

Significance of Arrest of Western Federation Officials

The arrest of President Charles H. Moyer and Secretary William D. Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners, in Denver, Colo., on Sunday night last, and their prompt extradition into Idaho on a charge of inciting the murder of ex-Governor Frank Steunenberg, the "war governor" of Idaho, marks a most astounding and portentous turn in the history of western labor unions in this country, says Francis Benson in the New York Evening Post.

The Western Federation of Miners extends its domain over six states and territories, where mines and mining are strong factors in the welfare of the people—Idaho, Montana, Colorado, Nevada, Utah, and New Mexico. Politically and industrially, the federation has been powerful enough to be the arbiter of the destinies of every laborer in them.

It has been strong enough to coerce allied business interests, and to first cajole and then whip into line other state and national labor organizations, and finally to stand alone whenever the support of Mr. Mitchell's United Mine Workers or Mr. Gompers' American Federation of Labor has been withdrawn.

It has been so strong that few of the thousands of assaults, murders, and mysterious disappearances that have occurred in the districts controlled by the federation has ever been seriously investigated. Police officers, elected by federation votes, did not care to catch one of their brothers red-handed, and no man would have dared testify against him if they had. "Accidents" were, by common consent the explanation of the mysterious dispensations of Providence, calculated to "put the fear of God into the heart" of employers or non-union men in a roughly-peopled, isolated, mountainous country.

PRESIDENT MOYER A FIGURE-HEAD.

President Moyer, it is conceded, is but the figurehead of the Western Federation. Secretary and Treasurer William D. Haywood is the brains of the organization, and a shrewd, more audacious manipulator cannot be found west of the Rocky mountains.

Mr. Moyer is a big, heavy-set, thick-necked, illiterate, workingman, a convincing front for the structure he represents. Secretary Haywood is little and tall, considerably over six feet in height, alert, cool, and plausible. He could have been president of the federation at any time he desired, but a secretary—and treasurer—of the organization, with a pliable president, his power and scope have been infinitely stronger. Secretary Haywood also came from the ranks of the men he controls. An unskilled blast destroyed the sight of one eye, but a profile picture of Mr. Haywood shows a clean type of a man, one whose foresight has been—until now—extraordinary.

When the entire state of Colorado was aroused by the Cripple Creek struggle, and the whole of the United States and Europe was interested in the outcome, Mr. Haywood played his men against Governor Peabody, the national guard, and the desperate Mine Owners' association without a falter.

A "cage" with 15 non-union miners was dropped 1,400 feet down the dark abyss of the Independence shaft, and mutilated bits of human flesh strewn along the dark walls for a thousand feet. Superintendent McCormack and Foreman Beck were blown to atoms on the sixth level of the Vindicator, and pieces of the infernal machine that did the deadly work were easily found. An attempt to derail a train with 213 members of the military with their wives and children, and to hurl them down a 300-foot precipice, made after midnight of a winter's night, the dynamite fiend was more successful in catching a night shift as it waited for the down train at 2 o'clock one morning, and 14 non-union men were torn limb from limb and flung to the four winds by the blast that wrecked the Independence station. The fact that the train was ahead of time and came whistling up while the rest of the crew were a hundred feet down the trail, was the only thing that prevented the slaughter of a hundred more non-union workmen. However, the fate of the 14 was a strong lesson. Every now and then these things happened, until public sentiment almost demanded that the strike be yielded to the federation in the name of humanity.

The governor of Colorado and his national guard worked overtime. Mine owners raged and politicians all over the state took sides in a personal fight, but Secretary Haywood sat in the Denver headquarters of the Federation and steered his course so skillfully that unions all through the east assessed each member from ten cents a week to

a dollar a month to keep up the Colorado fight.

A farcical arrest for the desecration of the American flag was the nearest the Mine Owners' association ever came to catching up with Mr. Haywood. Imitation paper flags with inflammatory sentiments printed upon them were scattered broadcast through the Cripple Creek district as "doggers." For this Secretary Haywood languished for a brief spell in the Denver jail, and once, when President Moyer ventured into the military camp at Telluride, he was promptly arrested and held for inciting lawlessness.

When Haywood and Moyer escaped they devoted their efforts to a political combination that promised to wipe the national guard out of existence. With the support fund from eastern unions and the prospect of federation votes, Secretary Haywood stood shoulder to shoulder with the Democratic leaders for the defeat of Gov. Peabody for re-election. At the September labor day parade in Denver, Secretary Haywood was given the place of honor and by a clever arrangement rode up the business streets at the head of the procession to receive the plaudits of the multitude, counterbalancing down again, facing the marching unions and graciously acknowledging the salutes of the men passing under his review.

It is doubtful if a Colorado indictment could have been brought against Haywood and Moyer, but when Gov. Gooding of Idaho showed a determination to avenge the murder of his predecessor, Gov. Steunenberg, and sent the federal troops over to the Colorado back them up to Gov. McDonald, the Peabody compromise for Colorado, it took less than an hour for the Colorado authorities to send the Idaho custodians, President Moyer, who was already on a Pullman on his way to Deadwood, Secretary Haywood and G. A. Pettibone, former member of the executive board of the federation.

After thirteen years, a professional dynamiter of the federation had been trapped into giving a plot away. Thirteen appears to be a momentous number for the federation. An executive board of thirteen, with Secretary Haywood at its head, decided all important moves of the federation, and an "inner circle" of five carried them out. Warrants have been issued for all the members of this board, but it is doubtful if many more of them will be found now that the president and secretary of the federation have been incarcerated.

THE KILLING OF EX-GOV. STEUNENBERG.

Ex-Gov. Frank Steunenberg, who was destroyed by a dynamite bomb as he was entering the gate to his yard in Caldwell, Idaho, on the night of December 23, was one of the picturesque personalities of the western country. Seven feet in height, broad in proportion and straight as an Indian, he towered above other men in stature as he did in strength of character. Wall Street still remembers him as a rugged giant who wore a beaming coat hanging over a collarless shirt on one of his business excursions east.

Seven years ago, Gov. Steunenberg wiped the notorious "Coeur d'Alene crowd" off the map of Idaho. The leaders were sent to the penitentiary, and they swore that on their liberation they would be avenged. Their terms had all expired, or nearly so. Their friends on the outside helped them to celebrate the occasion, and at the same time to "make good" their vows. Two bombs were fastened, one to each side of Gov. Steunenberg's gate, and the perpetrators, as usual, got safely away. The ex-governor was blown to atoms as he entered his front yard.

Harry Orchard, alias Harry Hogan, a Western Federation man, was arrested, and on being put through the "thirty-third degree," confessed that the Federation "inner circle" had paid out thousands of dollars to him and men like him for the numerous murders in the mining country, many of which the general public never heard of. It was Orchard who laid the wires and shot off the gun that exploded the dynamite under the Independence station in Colorado. The Cripple Creek authorities were sure of this at the time, and they traced their man all through Mexico, California, and Canada to lose sight of him in Idaho.

Vincent St. John is also mentioned in the dispatches as having been arrested under the Orchard confession. For four years Colorado has been looking for St. John, a young, smooth-faced, Dick Deadeye type of ruffian, once president of the Telluride local of Haywood's Western Federation. It appears that St. John had only stepped over into Burke, Idaho, to become president of the local there. Haywood and others high in federation affairs, it is said, knew where he was all the time, as did also the local union he was presiding over. Mr. Orchard casually mentioned

his whereabouts, and the Idaho authorities gathered him into the same citadel which shelters Haywood and Moyer.

Vincent St. John was elected president of the Telluride union in February, 1901. A month later he got down to business by demanding that the "fathom" system be abolished at the Smuggler Union mine, alleging that inferior workmen could not make a living wage.

Manager Collins replied that the contract system was optional with the men, and that reliable men anxious to work to the extent of their ability were in favor of it. At the same time, he published the mine's payroll for the month showing an average daily wage of \$4.05. One man averaged \$9, raw Italians made \$2, and one or two less capable or ambitious made \$1.50, bringing down the average to \$4.05. The day rate would be only \$3.

In the face of this, St. John insisted upon his point, and declared a strike for May 1. Manager Collins kept the mines going, and on July 1 had 200 non-union men in his employ. July 3 at daybreak 250 Federation miners armed with rifles, shotguns, and revolvers, hid behind rocks and trees, and when the night shift came off and the day shift were going down, fired volleys into the unarmed men. The non-union men ran back into the buildings for shelter, dragging their dead and wounded with them. After three hours' parley, President St. John representing the strikers, promised the non-union men that they would be allowed to walk out unmolested.

The Federation men came down from behind the rocks, took possession of the mine, and as each man came out, lined him up until 33 stood under the range of the Federation guns. These 33 men were stripped and beaten, forced to remove their shoes and stockings, and then marched up the rugged

mountain, away from the town. It was two miles to the summit, over rocks and ice, and every step of the way some barefooted, coatless man was struck from behind, kicked, and taunted. Thomas Ballard, trail blazer, was shot in both arms and crippled for life. Edwin Thomas, a little Cornishman weighing perhaps 130 pounds, was beaten and left for dead by the way-side. When the mob left he dragged himself down Red Mountain and crawled into a deserted cabin. Here two Federation men found him, beat him down again, and drove him into the night. Thomas finally worked his way down the gulch, where a settler secretly took him in and cared for him a day or two until he could be as secretly dispatched to Ouray.

The others of the unfortunate band walked in their bare feet fifteen miles over mountain paths to Silverton. Gov. James H. Orman, the then governor of Colorado, was implored to send troops to preserve the rights and property of non-union workers and owners, but refused to do so because of a telegram from a political adviser of that district. "No occasion for troops, Mines in peaceful possession of miners," the message read. St. John and the Western Federation were, as the telegram stated, in full control of the entire district. Two hundred and fifty rifles and 50,000 cartridges were ordered on union letterhead and paid for by draft signed by President St. John, who was conducting this strike, previous to the attack on the Smuggler Union.

The Western Federation of Miners was organized in Butte, Mont., May 15, 1893, when lawless unionism had obtained full control of the Coeur d'Alene country.

The summer previous, armed union men had dynamited the Frisco mill, near Wardner, completely destroying it. In the light which followed a number of non-union men were killed, and 17

of them were marched off the dock into the lake. No one was punished for these outrages. Intimidation went on until federal troops were brought into the country.

Marital law was in force until November, 1892. As soon as troops were withdrawn terrorism was resumed, and the Western Federation of Miners, as it was called, was organized for determined control that would prevent any further interference by militia.

Systematic intimidation of individual examples in each district were begun, as object lessons of the supremacy of the people. One non-union man was tied to a hand-car and turned loose down a steep grade to an impressive and prolonged death. The local authorities, elected from the ranks of the federation men, did nothing to protect non-union men constantly coming into the country in search of work.

What effect the arrest of the president and secretary of the federation will have on the organization, remains to be seen. It may have a salutary effect upon its reorganization, no matter what the outcome of the murder trial.

There are impending state elections, however, and by the time a court trial is well under way, there will be the preliminaries for a presidential election, and the heavy vote of sympathetic labor organizations in six sparsely settled states and territories, is not to be weighed lightly.

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FIRST TRIP OVER WEBER RIVER.

Still another picture of old No. 1, the pioneer locomotive of Utah, is forthcoming. This time O. F. Ursenbach, writing from Salem, Idaho, says: "A short time ago I saw in the 'News' a cut of the old engine No. 1, taken while on the way to Salt Lake from Ogden. The enclosed photo goes that one better. It was taken on the occasion of the first trip of this engine across the Weber river, leaving Ogden. This picture has come down as a family relic and I treasure it very much." The accompanying halftone is a reproduction of the picture furnished through the courtesy of Mr. Ursenbach.

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PROF. JOHN L. MARCH.

PLAN TO ABOLISH YOUNG MILLIONAIRES.

The suggestion of Prof. John L. March of Union college, that the inheritance law of the country be revolutionized, has excited no end of comment. Prof. March expressed his ideas before the Labor Lyceum of Schenectady, N. Y., last week. His plan, if in operation, would abolish young millionaires, includes the proposition under which all inherited estates would be sold and the proceeds given to the state. On the same lines, widows and orphans would be made public charges and only the homestead would go to heirs who would not be permitted even to inherit cash. Prof. March's idea is summarized in his own words:

"By this plan each generation would stand on its own feet and not be bound and shackled by preceding generations as at present. At the same time we should avoid pauperism and hardship. We should have our present business conditions; we should have avoided the wild experiment of Socialism, and the still wilder one of revolution—we should really have the 'fair deal.'"

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