

WEST VIRGINIA CRIES FOR HELP

State in Grasp of Railroad Trust.

GOVERNOR CALLS FOR AID

Small Coal Shippers Are Throttled by Magnates.

SENATORS IN THE COMBINE

Lincoln Steffens Asks Whether a State That Sends Elkins to the United States Senate Really Deserves Sympathy.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24.—A United States Senator rose in the United States Senate on February 3 and read a letter from the Governor of one of the States of the United States; and this is the description that Governor gave in that letter of the condition of his state: "West Virginia today is in the grasp of a railroad trust which practically grasps what part of the state shall be developed and what shall not be developed; how much coal shall be shipped out of the state, to what point or points it shall be shipped, and when it shall be shipped."

Sidetrack Facilities Denied.

The Last Coal Company owned some 400 acres of coal land in what is known as the Fairmont District of West Virginia. The West Virginia & Pittsburgh Railroad is the common carrier of that district; at least it was chartered as a common carrier. But many of our railroad men have come to look upon their public utilities as their own personal business. They are insisting here now upon their sacred right to a "fairly reasonable rate," and our representatives have written into the rate bill an acknowledgment that railroads are entitled to make a "reasonable profit" on their investment. But when the Last Coal Company applied to the West Virginia & Pittsburgh Railroad for sidetrack facilities to ship their coal, their application was denied. The railroad wouldn't let those mineowners make any profit.

The coal company might have marketed their coal in wagons. But wagons are slow and expensive. The coal company might have appealed to the courts to compel their common carrier to carry their coal; but litigation is as slow and expensive as wagons. Besides, this West Virginia company may have known something about the West Virginia law. Anyhow they quit. They weren't fighters, and they let their railroad chartered by their state deny them a fairly remunerative profit on their coal business. The Last Coal Company sold out, cheap, to the Red Rock Fuel Company.

Bullitt is a Fighter.

The president of the Red Rock Fuel Company is one Logan M. Bullitt, of Pennsylvania, whose last name describes approximately his character. He is a fighter. There was no misrepresentation to him of the character of his purchase. He was buying a fight, and he knew it. He has more humor than moral indignation, and it suits his moral to think that he may make his fight a big fight. It was he, by the way, who inspired the resolutions offered by Representative Gilchrist in the House a few weeks ago, and by Senator Tillman in the Senate, calling for an investigation of the Pennsylvania-Baltimore & Ohio railroad merger. For the B. & O. runs the West Virginia & Pittsburgh Railway, and the B. & O. and "the Penn" are merged. Mr. Bullitt was simply screaming at a Bull's-eye.

When the Red Rock got hold of the Last Coal land, Mr. Bullitt and his associates began industriously to develop a coal mine. He didn't fuss around with the West Virginia & Pittsburgh; he went to the third vice-president of the B. & O. for permission to do business in this great, free country of ours. All he needed was a sidetrack. He offered to comply with any terms the railroad might see fit to impose, but it was no use. His application was denied.

Protects Large Shippers.

The railroad's answer was that it would "never permit a siding until forced to do so by law, and that if Bullitt won his case the next man who applied would receive the same treatment." Why do railroads run to court so readily? They invite litigation as ordinary citizens avoid it. But why did the B. & O. decline to increase its earnings by encouraging this

mineowner to develop his mine? The third vice-president of the B. & O. told Mr. Bullitt that the road wasn't "going to have a lot of little shippers on the line who would ship coal when prices were high and then shut up shop and go home and let the large shippers have the lean years?" The road proposed to "protect its large shippers."

Mark the reason. It shows how trusts are made; it shows how "large shippers" are protected by the common carriers of the country and how "little shippers" are killed off—today. The Red Rock Company was organized in the last month of 1904, and its fight is still in the fighting. But other reasons were given later by the B. & O.

For Logan M. Bullitt wasn't killed off. The little shipper went on developing his mine. They spent \$20,000 on it and they planned obediently the expenditure of forty or fifty thousand more. They bought railroad ties and 70-pound rails; they bought a right of way and procured authority to "construct, operate and maintain" a railroad 296 feet long; and they graded their road up to 600 feet of the common carrier's tracks. Moreover, they mined some coal and Mr. Bullitt sold it.

B. & O. Man Writes Letter.

In February or March, 1905, Mr. Bullitt went to Baltimore to interview the president of the B. & O. The president wasn't certain that he could see Mr. Bullitt that day, and he advised him to call on the first vice-president. Mr. Bullitt took his advice. The first vice-president could give him no encouragement, however, so Mr. Bullitt sat down and cheerfully wrote a letter to the president, and he got an answer; and also he got another response. Here is the letter:

"Dear Sir:—The present coal development on the road is to a considerable extent beyond the ability of the operators to market the product, or the railroad to promptly and fully furnish transportation facilities to move it. Therefore, the company cannot reasonably encourage the expansion of the situation. The commercial obligation thus imposed prevents going beyond what is the company's strict duty under the law in the matter. It is believed that you will appreciate the propriety of this position."

"Yours very truly,
"OSCAR G. MURKAT."

Bullitt Makes Complaint.

This was what the cheerful Mr. Bullitt wrote after a letter and he went to court, not to the Interstate Commerce Commission. He filed his complaint on April 28, 1905. The Commission had hearings and in its "findings of fact" remarks upon the two different reasons previously given, for refusing to comply with Mr. Bullitt's request for a siding, and it considers them. "But," the commission says, "at the hearing other matters were advanced . . . all practically in the nature of additional expenses." Then the Commission proceeds in dry, complicated, legal terms to show that the said defendant, the B. & O. Railroad, is a liar. "Nevertheless, the Commission considers the lie very solemnly, and 'finds' that, true or false, it is only 'discrimination.'"

Defendant's Claim of Justification.

Defendant's claim of justification, based upon the statement that its coal-carrying equipment is already overtaxed, would apply equally to any kind of traffic at a particular point. If it's the railroad's position is correct, it may refuse to grant transportation facilities to any village or town which may hereafter be built adjacent to its line of railway. And that is what Governor Dawson said the "railroad trust," as he calls it, does do now. It decides, he says, "what part of the state shall be developed and what part shall not be developed." And the Commission says that it "finds" that "the circumstances in this case justify a conclusion that the discrimination is not only wrongful as between complainant and other more favored shippers, but amounts to undue and unreasonable preference . . . and that an order should issue." And an order did issue; and the order may be upheld in the courts. Logan M. Bullitt and the Red Rock Fuel Company may, in the course of time, win their case on appeal, but "the best man who applies will receive the same treatment."

Cases of Railroad Tyranny.

So Governor Dawson is right as to this case of tyranny. It is the general state of things true as he describes it: I know of several cases just like this, and West Virginians tell me they are typical. And Governor A. B. White, Governor Dawson's predecessor, said they were typical in his time. But the motive of the railroads may show whether their sense of "commercial obligation" is a matter of policy. Why should a railroad want to say what part of a state shall not be developed? Or, to get a little closer to the case, why should the B. & O. want to prevent the development of a mine 200 feet from its lines? Railroads want to make money, don't they?

The Governor of West Virginia makes a guess at the truth in his letter. He says:

"I think an investigation would show that the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad is interested in the production of coal—not directly, perhaps, but indirectly and substantially. It makes little difference as to the effect upon our people whether the corporation itself is directly interested in the production of coal in competition with other purchasers of coal, or whether officers and directors or controlling stockholders are so interested. The result is the same."

Great Railroad Grant.

No. It might make no difference as to the result. But it would make a difference as to the policy of the railroads. If the directors or controlling stockholders or operating officers of the railroad were personally interested in the coal business, they would explain why they ran the road—not to develop all the resources of the state, but to "kill off" little shippers and protect "large shippers." If the railroad men happened to be partners of the "large shippers," we know they would willingly see the railroad make less money if they could make more. How do we know that? By the evidence of the life insurance investigations of New York. The directors of those companies are the same sort of men that run our railroads; some of them are the very same men that run our railroads. We know how they ran the life insurance business.

RATE BILL WILL NOT LOSE TEETH

Will Pass Without Court Review Feature.

RAILROAD FORCES BEATEN

Their Own Action Destroys Hopes in Senate.

ALDRICH MAY BE DEPOSED

His Action Creates Opportunity for New Leader to Arise—Tillman Wants Bill Stiffened on Several Points.

RECONCILE ROOSEVELT AND TILLMAN.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24.—(Special.)—Plans for a reconciliation between President Roosevelt and Senator Tillman are on foot. The President has declared that he respected the South Carolina because he was an honest American and a good fighter, as he had cause to know. Senator Tillman, who recently delivered the most abusive personal speech ever heard in the Senate and directed against the President, has ungrudgingly announced that he did not hate the President, but that he despised his negro policy. Friends of the administration are arranging to bring the two men together, believing that, if existing personal differences can be adjusted, the power and personality of the two men will rout the conservatives in the Senate and bring about rate legislation with a hurrah.

OREGONIAN NEWS BUREAU, WASHINGTON, Feb. 24.—As a result of yesterday's trickery on the part of five Republican Senators on the Interstate Commerce Committee, the Hepburn railroad rate bill will pass the Senate without the amendment as much desired by those representatives of railroad corporations—the amendment authorizing review by the courts and suspending the rate fixed by the Commission pending decision on appeal.

This outcome seems absolutely certain.

By the opinions of many Senators of both parties expressed today are to be relied upon; indeed, Senator Elkins, chairman of the Interstate Commerce committee and one of the most persistent railroad Senators, admits that this amendment cannot be attached to the bill in the light of what transpired yesterday. That the bill may be amended in some other particular is quite possible; it may be amended, as demanded by some Democratic Senators, to provide specifically for review by the courts whenever the rate fixed by the Commission is deemed unfair, but if any such amendment is adopted, due precaution will be exercised to see that the Commission's rate remains in force until set aside by the court.

Tillman Cautions of Amendment.

Senator Tillman, who is to manage the rate bill in the Senate, is afraid of this review amendment, fearing that through the machinations of railroad Senators it may be so worded as to defeat the entire purpose of the bill and before he consents to the adoption of such an amendment he will be absolutely certain that it is

ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF THE "HOG COMBINE."



Senator Stephen B. Elkins, of West Virginia, whom Lincoln Steffens describes as one of the principal members of the "Hog Combine" of West Virginia and also as the Senator who is named to fix the Hepburn Bill, has represented the State of West Virginia in the United States Senate since 1895. He was born in Ohio, went to Missouri in childhood, studied law, then went to New Mexico, where he served as Territorial District Attorney, Attorney-General and United States District Attorney. He removed to West Virginia, where he became largely interested in railroads and coal mines. He is vice-president of the West Virginia Central & Pittsburgh Railway.

not "loaded." Mr. Tillman, however, will insist upon and may secure the adoption of an amendment absolutely prohibiting the ownership and control by public carriers of articles to be shipped over their lines to the exclusion of private owners, his object being to drive railroads out of the coal business.

While Tillman will be nominal manager of the bill in the Senate, several Republicans are bound to be closely identified with the fight in support of honest rate legislation, among them Senators Dolliver and Clapp.

Opportunity for New Leader.

The new situation creates an opportunity for some new Republican leader to develop, some one who can lead a movement among the Republican Senators to overthrow Mr. Aldrich and his followers and install a new regime that will not bear the brand of corporate interests. Never since Mr. Aldrich became Republican boss in the Senate has he occupied so precarious a position as today, by reason of his colossal blunder of yesterday, and it is not to be asserted that the Senator who successfully leads a fight among Republican Senators to overthrow him and his followers will be accorded recognition in the future as the true Republican Senate leader.

But for his limited service, Mr. Dolliver would be the man. It is possible that he may yet win this distinction, but this is not probable. Senator Allison, Mr. Dolliver's colleague, who is today recognized as the most influential Senator save Mr. Aldrich.

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CASE AGAINST GAS COMPANY

High Price Charged and Poor Quality.

DISREGARD FOR COMPLAINTS

Arbitrary Meter Readings Are Common.

NO OVERCHARGE REBATED

Ruin of Streets, Interminable Franchise, Discrimination in Meter Deposits, Excessive Penalty for Delinquent Payment.

COMPLAINTS AGAINST PORTLAND GAS COMPANY. High price of gas. Poor quality of gas. Disregard of complaints of consumers. Arbitrary meter readings. Refusal to rebate overcharges. Excessive penalty for delinquent payments. Discrimination in meter deposits. Ruin of streets in laying pipes. Free use of streets. Interminable franchise. Exclusive monopoly. Low taxes.

When The Oregonian began exposing the practices of the Portland Gas Company, nearly two months ago, it bespoke the widespread complaint of consumers that they were charged a higher price for water gas than in other important cities on the Pacific Coast and higher than in the principal cities of the United States, though the gas here is of poor quality, deficient in lighting and heating properties.

But the price and the quality were not the only subjects of complaint; the company was charged by countless persons with arbitrary reading of meters, refusal to make restitution for overcharging, disregard of life and safety of consumers in making gas connections and arrogant treatment of protests.

Matters to Investigate.

All these matters are to be investigated by a special Council committee, which will hold its second session next Wednesday night in the City Hall, the first having been held last Tuesday afternoon. The gas company will endeavor to show that the hostile criticism of its service has come not from consumers, but from the Oregonian; that it is without cause or reason; that the price is as low and the quality is as satisfactory as the people of Portland can reasonably expect from the company; that its dealings with consumers at all times have been fair, and that the Oregonian's attack is inspired by spiteful motives.

President Adams, of the company, first made the preposterous statement that the Oregonian was trying to "get even" because its free gas had been shut off, though he knew that The Oregonian has always paid full rates for its gas, then he spitefully declared the reason to be that the company had refused to advertise in The Oregonian, when he had reason to know that even when the company was advertising, this paper was preparing to voice the public complaint.

But The Oregonian does not have to defend itself against these absurd charges; the truth is that the gas is impoverished of light and heat properties, and throu-

Complaint Goes Further.

The complaint goes much further to the interminable and monopolistic franchise of the company, granted by the Territorial Legislature nearly 50 years ago, which allows the city and the people no power to regulate the monopoly, neither as to efficiency of service, quality of gas nor price; permits the company to lay pipes and tear up streets wherever it chooses to go, regardless of improvements paid for by property-owners; suffers the company to maintain in the heart of the city and on the inflammable water front a dangerous plant, stored full of oil, a fire menace to the safety of surrounding property, causing insurance rates round about to be 25 per cent higher than they would otherwise be—in short, giving the city over to the mercy of the company, with scarcely any restraint, whatever, nor requiring the company to pay a single dime for its immense privileges, until this year, when it will have to pay, for the first time in its history, \$1700 franchise tax, yet will continue to have free use of the streets.

Hundreds of Complaints.

The Oregonian could have printed hundreds of hundreds of complaints, but has contented itself with about 50, many of them from prominent persons. It refrained from opening its columns wide to such matter because it did not wish to weary its readers with needless repetition. In the coming investigation, enough witnesses will be summoned to show up the greed and overbearing manner of what has been called "Portland's Greased Gas Grati." This will not be done to vindicate The Oregonian but the public protest; and though the gas company, through J. N. Teal, its counsel, has declared that the whole issue in the trial is the making good of The Oregonian's charges, this paper maintains that the real issue is to make clear that the complaints of the public are warranted by the facts.

Council Investigating Committee.

The Council committee consists of six members, Bennett, Kellaher, Masters, Menefee, Hushlight and Vaughn, the seventh, John Annand, having withdrawn. The gas company is represented by J. N. Teal and C. E. S. Wood, and the city by L. A. McNary, City Attorney, and Henry E. McGinn. The same kind of investigation has been made in many other cities and is now in progress in San Francisco. Wherever the probe has been applied it is found that the public interest has been ignored by gas companies, the people's rights have been abused, the price of gas has been too high and the quality has been poor—just the same as now in Portland. Gas companies all over the United States have this in common—they are greedy, grasping and haughty, making big profits, and their prosperity has no better evidence than that gas stocks and bonds are considered among the best securities in the United States.

High Price Charged.

Portland's gas price is 30 cents higher a thousand feet than that of Los Angeles, and 15 cents a thousand feet higher than in San Francisco and Seattle. This means that the 1,000,000 feet of gas used in Portland costs consumers \$300 a month or \$3,600 a year more in Portland than the same amount of gas in Los Angeles, and \$4,000 more than in San Francisco or Seattle. The gas in all three cities is made out of California crude oil, which costs, for 1000 feet of gas, about 3 cents more in Portland than in Los Angeles and should cost no more than in Seattle. The price of oil in Los Angeles is 20 cents a barrel of 42 gallons; in Portland 35 cents. Between eight and ten gallons are used for each 1000 feet of gas. It will be seen that Portland's high price of gas, compared with that of Los Angeles, is out of proportion with the price of oil here and there.

But though the San Francisco price is 15 cents lower than the Portland rate, the people of San Francisco are demanding still lower rate than it, which is now charged there, and a reduction will undoubtedly be made, perhaps to 85 cents, though there is an effort to pull it down to 75 cents. Add to this the application in Portland for a gas franchise made by a company which promises a 65-cent rate and offers to put up a \$50,000 bond to carry out its terms of the contract, and it will be seen that the reason which prompts officers of the Portland Gas Company to say that \$15 is as low as they can afford to go has some mysterious greed logic behind it.

Prices of Gas.

The prices of gas in the leading Pacific Coast cities follow: Per 1000. Portland \$1.15. Seattle 1.00. San Francisco 1.00. Sacramento 1.00. Los Angeles 1.00. The rates in Tacoma, Salt Lake, Butte and Helena are higher than in Portland, because gas in those cities is made from coal, which is a more expensive process than manufacture from oil.

In Eastern Cities.

In other cities the rates are: Per 1000. Chicago, Lowe process \$1.35. Akron, coal 1.15. Cincinnati, coal and water 1.15. Cleveland, coal 1.15. Dayton, O., coal and Lowe 1.15. Detroit, coal and Lowe 1.15. Fort Wayne, coal and Lowe 1.15. Grand Rapids, coal and Lowe 1.15. Hamilton, O., coal and Lowe 1.15. Indianapolis, coal and Lowe 1.15. Kansas City, Lowe 1.15. Louisville, coal and Lowe 1.15. Milwaukee, coal and Lowe 1.15. St. Louis, coal and Lowe 1.15. Scranton, Pa., Lowe 1.15. South Bend, Ind., coal and Lowe 1.15. Terre Haute, coal and Lowe 1.15. Toledo, O., coal and Lowe 1.15. Toronto, Can., coal and Lowe 1.15.

Terms of Franchise.

By means of a franchise granted by the Territorial Legislature in 1859, the Gas Company maintains its grasp, not only in the limits of the original Portland, but also in all additions that have been made since, and by the terms of the franchise the hold extends automatically into all territory that may be annexed to the city in the future. This grant may be altered or terminated by the Legislature, but until revoked by that body it is interminable. The Gas Company paid nothing for the grant, pays nothing to the city for the use of the streets and makes whatever price for gas it pleases. This year, for the first time, it will pay a fran-

INNER CIRCLE'S SECRETS TOLD

How Dynamiters Control Federation.

MONEY IS THEIR REAL OBJECT

When Trouble Begins, Subscriptions Pour In.

TWELVE MEN RULE ORDER

Former Leader Who Succeeded Reveals Inner Workings of Terrorists Who Have Seized Control of Miners' Federation.

DENVER, Colo., Feb. 24.—(Special.)—A man closely associated with the Western Federation of Miners for years, who held executive positions and was close to the inner workings, so much so that he retired in disgust and loathing, tonight gave the history of the "inner circle" from its foundation until recent times. He said: "It was in May, 1899, that the 'inner circle' of the Federation was formed. We were holding the annual convention of the Federation that year in Salt Lake City. A short time before that the Bunker Hill-Sullivan mill at Wardner, Idaho, was blown up. The authorities were after the Federation pretty hard, and something had to be done. The convention was too big to handle. Most of the delegates were union men, but they were opposed to violence. Of course the average miner is not squeamish, but he will not stand for murder. But the cry among the leaders even that far back was for force. They ridiculed the conservatives like myself, who were opposed to force and wanted to build up the unions by different means."

First Aid to Dynamiters.

"I remember the first thing that convention did was to vote \$5000 as a retainer to Patrick Reddy, the San Francisco lawyer, to defend the Idaho men and to hide the books of the Federation in preparation for a raid. "Hugh Boyle, who blew up the Bunker Hill-Sullivan mine, was in hiding in Salt Lake at that time, and he took quite an active part in forming the inner circle. George A. Pettibone, who had just been released from the penitentiary after serving several years for throwing dynamite down a shaft in the Coeur d'Alene, was another, and Dan McGinty, the 'hero of Bull Hill,' as we called him, was the third."

Ritual is Blood-Curdling.

"A ritual prepared by Dr. Carr of Hill City, S. D. was used. This man was a crank on this kind of work. He is still forming societies with huge rituals. He had nothing whatever to do with the inner circle outside of framing a ritual used by the order. It was improved on afterward. But even at the beginning it was one of the richest I have known of. The oaths to be taken would make the ordinary individual shiver, and you know the men wanted for the inner circle were of the superstitious kind anyway. It took a member several days to get over the initiation, and some men that I know never got over it."

Inner Circle Runs Federation.

"As long as Ed Boyce was president, the inner circle was kept in the background. It used to do things then, but it did not run the Federation as it has done for years. About a dozen men run the inner circle, and this runs the executive committee and the Federation. "Since Hayward got hold, the inner circle has run the whole organization with its 50,000 members and its income of \$300,000 to \$400,000 a year. Poor Moyer was not such a bad fellow. He was easily led and fond of trouble, but I do not think he would have done the things charged against him if he could have avoided them."

Haywood and Pettibone the Brains.

"Haywood and Pettibone are the brains of the inner circle. And do you know that Pettibone swore that he would kill Hayward on sight and got ready to do it for something that is often justified by the public, but the inner circle jumped in and said: 'We cannot have any scandal. Quit.' And I guess they did. "The inner circle has had charge of the funds of the Federation for several years. Wait until an investigating committee from the outside goes after these books. If Moyer and Hayward are convicted, then you will hear something drop. Men who very likely had nothing to do with any of the deeds of violence, but who were aware of what was going on, will be seeking other climates."

Money Made by Strikes.

"If the true story could be told, the enormous income of the Federation in the last few years would be at the bottom of most of the crimes committed. The more trouble, the more money; the more persecution, the bigger the subscriptions from outside unions. The only way to get the money to come in was to have trouble with the authorities and arrests. The Cripple Creek and Telluride affairs meant half a million dollars to the inner circle. If anyone can get at the books they will show that I am within the mark. But I don't believe the books now in the headquarters will show anything. "I know what I am talking about when I say that for the last four years the executive committee and the adding

AMERICAN CHORUS GIRL EDUCATED FOR PEER, WHO MARRIED HER IN PARIS.



Lady Ashburton (Frances Belmont). Frances Belmont, former American chorus girl, who was quietly married to Lord Ashburton in Paris last week, was one of the Maggie Douglans who scrubbed the floor in "Mildred" when Lord Ashburton first saw her. Later she was one of the "Floradora" sextet. When she became engaged to Lord Ashburton a year and a half ago, he took her off the stage and placed her in a convent near Paris, where she has been educated for the part of the wife of a British Peer. Lord Ashburton is the owner of 60,000 acres of land in Great Britain, and has a London house and a country residence.

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