

Address of President Moyer

TO THE DELEGATES OF THE THIRTEENTH
ANNUAL CONVENTION, WESTERN FEDERATION
OF MINERS. SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH,
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PRESIDENT MOYER'S ADDRESS.

TO THE OFFICERS AND DELEGATES OF THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS:

Gentlemen—Another year has come and gone, and you have been selected by your respective locals to gather here in convention, review the acts of those selected by the Twelfth Annual Convention to govern your organization, to inquire into the conditions of the Western Federation of Miners at the present time and outline its policy for the ensuing year. To assist you in your labors your constitution provides that the president shall submit a full report of his work during his term of office and make such recommendations as will, in his judgment, tend to advance the interests of the organization. In complying with these instructions I shall endeavor to be as brief as possible, bearing in mind that through your official organ, the Miners' Magazine, and other sources, you have been kept fully in touch with the general situation during the past twelve months. Any recommendations that I may make will be such as my experience has convinced me will be of great benefit, not only to those whom you have the honor of gathering here to represent, but the entire wage working class.

I assure you that it is with a great deal of satisfaction that I am in a position to report that despite the unceasing battle waged against our organization for the past two years, the Western Federation of Miners is more powerful to-day than at any time in its history. Those who have sought our destruction, supported by the state and national government, who have hurled their slander and abuse against our organization, charging its members with every crime enumerated in the criminal calendar, stand out to-day convicted perjurers.

Of the hundreds of your brothers who were charged by the miserable vassal, who formerly disgraced the governor's chair of the state of Colorado, as being criminals, not one has ever been tried for a violation of the laws of the land. The Judas who sold his body and soul and disgraced a state, has been repudiated, while your organization stands before the world unblemished and respected by all whose eyes have not been closed to justice by their lust for gold.

Of the many important conflicts between capital and labor, the Colorado strikes of 1903-04-05, stand pre-eminent, not because of the number involved, not alone because of the unheard-of methods resorted to by an alliance of capitalists, state officials and the judiciary, but for

mong other matters considered was the financial assistance rendered by our unions to the Western Federation of Miners, and the action of that organization in making every effort to disrupt the trade union movement of America, when the following preambles and resolution were adopted, and the undersigned directed to forward copy of same to you:

"Whereas, The officers of the Western Federation of Miners have taken an active part in calling a 'congress' for the purpose of forming another federation of organized workers of the country, which would be detrimental to the trade union movement, and a consequent weakening on the part of the American trade union movement to improve the conditions of the working people, and a lessening of their power to resist encroachments or secure better labor conditions, and

"Whereas, In the direct time of need the American Federation of Labor and its component parts promptly and liberally came to the rescue of the Western Federation of Miners, both by moral influence and financial assistance which was admittedly of the greatest assistance when help was urgent, and

"Whereas, We have no knowledge that the Western Federation of Miners is in any way reciprocating by strengthening or solidifying the labor movement of our country, but instead the effort is now being made to divide its ranks; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the executive council recommends to affiliated unions that no further donations be made to assist the Western Federation of Miners."

What think you, gentlemen, of the representatives of organized labor rallying to the support of the Colorado Mine Owners' Association? Appealing to the membership of organized labor to desert the Peabody victims who have battled two long years for the right to organize?

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor dare not say in their circular that the cause of the striking miners of Colorado was not a just cause.

Less than a year ago, Mr. Gompers, recognizing the vital principle involved in the Colorado struggle, recommended the financial support of organized labor. In his report to the twenty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in San Francisco, November, 1904, Mr. Gompers said: "It was the evident purpose of that unholy combination of the citizens' alliance with Governor Peabody to destroy the independence and manhood of the workmen of Colorado, by making an attack upon the effort to destroy organized labor of the state. Their declaration that their attack was not directed at the American Federation of Labor is disproved by their bitter antagonism to and assault upon the affiliated coal miners of that state."

At that time Mr. Gompers recognized that the Western Federation of Miners was not only fighting a battle that concerned their organization, but one which concerned the American Federation of Labor and organized labor in general.

The executive council knew only too well when they issued their circular of March 21st that the Western Federation of Miners had been battling for two long years for labor's right to organize and the eight-hour work day. Do these gentlemen believe in the right of the wage worker to organize? Do they believe in a reduction of the hours of toil? If so, it would seem strange, indeed, that they should attack a body of

work in an effort to force the corporation which he represents to pay them a living wage, might again be permitted to slave for an existence? Think of it, hundreds of members of an organization affiliated with the great American Federation of Labor, the United Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Firemen, compelled to beg for employment and to be informed that scab labor was entirely satisfactory and that union men might be given employment if vacancies occurred. Think of the cotton mill employes in New England after months of suffering, forced back to the mills and compelled to submit to a twelve and a half per cent. reduction in wages. Think of the coal miners of Utah, a part of the powerful Mine Workers of America, driven from their homes and to-day existing in hovels built of stone and mud, their homes confiscated by the corporation and those who would gladly rally to their support, warned by the officers of the United Mine Workers not to do so under penalty of expulsion. Is it any wonder that these men have repudiated the organization of their craft? Can you blame the rank and file for becoming discouraged when they realize that after these many years of effort on the part of organized labor, they find themselves to-day at the mercy of their masters, worsted in every conflict and fearful that the great combination of capital will hurl their mighty forces against their organization and when the smoke of battle has cleared away, they will be forced to bow in meek submission, their membership scattered and denied the privilege of re-organizing.

Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, says that in the offer of wage reduction it is better to resist and lose than not to resist at all, that resistance will at least demonstrate that labor is a factor which must not be ignored. If Mr. Gompers advocated the resistance of all organized labor, I would fully agree with him, but when he advises that a part of organized labor resist a reduction in wages or demand better working conditions, while another part by continuing their employment furnished the employer with the weapon to defeat those who are engaged in the battle, then I claim that the past has furnished good and sufficient proof that such a policy is not only inadequate to cope with the present organized resistance, but an injustice to those who are asked to take part in the conflict.

We have heard much of late regarding industrial unionism or the principles advocated by your organization since its inception. The Western Federation of Miners has been charged by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor with having entered into a movement which would tend to weaken trades unionism in this country, and following out the Peabody policy, have convicted and sentenced your organization without trial, and, strange to say, the penalty is in keeping with that of the ignoble war general, Sherman Bell, who ordered that no further assistance should be furnished the striking miners of Colorado without his consent. Compare this order with that of Samuel Gompers and his executive council, issued March 21, 1905, which reads as follows:

"Washington, D. C., March 21, 1905.

"To the Officers and Members of Affiliated Unions:

"Dear Sirs and Brothers—At the meeting of the executive council held at headquarters during the week of March 13-18 inclusive,

the principle for which your organization contended. A principle which recognized that the injury of one was the concern of all; a principle which, when inscribed upon the banner of the organized labor movement of the world, will turn defeat into victory and infuse new life into those who have become discouraged and disgusted with the present plan of organization and the policy pursued by those who are supposed to represent the organized labor forces of the United States.

We have taught that in unity there is strength, that united we stand, divided we fall. Can anyone truthfully say that organized labor to-day is acting in unison? Will the advocates of trades autonomy undertake to point out the united action of the poor striking machinists on the great Santa Fe system, who have been struggling for many months for living conditions, while the union engineer, the union fireman and the union man in the train service employed by the same company have continued to work? Was there united action between the United Mine Workers and the brotherhoods of railway employes when they transferred the coal mined by scab labor from the mines of Colorado, and moved the trains which deported hundreds of striking miners from their homes and loved ones and deserted them on the plains of New Mexico? Was it united action when the coal miners, in what is known as the northern fields of Colorado, were ordered back to the mines in order that the coal market might be supplied, while thousands of their brothers in the southern fields were undergoing such privation and suffering as few members of organized labor have ever been called upon to endure? Was it in the interests of the coal barons or the poor men, women and children who had been driven from their homes in the southern fields and with only a tent for a shelter, were determinedly demanding justice, that the men of the northern fields were ordered back to the mines? If this be unionism, if this be united action, if the policy which has been pursued by organized labor in the many important conflicts which have taken place since last you met in convention is all that organized labor has to offer, if one craft shall continue to assist the employer to defeat the other, then I again say, such organization is unable to cope with the present combinations, amalgamated as they are and only waiting for organized labor to open the conflict, when, by united action upon their part, they who dare to demand living conditions, will go down to defeat, their organizations shattered, the membership discouraged and forced to return to their masters pleading for re-employment, and in all probability, compelled to renounce allegiance to their union and sign away their rights as American citizens.

It is only necessary to go back a few short months to prove the fallacy of a continuation of the present policy. It would seem only necessary to refer to the subway strike in New York city; the textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia, and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, Kansas City and Omaha; the coal miners of Colorado, Utah and New Mexico or the machinists of the Santa Fe railroad, all gone down to defeat, and why? Was it lack of organization? Was it failure on the part of those involved to be true to their obligations? If not, will some advocate of the pure and simple policy enlighten us and explain why it was necessary for organized labor of New York to send their representatives to the president of the civic federation, Mr. Belmont, to plead with that gentleman that the members of organized labor who had discontinued

men who were engaged in one of the most stubborn contests ever waged to bring about these same conditions. That representatives of organized labor should recommend that the wives and little ones of the persecuted miners of Colorado should be deserted while their husbands and fathers, blacklisted by the corporations, were tramping the highways seeking employment, is almost beyond belief. Still, we have their circular which is official and can not be misunderstood.

Let us note for one moment the reasons given by this aristocracy of intellect, who delegate to themselves the power to do the thinking for the wage-working class of this country. First, they say in their circular, that the Western Federation of Miners is making every effort to disrupt the trades union movement of America, and to prove this assertion, they follow by calling attention to the fact that the officers of the Western Federation of Miners have taken an active part in calling a "congress" for the purpose of forming another federation of organized workers of the country. To this charge which refers to your officers we have no hesitancy in pleading guilty, but to the other we will be obliged to take issue with the honorable gentlemen, and positively refute their accusations that the Western Federation of Miners has at any time in its history failed to do its full share in the organized labor movement, but that every effort of the organization has been toward the amalgamation of labor forces, both on the industrial and political field.

The council, which sat in judgment on the Western Federation of Miners at Washington, D. C., March 21st, after calling attention to the liberality of the American Federation of Labor in assisting the Western Federation of Miners, concludes by stating that they have no knowledge that the Western Federation of Miners is in any way reciprocating. Can the representatives of the American Federation of Labor point to a single instance where the miners' organization has failed to respond both morally and financially to organized labor in distress, regardless of affiliation? We wonder what Mr. Gompers would have our organization do to prove our appreciation for the fifteen hundred dollars contributed by the American Federation of Labor in the past thirteen years? We have never failed to respond to an appeal for financial assistance. Although having no label of our own, we fought the battle for the union label which has resulted in establishing a demand for union-made products in the mining camps of the West, which is unequalled in any other part of the United States.

The Western Federation of Miners in convention and through its executive board and local unions has many times endorsed the boycotts inaugurated against eastern manufacturers by the American Federation of Labor, and prosecuted them with the same vigor as had they been their own.

Had Samuel Gompers remained at his bench, was he to-day at his age following his vocation as a cheroot maker, in all probability he would appreciate the demand of the membership of the Western Federation of Miners for the blue label cigar.

I do not believe Gompers and his council in their circular voice the sentiment of the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor or its affiliated bodies. No man or body of men, be they honest, dare say that the Western Federation of Miners has not been the vanguard in

the organized labor movement of the country. Samuel Gompers has endeavored for years to secure the affiliation of your organization, failing to accomplish his purpose, he now comes out in the open and declares that it must be submission to his rule or annihilation. I believe I voice the sentiment of each and every member of our organization when I say that it shall be neither. The Western Federation of Miners has stood upon the firing line continuously since the day of its birth. It has never compromised or surrendered. In the past it has only given battle to the common enemy of the wage-working class, and to-day has no fight against organized labor. It does, however, reserve the right to do its own thinking and to advocate any policy which its membership believes to be in the interest of their class. This independence on the part of your organization has drawn the fire of your enemy and finally resulted in so arousing the ire of the grandfather of the American Federation of Labor as to cause him to declare with the mine owners, the citizens' alliance and the cur who formerly disgraced the governor's chair of Colorado: "We will break your spirit, even though it becomes necessary to exile your membership and starve those who are dependent upon them."

The convention called for June 27th in the city of Chicago and which, more than anything else, is responsible for the reprehensible circular emanating from the so-called representatives of organized labor, will be one of the most important matters to come before you.

The twelfth annual convention instructed your executive board to take such action as might be necessary in order that the representatives of organized labor might be brought together and plans outlined for the amalgamation of the entire wage-working class into one general organization. Following out these instructions at a meeting held in the month of December, it was decided to send a committee to Chicago to meet with the officers of the American Labor Union. This conference took place January 4th, and was not only attended by representatives of the American Labor Union and your organization, but a number of others. The result of this meeting was the manifesto and call for a convention, which you have undoubtedly all studied and which will come before you for consideration. The question for you to decide is not one of changing the principle policy or plan of your organization, but as to whether or not the Western Federation of Miners shall become a working part of such a movement as set forth in the manifesto, which shall consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries.

Your constitution provides that all men employed in mines, mills and smelters shall become members of the Western Federation of Miners. The signers of the manifesto would have all industries organized under this plan, then bound together in one general organization that, recognizing the struggle between the capitalist and the working class, would present a line of battle on the industrial field which would be well nigh impregnable.

Brother delegate, the time for action has arrived, the cry of alarm being sent broadcast by those who, for their own mercenary motives, would continue the present helpless policy pursued by organized labor, should not be considered by you for one moment. The only argument presented to you by the representatives of so-called organized labor

is that the movement that will be launched in the city of Chicago, June 27th, will disrupt the organized labor movement of the country. Can anyone imagine how organized labor could be disrupted more fully than it has been in the past two years wherever it has come in contact with corporations?

If the organizing of a movement which has for its object the amalgamation of the entire wage-working class shall mean the disruption of the so-called labor movement of to-day, then I have no regret for the part which I have taken in calling a congress for that purpose, and I would recommend that this convention take immediate action on the manifesto and if the same meets with your approval that the question be at once submitted to a referendum vote of our entire membership as to whether or not representatives shall be sent to Chicago June 27th clothed with the power specified in the call.

I sincerely trust that, realizing the absolute helplessness of organized labor as it is now constructed, that you will act fearlessly and that a message of encouragement will go out from this convention to the thousands of discouraged workers who are looking to you, confident that the Western Federation of Miners will be the vanguard of an army that will lead them to industrial liberty.

The old worn-out system of trades autonomy has had a fair trial, and its inability to cope with the present conditions has been fully demonstrated. In fact, many of the officers of such organizations make no pretense at protecting the rights of their membership. They are satisfied to perpetuate themselves in office, pave their way for political appointments and surrender the confidence of their members and the most sacred rights of their organization to civic federations and arbitration boards, composed of men proven to be labor's bitterest enemies.

The relations between organized capital and organized labor are becoming more strained each day, as the corporations know they have nothing to fear from organized labor as now constituted, in fact, they rather court a conflict, knowing full well that the particular craft engaged must battle alone, while they, acting in unison, have no fear of the result.

Organized labor is simply an army drawn up to give battle to the common enemy. The strike and boycott, unless they will resort to the ballot, are the only weapons at their disposal and a failure to unitedly use these weapons means not only defeat for the entire army, but eventually its extermination.

The tenth annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners declared for a policy of independent political action and recommended to its members the principles enunciated by the Socialist party, also a vigorous policy of education along the lines of political economy. I am free to say to-day that the action of that convention three years ago has done more for the wage-working class of the country than all other resolutions passed since you became an organization, and I am more fully convinced than ever before that only through independent political action will the people ever be freed from the grasp of the privileged few. The result of the election in Colorado should be enough and more, to prove to the most ardent advocate of the old political parties the fallacy of organized labor or the working class expecting any relief from that source.

Two years ago the corporations of Colorado selected as their candidate for governor a man little known to the people, but well known to themselves. He was elected and the history of his damnable administration is still fresh in your memory. When the time came for selecting his successor, it was at least thought that the moneyed power would lay aside this tool who had become so obnoxious to the people and, while placing in his stead one who would as faithfully do their bidding, still lead the people to believe that a change had been made at their solicitation. But apparently blind with power, they again placed him in nomination. Organized labor rallied to the support of his opponent who was elected by a large majority, but the people were soon to realize that the electing and seating of a governor was two different things. The great majority of the citizens might elect their choice for governor, but they had apparently forgotten that corporations bought legislatures and owned supreme courts. Over eleven thousand majority of the voters of the state repudiated James H. Peabody and placed Mr. Adams in office. A Republican Legislature and a corporation Supreme Court trampled the will of the people under foot, declaring Peabody elected, and to-day we have an executive of the state of Colorado, a man who never received one vote for the position, and still we find those in the foremost ranks of organized labor shouting for the Republican and Democratic parties, pointing out that all wrongs will be righted two years hence.

Does anyone believe for one moment that the moneyed class of this country will relinquish their power over the dominant political parties? If the corporations of Colorado ignore the franchise of the people and place in power those whom they may select in 1905, what shall prevent them from pursuing the same policy in 1907? If the masses be disfranchised in one state, what shall prevent their disfranchisement in every state in the Union? There are those who argue that this can not be done. I say to you that it has been done, and will continue, unless met by an aroused people who, with one united stroke of the ballot, shall forever put an end to a system which makes it possible for the few to control a government.

I sincerely trust that the Western Federation of Miners will take no backward step, but that the policy adopted by the tenth annual convention will be continued with increased energy and determination.

Industrial unionism on the industrial field, class-conscious political action on the political field, are weapons still in the hands of the masses. Organize and educate, should be the slogan of organized labor. The former conception of no politics in unions is fast disappearing and is only advocated to-day by those who are in the good graces and doing the bidding of the trust magnates and politicians.

It has always been, and more so to-day than ever before, the aim of the ruling classes to divide the laboring people on the political field, and the greatest menace confronting your organization at this time is the salaried agent of the corporation who, in all probability is a member of your union, placed there by his employer for the express purpose of creating dissatisfaction and ever keeping before the rank and file the great danger of introducing any question that savors of politics. But how different immediately after the political convention has been held and the moneyed power have selected their candi-

dates, the same agent will appear and with as much solicitude endeavor to show why the unions should endorse and support such selection and invariably his argument prevails. The choice of the corporation becomes the candidate of organized labor and by their votes is placed into power to legislate in the interests of their masters.

How much longer are we going to acknowledge our ignorance? How much longer shall we permit our corporate and political masters to assume the privilege to do the thinking for the producing class? Knowing the power which we still possess through the ballot, if we shall continue to be wage and political slaves, struggling to better our condition through simple trades unionism, then we are entitled to no consideration, and the time is not far distant when, unless the working men and women of this country awoken to their strength and power and while they still have the right of franchise, destroy forever a system which makes millionaires and paupers, then they will be helpless indeed.

Two years ago had an American citizen been told that he could be exiled in the interest of a corporation in the United States, he would have been indignant, indeed, and cited you to the constitution. In 1904 had the voters of a state been told that eleven thousand majority would fail to elect their choice for a governor, your attention would have at once been called to the election laws, which provides that the candidate receiving the highest number of votes shall receive the certificate. Brothers, this has all become history, and the impossible argument can no longer be presented. The maxim that might makes right, has been so clearly exemplified by the comparative few who wield the political power, that further argument would seem almost unnecessary.

Still in line with the begging policy, we find in the Denver press of May 1st, the following: "Denver labor unions have decided to act as a unit in an effort to have the anti-boycott bill passed by the last Legislature declared unconstitutional, and are but awaiting the arrival of President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, who is to come to Denver the last of this month to institute a test case in the Colorado courts." Just think for one moment the farce of asking a Supreme Court whose members owe their appointment to a corporation governor, to pass on a law placed on the statutes by a corporation Legislature, who had just disfranchised thousands of legal voters in order that the government of a state might remain under the control of its corporate interests. When the mine owners' governor of Colorado signed the anti-boycott bill it became a law and will continue as such, regardless of the pleading and humiliation of organized labor. The anti-boycott law, of which that of Colorado is only a fore-runner; the injunction, which is always at the disposal of the corporations; the military and the policeman's club are only a few of the weapons placed in the hands of the capitalistic class through politics to subjugate organized labor. Whether or not they shall continue to use these weapons is for you to determine.

Supplication by the people of Russia at the feet of their Czar was met by the fire of musketry of his soldiery. Pleading of American labor at the throne of capitalism is answered with the injunction, the blacklist and the military bullpen. I appeal to you, fellow workers, to

arouse yourselves and while you still have the opportunity, take control of the weapons which are being used to deprive you of your citizenship, and bear in mind that you have ezars in this boasted land of the free that would be less merciful than he of Russia.

The position in which your organization is placed at this time is one that is going to require intelligent and determined action. In outlining a policy to meet the present conditions, worthless resolutions will be of no avail. The mine operators and smelting trust are organizing their associations with but one object in view--the reduction of wages, increase in hours and adoption of the card or blacklisting system--against members of the Western Federation of Miners. This card has been adopted for the sole purpose of preventing men who take a prominent part in organized labor or whose actions may not meet with the approval of some member of the association from securing further employment. You are even denied the privilege of waiting upon the foreman or shift boss and applying for employment, but must first present yourself at the office of the secretary of the mine owners' union and secure from him a recommendation for employment on the properties of the members of the association. Should you be given employment and prove a subservient tool for the company, when you desire to quit their services you will be given a clearance card, but if for any reason you should incur the displeasure of any member of the association you are given a dishonorable discharge, the same marked on your card and forwarded to all associations throughout the country. It is plain to be seen that this system is not necessary for the successful operation of the mines of this country and that there must be some ulterior motive intended by its adoption. This card, on its face, would appear of little importance, but the examination which the applicant is forced to undergo, lays bare its purpose and vicious intent. The question of affiliation with organized labor which is paramount, decides the right to even seek employment, and if the answer be in the affirmative, the applicant is placed on the blacklist and the possibility of securing employment in the jurisdiction of an association becomes futile. To meet this move against your organization, I would recommend that this convention instruct the incoming executive board to resist any attempt to establish this system in any part of your jurisdiction, and that they be authorized to levy such assessments on the entire membership as may be necessary in carrying out these instructions. Each and every member of the Western Federation of Miners should at once be placed on record through a referendum vote as to their position upon this question, which is one of vital importance and must be met in no uncertain manner. This system has been established in the Cripple Creek district and attempted in Telluride, Leadville, Searchlight, Nevada, Snow Ball and Gold Roads, Arizona. In Cripple Creek it has met with little opposition, owing to the fact that no union men have applied for work, the only complaint coming from the scab element who, when discharged by one operator, can secure no further employment in the district. At Telluride, while having declared for the card system, for reasons best known to themselves, the operators have hesitated in making the order general, non-union men having been required to apply for cards, while many union men have been given employment without question. How long this policy will continue I am unable to

say. In Leadville notice was given by the mine owners' association that the card system would go into effect October 4, 1904.

Attorney Richardson, representing the Western Federation of Miners, appeared before his honor, Judge Owers, and asked for an order restraining said association from discriminating against members of our organization. The order was granted, which has resulted in checking to some extent the movement in that place, but it has been reported that an appeal will be taken to the Supreme Court, where the order of Judge Owers would undoubtedly be dissolved.

On February 15th the newly organized association at Searchlight, Nevada, declared for the card system. The unions notified your officers and asked for instructions. The matter being submitted to the executive board, they voted unanimously to resist its adoption and the union was so notified. On February 17th, by unanimous vote of their membership, they declared unfair all properties where the order was being enforced, which caused a division among the operators, the large mines endeavoring to enforce the system and employing at this time about one hundred scabs, while all members of the union are employed by the smaller operators, making it possible for them to remain there and continue an aggressive campaign against the effort to destroy their union. At Snow Ball and Gold Roads, Ariz., the same blacklisting system has been attempted and in addition, a reduction of 50 cents per day on the wages of all men employed. This order went into effect April 14th and forced the unions to declare a strike on all properties controlled by the association. Executive Board Member Moor has been on the ground and reports that, in his opinion, the situation there is in favor of the organization, owing to the fact that during the spring and summer it is almost impossible to keep sufficient men in that district to operate the mines on account of the excessive heat of the desert climate and poor ventilation of the mines. The men there feel very confident of being able to compel the operators to pay the customary wage and dispense with the association card. In this effort they should receive the full support of the Federation, as it is all important that this attempt to destroy unionism and reduce wages in Nevada and Arizona be frustrated, as it is undoubtedly the intent of this combination to make non-union camps of these places so as to have a base to work from to destroy our organization in the entire Southwest. If we are defeated there, we will have the same conditions confronting every local in California, Nevada and Arizona, with an ever diminishing chance of success.

Returning to the situation in Colorado, I make no misstatement when I say that your organization has more than held its own since you last met in convention. That we have been able to do this, in fact, that we are still in existence after two long years of unparalleled warfare, proves beyond a question of doubt that the cause which you championed was a just cause and that your plan of organization and the principles for which you contended were unquestionably right. The strike in Cripple Creek and Colorado City could and would have been won many months ago, had it not been for the selfishness of a certain per cent. of your membership who preferred to surrender their principle and cast their lot with a combination whose sole aim is the destruction of an organization which has made living conditions possible

in the mining camps of the West. This class of men, in conjunction with certain labor organizations, are alone responsible for the long-drawn-out struggle. To the practical miner who deserted his brothers in time of need, and the railroad man who boasts of his unionism, but who is to-day transferring the ore mined by scab miners to the mills manned by scab millmen, can be charged the conditions which exist there at the present time. For those who violated their obligation to become tools for a mine owners' association to be used in the destruction of their own organization, we can have nothing but contempt, but the individual railroad employe who is forced by his organization to scab on his fellow unionists I would not condemn too severely, knowing that the laws governing his organization compel him to do that which is against his best judgment and principle. He is, if nothing else, true to his organization, which causes him to do a great injury to his fellow workmen in order that peace may be preserved with his employer.

In Cripple Creek, at this time, the mine operators have a surplus of men, such as they are, for the operation of their properties. Still, we find that the conditions of the workings are becoming such that no experienced miner, even under normal conditions, would care to accept employment. The reduced output of ore and the general condition is proof sufficient that the experience of the mine operators in their attempt to disrupt the Western Federation of Miners has been bitter and expensive.

I have received many inquiries of late in regard to declaring the strike off in the Cripple Creek district. My reply has invariably been that the Western Federation of Miners has nothing to declare off. The issues involved stand out as they did August 10, 1903. The mine owners at that time decided to take their stand behind the United States Reduction and Refining Company, which had denied the right of their employes to become members of organized labor. To have conceded the demands made by your organization at that time would have cost the mine owners of Cripple Creek nothing. You were not asking that they increase the wage or reduce the hours of labor, but that they take their stand with you on the side of right and justice. But apparently believing that the opportune time had arrived, reinforced by all persons and parties that were in favor of corporation control and the disruption of organized labor, with the governor pledged to rally to their support, they declared with Manager MacNeil that the Western Federation of Miners must go. The report of your secretary-treasurer will be the best evidence as to their success. The future policy to be pursued in the Cripple Creek strike, as well as all other matters pertaining to the organization, is now in your hands and it devolves upon you to outline plans to be carried out by your incoming executive board and officers.

My advice at this time is that there be no change in the position taken by your organization or the policy pursued in the state of Colorado. You have set forth in your constitution that your object shall be to unite the various persons working in and around the mines, mills and smelters into one central body. In defense of this right, you have battled for two long years; had you surrendered, the very foundation upon which your organization is constructed would have been shattered,

and the Western Federation of Miners would to-day be in the same condition as the United Mine Workers of District No. 15.

You have nothing to surrender; nothing to compromise. The right to organize is a constitutional one, your right to seek employment without permission from any individual or association can not be questioned, and far rather would I see the Western Federation of Miners disbanded than to recede one inch from the position they have taken in defense of their principle.

TELLURIDE STRIKE.

The strike declared by Telluride local September 1, 1903, and which had been vigorously prosecuted for fifteen months, was declared ended December 1, 1904. This action was taken after the mine operators had posted notices at their various properties conceding the eight-hour day and a minimum wage of three dollars, which was all the union had been contending for. After being informed of this action upon the part of the operators, I requested that a meeting of the San Juan District union be called, which was done, and on November 29th, after going into every phase of the situation, it was decided to recommend to the Telluride union that a meeting be called for the purpose of taking a referendum vote upon the advisability of ending the strike. The result of this vote was almost unanimously in favor of calling off the strike, which was done December 1, 1904. While there had been no agreement reached between the operators and the organization, I believe that the action taken by the mine managers in granting the eight-hour day and a satisfactory wage scale fully justified us in meeting them half way. The fact that after fifteen months of as stubborn a contest as had ever been waged between organized capital and organized labor, they had virtually admitted their inability to successfully operate their properties without the practical miner only to be found within the ranks of the Western Federation of Miners, and had conceded every point at issue, led me to believe that it was their desire that peace and normal conditions should again prevail. While conditions in Telluride at this time are not altogether such as we could wish, still I believe we made no mistake in ending the strike, and I consider its conclusion a great victory for your organization. To the noble men and women of Telluride, who for fifteen long months, although confronted with conditions which seemed at times almost unbearable, stood unflinchingly by the banner of their organization, is due the everlasting praise of every member of the Western Federation of Miners. Although exiled from their homes, confined in filthy bullpens, slandered and abused, their loyalty to their union never wavered. True to their obligation, never complaining, they were willing to still continue the struggle had it been necessary, and though their numbers have been greatly reduced, making it practically essential to rebuild their union, the time is not far distant when No. 63 will again take its place as one of the largest and most progressive locals in the Western Federation of Miners.

STRIKE AT DURANGO.

The strike which was declared by the Durango Smelters' Union for the eight-hour work day resulted in a complete failure,

caused to a great extent by the members of the citizens' alliance, who left their places of business to become strike-breakers in company with the Mexicans and Navajo Indians, who knew no better, but were simply used in conjunction with this band of ingrates in the interests of the American Smelting and Refining Company, to defeat the members of the smeltermen's union, who were waging a peaceable contest for a just cause, but while unsuccessful in forcing the smelting trust to grant them living conditions, I feel that their struggle has not been in vain, as agitation upon their part at least assisted in forcing the corporations of the state of Colorado to instruct their Legislature to place on the statutes what they term a reasonable eight-hour law.

STRIKE OF DENVER SMELTERMEN.

The strike for the eight-hour work day declared by the Denver Mill and Smeltermen's Union, July 3, 1903, was continued until March 24th of this year, when, at a meeting of the union called for that purpose, the following eight-hour bill, which had just passed the House of Representatives, was discussed:

"Section 1. All labor of miners in underground workings, and labor directly attending blast furnaces, either in smelters or in ore reduction works, in directly attending stamp mills, chlorination and cyanide processes and directly attending smelting furnaces producing metal or matte, which labor is in contact with noxious fumes, gases or vapors, is hereby declared dangerous and injurious to health, life and limb; and the period of employment for all persons so employed in underground mines or other underground workings, attending blast furnaces either in smelters or in ore reduction works, stamp mills, or in chlorination and cyanide mills, and attending smelting furnaces producing metal or matte, shall be eight hours per day, except in cases of emergency, where life or property is in imminent danger.

"Sec. 2. Every person, body corporate, agent, manager, superintendent, employer, president or director shall, in every case of such emergency, make to the commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, within ten days after the commencement of such emergency, a report, according to the form which may be prescribed by him, verified by the oath or affirmation of such person, employer, agent, manager, superintendent, president or director; each report shall exhibit in detail the circumstances creating such emergency.

"Sec. 3. Any violation of this act shall constitute a misdemeanor and be punished by a fine of not less than \$50 nor exceeding \$300."

When the Denver smeltermen made their demand on the American Smelting and Refining Company they only included that to which the people of Colorado by their ballots had told them they were entitled.

When the Fifteenth General Assembly, the majority of which were owned body and soul by the corporations, passed the above bill, they felt that they had accomplished that for which they were contending; that through their insistence they had, much against its will, forced the smelting trust to permit the passage of an eight-hour law. While the provisions of this bill, as you will note, are not specific, yet that clause which declares all labor dangerous which may come in contact with noxious fumes, gases or vapors, should insure to the great majority of the smelter workers of Colorado the benefit of this law.

In the opinion of the membership of the union, nothing farther could be accomplished through the continuation of the strike, and although the law would not become operative until the month of June, it was deemed advisable to end the strike, withdrawing every obstacle and giving the corporations the opportunity of complying with the law. Whether they will see fit to do this, or call upon their Supreme Court to declare it unconstitutional, is yet to be determined. As to the members of the Denver Mill and Smeltermen's Union, organized labor can boast of none more loyal. With thousands of their fellow workers in Pueblo, Leadville and other parts of the state, employed by the same corporation, refusing to rally to their support, in the face of the injunction, their members sent to prison, and every weapon in the hands of a corporation used against them, they, for very nearly two years, have fought the battle for the eight-hour day, and whatever may be the result of the law now passed, whatever benefits shall be derived through its adoption, can be credited to them and the Western Federation of Miners.

STRIKE AT COLORADO CITY.

The Colorado City strike is so closely connected with that of Cripple Creek that in outlining your policy of conducting the affairs at one place, you will necessarily include the entire district. The members of Colorado City union have stood loyally by the organization and when the card system was inaugurated at the Portland mine in the month of July, 1904, the employes at the company's mill in Colorado City, who were members of Mill and Smeltermen's Union No. 125, almost to a man, discontinued work, positively refusing to reduce ore, mined by non-union miners. At the Portland mill there has been no reduction in wages, the only grievance against the company being the card system at both mine and mill, and were it the desire of the Portland Gold Mining Company to return to the old system of operating their properties and establishing friendly relations with their former employes, it would only be necessary to abolish this blacklisting system against men whom they have acknowledged to be the best class of workmen in the world.

As to the United States Reduction and Refining Company, there can be no change in the position taken by the Western Federation of Miners until they shall agree to pay to their employes a scale of wages which shall conform with the scale paid by the Portland company, agreed upon in settlement of the strike against that company March 14, 1903, and shall concede to their employes the right to affiliate with organized labor.

The Western Federation of Miners is an industrial organization. Your constitution claims jurisdiction over all men employed in the mining, milling and smelting industry. When you adopted this plan of organization you said to every man employed in these industries, "If you affiliate with our organization, your interests shall be ours, an injury done to you shall be considered an injury to all." In defense of these principles, your organization was forced to give battle to the mill trust of Colorado City. Had you wavered, the very life of your association would have been the penalty. As I have said before, you are asking nothing but justice of the mill and mine operators of Colo-

rado. To concede your demands would cost them nothing and this convention should go on record in no uncertain manner in reaffirming their position that no member of the Western Federation of Miners shall accept employment in the Cripple Creek mining district until labor is granted the same privilege enjoyed by its employer. If the mill and mine operators of that district prefer the traitor, the thug and the ex-convict, which they now employ, to the practical miner, grant them that privilege, but let it be known to the world that Cripple Creek is a place to be shunned by all members of organized labor.

On February 21st I visited Randsburg, California, where the members of local No. 44 have been on strike since June 10, 1903. I found about 100 men still in the district, apparently as determined to establish a living wage as they were two years ago, when the strike was declared. After investigating the situation there, I arrived at the conclusion that the members of the miners' union were not the only sufferers, but that the unfair company and citizens' alliance also fully realized that something unusual had been going on in that part of California, two of the larger companies, for reasons best known to themselves, having found it necessary to discontinue operations entirely, and the others known to be unable to pay dividends. The Yellow Aster company, which is the largest in the camp, after resorting to every ruse imaginable, to defeat the just demands of the union, had, at the time I visited there, almost ceased to operate, and are quarrying down the hillside in an effort to keep their mill in operation. The citizens' alliance had almost ceased to exist, as their staunch supporters, the large mining companies, had used them as long as they were needed, when they were left in a bankrupt condition, shunned by union men and entirely dependent on the low-wage strike-breaker. They have realized, when too late, that in order for them to be prosperous in business, the wage worker must receive a fair day's pay. The business men of Randsburg have surely been taught a lesson which they will remember for many a day. Most of the members of the union are employed on the smaller properties which are paying the union scale, while others are operating leases, which makes them self-supporting. They have no intention of discontinuing the fight against the Yellow Aster company, and the Federation should assist them in every way possible. This can best be done by keeping the practical miner from going there and accepting employment, as there can be no doubt that the company must raise wages and secure a more competent class of workmen or discontinue operations.

LOCK-OUT AT MINE LA MOTTE, MISSOURI.

On January 27th the mill operators of Mine La Motte, Missouri, posted notices to the effect that on and after February 1st the mill employes would be expected to work twelve-hour shifts at the present scale of wages or accept a reduction for an eight-hour day. The men refused to accept these terms, which resulted in the company closing down the mine and mill and locking them out. This was done, regardless of the fact that a state law had been passed providing that eight hours should constitute a day's work in all mines, smelters, reduction work and refineries, the company maintaining that a lead mill did not come under the head of reduction works for the reason that the min-

eral was separated from the rock without the use of heat. Being in Montana at that time, and unable to go to Missouri, Executive Board Member Kirwan was requested to go there, which he did, and on March 1st met with the union and advised that if necessary arrangements could be made with the company, the men should return to work and the Federation would immediately take steps to enforce the eight-hour law. This advice was accepted by the union and at a conference between the president of the company and Mr. Kirwan, it was agreed that all of the old employes be reinstated and the mines and mills would resume operations. On March 20th I requested Attorney Murphy to visit Missouri for the purpose of inquiring into the eight-hour law and take such action as in his opinion might be necessary to enforce the same through the courts. Mr. Murphy, in his report to you, will fully outline the situation as he found it, and what legal steps have been taken by the federation.

LOCKOUT AT HERR AND ALDRIDGE, MONTANA.

February 3d I visited Herr and Aldridge, Montana, for the purpose of conferring with the unions relative to the lockout which had occurred in the month of August. After a full investigation, it was my opinion that the position taken by the unions was not only reasonable, but fully justifiable under the state law. At the time of my visit a number of conferences had been held between Mr. Merry, the general manager, and representatives of the unions, but it was apparent that he had no desire or intention of treating them fairly. He had locked the men out, believing that as their contract was about to expire he would so intimidate them by throwing them out of employment that they would willingly return to work under the reduction which he proposed. This the men refused to do, but presented what they believed to be a reasonable wage scale and mining rate. As a result of conferences, the wage scale, with few exceptions, has been agreed upon, but while Mr. Merry has conceded something in wages, it is undoubtedly his intention to make it up on the mining price, as he insists on a reduction of 6 cents per ton on all coal mined from the rate prevailing prior to the lockout. Merry is not only unwilling to pay a reasonable price for the mining of a ton—2,000 pounds of coal—but insists that the men produce 2,240 pounds for a ton. This they were doing prior to the shut-down, for which they were receiving 75 cents. They are willing to accept this rate and return to work, but the company now insists that they shall continue, giving them the benefit of this excessive weight, at the rate of 70 cents. Mr. Merry, in a statement to the Livingston Post a short time ago, said that the company had offered the scale demanded by the unions but had been rejected. This is absolutely untrue, as at the last conference held, he stated positively that the company would make no farther concessions. In the month of December, Executive Board Members Baker and Simpkins, at my request, visited Herr and Aldridge, making a full investigation of the conditions there, reporting their findings to the board, which met at headquarters December 5th. The board, after hearing their report, unanimously endorsed the action taken by the unions and instructed the officers to render them every assistance possible, which has been done, and I would recommend that this convention instruct the incom-

ing board to continue such support, and take whatever steps may be necessary to carry the strike to a successful termination. Executive Board Member Mahoney, who has been on the ground, and the delegates from those unions will give you a full outline of the situation there at the present time.

COAL MINERS OF UTAH.

In the month of February I received an application for charter signed by about one hundred coal miners of Utah. In making their request they set forth that in _____, 1903, they had been ordered on strike by the United Mine Workers of America, with which organization they were affiliated. That, after having stood loyally by the organization for many months, enduring great suffering, losing their homes which they had built on company ground, and being forced to take up their abode in dugouts and hovels, they had been ordered back to work by President Mitchell; this, in face of the fact that the company had positively refused to employ them as union men and in order to return to the mines they would be compelled to disband their union. This they refused to do, and were deserted by the national organization and were left penniless and homeless, to exist as best they could. They had sent representatives to their brother unionists in other states, who, while willing to contribute to their support, had been warned by their national officers not to do so.

While the constitution of our organization is very plain in regard to who shall be eligible for membership, I decided to first investigate the condition of the applicants and sent Executive Board Member Schmelzer, who was at that time in Utah, to the coal camps for that purpose. Upon receipt of Brother Schmelzer's report, I submitted the same to the executive board who were of the unanimous opinion that the federation should charter these men and render them whatever assistance the condition of the treasury would admit. I then informed them of the condition of our organization, and that, owing to the long struggle in which we had been engaged and the numerous strikes in the jurisdiction at that time, it would be impossible to charter them and furnish the necessary financial support to continue the strike, that, with this understanding, if it was still their desire to affiliate with the federation, we would give them our moral support and such financial assistance as the treasury would admit. They replied that it was their intention to continue the fight against the Utah Fuel Company to regain their homes, and the right to organize; that to continue their affiliation with the United Mine Workers they were asked to return to their masters unrecognized as union men, or they might be assisted by that organization in leaving the state, surrendering their property to the corporation and securing employment elsewhere. About March 10th their request for charter was granted and since that time they have received such assistance as we were able to give. I commend these people to you and can only say that if there was ever a body of men worthy and entitled, not only to the consideration of the Western Federation, but to organized labor in general, it is the striking coal miners of Utah, deserted by the organization of their craft; persecuted by their masters, they have unflinchingly faced privation and hunger in defense of the principle of organized labor. I have requested Attor-

ney Murphy to come to Utah for the purpose of taking legal steps toward regaining for them their homes, and I sincerely trust that this convention will endorse the action of your executive board, and that the Western Federation of Miners will continue to render them every assistance in their power.

This in brief is a review of the principal strikes and lockouts which were in progress and have occurred since the twelfth annual convention. A number of our locals have been involved in difficulties with employers, some finding it necessary to go on strike, which was of short duration, the union at all points succeeding in preventing an increase in hours or a reduction in wages.

It is a great deal of satisfaction to me to be able to report the settlement of the different damage suits growing out of the Rossland strike. This was accomplished April 10th, and I am informed by Executive Board Member Baker that as a result of the same, the outlook for the Rossland union is very encouraging, many of the old members being reinstated and new ones rapidly coming in, and with friendly relations now existing between the company and the union, Rossland will undoubtedly in the near future again take its place in the list of the most prosperous locals in our jurisdiction.

ORGANIZATION.

The question of organization is one of great importance at this time. As you will note by the report of your secretary-treasurer that we have, during the past year established a number of new locals in the northern mineral states, but taking into consideration the thousands of men employed in those districts, you can readily see that the work of organization has only just begun. Having established a foothold there, ways and means should be provided for continuing an aggressive campaign of organization and education in those states, to the end that during the ensuing year we may bring into the ranks of the Western Federation of Miners all those employed in the industry which we represent, thereby making it impossible for those who would disrupt our organization, taking advantage of their unorganized and uneducated condition to bring them into the western states to take your places when on strike. The men there are aroused to-day as never before and the seed of unionism which has been sown by your representatives, if properly nurtured, cannot fail to greatly augment the numerical strength of your organization. A number of competent organizers should at once be placed in the states of Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin, also Missouri, Illinois and many of the states where we have been partially organized for years.

Not only is it imperative that an aggressive campaign should be inaugurated among the unorganized metal miners, but realizing the fact that the men employed in the coal mining industry throughout the Western states and British Columbia are in an almost unorganized condition at this time, and as the interests of the coal and metal miners are so closely allied, especially in the Western states, where a large portion of the coal and coke produced is used in the reduction of ores. I would recommend that the same effort be put forth in the organizing of the men employed in this industry as in the metal mining, milling and smelting. We find in New Mexico, Wyoming and Utah, to say

nothing of British Columbia, in the neighborhood of 30,000 men employed in the production of coal, and I feel safe in saying that not more than one thousand of them are affiliated with organized labor. Still, we were warned a short time ago by Mr. Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, that he might decide to invade the jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners for the purpose of organizing metal miners. There are no boundary lines to the jurisdiction of the W. F. M.

Your constitution provides that all men employed in mines, mills and smelters shall become members, and I would recommend that, regardless of where they may be found, all those who may desire to affiliate with your organization and are eligible under your constitution, be unhesitatingly chartered, or admitted to membership at large.

It is idle to point out the great benefits to be gained by taking certain action, and for a convention to pass resolutions instructing their executive board to put the same into effect unless the necessary ways and means are provided, and if it is the decision of this convention to inaugurate an aggressive campaign of organization, then I would recommend that an assessment of 50 cents per quarter for the ensuing year be levied on the entire membership for this purpose. If this is done, I have every reason to believe that during the next twelve months the membership of your organization can and will be more than doubled.

There are many recommendations that I could make, but knowing from past experience that little attention is given to the suggestion of officers, I shall refrain from taking up more of your valuable time, and leave the amendments to your constitution and other matters to the executive board and committees, with the exception of a few thoughts which I feel are of vital importance.

The constitution should be so amended as to provide that any member of a local union, who shall become an employer of labor or be placed in a position where he has the power to hire or discharge men, shall not be entitled to a voice, vote or seat in a local or a convention of the national organization. He may retain his membership and receive the benefits of his local while occupying such position and shall be entitled to all rights and privileges in accord with the constitution, immediately after such occupation ceases. It cannot be contradicted that a shift boss, foreman or any man who has it in his power to deprive men of their employment has been in the past and is to-day a great menace to the progress of our local organizations. The rank and file will not attend the meetings or express their convictions either by voice or vote, knowing full well that they have in their midst those who have it in their power to deny them the privilege of further employment. I do not feel that this law would be doing an injustice to those who may come under its provision, and no true member of the organization who has only the interest of his union at heart should object to its passage.

The duties of and power vested in the members of your executive board should be made more specific. The constitution now provides that each member shall act as an organizer in his district and for all necessary services rendered shall receive as compensation \$5 per day, and transportation expenses. There have been members of the board

to them not only a message of encouragement, but that they be assured of every assistance in the power of our organization.

Since the 5th of last July, when I was released from the custody of the mine owners' association, owing to the unsettled condition of the organization, I have spent considerable of my time at headquarters, believing that by so doing I could best serve the organization. In the month of October I visited Missouri for the purpose of advising with our new locals there, and in December made a trip to Chicago in the interests of the organization. January 21st I left for Montana, where I spent some time, going from there to Randsburg, California, and returning to Denver February 27th. Having been instructed by your executive board to represent our organization on the board of the American Labor Union, I left for Chicago April 11th to attend a session of said board, returning to headquarters on the 20th.

Your constitution provides that the president shall visit each district once during the year. This, under normal conditions, would be impossible, but no man could keep in touch with and manage the affairs of an organization which has been involved as yours has been in the past two years, and be continually in the field. In the majority of our districts the member of the executive board has been able to visit most of the locals, and only where such members have been prevented on account of trouble in some part of their district have they failed to do so.

As there have been so many important incidents connected with our organization during the past year, it has been impossible for me to report upon but comparatively few. The numerical and financial conditions you will find fully covered by the report of your secretary-treasurer. The growth of the federation in the past year has been unsurpassed by any in its history. It has sought no favors from corporations; entered into no alliance with civic federations or arbitration combinations, but has at all times acted fearlessly, demanding if necessary, justice for its membership, and with a continuation of this policy, no power on earth can prevent the Western Federation of Miners from becoming one of the most powerful factors in a movement which shall insure peace and prosperity to all the people, and the overthrow of the present system of monopoly and I sincerely trust that at no time will this organization fall into the hands of those who will use it for any purpose except the benefit not only of its own members but for the wage-working class in general.

In conclusion, I desire to extend to the executive board and secretary-treasurer my sincere appreciation for the kind treatment they have invariably accorded me, and further to say to our membership that they have, without exception, at all times, worked faithfully and earnestly in the interests of our organization.

To my traducers I have no apologies to offer. As president of a labor organization, in carrying out the policies and purpose for which I understand we are organized, I have made no friends among the capitalistic class. I have endeavored at all times to say and do that which would best serve those whom I represented. This I have done without fear or favor, and while I have made many enemies in pursuing the course which my judgment lead me to believe was right, I have no regrets, but shall feel highly gratified if through my efforts anything

You have undoubtedly noticed in the magazine an account of the damage suits which have been filed against your organization by the mine owners and mill trusts of Colorado. The only question involved in these suits is the right of organized labor to cease work. Some time prior to the filing of these cases, similar suits were instituted against the United Mine Workers by the coal companies of Colorado, and it is undoubtedly the intention of the corporations to make a determined effort to secure a decision which will take from organized labor their only effective weapon—the strike. Attorney Murphy will appear before this convention while in session and give you a full report of all legal matters, making it unnecessary for me to go into detail. Mr. Murphy has been of great assistance to your officers during the past year. He has not only ably defended your interests before the courts, but his experience and interest in the labor movement has made his advice on many important matters almost invaluable, and you will be fortunate indeed if his health will permit him to continue in your service.

I would call attention to the inconvenience of holding your convention at points other than where your headquarters may be located. The saving in transportation and expenses by going to some other point is insignificant, and more than offset by the inconvenience caused by virtually moving your headquarters to the place of convention and to some other point after its conclusion. I would recommend that this convention establish permanent headquarters at some desirable place and that future conventions be held thereat.

On December 5th your executive board met at headquarters for the purpose of auditing the books of the secretary-treasurer, and considering many other important matters growing out of the strike situation. After going into session, Vice President Williams received a communication from James P. Murphy, executive board member from District No. 3, stating that for the time being he had ceased to be an active member of the board. The board, believing it necessary that all districts be represented, declared a vacancy and instructed me to fill the same. I selected as Mr. Murphy's successor Charles E. Mahoney, a member of Local No. 74, and at this time I feel that I made no mistake, Brother Mahoney having proven to be qualified in every particular to fill the position.

Before concluding, I desire to call your attention to the strike and lockout of the United Brewery Workers of Seattle, Tacoma and Olympia, which has been precipitated by the managers and citizens' alliance. The United Brewery Workers have contributed liberally to the Western Federation of Miners in their time of trouble, and I would recommend that this convention endorse their strike and instruct your locals to do everything in their power to aid and assist them in their struggle.

The strike of the Chicago teamsters is one that is attracting the attention and is being closely watched by the employers and organized labor throughout the entire country. What the outcome may be can only be surmised at this time. It is to be hoped that the men who are fighting the battle of organized labor in the city of Chicago may be successful. The principle for which they are contending should rally to their assistance an undivided support of organized labor, regardless of affiliation, and I would earnestly recommend that you forward

who have so construed this as authorizing them to draw continuous salary during their term of office and asserting that the president of the organization had no authority whatever to direct their movements. If this be the construction of the constitution, then arrangements should be made by this convention to increase the revenues of the organization and the office of president should be dispensed with. For if the executive board members have full authority to conduct affairs in their respective districts, the office of president would be nothing more than a farce, and the money expended for maintaining that office should by all means be used to better advantage. It is imperative to make your constitution perfectly plain regarding this matter so that farther misunderstanding and trouble can be avoided.

The twelfth annual convention decided that in justice to the members of the United Mine Workers of America, who had paid to become members of organized labor, the locals of our organization should accept transfers issued by locals of the mine workers. This system has been practiced throughout our jurisdiction, thereby proving the desire upon our part to bring about a closer relation between the two organizations. In appreciation of our efforts, Mr. Mitchell, for no reason other than that his personal policy and acts have been criticized by the Miners' Magazine and myself, has instructed the locals of his organization that all reciprocal relations between the two organizations should cease. Regardless of the position taken by Mr. Mitchell, I have advised our unions to continue the policy outlined by the last convention, and not only would I advise that there be no change at this time, but would recommend that the system be made general and that the Western Federation recognize and accept any and all transfers which may be presented by members of any bona fide organization. I believe it a rank injustice for the wage slaves to be compelled to continually come forward with initiation fees each and every time they may be forced to change their employment, and I hope our organization will see the necessity of placing the principle before the dollar and open wide your doors to all those who may come within your jurisdiction and have sworn allegiance to the cause of unionism.

MINERS' MAGAZINE.

Another important matter that should receive your careful consideration is that of your official organ. The Miners' Magazine is recognized to-day as the most fearless advocate of the wage-working class, of any labor journal edited in this country. Its far-reaching benefit to your organization cannot be questioned. I believe the editor will inform you that the circulation has been greatly increased during the past year, but that the magazine is not reaching the membership of the federation. In my opinion it is all important that each and every member, for many reasons, should be provided with the journal and I again recommend that steps toward that end be taken by this convention. The editor, Brother John M. O'Neill, needs no recommendation from me, as the magazine itself speaks for his ability and had the many other so-called labor journals, O'Neills at their head, the time would not be far distant when the masses would be aroused from their lethargy and the wage system which makes it necessary for you to gather here to-day, would be forever obliterated.

has been accomplished in the interests of those whom I have had the honor of representing. I sincerely trust that your councils will result in great good to those you have gathered here to represent and that the Western Federation of Miners will ever be found in the foremost ranks, fearlessly fighting the battle for the uplifting of their class. In turning over to you the office of president, I wish to ask for my successor the same hearty support which has been accorded to me, for without the co-operation of the entire membership he is indeed helpless, and the organization can expect to accomplish but little.

Respectfully submitted,

CHAS. MOYER, President.

Salt Lake City, Utah, May 22, 1905.