. That the grievances that were being presented were unfounded. . . without merit. His superintendent tore up the grievances. But his father, Dr. James Douglas, who was more of a beloved figure and the man who built the Copper Queen Company, probably would have reacted in the same way to the IWW presence and the strike.

In your book [Bisbee: Queen of the Copper Camps] you offer that Douglas' approach is really consistent with an era. We can call it Social Darwinism in some sense, where the best men believe through their own efforts they have raised themselves up and they know what the right course is. And any force that seeks to interrupt the march of business is an evil force.

Well, I think anything that was disruptive of the mining community could be dealt with very harshly. And was in many, many cases. Clear back to the gold rush in California. In Tombstone in 1888 when people were jumping lots. . . That stems from the Tombstone Townsite Company, and an urge to sell town lots. Anyway, everyone was jumping lots. The community got together and formed the vigilante committee that could be called out at an instant notice in the event that there was trouble. They had a secret password and every mining community had organizations like this to maintain law and order. Their view of law and order.

Their definition of law and order.

Yeah, it's common law it goes way back.

And so, as we look at what Bisbee undertakes in July of 1917, it's not new in the West in terms of deportations, it's not new in terms of mine companies seeking to protect their interest by driving out troublemakers.

It's as American as apple pie. There is another important point for the deportation. This is what World War I brought to America. The sense of good versus evil. The sense of right versus wrong. This crusade, this frenzy, this war hysteria to join the war effort. And there was also the profit motive was the thing that was really driving Walter Douglas and John Greenway. And Gerald Sherman. The superintendents of the big companies' seemed to have been the ones who said okay we're going to unplug the Wobblies and ship them out.

And it's easier to do that under the banner of a patriotic act or national security than it is to say these people might cut into our profits.

Yes.

Once 1,200 men were rounded up and taken to the desert and dumped. Did Bisbee return to the business of business and producing copper for the war effort?

It returned to producing copper, but it was a closed community. You couldn't enter Bisbee, they had the road blocked. It was closed for a longtime. Probably they were fearful of return of agitators. Maybe they were fearful of news coverage. Everybody was questioned, stopped and questioned and they were very careful of who they let into the community for a long time afterwards.

There was national criticism voiced over the deportation. The pressure builds so that ultimately they do try an individual as a test case on the charge of kidnapping as part of the deportation. The jury comes back with a quick "not guilty" verdict, saying the actions were well justified.

Well, there were some civil suits brought too in which I believe the copper companies paid so much to the who were wronged. But ultimately everybody got off because of the law of necessity. That the companies were reacting to a perceived threat and the community was reacting to a perceived threat. And that perception justified deporting the men.

Is there a legacy of the Bisbee deportation?

Well, there's still a lot of hard feelings about it. There's still people in Bisbee who had relatives who were shipped off, who feel very hard about that, that human rights were violated, families were broken up. Families were embarrassed.

And there are those in Bisbee who feel quietly that the right thing was done?

Maybe in the context of the times. Yes. Although nowadays that is a difficult opinion to get expressed in Bisbee. The stronger belief is that there's no question that human rights were violated.

What does a person need to understand of that era?

Well, I think you have to understand the deportation in the context of the times. You have to understand that there was wartime hysteria,and that the copper companies were turning record profits. Many of the local business people were making money hand over fist. The miners felt they were getting screwed, their wages were not staying staying abreast of inflation. It was a complex event. But at its core is a simple issue: "Who had the power?"

A professor emeritus at Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, Arizona, James W. Byrkit authored the most detailed political history of the Bisbee Deportation, *Forging the Copper Collar*.

Let's begin with helping a contemporary audience understand what the era was like back at the turn of the century. And one of the interesting relationships seems to be the power centers of the east with the natural resource centers of the West, can you help me understand that relationship?

All right. Well first of all, any period of time in history has what you might call its zeitgeist. That is all of the atmosphere that prevails at a particular time. And it is very difficult to recapture that. Historians try, but what we call "presentism" that is, your own situation and the values and attitudes and aspects of your own current place in time which make it very difficult to do that. I have a novel about Bisbee called *Bisbee Seventeen* by a friend of mine called Bob Houston and he bases it much on the research I did. And Bob fails entirely to capture the zeitgeist. It's all in terms of what people feel today or think today. And that's all very well and it's in reprint now. It's just very difficult to realize that the laws, the values, the demographics, all of this were very different in 1900, or 1915 or 1917, and to be able to understand that you really have to immerse yourself in the mood of that particular time.

Help me be introduced to that mood.

All right, I did it by reading every issue of the Bisbee Daily Review from 1900-1921. It took me three months to do that, and in addition to that I was raised in a small mining town very similar to Bisbee. A lot of people I knew were in Bisbee--my father was. . . he and my mother always reminded me of what things were like when they first came here or even before that. And I was very close to old timers, some of whom were not related to the mining industry at all, but my parents were very interested in Arizona history, so I met lots of people. So I think you have to make a very concentrated effort to try and discipline yourself to get away from whatever presenticism you might have. None of us can get away from it entirely. And to put yourself back into the way in which people felt, thought, acted at a particular time. Now, as far as specifics are concerned of course politics in the one of most conspicuous things. You have manipulated politics, the election of 1916 is a perfect example of that. And economics wasn't like it is today. People didn't have jobs. People were out of work. This is true of the whole 19th century, it's true through the depression. I thinks it's true certainly 'til after World War II, or up to World War II. People don't realize how money motivated and food motivated people were at that particular time and you could get fired for no other reason than some foreman just wanted to exercise his power. And we don't have any appreciation for that today. There's a open labor market. There's a lot of people available for jobs. But, I think that's what made people behave the way they did at that particular time and if you can't appreciate that you'll never really capture that mood or that zeitgeist. That existed at that time.

You talk about the spirit that existed in communities, right there where the workers were and yet, this seems to be a relationship that stretches all the way back to the very powerful centers of the east, help me understand that relationship.

First of all, before television and before there was even radio, people were not as sophisticated as they are today. They really didn't take much interest in what was happening someplace else. I know one time I made a trip to Washington DC and New York and when I came back and talked to people I knew they were totally unimpressed but they said you didn't happen to go to Phoenix on the way, did you? The provincialism that is not just because people are denying themselves knowledge of the outside, but because they have no reason to relate to it. So, it was very easy for external forces to control, newspapers, governors, courts, legislature, without anybody even really realizing it. There's a story, that the copper mining interest in Phoenix, when the people who had been elected in the previous November to come to the State Legislature arrived in the first week in January, or whenever the legislature started, that you could take one of these new people from one of the non-copper mining counties and they'd have them up to the Adams Hotel with a woman and a bottle in fifteen minutes. And from that time on, they would do whatever these exterior forces wanted them to do. At the expense of their own constituency. So, it was just people were not able to understand where power was and where it came from. I'm sure that most of the people that worked for Phelps Dodge [a large mining concern in Arizona at the turn of the century, and still a major internal mining operation] didn't even know the name of the president of the company. And you never said Phelps Dodge by the way, you always said, almost in a hushed tone 'the company.'

You said there was another way of referencing the way the employers or the foreman would talk about

who was responsible for these people's daily bread…

All right, this is going to sound hyperbolic, but I know it actually happened. There would be a time when there would just be an absolutely innocent employee, and a manager might say to a shift boss, 'Who is that guy over there?' 'Well, that's Joe Brown.' 'Fire him.' The workers had to be reminded who their daddy was, that what the expression, you got to know who your daddy is. And then this guy would mope around town for a while, and then he, the manager would plant somebody out there and say Well, I think if you went to talk to the manager you might get your job back. That foreman was unreasonable, just go talk… even though the guy might not have known who he was. And sure enough the manager would say I know you're a good worker and that foreman of mine does do, rude things, and act in an arrogant fashion. You certainly can have your job back. So, you see, you know where the power's coming from. They didn't know what was happening to them because the whole thing was a form of manipulation. In the meantime they were desperate to keep their work, so they'd do practically anything to do that.

Again, I am going to ask you to take me back in time to Arizona at the turn of the century. How would you describe it?

Well, you know, this is a hot place. The two largest cities are located in desert areas. It's not very romantic, the Indians had been subdued long before that. Cattle ranching was important. But the truth of it i,s Arizona was an industrial state at the turn of the century and became more so as time went on. If I were to write my uncle in New York, I would have to try to tell him about labor unions or the power of corporations or any number of other more eastern type of concerns. He probably wouldn't want to believe it, even though he was a professor at Columbia University. It would hurt him to hear that. Arizona was supposed to be a refuge from all the things that characterized the industrial and urban east, and, I don't know how people can be convinced of that. The response to my book by the general public reflects that attitude. You just don't want to hear that Arizona was possibly even more industrialized than Ohio was, and certainly didn't have the agricultural base at that time anyway. So to say that it was unionized, urbanized, and industrialized--people didn't wanted to hear it then, and people certainly don't want to hear it now.

How important was copper mining to the economic well being of Arizona back then?

Well, Arizona was probably the primary producer of copper. It was probably the primary producer after 1900. I think Montana might have been and Utah has always been a good copper producing state. But Arizona's economy was very much related to copper mining and there were several large, wealthy copper mines. United Verde and Jerome was a very good example. The Copper Queen in Bisbee was the biggest of all. The Ramsey operation was still going, I think that's the biggest today. But, at that time it was probably third or fourth. Globe Miami Area. So, these particular activities here and the politics of the place were nothing like the romanticized version that most people believe in by reading Zane Grey or any of the other more popular writers of that time.

You talked about how the economic interests could not be divorced from the political interest, one was very very concerned and involved with the other. Yet there seems to be a period of time in Arizona shortly after the turn of the century where the economic interests are not in control, it almost has and I hate to use the cliché but a progressive feel towards the politics of Arizona. Where did that come from?

Well, Arizona's not removed from the national climate, political climate of that time. The Industrial Revolution had fully developed here. And you had a working class that found itself being joined with certain middle class interests particularly of the Progressive Movement. And also the Populous, the farmers and other people who felt that they were being abused by the railroads. And in the Cross of Gold Speech in 1896 and William Jennings Brian. So you have a general feeling of discontent about the way America is drifting towards this control by big business. And the mood the state is such that there plenty of working people here and plenty of middle class people here who resent the power of the corporations. Now, the corporations didn't always get along with each other. So, they were not exactly united, and theynever had to exert themselves very much to have political control. In fact they're just interested in money and you could do a lot of other things and they wouldn't care. So with the national mood and the foundation of a working class and middle class people in Arizona, yes, they were able to organize themselves starting about 1905 and by 1910, and 1912 they were really running the territory before 1912. They wrote the constitutional convention. Nothing could even believe, even if I tell them today how liberal the constitution was for its time. And this is almost entirely done by working, many of them from Bisbee, working class people who were in the legislature or in the constitution convention or wherever. And then the copper companies realized they had to do something. And they kind of dropped their differences and came together. And by 1915 they had a full-scale counter offensive going against this liberal movement.

Tell me how that plays out in the extraordinary election of 1916.

Well, this is Tom Campbell and George W.P. Hunt. Hunt had proved himself to be a friend to the working man and had won previous elections, was president of the Constitution Convention, and was anti-business at least at that particular time, he was. The corporations were very frustrated by this man, particularly Walter Douglas [President of the Phelps-Dodge Corporation]. So, they had to find somebody that might be able to have a running chance to beat Hunt in the 1916 gubernatorial election. They selected a man by the name of Tom Campbell. And he had a little bit of experience and he was popular, even popular with the working class people. And they put him up as the Republican candidate. The election was an absolute travesty.

How so?

Well, in liberal or working class neighborhoods they would make people wait in line for hours to be able to vote. Also the way in which they counted the votes was very questionable. And this was true throughout the state. Or people were intimidated or bought off or any number of other things to make them vote for the right guy against the wrong guy. So everyone can see this was going on, but Campbell was elected. And the Democratic Party was very upset about it, as well as a lot of other people. And George W. P. Hunt immediately filed a suit, but it took a long time for that to go through the court process. And eventually, the court found that indeed, Hunt did win the election but by that time there was nothing you could do about it.

At one point, Bisbee seems to be a very peaceful, very prosperous mining town, the longevity of the miners and such. What contributed to that era of good will?

I think primarily, from the beginning it was the fact that before the advent of electrical equipment in mines and more modern tools such as jack hammers and so forth. , that the miners tended to be of old professional kind of stock, many of them from Wales, Cornish men you called 'em. And they liked their manager. They had a personal relationship. But as copper mining grew, and production was accelerated and the demand for copper grew and the profits leapt up. . .well people had to be brought in that could handle this new equipment that could be told in a day how to handle these drills. and so, a lot of immigrants. . . in fact the copper company actually recruited in Europe for people to come here and these people came and they were willing to work for less wages. But, more enlightened progressive and populist type people were here also and they were able to use their influence through the unions and through pamphlets, and on the job argents to make these people realize that they had been taken advantage of. So, during this atmosphere of the Populous and Progressive period people shifted somewhat in addition to that as I mentioned earlier middle class people felt the copper companies were being, making too much money, were being abusive , were really not fair in, in the way in which they enjoyed the wealth that was being taken out of Arizona. So, they became disenchanted with the copper companies. And turned against them.

You mentioned the role of ethnic groups. You started with this notion of the traditional Cornish miner being a central figure in the early mining experience. I wonder if there were ever episodes where one group was played off another, as they became dissatisfied.

This is where I differ from the new historians. The new western historians argue that it was the ethnic conflicts and racial conflicts somehow they get gender in there too; that really provided the dynamics for the political developments that took place at that time. I have a few situations where this is true, but in general the lines were not drawn along ethnic lines. They were drawn along economic lines. And although I am sure ethnicity played a role. I remember people calling people from Croatia bohunks and pejorative terms for practically any race. Still I felt the cohesiveness among all the workers was greater than their differences.

Is that also true with the emergence of the Hispanic workers?

To a certain degree. Once again there are people who would like to tell us that this was an essential quality of the conflict at that time. In general there was racism on the, on the job, Hispanics in many cases were not allowed to work underground in a mine. I worked with Hispanics in the smelter, in the mine and I didn't detect much conflict of that kind, although that was much later. But I know there was, there was a lot of ethnic conflicts just socially in the town and that sort of thing. Mexicans were not allowed to use the swimming pool, couldn't come into certain stores and that sort of thing. But politically speaking in terms of politics, I think that was a relatively secondary matter.

What was the role of taxation, in the sharply escalating discontent that surrounds mining?

I was afraid you were going to ask me that. Well, obviously you know the corporations have tremendous political clout. George W. P. Hunt said that for seven thousand dollars you could buy any governor off to do whatever they wanted him to do. The greatest concern that the copper companies had in Arizona, and the greatest concern that any business has today, was profits. You want to make as much money as you possibly can and

have the lowest expenses you possibly can.

During the territorial days some of the people in the legislature and some of the appointed governors felt that the copper companies were not paying their share. And so you can check the territorial legislative records and see that efforts were made to try and increase taxation of, of the corporations. And sometimes this was successful and sometimes it was not. There were efforts to raise corporate taxes and to a certain degree that was true. It wasn't just taxation, it was workman's compensation too fell into that category. This was just too much for the corporations and this is the key thing that caused them to take such a united vigorous counter attack towards the working people and the middle class people of the state is… the way in which there was this attempt anyway to tax them higher.

We're coming to a period where the United States becomes involved in World War I and if the situation is already one of flux, World War I adds a new dynamic. How did the outbreak of World War I impact the copper mining interests of Arizona?

This was the key turning factor. I think even before World War I, because of the corporate counter offense, a doubt about Populism and a certain doubt about Progressivism and a certain sympathy maybe for corporate America. But the war of course, either you're for us or you're against us, and the corporations are obviously producing minerals, and munitions and all kinds of things to help in the war effort. Not to say that everybody thought that this was a good thing to do, but an increasing number. That swing factor had its say so in national politics and it had a say so in Arizona politics. To be a patriot became very important. And anybody that was trying to hinder productivity of copper was not a patriot and if you were not a patriot, you're a traitor. And so all of the corporate effort to malign unions became much more successful in this atmosphere of World War I.

Did the fervent patriotism of that era provide an opportunity for the copper interests to finally deal with unionizing efforts of the workers?

Right. Let's remember that there are lots and lots of workers that are very strong pro-company people. They may not be as well organized, and they have ambivalent feelings at time but the war created these definitely different perspectives on what the company was and so forth. What it represented and how much was being abusive. So that when it came time to take some kind of action and Walter Douglas, the president of Phelps Dodge Corporation, said we've got to cut this out right now. I think he used to call unionism a rattlesnake. And he didn't just say the IWW either. He said that goes for the International Union of Mine Mill Smelter Workers, AFofL or anybody. And people said all right, they are all traitors. If you're IWW you're a traitor, but if you belong to the International Union you are just as bad as the IWW or in AFofL. And the general public not knowing much about ideologies or the conflict or anything else bought it. And by this time the Bisbee newspaper had shifted over to support the companies. So, the war made it possible to find unionism in Arizona to be unpatriotic or even treasonous.

From the worker's standpoint wasn't the big issue money? The price of copper had gone up dramatically because of demand. And the workers were not really part of the benefit of the increased prices for copper.

Well, we can see this in the records we know how much these companies were making and the price of copper went from eleven cents to thirty-four cents a pound. And the workers got a little bit of a raise, but they weren't ignorant of this. And their leaders weren't ignorant of this. And the cost of living went up faster than their wages went up. So, they could see this great disparity between how they were benefiting from the rising copper, and how the copper companies were benefiting from the rise of the price of copper. So, the whole scenario of what the war was doing in terms of economics was open and blatant. People could easily see that they were not getting their share of the war benefits.

What were the events in Bisbee that lead to the deportation?

Well the unions did start striking because of the discontent economically. People begin to join the IWW. They decided they wanted to do something, drastic. By this time the corporations had coalesced their unity and they wanted to do something drastic too. They wanted to do it even more than the laboring people did. So, as a consequence of this, this growing antagonism, a conflict was inevitable and all of the factors that we've already been talking about were forcing these people to take a position one way or another. The Phelps Dodge Corporation had to exaggerate the danger of this particular movement. So, they made certain charges that were not right. They precipitated the whole thing deliberately, they wanted it to happen. And finally decide just to tell everybody that this is unpatriotic and these treasonous people had to be removed from town. And on the July 12th, 1917, they did just that.

How were the Wobblies characterized by the copper interests?

Oh, first of all they were "ultra left wing communists," even identified with the Reds in Russia that were active at that time, also identified however with the Germans. which is kind of weird but people didn't know the difference. And it was said that they were trying to harm the war effort, harm America, that these were evil people and they were throwing bombs and murdering people, which was not even true. And they tried to take examples from other places, to show that the IWW was really a dangerous element and had to be removed. And people believed it and were willing to participate in the deportation.

One person we've been talking about peripherally, and I think we should spend time considering right now, is Walter Douglas.

You know this is something that absolutely mystifies me. This person is so obviously the central figure in all of this. He comes from an old family. His father was instrental in getting Phelps Dodge established in Arizona. Dr. James Douglas was a very nice guy, people loved him. Walter Douglas was very well educated. And at a very early age they began to groom him to be a leader for not just Phelps Dodge but in the copper industry. And he was a twentieth century kind of person, he's not an entrepreneur, he's not a scientist, he's a business man. A hard nose, sophisticated smart business man. And he is behind the scenes all the time but he comes out in the open occasionally. He wrote a letter to the New Republic, which very clearly identified his attitude towards the mining situation in Arizona. And he becomes not just the president of Phelps Dodge, but he becomes the leader of organizations that are affiliated with mining companies throughout the United States. And he understands publicity, he understands propaganda, he understands international relations, he understands market prices and how they fluctuate and what causes them to fluctuate. And he understands where his profits are being drained. But he's not crude about it. In a sense, to me, he's crude, but at the time he's very smooth. The people were absolutely afraid of him. Everybody was afraid of him, even the governor of Arizona won't call him by name, who is outspoken about everything else. And since my book was published I've tried to talk about Walter Douglas and there still is a great fear. And so here you have this very influential New York business man pulling all these strings doing all these things, getting all this cohesion among the copper companies and no one will talk about him. I wonder you know what that says. I have this feeling once again as I said, people just don't want to know about a person that seems too threatening perhaps or too powerful to even contest. And it's very interesting, he's a man incredibly powerful that nobody wants to acknowledge or even say that he even existed.

One thing he did not do was stand on a street corner in Bisbee, Arizona and harangue the general populous with his point of view. So, how was his will manifest at this time?

This goes back to company relationships and loyalties. Fear. There's a hierarchy of authority in any large corporation today. But he could manipulate anybody in anyplace, and the corporation had terrific influence on the sheriff, on courts, on the legislature, all of this. But he always had somebody doing this, in fact it's almost demeaning to him to even have to lower himself to come to Arizona. And to talk to people about this, to give instructions and so forth. You get the feeling he's very impatient and he feels that if people back in New York found out what he was doing that he would lose their respect, as it's dirty sort of stuff. So, he has plenty of people to do his dirty work for him, and others like John Greenway, who was the general manager at the Calet Arizona Mining Company. He was a very outspoken and open guy, but not terribly bright and certainly not even aware of the dynamics that Walter Douglas understands. He's willing to appear in public and talk about these things and most people like him. He's a hero and so forth. So, Douglas is, and we're not talking about conspiracy here, we're talking about continuation of manipulation. In fact, I've always said the whole story of the West is sponsorship and manipulation by eastern interests. And this is a colonial situation and Walter Douglas doesn't want to even acknowledge that he's here. That he would have to appear here. This is dirt for him. And it works. Nobody even today wants to talk about Walter Douglas.

Was the deportation a unique way of dealing with trouble makers?

Well, not at all. This is an old practice, but it just so happens that the Bisbee deportation is the most extravagant bizarre example of it. . . particularly the scale of it. Throughout Arizona and New Mexico people had been deported just previous to this, there was a deportation in Jerome [Arizona] a week or two before the Bisbee deportation. Which wasn't as successful. Far fewer people involved and done in much less highhanded fashion. But it worked. Or at least it appeared to work at the time. And other minor deportations, I only say minor relative to the Bisbee deportation. And for all I know maybe deportations were being used throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I've never really studied it that far back. But no this is not an unusual thing it's just the size of it.

What is the Loyalty League?

I think the Loyalty League was made up of mining employees. The so-called "loyal" miners…and there's plenty of those. You have to understand that there are plenty of people, you know, that were definitely strongly in support of the mining companies. Then there are those that are opposed and then there's a kind of swing factor in-between. So they are willing to do whatever they were told as a means of keeping their jobs. And this is not necessarily born out of strictly fear, these people really believe that American business is good and they're part of it and they want to be loyal to it. On the other hand, I can tell from personal experience that fear was a factor too. So, the Loyalty League was prepared to do just about anything if they might be asked to do, including even take up arms if necessary to get rid of some of their fellow workers.

You also say that this became something almost immediately became something of taboo subject. We don't want to talk about it.

In Bisbee anyway. You didn't talk about it because that would make you sympathetic with the deportees. People feared for their jobs. Phelps Dodge became even more paternalistic. They did some good things for people after the deportation. And they did increase some of the wages. But they expected even m ore loyalty than ever before. And so, people were scared to death and they might whisper about it in the evening in the kitchen. But the children would hear them talking and they couldn't tell what they were talking about. And it was the children that I talked to. They never knew the story of what their parents had gone through because the parents were terrified to even say anything about it at all. When the story first came out we got a lot of state wide attention and those people shook their head and said ye I'm sure glad to know all of this. But anybody that was born since or come here since then doesn't want to hear about it.

I asked you if there was a legacy of deportation, you said there should be but there isn't. What should the legacy be?

How powerful companies can thwart the constitution of the United States if it serves their purpose. Eisenhower said, "Beware of the industrial military complex. This coziness between big business and federal government, or state government, and the power that corporations still have in influencing taxation and other laws." It's much more different and much more complicated today. That's a simple answer to your question.

Chair of the Political Science Department at Montana State University in Bozeman, Jerry Calvert has researched early-20th century unions and socialist movements in Butte.

Let's start by setting the scene. What was the world the miners lived in, in terms of the Progressive Era?

Well, Butte at the time we're dealing with was perhaps the largest, mining camp in the United States. Here we have a city of, let's be conservative, sixty thousand individuals and, you had thousands of men employed in dozens of mines in the Butte Mining District. Virtually every ethnic group that came to America ended up in Butte in various proportions, of which by far the largest we're Irish. But as Butte moved into the twentieth century before World War I, increasingly the ethnic composition of the mineworkers changed towards more recent immigrants, men from Eastern Europe, Southern Europe. And also a significant proportion of Irish newly off the boat, often from what we call Northern Ireland today. And it was a population that could be divided in another way. And that was that you had an older population of mine employees who had homes who lived there, who had families and children. And then you had a newer bunch of folks, single men without ties, without family without responsibilities living in massive boarding houses in Butte City and spending their money in the saloons and in the Chinese food establishments and getting their laundry done and so forth. So you had really complex social environment at that time.

We're looking at the story from a 20th or even 21st century perspective, but American views of Socialism and Communism were different in the early 1900's. How do we need to look at this story? How was the world different back then?

To truly understand Butte, you have to understand the United States in the era after the Civil War through World War I. And one of the underlying strains was the notion that that capitalism as an institution was out of control, that the government of the United States and other governments were subservient to big capital. And this wasn't an idea that was concocted by radicals and socialist and so on. This was the currency, the political currency of

grass roots American institutions like the Green Back Labor Party and later the Populous Party in the 1890's. So the Socialist Party and the IWW are part of that tradition of a strong belief that democracy, as they understood it as majority rule, had been subverted by money and property. And it was time if we may paraphrase Pat Bucannan, 'to take the country back'--that notion of the masses against the elite. It was the underlying, theme. The second thing that was peculiar to that period and not general to American political ideology, was a broad across class belief in progress. Progress was good. Progress was inevitable. That the world, the future, would be one of greater leisure, greater prosperity, of greater equity and justice. So the fight was, if it's a fight, was how to do that.

What distinguished Socialists from Progressives in that large tradition was that Socialists believed that government itself ought to be the owner of the means of production. That the people through the democratic process should control how the economy should be operating. We have to understand where they were coming from. This is before the Soviet Union, before Stalin, before Hitler. You can look in vain at the speculations about what a Socialist society would look like. They really didn't know how to do it. They just thought that there must be a better way than the unregulated and often inhumane economic system that the working class was experiencing at that time.

Let's move into Butte and rise of the power and the union. How was Butte to start with the "Gibraltar" of unionism?

Well, Butte had a reputation as being a very strong union town. In an era when unions nationally were struggling to even get recognized and have some place at the table. Butte was proud to say in the era before World War I, that every occupation, pipe fitter to newsboy, had a union. Why was that? There's no simple answer to that. But the answer I'm going to give is at least getting there and that is you had to look at the capitalist side of Butte in its early days. And the epitome of the Butte capitalist in those early days was Marcus Daily. Marcus Daily was an Irish immigrant who came to America with nothing but the shirt on his back. He started out as a prospector and hard rock miner. He came to Butte and through good luck and hard work became a multi millionaire mine owner. Thanks to his prescient notion that copper was the metal that would make it in the future. And Marcus Daily was one of those multi-millionaires who never forgot his roots. And so he created a, a pretty benign and friendly atmosphere for unionism in his own mines as well as unionism generally.

And how and when did things change?

The big change in organized labor in Butte many historians will probably tell you was when Marcus Daily sold the Anaconda Copper Mining Company to a large holding company called Amalgamated, which was affiliated with Standard Oil. With Standard Oil now being you might say the real power in Butte, it was a different situation. There wasn't any ethnic or societal connection between the bosses and the workers that had existed when Daily was around. And so now you had you know, capitalism in its worst aspects. A distanced board of directors in New York making decisions about what happened in Butte and Bisbee and elsewhere. And it was a very adversarial relationship.

Was it a one company town, did they run the whole show?

Well, Butte was becoming a company town, in the year before World War I. By the time World War I had started, the Amalgamated/Anaconda Copper Mining Company controlled the vast bulk of the mines in the Butte area. Miners were by far and away the largest employed group in Butte, and most of them worked for Amalgamated/Anaconda Mining Operation, so the answer yes, it was a one company town.

In your book, you wrote that 'capitalism in Butte wasn't an abstraction, but a reality'. You talked about this notion of capitalism as being personified by the Anaconda Mining Company. Describe what this looked likeChow this was reflected in the life of Butte miners?

Again I think today capitalism in America is an abstraction for most people. And that's because most of us are employees of somebody. There's a social safety net. There's unemployment insurance, there's health coverage, and there's social security when you retire or are disabled. And so the cost benefit analysis, supply and demand, the cash nexus, these phrases, they don't impinge on our lives directly and negatively like they would if we were working for wages in Butte say in 1917. That was a different reality. You worked for wages and the wages was all you got really. You had no health insurance, you had no disability insurance. There were virtually no meaningful laws protecting your health and safety on the job. You're on your own, Buddy. It's a dog eat dog world. As long as you're healthy you can work. And if you get miner's consumption well, that's just tough. You know, there's nothing for you. It was an entirely different thing. And so capitalism wasn't an abstraction. The calculus of profit and loss was not ameliorated in anyway by the state.

Did the miners bear the brunt of this system? Describe what being a miner in Butte in 1917 was like.

Again it's hard to understand with complete clarity what it felt like, what it would be like to be working in mine in Butte say in 1917. But imagine if you will, going to work an eight-hour shift. You come to the mine, you take your street clothes off and put your digging clothes on, these rank, stinking, dirty, sweating clothes. You go down into the mine to two thousand five hundred feet, poorly ventilated relatively speaking. The temperature is ninety to one hundred and ten degrees. Humidity is 90 percent. And you're working with a power drill blowing silicon-loaded dust into your lungs everyday. It's probably like smoking three packs of cigarettes a day. And that's not ventilated. There's one mine that had very good ventilation, it had a great name, the Never Sweat Mine. But a lot of mines were just; they were hell on earth. But it was a job and you had to have a job to make a buck so you could eat. That's it.

Was there a divide between the rich and poor in Butte?

Again that's a common theme in American political culture. The rich are always too rich. Too privileged, too wealthy by half. But I suspect the contrast between the rich and the poor was much more starkly visible and experienced in the mountain west in Butte in those days. On the one hand you have the single miner, just off the boat from Ireland who lives in this massive boarding house with hundreds of other single miners. Who spends what free time he has in the saloons and so on. On the other hand, just west of Main Street are these fine homes, with well-dressed people with their maids and servants. And they're just across the street. Today in America the poor, especially the unsightly and troublesome poor, are much more ghettoized and isolated then in those days. There was a lot more intermingling and physical contact between the communities of the relatively well off and the relatively not well off in Butte and elsewhere than you see today.

Paint me a picture of the town of Butte. If I'm a stranger to Butte, standing on a street corner, what am I seeing? What are the conditions in the town itself?

Well depending on where you are in Butte you could be in any part outside of downtown and the streets would be not paved. There'd be no sidewalks, and no curbs. The houses were jammed close together without adequate ventilation and space. And you can see the pictures taken by the state sanitation department about 1910 of miner's housing in Butte. You know it was a pretty rough existence. And the Socialist Party promised in Butte and throughout the United States a better city government which would do things like pave the streets, create sidewalks, build sewers, inspect meat processing companies. Basic kinds of thing we accept as given today were not in those days.

And what made Socialism appealing was the understanding that what people wanted was something right up front, right now.

Let's move back to the notion of the Butte Miner's Union, and set the scene of what led up to destruction of the union hall, the Miner's Union Hall, backtracking looking at the notion of this, the miner's were really disgruntled with the union in Butte, why were they so angry?

The discontent in Butte with the Butte Miner's Union of the Western Federation of Miners, Butte Miner's Union Number One, the mother union, the beginning of the WFM, had two primarily sources I think. One was economic. The union had failed to keep pace with developments. The working wage for a miner in Butte in 1914 was three dollars and fifty cents a week. The same wage a miner was paid in 1886 in Butte. So there was a failure of the union to make any effort, at least any successful effort and sustained effort, to increase the wages of its membership. That's part of it. The union was founded initially just to dictate a wage, three dollars and fifty cents a week. It never grew beyond that goal. So it never addressed other things that unions commonly address today. Again working conditions, health conditions, pension plans, those sorts of things. So, the economic issue is one thing. The other thing is partly external. The union was not isolated from the world around it. There were radical trade unions like the Industrial Workers of the World who were pushing for more militant unionism. And so they were in Butte and said hey, how come the Butte Miner's Union isn't doing anything? And they agitated and talked and created discontent and unhappiness with things as they were.

So the miner's were upset with the union for two reasons, one internal and one external. The internal one was basically economic. The union had failed to make any effort, at least any sustained and successful effort, to increase miners wages from the 1886's standard of three dollars and fifty cents a week. Secondly, was the proverbial outside agitator. The Industrial Workers of the World was founded in 1905, and by 1907 or 1908 was very visible in the Butte area and throughout the West. The IWW of course believed that unions should actually not just be wage defense organizations, but they should be the harbingers if you will of the future. They should be the basis for new working class society, and so they wanted it all -- workers control and means of productions. That was the ultimate goal. And that kind of idea played pretty well in Butte.

Was there also a notion that the union was corrupt? That it was infiltrated by company men and it was serving more the company interests than the union interests?

That's a hard question to answer. My own research does not point to any obvious smoking guns where you can say this union official took this bribe. There's no direct evidence of that. The radicals, the critics of the union, rhetorically made those charges. They never produced any evidence.

Was it common practice for companies to hire detectives to infiltrate unions?

It was a very common and standard practice for corporations to hire private detective agencies, whose agents would infiltrate unions and report on those activities. And often of course instigate activities by union, which would cause a strike and / or a breaking of the union. Common practice.

Was that done in Butte too then?

Oh, absolutely.

Set the scene for the destruction of the union hall. What were the events that led up to this incredible violence towards property?

Again, the factors are many. But specifically, someplace about 1913, the radical internal critics of the union gave up in trying to reform the union by taking it over legitimately through the electoral process. The radical or progressive faction in the union boycotted the May 1914 elections to elect officers to the Butte Miner's Union. And they were threatening to form a new independent miner's union. On Miner's Union Day, June 13, 1914, the parade is going down the street. In the parade are the officers of the Butte Miner's Union who had just been elected in a boycotted election, there was no opposition and the turn out was very low. Contrary to previous years there are a few spectators on the sidewalks and those that are, are silent or grumbling or jeering. At an intersection a group of men rush the union leaders, pulling the president from his horse. And then this mob of men, under leadership of 'person's unknown', went to the Union Hall. They broke in and trashed the building including blowing up the safe. They were looking of evidence of corruption which, if they found, they never presented it.

Charles Moyers, the nation president of the Western Federation of Miners came to Butte, couple days later and tried to organize the Butte Miner's Union again. A meeting was called of the Butte Miner's Union. News accounts suggest this is what happened... A supporter of the union came late, and as he walked up the stairs to the meeting, he was shot by a nervous guard. He was wounded, but apparently survived. And then a riot broke out. And some men rushed the near by West Stuart Mine, saying, 'let's get dynamite and let's blow this building to the ground'. The supporters of the old union snuck out the back under police escort and the union hall was then dynamited to the ground. And so within two weeks what had thought to be a very strong union Butte, was literally a wreck. And there was no union. And growing out of that was a very short- lived independent union called the Butte Mine Workers Union.

What expectations or hopes did the miners have with the formation of the new union?

Well, the Butte Mine Workers Union was sort of born out of nothing . The ostensible leader was a young Irish miner named, Michael "Mucky" McDonald who was recently off the boat from Northern Ireland. He became the leader by virtue of instigating the protests that led to the destruction of the union. Periodically, an official from The Butte Miners Union would show up at the gates of the mines to check men for the union cards. And if you didn't have a union card you were turned away. So the story which appeared in the Butte Press the day before the first riot was that Mucky McDonald, on appearing at the mines, said I'm not showing you my card. And he urged all the other miners to do the same. And the mine was shut down. And so by virtue of that bold act, this young man became the leader of the new Butte Mine Workers Union. But the real brains of the operations if I can call it that, were several miners with close ties to the IWW. So the Butte Mine Workers Union was the IWW dressed up in independent clothes. But the union did not advocate revolution, it advocated what the Butte Mine Workers Union hadn't given which was higher wages, better working conditions. The usual things that unions usually advocate.

Why was the union short-lived?

Well, the Mucky McDonald Union as they called it in Butte at the time, was short lived because frankly the companies, and particularly Anaconda would not even talk to them. The price of copper was very low, and so you had thousands of people laid off. So from a bargaining stand point they didn't have much going. Martial law helped, and of course the union leaders, Mucky McDonald and ??? Bradley were arrested for incitement to riot, and ultimately sentenced to state prison. Bradley himself died in prison of gastrointestinal difficulty. Mucky McDonald was paroled in about three years. He left the area and never was heard from again.

Unionism remains silent in Butte until the Granite Mountain mining disaster in 1917. Could you describe the miners' situation at the time? What was their emotional tenure?

Well, if you look at the available accounts at the time the two or three years proceeding the Granite Mountain Fire was probably one of sullen acceptance of conditions. With World War I the price of copper took off. There was a great demand for copper because of the War. Wages did go up, and there was work. And so anybody that wanted to work in the mines who was able to work in the mines and wasn't black listed., got work in the mines. So things were good in a sense in that short of period of time. You have a situation in which, with the rush to production and given the existing labor laws of the time, there was a great deal of negligence in terms of dealing with safety issues. And we have to understand that metal mining, underground mining of any kind, today is also the most dangerous jobs in the country. And it was even more so then because of the absence of any kind of regulatory effort.

The Granite Mountain fire was one of the greatest disasters in [metal] mining history up to that time and in all of history. A hundred and sixty seven men lost their lives, burned to death, suffocated to death. Several of them were never identified. And the cause of the fire was negligence on the part of the company. Which had closed off and locked a, bulk heads escape doors that would have allowed the men in that mine to escape to another shaft and get out.

Describe for me that scene if I was a rescue worker going down into that mine. What would I be seeing?

You'd be seeing hundreds of men; fire fighters, rescue workers, desperately trying to do something, and unable to do anything. You probably had wives and children, especially the wives, relatives crowding around trying to find out about their loved ones. Friends of those that worked that shift, wondering what's going on. We've seen film footage of contemporary mine disasters to know what that's like.

How did the mine fire spark the strike of 1917?

It was, it was a catalyst. All the latent discontent with working conditions, with wages, with general situation in Butte all came to that one point. It was a catalyst, providing an opportunity for those who would have been waiting, many of the same leaders of the IWW and the abortive Butte Mine Workers Union, to try once again to re-establish labor unionism in the mines of Butte. And they ran with it basically, and with some success.

What was the fate of the strike, were the miners successful?

Again the miners were not successful. And here we come to something that was particularly an issue at that time and remains an issue to some extent in the labor movement to this day. The miners are being represented by a new organization now in 1917, called the Metal Mine Workers Union , loudly and vociferously, calling itself independent of any other union. But there were other people working in the mines, each with their separate unions. You had electricians and you had the engineers. Smelter men were a separate union. Those engaged in metal trades, blacksmiths and the carpenters were a separate union. And what happened to the 1917 strike was a peculiar problem of unionism, namely that you had all these people working for the same company but they were divided into ten, twenty, thirty different unions. The craft workers, the metal trade workers and so on. They didn't stick with the strike. And when they didn't stick with the strike, the strike began to collapse of itself. Cause you need everybody as the IWW said everybody in solidarity, everybody out on strike for a strike to be successful. And of course they were right. At that moment in time, mid to late July 1917, as the strike effort was beginning to peter out Frank Little came to Butte.

So, Frank Little comes to Butte, why did he come here?

Frank Little was on the executive board of the Industrial Workers of the World. He had actually been a member of the Western Federation of Miners. He was a miner, in part by profession. He first appears in the records as a delegate to the 1907 or 1908 national meeting of the Western Federation of Miners. Even then he was also a member of the IWW. Frank Little was one of those militant, rabidly militant members of the IWW. He did not mince his words. And he said something when he came to Butte. He said things that would be inclined to enrage lots of people who weren't supporters of the union. He said something to the effect for example, 'that the workers ought to force the bosses down to the pit and make them dig'. And he said that in the context of the strike that was waning. He was the classical outside agitator. He was unconnected to Butte. He came in from the outside. He saw it as an opportunity to for the IWW to capture the moment and seize control and momentum, which was actually waning. And to move the Butte miners in the IWW miners union. And for this, of course, he paid with his life.

What happened to him, what was his fate?

Frank Little was murdered , in the early morning hours in August of 1917. Contemporary accounts say that he was , pulled from his room in a boarding house, kidnaped by men, who are not yet identified, tied up and dragged by an automobile and then lynched from a railroad trestle. Where a working man found his body about seven in the morning.

What was the message pinned to his body?

The message pinned to Little's body was a reference to the vigilante days in Montana with several other letters, with the letter "L" circled or crossed out, the other letters most people thought were the last names of several other union leaders at the time, saying in effect warning them that they were next. But nothing more happened , the murder was a shocker. And who ever did it, who ever organized it, issued you know, they backed off basically no attempt to my knowledge was made to assassinate any other union leader at the time. But the practical effect of the , Little murder was to cause this , fire which was dying out to rekindle and the strike picked up speed again for awhile. But again because of the absence of solidarity on the part of the unions did not sustain itself. And eventually the men went back to work. Those who could go back to work who weren't black listed of course.

Was there a vigilante crowd and fervor, that was going on in Butte at the time. Did the war contribute to that hysteria, or do you think it was more of a union, why was he killed was it due to war hysteria or do you think it was due to union connections?

Frank Little was killed to send a message to the rest of the union militants, you're next. He was the perfect foil the outside agitator, the ranting wobbly. And he was a ranting wobbly who did not mince his words. He was the perfect candidate for martyrdom. And so he was martyred and is buried in the Mountain View Cemetery in Butte today. He became a martyr like all martyr not because of who he was but because of what he represented. You know, the victim, the working man murdered by the capitalist bosses. He became a symbol of that and he remains so today. People visit his grave in the Mountain View Cemetery just as they visit the graves of other militant labor leaders in American history.

There was some nation repercussions, in terms of legislation that was passed. I think Frank Little was the catalyst for that. The anti-sedition laws, how was his death used as an argument to pass those laws?

American entry into World War I illustrated the fault lines in the political culture. On the one side native born, or naturalized Americans who wanted to demonstrate in this time of crisis their patriotism, their nationalism, their loyalty. The other part was of course among many of the immigrants. They worked in the Butte mines, they themselves were victims, escapees if you will, from Colonial Empires. And , they had no incentive whatsoever to join the armed force of the United States and align themselves with the Great Britain, the oppressor of Ireland. Or align themselves with a Czarist Russia, the oppressor of the Russian working class. That's the context. It would be the equivalent of asking a Serb American to be drafted and then go and fight Yugoslavia. You know, it just it wouldn't be particularly a thing that someone would want to do.

Were the protests of ethnic minorities a concern to the national government?

In the establishment, the elite, the people that run things, there was the image of the dangerous immigrant. The carrier of the bacillus of evil ideas like Socialism and Anarchism. There was a concerted and largely successful attempt between 1900 and 1920 to reconfigure the electoral map of this country by creating a series of laws which made it much more difficult for immigrants to participate in the political life of this country. They made if much more difficult for political organizations other than democrat or republican to get on the ballot. One of the arguments for women's suffrage advanced at this time was women, that is white middle class women, if allowed to vote would negate the votes of immigrants who would probably vote for Socialists and other undesirable political ideas. So that the context again we're looking at.

In a nutshell, what was the purpose of the anti-sedition laws?

The purpose, the purpose of the state sedition acts and state criminal syndicalism acts was two. One was to suppress dissident speech. And in the case of the later, to outlaw industrial unionism, or any union that went beyond the narrow confines of wages, primarily. That was the basic goal. The war was a splendid opportunity for capitalist to really stomp on labor unionism in general and militant labor unionism in particular.

What was the fate of the IWW during this time in Butte?

The IWW had a base of support in Butte and so it was able to revive itself. The IWW basically led three consecutive strikes in1918, 1919, and 1920--all unsuccessful ultimately. They were pushing not the revolutionary agenda of the union but its bread and butter agenda, which is what unions, do. But the IWW was severely handicapped locally because of national events. Again, after the War jobs were hard to find. It wasn't a situation

where workers could demand things. And there was also a series of repressive efforts by the national and state government to eradicate the Wobblies. The entire executive board of the union was arrested for sedition and tried in 1917 and convicted.

What was the reaction of the Anaconda Mining Company during this whole time?

The Anaconda Copper Mining Company gave lots of employment to private detective agencies as well as people they employed as spies, and agitators and so on. Military intelligence, the company itself, very efficiently infiltrated the IWW. Some of its people ended up being leaders and were identified as such. They made any effort possible to make sure the IWW never got beyond being simply a pest as it were.

It seems in Butte, it's miner against miner or union against union, instead of union against company which you see in other areas, is that true?

The situation in Butte of miner against miner or union man against union man is not particular of Butte, but is particular to the United States at this time. The United States unlike say Germany or France or Great Britain or Russian was a genuinely multi-ethnic society of new arrivals and recent arrivals and so on. It was extremely diverse socially. And these competing interests and philosophies made it very difficult to organize say miners in one union that would stick together because you had old time Irish miners who had roots in the community vis a vis young single Irish miners just off the boat, in relation to mine workers from Serbia from Croatia. You had this great diversity of people and languages which was peculiar to America.

So to state it more succinctly it was the ethnic diversity in America that prevented the "bonding" of the miners?

Right, the very ethnic diversity of miners and the competing interests that go with that ethnic diversity made it extremely difficult if not impossible to organize even Butte miners into one cohesive union that would stick together when times got tough.

What difference has this made for our lives? Is our life any better or different for what the men sacrificed?

Did the sacrifices of Butte miners and other workers at that time contribute in any way to the conditions we have today in terms of the quality of our lives? The answer to that is yes. Clearly, good ideas sometimes take decades to become public policy. If you go back and look at what the Socialist were advocating. You know what Progressives were advocating. What the IWW was advocating, those ideas, some of those ideas began to become reality. Sometimes then, sometimes later. But let's just take one example, , the idea that the mine owner has a legal duty to provide for safe and healthy working conditions for his employees. That was advocated by the Wobblies, by the Socialists, by more left wing Progressives. It began to beget reality finally in terms of law in the 1930's with the New Deal and remains to this day. So they pointed the way, they're the pioneers. You know, and pioneers make sacrifice. They're the ones that break the trail, the rest follow. Some other ideas that they advocated didn't become reality and a good thing too. The idea, for example, of government management of the economy. In a very direct and overt way a Soviet Model. Well that turned out to be a disaster in the long run for the Soviet Union. It would have been a disaster in any other country. So some ideas worked, some didn't work. Some ideas reconfigure themselves.

Anything you'd like to add?

I think what your viewers have to appreciate in this documentary is that to try to put themselves in the shoes literally of the people who are being described and remembered in this film. Try to appreciate and understand their lives and their choices and the options that were afore them. Try to remember that they were looking at the world differently than we are and that that difference had to do with a much more positive and progressive view of what the future would hold. People believed in the goodness of man. They believed, especially these radical unionists, that a just and good society was possible and attainable because of rational ability of people and their common sense and their common empathy with their fellow human beings. It's fair to say that in quote naïveté has been seriously tested by things like Adolph Hitler, Joseph Stalin and more recently Rowanda, Bosinia and Kosovo.

A professor of history at the University of Calgary, Elizabeth Jameson offers insights about the Cripple Creek, Colorado conflict and the rise of the Western Federation of Minders.

I want to start out with the notion of what the period was like during the era. It's hard to envision coming up on the new millennium what was happening right before the turn of the 20th century? With increasing industrialization, how was life changing for workers?

Well, in the country as a whole from after the Civil War on you see increasing industrialization. Now what that meant for working people and their families was a number of things. If you were a farmer, you kids probably weren't going to be farmers. The biggest migration is from the farm to the city. So families are splitting up that way or people are following each other to cities. Work is changing. If you think about the workplace just before or just after the Civil War, you're thinking of a place with maybe a master worker, workman, maybe a couple of journeymen, maybe a couple of apprentices. But it's a small workshop. Probably at most twenty-five people. Where folks make things by hand and they make the whole product. Or if you're mining it's a small mine, and you're in there with a small force group getting out probably coal by the time.

But increasingly as the work process industrializes workers are doing only a small part of the task, they aren't really seeing the whole product through from start to finish. Imagine the difference say from cutting out a whole shoe and stitching it together to fit one person's foot to suddenly you're just running a machine that cuts out the top upper. To fit a standard size, you never see the finished shoe. Instead of working all day to make a product and then selling the product. You're working for an hourly wage. And someone else owns the factory. Now the transition is that the workers have less and less control over the work process. Work is working farther and farther away from the family household. It's becoming more and more wage work. And people become dependant on folks that they never even meet to pay them a daily wage. And it gets easier and easier to resent these folks because in fact more and more they don't work, they simply can own a workshop or a factory because they're very rich. And they get richer and richer. And there's a growing gulf between rich people and poor people. And not surprisingly a fair amount of anger about that. The machinery where people work is often dangerous. So you work very hard, you die young, and it's not a particularly pretty picture.

How does this industrialization affect miners?

In mining, if you go to the era of the California Gold Rush, beginning with the discovery of gold in California in 1848, what you see in the United States is a rapid industrialization of mining. You start with a period that is very brief, and highly romanticized. And that we seem to be thinking about a whole lot right now because it's the hundredth and fifth anniversary of the Gold Rush. We're in our romantic fantasy: there's this guy out there with his donkey, right? And a mining pan. And they go out and they shift some metal in a stream. And they, by God, get gold. And you can go there and work hard. And there's gold in them there hills. And you can get rich if you're lucky. Well, that was never really how it worked. The mining itself was harder. It involved hydraulic drudging, harder labor than we can imagine, so you could mine only for a very brief period. But you were in fact dealing with precious metal that had eroded from the hillsides, which were pure gold or pure silver. Well, there's not a whole lot of that stuff. But it's trail does lead you to the underground source of the ore. And so very quickly we're looking if there's enough ore at deep shaft mining. Where you need some capital to pay for what's called the dead work. A sinking the shaft, putting in the timber, putting in the hoist. And getting down to an ore body, which is likely not to be pure metal. It's not pure gold or pure silver. So you have to mill it and refine it.

Now, you get into this industrial phrase of what is called load mining or quartz mining. This industrial operation requires huge amounts of capital to pay for the dead work, for the machinery, to bring in railroad to get the ore out, and to get it back to where its going to be refined. Finally, capital is also needed to pay the smelting and milling costs. Suddenly, we no longer have this solitary romantic prospector, but a work group formed of skilled of miners coming in from all over the world. Miners came from Eastern coal mines, Cornwall, Ireland, China, and all over the world to learn how to blast the ore most effectively out of this particular mine. And this is dangerous work. So what is going on by the 1890's, is a workforce that's been forming in the West, and reforming from one mining camp to the next since the 1850's. They've been through a series of conflicts with owners over the length of the workday, over how much they're going to be paid, over whose going to work with them, and can they keep people they don't like out of the mines.

We hit the early 1890's, when we are in the middle of huge depression beginning in about 1893. Many folks believe the depression is tied directly to the fact that the United States decided to no longer to back money with silver, and silver mines throughout the Rockies are closing. So you have a very volatile situation both because in hard rock mining, and in any mining, ultimately the stuff underground is going to run out. You're never building a

permanent city where five centuries hence your family might still be living there doing the same work. So, you have a mobile labor force that's very, very mobile, and very poor in the early 1890's, that is continually being rebuilt by incoming younger people who are hoping just to earn a decent living. They're not really dreaming of getting rich anymore.

Specifically how does industrialization change the relationship between owners and employees in mining?

Well, first of all, it means that the owners in the pre-industrial era, or in the early industrial era, actually live in the same towns. People know who each other are, and there are faces to put to the names. I think that makes a huge difference. As industrialization occurs, the owners get richer and they are also more distant. Either they never lived in the mining towns, or as soon as they get rich, they move away. The daily relationships are with miners and resident superintendents, or shift bosses and foreman, some of whom have themselves mined so they still know what's going on. They can kind of buffer the relationships between owners and miners. But it becomes very easy for the miners to blame these faceless distant greedy guys for what's wrong in their working situation. And it is equally possible for the owners not to confront the fact that, for instance, the lack of safety in a mine, is really affecting Tom, Jim and Joe. And their families.

Mining itself becomes more dangerous. They're using new technology very quickly. Part of what makes mining profitable in the 1890's is new fining processes. That use cyanide and chlorine. And the people who work in the smelters are undergoing incredible health risks. They also tend to die pretty young. The machinery itself is dangerous. Guys are breathing rock dust everyday. They're using new big machines that are literally called widow makers because you're not going to live very long breathing the dust from them. To make mines profitable, unethical economies are used sometimes. They don't put in enough timber in the mine shaft caves. For example, in Cripple Creek, they brought in electric hoists, which either they don't know that they should ground, or they ignore that they should ground them. As a result, many miners get electrocuted during the first lightning storm because the hoist isn't grounded. It becomes very easy to see the owners who don't work there as living off the sweat and blood of miners.

How do mine owners view their role at this time?

There are two fundamental differences between labor and management that have to do with what work is and what occupation is. In the old mining camps, the miners defined ownership of a mining claim as requiring occupation and work in good faith. If you didn't live on a claim and you didn't work it, you didn't own it. The owners see workers in the industrial age as simply another unit of production. One of the many costs in addition to timber, machinery, railroads, and so on. They see lots of things going in to putting value in gold, and it's their investment, including their investment in wages. From labor's perspective, without them down there putting out the physical energy and the skill to get the ore out of the ground there is no value. So, from labor's perspective work creates value, and from capital's perspective investment creates value and the right to profits.

Describe how this created conflict.

Well, the workers feel ripped off. The owners don't think that labor has the right to demand as much as labor thinks it does. And its very simple in a way when your product is not shoes, but gold or silver. When you are making gold or silver, what you're making is money. Money is your product. So it gets very simple for labor to look at the difference between profits and wages and realize what is being lost between their labor and the mine owner's profits. And they believe that labor creates all wealth, and wealth belongs to the creator there of. So they resent the fact that people who don't share the risks of mining and don't live in mining towns get the majority of the profits.

Could you talk about the notion of Social Darwinism in terms of the owners? That perspective is very different from one today's company owners might have. What was their view?

Well, it's very interesting. The views of many mine owners are influenced by a philosophy known as Social Darwinism, which was popularized by Herbert Spencer. It was based extremely loosely on the work of Charles Darwin, who said that the species that survived were the ones most fit to survive in an environment. Now, what this sort of becomes translated into as Social Darwinism, is the notion that the people who survive are the fittest, which is actually not at all what Darwin was talking about. But what this allows some owners to believe is that if they are richer than everybody else, it's because they are fitter than everybody else. The owners believed that it is not a good thing to pamper less fit people or help them to survive by giving them too much. Because then you will insure that less fit people survive to populate your society. So there is this notion somehow that scientific selection is at work in allowing the fittest people to be the wealthiest and most privileged. Now some people

soften this in a variety of ways, including a belief that their wealth is evidence of God's favor. John D. Rockefeller believed that certainly they deserve the money because they earned it, but part of their obligation is then to make opportunities available that will allow the potentially fit people among the workers to improve themselves.

The era we're looking at was a time of great change, a time when people were trying to hammer out what the relationship between owners and workers would look like. Describe that sense of the possibilities of change and creating a New World order, so to speak. The possibility that you could create a different kind of relationship.

I think one of the things that's always difficult for historians to convey given that we think we know what the end of this story is. There are many possible endings to a story. During industrialization workers were not simply feeling totally dispossessed because they brought with them an understanding of their own power in the pre-industrial work place. They believed in their skill, knowledge, and the importance of what they brought to the work endeavor. They also believed in democracy, in political democracy. Therefore, they believed that they had the power to influence industrial social relations. There were a whole variety of social movements and responses to industrialization. That tells us just how many possible outcomes people dreamed. The Knights of Labor, one of the early labor unions, dreamed at one point of something they called the "cooperative common wealth." It had many meanings to different people, but fundamentally it meant that people were going to cooperate to share wealth and insure a more equal kind of society. For some people, it might mean that labor would own all of the means of production, such as the factories, mines, and mills. For other people, it might mean socialism, at least of big industry. The Populous Party, which flourished in the West in the 1890's, advocated that the government should own, run, and operate the railroads, telephones, and telegrams. Other people had all sorts of dreams for what would happen if you could manipulate the money supply.

In fact, the period from about the Civil War to the turn of the twentieth century was a period of monetary deflation. The government had printed a lot of green backs during the Civil War to finance the war, and it withdrew them from circulation. So money was becoming more and more valuable throughout this era. Therefore, a lot of farmers were having to borrow money to buy land, fences, new farm machinery, and fertilizer. Then they had to pay this money back in dollars that were worth more than the dollars they had borrowed. So they were advocating printing more money, putting silver behind the money supply, or doing other things to inflate the value of money. What is interesting about this to me is that people as a matter of daily course studied political philosophies and economic philosophies, and you could walk into a bar in a mining town and listen to people debate whether you should have a miner's cooperative, or socialism, or whether capitalism was really the most efficient way to do things. The passion with which they debated had everything to do with the fact they had some notion that they could influence the outcome.

Unlike anything today.

As I look at my students, I wish they had that same kind of sense that it mattered what they thought and what they did. I still believe that we all make history. We either make it by default or we make by getting involved.

They certainly got involved back then. In terms of the labor wars, we were talking earlier about explaining them in terms of the development of the notion of what industrial relations look like, the progression from one incident to another as seen in terms of a broader context. Explain that to me, what's the broader context you think that these viewers should be looking the mining labor wars.

Well, I think that from the1860's forward, or from the development of silver mining on the constock load, what you're looking at is the development of the first small regional and then national mining economies that involve an increasingly regional and national labor force and increasingly integrated mining companies. What's going on in capital side in increasing consolidation, so that larger and larger single ownership groups control all aspects of mining. Not just one mine, but a lot of mines in addition to the railroads that link those mines, and the milling facilities. A few large ownership groups by the end of this period will be cooperating to control things like smelting charges, freight rates, hours of labors, and what they're paying their workers. On the labor side, you've got smaller groups of miners, some of whom have hoped that they're just going to work for a brief period of time and strike it rich, or at least strike it solvent. I think this is really the hope. However, the group of guys who emerge see themselves as a permanent work force who are passing on their history and their lore to incoming workers even as they teach them the increasingly complex skills of underground mining. They organize first locally, and then regionally, and then nationally to control daily issues like wages, hours of labor, and working conditions. They were also trying to have some control over health, benefits, and safety regulations that require state control. Ultimately some of them are dreaming very big dreams of controlling who owns industry and who controls state power, which is also becoming part of these labor conflicts as governors and occasionally

presidents, send in troops to manage a strike situation and laborers begin to realize that they need to have some influence in the state as well as in the industry.

So, let's look at the three players who are trying to hash out what this relationship is going to look like, we've got the mine owners, the union miners, and the state or the government. How did they see their roles and what is the division?

Well, when you have a strike situation there are three major public players. First, there are the owners, who are often themselves divided, competing for control of the industry. There are the workers, who will generally appear very united during the strike, but who may be keeping out other workers on the basis of race or ethnicity. Then there is the state, which often holds the balance of power. But state power can be divided between local government, which is often controlled by the miners, and state government which usually serves capital, but occasionally is on the miners side. Now, before we get to the strike, other players are involved who continue to be powerful during the strike such as the local merchants, who either extend credit or don't during the strike when people aren't being paid. There is also the hidden factor of families which is very important in two ways. First, they frequently are providing the basic strike support in terms of women doing laundry, housing other miners, and generally keeping everybody going during a strike. Whether or not a man is married and owns a home may determine how he acts during a strike. For example a single man might leave town during a strike and simply find work elsewhere. However, if you're married with a wife, kids, and a house, you're much more likely to stick with the union because you are going to fight to protect the home and community to which you're committed.

There is this notion of progression as you move from strike to strike, and I know you don't always like that interpretation. But it seems like there are lessons to be learned in terms of strategy, you see a progression in how the WFM, the union miners, and IWW, it seems like each strike there seems to be some kind of growth or a lesson. Explain that to me, how did the miners grow what did they learn from each union, and strike.

Well, miners learn in between strikes what it may be like either to be out of control or in control. They learn the difference that union control or political control makes in their daily lives. But as we move from strike to strike, there are a series of lessons. First, the Comstock in the 1860's taught the lessons of what it means simply to be able to control wages and hours, and to act in a united way to enforce those wishes because a single miner doesn't have much power compared to a very wealthy mine owner. When we get to the Coeur d'Alene strike of 1892, one of the lessons was the importance of regional control. Miners also learned the significance of control of the state, because it is state power that in effect breaks that union. While the miners are sitting there during the Coeur d'Alene strike, they get to talking to each other and realize that they need a national union to support each other regionally. The Coeur d'Alene strike leads to the formation of the Western Federation of Miners in 1893. Cripple Creek, which is the first major strike victory of the Western Federation of Miners in 1894, taught several lessons. First, it taught that even in the middle of a horrible depression, when there are lots of unemployed miners, that if miners hang tough and support one and other that they can win a strike. It shows the importance of state control because it's the only miners strike of this era in which state force was actually used to keep civil peace. The governor during that strike was a Populous named Davis White, who many of these miners had known in from a silver mining camp in Aspen. He used state force essentially to protect the right of miners and to get an eight-hour day and a three-dollar daily wage.

A period of building follows this victory, in a sense both locally but also throughout the mining West, as many people try to follow the example of Cripple Creek by getting a strong miner's union that can organize workers in other trades and control local politics. By1899, in the second Coeur d'Alene strike, we again learn the significance of state power, which is used to break the unions there. But from 1899 to 1903, there are a series of strikes and organizing efforts in milling and smelter unions because the miners have been able to organize the mines themselves. They were trying to extend that power to the new mills and smelters, where workers are working longer hours for less pay in extraordinarily dangerous situations. The efforts to organize the mill workers will lead to some of the strikes called the Colorado Labor Wars in 1903 and 1904. The governor, an intensely anti-union, pro-business man named James Hamilton Peabody, sent the militia into strike area after strike area with very little provocation, and very little justification. In fact, some of the mine and smelter owners involved in this conflict were made honorary colonels in the state militia. The conflict ends with unions being smashed all over the state of Colorado.

Well, labor learned a number of lessons from this strike. First of all, Governor Peabody had been elected because there was a three way contest for Governor in which the moderate to progressive vote was split between democrats and populists, and miners learned that it may be worth it to compromise politically in order to

ensure that the unions don't get smashed. They also draw the lesson that they must have a strong national organization, and it would be advantage to be able to bring about a merger of coal miners and hard rock miners because both hard rock miners and coal miners are involved in these strikes. This eventually leads to both the founding of the Industrial Workers of the World, and to a long-term effort to merge with United Mine Workers of America. Finally, there's a debate for labor about whether to concentrate their efforts on work place organizing because some people believe that no matter what you do, the state will use violence to take control of the political process.

So, there's a sophistication in how to conduct a strike.

The miners learn how to have strike support in place. They begin at a very local level early in this period where not all the mines are closed. In Cripple Creek, a minority of the mines are involved in the first strike. The miners who are working contribute roughly fifteen dollars a month to support the ones who aren't working. Then industry wide support follows. Finally, the development of strike funds that are managed through the Western Federation of Miners Headquarters in Denver. The strikes continue past this point, and managers and owners throughout the mining West begin to cooperate. The result is a series of more and more stylized confrontations between union leaders who are thrown out of one mining town after another by the state. But they go on to the next mining camp and they organize and who they face are the same hired gun thugs, literally gun thugs, ah, that mine owners pass on from one to the next and often the same mil, militia guys. And so these are folks who've seen each others time and time again. And they understand that they are involved in a regional and industry wide ah, struggle for control of the mining industry and control of the local community.

The mine owners learn a series of tactics, such as violence. I personally think that there is a lot of evidence that the mine owners hire out the violence. For example, in Cripple Creek, the mine owners hired a detective to take some railroad spikes out of the tracks. They warned the engineer to stop the train before he gets to this section of track so no one gets hurt, but then they can arrest a bunch of union leaders and accuse them of trying to derail a train. I think occasionally the real violence that occurs is planned staged violence that wasn't suppose to hurt anybody but goes wrong. The violence becomes the pretext for calling in state troops, arresting union leaders, and holding them for months without end on bogus charges or without charges at all in an effort to demoralize and break the strike. After the Ludlow Massacre of 1914, when women and children were killed, the mine owners learned that you can be just as effective by simply tying up the unions in court rather than killing people. The mine owners learned that they could brand the unions as mindless anarchists, dynamiters, or potentially violent people and maintain their own image as owners who are using law to control the industrial process.

You obviously don't like the mine owners in these conflicts.

No, I don't. Well, I like some of the mine owners but they tend to be the ones who don't win in the long run. In Cripple Creek around 1894, a period began where you really have a bunch of different competing ownership groups, but these break down into about three major groups. First, a group of fervently anti-labor mine owners, who for the most part are people who've never mined themselves. One family, the Woods family, are sort of benevolent paternalists who do believe in returning wealth to the district, and they built a new big clubhouse for their workers to take showers and to play pool. They also built a huge amusement park for the whole camp, and the workers felt generally pretty good about them because they returned some of their profits to the place that they came from.

Then you've got a small group of owners who themselves had worked at various trades, and happened to strike it rich, and they are generally pretty cordial in their relationships with labor. I mean they're still certainly capitalist, they're certainly devoted to private property. But during the first strike they agree very quickly to recognize the union, and agree to pay three dollars for an eight-hour day. They also stayed open during the strike. The biggest of these mine owners, a guy named Jimmy Burns, stays open through the second strike but by this time he's engaged in a struggle for control of his own company. He's got people in his own company who don't like how friendly he is with labor. They win by the end of the strike, and occupy Burns' mines with the militia and force him to re-open as a non-union mine. He was forced to lose control of his company. So, there a number of mine owners throughout this period who are trying to bring about some reasonable agreement with with labor, but for the most part they are also fighting against anti-union mine owners. Unfortunately, usually the anti-union mine owners win in the long run.

There was violence on both sides. I don't want to paint either side as being all black or all white. What is the culture of violence that exists during this time?

See, I think it's really interesting that a lot of historians have gotten into a false debate in my view about who was

most violent. Everybody was violent. Work was violent. Daily life was violent. There is a culture of male violence. I can't tell you exactly who did what in what scuffle--everybody had their own witness about who blew up a mine, or who pulled a gun on who, but what I can tell you is that everybody routinely prepared for violence. The miners carried guns. The mine owners either carried guns or hired people to carry guns. When the owners weren't just hiring an informal army, they brought in the state. Mining itself is a violent occupation. From the miner's perspectives, there was this false notion that if you hit a man who insulted you on a train, or beat up someone who was a scab, that was somehow more violent than when you saw your best buddy blown up in the mine before your very eyes. What the miners would say is that no one cared when violence happened to them on a daily basis. When we drill into a miss shot. Or a cage drops to a bottom of a shaft. Or the more minor violence like I hit myself in the thumb while I'm drilling a hole. Therefore I can't mine for a week, and this isn't a time when there's not workers comp. And there's not disability. And you hit yourself on the thumb and you can't support your family for a week. It is the union that will help you or your fellow workers who will each donate a day's pay to support your family.

At the same time and I don't know want to overdraw this into a notion that by gosh, mining is violent. And the miners never fight back. Of course they fight back. I'm certain that the miners in the era I know well beat up a deputy who was trying to undermine them in the first strike. I am certain that they beat and ran people out of camp, particularly people from Southern and Eastern Europe. That was the way they maintained what they call a "white man's camp." So I don't want to falsify this history by saying either side were saints or demons. What the miners and owners were, were real people who were struggling for control of their daily lives. And they were no more angelic or demonic than you or I am. They were simply in their view doing what they needed to do--either control and protect their profits, or to control and protect their communities. In the middle of the Cripple Creek strike, a non-union worker accidentally drew a mine cable into the shelve wheel and cut it, and the cage plummeted to the bottom of the shaft. Fifteen people were killed. Well, from the miner's perspective, this is violence born of corporate negligence, and born directly of the mine owners' attempts to win this strike by hiring incompetence. As you know, the strike ends with a blowing up of a train depot. They killed thirteen non-union miners. What I am sure of is that violence was not union policy. It was not union policy. However, it was the mine owners' policy to use the armed power of the state to break strikes.

Was there anything particularly Western about this struggle?

Yeah, it took place in the West.

Was it just part of a bigger context of what was going on?

I think so. I think part of what happened was two things. I mean obviously it happens against a Western landscape, and from an Eastern imagination you can see these isolated Rocky Mountain mining camps and they're Western, right? That's the picture we got. But there's a false image that they were more violent than the rest of American labor. Or indeed than the rest of international labor. And that that happened because out there the frontier was violent. It was a violent place. Now this has more to do with our national mythology of the Frontier. Western labor relations and Eastern labor relations and railroading led to the same kinds of violent confrontations, and in fact the same use of state troops. The same kinds of confrontations happened in Australia and New Zealand and all over the world. You're really looking at industrial confrontation, that occurs actually not during the Frontier period at all, but as the Frontier closes. I think that it's become much too easy for Americans to want to believe that this was sort of an odd blip on the industrial radar screen, an oddly Frontier aberration in which people got violent. Industrialization was a violent event.

A professional photographer based in Bisbee, Arizona, Boyd Nicholl also is the curator of photographic history for the Bisbee Mining Museum.

Let's begin with Bisbee in the years just prior to World War I. It's a time, it's a place really that are lost. Take a viewer back, take me back and help describe what this community was like in those years before World War I. What did it look like? What was the social life like?

Bisbee is in its heyday in 1916 or 1917, when the largest copper production was going on. The town was essentially as you see it now after the 1908 fire all the brick buildings that we have were in place, and the town was really booming with about four thousand men working in the mines. I don't know what the ratio would be on support services, but you could see it was a very successful town at the time. Social wise you have a town that's an enormous mix of people such as Slavic people, Mexican people, Finnish people, Cornish people, and Americans. The social mix was probably very complex. It still is in many ways. Each group had its own churches, and each community was sort of isolated to some extent from one and other, but obviously cooperating in the endeavor of generating massive amounts of copper. 1916 and 1917 are also the largest sales of copper for the three major copper companies in Bisbee at the time--somewhere around a hundred million dollars worth of sales, which is simply an enormously amount of money flowing through.

Let me ask you then, as we understand the community we think of … Let's start thinking of the role of copper in Bisbee, more specifically the copper companies, the type of influence they could exert on a community, how they shaped the life of the community.

The copper companies definitely shaped the city of Bisbee. Without the copper there's no reason for anybody to be here. The copper companies built the town, and the copper companies were the reason for the town. Copper's sway over the populous was in a certain sense absolute in that everybody depended on the mines. As I said before, there's no reason for a town like Bisbee without the mines. At that time you have Phelps Dodge Corporation and the Calat and Arizona Mining Corporation, which is big money out of Michigan. And you also have some local guys who've risen up through the ranks such as Shatic and Mulhiem. Shatic Arizona Mining Company was also involved in the deportation. So, copper was king; there's no doubt about it. We were talking earlier that, when copper rubbles even to this day, the town sits up and pays attention.

Boyd let's begin with this notion of the organization, how well Bisbee was organized and run under this paternalistic guidance if you will of the copper companies, explain how that played out.

Early on Phelps Dodge Company, when it's the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company, always comes in with very highly skilled people. To this day, it's one of the things that amazes me about Phelps Dodge because they hire very intelligent, very capable people. It starts right in 1883 when James Douglas gets the first Atlantic claim that gets them started in mining. Right away the organization is tight, intelligent, and efficient. I'll give you an example of their efficiency. When they made the first big strike in 1885, and the price of copper plummets, Douglas, rather than worry about that, tightens up the program by building a new smelter and bringing in more converters. So a few years later, when the price of copper is pushed up by France trying to capture the world copper market futures, Douglas is ready to go and production goes immediately to fifteen, fourteen million pounds a month. This kind of tight organization is also represented in the Calut Arizona people under Colonel Greenway. He was the manager for the Calut Arizona Mining Company in Michigan. They came in and lucked out with a big strike on their first mine, the Irish Meg Mine. After expenditure of a certain amount of money, big money actually expanded on these projects.

How does this notion of efficiency, of east coast money requirements for efficiency how does that determine the type of relationship that mines management has with its workers? Does it?

Yes it does. Right away one of the things that you're leading up to in the strike of 1917, is the level of control over who worked, and who was not allowed to work. This kind of relationship is right there, probably from the get go. Less in the 1880's of course we were a considerably wilder west at that time. But by the turn of the century, social control is really being exerted by the corporations. And primarily the biggest one about who works and who does not work, which of course in this situation is a life decision making process.

How did the outbreak of World War I change things here in Bisbee, Arizona? And change things I say in a very broad sense.

I think, the first thing that comes to my mind is the level of paranoia increased. Of course I believe it was fanned by those who were interested in fanning it. But it was a feeling that ran broadly through the community. A fear of Mexico had been very active along this border, even though the Mexican Revolution was actually in its ending phrases. We're only six miles from Knocko, which had been the scene of battles in 1913 and 1915. As I say, I think that was fanned. It was used both by the people who were interested in garning their position in a stronger place, but it was real for the people, too. there, In Bisbee, we had this enormous immigration problem with Illegal immigrants taking to get into America. And people are worried along the border, so they want to arm themselves, enact new laws, and bring the army to the border.

As a matter of fact, in 1915 or 1916, the army was brought along the border. They were troops stationed all along the border down here. The other aspect is the patriotism that flared, which I don't have as clear of feeling

how that happened because just in the few years before that you had a very different feel. Labor was on the rise, labor was thought of as a good thing, and a good partner in the equation between capitol and labor. Suddenly around the time of World War I, anybody whose willing to rock the boat in any way is seen as seditious, as treasonous. The words become very strong and very dramatic. We're not talking just anti-, like a protest; they're they're really vilified. Quickly the war leads to the connection that all unions are either Wobblies, and we also have the beginning of the socialist revolution in Russia. So, yes, the era of World War 1 brought a great shift in how we were viewing ourselves.

And economically, there are significant changes here in Bisbee because of the War effort and the production of copper.

Yes, as I said, the best years for copper production are 1916 and 1917. The obvious reason for this is the war itself. The price of copper almost doubled --going from thirteen cents to twenty-seven cents, and production was at full tilt for the war effort. Big money was being made by copper companies, not much of which was trickling down. One of the gripes on the strike of course, is how little money is coming down considering how much money the corporations are making. I just learned recently that in the early days in Bisbee, it was hard to unionize because the wages were relatively good, in fact they were very good compared to other places. A man could make three-fifty to four-fifty a day here, when other people were making fifty cents a day and considering that a relatively good wage. So, economically it always looked good for the miners here. They were always willing to protect that investment. But the wage didn't change until 1920. In 1919, they were still making four-fifty a day, what they'd been making in 1885. That is a long period of time, and there must have been a lot of inflation with the changing in needs in the country.

Workers eventually start going out on strike. How does the company respond? They didn't respond at first with deportation because they have a vested interest in keeping their mines open and producing. So, how does the company respond?

The company responds harshly right from the beginning. The Western Federation of Miners had a strike here in 1907, which was squashed immediately. Right away, the corporate entities are tremendously anti-labor organizing. Not anti-labor per say, but the organization of it. I think they viewed it as any leader does, assuming that they were going to loose their sway. In that sense they were probably right. They could see that the corporation that they had controlled for so many years was being threatened with a change that was coming up from underneath, and they didn't like it. They didn't like it a bit.

When the workers start going out on strike, what does the company do to keep the production up?

Keep production up? They hired scab labor. Yes, scab labor was brought in the 1907 strike, and also in the 1917 strike. Another way of controlling the workers was the administration of a health test to blackball workers. They would say, "No, you are too unhealthy to work in the mine." However, they were really saying that you had labor organization tendencies and you were not allowed to work in the mine. They tried to control it that way.

So, the big thing was bringing in strikebreakers?

Strikebreakers be your easiest one.

There must have been some pretty tense moments here in this town, where you've got a thousand men out, and a thousand new men coming in.

You would think so, but of course the papers in those days are controlled by the companies so it's a little hard to know exactly. But you don't hear much about them fighting with each other. It's not like it got in later years and more modern times, where you cross a picket line and you can really get yourself beat up over the head. I'm sure there was some violence but apparently not to the degree of modern times. I think they all shared that need to to make a living, and there was a certain sympathy amongst each other that doesn't exist now. When you were in Bisbee in 1900, you were still a long way from any major city, and your economic tie to that company was pretty vital in a way that we don't understand today. If you lost your job, you were in a tough place if you had kids, a family, and other responsibilities. So, I don't think they necessarily liked scabs, but it was a situation of mutual respect for one another.

Let me ask you about a couple of people, specifically one figure who is very very large at this time. The strike is in process, and agitators are believed to be afoot in Bisbee. One of the figures that towers over this situation, is a man by the name of Walter Douglas. Tell me about Douglas and the type of person he is and how it manifests itself in dealing with the Bisbee strike.

Walter Douglas right from the get-go is against organized labor. He is very strong in his opinions. In the 1907

strike, though, he was not the corporate head that he became by the 1917 strike. I don't know his personal reasons for it, but he really felt personally threatened by the unions.

Start out again with Walter Douglas and his need to defend, feeling like something was threatened.

Right . His voraciousness in defending his position and the company's position leads me to feel its more of a personal aspect to this that I really can't explore.

Like his authority is being personally challenged.

When you read his accounts that were published in his own newspaper there is nothing light hearted about it. This is very serious business, and he had a tradition of this. He starts even earlier in the 1907 strike.

'What's best for this business, is what's best for this state, what's best for this state is best for the nation, what's best for this nation is what's best for God. You screw with me, you're screwing with God, country, business.'

Exactly. This is the transition I was talking about just a few years before with the Progressive Movement in Arizona, where labor was going to be a partner with capitol. Then suddenly it shifts into men like Walter Douglas where the old order is being challenged and they deeply resent it. They act, they organize, and they are efficient on it. One of things you and I talked about the other day was the fact that they put together the deportation in a matter of a week or two. Of course, there were presuppressants that helped them along the way. But yes, this to me shows a very personal threat behind it all. This is not just the amount of money you might make off copper, but it's my whole position that is being threatened here. Something's being taking away or could be taken away from me.

Walter Douglas, General Greenway, maybe not so much Shag, but there's a sense of the companies pulling together and thinking what they've got to do to control this situation.

Definitely. They definitely pull together with a very clear cut plan. Greenway, Douglas, and the sheriff at that time, Harry Wheeler, put this whole plan into place very quickly But it was well thought out and ready to go.

It couldn't have been executed unless there were hundreds even thousands of people, willing to stand with the companies and prove their loyalty. That leads up to this notion of who were the people in the loyal team.

Yes, who were the people. We should go back a month or two and say that the Loyalty League, the Workmen's Loyalty League, was put together in April some months before the strike. So you get a sense that this is not exactly in the void beforehand. There were rumblings of labor discord before the strike actually was called. The Loyalty League is formed and by over half the town. I think this is the great catastrophe for Bisbee because half the town rounds up the other half of the town. They were miners. They were workers. They were business people both small and large. They were organized under this new patriotic fervor that was sweeping the country, and they were going to protect God and country and mining. They had parade and dances, and there was a certain social aspect of it, too. This was the Workmen's Loyalty League, and it was literally the workmen and businessmen of Bisbee.

The Loyalty League was in fact a private small army.

Yes, as it turned out. I don't think it was formed in that concept exactly. But when the deportation occurred, they decided to go forward with it. Yes, they armed them, and many of the weapons came from the PD dispensary, although there is some disparity depending on who you read or who you listen to where the arms came from. One of the things I've noticed is that they are infield rifles which at that time are military issued. There's always been a question of how much the government was actually involved in this. Obviously it was involved enough to turn a certain blind eye for a very long time. The government had been here in the form of the army to report whether or not there was violence in the streets. Both times the army reported back that no there was no violence. They did not feel that they should bring in troops because there was no riot condition.

How was the round up that morning in July when the deportation orders are actually put into effect. Douglas and Greenway give Wheeler the nod or the wink, whatever it was, and it's ready to spring into action. When it comes down to actually executing it, if we were sitting there looking out on Main Street, what would we have seen?

Actually before that you would have gotten a phone call if you were part of the Loyalty League. The general manager of the phone company was the man who sounded the bell. He was the Paul Revere for the deportation. He called all the Loyalty Leaguers on his list, some three hundred people, and they were to meet at four o'clock

in the morning in the plaza which would now be by where our post office is today. By six thirty, almost two thousand men, including two hundred from Douglas, had volunteered. They separated themselves from the people they were rounding up by wearing a white armband. At six thirty in the morning they proceeded to go up and down the canyons of Bisbee. They apparently must have had certain lists of people they were looking for because they rounded up some two thousand people in about two hours. After they got them rounded up, they marched them down the street here to the Plaza in downtown Bisbee. They were held there for awhile. Then as the people from the Gulch were rounded up, they joined them and marched the two miles to Lowell and then on down to the Warren Ballpark. So, what you would have seen was a bunch of newspaper kids carrying their newspapers telling women and children to keep off the streets. They were the only kids allowed out. They were out selling their papers, and you would have seen no women and children. You would have seen an enormous body of men, armed in various means with their own twenty-two rifles or with grandpa's pistols. They were literally knocking on doors and dragging people out of bed six thirty in the morning to round them up.

Extraordinary efficiency.

Extraordinary efficiency, as if it had been rehearsed. I think that patriotic fervor that had been instilled, the paranoia of the Mexicans, the inclusion between Mexico and Germany, and the growing hatred and fear of the IWW influenced the situation. So you have two thousand men who are quite dedicated in their mission, and they do it with peak efficiency. But the only actual death occured when a man in James Brew Lowell reacted very negatively. He refused to be dragged away, and he shot through the door of his house and killed one of the deputies, Orson McCrae. He in turn is killed by the other deputies, but that was their only fatality in this situation. Of course, the men were heavily armed and there were a lot of them.

You made an interesting observation the other day, as we were looking at the photograph of the men lined up near Colbus, New Mexico, about the ethnicity and national origin of those deported.

Yes. Some of the things that I was struck by when I went through the deportation list that the army put together after they had been picked up, after the train had dropped them off in Colbus, New Mexico. Of the twelve hundred men who had been dropped off, eight hundred and thirty some are foreign born. When you read the list there's an awful lot of Mihalvichs, Gonzalez's. . . Il can't think of a Finnish name right off the top of my head, but there was something else going on here. One of the things that they had been directed to do in the round up was to round up anybody who they called undesirable. Undesirables included anybody who was supporting the strike, somebody who was not working, somebody from out of town, or somebody who was new in town and not recognized. Around the turn of the century we get an enormous influx of Southern Slavs, Motonegians, Croats, Serbians, who came directly to Bisbee, which leads me to believe they were hired as contract laborers. Maybe somebody from the companies went to the Balkans and sought laborers. You know at the turn of the century there was a labor shortage. So, these people were hired as low level workers in the mines. They're muckers, they're trammers. They're not exactly miners in that sense that the Cornish call a miner. They're not hard rock miners by trade. They are called bohunks because they're not thought of highly. There's a great deal of suspicion in that they don't speak the language. When you read the deportation list, you see an awful lot of 'viches in the names, so yes I very much feel that there's an ethnic aspect going on here. I think part of that patriotic fervor is a fear of the immigrant, which is a strange twist in a country that is nothing but immigrants. But it certainly seems to have happened.

At the time, there seems to be very few voices of dissent to the deportation. Not much outrage being expressed in these days of July and August of 1917. Is that fairly accurate?

Yes, that does seem fairly accurate. They felt absolutely righteous about it, and we're not talking just the major companies, we're talking the man in the street who participated in the deportation. The companies did keep armed guards on both ends of the town for some months after this. The strikers were not allowed back into town, although some snuck in. But in general about eight hundred of them spent months out there in there desert in Colbus. Then they slowly disseminated off to wherever they went. I think the ones that snuck back here were probably ones who had property or family connections here. Many of them changed their names and actually ended up working for the mines again. It seems odd now to have a kidnapping of such enormous proportions and everybody's quite satisfied with it, except of course the people who have been kidnapped. As time went on, I think the enormity of it started to dawn on people. So that if you talked to old timers today, you can get a great argument going in just seconds on one side or the other. One now recognizes that this is probably not the right thing to do. But I don't think at that time they felt any guilt about it at all. The production went on, and it was actually the peak years for copper production here. Wages did not go up. They were still satisfied with that four-fifty a day I guess.

Author of *Buried Unsung: Louis Tikas and the Ludlow Massacre,* Zeese Papanikolas is also a creative writing professor at the San Francisco Art Institute.

Describe how Louis Tikus represented the typical immigrant in terms of coming to America and then finding work in the coal camps.

Well, Tikus was typical and atypical at once. He came from a little village in Crete called Lutra and we have photographs of his house and it's a typical little village house. It's a completely agricultural area and of course most immigrants who were working in the coal mines up here had come from agriculture work in Europe. And this industrial world was very new to him. In the basement of Tikus' little house there's an olive press and it's a stone wheel that a donkey or a mule would drag around to press the oil out of olives. This kind of machine hadn't changed since Biblical times and even earlier. And to me it's a kind of image of what most of the immigrant workers knew about machines, about industrial work before they came to this country. So this United States with the smoke stacks and with electricity and steel coming out in great red hot bars and coal mines, this whole thing was new to most of the workers who were working in coal mines in this area.

So the immigrants come from these small towns and they see all of this industrialization, how did they react to it?

Well, it was culture shock. They also came from parts of the world really where where history for them had to do with oral legends and songs past down from mouth to mouth. And so, the tools that they had to work with for confronting industrial life were really out of sync with what they found here. Most of them hadn't even heard of labor unions. Let me tell you a story that maybe sums up the immigrant experience. When the Italians came over they discovered three things immediately. First, the streets were not paved with gold, second, most of the streets weren't paved at all, and third, they were going to do the paving. They were throw into a world of tremendous conflict. Remember these are people from an agricultural environment where work was seasonal--it had to do with the land, it had to do with kind of timeless cycles. Suddenly, there in a world where clocks keep track of your labor, where you work by the ton as you did in the coal mines, up in these hills. And so it was a radical adjustment for them.

Continuing with Louis Tikas' story, how did he end up in the Colorado Coal fields as a union organizer?

Well, that's kind of an interesting and complicated story. We don't know what Louie did when he first came to the United States. There's some legends about him possibly forming a syndicate of boot blacks in Denver. At one time he applied to be a Denver Police Officer. He was in some respects not a typical immigrant. He caught on to American ways quicker than many of the immigrants did. He probably learned how to speak English a little faster, a little easier. He was a bright guy. He was a clever guy. Where we first really find him, is he has a little coffee house in Denver. And in the coffee house, these were sort of centers of information and culture for these Greeks who at that time were almost entirely young men without families and they'd wander from place to place looking for work. And Louie ran a coffee house and translating their these complicated English documents that occasionally they'd be served with, help them send money back to the old country. Even help them with their love affairs with the American girls.

There was a strike in the northern coal fields shortly before the strike in the southern fields and a bunch of Greeks had gone up there as scabs. And they wrote to Louie, they sent word to him, come up and help us. So, he entered the mines as many immigrant workers did as a scab. And very soon, he discovered that the conditions were horrible and he led those Greeks out of the mine and straight to United Mine Workers Office where they joined the Union as a group. And at that point he becomes a Union man and he becomes a translator and he becomes a Union organizer.

You say Tikas probably became an organizer because of the horrible working conditions he saw. Describe those conditions.

Well, the work was terrible. Miners were paid by the ton in those days. So all of the extra work that they had to do to prepare the rooms for digging; the timbering, the moving of rock, etc., they weren't paid for that. They were paid by the ton. The cars were taken up to a weigh station. The weigh master was hired by the company and the

miners were always complaining that they were short-weighted on the cars. The work was very, very dangerous. Because the miners were paid by the ton it wasn't in their interest to spend a lot of time timbering the rooms. Mother Jones, the great union organizer, once went into a mine in West Virginia or Kentucky, and she asked the pit boss why the mines weren't properly timbered. He replied, 'Well you know, Daygos are cheaper than props.' That was the attitude of many the pit bosses and mine superintendents in this country. You had to buy the timber, but the immigrant workers replaced themselves. They flooded here because they needed the money.

It's a misconception that immigrants came to this country in order to live here. They came at first for the money, for the dollars, for the opportunity that wasn't in their, in their native countries. Their expectations were to work in a mine or on a railroad and to send money back home. This is certainly what the Greeks were doing, paying off mortgages, getting dowries for their sisters. They all intended to return. And if you look at the immigration statistics, you'll find that the return to Europe by immigrants from central and southern Europe was tremendous. So, originally immigrants felt that they were here on a temporary basis. They loved their countries. And part of the trauma of coming to the United States was being uprooted for the things they knew. And from the culture that they knew.

What was life like in the coal fields, in the camps themselves -- the company towns?

Well, the company towns were owned lock, stock and barrel by the companies. They hired the minister if there was a minister. If there was a little reading room or a club house, they would choose what books and magazines were in the clubhouse. They hired the school master. And the school teacher. They hired the police. They ran the towns to suit themselves. The towns were often ran by a combination of the mine boss and the town marshal. And between them, they wanted to win, they wanted to run a tight ship. Camps were closed. You couldn't come into the town just as you would in any other town. The camps were closed. You essentially had to have permission to move into the town and the reason for that, the big reason for that was they wanted to keep union organizers and agitators out of those camps. Union people had been trying to organize unions in Colorado secretly for years. Southern Colorado was almost a feudal empire, and union organizers had come into the towns. They'd been caught by marshals, they'd been taken into the salons taken into the back and beaten. Some had been killed. Mine meetings were held in secret. The towns themselves were a symbol to the miners to the fact that they did not own their lives.

Why did the miners in the Southern Colorado coal fields strike? What did they want?

Well, they were striking first of all to have a union. And to have that union recognized by the mine owners. I think that was the key issue. They wanted an increase in the rate of tonnage. They wanted to be able to trade anywhere they wanted and not at the company store. They wanted an end to the camp marshal system. They were striking for better safety conditions, in the mines. Those were the big reasons behind the strike.

So the strike is underway, and the miners move out of company housing into tent colonies. With all of the ethnic diversity, describe what life was like in the tent colonies.

Life in the colony. Well, what interests me about the tent colonies and Ludlow is that you have all of these different ethnic groups with the jealousies and rivalries that they've brought over from the old country. All of them seeing themselves, or they have seen themselves, as competing for jobs. Now they're all on strike with one goal, and they're living next to each other and they're living in tents. And they've got to get together, they've got to pull it together or the strike will be lost. So, a number of things happen that are important. These ethnic tensions have to be diminished. They have to get them under control. Louie Tikus was elected mayor of the tent colony because he had those kind of skills. In the old country, one of the things that he did as a kid would, be to take birds and cats and train them to live together. Well, you know maybe it was a little easier to train birds and cats to live together, than to train northern and southern Italians to live together or Greeks to live together with any other ethnic group, but somehow they pulled it off.

Another important thing about the strike, and this is true of many strikes, is the women came to the fore. In a strike situation, the men aren't working. If the strike is going to be won, it's going to be won because the women can make their strike benefits stretch. They're going to keep that family together, and they're going keep the kids fed. They're going to be able to patch those overalls-two, three, four times. Somehow the women become tremendously economically important. Now, many of these women came from southern Europe, from eastern Europe and they'd been used to falling in their husbands footsteps.Suddenly, they were going to meetings, their opinions were worth something. One of the great people in this strike was Mary Thomas. She was a, a very young Welsh immigrant. She had two little daughters. And she'd come over here chasing a husband who'd run out of her. All of the way from Wales, she found out he was in Colorado so she followed him. She became the singer of the Ludlow camp.

In Wales they have a long tradition of choral singing and, and the human voice is tremendously important. And in these mining camps in Wales, they all had choral society and so Mary with her beautiful voice would be one that would be called up to the podium to sing the Union songs to lead the singing. Old Mother Jones, would say, ‘Now let's get started with the singing, Mary.' And Mary would start it. But this was a new experience for many of these women to have this kind of importance. Another reason why women were extremely important is because the worse violence that the strikers had visited on them, the beatings, the jailings, the women were in a sense immune from that, and so when the men were in jail the women could take over the picket duty. And they became tremendously important they were so visible with their kids marching, singing, standing in front of the jail.

In a sentence, how were women transformed, how did they become politically aware?

Well, I think that any strike is revolutionary as far as the role of men and women. Suddenly they felt a power in them that they'd never known that they had.

One thing I'm curious about is, considering the length of the strike and the hardships they faced, why did the strikers stay in Southern Colorado? Why didn't they just try and find work elsewhere?

Some of the strikers did go away and try to find work elsewhere but I think most of them felt that this was a strike that was worth winning and they had staked their claim on Southern Colorado. They were gonna win it here or lose it.

I want to get a sense of the events leading to the first military occupation. And a big catalyst for that was the attack on the Forbes tent colony. What was the psychological effect of that attack on the strikers?

Well, strikers had moved to little tent colonies at the beginning of the strike. They knew they be kicked out of their company houses. And so, tent colonies were set up at strategic places at the foot of the hills that held the mines. The mine owners had beefed up the camps guards they'd gone to Denver, they gone to east St. Louis, they'd found some pretty tough guys. Over in the CF&I plant in Pueblo, they'd taken a fort, well they'd taken a touring car and stripped it down and put plate steel around it, mounted a machine gun in back and a spotlight in front. And the miners quickly christened that the ‘death special'. And the death special would race up and down these roads through the tent colonies shining that light through the walls of the tent at night just to let the miners know that they were watching them. The miners knew that a tent wall is pretty thin and it's not much protection from a machine gun bullet.

Fighting broke out at Forbes, the death special was there. Forbes really broke things into the open. The miners were armed, and took up positions. They felt so vulnerable against the might of the mine guards and their machine guns. After Forbes, I think they knew that this strike had a potential for great violence. The National guard was called out by Governor Ammons of Colorado to ostensibly keep peace between the miners and the mine guards. And although the National Guard had a few dedicated officers who really took seriously their charge to be neutral, nevertheless the Guard was infiltrated by mine guards professional soldiers of fortune like Carl Linderfelt who had served in the Philippines Insurrection. As the strike developed, the Guard became a kind of tool that allowed the tax payers of Colorado to pay for policing the strike and breaking that strike. There was tremendous bitterness between miners and the National Guard when that developed. The Guard had originally been welcomed to Ludlow, but that quickly changed.

I get the sense that both sides were armed, and both sides contributed to the tension.

Both sides were armed, and it was a situation of great tension. When you talk about violence in strikes, you have to look at the conditions out of which coal miners and other industrial workers came from around the turn of the century. Their lives were filled with violence.The camps were filled with brutality, they were bossed around by camp marshals, and the brutality of their daily lives in the coal mines that weren't properly timbered. This is violence, too. So yes, there is violence in a mine strike, but I think it's a kind of extension of the violence that already exists in these industrial conditions from which people came from.

Let's move onto the actual day of the massacre. Set the scene for me. There was this sense of tension in the camp, they knew something was going to happen.

Well, the strikers had held out in Ludlow through a bitter, bitter winter. One of the worst that Colorado had seen. They'd been living in tents, the tents had been snowed on and then dried out and had been snowed on again. They were tinder dry. Spring had come, many of the National Guard Companies had been pulled out, because the State was nearly bankrupt. A few of the companies were still here and unfortunately one of those companies

was lead by Carl Linderfelt, who was a solider of Fortune, kind of brutal man.

Easter came and the families in Ludlow put together what kind of Easter celebration they could. The Greeks had pulled their resources and they'd bought a barrel or two of beer. They had procured a lamb. I asked an old timer, ‘did you buy a lamb?' He said, ‘ well, let's put it this way we got a lamb.' So, some how or other they had a lamb or two. And they wanted to show the camp a good time. They bought out their instruments from the old country and put on their black pantaloons and sashes and their black turbans and did some of the dances of Crete. But then quite a wonderful thing happened.

The Greeks were just amazed at the freedom that American women had. Of course they came from a country that was medieval in it's ideas of the separation of the sexes. These American women were really something. They had found somewhere that American girls were wearing gin bloomers and so they got hold a catalogue, I don't know a Sears Catalog or Montgomery Ward Catalog, and they sent away for gin bloomers and dressed the young camp women in these gin bloomers. And they proceeded to have a series of baseball games, much to everyone's delight. That evening, this was the nineteenth of April, that evening some of the mine guards came over they were drunk. They bullied the miners. they made some remarks that were pretty ominous in light of what happened. They said, ‘Well, you have your fun today, tomorrow we'll have the roast.' Of course this kind of bullying had been going on since the beginning of the strike.

The next day Monday, April 20th, one of the many kinds of incidences that had happened all through the strike, occurred. Major Pat Hamrock called Louie Tikus up on the phone and said I've got to talk to you, there a woman here who claims you're holding her husband against his will in your camp. He did not want to go to the militia camp to talk to Hamrock, so they agreed to meet half way in between the colony and the militia camp. A little railroad building. While they were there discussing the situation something happened that really terrified the strikers. The militia started dragging two of their machine guns down from the hills and putting them in position to cover the camp. Why this happened, no one knows. Was it an exercise? Was it a drill? Were they trying to intimidate the strikers? No one knows.

But at any rate, seeing this, the strikers grabbed their guns and started heading out of the colony to try and flank those machine guns. If something was going to start, they wanted the fire drawn away from the tents where their women and children were. Hamrock and Tikus are in this railroad shack, someone comes running and says the men are leaving the camp and they're armed. Hamrock says, "Well you better try and stop it." Tikus runs out of the little railroad shack, with a white handkerchief trying to pull the men back, but he doesn't make it to camp before a bomb goes off. Is it a signal bomb? No one knows, and the shooting starts. And it continues all day long. Now, the women and children many of them escape from the camp and they go running down a little raven. The men have taken positions in that raven, and out in the field beyond the camp, and they're shooting between them and the National Guard.

Tikus and a few other union men and a very courageous union woman named Pearl Jolly stay in the camp. They're trying to get water and food to women and children who are still trapped in pits that have been dug under the tents for storage and for protection. These women and children are trapped because of the heavy gunfire that's coming into the camp. Just riddling the tents, turning them into rags. About dusk, the tent city catches on fire. There are claims that the militia deliberately entered the tent city and started setting the tent on fire. Counterclaims were that ammunition stored in one of the tents exploded. I think it's fairly credible that some of the militia men actually started to burn the tent city. After all it was a kind of symbol, of the people who they'd been virtually in stalemate with all winter long and these people by and large foreigners and they considered them inferiors.

The tent city starts to burn and about dusk, Louie Tikus leaves the camp with white flags trying to arrange a truce to put out the fire because he knows women and kids are still trapped in the city. He is captured, and turned over to Carl Linderfelt, Lieutenant Linderfelt, who breaks the stock of his rifle across Louie's head. And then turns him and two other Union men who'd been captured over to three of the militia men. And the militia men really knew what they had to do, they told these three men to run and then they shot them in the back. The tent city burnt to the ground.

When people were finally able to come into the city, what had been Ludlow, they discovered charred remains of tent frames, baby carriages, stoves, bullet shells, the bodies of Louie Tikus, and two other men lay unburied by the railroad tracks where they'd dropped. And under a pit in one of the tent, they discovered two women and eleven children had been suffocated under that tent. And that is what's known as the Ludlow Massacre.

What was the impact of the Massacre on the nation?

Well, the nation was horrified but you have to remember that at the same time we were having a little dust up

with Mexico in Veracruz. And this was one of a number of violent strikes, and very soon it let the headlines because of our larger war with Mexico and our sending of troops down to insert ourselves in their business.

So, it really didn't have much of an impact?

It had an impact really later on through Congress, through the investigations. There had been an industrial commission that had been working all through this period, several commissions. And the testimony that came out about Ludlow really, I think, did have an effect. Immediately after Ludlow, the miners in Southern Colorado, they went wild. They went on a rampage of destruction, of dynamiting, of burning. They literally held Southern Colorado for ten days. They wore red neckerchiefs, they called themselves red necks to distinguish themselves from the militia men and the mine guards. So, they went on a rampage and finally federal troops were sent to the strike zone. And that effectively ended the miners' resistance and that ended the strike. The strike was lost, it was over. The miners had lost.

What happened to the miners?

Many of them were black balled. They went from mine to mine looking for work. Many of them left the southern fields trying to find work elsewhere. The Union was bankrupt. The local Colorado branch of the Union was bankrupt. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.-- the Rockefeller's owned the majority of the mines down here-- of course, as a good Christian gentlemen, was horrified at the events. And his approach was kind of interesting and symptomatic. He hired Mackenzie King who would become Prime Minister of Canada, and was a sociologist and he hired a damn good publicity agent named, Ivy (Lee). And they came down to the southern field and developed a system of paternalistic industrial relations. Company unions, more clubhouses, really, created a kind of shell of benevolence under which it was the same old story. Company unions of course had no power. Power was still paternalistically in the hands of the mine owners.

You mention Rockefeller's attitude, you talked in your book about the notion of Colonialism- Imperialistic Colonialism, you know how the miners couldn't take care of themselves. Describe what that's about.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s father had once said, ‘God gave me my money.' And it wasn't a defiant statement. What he meant by that is God in his wisdom had given me stewardship over these millions. And this was the kind of paternalistic attitude that a lot of industrialist had. That they with their superior wisdom could distribute the money. That they could take care of these poor ignorant foreigners better than the workers could take care of themselves. And it's the same attitude that animated our really Colonial policy in the Philippines, in Portico, in this era. It was a kind of moral superiority that they were inflicting on workers and on colonized people. It's all part of the same ball of wax. Ownership and mind set that says we know better than you do what wages you should have and what kind of conditions you should work under.

As I sit here, a modern person facing the turn of a new century, I have to wonder what's the significance of what happened at Ludlow for me today?

Well, you know, the French have an expression, "The more things change, the more the remain the same." Of course many things have changed in Industrial life since Ludlow. But essentially, I think that you still have the same kinds of collisions between capital and labor. Now of course the theater is shifting to a global economy. Although we have steel workers locked out and on strike just down the road here in Pueblo for over a year and a half. Strikes going on in this country, perhaps the people who most resemble the immigrant in the Ludlow tent colony are workers in South East Asia making gym shoes and stitching up sweatshirts for college campuses. These are the new colonized workers. It's had a tremendous effect on the economy of our country and on working class life and promise in this country. When we remember Ludlow, we really have to remember it into the present. That's what history's all about, history doesn't hermetically seal off one event from another. History is a flow, it's a process. It's about processes and patterns and tensions and sometimes you get resolution, and sometimes you don't.