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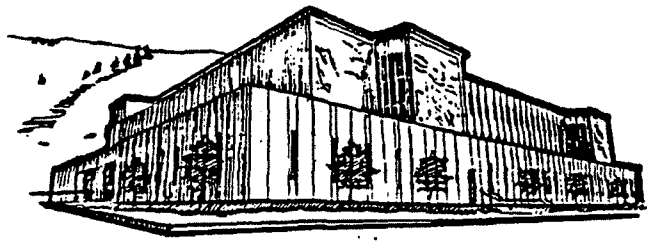
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ED BOYCE:
THE CURIOUS EVOLUTION OF AN AMERICAN RADICAL

by

Robert William Henry

B.A., History, University of Washington, Seattle, 1985


Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

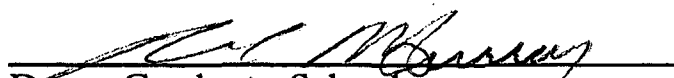
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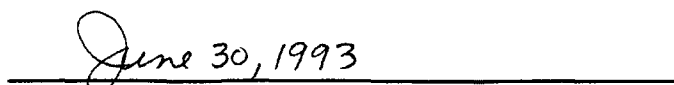
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In retrospect it is clear that behind Irish radical rhetoric were fundamentally conservative demands. The authentic rebel note was sounded when they demanded equal rights for all and attacked the citadels of privilege in business and politics. But mostly the Irish wanted to be middle-class and respectable. Behind the flaming intransigence of the Irish nationalist (or for that matter behind the thundering of Populist and Socialist) there were nine times out of ten an ambitious Horatio Alger figure.¹

One of the leading radicals of the American labor movement, Ed Boyce, retired as president of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) in May, 1902. He had built the labor organization into a powerful force in the hardrock mining districts of the Rocky Mountain West since becoming its president in 1896. In his farewell address to the WFM's 1902 annual convention, Boyce fully embraced the fundamental principles of socialism by saying that the ultimate goal of the union should be the "public ownership of the natural resources of the earth, and the means of production and distribution." He also urged the members of the WFM to "adopt the principles of Socialism without equivocation."² Along with the secretary-treasurer of the WFM, William D. Haywood, Boyce had joined the Socialist Party in Denver in 1901.³ Boyce's conversion to socialism resulted from

¹Thomas N. Brown, Irish-American Nationalism 1870-1890 (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1966), 46.

²"Proceedings of Tenth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners" (1902), Boyce Papers, Eastern Washington State Historical Society, Spokane.

³William D. Haywood, Bill Haywood's Book: The Autobiography of William D. Haywood (New York: International Publishers, 1929), 95.

his experiences as an Irish immigrant miner and his nineteen year involvement with labor unions in the hardrock mining camps of the Rocky Mountain West.

Ed Boyce's decision to retire as president of the Western Federation of Miners was facilitated by his wife's income. Eleanor Day Boyce derived that income from her interest in the rich Hercules Mine, located near Burke, Idaho, in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District. In June, 1901, the richest silver vein yet discovered in the Coeur d'Alene district had been located in the Hercules Mine.⁴ As Ed Boyce's financial situation changed, his political and economic beliefs also gradually changed.

In 1908, William Haywood visited his old mentor, Ed Boyce, at his home in Portland, Oregon. Haywood, an unreconstructed labor radical, was shocked by what he found: "I looked at Boyce in his beautiful surroundings, and thought of him as the petty manager of a hotel. It seemed that the contact with money had destroyed his vision. I knew him to have been an earnest revolutionist. But now in a few years, he had become musty and was vegetating in his prosperity."⁵ Ed Boyce continued to "vegetate" in his prosperity, becoming increasingly conservative in his economic and political views, until his death in 1941. This paper will argue that Ed Boyce's apparently incongruous transformation from "earnest revolutionist" to bourgeois hotel manager, while made possible by his wife's interest in the Hercules Mine, did not result from any fundamental

⁴John Fahey, "Ed Boyce and the Western Federation of Miners," Idaho Yesterdays (Fall, 1981), 25.

⁵Haywood, Bill Haywood's Book, 228.

change in Boyce's character. Despite his relatively brief embrace of socialism, Boyce's personal lifestyle reflected the values of the middle class, even while he toiled as a hardrock miner in the American West, or travelled to remote mining camps to organize unions. Ed Boyce was a man of action whose ideas sprang from the world he observed firsthand. In the rough mining camps of the Rocky Mountain West, Boyce encountered a world where intelligence, sobriety and frugality did not necessarily translate into financial or social success. Denied entry into the respectable world of the Victorian American middle class, and stripped of his immigrant's idealistic vision of American democracy during the violent 1892 strike in Idaho's Coeur d'Alene Mining District, Boyce temporarily turned against the capitalist system, becoming more radical than most of the miners he led.

The record of Ed Boyce's career as a union leader presents no evidence that could be used to question his sincerity as a labor radical. He certainly paid his dues as a union man, enduring imprisonment, the scorn of the press and "respectable" society, as well as harassment by Pinkerton detectives. Melvyn Dubofsky has cited him as a quintessential western Marxist, and Eric Foner has characterized him as an example of an Irish immigrant radical.⁶ However, Boyce's later life presents a completely different story that seems to conform to Thomas N. Brown's statement that: "In the Lace Curtain Irishman the rebel found

⁶Melvyn Dubofsky, "The Origins of Western Working Class Radicalism" Labor History 7 (Spring, 1966); Eric Foner, "Class, Ethnicity, and Radicalism in the Gilded Age: The Land League and Irish-America," Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

fulfillment."⁷ To understand Boyce's transformation as a natural progression, a detailed examination must be made of his early life and union career as well as his later career as a wealthy hotel owner.

Born in Ireland, on November 15, 1862, Boyce attended the National School and secured a fairly good education. He arrived in the United States on September 12, 1882. He worked on railroad construction gangs in Wisconsin before ending up in Leadville, Colorado.⁸ In 1883, Boyce began working at the Cummins & Finn smelter in Leadville. He worked there for about six months, until his health began to be adversely affected by the toxic working environment. Boyce suffered stomach problems that he attributed to exposure to arsenic in the smelter. He sought treatment for his condition at Glenwood Springs, Colorado. Boyce then returned to Leadville and found work as a miner. Once again, poor working conditions began to affect his health. Boyce later stated that he had been "leaded" while working as a miner at Leadville.⁹ Ed Boyce was not alone in suffering from sickness due to work in the mines and smelters of Leadville. According to labor historian Mark Wyman, the hazards associated with work in mines and smelters stimulated and sustained the formation and growth of the union movement in the hardrock mining camps of the American West.¹⁰

⁷Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, 46.

⁸Transcript of Boyce testimony in the Idaho v. Haywood trial (1907), James H. Hawley Papers, Idaho State Historical Society, Boise, 2462-2463.

⁹*Ibid.*, 2464.

¹⁰Mark Wyman, Hard Rock Epic, Western Miners and the Industrial Revolution, 1860-1910 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 175-200.

Ed Boyce's bouts with work-related illness may have been the first steps in his transformation into a labor radical. In 1883, he had secretly joined the Knights of Labor in Leadville. The Knights were the first nationwide American labor organization to advocate the concept of industrial unionism, whereby all workers employed in an industry were organized into one union instead of organizing along craft lines as the American Federation of Labor would later do. The Knights operated in secrecy in Leadville due to the fierce opposition of the local employers.¹¹ With the exception of his brief membership in the Butte Miners Union, Boyce never belonged to a union that was not fiercely opposed by the employers with whom it dealt. The intransigent anti-union position taken by mine owners worked to radicalize many mining union leaders in the Rocky Mountain West during the 1880's and 1890's. Among those radicalized was Ed Boyce.¹²

Seeking to escape the mines, Boyce went to work for the Leadville Water Company for eight months. However, as an unskilled laborer, Boyce must have found it difficult to make a living in Leadville outside of the mines. He was back soon working in the Leadville mines, where he remained until 1887.¹³

In 1887, Ed Boyce moved to Wardner, Idaho, a mining camp located near present day Kellogg, where he first worked on a crew constructing a railroad from

¹¹Boyce testimony, 2467.

¹²Wyman, Hard Rock Epic, 226.

¹³Boyce testimony, 2464.

Cataldo Mission to Wallace, Idaho. Boyce also worked as a miner at Wardner, becoming a charter member of the Wardner Miners Union. He then moved to Butte, Montana where he found employment in the Anaconda mine.¹⁴ As an experienced miner and an Irishman, Boyce probably found little difficulty in securing a job in the Anaconda mine. Marcus Daly, the manager of this famous copper mine, was well known for his preferential hiring of fellow Irishmen.¹⁵

In March, 1888, Ed Boyce returned to Wardner and went to work in the Stemwinder mine, where he remained for two years. In 1890, Boyce showed that he possessed ambition beyond that of the typical miner. Through a frugal and sober lifestyle, Boyce had saved \$1,200 of his miners wages, an accomplishment of some note for a single miner living amidst the various temptations of the mining camp. Many miners succumbed to what Boyce later called the "vicious cycle of bunk house and saloon."¹⁶ Resigning his position as secretary of the Wardner Miners Union, Boyce took his savings and invested in land located near Kalispell, Montana. Boyce speculated that a land boom would follow the arrival of the Great Northern railroad in the Flathead Valley. However, the hoped for land boom failed to materialize, and Boyce was soon back working in the mines at Wardner.¹⁷

¹⁴Boyce testimony, 2465.

¹⁵David Emmons, The Butte Irish, Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875-1925 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 19-20.

¹⁶Ed Boyce, "Mine Bunk Houses," Miners Magazine, March, 1901.

¹⁷Boyce testimony, 2465.

This episode in Ed Boyce's life demonstrated that he possessed different values from most of his fellow miners. Boyce desired more from life than the safe and steady work sought by the Irish miners in Butte, as described by David Emmons.¹⁸ Always hard-working, frugal, and sober, Boyce's lifestyle up until 1890, with the important exception of his union membership, had seemed to exemplify the ideals of the Victorian American middle class. It can even be argued that the unions of the time merely sought entrance to the middle class for their members, although their emphasis on organization and group action was supposedly anathema to the "self reliance" espoused by the Victorian American middle class, despite the dependence of many middle class Americans upon civic, fraternal, and business organizations. Through hard work, thrift and sobriety, Boyce had saved a considerable sum of money. Resigning his position as corresponding secretary of the Wardner Miners Union, Boyce sought to escape the working class through land speculation. Unfortunately for Boyce, his investment resulted in the loss of his savings. Denied escape from the drudgery of the mines, Boyce's ambition found an outlet in the increasingly militant union movement based in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District of Idaho. Not until 1902 did Boyce again resign a union position and make good his escape from the working class.

Ed Boyce returned to Wardner and by 1892 had resumed his position as secretary of the Wardner Miners Union. When this union was organized on

¹⁸Emmons, The Butte Irish, 133-179.

October 10, 1887, Ed Boyce had been one of the eighteen charter members. The Wardner Miners Union was the first union organized in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District. Subsequently unions were formed at Burke, Gem, and Mullan, Idaho in 1889. In 1890, the four unions formed a Central Miners Union for the Coeur d'Alene district. The union goals in the early 1890's included securing a uniform wage scale for the Coeur d'Alene district and securing "the right of all men to belong to the union without being penalized."¹⁹ These traditional trade union goals typified the mining labor movement until Ed Boyce began to move the Western Federation of Miners leftward after the Leadville, Colorado strike of 1896. However, in 1892, industrial unionism in any form was considered radical by the Coeur d'Alene mine owners, who were quick to take punitive action against "trouble makers." Ed Boyce personally sacrificed for his refusal to obey the edicts of the mine owners. He was fired from his job at the Last Chance mine, located at Wardner, for refusing to live in a company owned boarding house.²⁰

By 1892, the tension between the mine owners and the unions of the Coeur d'Alene district had reached the breaking point. In January 1892, the mineowners of the Coeur d'Alene district shut down their mines, ostensibly to protest high railroad freight rates. By March however, it was apparent that the Mineowners Association wanted to break the unions. They announced a split

¹⁹Ed Boyce, Answer to Question No. 1 from R.W. Smith (1936), Boyce Papers.

²⁰Boyce testimony, 2472.

wage underground, \$3.50 per day for miners and \$3 per day for carmen and shovelers (muckers). This ran counter to the union wage of \$3.50 per day for all underground workers. Many of the "muckers" were skilled miners who had been displaced by the introduction of compressed air drills into the Coeur d'Alenes in 1891. By May, 1892, the mineowners started importing strikebreakers and gunmen from the Pinkerton Detective Agency into the area. As the hated "scabs" and Pinkertons entered the Coeur d'Alene district, tensions rose between the unions and the mineowners.²¹

On July 11, 1892, fighting broke out at the Frisco and Gem mines, located along Canyon Creek, near Wallace, Idaho. After a series of confrontational incidents, Pinkerton guards fired upon picketing union miners. Union men then proceeded to dynamite the Frisco mill and forced the Pinkertons to surrender. The Pinkertons at Gem also surrendered to the union forces. The prisoners, escorted unarmed down to Wallace, were put on trains going out of the district. On July 13, an armed union committee, which included Ed Boyce, called upon Victor M. Clement, the manager of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines, in order to demand the removal of Pinkerton gunmen stationed at the mine.²² The mineowners claimed the union committee threatened to dynamite the ore concentrator, but Boyce later denied this, stating that "there was no dynamite

²¹Vernon H. Jensen, Heritage of Conflict, Labor Relations in the Nonferrous Metals Industry Up to 1930 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950), 28-32.

²²Robert W. Smith, The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892, A Case Study of an Industrial Dispute (Corvallis: Office of Publications, Oregon State College, 1961), 65-70.

placed in the Bunker Hill concentrator, no reason existed for the miners to do so. If they wished to destroy the concentrator, a match would have served the purpose better than dynamite.¹²³

The violence of July 11, 1892, widely reported by the press, shocked the nation, especially because fighting had broken out almost simultaneously at Homestead, Pennsylvania between striking steelworkers and Pinkertons. The fighting in the Coeur d'Alenes provided the excuse for Idaho Governor Norman B. Willey to declare martial law. Federal troops, responding to the governor's call, temporarily crushed the miners' unions in Shoshone County. Known union men and sympathizers, including Ed Boyce, were imprisoned in a warehouse, located in present day Kellogg, which became known as the "bullpen." After ten days of imprisonment in the bullpen, Boyce was placed on a military train and transported to Boise, Idaho. There, he was imprisoned in the Ada County Jail and charged with contempt of court by Judge James H. Beatty of the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Idaho for ignoring an injunction Beatty had issued against the striking Shoshone County miners.²⁴ Boyce later said that "Judge Beatty was bitterly opposed to organized labor and being a very mediocre lawyer, would have disregarded the law, [even had] the United States Court thwart[ed] him in its decision."²⁵ On August 11, 1892, Judge Beatty found Ed Boyce guilty

²³Ed Boyce, Answer to Question No. 3 from R.W. Smith (1936), Boyce Papers.

²⁴Smith, Coeur d'Alene Mining War, 80-89.

²⁵Boyce, Answer to Question No. 5 from Smith , Boyce Papers.

and sentenced him to a term not to exceed six months in the Ada County Jail.²⁶ Boyce was imprisoned in the Ada County Jail from July 20, 1892 to February 24, 1893.²⁷

While imprisoned in Boise, the union men discussed the need for a "federation of all metalliferous miners and smelter employees."²⁸ The man credited with initiating the idea for a federation of western mining unions was James H. Hawley, who, along with Patrick Reddy, served as legal counsel to the imprisoned union members. These attorneys were paid with funds raised by the Butte Miners Union. As a result of the discussions held in the Ada County Jail, union members representing several mining districts in the West, met in Butte, Montana in May, 1893. They formed the Western Federation of Miners on May 15, 1893.²⁹

Butte was made the headquarters of the Western Federation of Miners. The Butte Miners Union (BMU), at that time the strongest miners union in the country, often called the "Gibraltar of Unionism," became Local Number One of the WFM. The fortunes of the WFM remained tied to the fortunes of the BMU for years to come. However, under Ed Boyce's leadership, the WFM maintained an increasingly strained relationship with the conservative BMU.³⁰

²⁶Smith, Coeur d'Alene Mining War, 99.

²⁷Boyce testimony, 2466.

²⁸Boyce, Answer to Question No. 7.

²⁹Wyman, Hard Rock Epic, 172.

³⁰Emmons, Butte Irish, 231-235.

The Western Federation of Miners was a natural outgrowth of the industrial unionism long advocated by the local hardrock miners unions in the West. The initial goals of the WFM were identical to those long advocated by local hardrock miners unions in the West. Ed Boyce stated that the WFM was "formed for the purpose of preventing reduction of wages, the abolition of the Company boarding house, and Company store, and for more safety appliances in the different mines."³¹ The WFM also sought to shorten working hours and elect members to state legislatures. The WFM also gave isolated local unions access to money for strike and defense funds, the lion's share of which was provided by Local Number One, the Butte Miners Union.

Upon his release from jail in February, 1893, Boyce went to the Missoula, Montana area, where he worked through the summer of 1893. He then returned to the Coeur d'Alenes, where he soon resumed his involvement in union and political affairs. In 1894, Boyce won election, on the Populist ticket, to represent Shoshone County in the Idaho Senate. He served one term.³²

In May, 1894, Ed Boyce, attended the second annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners, held at Salt Lake City, as a delegate from the Wardner Miners Union. The convention elected Boyce as a member of the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners.³³ In August, 1894,

³¹Boyce testimony, 2471.

³²May Arkwright Hutton, The Coeur d'Alenes or A Tale of the Modern Inquisition in Idaho (Denver: May Arkwright Hutton, 1900), 53-54.

³³Hutton, The Coeur d'Alenes, 53-54.

Boyce, serving as president of the central executive committee of the Miners Union of the Coeur d'Alenes, signed an agreement between the Coeur d'Alene miners unions and mineowners A.B. Campbell and A.L. Gross. This agreement provided for the \$3.50 per day underground wage scale, no discrimination against union members, and an agreement to settle labor-management disputes under arbitration.³⁴

At the third annual convention of the WFM, held in May, 1895 at Denver, Boyce again represented the Wardner Miners Union as a delegate and was elected as the WFM's general organizer.³⁵ As general organizer for the WFM, Boyce traveled thousands of miles around the Western United States, organizing local unions and convincing established locals to affiliate with the Western Federation of Miners. Boyce recruited many of the leaders who later became prominent in the union movement, such as William "Big Bill" Haywood, whom Boyce recruited while organizing the Silver City, Idaho local on August 7-8, 1896.³⁶ Boyce's power within the WFM stemmed from personal contacts made while travelling to almost every mining camp in the West. His travels included Canada and even one stop in Mexico.³⁷ Although Boyce spent much of his time on the road as an organizer for the WFM, he continued to work sporadically as a

³⁴Jensen, Heritage of Conflict, 72-73.

³⁵Hutton, The Coeur d'Alenes, 53-54.

³⁶Haywood, Bill Haywood's Book, 64.

³⁷Ed Boyce, Travel Diaries (1895-1902), Boyce Papers.

miner in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District. His last mining job before travelling to the 1896 WFM convention as a delegate for the Wardner Miners Union was at the Golden Chest placer mine, located at Murray, Idaho.³⁸

The fourth annual convention of the WFM, held in Denver in May, 1896, elected Ed Boyce as president of the union, at a salary of \$7 per day. Torn by factional feuding among the Butte members who dominated its executive board, the Western Federation of Miners had had five different presidents during the period from 1893 to 1896. One of the reasons Boyce was elected as president was that he was not from Butte.³⁹ At the time Boyce took over the presidency of the WFM, the union had fewer members than it had at its founding in 1893. The WFM was comprised of eighteen local mining unions at the time Ed Boyce took over the presidency.⁴⁰ The western mining industry had still not recovered from the Panic of 1893, when silver prices had crashed. On August 27, 1896, Ed Boyce appointed James Maher, of Butte, as the secretary-treasurer of the WFM. Maher served ably as secretary, and the Western Federation of Miners soon stabilized and started to grow under the team of Boyce and Maher.⁴¹

Soon after Boyce took over, the WFM was faced with a new challenge, the Cloud City Miners Union in Leadville, Colorado went out on strike. This strike

³⁸Hutton, The Coeur d'Alenes, 54.

³⁹Jensen, 57.

⁴⁰Hutton, 54.

⁴¹Jensen, 57.

followed the pattern of the 1892 Coeur d'Alene strike. The mineowners refused to negotiate in good faith and imported strikebreakers. Tensions rose, and union men attacked the "scabs." The governor of Colorado declared martial law and sent in the state militia, ostensibly to restore order, in reality, to destroy the union.⁴² When Boyce visited Leadville in September, 1896, he was jailed for two days on what he considered a trumped up assault charge. His offer to negotiate rejected by the mineowners, Boyce left Leadville.⁴³ Once again, the lesson had been driven home to Boyce that compromise with implacable foes like the mineowners was impossible, especially when they had the power of state and federal government to back them up.

Boyce later referred to the "dreary days I spent in Leadville during the strike in '96 and '97."⁴⁴ These "dreary days" marked a turning point in Ed Boyce's gradual evolution away from trade unionism toward socialism. Soon after becoming president of the WFM, Boyce affiliated his union with the American Federation of Labor (AFL), led by Samuel Gompers. Under Gompers leadership, the AFL was a conservative body organized along craft, rather than industrial lines. The AFL advocated simple trade union policies such as better wages and hours. Gompers tried to steer clear of electoral politics and was hostile to socialism. During the Leadville strike, Boyce appealed to Gompers for

⁴²Jensen, Heritage of Conflict, 58-59.

⁴³Boyce, Travel Diary (1896), Boyce Papers.

⁴⁴Boyce, Travel Diary (1902), Boyce Papers.

financial aid. Gompers replied that the AFL was unable to provide such support.⁴⁵ This infuriated Boyce and soon led to the withdrawal of the Western Federation of Miners from the AFL. Boyce went further in 1898 and sponsored the creation of the Western Labor Union as an alternative to the AFL for western workers. At this time, Gompers described Boyce as a "socialist who openly declared he was not a trade unionist."⁴⁶

After his rejection by Gompers, Boyce turned to Eugene V. Debs for help. Debs had achieved heroic status in labor circles due to his courageous leadership of the Pullman strike in 1894 and his attempt to organize American railroad workers along industrial lines with the American Railway Union. Boyce met with Debs on December 23-24, 1896, at Debs' home in Terre Haute, Indiana.⁴⁷

Debs began the process of converting Boyce to socialism and agreed to accompany Boyce on a tour of the troubled Colorado mining districts. Despite the support of Debs, the WFM lost the Leadville strike. The mineowners remained opposed to the presence of the WFM in Leadville. Strikebreakers, many imported from the Joplin, Missouri mining district, took the jobs of many of the striking union miners.

In 1897, Boyce became increasingly strident in his speeches. On May 10, he gave an address at the WFM annual convention in Salt Lake City, Utah that

⁴⁵Jensen, Heritage of Conflict, 60.

⁴⁶Samuel Gompers, Seventy Years of Life and Labor (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1925), 420-421.

⁴⁷Boyce, Travel Diary (1896), Boyce Papers.

became his most famous. In it, he urged local unions to form rifle clubs so that they could defend themselves against hostile vigilante groups or the state militias, so often used as strikebreaking tools by the mineowners. Boyce stated that:

I deem it important to direct your attention to Article 2 of the Constitutional Amendments of the United States - "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." This you should comply with immediately. Every union should have a rifle club. I strongly advise you to provide every member with the latest improved rifle. It can be obtained from the manufacturers at a nominal price. I entreat you to take action on this important question so that in two years we can hear the martial tread of 25,000 armed men in the ranks of labor.⁴⁸

In 1899, another violent strike occurred in the Coeur d'Alene district of Idaho, Boyce's old home. On April 18, 1899, Boyce arrived in Wallace, Idaho. He remained in the Coeur d'Alene district until April 22. During this period he visited the unions at Burke, Gem, and Wardner. He travelled to Wardner on April 20 to address the union miners, nearly all of whom were "demanding higher wages" from the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Company, the only mining company in the district not organized by the union. The miners demanded \$3.50 per day for underground work in the Bunker Hill & Sullivan and Last Chance mines.⁴⁹ The company refused to budge, and tensions rose. On April 29, the frustration of the union miners over the intransigence of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Company exploded. Armed union men hijacked a train in Burke, which took them to Wardner, where they proceeded to blow up the Bunker Hill ore concentrator.

⁴⁸Orchard's Statement of "Boyce Plan" to Arm Union Men," Boise Idaho Statesman, 28 June, 1907, 1,5; Jensen, Heritage of Conflict, 67.

⁴⁹Boyce, Travel Diary (1899), Boyce Papers.

Two men were killed in the blast. The mineowners now had the excuse they had been looking for to crush the union once and for all.⁵⁰

Although he had campaigned as a supporter of unions, Idaho Governor Frank Steunenberg promptly declared martial law and sent troops into the district. The economist Vernon Jensen has reported that many people in Shoshone County believed that Steunenberg, a Democrat, proved eager to crush the Coeur d'Alene miners unions in order to get even with Harry L. Day, a political power broker in Shoshone County, who had thwarted Steunenberg's attempt to bring about Democratic control of the divided lower house of the Idaho legislature by instructing the Populist representatives from Shoshone County to vote with the Republicans. This enabled the Republican coalition to organize the lower house. Day was also independent of the large mineowners, who attempted to control Shoshone County politics from their base in Spokane, Washington, and he relied on the miners unions for political support.⁵¹ At this time, Day was also an ally of the WFM. In June, 1899, Boyce asked Day to go to Missoula, Montana in an attempt to "stop scabs" from going to the Coeur d'Alene Mining District.⁵²

Whatever his reasons, Steunenberg proved a valuable ally to the mineowners. Under martial law, union members and supporters were imprisoned

⁵⁰Jensen, Heritage of Conflict, 76-80.

⁵¹Jensen, Heritage of Conflict, 77.

⁵²Boyce, Travel Diary (1899), Boyce Papers.

in a new bullpen, located at Kellogg, Idaho. Mineowners instituted a district-wide system of work permits, known as "rustling cards," previously used only at the Bunker Hill and Sullivan, in order to blacklist known union men, thus forcing many of them to leave the Coeur d'Alene district. These tactics proved devastatingly effective and the Coeur d'Alene miners unions did not regain their former influence until the New Deal of the 1930s.⁵³

Ed Boyce was devastated by the news from the Coeur d'Alenes. He wrote in his travel diary under April 29: "B.H. & S. mill destroyed. This is the end of unionism in the C.D.A.'s."⁵⁴ Although it is probable that, during his visit of April 18-22, 1899, Boyce had been involved in planning some sort of union demonstration against the Bunker Hill & Sullivan Company, the bombing of the Bunker Hill Concentrator seemed to take him by surprise. There is no doubt that Boyce suffered personally from the events of April, 1899. Paul Corcoran, Secretary of the Burke Miners Union, and a personal friend of Boyce, was sentenced to seventeen years hard labor for conspiracy to commit murder, even though several witnesses testified that he had not been present at Wardner.⁵⁵ In the months after April, 1899, Boyce was busy lining up defense counsel for the imprisoned union men of the Coeur d'Alenes. Among Boyce's many friends in the area was his fiance, Eleanor Day, Harry Day's sister, who was a teacher in

⁵³Jensen, Heritage of Conflict, 81-87.

⁵⁴Boyce, Travel Diary (1899), Boyce Papers.

⁵⁵Jensen, Heritage of Conflict, 84-85.

Wallace. As a result of martial law, Boyce was unable to return to Shoshone County until December, 1901. Even at that time Boyce was warned by friends from Burke not to hold a public meeting. Boyce's wedding took place in Butte in May, 1901, probably because he feared to return to Wallace. The suspension of habeas corpus rights for the prisoners in the bullpen and the prison terms given to several union leaders outraged Boyce. He travelled to Washington, D.C. personally to protest to President William McKinley.⁵⁶

In January, 1900, the first issue of the Miners Magazine appeared. This high quality WFM publication attempted to instill in the rank and file of the WFM an awareness of working class interests. The magazine contained more than just union news, it also contained literary and philosophical pieces designed to bring a little intellectual enlightenment into the lives of western miners. Ed Boyce wrote the editorials. He used this forum to attack the enemies of labor. Soon, the magazine began advocating socialism. A Denver lawyer, Henry Cohen, penned most of the more theoretical articles on the benefits of socialism. Boyce was no ideologue; that is clear from the articles and letters in the magazine.

Ed Boyce was a man of action, not a theorist. The reactionary posture of the mineowners in the Coeur d'Alenes and Leadville had more to do with Boyce's radical philosophy as president of the Western Federation of Miners than did any study of the works of Marx, Engels, or Bakunin. A major component of Boyce's radicalism stemmed from the disillusionment caused by his experience as an Irish

⁵⁶Boyce, Travel Diary (1899), Boyce Papers.

immigrant to America. His editorials in the Miners Magazine revealed an idealist frustrated by what he saw as the denial of the American dream for the working class. Boyce's sarcasm was most effective when directed at the hypocrisy of large corporations hiding behind and manipulating the instruments of American democracy. However, the underlying tone of Boyce's editorials still showed a faith in the United States as a land of opportunity, if only it was rid of the corruption of the trusts and robber barons.

At least one radical reader of the Miners Magazine noticed the inconsistencies in the socialist philosophy espoused by Boyce. The October 1900 issue of the Miners Magazine printed a letter written by James Lemmon of Butte. Lemmon attacked Henry Cohen's style of socialism as "anarchistic individualism." Lemmon denounced Cohen as a bourgeois apologist and self-serving lawyer and wondered how Boyce could endorse Cohen's policy and still consider himself a socialist.⁵⁷ From a Marxist's perspective, Lemmon's criticisms had validity. Boyce and Cohen's idea of socialism was closer to anarcho-syndicalism than Marxism. While often citing Marx's labor theory of value, Boyce nevertheless rejected what he called "governmental socialism" in an article entitled, "Socialism as She Is Taught," written as a response to Lemmon's article in the July, 1900 issue of the Miners Magazine.⁵⁸ The 1900 WFM convention issued a declaration of principles, stating that "the wage system should be abolished and the

⁵⁷James Lemmon, Letter to the Editor, Miners Magazine 10 (October 1900).

⁵⁸Boyce, "Socialism As She Is Taught," Miners Magazine 10 (October 1900).

production of labor be distributed under the cooperative plan." Cohen, writing in the Miners Magazine, called for the establishment of mutual credit associations, which would provide interest free credit. Boyce also entertained the notion that the WFM should purchase its own mine.⁵⁹ These goals, while considered radical by contemporary capitalists, did not satisfy Karl Marx's definition of scientific socialism. Boyce believed that the individual free will of the union miner, exercised in the interest of his class at the ballot box, could triumph over the entrenched power of the capitalist oligarchy. Despite his calls for union miners to arm themselves in self-defense, Boyce never openly espoused armed revolution.

Instead of calling for the destruction of American institutions, Boyce called on workers to take back their democracy from the capitalist usurpers. On July 4, 1900, Boyce gave a speech at Cripple Creek, Colorado in which he compared the fight of organized labor to the American Revolution. He equated labor with the Patriots and capital with the British and Tories. He referred to President McKinley as "William I of Canton." Boyce called for a "new Declaration of Independence" that would return the United States to its original democratic ideals, which he felt had been lost in the America of 1900. Significantly, he identified small businessmen alongside the workers who were losing their freedom to trusts like Standard Oil.⁶⁰ In Boyce's increasingly frustrated appeals to his

⁵⁹Henry Cohen, Editorial on Mutual Credit Associations, Miners Magazine 10 (October 1900); Boyce, "Always Opposed to Progress," Miners Magazine (June 1901).

⁶⁰Boyce, Fourth of July Speech at Cripple Creek, Colorado, Miners Magazine 8 (August 1900).

rank and file to exercise their rights as Americans, the impatient immigrant in Boyce showed his face.

Ed Boyce was an immigrant Irishman, and his ideology showed this influence. The historian David Emmons has recorded Boyce's activities as a member of the Robert Emmet Literary Association, a radical Irish nationalist group, during the years he lived in Butte, Montana. At the meetings of this group, Boyce did not hesitate to call for the armed overthrow of British rule in Ireland.⁶¹

As an immigrant to the United States, Boyce definitely understood the international nature of labor's struggle. An article in the March 1900 issue of the Miners Magazine, entitled "War The Handmaid of Monopoly," attacked John Hays Hammond, Boyce's old adversary from the 1892 strike in Idaho. Hammond had been one of the organizers of the Mineowners Association in the Coeur d'Alenes. By 1900, Hammond had moved to South Africa, where he was involved in mining ventures with the great British imperialist Cecil Rhodes. The article commented: "Since this fight against labor is being conducted by capitalists in different parts of the world, thoroughly united, it behooves us as workers of all nationalities to show them a united front."⁶²

However, not all Irish-Americans shared Ed Boyce's radical outlook. Boyce's Irish heritage contributed to the bitterness of the struggle between the

⁶¹Emmons, Butte Irish, 298.

⁶²Boyce, "War The Handmaid of Monopoly," Miners Magazine 3 (March 1900).

Western Federation of Miners under Boyce and its most important local, the Irish dominated Butte Miners Union. In 1900, 25 percent of Butte's population was Irish born.⁶³ The largest mining operation in Butte, and one of the largest in the world, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, had been created by an Irishman, Marcus Daly, and Irishmen occupied most of the important positions in this colossal organization from mine to office. The Butte Miners Union was also dominated by Irishmen, many of them in the employ of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. The leaders of the union maintained a cozy relationship with the Anaconda management; many of them even belonged to the same Irish fraternal organizations.⁶⁴

The Butte Miners Union had become the largest, richest, and most powerful local mining union in the West by catering to the basic needs of Butte's working class enclave. As an industrial union, the BMU was not conservative when compared to the AFL. However, its leadership's close relationship with the managers of Butte's mines, and its refusal to endorse socialism, placed the BMU to the right of the WFM under the confrontational leadership of Ed Boyce. Emmons has described the essentially conservative nature of the Irish miners who dominated the BMU.⁶⁵ However, both Emmons and Eric Foner have maintained that this conservatism differed greatly from that of the American

⁶³Emmons, Butte Irish, 13.

⁶⁴Ibid., 107-108.

⁶⁵Emmons, Butte Irish, 221-254.

middle class. Foner has described the emergence of an "oppositional working class culture" during the Gilded Age.⁶⁶ In an age of relatively unfettered capitalism, when boom and bust alternated regularly, the working class sought security by maintaining solidarity in strong working class enclaves.

During the period of Boyce's leadership of the WFM, from 1896-1902, the rank and file of the Butte Miners Union was largely supportive of its leadership's conservative policies. The miners in Butte were paid some of the highest wages in the American mining industry. They also benefited from the famous "War of the Copper Kings," in which Marcus Daly, W.A. Clark, and F.A. Heinze engaged in a titanic struggle for the control of Butte's mines and Montana's politics.

Marcus Daly had a reputation for generosity to the Irish miners in his employ, and the Irish in Butte sided overwhelmingly with Daly's Democratic Party. The struggle between the capitalists favored the interests of the miners in Butte. Both Clark and Daly vied for the miners' political affections. Clark even went so far as to support legislation mandating the eight hour work day in Montana. During these years there was no serious challenge to the position of the Butte Miners Union as the "Gibraltar of Unionism." However, Ed Boyce recognized that the strong position enjoyed by the Butte Miners Union was only the result of the struggle between the capitalists who owned the mines at Butte, and that this situation was bound to be temporary. In 1899, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company was taken over by the Amalgamated Copper Company, a branch of

⁶⁶Foner, "Land League", 195.

John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil trust. By 1906, this huge organization controlled most of Butte's copper mines.⁶⁷

Ed Boyce's policies as leader of the Western Federation of Miners were forged in the great 1892 struggle in the Coeur d'Alenes. Jensen has described the radical legacy bequeathed to the WFM by the 1892 violence in the Coeur d'Alenes as the "heritage of conflict."⁶⁸ Boyce had seen firsthand the irresistible power of a united front of mineowners backed up by the state. The creation of the Western Federation of Miners was a direct attempt to counter this power. To Boyce, it was imperative that the workers wrest control of the state from the capitalists. When Ed Boyce arrived in Butte in 1896, he found a very different situation from the one that he had left in Idaho. In May, 1897, after only a year in office as president of the WFM, Boyce became embroiled in his first dispute with the Butte Miners Union. At the first WFM convention presided over by Boyce, held at Salt Lake City, Utah, the Butte Miners Union objected to Boyce's "rifle club" speech. On May 24, 1897, Boyce made the following entry in his diary: "Butte union in control of Marcus Daily [sic] object to my report to convention: language was too strong to suit Daily [sic] no action taken. I was not present."⁶⁹

⁶⁷Michael P. Malone, The Battle for Butte, Mining and Politics on the Northern Frontier, paperback ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), 131-158.

⁶⁸Jensen, Heritage of Conflict, 26.

⁶⁹Boyce, Travel Diary (1897), Boyce Papers.

The dispute between the BMU and the WFM continued upon Boyce's return to Butte from the convention. On June 1, 1897, at a meeting of the Butte Miners Union, M.J. Burke, president of the BMU, made a motion for the BMU to disaffiliate with the WFM. He also asked the local union to evict the Western Federation of Miners from their offices in the Miners Union Hall. Both of these motions were postponed indefinitely. However, on June 7, 1897, Boyce moved the WFM offices from the Union Hall to temporary quarters in the Kelly Building.⁷⁰

The feud between Ed Boyce and the leadership of the Butte Miners Union was never resolved during Boyce's tenure as president of the WFM. Probably due to the indebtedness of the WFM to the Butte Miners Union (the WFM owed the BMU \$20,000 in 1898 for money advanced during the Leadville strike), Boyce was more cautious in his remarks to the 1898 WFM convention. He stated that: "Conscious of the conservatism of some delegates, I have carefully refrained from making an address lest it might prove offensive."⁷¹ Ultimately, staying in Butte proved intolerable for Boyce. On May 16, 1901, Ed Boyce left Butte for good, moving the WFM headquarters to Denver.⁷² Angered by this move, the Butte

⁷⁰Boyce, *Travel Diary* (1897), Boyce Papers.

⁷¹Boyce, "Presidents Report," *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners* (9 May 1898), Boyce Papers.

⁷²Boyce, *Travel Diary* (1901), Boyce Papers.

faction in the WFM ran a candidate for president against Boyce at the 1901 convention. However, Boyce won handily.⁷³

Ed Boyce's frustration with the conservatism of his fellow Irishmen in Butte found a vent in the pages of the Miners Magazine. He consistently denounced the influence exercised over Montana politics by Marcus Daly and W.A. Clark. In the July 1900 issue, Boyce warned the miners against becoming politically distracted by the Clark-Daly feud. He also denounced the Democratic Party, the favorite of the Butte Irish, as a fraud for claiming to represent the interests of workers.⁷⁴

Boyce warned Butte miners against "An Octopus" in the August 1900, issue of the Miners Magazine. This "octopus" was the Amalgamated Copper Company. Boyce's disappointment with the Butte Miners Union was apparent. He stated that:

We are not unmindful of the fact that many laboring men in those cities [Butte and Anaconda] will listen to men who are paid to deceive them when they begin a tirade of abuse against the writer for attempting to point out to them their plain duty and resort to their stock in trade - "he had sold you out." It is a well known fact, that members of the Miners' Union employed in the Anaconda mines are frequently told by the superintendents [sic] to go to the hall meeting nights and vote for or against certain measures, and if they fail to comply with those instructions they are discharged.⁷⁵

⁷³Fahey, "Ed Boyce," 26.

⁷⁴Boyce, "Montana Politics," Miners Magazine 7 (July 1900), Boyce Papers.

⁷⁵Boyce, "An Octopus," Miners Magazine 8 (August 1900), Boyce Papers.

In the December 1901 issue of the Miners Magazine, Boyce again attacked the Butte Miners Union for purchasing \$50,000 worth of Anaconda Copper Mining Company stock and for cooperating with the company to the detriment of the smeltermen in Anaconda, Montana. Boyce stated that: "so in this respect one labor organization will be used as a club to hold the other in subjection."⁷⁶

Working class conservatism was not confined to Butte. It was a force that Ed Boyce had to struggle with throughout the territory of the Western Federation of Miners. Boyce grew increasingly bitter and depressed as he attempted to lead the WFM's rank and file into an embrace of socialism. He seemed unable to understand that an innate desire for security fueled the opposition displayed by many of the miners of the American West to the confrontational policies of the WFM under Boyce's leadership. In the January 1900 issue number 1 of the Miners Magazine, Boyce stated that one of his objects was to arouse the workers "from the lethargy into which they have sunk, and which makes them willing to live in squalor, while their masters revel in the wealth stolen from labor."⁷⁷

Boyce was also alarmed by what he saw as the corrupting influence of the trusts on government, local, state, and federal. Boyce also viewed the two party system as an instrument of control used by the capitalists to control labor. In a speech given at Butte on Miners Union Day, June 15, 1899, Boyce commented that working men had "voted themselves into bondage by voting a Republican or

⁷⁶Boyce, "Anaconda Copper Mining Company," Miners Magazine (December 1901), Boyce Papers.

⁷⁷Boyce, "Salutary," Miners Magazine 1 (January 1900), Boyce Papers.

Democratic ticket as their masters dictated."⁷⁸ One of Boyce's great disappointments as a union leader was his failure to lure the WFM rank and file away from their loyalty to the two party system. In the April, 1901 issue of the Miners Magazine, Boyce stated that: "We wonder if the workingmen of Idaho will remain fools all their lives by continuing to vote for Democrats."⁷⁹

At the Ninth Annual Convention of the WFM, held at Denver in May, 1901, Boyce's address to the convention repeated a recurrent theme advanced by the WFM president, namely that the union movement should serve as an intellectual vanguard for the working class, serving to educate and enlighten workers to see their true interests. Ed Boyce was often disturbed by what he saw as the ignorance of the working class. In his convention address in 1901, Boyce stated that "the laborer, through ignorance of his strength, is willing to endure the lash of persecution longer than those who move in higher stations in life. . . ."⁸⁰ Toward the end of Boyce's tenure as president of the WFM, he became increasingly pessimistic as to whether the working class would ever become aware of what he saw as their interests. At times Boyce sounded almost contemptuous of the very people that he led. In the June 1901 issue of the Miners Magazine, Boyce stated that:

⁷⁸Boyce, Miners Union Day Speech at Butte, reprinted in Miners Magazine 3 (March 1900), Boyce Papers.

⁷⁹Boyce, "Eight Hour Legislation," Miners Magazine (April, 1901), Boyce Papers.

⁸⁰Boyce, "President's Report," reprinted in Miners Magazine (July 1901), Boyce Papers.

Those days will come when intelligence masters ignorance, but that will not occur in our day, for there are too many workingmen ready to bow at the shrine of wealth and beg for the crumbs that fall from their master's table.⁸¹

One historian of labor, Melvyn Dubofsky, has asserted that the "more radical the WFM became, the more it grew, and the more popular its president became among western workers."⁸² By 1902, however, Boyce knew otherwise. Although still personally popular with most of the rank and file of the WFM, Boyce's radical policies had not brought success to the union. Boyce had also failed to secure the WFM membership's endorsement of socialism as the official goal of the federation. Despite a successful strike in 1901, in Telluride, Colorado, where the union agreed to a plan arbitrated with the help of the governor of Colorado, the Western Federation of Miners faced serious trouble by the start of 1902. A mine and smelter strike in Rossland, British Columbia and Northport, Washington was failing, and Boyce felt very discouraged. The WFM had only three hundred dollars in its treasury and was split by factional feuding. On January 23, 1902, while in Spokane, Boyce wrote in his diary:

This is a gloomy night for me; it reminds me of the dreary days I spent in Leadville during the strike in 96 and 97. The WFM is without money and the strike at Northport and Rossland is lagging. Oh! I wonder will the fool working men especially the miners rise in their might and have revenge upon their oppressors and not suffer iniquities forever, Life, as president of the WFM is not worth living. I hope I will live to see the day when I will be free from it. Foes within and without. Foes everywhere and no money,

⁸¹Boyce, "The Truth Condensed," Miners Magazine (June 1910), Boyce Papers.

⁸²Dubofsky, "Origins of Western Working Class Radicalism," 151.

or men with sufficient determination to banish them. It is sad indeed.⁸³

Although membership in the WFM was stable, the union's treasury was in terrible shape in early 1902. On January 24, 1902, Boyce decided to withdraw all but one WFM organizer from the field. The next day, Boyce received word that the Rossland-Northport strike had collapsed.⁸⁴

In his last months as president of the WFM, Boyce urged workers in Idaho to defeat their enemies, including former governor Steunenberg, former union ally James H. Hawley, and rising politician William E. Borah. In 1901, Boyce had described Idaho as the "worst corporation-ridden state in the Union."⁸⁵ Boyce nursed a special grudge against his old Idaho enemies, especially former governor Frank Steunenberg. Boyce's animosity towards Steunenberg, as well as Boyce's radicalism had been forged during the violent labor strife of the 1890s in the Coeur d'Alenes. In addition, Boyce blamed Steunenberg for the imprisonment of many of Boyce's old friends in the Coeur d'Alenes following the 1899 strike. One of these friends, Paul Corcoran, the former secretary of the Burke Miners Union, had been pardoned in August, 1901. Six thousand Idaho residents had signed a petition asking for Corcoran's pardon, which was finally granted by the Idaho

⁸³Boyce, *Diary* (1902), Boyce Papers.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵Boyce, "Eight Hour Legislation," *Miners Magazine* (April, 1901), Boyce Papers.

Board of Pardons. Corcoran had served two years in prison on a questionable murder charge.⁸⁶

In February 1902, Ed Boyce began his withdrawal from the Western Federation of Miners by stepping down as editor of the Miners Magazine. In May 1902, he gave his farewell address as president of the Western Federation of Miners at the union's annual convention at Denver. Boyce used the opportunity to give a fiery speech, in which he reasserted his radical principles. In addition to reaffirming his belief in socialism, and attacking simple trade unionism, Boyce also urged the formation of state miners unions, the adoption by the WFM of an accident insurance plan, the construction of a permanent headquarters for the WFM, the purchase of mines by the WFM; and the placing of more union organizers and speakers in the field. At the end of his union career, Boyce also doubted what many saw as any union's ultimate weapon, the strike. Fearing the strength of the capitalist forces allied with government, Boyce concluded that violent strikes played into the hands of the mineowners and their sympathizers in the press. Once again, Boyce expressed doubt as to whether the working class could ever win a struggle for power with capitalists in the United States. Boyce felt that the capitalists' advantage lay in their control of government and

. . . the indifference of a majority of the people, who are hypnotized by party idolatry and hero-worshipping, it is doubtful whether they will view the situation with sufficient intelligence to own and operate all their industries without a conflict, as they have been

⁸⁶Boyce, "Paul Corcoran Pardoned," Miners Magazine (September 1901), Boyce Papers.

taught to believe that the special privileges of the financial and commercial barons are more sacred than the people's rights.⁸⁷

Despite his retirement as president of the WFM, Boyce assured his friends and supporters that he would remain involved in the labor struggle.⁸⁸ However, Boyce's career as a leading figure in the American labor movement was over. He had left the W.F.M organizationally much stronger than when he took over its presidency. In 1902, the WFM counted 19,233 members.⁸⁹ However, he had failed in his efforts to equalize the balance of power between the mineowners and the union.

On June 13, 1902, the first day of Ed Boyce's retirement from the WFM, Boyce made the following entry in his diary: "This is the first day's rest I had in six years and I enjoy it immensely."⁹⁰ Undoubtedly, Ed Boyce was worn out from six years at the helm of the Western Federation of Miners. During his career as a union organizer and leader, he had rarely spent more than two weeks in one place. He had traveled constantly to rough mining camps over even rougher roads in order to increase the membership of the WFM⁹¹ Boyce had endured imprisonment in the bullpen at Kellogg, Idaho and in the jail at Leadville, Colorado, as well as constant harassment from Pinkerton detectives and

⁸⁷Boyce, Address to Tenth Annual Convention (May 1902), Boyce Papers.

⁸⁸Boyce, "Ex-President Boyce's Letter to the Western Federation of Miners," Miners Magazine (July 1902), Boyce Papers.

⁸⁹Fahey, "Ed Boyce," 27.

⁹⁰Boyce, Diary (1902), Boyce Papers.

⁹¹Boyce, Travel Diaries (1895-1902), Boyce Papers.

law enforcement officers. His office had been broken into on three different occasions by Pinkerton operatives, who had also searched his railroad baggage on several different occasions.⁹² In addition to this outside opposition, Boyce had faced almost constant internal strife with conservative factions within the Western Federation of Miners. However, Boyce's exhaustion was only part of the reason for his sudden departure from the labor movement. By 1902, Ed Boyce was fast becoming a rich man.

On February 14, 1902, the Spokane Spokesman-Review, published an article entitled "Boyce Gets Rich." This conservative daily newspaper, long a fierce opponent of the Western Federation of Miners and the miners unions of the Coeur d'Alene district, had once been described by Boyce as "the Coeur d'Alene mineowners' organ."⁹³ The paper took delight in the incongruity of a radical union leader striking it rich. The article stated that: "His [Boyce's] good fortune is the result of a strike, not a labor ruction [sic] such as Mr. Boyce knows so well."⁹⁴

The source of Ed Boyce's newfound wealth was the fabulously rich Hercules Mine, located near Burke, Idaho. In June, 1901, less than a month after Boyce's marriage to Eleanor Day, a group of miners struck one of the richest veins of silver yet to be discovered in the Coeur d'Alene Mining District. The

⁹²Boyce Testimony, 2510.

⁹³Boyce, "Spokane Spokesman Review," Miners Magazine (November 1901), Boyce Papers.

⁹⁴"Boyce Gets Rich," Spokane Spokesman-Review (14 February 1902), Boyce Papers.

group of investors who owned the mine and worked it as well included Eleanor Day's brother, Harry L. Day, Boyce's old political ally. Harry Day served as the manager of the mining enterprise. Soon after this discovery, Eleanor Day Boyce, began to receive large dividends from the Hercules mine. Eleanor Day Boyce had been a schoolteacher in Wallace, Idaho and had invested most of her savings in her brothers' mining venture.⁹⁵

Ed Boyce's transformation from labor radical to respectable businessman took place gradually rather than overnight. Even after the profits from the Hercules Mine began to roll in, Boyce attended the WFM annual conventions in 1903 and 1904. In 1903, Boyce became embroiled in a dispute with the conservative Catholic Bishop of Denver, Nicholas C. Matz. In June, 1903, the bishop described Boyce as a "rank communist" and said that socialism violated the 7th Commandment against stealing. Boyce replied in the Rocky Mountain News, denouncing Matz and stating that the rich were the real thieves.⁹⁶

In December, 1903, Boyce gave up his last leadership position in a labor organization, when he resigned his post on the executive board of the American Labor Union (ALU). At the time of his resignation, Boyce declared his continuing support for the ALU, declaring that: "I will be a member as long as I live."⁹⁷ The ALU was the successor to the Western Labor Union, formed, at Ed

⁹⁵Fahey, "Ed Boyce," 25.

⁹⁶Ibid., 29.

⁹⁷Anaconda Standard (27 December 1903), Boyce Papers.

Boyce's instigation, by the WFM to compete with the American Federation of Labor in the struggle to organize western workers outside of the mines. In 1905, the ALU was succeeded by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a group that would bring the radical message once espoused by Ed Boyce to workers all across the United States.⁹⁸ However, this struggle would be waged without the participation of Ed Boyce, who had once prophetically stated "without equivocation that the laborer has no interest in common with the millionaire."⁹⁹

During the period from 1903 to 1906, although Wallace, Idaho was their official residence, the Boyces travelled extensively, wintering in California. Ed Boyce spent a lot of time during this period attempting to develop the Hugo mining claim in northwestern Montana, even doing some underground work himself. Boyce was a partner in this mining claim. When Boyce actually did mining work at the Hugo he was paid \$3.50 per day, the standard union wage for underground work.¹⁰⁰ By 1908, work was abandoned on the Hugo.¹⁰¹ However, Boyce did not really need this income, as his wife was receiving dividends of as much as \$2,500 per month from the Hercules Mine. During the

⁹⁸Melvyn Dubofsky, We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969).

⁹⁹Boyce, "President's Report," Miners Magazine (July 1901), Boyce Papers.

¹⁰⁰Boyce, Diary (1904), Boyce Papers.

¹⁰¹Fahey, "Ed Boyce," 29.

period from January 1, 1902 to October, 1906, the Hercules Mine disbursed \$2,026,300 in dividends.¹⁰²

Showing some of his old idealism, Ed Boyce, on January 1, 1906, wrote the following in his diary: "It may also be hoped that the end of the new year in the U.S. will find man the superior and not the inferior of money as he is today."

During 1906, the Boyces moved to Portland, Oregon, where they resided for several months at the luxurious Portland Hotel. In November 1906, Boyce began constructing a new house on fashionable St. Clair Street in Portland.¹⁰³

At this point in his life, Ed Boyce still demonstrated an interest in the reform movement. On October 30, 1906, he met with Clarence Darrow, well known in labor circles as a defender of American radicals, in Portland. Boyce attended a speech given by Darrow at the Eagles Hall on the subject of the open and closed union shop. Boyce commented that Darrow's speech was "full of logic and to the point." On November 16, 1906, Boyce heard Senator Robert M. LaFollette speak in Portland. In his diary, Boyce expressed approval of LaFollette's attacks on the trusts, even though Boyce did not think LaFollette was much of an orator.¹⁰⁴

Ed Boyce made his last appearance on the stage of the American radical movement in 1907. On June 27, 1907, Boyce testified on behalf of his old friend

¹⁰²Boyce, Diary (1906), Boyce Papers.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

and protege William D. Haywood.¹⁰⁵ Haywood had been charged with the murder of former Idaho governor Frank Steunenberg, who had been killed by a bomb in 1905. The actual assassin was Harry Orchard. Orchard claimed that he had been hired by the Western Federation of Miners to carry out a series of assassinations and bombings. He identified an inner circle in the WFM, responsible for planning terrorist acts, that included Haywood, WFM president Charles Moyer, and George A. Pettibone, former president of the Gem (Idaho) Miners Union and longtime friend of Ed Boyce. Haywood was the first of these defendants to come to trial.¹⁰⁶

Edmund F. Richardson and Clarence Darrow headed the defense team working for Bill Haywood. Richardson, a prominent Denver lawyer, was the WFM's official counsel. Darrow, not yet the famous figure he would later become, was best known in 1907 for his defense of Eugene Debs in the Pullman Strike case. The prosecutors were James H. Hawley, the man who had defended Ed Boyce in 1892 and suggested the creation of the Western Federation of Miners, and William E. Borah, later to become one of the most well known western progressives in the U.S. Senate. Both of these men had been fierce opponents of the WFM since the Coeur d'Alene strike of 1899. The defense sought to discredit Harry Orchard as a psychopathic killer and liar, whose

¹⁰⁵"Ed Boyce Principal Witness For Defense Yesterday," Boise Idaho Statesman (28 June 1907), 1, 5.

¹⁰⁶David H. Grover, Debaters and Dynamiters, The Story of the Haywood Trial (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1964), 59-70.

confession had been written by James McParland of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, who had stated that the defendants would "never leave Idaho alive. . . ."¹⁰⁷ They also sought to prove a counter-conspiracy to crush the WFM orchestrated by mineowners in Idaho and Colorado and the Pinkerton Detective Agency. Detective McParland had organized the illegal kidnapping of Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone from Denver to stand trial in Boise. The prosecution relied upon the testimony of Harry Orchard.¹⁰⁸

Clarence Darrow called upon Boyce to give a history of the creation of the WFM, and to refute the existence of an inner circle within the union. Boyce denied the existence of an inner circle and also denied that the WFM had ever conspired to commit any illegal acts under his leadership. Boyce further testified that he did not know Harry Orchard, stating that "I am positive I never saw the man known as Harry Orchard until I saw him on the witness stand in this trial."¹⁰⁹ In describing the history of the WFM, Boyce emphasized the role of the federation in securing better safety and health conditions in the mines and securing eight hour laws in the western states.¹¹⁰

James H. Hawley's cross-examination of Boyce was designed to paint Boyce as a wild radical, who had led a criminal organization. Harry Orchard, in

¹⁰⁷Jensen, Heritage of Conflict, 206.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 1-7.

¹⁰⁹Boyce testimony, 2505.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 2471.

his confession, had referred to the "Boyce policy," whereby members of the WFM armed themselves. Hawley questioned Boyce about his famous speech advising union miners to form rifle clubs. According to the Idaho Statesman reporter covering the trial, Boyce exhibited discomfiture when Hawley started on this line of questioning. When Hawley asked him if he had made the "rifle club" speech, Boyce replied: "I can't say that those were my words. I won't swear they are." When Hawley continued to press him on the issue, Boyce finally admitted that the speech reflected his sentiments at that time.¹¹¹

Although Boyce had seemed uncomfortable upon being faced with some of his inflammatory statements from the 1890s, he showed that he still possessed some of the old radical fire when he was questioned by Darrow under redirect examination. Boyce contended that he had made the "rifle club" speech in response to the abuses of soldiers imported into Leadville during the strike of 1896 and 1897. Boyce accused the soldiers of "butting miners' wives off the sidewalks and calling them vile names." He then stated that: "I contended that the miners had as much right to have rifle clubs as any class of aristocrat."¹¹² Haywood, on trial for his life, later said that Boyce's testimony "gave me a thrill of the old days. . . ."¹¹³ This testimony ended Boyce's association with the Western Federation of Miners.

¹¹¹"Ed Boyce Principal Witness," Idaho Statesman (28 June 1907), 1.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, 5.

¹¹³Haywood, Bill Haywood's Book, 212.

Haywood was acquitted of conspiring to murder Steunenberg. George Pettibone was also acquitted in a later trial, and charges against Charles Moyer were dismissed. The jury had not found Harry Orchard's confession credible, and Clarence Darrow won a legal victory that gained him national prominence. Ironically, the testimony of one of the defense's witnesses, a miner from Cripple Creek, Colorado, provided another possible motive for Orchard's murder of Steunenberg. When the governor declared martial law in 1899, Orchard, who later claimed he had ignited one of the charges that destroyed the Bunker Hill Concentrator, had been forced to flee and had sold his one-sixteenth interest in the Hercules mine, two years before the discovery of the silver vein that made Ed Boyce a rich man.¹¹⁴

It was fitting that Ed Boyce had participated in a trial that became a major turning point for the organization he, more than anyone else, had forged into a major force in the American labor movement. The Haywood trial, and the reactions of the defendants in its aftermath, hastened the downfall of the Western Federation of Miners. Bill Haywood's reaction to the trial was to start on the path that would eventually lead him to embrace the anarcho-syndicalist philosophy of the Industrial Workers of the World and result in his ouster from the WFM in 1908. Charles Moyer, on the other hand, became more conservative after the trial, eventually embracing the "bread and butter" unionism of the American Federation of Labor. The split between Moyer and Haywood reflected

¹¹⁴"Ed Boyce Principal Witness," Idaho Statesman (28 June 1907), 10; Jensen, Heritage of Conflict, 210.

the socialist-conservative split that had existed within the WFM under Boyce's leadership. The failure to resolve this split ultimately weakened the Western Federation of Miners and led to the disintegration of its strongest local, the Butte Miners Union, in 1914.¹¹⁵

For Ed Boyce, however, the union struggle became but a memory after 1907. In 1909, Ed and Eleanor Boyce joined the Day brothers in a syndicate put together by Benjamin and William Norman that purchased the Portland Hotel for \$960,000. The Normans also operated hotels in Washington state.¹¹⁶

By 1910, Ed Boyce was intimately involved in the management of the Portland Hotel. This hotel, one of the premier hotels on the West Coast, had been built in 1890. In September 1910, Boyce met with Kirtland Cutter, well known Spokane architect, to discuss improvements to the hotel. Boyce and Eugene R. Day cooperated in managing the hotel in 1910. Boyce's only political involvement in 1910 was to host T.P. O'Connor, a conservative Irish nationalist, on his trip to Portland in October.¹¹⁷ The Boyces and Days took over complete control of the Portland Hotel in 1911 after a falling out with the Normans over a stock dispute and management differences. Ed Boyce described the Normans as "two of the most unreliable men in business transactions that I ever met." On May 31, 1911, the Boyces and Days purchased the 2,481 1/2 shares of stock held by the

¹¹⁵Jerry W. Calvert, The Gibraltar, Socialism and Labor in Butte, Montana, 1895-1920 (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1988), 71-91.

¹¹⁶Fahey, "Ed Boyce," 30.

¹¹⁷Boyce, Diary (1910), Boyce Papers.

Normans for \$600,000. Ed Boyce became the managing partner of the new Portland Hotel Company.¹¹⁸ One of Boyce's first actions was to prohibit gambling in the hotel. Of the 5,000 shares of stock issued by this company, Ed Boyce held 1,076 shares, Eleanor Boyce held 2,533 shares, and members of the Day family held most of the rest of the stock.¹¹⁹ The day after the transaction, Boyce wrote in his diary that he had "peace of mind."¹²⁰

By 1915, Ed Boyce was far removed from his days as miner and radical union leader. In August he visited the Stemwinder Mine at Wardner, Idaho, where he had worked in 1888 and 1889. He stated that he enjoyed his visit "as it is twenty five years since I saw the place. However I never wish to see it again."¹²¹ " A combination of age, wealth, and a growing public intolerance for American radicals affected Ed Boyce during the World War I years. Boyce traditionally wrote an idealistic message of hope for humanity in his diary on New Years Day. However, on January 1, 1916, Boyce was more concerned that the Portland Hotel would burn due to paper left behind by New Years Eve revelers than he was about the state of humanity. The Boyces made \$161,000 in dividends from the Hercules Mine in 1916. Ed Boyce attended to his mining investments as well as the affairs of the Portland Hotel. In March, 1916, Boyce visited

¹¹⁸Boyce, Diary (1911), Boyce Papers.

¹¹⁹Fahey, "Ed Boyce," 30.

¹²⁰Boyce, Diary (1911), Boyce Papers.

¹²¹Boyce, Diary (1915), Boyce Papers.

Northport, Washington to visit a new smelter owned by the Days. This town had been the site of a crushing defeat for the Western Federation of Miners in 1902.¹²²

Boyce had come full circle from his socialist critique of American society and his denunciation of the two party system as head of the WFM. In November, 1916, Ed Boyce voted for Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic candidate for president of the United States. Boyce, who had once made a regular practice of bashing the Democratic Party, said that "for the first time in my life I joined in a political demonstration [for Wilson]."¹²³

Despite his growing conservatism, Boyce still went to hear Elizabeth Gurley Flynn deliver an address on behalf of the IWW on March 10, 1917.¹²⁴ Boyce noted this event in his diary but did not comment on Flynn's speech. However, it could not have made much of an impression on him, for less than a month later Boyce endorsed Wilson's war message to the U.S. Congress.

On April 2, 1917, Boyce lauded Wilson's war message as "an address not equalled in history for its retorick [sic] and logic."¹²⁵ Ed Boyce had apparently succumbed to the war fever sweeping the United States in the spring of 1917. This fact was doubly ironic, for, as head of the WFM, Boyce had not only

¹²²Boyce, Diary (1916), Boyce Papers.

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁴Boyce, Diary (1917), Boyce Papers.

¹²⁵Ibid.

consistently denounced militarism but had also belonged to the militant Irish nationalist group, the Robert Emmet Literary Association. Many Irish nationalists opposed U.S. entry into World War I on the side of the Allies, because of their hatred of Great Britain, which had brutally crushed the Irish Easter Rebellion only a year earlier. By 1917, Ed Boyce, immigrant Irish socialist, had become Ed Boyce, American capitalist.

Even before the United States declared war, Boyce, in a speech given to the Girls National Honor Guard on March 30, 1917, had defended the Wilson Administration's policies and attacked critics of Wilson's foreign policy. These critics included his old friends Eugene V. Debs and William "Big Bill" Haywood.

In his speech, Boyce said:

The highest duty an American citizen can perform today is to refrain from criticizing those who are faithfully serving their country, give them words of encouragement in this crisis, and raise our voices in praise of our President.¹²⁶

This speech contrasted dramatically with Boyce's salutary in the January 1900 issue number 1 of the Miners Magazine, when he challenged the enemies of labor to:

Turn on your current of vituperation and abuse, and do not fail to end them with cheap appeals to patriotism. Conceal yourself under the folds of the stars and stripes to disguise your true motive, as the robber conceals his identity behind his mask when he emerges from his lair, bent upon robbery and murder. We still remember Johnson's saying: "An appeal to patriotism is the last resort of a scoundrel." As you are without argument take up your

¹²⁶Boyce, Address to Girls National Honor Guard (30 March 1917), Boyce Papers.

stereotyped epithets of Agitator! Foreigner! Socialist! Anarchist! We have heard them all before.¹²⁷

The attitudes toward political dissent Boyce expressed in 1917 were typical of those held by a majority of Americans after the declaration of war in 1917. The wartime hysteria against anti-war dissenters resulted in the passage of a national Sedition Act in 1918. This law was used by the Wilson Administration as a tool to crush the opposition of the American left and labor movement. Debs and Haywood, who, unlike Boyce, had remained committed to the socialist movement, were imprisoned for criticizing America's participation in World War I. During the war, and during the "Red Scare" of 1919, the Industrial Workers World were effectively removed as a significant force in the American labor movement.¹²⁸

In the super-patriotic atmosphere of 1917 America, Boyce probably tried to forget many of his statements and actions during the years he headed the Western Federation of Miners. He also disassociated himself from his old colleagues in the WFM. On September 7, 1917, Boyce received a telegram from Charles Moyer, the man who had succeeded him as president of the WFM. After the breakup of the WFM, Moyer had become president of the new International Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union, which he affiliated with the AFL. Moyer complained to Boyce that the Hercules Mine had discharged some members of

¹²⁷Boyce, "Salutary," Miners Magazine 1 (January 1900), Boyce Papers.

¹²⁸Melvyn Dubofsky, Industrialism and the American Worker, 1865-1920 (Arlington Height, IL: Harlan Davidson, Incorporated, 1975), 109-134.

his union. Boyce wired Moyer: "Am not owner in the Hercules Company. Advise you take up subject with E.R. Day manager Hercules Mine."¹²⁹ Eugene R. Day, Boyce's brother-in-law, was no friend of unions. In 1919, during a labor dispute in the Coeur d'Alene district, Day refused to meet with a delegation of miners after he found out they were "union men."¹³⁰

Then a respectable businessman, Boyce was probably chagrined when he read the September 4, 1917, issue of Northwest Mining Truth. In an attack on Harry L. Day, entitled "Some People in Glass Houses," editor Sidney Norman denounced the "red-handed anarchy" of the 1892 and 1899 strikes in the Coeur d'Alenes. He further stated that:

Our memory is not short, even if others have forgotten some episodes of former days. We are still aware of the fact that Mr. Day's brother in law was president of the Western Federation of Miners in those days.¹³¹

During the 1920s, Ed Boyce remained active in civic and political affairs. He opposed prohibition and the resurgence of the anti-Catholic Ku Klux Klan. He also supported Catholic charities and the cause of the Irish Free State.¹³² However, his chief interest was the Portland Hotel. He supervised an extensive remodeling of the hotel that lasted through the decade of the 1920s.¹³³ Ed

¹²⁹Boyce, Telegram to Charles Moyer (7 September 1917), Boyce Papers.

¹³⁰Jensen, Heritage of Conflict, 458.

¹³¹"Some People in Glass Houses," Northwest Mining Truth (4 September 1917), Boyce Papers.

¹³²Boyce, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Boyce Papers.

¹³³Fahey, "Ed Boyce," 30.

Boyce was, by this time, thoroughly respectable, often corresponding with Oregon's governors and senators.¹³⁴

In 1931, Ed Boyce became embroiled in a labor dispute for the first time since 1902. However, this time he was the owner, not the worker. The Portland Hotel had traditionally employed black men as waiters in its restaurant. These jobs were very important to Portland's small black community, especially during the depressed economy of 1931. In April, 1931, Ed Boyce fired all of the black waiters in the hotel restaurant. Boyce claimed the move was necessary as a cost-cutting measure, however his action probably had a racist motive. In any case, Boyce's action elicited a response from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

On May 1, 1931, the Portland chapter of the NAACP wrote to Boyce to plead the case of the black waiters. The NAACP noted the virtual impossibility of these black men finding other employment in depression stricken Portland.¹³⁵ Boyce replied on May 6 that he could not rehire the waiters due to poor business conditions, which made cost-cutting measures imperative at the Portland Hotel.¹³⁶ Despite his apparent adherence to strict business principles, Boyce later relented and rehired the black waiters. Boyce changed his mind because of lobbying by Edgar Freed, a Portland attorney, who had been approached by Mr.

¹³⁴Boyce, Correspondence, Boyce Papers.

¹³⁵Letter from N.A.A.C.P., Portland Chapter, to Ed Boyce (1 May 1931), Boyce Papers.

¹³⁶Boyce, Letter to N.A.A.C.P. (6 May 1931), Boyce Papers.

Barnett, the head waiter who had been fired. Freed was able to tactfully persuade Boyce to relent and hire the men back.¹³⁷

During the 1930s, Ed Boyce became increasingly conservative, eventually gravitating to the right-wing of the Democratic Party. Although he supported Franklin D. Roosevelt's candidacy in 1932, Boyce soon became a strong opponent of Roosevelt's New Deal program. He felt the New Deal was too radical even though its reform of American society and government fell far short of what Boyce himself had once advocated. It was ironic that a man who had started his career as a miner and socialist labor leader would come to fiercely oppose the most pro-labor presidential administration the United States had ever had.

In May 1937, the Portland Hotel Company was engaged in labor negotiations with its maids. Boyce commented on these negotiations and the Roosevelt Administration in a letter to the manager of the Mark Hopkins Hotel in San Francisco.

No one can forecast the end of our negotiations or what will develop as there appears to be an undercurrent of communism promoted by a number of disturbers seeking the destruction of all business. I hope your agreement will prove satisfactory to some extent which is all any man in business can expect owing to the antagonistic attitude of the administration.¹³⁸

At this same time, Boyce expressed opposition to "communistic beliefs imported from Europe and Asia."¹³⁹

¹³⁷Correspondence between Edgar Freed and Ed Boyce (May 1931), Boyce Papers.

¹³⁸Boyce, Letter to G.E. Smith (17 May 1937), Boyce Papers.

¹³⁹Louis Gulliver, Letter to Ed Boyce (1937), Boyce Papers.

Ironically, despite his growing conservatism in the 1930s, Ed Boyce never repudiated the radical activities he had engaged in during the 1890s. In August, 1936, he replied to a series of questions posed to him in a letter by Robert W. Smith, a doctoral candidate in history at the University of California at Berkeley. The subject of Smith's doctoral dissertation was the Coeur d'Alene strike of 1892. Boyce replied fully to Smith's questions about the events of 1892 and his role in them. He displayed no remorse or regrets for the violent actions of the miners unions in the 1892 strike. On the contrary, he defended the actions of the miners.¹⁴⁰ Evidentially, at this stage in his life, Ed Boyce could find nothing in common between the struggle of the Coeur d'Alene miners of the 1890s and the demands of his own employees in the 1930s.

In 1940, Boyce contributed money to the anti-Roosevelt Jeffersonian Democrats of Oregon. In September 1940, Boyce said that neither Franklin Roosevelt, "or any other citizen is honest who attempts to destroy the traditions of his country."¹⁴¹ Boyce was an old man by this time, nearly 40 years removed from his days as president of the Western Federation of Miners. He died on December 24, 1941, leaving an estate worth \$1,171,628.¹⁴²

The life and career of Ed Boyce present the labor historian with an interesting enigma. This paper has attempted to argue that, while Boyce made a

¹⁴⁰Boyce, Reply to Questions of R.W. Smith (18 August 1936), Boyce Papers.

¹⁴¹Boyce, Letter (20 September 1940), Boyce Papers.

¹⁴²Fahey, "Ed Boyce," 30.

dramatic turnabout in his philosophy after his retirement as president of the Western Federation of Miners in 1902, this change was not out of character for him. Even during his days as a miner and union leader, Ed Boyce did not share many of the values of the working class. He aspired to get out of the mines, and after he failed in his attempted land speculation in 1890, he found another avenue out of the mines through union work. This is not to say that Boyce was a hypocrite; undoubtedly he keenly felt the injustices inflicted on the working class during a time period when capitalists showed little concern for basic human rights. However, Boyce's anger was that of an ambitious man who had been denied an outlet for his talents. Even at the height of his radicalism, when he was embracing socialism, Boyce was always intolerant of those workers who were less ambitious than himself. He railed against workers who were content with steady work and a little leisure time in their local saloon. The rank and file of the WFM strongly backed Boyce when he worked for the eight hour day, increased safety in the mines, miners' hospitals, and increased wages. These miners were even ready to resort to violence when they felt their working class enclaves were seriously threatened. However, when Ed Boyce attempted to lead them toward a socialist utopia, a majority opposed him.

At the end of his career as a union leader, Boyce was a very frustrated man. When his wife's interest in the Hercules Mine provided Boyce with a Horatio Alger-like opportunity to escape the world of the working class, it is not

surprising that Boyce abandoned the "fool working man" to his fate. After all, Boyce had devoted years of his life to trying to benefit the working class.

Ed Boyce's political transformation did not take place over night. He had invested a large part of himself in the radical labor movement. It took time for this attachment to weaken, but weaken it did, and Boyce's personal connections with the labor movement withered away. His move, in 1906, away from the Rocky Mountain mining region, to Portland, Oregon was probably a key step in his withdrawal from the labor scene. Then, as he became immersed in the business affairs of the Portland Hotel, his interests gradually became those of the capitalist class that he had once opposed.

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