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EXECUTIVE BOARD, WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS, 1902-1903

# THE MINERS' MAGAZINE.

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JOHN M. O'NEILL, Editor.

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## OUR DEBUT.

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In assuming the editorial management of the Miners' Magazine, we feel the responsibility that has been thrust in our hands. The readers of the Magazine are scattered over a broad expanse of territory and their respective environments have given them various conceptions as to the policy which should be adopted by a publication whose pages are devoted to the interests of the laboring masses. The recent convention, in no ambiguous language, sounded the tocsin of industrial freedom, when the vast majority of its delegates proclaimed by their ballots that Socialism would be the religion of labor for the future. Organized labor is beginning to realize that there is no mile post in the pathway of our civilization where unionism can stand still. Unionism must either advance or retrograde. Unionism must be able to grapple with

questions and conditions which confront us, or go down in ruin, shattered into fragments as the result of its weakness to measure steel with the giant combinations of the twentieth century. Unionism must be able to meet the Napoleons of commercial greed and record upon the pages of future history the Waterloo of moneyed plutocracy. Organized labor in the past has been attempting to realize its dream and hope through a system which has merited only the mocking laugh from the sneering lips of exultant derision. We have realized that the superstructure of unionism, as constituted in the past, has been built upon a rotten foundation, the walls of whose defense must fall and crumble into atoms before the grape and canister of corporate power. Why has labor organizations in the past been shattered into fragments? Why have the Davids of the common people been unable to meet in combat the Goliaths of Shylockism and bury in its unhallowed grave the despotism of moneyed tyranny? Why has the great labor army of the nation been unable to plant the banner of industrial liberty upon the battlements of corporate sovereignty and hush in the joy of happiness and plenty the wails of misery that come to us from countless hovels within the domain of this so-called "land of the free and the home of the brave?" Why does American manhood and womanhood throw away their independence and kneel in abject slavery at the shrine of the employer, begging for a paltry pittance to sustain a lingering death? Why does old age and crippled manhood totter to the prison and the poor house, to lay their rags upon the stony couch of pain and close their eyes in everlasting sleep? Why does virtue hide its cheek behind the gaudy walls of shame and why does childhood wither and decay in the poisoned atmosphere of tenement and factory? Simply because the great organized labor army of the nation has been dividing its strength between the two old political parties whose planks

and platforms have emanated from the cunning brain of commercial cupidity. Because many of our labor leaders who have stood in the van of unionism for years have either slumbered in the lethargy of indifference, ignorant of the remedies to liberate struggling manhood, or else they have utilized the organization to which they belong to subserve their own personal political interests. We abhor the character of a Judas Iscariot, who betrayed the Nazarene for thirty pieces of silver, but we cover his treason with the mantle of charity, because in compunction for his crime he dropped the curtain with his own hand upon the chapters of his miserable existence. We turn with loathing from the story of a Benedict Arnold, who attempted to barter away the liberties of 3,000,000 of people for £6,000 of British gold. Every drop of our blood boils with indignation when we hear of a Pinkerton assassin pulling a trigger, at the bidding of a corporation, to crimson America's carpet of green with labor's blood. But the labor leader who has won the confidence of the callous hand and who, for a consideration, hands over that confidence to the capitalist and politician, is a criminal whose treason has no name in the lexicon of the human tongue. Such a man, if he had lived in the dawn of the Christian era, would not only have crowned the brow of Christ with thorns, not only howled for his crucifixion, but would have struggled with the mob to be the cowardly wretch to plunge the cruel spear into his heart after he had expired. Such a man, if he had lived in the days of '76, would not only have spurned the Declaration of Independence, but would have betrayed the shoeless patriots who left their blood-stained footprints upon the ice and snows, struggling to expel from this land the last hated vestige of a foreign foe. Such a man (for a consideration) would not hesitate to traffic in a sister's shame. Such treason not only fetters the limbs of labor to-day, but moulds the shackles that must

be worn by generations that are yet to come. We know that, from the experience of the past, labor, as it has been organized, will not be able to cross swords with the giant monopolies of the present day. We know that the great combinations of capital are firmly intrenched behind the courts, the state militia, the federal troops and the very government at Washington itself. The delegates in the recent convention realized that organized labor must capture the powers of government at the ballot box in order that capitalism shall be halted in its mad career of devastation and ruin. The people of this nation must own, collectively, the land, the machinery of production and distribution, before they can hope to raise aloft the symbol of industrial freedom. The Socialist party holds out a remedy that will obliterate from our civilization the tramp and the millionaire and robe manhood and womanhood with the vesture of equal opportunity. Labor has realized that the time has come when trimming and straddling will never accomplish anything that means permanent relief for the masses. Socialism will be the shot and shell that will be hurled from the guns of unionism to level the fortress of haughty commercialism and then manhood will have a greater value than the dollar. No man who is honest can be satisfied with a political and industrial system that has made it possible for a few men to meet in secret conclave and flash from ocean to ocean an ultimatum that will cause every wheel in this boasted land of ours to cease in its revolution. The Miners' Magazine has entered the Socialistic field to fight the battle of the masses as against the classes until the beacon light of a new liberty shall shed its rays upon an emancipated people.

JOHN M. O'NEILL,

Editor and Manager.

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It is time for the laboring people to cease exchanging ballots for bullets.

## THE AMERICAN LABOR UNION.

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The American Labor Union, which was known as the Western Labor Union until the recent convention, has resolved to enter the political field and with an undivided ballot remove the evils and the wrongs which crucify labor. The delegates in this convention formulated a political policy that is in line and in harmony with the Western Federation of Miners. The advanced men of the American Labor Union have arrived at the conclusion that affiliations with the old political parties mean the continued slavery of the wage earner, the pauperism of the many to enrich the few. The battle is now on and the warriors of the American Labor Union will never lay down their arms until the flag of industrial freedom floats over the silenced battlements of corporate sovereignty. The following named gentlemen were honored with official positions: Daniel McDonald, president, Butte City, Montana; F. D. O'Shea, vice president, Cripple Creek, Colorado; Clarence Smith, secretary-treasurer, Wallace, Idaho. Executive board, H. L. Hughes, Spokane; H. M. Banks, Denver; F. J. Pelletier, Butte City; C. P. Lefray, Bonner, Montana; E. M. White, Leadville; F. W. Ott, Laramie, Wyoming; F. W. Walton, Wallace, Idaho. The headquarters of the American Labor Union will remain in Butte City, Montana.

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### OFFICERS OF THE W. F. M.

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The convention of the Western Federation of Miners, in the election of Charles Moyer of Lead, South Dakota, to the presidency, realized that a man of experience should be selected to stand at the helm of the Federation ship for the coming year. For more than nine years Mr. Moyer has been an unflinching warrior in the ranks of unionism. While he will not fire the world with the oratorical flights of a Cicero, he will demonstrate to the great army of the miners of the West that he is a tireless worker and a student of the problems that must be solved in the near future. As an organizer he is probably without a peer in the ranks of the Federation. The Montana delegation was almost unanimous in the selection of Edward Hughes for the vice presidency, and we believe that the president will find in him an able and conscientious auxiliary in aiding him to carry on the work of the organization. William Haywood was re-elected without opposition to the office of secretary-treasurer. The clerical ability of Mr. Hay-

wood during the past year gave such universal satisfaction that the convention was unanimous in selecting him as the custodian of the funds of the Western Federation of Miners. The members of the executive board are as follows: J. T. Lewis of Globe, Arizona; L. A. Simpkins, Wardner, Idaho; P. Bowden, Butte, Montana; D. C. Copley, Independence, Colorado; Otto A. Peterson, Central, South Dakota; James A. Baker, Slocan, British Columbia. These gentlemen of the executive board are men of broad and varied experience, who will be able counsellors in guiding the destiny of the organization through the waves of conflict that threaten to wreck the bark of organized labor.

### THE RETIRING PRESIDENT.

Edward Boyce, in retiring from the presidency of the Western Federation of Miners, takes with him the best wishes of thousands of brawny miners, whose confidence has never been shaken in his sincerity and honesty of purpose during his reign as the presiding officer of the organization. For six years he has labored early and late to build a federation of miners that to-day reaches from the muddy Missouri to the slopes of the Pacific. In tendering his resignation to the convention there was no desire upon his part to shirk responsibilities, but a realization that his health was breaking down, left him no choice but to retire in order that rest and recreation might recuperate him for the battles of the future. Since he has been identified with the cause of labor his character and conduct has soared in that atmosphere of moral grandeur where scandal, corruption or dishonor dare not tread. No man can point the finger of scorn at him and say that he has used the great organization which he has been instrumental in building for his personal aggrandizement. He has been actuated by pure and unselfish motives, and the Western Federation of Miners stands to-day a monument to his clear brain and tireless energy.

Socialism will usher into the world a civilization that will relegate to the barbaric past the capitalist, the Nero of the twentieth century.

The political religion of the future is Socialism.

Hopeless men are anarchists; hopeful men are Socialists.

## ORGANIZE FOR SOCIALISM.

Never before in the history of this country does organization appeal so forcibly to the masses of the people as now. In every state of the Union, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, capital is concentrating its forces and closing the doors of opportunity to every man who does not revel in the luxury of millions. The great question which confronts the American people and which must be answered in the near future, is what must be done to stem the tide of Shylockism which threatens to inundate the land and submerge the hopes and aspirations of every citizen whose hands bear the scars of manual toil? In every national campaign for more than a quarter of a century the Democratic Demosthenes and the Republican Cicero have stood upon the rostrum and promulgated their respective doctrines as the panacea which would emancipate the people from the burdens under which they groaned. Year after year has passed away and yet the sunlight of prosperity has shed but few rays upon the brawn and muscle of this nation. A little less than two years ago a great political conflict was waged throughout the length and breadth of the land. The Republican party that once flaunted the "bloody shirt" as the mascot which won the trophies of victory, cartooned the full dinner pail, and through that stomach appeal Marcus A. Hanna became the uncrowned emperor of the United States. Who is there in whose brain sparkles the light of reason and intelligence, can hope that a party whose national chairman reaped his millions through the serfdom of American manhood, will lift the yoke of slavery from labor's neck? Who is there among the great army of the laboring millions that honestly believe that the party of Gould, the party of Vanderbilt and the party of Morgan will ever raise the "star of hope" to shine above the cradle of the poor man's babe." We have no more affection for the Democratic party than the party of Hanna of Ohio. Could the immortal Jefferson, whose generous heart and massive brain coined the golden words that flash from the pages of our Declaration of Independence, have arisen from his silent tomb in the year 1893 and become a living, breathing man; could he have seen the hungry and shelterless horde of paupers, with no home but a jail or a prison; could he have beheld the worn and anxious faces of mothers followed by their offspring to the charity soup house and then gazed upon the placid and tranquil features of the duck shooter and expert angler of Buzzard's bay, who



levied his assessments of millions in times of peace to feed the revenue warriors who crowded around the administration table, it seems to us that he would have exclaimed in thunder-tones that would have rung around the world: Did Christ ever die for Grover?

The Democratic as well as the Republican party hold prosperity above human life and both maintain and perpetuate a system that coins dollars from the sweat and misery of human flesh. Are the working people of this nation satisfied with a system that places a rifle in the hands of a Pinkerton assassin to awe the independence of the wage earner when demanding a just remuneration for the product of his toil? Are you satisfied with a system that sends Gatling guns and Napoleons into the mining regions of the West to terrorize miners, whose wives, daughters and even gray-haired mothers, were forced to protect their honor at the point of a pistol from ebony-hued libertines garbed in the uniform of federal soldiers? Are you satisfied with a system that takes from our public temples of education the little boys and incarcerate them in the blackened dungeons of the coal mine, "where liberty groans in the chains of ignorance?" Are you satisfied with a system that tears from the nursery our little girls and places them in the department store and the factory to coin their childhood and their innocence into glittering gold? Are you satisfied with a political and industrial system that levies a tariff upon the prostitution of unfortunate and fallen woman to debauch elections with the price of shame? If not, then the time has come when you should rally under the standard of Socialism and with that power that was bequeathed to you by the patriots of '76 relegate to oblivion the parties whose administration has failed to lift the brotherhood of man upon the broad plane of justice and equality.

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### THE SENTINEL KICKS.

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The Grand Junction Sentinel has taken a fit because the American Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners have come to the conclusion that only through independent political action can the wage earners be emancipated from industrial slavery. In the past, when conflicts arose between labor and capital and men, becoming desperate through hunger and want, committed violations of law, journals of this type have been loud and long in their denunciation, and asked the laboring men why they did not exercise their right of suffrage

at the ballot box to remedy the wrongs that exist? Now that labor has taken the advice of such journals and intend to utilize the ballot intelligently to wipe out the cursed system that breeds strikes and lockouts, the capitalistic slave of the Sentinel writhes in agony because he and his cohorts can no longer play the role of the hypocrite in telling the working man that his future welfare depends upon casting his vote for the perpetuation of the Democratic or Republican parties. Does the Sentinel desire that organized labor shall travel in the same beaten path, using the same weapons to meet defeat after defeat, until the last lingering ray of hope is banished from the heart of the toiler? Does the editor of the cringing Sentinel desire that labor shall court disaster after disaster until the slavery of American manhood and womanhood, under the proud banner of Columbia, shall blight and wither the bud and bloom of advancing civilization? Does he wish that labor shall continue to hug the chains of wage-slavery until being an American citizen is but a synonym for a slave. We propose that organized labor in the future shall stand shoulder to shoulder to fight the battle of the masses as against the classes, until capitalism has been swept from the bosom of a nation that for more than a century has held aloft the beacon light of liberty to the downtrodden and oppressed of the world. Too long has labor divided its strength between the two old parties in the hope that some of the burdens might be removed from the shoulders of those who produce. The old parties have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Labor has at last broken the shackles of political affiliation and proposes to stand alone, until the flag of victory shall float in triumph over a system that has filled the world with the wails of misery and the moans of want. The Sentinel commends the American Federation of Labor because that organization keeps out of politics. But it has no word of condemnation to say of Samuel Gompers who utilizes the organization to secure for his son a fat federal job. The Sentinel points to the American Federation of Labor as a success because its membership has reached more than a million. We deny that the American Federation of Labor is a success and that organization will never be a success until Gomperism is relegated and the rank and file march to the ballot box and cast their 1,100,000 votes for the platform of the Socialist party. No labor organization can win any victories as long as its members vote the same ticket as Grover Cleveland and Mark Hanna.

## FATHER HAGERTY.

There has been a disposition upon the part of the anti-Socialist element to prejudice the public mind by intimating that Rev. T. J. Hagerty is an ex-priest. We desire to correct that impression by saying that the reverend gentleman is as much a priest to-day as when he was ordained. It is true that he has given up his pulpit in New Mexico, believing that he can do more for the cause of humanity in the field of Socialism than he possibly could accomplish within the narrow confines of the church. He has been engaged by the Western Federation of Miners to deliver forty lectures in the state of Colorado, and when the people have heard the eloquent gentleman they will realize that he is preaching the real, pure and unadulterated doctrines of Christianity.

## ALTGELD'S TRIBUTE TO DEBS.

The laboring masses throughout the world will revere and honor the memory of John P. Altgeld as long as there dwells in a human breast a love for industrial liberty. In the last great effort of his life the following words flowed from his lips in eulogy of the peerless Debs, whose eloquent voice is now ringing in the Northwest, awakening the toilers from their sleep of indifference:

Jails become temples of honor when labor is wrongfully confined there; men wrongfully sent to jail become the world's heroes. It is only wrongdoing that is a disgrace. An unjust sentence only disgraces the judge who imposes it. Jails have never destroyed a just cause, and never will so long as there are men left who are worthy of freedom.

Jeffreys filled the jails and manned the gibbets of England only to make himself infamous and the cause he persecuted immortal.

During the railroad strike of 1894 Judge Woods went to Chicago and struck down trial by jury and the right of free speech. He sent Debs to jail without a legal trial, and thus made himself the Jeffreys of the occasion.

But Woods is dead and Debs lives. The memory of Woods is odious to all men who toil with their hands, while Debs is respected. The hirelings who persecuted Debs when they had no case against him are going down, but organized labor is marching on.

## THE STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

The delegates who assembled at Trinidad in the late convention displayed good judgment in the selection of J. C. Sullivan of Victor to preside as the executive head of the federated body for the coming year. Mr. Sullivan is one of the pioneers of unionism in the state of Colorado, and as a reasoner and logical thinker stands in the van of the procession. While he has been wielding the pick and hammer in the dungeons of the earth, his brain has been busily engaged in the solution of the knotty problems that confront the laboring masses of the world. Mr. Sullivan will unquestionably be a great factor in the advancement of organized labor throughout the state.

The following are the respective officers of the State Federation of Labor: H. B. Waters, secretary-treasurer, Denver; Edward Bessette, first vice president, Denver; Guy E. Miller, second vice president, Telluride; S. J. Bowers, third vice president, Denver.

The State Federation, in their convention, adopted the following political declaration:

"Whereas, The power of the capitalist class rests upon institutions essentially political; and,

"Whereas, We realize the inadequacy of pure and simple trades unionism to grapple with the same; therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the Colorado State Federation of Labor, in its seventh annual convention assembled, that we demand the initiative and referendum and the imperative mandate as a part of the organic laws of the state and nation. We further demand that the means of production and distribution shall be owned by the whole people, and we recommend to our affiliated unions the study and discussion of Socialist principles."

### CONVENTION NOTES.

Delegate Griffis of Victor made no long winded speeches in the convention. His remarks were concise and to the point. In the lengthy debate which followed the introduction of a political policy to be adopted by the Western Federation of Miners, Brother Griffis declared that he would rather vote for what he wanted and not get it than vote for what he did not want and get it.

Delegate Elliot, from Butte, was beyond question the orator of the Montana delegation. Brother Elliot is a student of

social economics and his diction in giving expression to his ideas was faultless.

Michael Mooney was the unapproachable wit of the convention. His speech in nominating himself for the presidency was a masterpiece. He handed baskets of rhetorical bouquets to Mooney until the vocabulary of the English lexicon was exhausted.

Malcolm Gillis of Butte was without doubt the Chesterfield of the convention. In all the heated discussions which arose Mr. Gillis showed a fraternal courtesy to his opponents that was worthy of admiration.

Delegate Reber of the Butte delegation took a prominent part in the debates of the convention. Mr. Reber has had considerable experience in legislative bodies and he demonstrated that he was a parliamentarian of some weight.

Vincent St. John of Telluride was among the youngest delegates to the convention, but he showed depth of thought that would have done credit to men with bald heads and gray whiskers. St. John is no trimmer or straddler. He believes in digging down and laying the foundation of organized labor upon the solid rock.

Delegate Beard of Ouray was the musical prodigy, who was always willing to entertain the representatives with a few selections from high-class opera.

Delegate Hurley of Altman was the most forcible speaker upon the floor of the convention. Every time that he orated he said something, and furthermore, he meant it.

Delegate Copley from the Engineers' Union of Altman was elected a member of the executive board and he will certainly prove an able adviser in the cabinet of the president.

J. T. Lewis of Globe, Arizona, is a young man of push and energy. As a member of the executive board his district will come to the front and be a rival for first honors at the next annual convention.

James Baker of British Columbia is a man who has grown old in fighting the battles of organized labor. His re-election as a member of the executive board was an appreciation of his able and conscientious work in the past.

Delegate Simpkins of Montana was one of the brainy men of the convention. His experience in strikes and lockouts will make him a valuable man on the executive board.

Otto Peterson, "the big Swede," as he was familiarly called in the convention, has been a resident of the Black Hills for a period of fifteen years. He has been prominent in labor

circles in the mining district of South Dakota, and we believe that he will be as big mentally upon the executive board as he is physically.

Delegate Bowden of Silverton is not as yet a full fledged Socialist, but his wings are growing, and it is only a question of a short time when he will be able to soar above the political atmosphere of the old parties.

Delegate Fox of Altman was an able representative of his union and was ready at all times to measure steel with any opponent who differed with him in what he believed to be for the best interests of the Federation. Delegate Fox was likewise a representative in the State Federation and delivered some telling blows to Gomperism.

J. J. Callahan of Victor came down to the convention to grasp the hand of his old friend, Eugene V. Debs. Mr. Callahan is one of the pioneers in the ranks of organized labor and his voice and pen have been potent weapons in bringing about the advance steps which unionism has taken in the state of Colorado.

Delegate Barbee of Confidence, California, made some telling speeches in the convention. The gentleman demonstrated that he is a thinker and a student of the advanced labor thought of the world.

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### EX-PRESIDENT BOYCE'S LETTER TO THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

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Upon retiring from the office of president of the Western Federation of Miners I assure my associates in the fight for justice in behalf of the producers of all wealth that I have not retired from the field of battle while the cohorts of legalized robbers are assaulting our ranks with all the power at their command.

To hesitate when the battle is fiercest is not the point of wisdom. This is particularly true to-day, when the laboring people in the West have awakened from their slumber of indifference and marshaled their forces behind the fortress of independent political action to fight for their rights until the last vestige—let us hope—of corporate power and greed is routed from every land under the sun.

The opportunity for success was never brighter.

The men elected to conduct the affairs of the W. F. M. for the ensuing year have proved themselves worthy of the confidence and support of every member in the organization.

Therefore it becomes our duty to help and encourage them in their arduous labor which requires so much courage and ability to combat the enemies of organized labor who are hourly seeking its destruction.

President Moyer and Secretary-Treasurer Haywood have proved their loyalty to the Federation in the past, and I am confident they will be as faithful in the future in fulfilling the obligations imposed upon them by their associates who elected them to office.

Knowing their sterling qualities I am confident of greater success during the ensuing year than at any other period in the history of the organization. To accomplish this, I will gladly co-operate with them and perform any service to which they assign me, and hope that every member of our organization is prepared to join with me.

EDWARD BOYCE, Ex-President W. F. M.

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When conflicts arise between capital and labor, when the moneyless servant of toil raises his voice and demands that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness shall be guaranteed to him as it is written upon the pages of the Declaration of Independence, the magnates of wealth, whose coffers are filled with the profits of masked piracy and modern brigandage, invade the sanctuary of the courts and from these tribunals of so-called justice comes forth a weapon which annuls the document of human liberty and strangles the very constitution of the nation under which we live. That weapon is government by injunction. Socialism will render powerless the present power of the court by removing the incentive to profit.

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South Carolina, the home of Senator Tillman, has within its borders more than 8,000 children working in the factories of the cotton kings. The majority of these children are unable to even spell their own names. The public school mocks them in their poverty, for there is no compulsory educational law upon the statute books of the state of South Carolina. We ask that Pitchfork Benjamin give a little more attention to this monstrous wrong that will surely bring about in his southern home a race of intellectual degenerates.

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Government by injunction steals from the brow of American citizenship every gem that decks the crown of liberty and desecrates the memory of every patriot whose valor was consecrated in defense of the rights of common humanity.

## THE BUTTE MINERS' UNION CELEBRATES THE BIRTH-DAY OF ITS ORGANIZATION.

The miners of Butte commemorated the twenty-fourth anniversary of the birth of their union with a grand parade and addresses of prominent labor leaders. The 13th of June has always been a great day in the history of the greatest mining city of the world. The mines and mills were all closed down and the citizens of Butte put on their holiday attire to celebrate with the miners, to whose brawny arms the mining metropolis of the Northwest stands as a monument. The orator of the day, M. J. Mooney, was introduced by Vice President Calloway. Mr. Mooney, who is known from the Missouri river to the Pacific coast, spoke as follows:

"Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—Turning back over the record of this grand organization, we can point with pride to the history of twenty-four years. Its high aim and the noble duties which it continues to perform; the regular expenditure of money from the coffers of the union to relieve the sick and the needy or to extend the hand of sweet charity to those who have been left destitute by the cruel hand of death, make a record of which any order may well be proud.

"The Miners' Union of Butte is the bulwark of the West. It is the vanguard of organized labor in the best organized town in the world. I see before me to-day hundreds of wives, daughters and sisters of the bread winners of the community, who form a grand auxiliary to the parent union of Butte.

"We have not yet attained the ends in view. While it has been doing a good work in the past there is still much work to be done to carry out the objects of its organization. It must help in the organization of men in other fields and spread unionism and education to every town, village and hamlet in this broad land until the true brotherhood of man is brought about.

"The greatest problem before the people to-day is the solution of the labor question. The greatest minds of the age are struggling with it, but when the solution is made it will be by the toilers themselves. Labor never made such advances in the history of the world as at the present, due largely to the aid given it by our liberal system of education. To-day the readers and thinkers are found in the ranks of the laboring classes. They no longer have others to do the thinking for them, but they have learned to think and act for themselves. If they continue along this line the time must soon come when they



will be recognized for what they are, and their rights will be respected by all.

"The proper recognition of the value of the ballot will solve the labor question, and will make complete the emancipation of the industrial classes. Wait patiently and work earnestly, and a few years hence the deplorable conditions of to-day will not exist. We will no longer read in the daily papers of the deadly struggle of poor men for their rights and their daily bread. The crack of the rifle and the thud of the club on the heads of the poor toiler who is trying to better his condition will no longer be heard, and may God speed that day."

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The plutocracy of this country brand unionism as a synonym for anarchy, regardless of the fact that organized labor asks no rights or liberties that are not guaranteed by the constitution of our republic. Unionism believes and teaches that the son of toil should be the equal of the millionaire, even though his heart beats beneath the ragged waistcoat of a scavenger. Unionism breathes the spirit which fired the brain and nerved the arm of American ancestry in hurling from the shores of young Columbia the haughty hirelings of King George the III. Unionism breathes the patriotism that tore from the bench of unrequited toil 4,000,000 of unlettered slaves. Unionism means the fortification of the toiler's brain to meet in mental combat every foe of equal rights and to hold up to public odium the combinations that dare to haul down the flag of protection from the citadel of American liberty. Unionism is one of the steps in evolution that will bring about the brotherhood of man and the sisterhood of woman.

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When strikes and lockouts silence the industrial machinery of the nation and when hunger nerves the arm of desperation to violate the law, the subsidized press brands the union man as a dynamiter and anarchist because he refuses to bow in meek submission to the will of an arrogant corporation. He is branded as an agitator and a demagogue because he dares to raise his voice in denunciation of a government by injunction that nullifies the constitution and assassinates liberty, which should be the patrimony of every man, woman and child that lives beneath the canopy of an American sky. He is branded as a disturber and an enemy to prosperity, because he springs from his knees and stands upon his feet and in the name of justice and humanity demands a remuneration that will enable men and women to live above the squalor of

want and wretchedness. No man or woman can be a good American citizen whose life is cramped within the narrow and contracted sphere of poverty. There may stream from the lips of Ciceros the tinselry of rhetoric's most beautiful flowers concerning the glory that clusters around the folds of our country's flag; but countless millions of flags kissing the breeze of heaven will not keep the fires of patriotism burning brightly in the homes of the people of this land while the representatives of brawn stand upon the streets of our cities conscious of the fact that a wife and babe are clad in rags and hungry at home. Patriots and heroes are not born and reared in hovels and garrets. Hunger and wretchedness will not protect the flag. Give to labor the reward which is due to honest industry and in every toiler's home that lies between the slopes of the Pacific and the Atlantic will be found a citizen who will be ever ready and ever willing to protect the Stars and Stripes from insult and dishonor.

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Let the coal barons, the railroad magnates and the Shylocks of Wall street beware! Socialism will send forth from labor's ranks Washingtons armored in the panoply of justice to lift from the toiler's neck the yoke of subjugation. Socialism has written a Declaration of Independence that is rekindling in the hearts of the American millions the smouldering embers of human liberty. Socialism will cause Lincolns to leap from the loins of this Republic who will tear from the limbs of American manhood the chains and shackles of corporate bondage. A few more injunctions, a few more "bull pens" in the Coeur d'Alenes, a few more repudiations of the decisions of boards of arbitration, a few more groans of agony from lips that are famishing with hunger, a few more murders and a few more tears and there will arise from the brawn and muscle of this nation an army of heroes breathing the spirit of '76 who will discard the tattered rags of Democracy and Republicanism, and robed in the vesture of Socialism, will march to the ballot box of the nation and deposit therein a voice that will shake from center to circumference every prop and pillar upon which is reared the hated structure of private greed.

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"Doubts are the buds of new ideas," and doubts in the efficacy of our present industrial system, coupled with the conspiracies of capital, are raising the banner of industrial freedom to float over a liberated humanity.

Mr. Utter believed that Socialism could come under a monarchy; that Socialism could come under the iron will and law of one man forcing the masses to accept in submission the dictum as formulated by a czar. Nowhere in history can the gentleman point to a single instance where the people have approached Socialism through one man power. Every throne in the old world is trembling because the yoke is growing more burdensome and the signs of the times indicate that kingdoms and monarchies must fall before the crystallized intelligence of men and women who believe in equal opportunity for the human race. The magnate of the Standard Oil Company is an industrial monarch who levies tribute upon every nation that uses the product which he controls, and no one will contend for a moment that John D. is willing to concede the people an equal opportunity to traffic in oil. Neither will a monarch concede anything to his subjects that lessens the power that is concentrated in his hands. King George the III. taxed the people of thirteen colonies, and when they asked for representation that poor boon was denied them. Such denials forced patience to cease being a virtue and king rule was swept from the bosom of the western world. Monarchs have big hearts to take but small ones to give. It is our opinion that Mr. Utter has been associating with the funkeys who court the smiles of titled nobility, or he never would have insulted a liberty-loving audience by intimating that Socialism could come through a monarchy. The Rev. David declared that human nature takes no leaps. Comrade Hagerty demonstrated that human nature did take a leap when the Washingtons and the Patrick Henrys of the American Revolution dethroned King George and laid the foundation of a republic whose people proclaimed that "all men are created equal." Comrade Hagerty might have continued and said that human nature took another leap when the American people caused the chains and shackles of bondage to drop from the limbs of 4,000,000 of slaves. The next leap in evolution will be the abolition of the wage slave.

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The invincible Debs of the state of Indiana has gone to the Northwest to preach the glad tidings of brotherhood. The laboring men of Indiana have a just reason to feel proud of the eloquent Hoosier.

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Under Socialism virtue would be the brightest gem that decked the crown of womanhood.

There is no injunction against a woman's tears. There is no injunction against an orphan's grief whose parent fell by the bullet of the hired assassin. There is no injunction against penniless labor bowing its head in serfdom and obeying the commands of a master and a tyrant. There is no injunction against destitution stealing from the dimpled cheek of virtue the rose-hued blush of shame, the priceless charm of womanhood. There is no injunction against the wails of want that come to us from hovels of poverty. There is no injunction against the Lazarus raising his eyes towards the stars, praying to the Ruler of human destiny to take away the tired and the weary soul from its tenement of clay. Injunctions against such frivolous things, in the plutocratic mind, would be clogs upon the wheels of progress and dampen the ambition of men who build fortunes upon the wreck and ruin of blighted hopes and lives. The sacredness of private property will be relegated and there will be written in the chapters of the twentieth century, that noble manhood and pure womanhood are the standards of value.

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When we note the conditions of labor throughout the length and breadth of this land; when we see manhood surrendering independence; when we see virtue bidding for dishonor to appease the pangs of hunger, and when we see childhood with the lines of care upon its brow, is it any wonder that we sometimes hear of men banding together and waving the gory banner of anarchy in defiance of law and public peace? Is it any wonder that we sometimes hear of instruments of destruction placed in close proximity to palatial mansions of moneyed kings and princes? Is it any wonder that we sometimes behold the columns of the public press crimsoned with the deeds of men made desperate through hunger and want? Just as long as private monopoly shall live and reign to trample the struggling victims of penury, just so long shall impoverished humanity conspire to slay the oppressor. Socialism will banish the oppressor and oppressed, eliminate the master and the slave, and the stars that deck the blue field of Columbia's banner will mean something to 75,000,000 of people.

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There are three elements in society who will never advance the material interests of the human family—the fool, the bigot and the mental slave. The fool cannot reason, the bigot will not reason, and the mental slave dares not reason.

There are two kinds of anarchy in this world of ours today—the anarchy of the rich and the anarchy of the poor. The anarchy of the rich towers above the law and escapes with impunity. The anarchy of the poor the law reaches, condemns and convicts. Socialism would remove the causes which breed anarchy and there would be no more Pittsburg conflagrations, there would be no more Mongolian massacres at Rock Springs, Wyoming, there would be no more Haymarket riots in Chicago, there would be no more Pinkerton assassins at Homestead, Pennsylvania, there would be no more “bull pens” in the Coeur d’Alenes, and never again in the history of this country would an anarchist press the trigger to usher into eternity the chief executive of this nation. Socialism would eliminate the conditions which breed hate and murder, and peace would reign beneath the dome of a co-operative commonwealth.

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The Republican press of the nation is teeming with editorials boasting of the wave of prosperity that has inundated the land. It is true that we hear no longer the crack of the master’s whip in the pen of the slave. It is true that we hear no longer the groan of agony bursting from the lips of the black man as the cruel lash cut and tore the quivering flesh. It is true that we hear no longer the cry of the African mother as the babe was torn from her breast and sold in chattel slavery. But, instead, we hear the exultant shout of the multimillionaire mocking the misery of impoverished millions, and we can behold through our mental vision, inscribed upon the banner of the trust, the covetous inscription: “The world is mine.”

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In the good old Democratic state of Kentucky a judicial tribunal, a short time ago, issued an injunction prohibiting strikers to come within gunshot distance of the property of the employer. A few days after, another injunction was issued enjoining the wage slave to even strike against his master. The next injunction will be that the wage slave who strikes cannot inhabit the earth.

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Socialism is ushering into the world a social system that will emancipate labor from the bondage of corporate oppression. When labor receives the full product of its toil, there will be no Shylocks to revel in the luxury of ill-gotten wealth. The human family can then afford to obey the doctrines that were preached by the lowly Nazarene.

The Rev. David Utter, in his debate with the philosophic Hagerty, said that men must become righteous before society can bring about the brotherhood of man. We would respectfully ask the reverend gentleman, can the physician eliminate typhoid fever from the human system before the scavenger removes the filth and carrion that breeds the disease? Society must surround the human family with better conditions before men and women can rise to a higher standard of morality. Society can never hope to rear a virgin in a brothel, nor a full developed moral man under the competitive system which breeds hate and selfishness and sometimes culminates in the taking of human life.

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According to the last report of the state labor commissioner of Ohio, the home of the Republican czar, Marcus A. Hanna, female labor is paid 40 cents less per week than the cost of living. What must woman do under such circumstances to protect herself from hunger and the shivering cold? The question is easily answered. If she desires to live, her virtue must pay the price. Bring on some more Mark Hanna prosperity of this brand and the slumbering giants of labor will arise from their long sleep and wipe out for once and forever the system that robs womanhood of her honor.

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The working men of this nation must educate themselves upon social and economic problems. Education is the hope of the race. Education is the great foundation upon which the superstructure of this republic must forever rest. Education is the living essence which must ever keep alive the glorious flame of freedom's purest inspiration. We believe in the words of one of England's greatest orators, that "education and slavery cannot exist together in one land."

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Marcus A. Hanna, whom Samuel Gompers and his confederates crowned king of the civic federation, is a failure in the settlement of conflicts between labor and capital. The interests of labor are no more identical with capital under our present industrial system than the interests of the goose with the fox, the lamb with the wolf or the dove with the hawk. Marcus will have to try another experiment.

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The Rev. David Utter seemed to be utterly utterless for argument when confronted with the sledge hammer logic of Rev. T. J. Hagerty.

A tree is known by its fruit. Go down in the southern states and examine the fruit from the Democratic tree and you will certainly realize that the laboring man who would vote for the perpetuation of the Democratic party must have cobwebs on his brain as thick and as heavy as the whiskers on the mug of a Kansas Populist.

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We wonder how full is the dinner pail of the miner in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania? Mark Hanna made an appeal to the stomach instead of the brain of the laboring men in the last political campaign and victory crowned his effort. How long will a Dives be able to delude the toiling millions of this country?

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The Socialist orators who now dare to stand upon the rostrum and hurl their grape and canister against the fortifications of a system that has filled the world with wails and woe are the Patrick Henrys of the new revolution.

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The great combinations of capital merging their interests are demonstrating to the wage slaves of the world that labor must strike an undivided blow at the ballot box to break the shackles of moneyed despotism.

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No man or woman who desires to leave this world better than they found it can be satisfied with a political and industrial system that beggars labor to coin millionaires.

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Under our present system childhood is robbed of its play and recreation and its mentality is dwarfed and deformed to fill the coffers of Shylockism.

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The industrial system which breeds the millionaire and the tramp, the prison and the brothel, must be banished from our civilization.

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The trust is bringing on the dawn of a day, when humanity shall usher in the co-operative commonwealth.

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The American Federation of Labor will make no advance step until Gomerism is strangled.

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Wage slavery succeeded chattel slavery because it was cheaper.

## PRESIDENT BOYCE'S ADDRESS.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners:

Gentlemen—After serving six years as president of your organization, which has passed through many crucial tests in that period, I again have the pleasure of submitting for your consideration my annual report, and for the benefit of all who are interested in the work in which we are engaged I deem it advisable to briefly review the history of our organization from its inception, for two reasons: First, to show how rapidly the wealth produced by labor has passed into the hands of combinations of men who use the power acquired from this wealth to impose greater restrictions upon the people and acquire greater influence and prestige over their fellow men in public and private life; and second, to show that your organization, engaged in a continuous struggle with capitalists who eagerly sought its destruction, has only been able to prevent a reduction of wages throughout the mining regions.

Previous to the formation of the Western Federation of Miners, on the 15th day of May, 1893, we heard nothing of the gigantic trusts that now threaten the laboring people with a lower standard of living, making the people in general dependent upon their will for an existence. The aggressive and arbitrary methods pursued by these combinations of capital are not confined in their field of operation. Neither do they regard the interests of any class, but in the natural course of events the laboring people are the first to suffer from their methods of operation.

During the past ten years the smelter trust, lead trust, amalgamated copper trust, metals selling trust, steel trust and railroad trust or combination, all of which are the offspring of the Standard Oil Company, or trust, have sprung into existence and are to-day threatening the mining industry of the United States and Canada by dictating the terms upon which the individual operator shall dispose of the product of his property and the wages working men shall receive for producing this product. But not satisfied with the control, they reach further and threaten the very existence of people engaged in other vocations, but necessarily depending upon the mining industry.

All this power to coerce and exploit the people has been acquired by law, as the governments of the United States and Canada have refused to intervene in behalf of the people, but



on the contrary Legislatures in the beginning of the twentieth century are apparently more anxious than ever to give these avaricious combinations more power to monopolize the natural resources of the people's welfare.

Upon observing the extraordinary influence those combinations of capital wield over the people with the national, state and provincial government of both nations, history will not repeat itself, if a physical conflict between the producers of wealth and the legalized usurpers of the people's rights does not occur at an early period.

A conflict of this kind is to be deplored by all who love justice. But the hoarders of wealth are to-day intoxicated with their power, and, knowing that they control a majority of the officers elected through the present system of bribery, will experience no difficulty in obtaining the standing armies to hold the people in subjection. Observing the indifference of a majority of the people who are hypnotized by party idolatry and hero-worshipping, it is doubtful whether they will view the situation with sufficient intelligence to own and operate all their industries without a conflict, as they have been taught to believe that the special privileges of the financial and commercial barons are more sacred than the people's rights.

Having watched every movement of your organization from its earliest inception in its struggle for the protection of its members against the onslaught of the capitalist, I am unable to apprehend any improvement whatever in the conditions of our members, but, on the contrary, our position is far from being as secure as it was when the organization was first organized, and no relief can be expected while we pursue the policy which has guided us in the past.

The principal object of this organization, like all other labor organizations, is for a higher wage schedule and a shorter work day. While we have zealously contended for these points, we have found it exceedingly difficult to prevent a reduction of wages, and, in fact, it must be admitted that our wages have decreased, when we consider the improved methods of mining and smelting and the extra amount of labor we perform above that of ten years ago, together with the advance in the price of food and raiment.

The position of the men engaged in the mining industry of the West is one that appeals to us at this time to adopt a new policy that will insure to them the fruits of their labor. You have noticed the many struggles in behalf of an eight-

hour work day, and you are conversant with the fact that, with few exceptions, we have suffered defeat all along the lines. In nine years we have had over fifty lockouts contending against a reduction of wages and other grievances imposed upon the miners by corporations who were attempting to deprive them of privileges and rights which they were entitled to under the laws of both nations, and in all instances the forces of government have been used against us.

In all those conflicts your organization was acting upon the defensive, which entitled it to the support of the people, but such was not the case, as the people generally, on account of the distorted accounts published by the press and their desire to be arrayed upon the side of wealth, allied themselves with the capitalist or remained neutral.

The relations between employer and employe are becoming more strained every day, as the trust magnates know they have nothing to fear from organized labor as it is now constituted, because it is without a policy and relies entirely upon public sympathy for its support in all contests to improve the laborer's condition.

I trust you realize that trades unions have pursued a policy in the past that offers no relief for the future, and it behooves you to carefully consider this question, and by your action outline a policy that will command the respect and support of the members of the organization and the producers in general. Men and women of intelligence who have studied the labor question have pointed out repeatedly that organizations of working men, while performing much good, are inadequate in their efforts to insure permanent relief to the working people while they do not look beyond a shorter work day and higher wages, and at no time has this been so clearly demonstrated, as all of you have observed, as in the mining industry of the West at this date. There are more unemployed men in the mining regions of the West to-day than there ever were in the history of mining, and this influx of unemployed men is due entirely to the manipulation of a few speculators in the East who are manipulating the metal market for profit regardless of the people's rights, and in view of these conditions I trust you will see the importance of changing from the policy of pure and simple trades unionism, and by intelligent action upon your part send a message of encouragement to the members of your organization and labor in general that will strengthen them in their efforts to abolish the wage system, which is more destructive of human rights and liberty

than any system of slavery that ever existed. If you truly realize what an important factor men engaged in the mining industry are to society, you will not waste your time by adopting worthless resolutions nor following in the wake of other organizations or associations.

Neither will you fear to adopt an intelligent, aggressive policy if you desire the organization which you represent to live and be a leading factor for the welfare of its members. I cannot impress too strongly upon your minds the attitude of working men and members of this association who, by fear of subserviency to the will of corporations, are endeavoring to retard the progress of their associates by accepting positions from corporations and enemies of the working people.

There are instances in connection with this organization, as well as others, where men have, without hesitation, pleaded the cause of corporations in their respective organizations for a monetary consideration, and you need not be surprised if similar action is taken by delegates in this convention to prevent any action that will tend to commit the organization to a true policy that will in the end sound the death knell of capitalism and the emancipation of the working people from from their present state of bondage. It is unwise to criticise and condemn the actions of trusts and combinations for their persecution and the robbery of the people and their uncompromising hostility to this organization while we possess the power to abrogate these unjust methods if we use that power intelligently.

The laboring people in both countries are in the majority, and they have the power to say whether the present system of legalized robbery shall continue or whether it shall be abolished for a new and better system that will give equal rights to all and insure the producer the same protection as the capitalist, who respects the flag of no nation and the government of no country that he cannot use for his own selfish end.

I deem it unnecessary to dwell at length on the conditions that surround the laboring people, because all are familiar with the situation, and I believe a large majority are ready to adopt any plan which will, in their judgment, offer better conditions to the people in general. And realizing that lengthy reports of officers that contain nothing but glittering generalities are ineffectual for the good and welfare of those interested, I have carefully endeavored to make my report to this convention as brief as the subject admits, and will submit for

your consideration what in my judgment, after years of experience, is the best policy for you to adopt.

Permit me to call your attention to the foolish efforts of labor organizations in both countries to induce the governments at Washington and Ottawa to pass a Chinese exclusion act. The Republican party in the United States assured the laboring people, through the leaders of organized labor, that a rigid Chinese exclusion act would be passed for the benefit of the working people. It is true that the Chinese and Japanese are not the equal of the Caucasians, intellectually or physically, but the same Power that created one created all, and those people are not to blame for their desire to improve their conditions in life. If blame is to be attached to any one for the presence of the Mongolian in the labor market of the United States and Canada, it is the railroad companies, coal companies and steamship companies that offer those unfortunate people inducements to emigrate from the land of their birth, and thus bring them in competition with white labor and reduce the white laborer to the level of the Chinese and Japanese by means of starvation wages. If the Chinese and Japanese are an undesirable element let working men exclude them by collective ownership of the railroads, the coal mines and metalliferous mines and steamship lines, and operate them for the benefit of all, not for the benefit of a few individuals who traffic in human life and human misery.

You are aware that the nations in which we live have been engaged in wars upon unoffending people, who at no time were the aggressors against the governments of the United States or Great Britain. Nevertheless these wars have been prosecuted not for the benefit of the people of the United States and the subjects of Great Britain, but for the purpose of fostering and maintaining in power corrupt parties in both nations, and so occupying the peoples' minds with affairs on the other side of the hemisphere that on election day they would forget their own interest and blindly vote the party into power that is forging the chains of slavery more securely upon them every day, and thus giving the capitalist classes greater opportunities to rob and plunder them. Not only are the working people in the United States to be condemned for their indifference in the prosecution of an unjust war, the disgrace of which can never be erased, but working men, subjects of Great Britain, have by their action upheld a tottering monarchy in its dying effort to rob and plunder a hospitable, home-loving people for the benefit of feudal lords, who have acquired

all their possessions at home and abroad by appealing to the ignorance of the people through the guise of patriotism to fight their battles for plunder and gain.

When the people of any nation sanction the prosecution of such cruel wars without a protest they must expect that in the course of events this same system of persecution will be used to make them subject to the will of those who are responsible for the war in the Philippines and South Africa, and I trust that the voice of this convention will be raised in protest in no uncertain tones against the parties who are responsible for the wanton destruction of human life in the Philippine islands and in the republics of South Africa.

During the past three years unions suffered exceedingly from sickness and loss of life which threatened their existence. However, through the splendid efforts of the officers and members the unions were held intact, which proves how much organization can accomplish if men are animated by a sense of duty and determination. Tonopah union lost over twenty of its members in six months on account of an epidemic which proved fatal in almost every instance after a patient was attacked. Randsburg union suffered from an epidemic of small-pox. While not as fatal as the epidemic at Tonopah, a larger percentage of its members were taken with the disease, which made it necessary to discontinue meetings. The terrible loss of life at the Smuggler-Union mine by an explosion and the dreadful snowslide at the Liberty Belle surpasses any accident that has occurred in many years, on account of the loss of life and suffering that came to helpless women and children. Yet Telluride union met all emergencies and made all necessary provisions for those killed or injured and those dependent upon them.

During the year the laboring people suffered a great loss in the deaths of ex-Governor Altgeld of Illinois and ex-Governor Waite of Colorado. Those two worthy men at all times proved their sterling worth by their fearless advocacy of the people's rights regardless of the antagonism displayed by politicians and corporation agents. To dwell upon the characters and good those noble men did in their official and private lives is unnecessary. They will live in the memories of all who admire simplicity and true manhood, and I trust this convention will not adjourn without making provisions to erect a suitable monument to mark their resting places, or by erecting a statue in some city agreed upon to show our appreciation of their noble services and to instill into the minds of generations yet

unborn a true conception of the cause that endeared those noble men to the people who loved and admired them so well.

The formation of state miners' unions for the benefit of all members of the Federation within the respective states is one that merits your earliest consideration, and if organized upon the same lines as the various district unions I believe their good will have a far-reaching and beneficial effect. If these unions were organized in each state it would insure a more thorough system of organization, and through their influence it would be easy to defeat enemies of organized labor who aspire to office, and this in particular is one point which must not be overlooked. As we have in the past too frequently elected by our votes men who proved to be our worst enemies, and while we have the power to defeat such men and to force legislation that will be beneficial for the protection of men engaged in the hazardous vocation of mining and for the protection of laboring people in general, I strongly recommend action along these lines, suggest that the delegates from each state hold meetings before the adjournment of this convention and discuss the advisability of this plan in their respective states and thus insure intelligent action upon the same.

The question of accident insurance is one which you should consider, because it will bring the members of your organization in closer touch with the general officers by establishing an accident fund where a continuous membership in the Federation for a number of years would insure the member a certain sum of money in case of accident. It would insure a large membership, as all would be anxious to avail themselves of the benefits accruing from the prompt payment of dues. This insurance policy could be maintained without incurring extra expense or levying assessments by placing a five years' limit upon all members in good standing. If this policy should go into effect may, 1907, I believe the amount of money paid by delinquent members between now and that date would give sufficient money to carry on this insurance policy hereafter without difficulty. As a means of protection for the wives and families of our associates this policy, or some better one, should be adopted without delay.

You realize that your organization has passed the experimental point and is destined to wield greater influence as years roll by than it has up to this time, and I trust you will erect a permanent headquarters that will be a credit as well as a benefit to the men of this organization, who by their energy and ability proved to be the pioneers in the vanguard of

civilization throughout the Rocky mountain region and the Pacific coast. Permanent headquarters would serve as a monument to the memory of those good men who have in the past worked so faithfully for the perpetuation of this organization.

Considering the increase in the number of unions and the vast territory that your organization covers, it is necessary that a number of speakers should be placed in the field without delay, as it is essential to keep in touch with the members, and this cannot be done by the president of your organization. I suggest that you adopt a set of principles that in your judgment will be beneficial to the members of your organizations and the laboring people, and select a number of speakers qualified to advocate those principles upon the rostrum and put them in the field during the ensuing year. By adopting this policy it will bring the members of the organization in closer touch with one another and unite them on those principles so that at the end of the year you will not alone have converts but missionaries willingly devoting their time to the adoption of those principles in the future.

In my report to the convention in 1897 I suggested that while we had an opportunity to own and operate mining property we should engage in it without delay. However, this suggestion was not acted upon, but the sentiment of a large percentage of our membership to-day is in favor of this action.

I am convinced that action of this kind is necessary under the present system of private ownership. I do not offer this as a permanent solution, because in my judgment there is no permanent solution of the labor question except in the public ownership of the natural resources of the earth and the means of production and distribution. But while awaiting this solution, which is sure to come when ignorance and party prejudice yield to intelligence, we should avail ourselves of the opportunity to own and operate mines and smelters, which we can do, and thus set an example which will have a beneficial effect upon the public mind and prove beyond a doubt the foolishness of people permitting corporations and trusts to rob them with impunity. If the members of the federation without any capital except their hardy brawn and muscle and the intelligence they possess can explore the barren mountains and make discoveries of metal and extract it from the earth and reduce it in the smelter, why should they not perform this labor for themselves and acquire all the profits instead of doing it for capitalists who take all the profits and give them nothing except a small wage, not sufficient to support them

and their families without depending on the charity of others. To say that this is impracticable is an acknowledgment of our ignorance, and proves that we are unable to live unless we are under the lash of the exploiter who grants us the privilege of working that he may enjoy more of the comforts this earth affords.

The most important action which you can take at this convention is to advise the members of your organization to adopt the principles of Socialism without equivocation, for the time has arrived when we must sever our affiliations with those political parties who have legislated us into our present state of industrial bondage. If we are to continue to be wage slaves and political slaves as we are to-day, not capable of working for our homes and families and not capable of fighting for those principles that will insure peace and happiness to all who labor, whether in the mines, on the farm, on the ocean or in science, we are holding out false hopes to our associates which are nothing short of an illusion and a snare, and our conventions and the maintenance of this organization are a waste of time and energy.

Every individual who labors, let that labor be what it may, is entitled to the product of his labor, and it is your duty if you are true to those you represent to advise them to join hands with the thousands of intelligent men and women throughout the world who are battling for the abolition of the wage system and the emancipation of the wage worker from the grasp of corporate opposition for the co-operative brotherhood of man.

Trades unions have had a fair trial, and it has been clearly demonstrated that they are unable to protect their members. In fact, their officers make no pretense at protecting their rights. They are satisfied to pave their way for political appointments and surrender their most sacred rights to boards of arbitration composed of men who have in the past proved to be labor's bitterest enemies.

There are only two classes of people in the world. One is composed of the men and women who produce all; the other is composed of men and women who produce nothing, but live in luxury upon the wealth produced by others. Realizing this to be a fact the time has arrived, when this organization should array itself upon the side of the producers and advise its members to take political action and work for the adoption of those principles that are destined to free the people from the grasp of the privileged classes. It was the cry of the poli-



ticians and ruling classes in all ages not to disturb them in the possession of their ill-gotten gains, and we hear that crying more forcibly in our ears every day by those who live upon the wealth stolen from labor. They advise the workingman not to take political action lest he might awake to his strength and power to improve his condition.

I earnestly hope that the members of the Western Federation of Miners and the members of all other labor organizations will in the immediate future meet in convention for the purpose of taking political action, regardless of the dominant political parties in either country, for no member of organized labor can be a true member of a labor organization and a member of the Republican, Democratic, Conservative or Liberal parties, and I suggest that this convention extend an invitation to all labor organizations to meet in convention for the purpose of outlining a plan by which we can unite for political action.

No injury can befall the people in owning and operating all industries for their own benefit and the abolition of special privileges granted to combinations of capital by legislators for private gain. Neither will the laboring people suffer by indorsing those principles and voting for them as a unit. It is a fact which cannot be denied that the leaders of organized labor and the trust magnates and politicians are a unit in their efforts to prevent the working people from uniting for political action, which proves that a secret understanding, let it be for mercenary motives or not, is in existence, and before the laboring people can become a real factor in the affairs of government they must unite for political action and weed out those so-called leaders who use organized labor to advance them to political appointments and acquire praise from the exploiting classes for their ultra-conservatism in bartering away the rights of the working man on boards of arbitration. By adopting intelligent methods along political lines and advocating their adoption with dignity and earnestness we will draw the honest, thinking people to our support, because it will prove to them that at last the laboring people have awakened to a realization of the true methods which will insure peace and prosperity to all the people, and the overthrow of the present system of monopoly.

It has always been the aim of the ruling classes to divide the laboring people into hostile camps and through their agencies show the commercial interests how much they would suffer should the laboring people acquire power. Remember that

such influence is faithfully working to that end, to destroy the influence of this organization and array people against it. As we have no animosity towards any human being on earth, but earnestly desiring the elevation of all who labor to a higher standard of living, I beseech you to leave nothing undone to educate the members of this organization so that they can proceed upon intelligent lines to better their conditions in life, and thus set an example for others to follow.

For ten years I have held office in labor organizations and for six years my associates have conferred upon me the honor of the presidency of this organization, which I appreciate to the fullest extent. During all these years I have worked unceasingly for the best interests of those I represented, and if in the performance of this labor I have done anything to advance the interests of the working people, I feel highly gratified.

At this time it is my earnest desire to retire from the office of president, as I believe it is necessary that I should have a rest from the cares and responsibilities that necessarily rest upon the president of this organization. Through you I extend to the thousands of brave men and good women in the United States and Canada my heartfelt thanks for their extreme kindness and earnest support so generously bestowed upon me at all times.

Upon retiring I appeal to you and the members of your organization to extend the same courtesy and kindness to my successor as you have extended to me, trusting that at no time will this organization, which is destined to be a power for good after we have passed from this earth, ever have the misfortune to fall into the hands of corrupt men to use it for any purpose except for the benefit and welfare of the people, regardless of race, color or creed.

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The beef trust has not only unloaded some of its embalmed carrion upon Uncle Sam to feed the soldier for his patriotism during the Spanish-American war, but is now getting rid of some more by supplying the penitentiaries, so that the gentlemen who wear the stripes may know what it is to live under our beautiful system of commercialism.

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It required the sacrifice of 1,000,000 of human lives and \$8,000,000,000 of property and money to abolish chattel slavery, but it will only require the undivided ballots of the working class to wipe out wage slavery.

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Denver, Colorado, May 26, 1902.

To the Delegates of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners in Convention Assembled:

Gentlemen—We, the members of your executive board, take pleasure in presenting to you a brief report of our work for the past year, together with a few recommendations which we believe our knowledge of the workings of the organization warrant us in placing before you and hope the same will receive your serious and earnest, if not favorable, consideration.

We believe we have fulfilled the duties you imposed upon us to the best of our ability in all things as the many issues presented themselves to us, and if mistakes have been made, we take this opportunity of saying it was through no lack of a firm desire to advance the best interests of the Federation.

We have no hesitancy in saying that during no like period since the inception of the Federation has the organization made better progress than during the past year, as the secretary's report shows, and congratulate you upon the wise provision made by the ninth annual convention for carrying on this work. The organizers have had a Herculean task confronting them and with the limited means at their command have, in our opinion; given an unusually good account of themselves. The large amount of money expended for relief has made it necessary to curtail to a great degree the work of organizing, thereby preventing the board from carrying out the expressed desire of the last convention in this branch of our work.

We are glad to inform you that the Federation is entirely free from debt, as all outstanding obligations, including \$10,000 of the Butte indebtedness, have been liquidated in full.

Since the last convention your executive board has twice audited the books of the secretary-treasurer, taking particular care to examine and check up every item of the receipts and expenditures, finding them to be perfectly correct in every detail. Our work in this respect has been made easy by the business-like manner in which the books have been kept. The masterly manner in which the work of the office has been carried on, not only demonstrates the ability of your president and secretary, but emphasizes the necessity of placing in the executive offices men possessed not only of the will to carry out work of the organization in every detail, but the ability as well.

We beg leave to call your attention to the different strikes and lockouts that have been in existence within the past year, and ask you to draw a comparison between existing conditions at Northport and Rossland, where practically all the money credited to the relief fund has been expended, and those of such places as Telluride, Mackay and the different camps throughout the territory of Arizona, which have been of little or no expense to the Federation, and see if we cannot adopt a more effectual remedy for similar difficulties than the policy of feeding hundreds of hungry mouths in a vain endeavor to starve a few millionaires into subjection. We are firmly convinced that where men are supported at the expense of the Federation they are less liable to seek for a proper and effectual remedy for their grievances than if placed in a position that would necessitate individual sacrifices. Therefore, we deem it wise at this time for the Federation to outline a more aggressive policy for the handling of such difficulties in the future.

If the convention desires to continue the publication of the Miners' Magazine, some provision should be made whereby a more general circulation of the same could be accomplished. It is surprising how little interest is manifested in so worthy an enterprise by the members of the Federation.

In obedience to the instruction of the ninth annual convention, your executive board met on November 6th for the purpose of making a thorough revision of the constitution and by-laws. After a comparison of conditions of the several districts of the Federation, we deemed it the duty of the board to frame for your guidance a set of laws that would not become sectional in their application, but on the contrary, be so broad and so just to all that any member of the Federation whose judgment was not warped by petty prejudices or a desire to advance local interests to the detriment of the general good, would heartily approve the work done and give to the new constitution his undivided support. The referendum vote showed that more than eighty-five per cent. of the members approved of the work done. As a consequence you have a constitution which we believe it would be unwise at this time to alter in any way whatever.

We deplore the late sad disaster at Fernie, British Columbia, and recommend that this convention pledge the Federation to all necessary support of the 150 or more afflicted families.

We desire to call your attention to the deplorable state

of affairs existing in the ranks of organized labor in different sections of the country, but more particularly in and around Denver, brought about by the dishonorable methods pursued by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. These methods and the men who advocate them deserve the most severe condemnation of all persons who have the well being of the toiling masses at heart and should be met with the united resistance of all true friends of progress.

Butte Miners' Union has seen fit to violate a well-established precedent by sending a circular letter to the different locals of the Federation, worded in such a manner as to make it apparent that the prime object of this act was to cast undeserved reflection upon your officers, besides endeavoring to inveigle other locals into endorsing a policy that would result in incalculable injury to the organization. The Butte union, as well as all other locals, were advised through circular to send all recommendations for changes in the constitution to headquarters prior to November 6th, to be considered by the board. Had this been done, the wishes of every local would have been consulted. Instead, very few locals responded to this request, thereby throwing practically all the responsibility on the executive board. If the revision was unsatisfactory, the proper remedy was still in the hands of the locals when the same was submitted to referendum vote. To illustrate the absurdity of some of the proposed amendments sent out with the circular letter referred to, we ask you to compare the amount of per capita tax collected the past year with the relief disbursed, which, subtracting this one item alone, would leave a little more than \$1,000 for running expenses. Were the per capita tax cut down one-half, where would the Federation secure funds for properly carrying on the work of the organization?

Realizing the great necessity for a more complete and thorough organization of our craft, we recommend that steps be taken by this convention to perfect a systematic plan of organization to the end that all men who are engaged in the hazardous task of the extraction and reduction of the precious metals may be speedily brought within the ranks of our organization. In order to assist in bringing about this result, we advise the convention to provide funds for that express purpose. To emphasize the necessity of giving this matter your earnest consideration, we desire to call your attention to the fact that the state of Colorado, which contains more unions affiliated with our organization than any other within its

jurisdiction, has more men working at our calling than would equal to double the membership of the Federation in good standing.

Believing that the time has passed when labor organizations can benefit humanity by continuing to resort to the unsuccessful methods of strikes or the groveling process of submitting our grievances to our economic masters and their tools for arbitration, we urge upon this, the tenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners, the great necessity of immediately placing the organization on record in favor of more advanced methods of dealing with the numerous difficulties that confront us. We believe and hope that the delegates are sufficiently cognizant of their power to realize the fact that it only requires the united effort of the toilers at the ballot box to bring about such a change in our social and economic conditions as will result in a complete revolution in the present system of industrial slavery. Understanding, as you undoubtedly do, the futility of any other method, we would urge you to seriously consider if the present is not an opportune time for allying ourselves with the one political party alone that promises the complete emancipation of the producing masses from their present deplorable condition of wage slavery, the Socialist party. Do this, and you will have accomplished something that will redound to the credit of yourselves and the organization you represent for all ages. Fail, and you lose an opportunity of placing this grand and noble organization on record as the leader in the greatest movement that ever emanated from the brains and intelligence of the people chosen of God to establish his kingdom on earth.

J. C. WILLIAMS,

PHIL BOWDEN.

C. H. MOYER.

JOHN KELLEY,

T. J. SULLIVAN.

J. A. BAKER.

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#### SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners:

Gentlemen—In compiling my report for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1902, I have endeavored to make it clear and concise as the volume of business would permit; commencing with a complete itemized statement of the receipts and

expenditures for the entire year, followed with a recapitulation showing the amounts received and disbursed each month. In connection with this I have given a tabulated statement of the per capita tax, assessment, supplies, etc., with total amounts received from each union. I have also itemized the relief and miscellaneous accounts, so that you can see at a glance what each bill was for. As a further identification and protection of disbursements I have followed the splendid system inaugurated by my predecessor and numbered each individual account, placing voucher, cancelled bank check and receipt in separate envelopes, numbered to correspond with entry in cash book.

Other features in this report are the statements of moneys received from local unions now defunct; the amounts were held for the time specified in the constitution and are now a part of the general fund.

In concluding my report I have given you a general summary of receipts, from sources derived, nature of expenditures, with cash on hand April 1, 1902, number of unions organized and disbanded, charters revoked, and the total membership in good standing, based on per capita tax paid on quarter ending March 31, 1902.

The large increase in membership was due entirely to the new unions organized, although the increase has been very large in Telluride, Victor, Jerome, Silverton, Wardner and Ouray unions, where, in some instances, the membership was trebled. But this increase was more than counterbalanced by the decrease in membership in Rossland, Northport, Tuolumne and Butte Miners' Unions. The decrease in the latter union was 950 members.

From the 19th of July, 1901, up to April 1, 1902, I sent out 3,800 letters and 34,000 circulars of different kinds.

I entered upon the duties of secretary-treasurer with some trepidation, it was such a contrast to the work that I had followed for years, and being handicapped by the delay incident to changing headquarters; it was the 12th of July before our offices were ready for occupancy. I did not return from Boise, Idaho, where I went to meet with the board of pardons in the case of Brother Paul Corcoran, until July 17th, so there was an unusually large amount of work accumulated.

I desire to extend my appreciation to those secretaries of local unions who during the year acted so promptly and courteously in transacting business with headquarters. Their

kindness in this respect merits the greatest commendation from me.

I believe it is essential that your officers be in possession of all the facts relative to local unions concerning the amounts paid out for sick and funeral benefits, value of property owned and all other data that tend to show the potency, growth and strength of the organization. To accomplish this I would suggest that the quarterly report blank be printed in such form as will call for all necessary information, and that no union will be in good standing unless these requirements are complied with. In this way your officers will be able to compile each year statistics that will be invaluable. As an easy method for local secretaries to keep an individual record of members, I would suggest the card index as being the most simple and complete system that could be adopted. This system could be readily adapted to all requirements. Once arranged you have the complete record of every member of the union at your finger tips.

Hoping that each delegate is here with the purpose intent of making this convention an epoch in the world's history of labor, and trusting this report of my work for the year will meet with your approval, I submit the same for your consideration. Yours fraternally,

W. D. HAYWOOD.

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### THE ELOQUENT DEBS.

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Address delivered by Eugene V. Debs in the Denver Coliseum to the delegates of the tenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners and delegates of the Western Labor Union:

Ladies and Gentlemen—The privilege of addressing you upon such an occasion as this imposes certain duties and responsibilities which I could not disregard without betraying your confidence, insulting your intelligence and violating the sanctity of my own conscience. You have a right to expect that I shall be honest with you, that I shall be honest with myself, and in this respect, at least, you shall not be disappointed.

We are in the midst of the mightiest industrial revolution the world has ever known. Humanity is trembling upon the verge of the greatest organic change in all history. The capitalist competitive system is productive of industrial masters and industrial slaves. We have the fruit of this system before us for inspection. It has given us millionaires and mendi-



cants, palaces and hovels, rogues and rags. It has reduced the working man, the producer of all wealth, to the very dead line of degradation.

The importance of organization is so generally conceded that it need not be discussed. In every great contest you have been divided, your members have been blacklisted, your unions have been destroyed, you have been left at the mercy of your masters. The time has come for the working man in every department of industrial activity to realize that he has a class identity, that he has class interests, that if necessary for working men to combine upon the economic field where they are weakest, it is vastly more important that they shall combine upon the political field, where they are absolutely invulnerable. (Applause.)

Consider, briefly, the status of the working man of this country. He has nothing but his labor power in the very nature of the situation. If he succeeds in finding employment he simply succeeds in selling himself into wage bondage. Take the most successful wage earner in Denver, he does not know when some machine may be invented to displace him. He does not know where he can find another position if he loses this one. He goes up one street and down another. He leaves the city where he lives—perhaps goes on the trucks of a freight train. In due course of time he becomes what they call a vagrant, a tramp; a victim of the existing economic system in which man's life is of absolutely no value; a system in which property alone is valuable; a system where private profit is more important than human life. (Applause.) He is idle, his wife may be in want, his children may be suffering. No matter; profit must be made. One hundred and forty-six thousand of these men are now on a strike in the East. Examine the reports of the Pennsylvania bureau of statistics for 1901 and you will find the average wage for the year of the Pennsylvania coal miner was 78 cents a day. They have been organized—they have been thoroughly organized. Some of them were foolish enough to imagine that they could in that organization conquer the capitalist. They were to strike on the first of April, but under the influence of the Civic Federation—a very useful annex to the capitalist class—failed to do so, and now after seven weeks the Civic Federation acknowledges its helplessness.

Not long ago I wrote a letter to the eastern press in which I said: "You miners ought to get together, 146,000 strong, and you ought unanimously to pass a resolution to the effect that

you propose to obey the law, that you also propose to exercise all the rights and privileges granted you by that law, including the walking of the free man upon the highways of the state (applause); and if it comes to pass that a miner is shot down, you ought to shoot back. If the mine operators of Pennsylvania insist upon a killing program, let it be an operator for a miner, and not miners only, as in the past." These 146,000 miners have been voting the Republican ticket. They gave the present governor of the state his 280,000 majority and he is rewarding them for their fidelity in the old-fashioned capitalist way. He is returning bullets for ballots. When they learn to vote as they strike, when they assert their united power at the ballot box, when they vote their class into power, they will no longer have to starve upon the highways; they will no longer have for food the lead shot at them from the mouths of capitalistic guns. (Applause.)

My heart is with the strikers. I hope they will win. I would, if I could, give them all the support of all the organized and unorganized men of the city of Denver and the state of Colorado. (Applause.) I would try to teach them, however, the better way. A statement in a local paper, made by a mill owner, says: "The mill owners will not suffer." No, they will continue to eat three square meals a day. They can draw upon their bank accounts. The struggle is one between a human stomach and a steel bank vault. (Applause.)

The working man no longer owns the tools with which he must work. The owners of the tools are the masters of the slaves who are compelled to use the tools. The whole battle is being fought about the tool of production. I would have you understand its great importance in this struggle. There was a time when the workingman owned the tool with which he worked. That tool was long since touched by the wand of invention, and the machine is owned by a combination of capitalists. The working man in this process lost control of the tool with which he worked. He still has his labor power; he cannot work without his tools and he is compelled to apply to the owner of his tool for permission to work—in other words, for permission to live. Not only this, this machine has become so perfect that it may be operated by the unskilled labor of a woman or the deft fingers of the child, so that they have to produce profit for their masters.

In this system it is not a question of male labor or female labor, of white labor or of black labor; it is a question of cheap labor. (Applause.) He who produces cheapest controls the

market. The entire burden of the profit falls upon the working man. This is the tendency to-day in every department of activity.

I am no reformer. So far as I am concerned I propose to end, not mend, this system. I don't like the term "reformer." It savors of suspicion. The most successful thieves I know pretend to be reformers. I like the term revolution. There is something in it that stirs the blood. I enjoy it. I prefer agitation to stagnation. The time has come for action. I believe the conventions now in session realize it and the delegates will put themselves upon record in a way to give hope and inspiration to the working class of the entire country. (Applause.)

The Socialist party is not a reform party. It proposes to abolish the capitalist system, to transfer from private hands all the means of production and distribution and turn them over to the people in their collective capacity. If the coal, for instance, is not the people's, whose is it?

A Voice—Mark Hanna's!

That seems to be the opinion of the working men, for they have been voting that way. Thousands of the working men have consented to make him a silent partner in the leadership of the American labor movement. (Laughter.) If I were a dove I would as soon submit my case to a hawk for arbitration.

Now and then some splendid man occupying the pulpit dares speak out—it is not long before he is, like you—he is out of a job. You had a splendid example here in your midst in Myron Reed. (Long continued applause.) It is gratifying to me, it is a beautiful tribute, that he is remembered as he deserves to be, with gratitude and love. Myron Reed was a man of profound sympathies with the struggling and suffering poor. When the miners were on a strike in Colorado in '94; when they were besieged near Cripple Creek; and when the forces were being mustered to charge upon them, Myron Reed stood in the presence of his fashionable congregation and said: "My heart is on Bull hill. I have a deep sense that the miner was there first!" (Renewed applause.) From that moment he was doomed. And he did not wait to be crucified, he crucified himself. He espoused the cause of the working class. The "respectables," so-called, were turned against him. His former friends deserted him. He was in better company for it.

It takes a real man and a real woman to be a Socialist. When great principles have been involved in history the majority were always wrong and the minority have invariably

been right, and in the majority of events the minority have become the majority, and so it will be with the Socialist movement. (Applause.)

I appeal to you working men to stand together to-day. Resolve that you will be true to your class. Then in the spirit of Andrew Jackson, accept the consequences of your act. Emphasize every industrial conflict by political action. The ballot is the weapon. It was found after a thousand years of blood and tears. It is criminal not to make use of it, or, worse still, to use it to forge our fetters more securely. I appeal to you to read and think and study, and above all if you have any prejudice against Socialism to dismiss it. You were told that it was a bad thing. Who says so? Trace the statement to its source and you will find it is made by the man who lives out of your labor. (Applause.) Socialism is good for men. If it were not he would not be the man to warn you against it.

A sane capitalist ought to embrace Socialism. He does not do it for the reason that in this mad, insane strife the strings of his heart have almost dried. His blood is no longer red. Through all his life he has been seeking to ruin the working man because his salvation as a capitalist has compelled it.

When the work of the world is co-operatively done there will be no masters, no slaves. He therefore has a right to work, for only by work can he maintain himself. He would work by divine right. The machinery of the world would be at his service. The machine is not yet ended. This will be its message:

Come to me, you wage workers; at your bidding I will work and I will produce; I will reserve from each day a certain number of hours that you may devote to moral and intellectual improvement; I will make it possible for you to live a complete life; I will make it possible for your soul to be emancipated from the dominion of your stomach; I will make it possible for you to fertilize this earth; come to me. Work together co-operatively. I am at your service; I will produce not for profit, I will produce for use. I will produce to supply your physical wants; I will make it possible for every man to find the kind of work that nature intended that he should do; I will make it possible for every man to be an intelligent man. I will transform this miserable dungeon that covers you; I will make it a temple of sciences; I will make you working men the sovereigns of the earth. I will make the badge of labor the only badge of nobility. (Applause.)

# COMMUNICATIONS.

## AN ARIZONA KICKER.

Editor Miners' Magazine—The grandest kick ever made in the world is the one made at present for a co-operative commonwealth or a majority rule. I say, boys, kick and agitate. I wouldn't give 2 cents for a man that didn't kick. The most important problem before the laboring classes of the United States to-day is to plunge into politics with a determination to find out a true remedy for the evils and settle their grievances at the ballot box. It is a positive certainty that this is the only way by which we can obtain our rights and receive justice. We have tried every conceivable way, and with the exception of a few points gained through strikes, we have failed. It is true that strikes and boycotts have had some bearing in our favor, but they are both disastrous and work hardships on laborers as well as employers. I don't believe members of organized labor devote enough of their time to the study of those true principles which would give them the fruits of their labor. It seems strange that they always find time to play the piano stand. I don't believe that one out of every ten realize the benefits that would result through proper consolidation of the wage earners, and I am quite certain they don't fully realize the humiliation, the distress and hardship that the defeat and destruction of unionism would bring to the working man. There is no way of judging the future but by the past. Taking history for our guide, we can find nothing to suggest that capital will not oppress labor. With the accumulation of wealth, as man's greed increases his concern for his fellow man vanishes. The millionaires of to-day who constitute the trusts and corporations of the world—men with a thousand times the wealth necessary to provide themselves with all the comforts and luxuries of life—if they live to be a thousand years old they would still be scheming and conspiring in every way to skin the common class in order to add a little more to their massive wealth. They are always trying to lower wages and lengthen the hours of labor and raise the prices on the necessaries of life in order to complete and perpetuate the bondage of the working man. I believe the majority of the poorer classes do not understand that they have been

robbed of some of the most sacred rights of American citizenship—complete equality and equal rights to all mankind. It was not aristocrats or millionaires who made this country what it is to-day. English capitalists made repeated attempts to colonize America. Sir Walter Raleigh and his company established a settlement on Roanoke island, but it was destroyed. An English company founded Jamestown, the first settlement in Virginia. It shared the same fate like others we might mention because there was no incentive to inspire the common people. These companies had procured grants and charters from the King of England and expected to colonize the country with the poorer classes of Europe and speculate on the wealth they might produce. Thus we see that with all their wealth and the backing of the mother country they could not accomplish what that noble little band of Puritans that landed at Plymouth Rock accomplished in poverty and alone in a wilderness beset with beasts and savages, because they were not inspired with that spirit of freedom and desire of liberty. It was to a great extent such conditions as those that are rapidly and surely coming to the common people of the United States to-day that precipitated the Revolutionary War. The favored classes and people of wealth, assisted by class legislation, were forging so completely the chains of slavery upon the common people that it became unbearable. After exhausting all other means, and with no avail, they were compelled to resort to arms. The conflict that ensued was a long and bloody one, but it terminated with triumph for the common people. What was the message conveyed to the people? Did the old bell of Independence Hall ring on that memorable Fourth day of July, 1776? Did it announce a triumph for some great ruler or the supremacy of the wealthy over the poor? No. It bore the welcome tidings to thousands of oppressed people that a new nation had been born wherein all men should be equal. It should be the land of the free and the home of the brave, where all men should enjoy the same privileges and share alike the good things that contribute to the comforts and welfare of the human race. Our forefathers gave their life blood that such conditions might be brought about, that future generations might enjoy that blessing of liberty and equality that God gave to all mankind. It is a heritage of every American citizen and guaranteed by the constitution of the United States, the greatest document on earth, if it was properly enforced. I therefore say most emphatically that the more humble classes of this great land of plenty have

been deprived of some of the most sacred rights of American citizenship, for no man possessing ordinary intelligence and an honest heart will contend that all men are equal in the United States to-day. This difference has already gained proportions beyond the realization of our wage earners, and growing rapidly greater every day, producing a class of nobility and aristocrats on one hand and serfdom and pauperism on the other. These are the conditions that are staring the laboring classes in the face at the present time. It is still within our power to decide our own fate, whether we shall be a free people, enjoying the rights and equal privileges with all mankind, regardless of financial standing or station in society, regulating the price and hours of our own labor, demanding and receiving an honest compensation for our work and to make it possible for all to rear and educate our children so that they may understand the principle of fraternity and love their country, instead of being serfs and beggars asking of lords and nobles the privilege of doing a day's work to keep body and soul together; looking into a dark and dismal future that promises nothing but misery and pain for a man and a life of slavery and oppression for his children. Any man who desires to help better the conditions of the working class should give this matter a careful consideration. If he possesses ordinary intelligence past experience should teach him what to do. Do not appeal to politicians, preachers or lawyers to lead you or use you. Get your thinker to thinking for yourself. Denounce all party prejudice. Learn to vote for men who advocate the received from each union. I have also itemized the relief and tially to further the interest of the whole people—instead of shouting for men or monopoly tools who will barter away the rights and liberties of the poorer classes—men who will barter the confidence of the people and use that most sacred power intrusted to them to further the interests of the already formidable corporations and trusts to forge more securely the chains of slavery upon the laboring classes forever.

C. A. P., Chloride, Arizona.

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#### MEMBERS OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS TAKE NOTICE.

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James Moore would like to hear from his brother, John Moore. Any member of the Federation who knows of the whereabouts of John Moore will confer a favor by addressing James Moore, 2115 Lawrence street, Denver, Colorado.

## CRINGING SERFS.

Anaconda, Montana, May 27, 1902.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

Sir—Our union, No. 114, has ordered me to send the following names to you as unfair. They have refused to join the union here: Joseph Marcelle, Richard Moran, Joe France and Thomas Walton. Our committee has waited on these parties several times and can do nothing with them. The trouble is they are afraid they will lose their jobs if they belong to the union. They are not capable of running an engine anywhere else but here. They never run an engine to amount to anything but for this company. Our union is doing all right, but a good many of the boys are leaving here as the new works that started up don't employ one-fourth of the engines that were formerly employed. Yours fraternally,

ARTHUR BLISS, F. S. No. 114.

Victor, Colo., May 24, 1902.

Editor Miners' Magazine—Believing that you might be able to use the following regarding the fake of the twentieth century, and by so doing save some other unfortunate the trouble and expense of that trip, I send you the experience and observations of Mr. W. F. Rice, a member of Victor Miners' Union No. 32, W. F. M.:

We left Victor on the 1st of April and went to Mackey to secure our outfit. On our arrival in Mackey we found a strike on in the mines. The management objected to the miners belonging to the union. While the boys were out on strike they thought they might as well get rid of the Chinese cook and waiters. They won in a short time. They have now a white cook and waiters, and can join the union if they so desire—a signal victory for the union.

We left Mackey with a pack outfit and traveled over a very hard trail for 178 miles. Sixty miles of the trip was through snow, as deep as twelve feet on one of the ranges. We crossed two ranges on the trip, the Morgan Creek and Woodtick ranges. The Woodtick range is eight miles on one side and ten miles on the other and the worst trail I ever traveled. On our return we saw seven horses that had fallen from the trail and crippled themselves and had to be killed. There were twenty-five men in the district when we arrived and when we left the number had reached approximately 100. All of them were thoroughly disgusted with the country. We had



to cross Marble creek from ninety to one hundred times to get in. The water was from one foot to three feet deep and ice cold—very pleasant for that time of year. We sampled about seventy-five pans of dirt and failed to get a color, so that if gold is there it is not free milling. One prospector told me that he had sent out about fifty samples and the highest returns were \$2.40 per ton. He also said that he had roasted some of the rock and could not even get a color. The so-called Dewey mine is guarded. They will not allow any one to see the ore. They have a three to five-stamp mill, but it is not in operation, nor will the management permit an outsider to examine it. From the remarks of some of the prospectors who have been drawn to that district they are looking for some of the promoters of this, the grandest fake of the twentieth century. The promoters—Dewey, Holcomb and Casswell—are very conspicuous by their absence. The Thunder Mountain district may be a productive region in the future, but the mines have yet to be found. Mr. Rice can be seen at Victor by any one who may doubt the statements herein made.

J. C. SULLIVAN, Victor, Colorado.

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### UNION MEN, ATTENTION!

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Denver, May 30, 1902.

Editor Miners' Magazine:

Dear Sir and Brother—A member of Winston Miners' Union No. 25, by name Axel E. Wenstrom, has lost his brother, Charles Wenstrom, and wishes you to put an ad in the Magazine to see if he cannot find out something regarding his whereabouts. He was once a member of Butte No. 1, and was last heard of in Mercur, Utah.

Hoping you will give this space in your Magazine, I remain, fraternally yours,

E. J. BREWER.

Financial Secretary No. 25.

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### BERLIN HEARD FROM.

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Berlin, Nevada, June 7, 1902.

Editor Miners' Magazine—As this section of Nevada has remained quiet in print for some time, we wish to remind the members of the W. F. M. we are not lacking in home work and loyalty to the cause.

Berlin union No. 12, not yet one year old, has an enrollment of 148 members, and under our competent and popular

president, W. W. Elkins, is in a flourishing condition. A new hall costing nearly \$500 is now nearly completed and paid for, which is expected to be a source of comfort and learning when occupied. We also elect the Miners' Magazine a foremost location on its reading tables.

This union heartily indorses the action of the Denver convention by placing politics to the front, holding, as all true laboring principles must, our recourse is the ballot box.

Right is might and might we can have by carefully using our time and influence on polling days.

THE PRESS COMMITTEE.

### RESOLUTIONS OF CONDOLENCE.

Kaslo, B. C., June 16, 1902.

At a meeting of the Kaslo Miners' Union No. 69, W. F. M., held this day, it was resolved:

That we, the members of Kaslo Miners' Union No. 69, W. F. M., being deeply grieved at the loss we have sustained in the death of our dearly beloved brother, Martin McAndrew, do express and extend to his friends and relatives our sincere sympathy; that our charter be draped for a period of thirty days, and that a copy of this resolution be presented to our brother, Michael P. McAndrew.

HENRY R. CODY, President.

GEORGE T. KANE, Secretary.

Russell Gulch, Colo., May 16, 1902.

Editor Miners' Magazine—Pewabic Mountain Miners' Union No. 24, although in existence as an organization less than two months, has more than 100 members and new members are coming in at each meeting.

The union meetings are well attended. We have some good, active members in our local, who are working hard to build up a good, strong union here. This is only a small camp with about 250 or 300 miners, therefore we have not much material to work on. I believe we will reach a membership of 200 within the next three months.

I hope to see all the locals represented at the convention and that some aggressive move be taken to carry on an active system of education among the members of the Federation along political lines. My view is that the producing masses must effectually and forever abolish the present capitalistic system of industries before they can ever expect to receive

anything like the full product of their labor. This must be accomplished through united political action on the part of the producers themselves.

The sooner we as wealth producers become aware of our rights and how to gain them the sooner will such disgraces as the Idaho bull pen and Hazelton outrages cease to blot the name of our nation. Then strikes, lockouts and blacklists with all their attending miseries and sufferings will be a thing of past history.

We should not work every day in the year to build up and maintain organizations to gain our rights and then go to the polls on election day and vote them away again by voting for our masters or their representatives. Therefore I consider it very necessary that every working man in or out of the union should secure good labor literature, read it and keep abreast of the times. No one can have a clear conception of industrial conditions unless they give the labor question some study. I would like to have every member in the Federation take the Miners' Magazine and hand it to his friends when he has done reading it.

I will be glad to contribute occasionally to the Magazine if you consider my communication worthy of publication in your columns.

CHAS. RICE, No. 24, W. F. M.

### MORE CORPORATION TYRANNY.

The following notice has been sent to the Magazine with a request that we publish the same:

To the Employes of the Old Dominion Copper Mining and Smelting Company:

You are hereby notified that from and after the 12th day of May, 1902, all men failing to report that they desire to lay off six hours previous to the time they should commence work shall receive their time. If any employe of this company who cannot comply with the above, but can present to the mine or smelter foreman a certificate from the company doctor stating his inability to comply with the above, the foreman is hereby notified to put said men to work if possible. If any employe of the company has any other excuse whatever for not complying with the above, he will receive his time, but may consult with the superintendent before said time is drawn.

F. M. HOAR, Superintendent.

It seems to us that it is about time that the employes of the Old Dominion Copper Mining and Smelting Company real-

ized that they are working for a corporation that absolutely ignores the fact that labor has any rights which capitalism should respect. If the employes of that industrial monarchy would come together and stand shoulder to shoulder and pull upon the one rope there would be less arrogance and intolerance displayed by the company.—Ed.

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### DEPARTED MEMBERS APPRECIATED.

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Sandon, B. C., May 13, 1902.

Editor Miners' Magazine—At the regular meeting of Sandon Miners' Union No. 81, resolutions of condolence were passed upon the death of Brothers Neil Regan and William T. Douglas, both of whom were active and energetic members of this union.

R. J. M'LEAN,  
A. SHILLAND,  
A. J. M'DONALD,  
Committee.

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Rev. Carl D. Thompson, who has been devoting his whole time to the cause of Socialism for several years, and whose success as a lecturer and organizer has been very marked in the various western states, is now in Colorado. He has come direct from the splendid campaign just closed in the state of Oregon and has been lecturing in the important points in western Colorado.

Arrangements are now being made for Comrade Thompson to tour the southern part of the state, making Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Trinidad, and then rounding the circle to points such as Durango, Ouray, Telluride and such intervening points as may care for his services. The plan is to give two days to each place expounding the doctrines of Socialism and organizing the movement.

All that is asked of the unions or those interested in having the lectures is that a place of meeting be provided, the lectures thoroughly advertised and such voluntary offering as the comrades may feel free to give to help cover the expense.

Do you want Comrade Thompson for a lecture in your place? If so, write at once to The Social Crusade, 420 Charles building, Denver, Colorado. Time is precious. Act at once. It takes some time to arrange dates and details.

The editor of the Magazine can vouch for Carl D. Thompson as being an able exponent of the doctrines of Socialism.

## FROM OUR EXCHANGES.

### FROM OUR EXCHANGES.

During the past week two very significant events occurred in the United States. They were duly chronicled in the daily press, but for fear you may have overlooked the reports, I reprint the accounts:

#### CHAPTER I.

Special to the Globe-Democrat.

Wilkesbarre, Pa., June 5.—A Wilkesbarre operator, who has been in close touch with President Baer for weeks past, was called to Philadelphia two days ago, returning to-day, stated that Mr. Baer had told him that when Mr. Morgan left this country he left all his railroad interests under the care and guardianship of Mr. Baer, with strict instructions to make no concession, and to consent to no attempt at arbitration. Thus alone and unrestricted by any board of strategy, Mr. Baer has accepted the task of handling the Morgan end of the strike.

Mr. Baer will follow out Morgan's instructions to the letter and will not yield an inch to the demands of the strikers, he says. Mr. Morgan is unalterably opposed to granting any concessions. The operator from whom this statement was obtained stated that all preparations had been made for continuing the present situation until next October, and if no change in the attitude of the strike is noted by that time the mines will be permitted to lie dead another six months.

#### CHAPTER II.

Editor Coming Nation, Rich Hill, Mo.

Denver, Colo., June 7.—The Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union (formerly the Western Labor Union) have declared for independent political action and have endorsed the Socialist party platform and constitution and will work with us. We feel very much encouraged here and feel that when the history of the great revolution is written that the first week in June, 1902, will be one of the chief dates.—Fraternally, F. P. Wood, Secretary Local Denver Socialist Party.

These two seemingly unimportant events have a vital significance which will become apparent to you by careful re-reading.

Note in Chapter I the edict of Colossus Capital; in Chapter II Labor emits sounds which indicate a political eruption.

The last chapter follows as an inevitable result of the action outlined in Chapter I. Mr. Morgan in arbitrarily refusing to make any concession or to listen to any proposition to settle the dispute, is doing for the American people to-day what his illustrious predecessor, King George, did for the American colonists.

It will be remembered that the school histories tell us that the colonists were quite willing to acknowledge the sovereignty of Bro. George, provided he would make some concessions. George had a case of the gout when the American delegation humbly waited on him, and he replied petulantly that he had "nuthin' to arbitrate."

His answer found an echo at Concord, Lexington and Bunker Hill, and immortalized the rebel Washington. The rattle of musketry and the boom of cannon was heard—because that was the only way the colonists had of making their power felt. The ballot was the legacy which the eighteenth century bequeathed to posterity.

Mr. Morgan has at present a very severe case of dyspepsia, and he is sailing the blue waters of the Mediterranean in search of health. Before leaving he placed the mantle of Absolute Power on the shoulders of a trusted lieutenant who has "nothing to arbitrate."

The men a few weeks ago would have accepted "concessions" from Mr. Morgan. But the dyspepsia got in its work, and the first gun for united political action on the part of the trades unions was fired at Denver last week. That's the Bunker Hill of the Revolution for Industrial Independence!

The wedge has been started and soon the resounding blows will be heard throughout the land.—The Coming Nation.

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We hear a great deal about scientific Socialism. I sometimes wonder just what is meant. A scientist is generally understood to be a learned person. One surely don't have to be very wise to understand Socialism. It is the simplest philosophy in the world. It has been taught in every age and every clime that God gave the world and the fulness thereof to all mankind. At the present time a few possess it. Socialists demand that the disinherited of the earth shall be given back their own. Nothing complex or hard to understand

about that, is there? It's as plain as the nose on a man's face. Socialists demand that every man shall have the full product of his labor. That's easy. Don't take a blackboard and a box of chalk to explain that. Go out on the street and every man you meet will tell you there is something wrong with our present industrial system. Ask him the remedy; few can give you any and still fewer will try. Socialists say the remedy lies in the collective ownership and the collective management of the means of producing the means of life. When you come to look at it, it's simple, isn't it?—The Coming Nation.

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“A Deserted and Broken-Hearted Mother.” Just a little piece of white paper pinned to a basket—a basket containing a pretty four weeks' old baby. It was found on the steps of Mrs. Sarah N. Were, 954 Central Park Avenue, Chicago. 'Tis but the story of one of the millions of victims of a world gone mad. O, the pathos of those few words! “It's parents are poor, but respectable,” read the note. What an incentive to be respectable! Is it any wonder the prisons are all full?—The Coming Nation.

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The representatives of the Western Labor Union in convention at Denver voted to strike.

It will be the greatest strike the world ever witnessed.

And they will win!

They cannot lose!

There will be no violence, no militia.

Little children will not go hungry while their fathers are striking. There will be no call for arbitration. These men have nothing to arbitrate.

“The time has come for undivided independent working class political action.”

That is the message these men give to the toiling masses of the earth. They declared for International Socialism and adopted the platform of the Socialist party of the United States. Well may Socialists of America rejoice—here is some of the tangible results of the work of earnest Socialists and the circulation of literature. But there is much work to do. Millions are groaning under the intolerable industrial conditions. They are anxiously seeking a way to escape. That is your work—to show them the way. Are you doing this?—The Coming Nation.

"Why do you Socialists abuse the rich?" asks a correspondent. Socialists do not abuse the rich. Socialists are not fighting individuals, but a system. The rich individual is but the creature of a system founded on the ignorance of the collectivity. Socialists are working to dispel this ignorance. Rockefeller cannot help being rich any more than some men can help being poor; both are but the product of an industrial system that exists by the consent and will of the majority, and it can exist no longer than the majority want it to exist.—The Coming Nation.

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Some time ago the newspapers announced in flaming headlines that war had been declared on the sweat-shops—the slave holes of New York. A committee headed by Health Commissioner Ledeir was to visit these dens of constant toil where children, their mothers and their grandfathers bend over the machines 365 days in the year amid such filth and squalor that it defies the genius of any one to accurately describe. Nothing was said about making war on the cause of it all—the profit system. Well, the committee had its jaunt at the expense of the city. The sweat-shops are still there working full time. And men are still making profits coined from the flesh and blood of their brothers.—The Coming Nation.

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Competition between factory owners has been eliminated by consolidation; we still have competition among the workers.—The Coming Nation.

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Mr. Bryan in his Commoner has much to say about the oppression of the people of the Philippines and South Africa, but is strangely silent on the question of child-labor in the South and East. Why?—The Coming Nation.

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The Brick Masons' unions increased 12,000 in the past year. That will make a nice bunch of votes for Socialism after a while.—Ex.

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If the child workers of South Carolina could be marshaled by bugle call, headed with fife and drum and marched through Commonwealth Avenue, out past the statue of William Lloyd Garrison, erected by the sons of the men who dragged him through the streets at a rope's end, the sight would appall the heart and drive conviction home. Imagine



an army of twenty thousand pigmy bondsmen, half starved, yellow, wizened, deformed in body, with drawn faces that show spirits too dead to weep, too hopeless to laugh, too pained to feel! Would not aristocratic Boston lock her doors, bar the shutters and turn in shame from such a sight?

I know the sweat-shops of Hester Street, New York; I am familiar with the vice, depravity and degradation of the Whitechapel district; I have visited the Ghetto of Venice; I know the lot of the coal miners of Pennsylvania and I know somewhat of the Siberian atrocities; but for misery, woe and hopeless suffering, I have never seen anything to equal the cotton mill slavery of South Carolina—this in my own America—the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave!

The iniquity of this new class of slavery in the New South has grown up out of conditions for which no one man or class of men, it seems, is amenable. The interests of the cracker, the preacher, the overseer, the superintendent, the president, and the stockholders, are so involved that they cannot see the truth—their feet are ensnared and they sink into the quicksands of hypocrisy, deceiving themselves with specious reasons. They must be educated, and the people must be educated. —Elbert Hubbard in the Philistine.

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Every man and woman in this nation who has a ballot owes it to posterity that it should be cast to uproot the causes that have built in every state of our Union prisons and brothels, poor houses and hovels, and coined millionaires and beggars.

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A few days ago in the city of Chicago a woman was brought before the police judge, charged with loitering on the street. When arraigned in court she begged to be sentenced to the work house, as she had nowhere to go but the street to sell what was left of her shameless womanhood.

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We wonder if the son of Samuel Gompers secured his federal job in consideration of the service that his father rendered to the political party in power, or was it in behalf of his herculean efforts in ameliorating the condition of the laboring classes?

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While there is a master there will be a slave. Eliminate both and then will the Stars and Stripes be the emblem of liberty.

# The Western Federation of Miners.

CHAS. H. MOYER, President..... No 625 Mining Ex. Bldg., Denver, Colo.  
 EDWARD HUGHES, Vice President..... Butte, Mont.  
 W. D. HAYWOOD, Sec'y-Treas.,..... 625 Mining Ex. Bldg., Denver, Colo.  
 JOHN H. MURPHY, Attorney..... 503 Kittridge Bldg., Denver, Colo.

## EXECUTIVE BOARD:

J. T. LEWIS.....Globe, Ariz. | D. C. COPLEY.....Independence, Colo.  
 L. J. SIMPKINS.....Wardner, Idaho, | JOHN A. TRUE.....Terry, S. D.  
 PHILIP BOWDEN.....Butte, Mont. | JAMES A. BAKER.....Slocan City, B. C.

## Directory of Local Unions and Officers.

No.	NAME	Meet'g Night	PRESIDENT	SECRETARY	P. O. Box	ADDRESS
<b>ARIZONA.</b>						
77	Chloride	Wed	W. H. Cassady	Chas. Parisia	0	Chloride
155	Congress		Frank Burton	Charles Webster		Congress
150	Gleason	Fri	E. Bryant	R. J. Ryan		Gleason
60	Globe	Tues	G. G. Stephens	J. W. Sharkey	1082	Globe
154	Groom Creek	Sat	Jno. O'Connell	F. M. Sickler	291	Prescott
101	Jerome	Wed	T. J. Morrison	Albert Ryan	120	Jerome
118	McCabe	Sat	J. F. Casper	A. W. Nicklin		McCabe
153	Poland	Tues	J. P. Ryan	O. H. Cone		Poland
135	Pearce		L. H. Allen	C. Monmonier		Pearce
102	Ray	Thurs	J. I. Coleman	Wm. S. Crowe		Troy
65	Walker		F. A. Murphy	N. J. Griffin		Walker
160	Weaver			J. Prendergast		Octave
<b>BRIT. COLUMBIA</b>						
152	Frank	Sat	Wm. Slack	S. Sutherland		Frank, Alb'rt
76	Gladstone	Sat	T. P. Goddard	D. McKenzie	182	Fernie
22	Greenwood	Sat	D. McGlashen	Geo. Dougherty	134	Greenwood
69	Kaslo	Sat	Henry Cody	Geo. T. Kane	75	Kaslo
100	Kimberly	Sat	J. E. O'Riley	Harry White	C	Kimberly
112	Kamloops	Sat	J. Pettigrew	Mich. Delaney	170	Kamloops
119	Lardeau			A. J. Gordon		Ferguson
166	Michel	Sat	John Perrie	W. F. Tolley		Michel
43	McKinney	Thurs	Geo. Withers	Wm. Morrison		O'p. M'Kinney
71	Moyie	Tues	Jno. Blackburn	P. T. Smyth	32	Moyie
96	Nelson	Sat	J. McPherson	James Wilks	106	Nelson
97	New Denver	Sat	W. E. Cropp	D. J. Weir	40	New Denver
8	Phoenix	Tues	Henry Heidman	John Riordan		Phoenix
38	Rossland	Wed	Rupert Bulmer	F. E. Woodside	421	Rossland
81	Sandon	Sat	H. Thompson	A. Shiland		Sandon
95	Silverton	Sat	A. W. Carey	J. C. Tyree	85	Silverton
62	Slocan	Wed	George Nichol	D. B. O'Neal		Slocan City
113	Texada	Tues	David Jones	Alfred Raper	888	Van Anda
79	Whitewater	Sat	J. D. Burke	J. J. MacDonald		Whitewater
85	Ymir	Wed	Patrick Daly	A. McDougall	18	Ymir
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>						
61	Bodie	Tues	Jas. Borland	Steve O'Brien	6	Bodie
128	Bullion	Wed	D. J. Donahue	D. M. Brown	25	Mt. Bullion
47	Confidence	Thurs	A. D. M' Cormick	Edward Goegg	26	Confidence
141	French Gulch		J. H. Linehan	F. F. Keer		French Gulch
70	Gold Cross	Tues	R. M. Hicks	J. A. Vaughn		Hedges
90	Grass Valley	Fri	Sam Butler	R. D. Gluyas	199	Grass Valley
163	Ivanpah		A. H. Shipway	Gust Erickson		Copper World
143	Keswick S. U	Mon	W. Kitzmiller	Jno. E. Burr		Taylor
51	Mojave	Sat	T. F. Delaney	A. A. Moross	1	Mojave
48	Pinion Blanco	Wed	J. Trumbetta	Wm. Wivell	5	Coulterville
44	Randsburg	Wed	Thos. Bernard	T. H. Reed	398	Randsburg
73	Toulumne	Thurs	J. T. Fisk	H. D. French	63	Stent
87	Summerville		Robt. Plumber	R. L. Dillon		Carters
164	Searchlight		A. H. Smith	T. D. Forney		Searchlight
39	Sierra Gorda	Thurs	H. Meyertholen	Jas. M. Quinn		Big Oak Flat

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No.	NAME	Meet'g Night	PRESIDENT	SECRETARY	P. O. Box	ADDRESS
<b>CALIF.—Con</b>						
109	Soulsbyville		T. O. Isley	O. L. Wahl		Soulsbyville
167	Winthrop		C. B. Hight	S. W. Webb		Winthrop
127	Wood's Creek	Fri.	W. D. Daniels	Henry Scholz	16	Chinese Camp
<b>COLORADO</b>						
75	Altman Eng	Tues	D. O. Copley	E. S. Holden	77	Independence
21	Anaconda	Tues	C. A. Anderson	J. J. Mangan	296	Anaconda
13	Baldwin			A. Dohlman		Baldwin
89	Battle Mountain	Sun	Chas. Baldauf	W. McConnel	27	Gilman
64	Bryan	Sat	Alma Neilson	Jas. Spurrier	134	Ophir
106	Banner M. & S.	Thurs	C. M. Greene	P. J. H. Peterson	254	Victor
137	Black Hawk	Wed	H. M. Kelley	G. E. Bolander		Black Hawk
33	Cloud City	Thurs	Jno. McGillis	Jas. McKeon	132	Leadville
40	Cripple Creek	Sat	Geo. D. Hill	E. J. Campbell	1148	Cripple Creek
82	Cripple Crk S. Eng	Wed	A. F. Lindgren	E. L. Whitney	279	Cripple Creek
56	Central City	Mon	R. C. Johnson	M. A. Swanson		Central City
93	Denver S. M.	Tues	W. McNamara	B. P. Smith		Denver
165	Dunton		H. K. Chestnut	H. E. Haney		Dunton
58	Durango M & S.	Sat	J. W. Gidney	Frank Wride	1273	Durango
80	Excelsior Eng.	Mon	A. J. McCaughan	F. W. Frewen		Victor
110	Florence M & S.		W. Christians	E. J. Conibear		Florence
19	Free Coinage	Fri	W. F. Davis	W. B. Easterly	91	Altman
159	Fulford			John Judd		Fulford
30	Georgetown	Wed	Oscar King	H. Rotholz	76	Georgetown
92	Gillett M. & S.		Thos. Kearns	C. W. Adams		Gillett
94	Golden S. M.		Theo. A. Boak	R. M. Nichols	8	Golden
50	Henson	Sat	H. G. Lindsay	Eugene Otis	205	Lake City
136	Idaho Springs	Mon	A. D. Olcott	J. E. Chandler		Idaho Springs
55	Lawson					Lawson
15	Ouray	Sat	Jno. E. Souther	H. A. McLean	1111	Ouray
158	Pearl		F. H. Hill	P. J. Byrne		Pearl
24	Pewabic Mount'n		LeProuse	W. G. Evans		Russell Gulch
6	Pitkin County	Sat	Thos. O'Harra	Theo. Saurer	562	Aspen
133	Pueblo S. M.		J. A. Kinningham	J. C. Peak		Pueblo
36	Rico	Sat	C. W. Rhode	E. B. Clark	427	Rico
145	Salina	Tues	Fred Myers	Johu Rose		Salina
26	Silverton	Sat	F. Schmeltzer	Ernest Allen	23	Silverton
27	Sky City	Tues	Nels Carlson	A. J. Horn		Red Mountain
63	Telluride	Sat	V. St. John	O. M. Carpenter	537	Telluride
41	Ten Mile	Tues	J. H. Frerburg	W. J. Kappus	212	Kokomo
32	Victor	Sat	Dan Griffiths	O. H. Walker	134	Victor
84	Vulcan	Sat	F. W. Castle	Dwight Young	38	Vulcan
146	Wall Street		Geo. Brown	A. S. Shipley		Wall Street
59	Ward	Fri	Theo. Blallow	Milton King	78	Ward
108	Whitepine	Thurs	W. S. Barker	M. O. Smith		White Pine
<b>IDAHO.</b>						
10	Burke	Tues	Bernard Smith	Wm. Nichols	156	Burke
52	Custer	Sat	J. T. Danielson	G. W. Cherry		Custer
53	DeLamar	Mon	Wm. C. Roberts	Jas. H. Rodda	25	DeLamar
11	Gem	Wed	John Hayes	A. S. Balch	107	Gem
37	Gibbonsville	Wed	H. Erikwald	R. R. Dodge	19	Gibbonsville
9	Mullan	Sat	Wm. Powers	J. Hendrickson	30	Mullan
161	McKay		A. E. Nelson	H. Henderson	21	McKay
20	Rocky Bar	Sat	J. R. Davey	N. D. McLeod	X	Rocky Bar
66	Silver City	Sat	H. Hawkins	B. J. Maloney		Silver City
18	Wardner	Sat	M. Cambell	John Conley	162	Wardner
<b>KANSAS.</b>						
120	Argentine S. M.		John C. Brown	Cy Earnest		Argentine
125	Bruce S. M.		Del Conrad	Joseph Pool		Bruce
149	Cherryvale S. M.		Wm. Barr	A. H. Davidson		Cherryvale
147	Gas City S. M.	Mon	J. F. Morrison	Guy Baker	76	Gas City
124	Girard M. & S.	Sat	Wm. Hollinger	L. H. Harmon		Girard

Directory of Local Unions and Officers.

No.	NAME	Meet'n Night	PRESIDENT.	SECRETARY	P. O. Box	ADDRESS
<b>KANSAS—Con</b>						
123	Iola M. & S. ....		Chas. Chadd....	G. F. Titus....		Iola.....
148	LaHarpe S. U. ....	Tues	J. W. Woolingt'n	A. S. Murray...	110	LaHarpe....
<b>MONTANA</b>						
117	Anaconda M. & S.	Sat	A. J. Lagrand ..	P. McNerny ...	473	Anaconda....
114	Anaconda Eng. ....	Mon	Richard Evans.	Arthur Bliss ..		Anaconda....
57	Aldridge .....	Sat	Jos. Gulde....	George Reeb... 97		Aldridge .....
12	Barker .....	Thurs	Henry Daniels.	Mike Wilson... 5		Barker .....
23	Basin .....		John Person ...	John Mulcahy.. 1		Basin .....
7	Belt .....	Sat	J. J. McLeod ..	Robt. Wedlock..		Niehart .....
45	Bridger .....	Tues	Chas. Swan ...	D. A. Tinkcom ..		Bridger .....
1	Butte .....	Tues	Ed. Hughes....	John Shea .....	498	Butte .....
74	Butte M & S. ....	Wed	Geo. T. Wade..	D. R. McCord.. 841		Butte .....
83	Butte Eng. ....	Wed	P. A. Stephens.	Jos. Creighton. 1625		Butte .....
88	Elkhorn .....	Sat	Chas. Harding ..	C. H. James ... 27		Elkhorn .....
126	E. Helena M. & S.		D. McGinty....	Jas. McCormick		East Helena..
78	Gebo .....	Tues	Wm. Cummings	Jas. C. Ray ...		Gebo .....
86	Geo. Dewey Eng.	Mon	Alfred Jose....	J. M. Carlisle.. 284		Granite .....
4	Granite .....	Tues	John Bevan....	Thomas Dyer... D		Granite .....
162	Granite M & S. ....		Jas. P. Nutton ..	C. H. Martin ...		Phillipsburg ..
16	Grt. Falls M. & S.	Sat	J. B. Finlay....	Jas. Lithgow... 790		Great Falls ..
35	Hassell .....	Fri	E. O. York....	A. I. Schreier.. 74		Hassel .....
54	Horr .....	Sat	A. McElhany..	Dante Raso ...		Horr .....
139	Jardine .....		Wm. Symons ...	Frank Lind ...		Jardine .....
107	Judith Mountain.	Sat	Jas. Longmier ..	J. J. Lewis ... 8		Maiden .....
103	Marysville .....	Sat	James Sennett ..	Nels. Maxwell.. 73		Marysville ...
105	Mayflower .....	Tues	Jerry O'Rourke	Jas. Foster ...		Whitehall ....
138	Mount Helena....		J. R. Hunter....	Nick Hoffman ..		Helena.....
104	Norris .....	Sat	W. A. Lawlor ..	B. G. Crawford ..		Norris .....
111	North Moccasin..	Sat	W. R. Woodson ..	E. E. Phillips ..		Kendall .....
131	Pony .....		F. P. Rhenole ..	Thos. Jordan... ..		Pony .....
134	Rocky Canon .....		John Smith ....	A. C. Booth ...		Chestnut.....
25	Winston .....	Sat	Theo. Schuele..	E. J. Brewer ... A		Winston .....
129	Virginia City....	Sat	E. J. Ganian... ..	H. T. Reid ...		Virginia City..
<b>NEVADA</b>						
122	Berlin .....	Mon	W. W. Elkins ..	C. M. Cushing.. ..		Berlin .....
98	Blue Rock .....	Tues	H. A. Cahill ...	Wm. Hatherell.. ..		Yerington....
72	Lincoln .....	Wed	D. Marguards'n	R. J. Gordon... 51		DeLamar .....
49	Silver City .....	Tues	E. T. Powers ...	Dave Armstrong 76		Silver City....
121	Tonapah .....	Tues	John O'Toole..	A. J. Crocker .. 92		Tonapah .....
31	Tuscarora .....	Wed	J. C. Doughty..	W. I. Plumb ... 67		Tuscarora....
46	Virginia City....	Fri	John F. Ward..	J. W. Kinnikin .. I		Virginia City..
<b>OREGON.</b>						
130	Alamo .....		Geo. Wiegand ..	L. Steinmetzer.. ..		Alamo .....
42	Bourne .....	Tues	M. B. Whipple..	J. D. McDonald ..		Bourne .....
91	Cornucopia .....	Sat	A. T. Russell... ..	B. M. Patterson ..		Cornucopia ..
132	Geenhorn .....	Fri	F. E. Holman ..	J. D. Wisdom... ..		Geiser .....
29	Susanville .....	Thurs	Chas. Graham..	R. O. Ingraham ..		Susanville ...
140	Virtue .....	Tues	W. H. Johnston	W. F. Allen ...		Baker City....
<b>SO. DAKOTA.</b>						
3	Central .....	Sat	Otto Peterson ..	W. G. Friggins.. 23		Central City..
14	Deadwood .....	Thurs	Mike Edward ..	J. E. Evans ... 950		Deadwood ...
2	Lead .....	Mon	G. W. Holvey ..	G. J. Snyder ... 290		Lead City....
30	Lead Mechanics..		W. W. Wheeler ..	D. V. Eberly ...		Lead City....
5	Terry Peak .....	Wed	John A. True ..	C. H. Schaad ... 174		Terry .....
68	Galena .....	Wed	Geo. Leach ....	J. H. Gardner.. 51		Galena.....
116	Perry .....			Henry Thomas.. ..		Perry .....
<b>UTAH</b>						
67	Bingham .....	Sat	Frank Burnham	Chas. Jackson.. 31		Bingham ....
151	Eureka .....	Thurs	Godfrey Scherer	Nick Cones .... 228		Eureka .....
144	Park City .....	Sat	G. A. Robinson	O. C. Lockhart.. 891		Park City....
34	Sandy S. U. ....	Wed	Albert Dobson ..	Arthur Leslie.. 28		Sandy .....
99	Valley S. U. ....	Sat	E. J. Smith ....	J. W. Gordon ...		Murray .....

Directory of Local Unions and Officers

No.	NAME	Meeting Night	PRESIDENT	SECRETARY	P.O. Box	ADDRESS
<b>WASHINGTON.</b>						
142	Deertrail.....	Tues	J. C. Carter.....	J. O'Leary jr .....	157	Deer Trail ...
28	Republic .....	Tues	Alex McKay .....	J. E. Keyes.....		Republic.....
115	.....	.....	.....	.....		.....
<b>WYOMING</b>						
157	Continental .....	.....	Wm. Mow .....	Wm. Malady.....	.....	Battle.....
156	Encampment M. M. & S. }	.....	Geo. Brown.....	John Evans.....		Riverside ....

# Rocky Mountain News

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DAILY AND WEEKLY.

The Greatest Representative Newspaper of  
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"At the present time the majority of the members of the organization read nothing but the metropolitan dailies—the avowed and everlasting enemies of labor. There is not a daily of any note from the Atlantic to the Pacific (the Rocky Mountain News excepted) that is friendly to labor; it is our duty not to patronize them, nor the men who advertise in them."—From President Edward Boyce's address to the Miners' convention at Salt Lake, May 12, 1897.

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 All we ask is an opportunity  
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H. VAN MATER, President.

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Miners and Shippers of

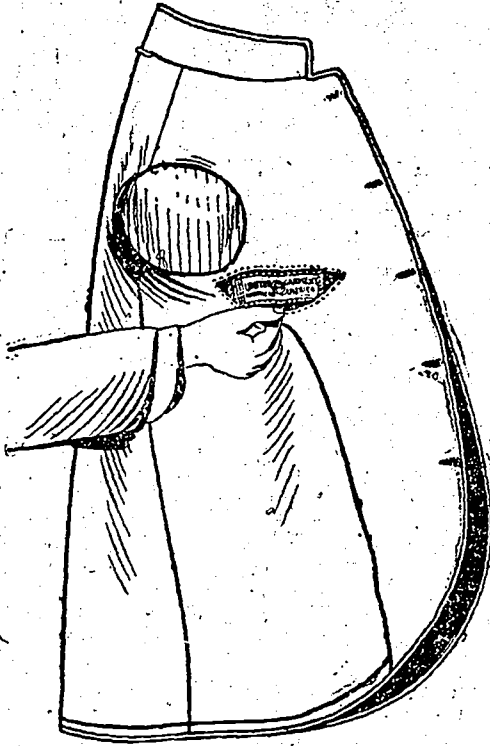
Baldwin  
...COAL...

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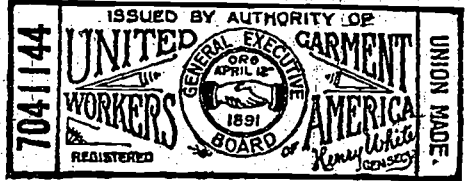
Mines at Mt. Carbon, Gunnison County.

General Offices, Room 628 Cooper Building,

DENVER, COLO.



# Union Miners Attention.



Show your loyalty to the cause by insisting upon the emblem of fair union labor being attached to the clothing you buy. Costs you no more for a well made garment. It insures you against Chinese and diseased sweat shop product.

For list of manufacturers (Clothing, Overalls and Shirts) using label write to Henry White, General Secretary, Bible House, New York.

## This is the Time

To ask your dealer to write  
for samples of

*Underhill's*

Shirts, Corduroy and Cassimere Pants, Overalls, Jumpers and Duck Clothing.  
They are what you want and he ought to have them.

**Western Made. Union Made. Best Made.**

Factory in Denver.

UNDERHILL MFG. CO.

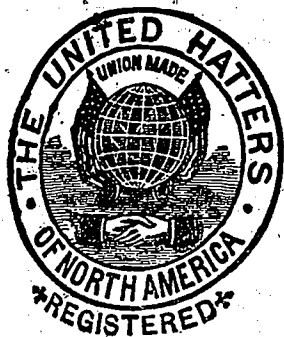
Chas. Bayly, President and Manager.



This label should be pasted on every  
package containing

## Beer, Ale or Porter

As the only guarantee that said pack-  
age contains beverages produced  
by Union Labor.



# This is the Union Label

OF THE

# United Hatters

OF NORTH AMERICA

When you are buying a FUR HAT, soft or stiff, see to it that the genuine Union Label is sewed in it. If a retailer has loose labels in his possession and offers to put one in a hat for you, do not patronize him. He has not any right to have loose labels. Loose labels in retail stores are counterfeits. Do not listen to any explanation as to why the hat has no label. The genuine union label is perforated on the four edges exactly the same as a postage stamp. Counterfeits are sometimes perforated on three of the edges, and sometimes only on two. Keep a sharp look-out for the counterfeits. Unprincipled manufacturers are using them in order to get rid of their scab-made hats. The John B. Stetson Co., Henry H. Roelofs & Co., both of Philadelphia, Pa., are both non-union concerns.

JOHN A MOFFIT, President, Orange, N. J.

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the People

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Comic Opera and Open Air Vaudeville.

Boating, Bathing, Fishing, Restaurant, Ice Cream Parlors, etc.

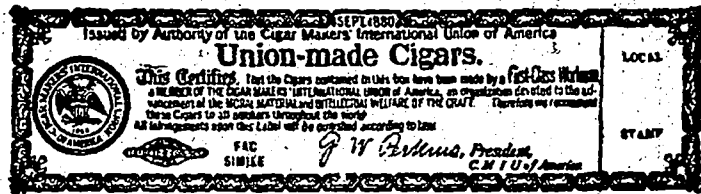
Matinee Saturday and Sunday.

Admission 10c. Theatre 75c, 50c, 35c, 25c, 15c.

Children's Free Day Thursday.

If you are opposed to Tenement House, Sweat Shop or  
child labor

## Smoke only Union Label Cigars



Don't forget to see that this Label is on every box, when buying cigars.

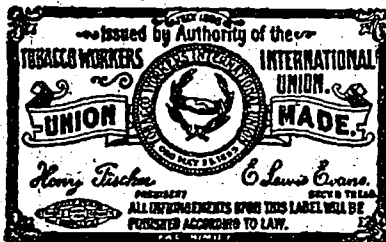
M. A. ROGERS, Proprietor.

C. T. ROGERS, Manager.

## The Western Hotel,

Ouray, Colorado.

Newly renovated. The recognized rendezvous for miners. Its superior service and cuisine, at moderate tariff, is the magnet which draws the multitude, who always place their money where the best returns are assured.



## When Purchasing Tobacco

Chewing or Smoking, Plug, Twist or in Package, see that THIS LABEL is on it. No matter what your dealer may tell you

There are None Strictly Union Without the Blue Label--buy no other.

## The American Labor Union.

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D. F. O'SHEA, Vice President.....Cripple Creek, Colo.  
CLARENCE SMITH, Secretary-Treasurer.....Box 1067, Butte, Mont.

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