

**Documents Relating**  
**to the**  
**Anthracite Strike of 1902.**



## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Miners' Organization Requests Joint Conference.....	1
Letter from Mr. Mitchell to Operators.....	1
Letter from Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Thomas.....	2
This Request Refused.....	3
Mr. Baer's Letter to Mr. Mitchell.....	3
Mr. Truesdale's Letter to Mr. Mitchell.....	6
Mr. Thomas's Letter to Mr. Mitchell.....	7
Mr. Fowler's Letter to Mr. Mitchell.....	10
Mr. Walter's Letter to Mr. Mitchell.....	11
Mr. Olyphant's Letter to Mr. Mitchell.....	11
Mr. Stearns's Letter to Mr. Mitchell.....	12
The Miners Prepare to Strike.....	12
Operators Post Notice Continuing 1901 Scale.....	12
Mr. Mitchell's Telegram asking for Conference, March 22.....	13
Mr. Baer's Answer.....	13
Position of Operators Stated to Civic Federation.....	13
Miners' Demands Renewed in Mr. Mitchell's Telegram of May 8.....	14
Mr. Thomas's Reply to Mr. Mitchell's Telegram.....	15
Mr. Truesdale's Reply to Mr. Mitchell's Telegram.....	15
Mr. Baer's Reply to Mr. Mitchell's Telegram.....	16
Mr. Olyphant's Reply to Mr. Mitchell's Telegram.....	16
Resolutions of Miners' Conventions.....	17
Edwardsville, Compulsory to Join Union.....	17
Shamokin No. 7, Demands Recognition of Union.....	17
Shamokin No. 9, Authorizing Strikes to Enforce Unionism....	17
Shamokin No. 15, Strikes to Enforce Card Collection.....	18
Shamokin No. 18, Mine Workers Must Join Union.....	18
Shamokin No. 20, As to Being Called Round Head.....	18
Shamokin No. 27, Strike for Reinstatement, D. L. & W. ....	19
Shamokin No. 28, Reinstatement and Recognition.....	19
Shamokin No. 29, Extra Pay or Strike, D. & H.....	20
Shamokin No. 31, To Force Erie to Give Up System of Work..	20
Shamokin No. 33, Authorizing General Strikes.....	21
Shamokin No. 35, Refusal to Work with Non-union Men.....	22
Shamokin No. 43, Limits Miners to Two Laborers.....	22
Shamokin, Report of Special Committee on Resolutions— General Strike Authorized.....	23

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.—Continued.

	PAGE
Intention to Strike Declared.....	24
Shamokin, Special—Fixing General Holiday.....	25
Boycott Letter to Wilkesbarre Leader.....	25
Mr. Mitchell on Recognition, Non-Union Men, and Violence.....	26
The Strike Ordered.....	27
Order Beginning Strike and Calling Hazleton Convention.....	27
Strike Continued by Hazleton Convention.....	28
The Vote at Hazleton.....	28
Order on which Engineers Firemen and Pumpmen Quit.....	28
Investigation by Commissioner of Labor.....	30
Interview of Commissioner with Operators.....	30
Mr. Baer's Statement of the Negotiations.....	30
Full and Fair Discussion.....	31
The Strike of 1900.....	31
The Advance of 1900 Continued.....	32
Working of the Mines Very Unsatisfactory.....	33
As to Wages.....	34
\$1.991 Per Ton the Cost of Mining.....	35
\$1.89 Average Daily Pay per Man.....	35
The Reading Investment—Profit and Loss.....	35
No Dividends for Coal Companies.....	36
Impracticable to Increase Cost of Mining.....	37
Twenty Per Cent. Increase would be 60 Cents a Ton.....	38
No Discipline in the Mines.....	38
Mr. Olyphant—23 Years of Peace before 1900.....	38
Mr. Willcox—Union Seeks to Control Fuel Supply.....	40
Mr. Baer—Output Per Man Reduced 12 Per Cent.....	41
Mr. Thomas—Only a Commercial Transaction.....	41
Mr. Thomas's Statement to Commissioner Wright.....	42
Not Opposed to Union Labor.....	43
Interference with Non-Union Men.....	45
Report of Commissioner of Labor.....	45
Origin of Present Strike.....	46
Basis of Strike Laid in 1900.....	47
Demands of the Mine Workers.....	48
The Specific Demands.....	49
Miners' Subsequent Offers.....	49
Claims and Complaints of the Employes.....	50
Much Trouble with Discipline since 1900.....	50



## TABLE OF CONTENTS.—Continued.

	PAGE
Union Officials Cannot Control Their Men.....	51
Anthracite Union Suggested.....	51
The Demand to have Coal Weighed.....	52
A Measure of Labor and a Measure of Material.....	53
Wages and Cost of Production.....	54
Table of Earnings, P. & R. C. & I. Co., November, 1901..	55
Average Wages, January to April, 1902.....	55
The Demand for Reduction of Time.....	56
The Restricted Output.....	56
Five Hours Per Day for Contract Miners.....	57
Stoppages by Miners for Various Causes.....	57
Comparative Cost Per Ton.....	57
Monthly Percentage above Basis.....	58
Wages Prior to 1900.....	58
Operating at a Loss.....	59
Profits of Coal Mining and Production.....	59
No Dividends for Reading, Lehigh Valley or Erie Stock- holders.....	60
Miners Say Output has Increased.....	61
Production of Anthracite, 1897-1901.....	61
Miners' Contention not Sustained.....	62
Anthracite Production not up to Industrial Development..	62
Forty Per Cent. of Anthracite Sold Below Cost.....	63
The Question of Freights.....	63
Anthracite Transportation not Like Bituminous.....	64
Anthracite Distribution Requires Much Shifting.....	64
General Considerations.....	65
Operators say it is Foolish to Undertake an Agreement....	66
Chief Difficulty Lack of Organization.....	66
Suggestions by the Commissioner.....	67
Question Full of Difficulties.....	68
National Strike Considered.....	69
Convention against National Strike.....	69
Assessments to Help Strikers.....	69
An Appeal to the People.....	70
Mr. Hewitt Reasons with Mr. Mitchell.....	71
Time for the Plain Truth.....	71
Recognition of the Union the Real Issue.....	71
The Right to Labor Cannot be Arbitrated.....	72
Right of Association not in Question.....	72

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.—Continued.

	PAGE
A Claim to the Power of Life and Death.....	73
Claim of the Mine Workers Impracticable.....	73
General Strike an Outrage.....	73
Hope of the Workers Rests on Personal Liberty.....	74
Protection of Workers, Not Arbitration, the Great Need..	74
Mr. Mitchell's Reply to Mr. Hewitt.....	75
Another Statement by Mr. Hewitt.....	75
Men Responsible for Limited Amount of Work.....	76
Stock and Bondholders Outnumber Men Employed.....	76
Irresponsibility of the Miners' Organization.....	77
A Vast Labor Trust.....	77
Another Interview with Mr. Hewitt.....	77
"A Case of Mitchell Working for Mitchell".....	77
Mr. Mitchell Destroyed the Principle of Arbitration.....	78
Miners Thrifty and Respectable.....	79
Must be Economy, Regularity and Stability.....	79
Coal Regions Might be a Paradise.....	80
Mr. Baer's Statement to Senators Quay and Penrose.....	80
The Management of Business Belongs to the Owners.....	81
Propositions of the Operators.....	81
None of These Can Be Arbitrated.....	82
The Talk with the Civic Federation.....	82
Conditions in the Coal Regions Intolerable.....	83
Balance Sheets also Produced.....	84
Men Would not Work.....	84
Civic Federation Never Met to Receive Report.....	85
No Surrender to a Lawless Organization.....	85
Mr. Mitchell's Reply to Mr. Baer.....	85
Bituminous Wages Higher than Anthracite.....	86
Mr. Baer Again Contradicted.....	87
Miners' Demands Restated and Increased.....	87
Lawlessness Denied.....	88
Coal and Iron Police Accused.....	88
As to Mr. Hewitt's Accusations.....	89
Miners Idle in Spite of Troops.....	90
Calls Mr. Baer's Statements Misleading.....	90
Only \$1.00 a Day.....	91
Weighty Questions Involved.....	91
Open Letter from Mr. Hewitt to Mr. Mitchell.....	92
Took Sides with Neither Party.....	92

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.—Continued.

	PAGE
Reign of Terror Must Cease.....	93
Mr. Mitchell Alone Responsible for Delay.....	93
Mr. Mitchell Asked to Prove His Sincerity.....	94
Possible Compensation for the Strike.....	94
The Position of the Independent Operators.....	94
Statement by Mr. John Markle.....	95
"Help Us Throttle Capital"—Mitchell.....	96
Arbitration Agreement Signed.....	96
This Agreement Broken, but Renewed.....	97
No Further Trouble Until Mr. Mitchell Came in 1900.....	97
Mr. Mitchell Calls the Offer of Arbitration Only a Bluff....	98
Mr. Mitchell Urges Breaking the Arbitration Agreement...	99
Men in Fear of Bodily Harm.....	100
Employers Offer to Arbitrate, but Men Break the Agree- ment. ....	100
Discipline Unknown Since Then.....	101
Honest Work Impossible.....	101
The Agreement Breaker now Proposes Arbitration.....	102
The Threat of a National Strike of Coal Miners.....	102
No Arbitration with Anarchists.....	103
President Roosevelt Intervenes.....	104
Invitation to the Washington Conference.....	104
Report of the Conference.....	105
Statement by President Roosevelt.....	105
Urges Immediate Resumption.....	106
Mr. Mitchell Suggests Arbitration.....	106
Conference Takes a Recess.....	107
Mr. Baer's Statement at Washington.....	107
Lawlessness and Crime in the Coal Regions.....	107
The "Peace of the Law," not an Armed Truce Needed....	108
To Restore the Majesty of the Law the Duty of the Hour..	108
Mr. Mitchell's Terms Rejected—Arbitration Offered.....	109
Mr. Mitchell's Statement.....	109
A Presidential Tribunal Proposed.....	109
Mr. Thomas's Statement.....	110
Asks the Enforcement of Law.....	110
Mr. Markle's Statement.....	111
Many Acts of Violence Cited.....	111
"Every Kind of Unlawful Step".....	112
Mr. Truesdale's Statement.....	113

**TABLE OF CONTENTS.—Continued:**

	PAGE
First Duty to Suppress Lawlessness.....	113
Proceedings Against the Union Asked for.....	113
The Duty to Those Who Are at Work.....	114
The Duty to the Boys and Young Men.....	114
Not an Enemy of Organized Labor.....	115
Mr. Willcox's Statement.....	116
The Union a Monopoly.....	116
Such a Combination Unlawful.....	117
Proceed as in the Debs Case.....	117
Serious Questions Fundamentally Involved.....	118
Renewed Offer of Arbitration.....	119
Mr. Mitchell's Second Statement.....	119
Mr. Fowler's Statement.....	120
Mr. Mitchell's Proposition Rejected.....	120
President Roosevelt's Proposition to Mr. Mitchell.....	121
Mr. Mitchell's Call to the Strikers.....	121
Mass Meetings Ordered to Deny Operators' Statements...	121
Strikers Warned Not to Commit Overt Acts.....	122
Mr. Mitchell's Call Answered.....	122
Mr. Mitchell Rejects the President's Proposition.....	122
Pennsylvania Troops Ordered Out.....	123
Governor Stone's Order Calling Out Entire Guard.....	124
"Mob Law Reigns".....	124
Operators Propose a Commission. The Strike Ended.....	125
History of the Strike.....	125
The Reign of Terror.....	125
Fair and Full Wages.....	125
Willing to Accept Fair Arbitration.....	126
Offer of October 3d Reaffirmed.....	126
The Need of Coal.....	126
The Operators' Position.....	126
A Commission Suggested.....	127
Constitution of the Commission.....	127
What is Asked of the Strikers.....	127
Appointment of the Commission.....	128
Mr. Mitchell Accepts the Commission.....	129
Mr. Mitchell Replies to the President's Notification.....	129
Opposed at First, but Now Agrees.....	130
Grateful to President Roosevelt.....	130
"Their Inability to Operate Without Our Consent".....	131

**TABLE OF CONTENTS.—Continued.**

	PAGE
“There Have Been a Few Crimes”.....	131
“The Pretense of the Operators”.....	132
Aims of the United Mine Workers.....	133
Time and Again Have Asked Recognition.....	133
Miners’ Convention Votes to Return to Work.....	134
Mr. Mitchell Notifies Miners to Return to Work.....	135
The President’s Instructions to the Commission.....	135
Demands of the Mine Workers as presented to the Anthracite Coal Commission.....	137
Answer of the Pennsylvania Coal Co.....	139
Answer of the Hillside Coal and Iron Co.....	147
Answer of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Co.....	154
Answer of the Lehigh Valley Coal Co.....	159
Answer of the Delaware & Hudson Co.....	164
Answer of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Rail- road Co.....	171
Answer of the Scranton Coal Co. and Elk Hill Coal and Iron Co.....	178
Answer of the Lehigh & Wilkes-Barre Coal Co.....	183
Answer of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co.....	187
Exhibit A—Wages of Miners, Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co.....	196
Exhibit B—List of Riots, Assaults and Overt Acts on the Part of Strikers, Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co.....	198
Answer of the Independent Operators of the Lackawanna and Wyoming Region.....	204
Statement of the Non-Union Mine Workers to the Anthracite Coal Commission.....	214
Appeal of Hillside Coal and Iron Co.’s Employees.....	217
Boycotted, Threatened and Assaulted.....	217
Let Not Loyalty Be Repaid with Injury.....	218
Remember the Murders and Other Crimes.....	218
No Union Man Ever Expelled for Committing a Crime....	218
The Same Right to Work that Others Have to Quit.....	219
Mr. Mitchell and the Wilkesbarre Citizens’ Alliance.....	220
Mr. Mitchell Attacks the Citizens’ Alliance.....	220
Calls It an Operators’ Adjunct.....	220
A Covert Threat.....	221
Citizens’ Alliance Writes to Mr. Mitchell.....	222
Right of Every Man to Labor or Not.....	223

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.—Continued.

	PAGE
The Last Vestige of Personal Liberty Has Gone.....	223
Anarchy Will Certainly Be Repressed.....	224
Mr. Mitchell Asked to Make Four Declarations.....	225
Mr. Mitchell's Nanticoke Speech Answered.....	225
Another Letter to Mr. Mitchell from the Citizens' Alliance.....	226
Specific Condemnation of Lawlessness Requested.....	226
Mr. Mitchell's Reply to the Citizens' Alliance.....	227
Justification of This Belief.....	228
Some Transgressions of the Law.....	228
Citizens' Alliance Answers Mr. Mitchell.....	229
"If You Were Sincere".....	230
Special Report on Anthracite Coal.....	231
Description of Anthracite Fields.....	231
Shipments (by Regions) for Past Ten Years.....	232
Proportion of Various Sizes Shipped.....	232
Percentages of Sizes Shipped in the Past Ten Years.....	235
General Geographical Distribution.....	235
Approximate Consumption on Atlantic Seaboard.....	235
Average F. O. B. Prices New York Harbor, 1901, 1902.....	236
Estimated Original Contents of Anthracite Fields.....	236
Total Production to 1902.....	236
Their Probable Duration.....	237
Coal from Culm Banks.....	237
F. O. B. Business, New York Harbor, 1901 and 1902.....	238
Average F. O. B. Prices, New York Harbor, for Small Sizes, 1901 and 1902.....	239
Monthly Average Prices for Bituminous Coal, Philadelphia, 1901 and 1902.....	239
Appendix.....	240

# DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO

## THE ANTHRACITE STRIKE OF 1902.

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The United Mine Workers of America, with headquarters at Indianapolis, Ind., was an organization of bituminous coal miners. About 1899 they sent emissaries into the anthracite coal fields, and began the organization of the anthracite coal miners.

In 1900 they felt themselves strong enough to inaugurate a strike. The strike was settled by the operators agreeing to make a 10 per cent. advance in wages. This agreement abolished the sliding scale, which had worked satisfactorily in the Schuylkill and Lehigh regions for many years. Under this sliding scale the wages of the miners were regulated by the market price of coal.

In April, 1901, the operators announced that they would continue the advanced rate of wages until April, 1902.

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### MINERS' ORGANIZATION REQUESTS JOINT CONFERENCE.

In February, 1902, the United Mine Workers of America, from their headquarters at Indianapolis, Ind., sent the following letter to each of the representatives of the railroads and coal companies operating in the anthracite districts of Pennsylvania, except Mr. Thomas:

OFFICE NATIONAL PRESIDENT UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

Indianapolis, Ind., February 14, 1902.

Dear Sir: We have been delegated by the anthracite mine workers to write you and other officers of the railroads and coal companies operating in the anthracite districts of Pennsylvania for the purpose of inviting your company to be represented at a joint conference of operators and miners on March 12th, at Scranton, Pa., the object of the conference to be the formation of a wage scale for the year beginning April 1, 1902, and ending March 31, 1903.

We trust that this proposition will be approved and will receive your indorsement. We are sure that the methods employed by the miners' organization in adjusting the wage scale in all districts where it is recognized and contracted with will commend themselves to you.

We should esteem it a favor to receive a reply at the earliest date possible. Your letter should be addressed to our Indianapolis headquarters. We are,

Yours respectfully,

JOHN MITCHELL,  
 President U. M. W. of A.  
 T. D. NICHOLLS,  
 President, District No. 1.  
 THOMAS DUFFY,  
 President, District No. 7.  
 JOHN FAHY,  
 President, District No. 9.

At the same time the United Mine Workers sent to Mr. Thomas the following letter:

OFFICE NATIONAL PRESIDENT UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

Indianapolis, Ind., February 13, 1902.

Mr. E. B. Thomas, Chairman Board of Directors, The Erie Railroad,  
 New York City:

Dear Sir: As the time is approaching when the verbal contract entered into between you—representing the coal operators—and the committee representing the anthracite mine workers, will expire; and believing it to be of mutual advantage to all parties at interest to preserve harmonious business relations and industrial tranquillity by, if possible, more fully determining the wages which should be paid and the conditions of employment which should obtain in the anthracite field, we have been delegated by the representatives of the anthracite mine workers to write you and the presidents of other coal-carrying railroads, with the purpose in view of ascertaining if you would join us in arranging a conference of the representatives of the anthracite coal interests and representatives of the mine workers, to discuss and agree upon a scale of wages for the year beginning April 1, 1902, and ending March 31, 1903.

It is suggested that if this proposition meets with the approval of the anthracite mine owners, a joint conference be held in the city of Scranton, Pa., on or about March 12th; however, if it would be more convenient to hold the conference in some other city or on a different date, we should be glad to make such changes in these suggested arrangements as you might mention.

You will, no doubt, recall that during our last conference the hope was held out by you that if conditions in the anthracite field permitted there was a probability of the representatives of the mine owners con-



sidering favorably our propositions for a general joint conference. We feel justified in saying that the methods employed by the United Mine Workers' organization in those States and districts in which it is recognized and contracted with have met with the unqualified approval of all who are familiar with our methods, and we are desirous of applying the same business principles in adjusting the wage scale in the anthracite field.

Trusting that we may receive an early and favorable reply, which should be addressed to the Indianapolis office, we are,

Yours truly,

JOHN MITCHELL,  
President U. M. W. of A.  
T. D. NICHOLLS,  
President, District No. 1.  
THOMAS DUFFY,  
President, District No. 7.  
JOHN FAHY,  
President, District No. 9.

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### THIS REQUEST REFUSED.

The presidents of the various coal companies promptly replied to these letters. The replies were all addressed to John Mitchell, president, and others, at Indianapolis, and are as follows:

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#### MR. BAER'S LETTER.

Philadelphia, February 18, 1902.

Gentlemen: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of February 14, from Indianapolis, inviting this company to be represented at a joint conference of operators and miners on March 12th, the object of the conference to be the formation of a wage scale for the year beginning April 1, 1902, and ending March 31, 1903, and in which you express the hope "that the methods employed by the miners' organization in adjusting the wage scale in all districts where it is recognized and contracted with will commend themselves to us."

#### UNIFORM WAGE SCALE IMPRACTICABLE.

In the judgment of the companies I represent it is impracticable to form a wage scale for the whole anthracite region. The mining of

anthracite coal is entirely different from that of bituminous coal. How far success has attended your organization in creating a uniform scale of wages in the bituminous regions satisfactory to all the interests concerned is a question which it is not necessary to discuss, but the dissimilarity between anthracite and bituminous mining is so great that it does not follow that any success attending the creation of a uniform wage scale in the bituminous region could be repeated in the anthracite fields. Each colliery in the anthracite regions, by reason of the peculiar nature of the veins, their pitch, water conditions, depth, and quality of coal, and its accompanying impurities (which vary in each colliery, sometimes amounting to 2 tons of refuse to 1 ton of merchantable coal), is a problem by itself, and it is not possible to create a scale of wages covering the whole anthracite field which will be just to the operators and to the mine workers.

#### DISTINCTION BETWEEN BITUMINOUS AND ANTHRACITE MINING.

The distinction between the bituminous and anthracite mines is recognized in the Pennsylvania laws regulating mining, which have been enacted primarily at the solicitation of the mine workers. Special laws are created for each. In the anthracite field a bituminous coal miner cannot be employed, no matter what his skill. The act of 1889 in express terms requires an examination of all persons who desire to be employed as miners in their respective districts in the anthracite regions, and only when such person has received a certificate from the examining board can he be employed as a miner. The law made an exception in favor of the persons employed in an anthracite mine at the time of the passage of the act, and so drastic is this legislation that every person applying for a certificate entitling him to be employed as a miner is required to produce evidence of having had "not less than two years' practical experience as a mine laborer"—that is, a mine laborer in the anthracite fields.

This company does not favor the plan of having its relations with the miners disturbed every year. The proposition to unsettle all the labor conditions of the various anthracite districts each year by holding a conference between persons who are not interested in anthracite mining and cannot have the technical knowledge of the varying conditions at each colliery is so unbusinesslike that no one charged with the grave responsibility of conducting industrial enterprises can safely give countenance to it.

We will always receive and consider every application of the men in our employ. We will endeavor to correct every abuse, to right

every wrong, to deal justly and fairly with them, and to give to every man a fair compensation for the work he performs. Beyond this we cannot go.

#### DISCIPLINE IS ESSENTIAL

The experience in the past year has not been satisfactory. There cannot be two masters in the management of business. The objection to your proposition is not alone the impracticability of forming a uniform scale of wages, but it is to the divided allegiance it creates. Discipline is essential in the conduct of all business. It is of vital importance in mining operations, where the disobedience of one man may endanger the lives of hundreds of his fellow-workmen. You cannot have discipline when the employee disregards and disobeys the reasonable orders and directions in the conduct of business of his superior officer, relying upon some outside power to sustain him. Two or three unreasonable men can, because of this divided allegiance, stop the operations of a colliery in the belief that their organization will support them, whether right or wrong.

Your organizations have no power to enforce their decrees, and thereby insure discipline, and we have no power to maintain discipline except the power to discharge. The moment we exercise this power we would be subjected to an inquisitorial and ineffective supervision, without any certainty as to how or when it will be possible to reach a righteous decision or to enforce that decision when reached.

A careful analysis of the results of last year's operations shows that the efficiency of our own mines has decreased 1,000,000 tons, because the contract miners have worked only four and one-half to six hours a day. The number of tons produced by each miner has decreased from 11 to 17 per cent. The average shows a decrease of about 12½ per cent. This has added an increased burden on the company and a loss of wages to the workers.

With no disposition to interfere with labor organizations in all honest efforts to better the welfare and condition of the working classes, we respectfully decline to join in any conference for the formation of a wage scale for the next year.

Yours truly,

GEO. F. BAER,  
President.

**MR. TRUESDALE'S LETTER.**

New York, February 18, 1902.

Dear Sirs: This will acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 14th instant, asking this company to be represented at a joint conference of operators and miners to be held on March 12th, at Scranton, Pa.

In reply, beg to state that it is not the present intention of this company to be represented at such conference, if held.

The policy and practice of this company is, and always has been, to deal directly with all classes of its employees through committees or other representatives of them duly accredited as such and also in the employ of the company, on all questions concerning wages, hours of service, and other conditions pertaining to their employment.

No good or convincing reason has ever been given, nor does the management of this company conceive of any that can be, why the employees in or about its mines should ask to have their wage matters singled out and handled in the radically different way suggested from that fixed by the company in dealing with all other classes of its employees.

**SITUATION AND CONDITIONS VARY WIDELY.**

The situation and conditions vary so widely as respects the mining of anthracite coal in the different fields, the several districts of each field, in the different mines in each district, and in the numerous veins of coal in each mine that it has been found necessary during the years of experience in mining anthracite coal to establish a great variety of rates of wages and allowances of different kinds in order to adjust the wages equitably as between men working under these varying conditions.

It must be manifest, therefore, to any one familiar with these conditions and the practice that has grown up under them, that it is entirely impracticable to adjust these wage questions in the anthracite regions in any general convention or mass meeting composed of all the mine owners in the anthracite fields and representatives of all their employees, or in any other manner than as heretofore, i. e., direct between employer and employee.

As far as we are at present advised by any of our men working in or about our mines, they are well satisfied with their present rates of wages, their hours of work, and the general conditions under which they perform their work for us. They are prosperous, contented, and we believe recognize that they have been fairly and equitably dealt

with on all questions that have been brought to the attention of the management by representatives acting in their behalf.

This company must therefore decline to depart from its settled policy in dealing with its employees, and put itself in a position with respect to its mine employees where it may at any time involve itself in the troubles or misunderstandings of other anthracite mine owners who may not deal with their employees in the same broad, liberal spirit as has always characterized the transactions of this company with its employees in every department.

Respectfully,

W. H. TRUESDALE,  
President.

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**MR. THOMAS'S LETTER.**

New York, February 20, 1902.

Dear Sirs: Acknowledging the receipt of your favor of the 13th, requesting our presence at a conference of operators and members of your association at Scranton on March 12th, and referring further to statements in your letter, two of which should be promptly corrected, viz.:

You state that "As the time is approaching when the verbal contract entered into between you, representing the coal operators, and the committee representing the anthracite mine workers, will expire, and believing it to be of mutual advantage to all parties at interest to preserve harmonious business relations and industrial tranquillity by, if possible, more fully determining the wages which should be paid and the conditions of employment which should obtain in the anthracite field, we have been delegated by the representatives of the anthracite mine workers to write you and the presidents of other coal-carrying railroads with the purpose in view of ascertaining if you would join us in arranging a conference of the representatives of the anthracite coal interests and representatives of the mine workers, to discuss and agree upon a scale of wages for the year beginning April 1, 1902, and ending March 31, 1903."

**MR. MITCHELL'S STATEMENTS CORRECTED.**

If you will recall what passed at the interview between you and me last year, you cannot fail to recollect that no contract was entered into, as well as my distinct, positive, and unequivocal statement to the effect that I represented no interests whatever other than those controlled by the Erie Company, and that I did not represent nor assume

to act for other than the coal companies controlled by the Erie. That other companies did finally take similar action to the Erie, and continue the rate of wages then in effect, is quite true, but that I entered into any arrangement with you to that effect is incorrect.

You further state that "You will, no doubt, recall that during our last conference the hope was held out by you that, if conditions in the anthracite field permitted, there was a probability of the representatives of the mine owners considering favorably our proposition for a general joint conference."

Recalling what passed at that interview and your claim at that time to the recognition for which you are now asking, I distinctly stated that confidence was a plant of very slow growth, and it was not to be expected that an association such as you represented could assume to at once enjoy that confidence and respect upon which all business understandings must necessarily be based; that if longer and more intimate knowledge of the workings of your association should show that it was entitled to such confidence, that would be a matter for future consideration.

With this in mind, we have, during the past year, carefully observed the workings in the anthracite field of your association, which claims to control and number in its membership a large majority of the anthracite miners.

#### UNREST THE APPARENT EFFECT OF THE MINERS' ORGANIZATION.

I regret to say that the result of these observations and the experiences of the companies which I represent has not led to the conclusion that a conference and the inauguration of the methods you now propose would be at all beneficial to either our companies or the employees. So far, the apparent effect of your association has been that at no time during the last twenty years has a greater spirit of unrest and agitation prevailed among the anthracite miners than has existed during the past year. Notwithstanding the advance in wages, the fair treatment that has been accorded, the patient and friendly disposition manifested toward the various committees, the depreciation in the quantity of work produced per man has amounted to about 12 per cent., and from April to October 1st there have been no less than 102 interruptions of work occasioned by unwarranted demands and agitation by members of your association, resulting in a loss of over 900 days' work and over 600,000 tons of production; most of them were brought about by unwarranted causes, and there has been an appar-

\* A statement is annexed as an appendix showing in detail the cause, duration and result of the strikes from April to October, 1901.

ent disposition on the part of the younger element to keep the whole territory in a condition of unrest, a condition that is certainly not for the best interests of either the corporations or the employees. In some cases mines have been closed for long periods, and some of them are still closed, because the members of your association decline to allow men not belonging to that organization to work in the same mine. Not only that, but in many of the mines the drivers have, at different times, declined to deliver cars to non-members of your association.

#### THE INALIENABLE RIGHT TO LABOR.

It is the inalienable right of a man to labor, and this without regard to nationality, creed, or association. To seek to prevent it is a crime, and we cannot, even by implication, sanction such a course.

The business of mining anthracite coal is entirely different and distinct from that of bituminous, and no common practice can succeed. As a result of the experience of years, different methods and different prices have obtained, not only in the different regions, but in the different mines as well, and to undertake to change those or to attempt to bring about a condition approaching uniformity is impossible. Any agreement would necessarily have to be of the broadest and most indefinite character on account of the varying conditions. The interpretation of such a general agreement would result in endless strife, ill-feeling, and petty strikes. Were the association in the anthracite region composed entirely of English-speaking adults, dealing with them would be an entirely different question from what is to-day presented, when over twenty different nationalities, speaking some fourteen or fifteen different languages and dialects, are involved, and when approximately 20 per cent. of the labor employed is composed of boys and youths under 21. We believe it impossible for any association to so control or to enter into any agreement for them as a whole that will have beneficial results.

#### COMPANY NOT CONCERNED WHETHER MEN JOIN AN ASSOCIATION OR NOT.

It is no concern of this company whether the men belong to an association or not. It is their inalienable right to take either course that they may deem for their best interests; nor ought we to be asked, in view of the grave responsibilities resting upon us, to consent to join with persons not in our employ in making general laws applying not only to our districts but to others and affecting as well large numbers of persons not belonging to your association.

You now ask this company to join the representatives of other anthracite coal interests and a representative of the Mine Workers to formulate a scale of wages and conditions of employment which shall govern the coming year.

In our judgment this is impracticable, and the best interests of the companies represented, no less than those of the miners themselves, render impracticable any such efforts. This company prefers to deal with its own employees. It is prepared to pay them the highest wages in force for similar work; to accord them fair, considerate, and liberal treatment; to listen patiently and to endeavor to the utmost extent to remedy any injustice of which they may complain, and in every manner within our power to make pleasant, profitable, and permanent the relations between us. Such is the course that for over fifty years it has pursued in dealing with its employees, and the experiences of the past have demonstrated the correctness of this position. There would seem to be no good reason for now departing from this course and proceeding on new and untried lines, especially in view of the experiences of the past year, which, to our mind, demonstrated the impracticability of what your propose.

Yours truly,

E. B. THOMAS.

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**MR. FOWLER'S LETTER.**

New York, February 20, 1902.

Dear Sirs: I have received your communication of the 14th instant, addressed to me as president of the New York, Ontario & Western Railway Company. That company operates no coal mines, but I assume that you have invited me to attend the conference you propose calling at Scranton, because I am president of the Scranton Coal Company and of the Elk Hill Coal and Iron Company, both engaged in mining anthracite coal and whose product is shipped over the lines of the railway company named.

In reply I desire to state that the collieries operated by the companies named differ so widely in their character and the conditions of work vary so greatly that even a conference of the men employed in all our collieries, for the purpose of settling the conditions of work and wages of the employees in each individual colliery, would be impracticable.



**ALWAYS READY TO MEET THE MEN THEMSELVES.**

At present there are no differences between our companies and the employees; but should any arise, the only practical method of settlement is by discussion by the men themselves with the immediate superintendent; that failing, the executive officers of the companies stand ready at any time to take up any matter in dispute and, to the best of their ability, adjust it fairly.

This being my view, you will see that it would be futile to discuss any such questions as you indicate may be brought up by you at your convention with those whom we do not recognize as representative of our men, nor even conversant with the subject you propose to discuss. Believe me,

Very truly yours,

T. P. FOWLER.

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**MR. WALTER'S LETTER.**

New York, February 20, 1902.

Gentlemen: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 14th instant, inviting this company to attend a meeting to be held in Scranton with representatives of your organization, for the purpose of discussing a wage schedule for the year beginning April 1, 1902, and ending March 31, 1903.

The proposition you submit is not one we can entertain, as the matters which it is proposed to discuss, it seems to us, are those which we should arrange by dealing directly with our own employees, and do not call for the intervention of the organization which you represent.

Yours truly,

ALFRED WALTER,

President.

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**MR. OLYPHANT'S LETTER.**

New York, February 19, 1902.

Gentlemen: On February 17, 1901, in reply to a telegram from you asking if the company which I represent would join in a conference with others for the purpose of arranging scale of wages for the anthracite coal region, I said that I understood the matter of wages had been satisfactorily adjusted in the previous October, and could therefore see no reason for such a conference. On February 20th, however, you invited me to such a conference. On March 6th I addressed

you a letter in reply, setting forth at length the reasons why I was compelled to decline your invitation; and now that you and others have invited me to a similar conference, I beg to refer you to that letter, simply adding that time has confirmed my faith in the action then taken, or, rather, strengthened it, as in your last communication you plainly intimate that you expect the wage schedule to be reviewed yearly—a condition which is at once unbusinesslike and utterly opposed to the proper conduct of the anthracite mining industry. I must, therefore, once more decline your invitation.

Yours very truly,

R. M. OLYPHANT,  
President.

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**MR. STEARNS'S LETTER.**

Wilkesbarre, Pa., February 19, 1902.

Gentlemen: I am in receipt of your favor of the 14th instant, asking that our company be represented at a proposed conference to be held in Scranton on March 12th to formulate a wage scale for the year beginning April 1, 1902, and ending March 31, 1903.

I am not aware that there is any question of wages between our employees and the companies I represent.

You have said, if correctly reported, that if the employers would meet their employees and discuss with them the various questions that arise strikes would be avoided and both parties would be mutually benefited. I beg to say that we have in the past, and will in the future, meet our employees to discuss and, if possible, adjust any questions that may arise. Knowing that our employees are thoroughly familiar with the existing conditions and much better qualified to discuss intelligently questions of wages than strangers would be, I must, in justice to our employees, as well as to the company I represent, decline to take any part in the proposed conference.

Yours truly,

IRVING A. STEARNS,  
President Coxe Bros. & Co., Inc.

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**THE MINERS PREPARE TO STRIKE.**

On March 14, 1902, the operators posted the following notice at each colliery:

“The rates of wages now in effect will be continued until April 1, 1903, and thereafter, subject to sixty days' notice.

“Local differences will, as heretofore, be adjusted with our employees at the respective collieries.”

## MR. MITCHELL'S TELEGRAM.

March 22, 1902.

By direction of miners' convention, I wire to ascertain if your company will join other anthracite coal companies in conference with committee representing anthracite mine workers for purpose of discussing and adjusting grievances which affect all companies and all employees alike. Please answer.

JOHN MITCHELL,  
Chairman.

## ANSWER.

March 24, 1902.

Always willing to meet our employees to discuss and adjust any grievances. I had hoped that my letter clearly expressed our views.

GEO. F. BAER.

## MINERS' CONVENTION AT SHAMOKIN FORMULATES DEMANDS.

The United Mine Workers held their convention at Shamokin and published in the newspapers a demand upon the operators for an increase in wages, an eight-hour day, for the weighing of coal, for a uniform scale, etc., with notice that after the 1st of April the miners would work only three days a week until the operators had come to an agreement, and appealing to the Civic Federation to aid them in securing their demands. (For resolutions adopted by Shamokin Convention, see page 17 *et seq.*)

The Civic Federation, through its chairman, Senator Hanna, invited certain of the coal operators, and especially the presidents of the larger coal companies, to meet the officers of the United Mine Workers and the Civic Federation to discuss the subject. The coal presidents met the officers of the Mine Workers and the Civic Federation in the city of New York. Mr. Thomas submitted the following propositions, which were understood to be the basis of the conference:

## POSITION OF THE OPERATORS STATED TO THE CIVIC FEDERATION.

**First.** The anthracite companies do not undertake in the slightest manner to discriminate against members of the United Mine Workers of America, but they do insist that members of that organization shall not discriminate against nor decline to work with non-members of such association.

**Second.** That there shall be no deterioration in the quantity or quality of the work, and that there shall be no effort to restrict the individual exertions of men who, working by the ton or car, may for reasons satisfactory to themselves and their employers produce such a quantity of work as they may desire.

**Third.** By reason of the different conditions, varying not only with the districts but with the mines themselves, thus rendering absolutely impossible anything approaching uniform conditions, each mine must arrange either individually or through its committees with the superintendents or managers any questions affecting wages or grievances.

After discussing at great length the anthracite coal situation, an adjournment was taken for thirty days. At the expiration of the thirty days another meeting was held with the Civic Federation, with Mr. Mitchell and his district presidents, together with a large committee of miners. Another full and free discussion took place without reaching any conclusions.

At the suggestion of the Civic Federation a committee composed of Mr. Mitchell and his district presidents, and Messrs. Thomas, Truesdale, and Baer, were appointed to further consider the points at issue and report to the Civic Federation at a date to be fixed by the chairman. This committee spent two full days in a friendly discussion without obtaining practical results. The Civic Federation was not again reconvened. Mr. Mitchell, however, convened his district executive committee, and on May 8th he sent the following dispatch:

#### MINERS' DEMANDS RENEWED.

Scranton, Pa., May 8, 1902.

Conscious of the disastrous effects upon mine workers, mine operators, and the public in general which would result from a prolonged suspension of work in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania, and with earnest desire and hope of avoiding the impending calamity, the representatives of the anthracite mine workers have authorized us to submit the following propositions: First, inasmuch as the anthracite mine operators have proposed to continue the present wage scale for one year, and inasmuch as the anthracite mine workers have unanimously resolved to ask that an increase of 20 per cent. should be paid in present prices to all men performing contract work, that eight hours should constitute a day's labor for all persons employed by the hour, day, or week, without any reduction in their present wage rate, and that coal should be weighed and paid for by weight wherever practicable, and inasmuch as in our recent conferences the anthracite mine workers and mine operators have failed to reach an agreement upon any of the questions at issue, we propose that the industrial branch of the National Civic Federation select a committee of five persons to arbitrate, and decide all or any of the questions in dispute, the award of such board of arbitration to be binding upon both parties and effective for a period of one year. Second, should the above propo-

sition be unacceptable to you, we propose that a committee composed of Archbishop Ireland, Bishop Potter, and one other person whom these two may select, be authorized to make an investigation into the wages and conditions of employment existing in the anthracite field, and if they decide that the average annual wages received by anthracite mine workers are sufficient to enable them to live, maintain and educate their families in a manner conformable to established American standards and consistent with American citizenship, we agree to withdraw our claims for higher wages and more equitable conditions of employment, providing that the anthracite mine operators agree to comply with any recommendations the above committee may make affecting the earnings and conditions of labor of their employees.

An immediate reply is solicited.

JOHN MITCHELL,  
Chairman.

T. D. NICHOLLS,  
Secretary.

MR. THOMAS'S REPLY.

John Mitchell:

May 8, 1902.

Not only from our standpoint, but from yours as well, the matter has had such full and careful consideration in all its features at our several interviews last week as leaves little to be discussed. In addition, my letter of February 20th cannot fail to make it clear to you as it is to us that the subject cannot be practically handled in the manner suggested in your telegram.

E. B. THOMAS.

MR. TRUESDALE'S REPLY.

John Mitchell:

May 8, 1902.

Your message of this date received. You fail to state in it that the notices posted by this company not only agree to continue paying the 10 per cent. increase granted our mine employees in 1900 until April 1, 1903, and thereafter subject to sixty days' notice, but it also states our mining superintendents will take up and adjust any grievances with our employees. The reasons why we cannot grant your demand have been most fully explained in our recent conferences and my letter to you of February 18th last. In view of all these facts I am sure you cannot expect us to concur in either of the propositions contained in your message referred to.

W. H. TRUESDALE.

## MR. BAER'S REPLY.

John Mitchell:

Philadelphia, May 9, 1902.

I was out of town; therefore the delay in answering your dispatch.

By posted notices, the present rates of wages were continued until April, 1903, and thereafter subject to sixty days' notice. Local differences to be adjusted as heretofore with our employes at the respective collieries. By written communications, by full discussion before the Civic Federation, by protracted personal conferences with yourself and the district presidents, we have fully informed you of our position. We gave you the figures showing the cost of mining and marketing coal, and the sums realized therefrom in the markets, in the hope of convincing you that it was absolutely impracticable to increase wages. To your suggestion that the price of coal should be increased to the public, our answer was that this was not only undesirable, but in view of the sharp competition of bituminous coal it was impossible. We offered to permit you or your experts to examine our books to verify our statements. Anthracite mining is a business, and not a religious, sentimental, or academic proposition. The laws organizing the companies I represent in express terms impose the business management on the president and directors. I could not if I would delegate this business management to even so highly a respectable body as the Civic Federation, nor can I call to my aid as experts in the mixed problem of business and philanthropy the eminent prelates you have named.

GEO. F. BAER,

## MR. OLYPHANT'S REPLY.

New York, May 8, 1902.

John Mitchell, Esq., President United Mine Workers of America,  
Scranton, Pa.:

Your telegram is received. The concessions made by the mine operators in your last strike added to the wages of the mine workers six millions of dollars or more per annum. You now propose changes adding a charge of many millions more and suggest that you will make a further demand a year hence. The public will not meet such advances by submitting to an increase in the price of coal, and the operators cannot meet them without such aid. I must, therefore, decline your proposition.

R. M. OLYPHANT,  
President.

## RESOLUTIONS OF MINER'S CONVENTIONS.

*EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION OF DISTRICT No. 1, UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, JANUARY 14, 15 AND 16, 1901, AT EDWARDSVILLE, LUZERNE COUNTY, PA.*

Regularly moved and seconded that it becomes compulsory on the part of any man employed in and around the mines to become a member of the United Mine Workers of America. Carried.

*EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE JOINT CONVENTION OF DISTRICTS Nos. 1, 7 AND 9, UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, MARCH 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 AND 24, 1902, SHAMOKIN, PA.*

### RESOLUTION NO. 7.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Convention, Assembled:

Brothers: Having from past experience proved that the notices posted by the operators at the different collieries are only a bluff, and that the operators have not lived up to the spirit of such notices in settling local differences with the committees chosen to settle such differences; therefore, be it

**Resolved, That we demand recognition of the Union as the only means of adjusting such grievances.**

The Committee (on Resolutions) concurs in the above resolution.

Moved we concur in the report of the Committee. Motion carried.

Resolution signed by

JAMES WALTERS, President.

WILLIAM COOK, Secretary.

Local No. 899.

### RESOLUTION NO. 9.

To officers and delegates in convention assembled. Brothers: Whereas, we, the miners in the vicinity of Nanticoke, having by past experience proven that the working card or button is very little benefit to us in its present mode of working, therefore be it

**Resolved, That the U. M. W. of A. at any colliery where employes refuse to become members of our organization and wear the working button, the local governing such colliery, after using all such persuasive measures to**

get such employes to join, and failing in such, have full power to suspend operations at such colliery until such employes become members of our organization.

RESOLUTION NO. 15.

The preamble recites that the delegates from Maltby local, No. 458, in District No. 1, were requested by that and adjoining locals "to present to this convention our grievance," which was that "you, the executive board and delegates, at your Scranton convention, ordered to enforce the collection of working cards at any cost;" therefore

Be it resolved, That at that time we acted in accordance with your orders, and finding at that time there were sixty or more non-union men working at that time, we resolved to sustain the order of the board, which was not to work with non-union men.

Resolved, That you, the executive board, having called us out, we have been waiting and depending on your orders, but as a special occasion has arrived, namely, this convention, we wish to present for your advice, knowing that we can win by having 7, 9 and 1 districts work in conjunction, and demand that if there is no settlement before April 1st, 1, 7 and 9 of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company be called out.

The committee concurs in the above report.

Moved that we concur in the report of the committee; motion carried.

This resolution adopted March 20; reconsidered and tabled March 24.

RESOLUTION NO. 18.

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Convention to most heartily endorse colliery locals, and to insist that the said employes of said collieries be members of said locals.

FRANK MARCHINSKI, President.

STANLEY DEBECK, Secretary.

Local 110.

Moved the resolution be adopted; carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 20.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Convention: At a regular session of Local Union No. 110 the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That we instruct our delegates to solicit the support of the entire convention, to have all English-speaking Union men give us a civil answer, and not to call us round heads, etc., when we ask them for



their working cards at the colliery. They told us "We don't leave round heads see our cards."

The committee concurs in the above resolution.

Moved we concur in the report of the committee. Motion carried.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 27.

Whereas, The D. L. & W. Co. have discharged the firemen at Woodward, Avondale and Pettebone collieries for refusing to accept a proposition to change conditions regarding Sunday shift; and

Whereas, They base their refusal upon the claim that the notices posted last March stated that the conditions of employment should remain the same until April 1, 1902; therefore, be it

**Resolved, That we demand the reinstatement of all the discharged men in their former positions; and further be it**

**Resolved, That in the event of the company refusing to reinstate them we order a strike of all employes of the company.**

Signed:

T. D. NICHOLLS.

The Committee concurs in the above resolution.

Moved we concur in the report of the committee. Motion carried.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 28.

Whereas, Discrimination has been used toward or against our members, resulting in abuse, suspension and discharge, and, in some instances, a blacklist, relentless and uncalled for, under the guise and name of discipline, threatens the personal welfare and liberty of the working men; and

Whereas, We, the United Mine Workers, organized for the purpose of advancing the interest, and maintaining wages necessary to the respectable existence of American citizens; be it

**Resolved, That we demand, first, the reinstatement of all men suspended or discharged for any part taken by them in the interest of the U. M. W. of A. Second, recognition of the Union; and where local differences cannot be adjusted by local mine committees, they shall be adjusted by the district officers, and in their failure to adjust, shall be referred to an arbitration board consisting of five members, two to be appointed by the employer, and two by the district officers, and the fifth person by the four already chosen by both parties, from the district in which the grievance exists, or is first complained of, from among disinterested people; and where the subject matter complained of is general, or shall exist in**

more than one district, it shall be adjusted by the national officers, and in their failure, shall be settled by arbitration, by a board appointed in compliance with the law of May, 1893, P. L., page 102.

Signed:

DANIEL J. REESE, . . . .  
WILLIAM MCGEE,  
Local Union 1069.

The committee concurs in the above resolution.

Moved we concur in the report of the committee. Motion carried.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 29.

Whereas, The D. & H. Co., at Plymouth, have introduced a new system of forcing the miners to place the road on one side of the place, instead of in the center, as heretofore, causing almost double labor in loading coal, and in moving all rock and gob to one side of the place; and

Whereas, The company saves money by keeping the pillars free from gob, and are able to rob pillars at less expense; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we demand that the company shall pay extra price for the extra work entailed by the new system, or that they revert back to the old system. In the event of the company refusing to agree to either one of these terms, all the employes of the company be ordered out on strike.

Signed:

T. D. NICHOLLS.

The committee concurs in the above resolution.

Moved the resolution be adopted. Motion carried.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 31.

At a joint meeting of all the local unions of Dunmore and vicinity, of District No. 1, the following resolution was adopted to present to the convention of Districts 1, 7 and 9, in their convention to be held March 18, 1902:

Whereas, The contract system which some of our men are subject to at present, and which an effort is being made by the companies to put in force in several of their collieries under a large scale, which is detrimental to the organization; and

Whereas, Those working for said contractor are violating the laws of our Union in every respect, such as laying road, shifting rock, making opening, and delivering the coal they load to the foot of the shaft, without receiving any compensation for any of the same; and,

Whereas, This system of work has caused more men to become traitors to our organization than any other system of work ever introduced

into our coal fields, and subjects our men who remain faithful to us being cut short in their cars to supply contractors on days when the collieries are idle; and,

Whereas, The Erie Coal Company are the foremost in having this system put in force, as through this system they can have their coal mined thirty per cent. less by giving it out to contractors, who will make at least thirty per cent. on each man who works for him; and,

Whereas, This system is affecting Dunmore at present, and has been the cause of a great many of our men deserting our organization by failing to quit work for the said contractors when called upon by the organization to do so; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention take into consideration the danger of this contract system, especially under the Erie Coal Company, and force the said company to give up said system of work, and have our men at work at the same, as it was worked before the contract system was introduced. And be it further

Resolved, That we, the employes of the Erie Company, ask this convention to stand by us in whatever stand we may take to abolish this contract system.

Signed:

JOHN MCGLONE,  
WILLIAM FITZSIMMONS,  
JOHN FARLEY,  
PATRICK RILEY,  
JOHN FOLEY,  
JOHN SHERIN,  
PATRICK DEMPSEY,

Committee.

The committee concurs in the above resolution.

Moved the report be accepted, and the convention concur in the report of the committee. Motion carried.

#### RESOLUTION NO. 33.

Whereas, Reductions in wages and prices have been made in various parts of the region by various companies, some of the reductions being made by the introduction of new conditions, forcing the men to do more work, with no increased pay; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we authorize the Executive Board of each district to order a general strike at any time, against any company which will refuse to rectify the same or to restore former conditions; and if the com-

pany has collieries in other districts, that the board of such district be authorized to call out on strike all men employed under such company.

Signed:

T. D. NICHOLLS.

The committee concur in the above resolution. Carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 35.

Whereas, The district convention of No. 1 decided to insist upon forcing all who work in and around the mines to become members of the union, and that we be authorized to refuse to work with non-union men; and whereas, two members of a Card Committee at the Nottingham Colliery have been discharged for examining cards; therefore be it

**Resolved, That we insist upon the reinstatement of those members to their former positions, and if the company refuse, that a general strike be ordered at all collieries of the company.**

(Signed),

T. D. NICHOLLS.

The committee concurs in the above resolution. Moved that we concur in the report of the committee; motion carried.

RESOLUTION NO. 43.

Whereas, It is a well-known fact that in many sections of the anthracite region there is a system of contract in vogue which is, and has been, very obnoxious and vicious in its fulfilment, inasmuch that in many cases one man employs from four to twenty laborers, and in some cases the contractor seldom enters or comes near the work for one or two weeks at a time, and this in itself is not the cause or principle advocated by the U. M. W. of A.; therefore, be it

**Resolved, That any member of the organization who shall contract for such work as will necessitate the employment of more than two laborers, excepting such contracts as shaft sinking, slope sinking, or tunnel driving, shall be expelled from the U. M. W. of A.; and we, the members of the U. M. W. of A., absolutely refuse to work with any man so expelled from the Union; and be it further**

**Resolved, That we condemn the employment of laborers in chutes and headings, or monkeys or breasts, as is now practiced in some parts of the anthracite region, and we recommend the abolition of such employment.**

The committee concurs in the above resolution.

Moved we concur in the report of the committee. Motion carried.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS—GENERAL STRIKE  
AUTHORIZED.

We, the committee delegated to report a plan of procedure, submit for your consideration the following statement and recommendations:

Conforming to the well-defined principles of modern trade unionism the anthracite mine workers have sought to establish and maintain peaceful and friendly relations with their employers. To this end they have repeatedly importuned the coal operators to meet their accredited representatives in joint conference, for the purpose of mutually determining the wages to be paid, and the conditions under which work should be performed, thus insuring uninterrupted employment to the workers and guaranteeing profitable service to the operators, and at the same time protecting the public against the disastrous effects incident to a cessation of industry. However, for reasons best known to themselves, the coal operators have persistently refused to act favorably upon our invitations and overtures, stating that they would consider any complaint their own employes might make; but we find that when the employes of the companies operating in the anthracite fields appealed directly to the management of such companies they have usually been informed that their grievances could not be corrected, on the pretext that conditions of employment were no more favorable at the mines of their competitors. As a consequence of this policy, the mine workers have been unable to obtain redress for any of their wrongs, or relief from unfair conditions under which they labored. We have also found that notwithstanding the fact that one year ago the coal companies posted notices in which they promised to continue the wages paid, and the conditions of employment which were secured at the close of the strike of 1900, in many instances direct reductions in wages have been arbitrarily enforced, and conditions have been changed in such a manner as to decrease materially the earning power of the men. The action of the companies in this respect has created general discontent, and has confirmed beyond peradventure the conviction that permanent peace and industrial stability cannot be maintained in the absence of a well-defined mutual understanding as to the wages which shall be paid, and stipulating, as explicitly as the varying conditions of the mining trade will permit, the conditions under which work shall be performed.

In view of this experience, and prompted by a desire to settle permanently the questions which have caused the 140,000 mine workers, and those dependent upon them, so much unhappiness, and created so much discontent, we have drafted a scale of wages, and stipulated conditions in connection therewith, which we believe to be equitable and reasonable, and thoroughly consistent with the market conditions of the coal trade.

In forming this scale of wages we hope to have the presence and assistance of the anthracite coal operators, and their absence is due to their refusal to join with us in the performance of a work which vitally affects our common interests. The essential features of our scale are: A shorter work day; a minimum day wage scale; a uniform increase in wages which will bring our earnings up to a standard compatible with the arduous labor we are compelled to perform; and we have also asked that wherever practicable, the coal we mine shall be honestly weighed and correctly recorded.

In connection with the question of wages we find that the average annual earnings of the anthracite mine workers are considerably less than in any other important American industry, notwithstanding the fact that the number of fatalities and injuries in proportion to the number of persons employed is greater than in any other important industry. And it is well known that, as a consequence of the foul air, hard labor, and other conditions peculiar to the mining of anthracite coal, the average life of the anthracite miner is shorter than that of workmen employed in other branches of labor. The cost of the necessaries of life has increased so much during the past few years that the purchasing power of his earnings is less than it was even before the strike of 1900, and in this respect the mine worker is really in worse circumstances now than heretofore.

#### INTENTION TO STRIKE DECLARED.

In view of these conditions and circumstances, and in view of the refusal of our employers to confer with our representatives, we hereby declare that we cannot, with honor to ourselves, or in justice to those dependent upon us, continue to work during the coming year under the present low wages and indefinite and unsatisfactory conditions of employment. We therefore declare our intention of suspending work and remaining idle until such time as our employers shall recognize the justice of our claims and concede our demands for a rate of wages sufficiently high and conditions of employment sufficiently favorable, to enable us to live as becomes American citizens, the product of whose labor contributes so much, and is so essential to, the welfare of society and the advancement of modern civilization.

However, before resorting to such drastic measures, and with a lingering hope of the peaceful solution of this perplexing problem, we hereby direct the officers of our organization to appeal immediately to the chairman and secretary of the industrial department of the National Civic Federation to convene the executive committee of that organization and request them to use their good offices to effect a satisfactory adjustment of the differences which must otherwise culminate in a great industrial conflict.

Should the Civic Federation act favorably upon our appeal for their intervention, we hereby authorize a committee, consisting of one member from each ten thousand anthracite mine workers, to represent us in any conference, or at any hearing, which the Civic Federation may arrange; and should the efforts of the Civic Federation to satisfactorily adjust our differences prove futile, we hereby authorize and direct the officers and executive boards of Districts 1, 7 and 9 to inaugurate a suspension of work, to take effect upon such date as in their judgment holds out the greatest promise of success.

Should the Executive Boards deem it inadvisable to order a cessation of work on April 1st, because of pending negotiations, or other good causes, in that event they shall notify all men employed in and around the mines to curtail production by remaining away from the mines, strippings, washeries and breakers on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays of each week; provided, however, that this shall not include the workmen necessary to keep the mines in repair.

In the event of a cessation being ordered, there shall be no resumption of work in any district, or under any company, until the strike shall be declared ended by a joint convention representing the three districts.

Moved that we adopt the report of the special committee as read. Motion carried.

A GENERAL HOLIDAY VOTED.

Moved that April 1st be designated a general holiday, and be called Eight-Hour Day, and that all men shall remain idle on that day. Motion carried unanimously.

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LETTER TO THE WILKESBARRE EVENING LEADER.

Whereas, The *Evening Leader*, of this city, has published reports of riots, etc., as occurring in and around this city, which has done injury to the just cause of the striking mine workers; be it therefore

Resolved, That the delegates accredited to the Wilkesbarre sub-district headquarters demand that the Wilkesbarre *Evening Leader* retract its statements, and in future treat the U. M. W. of A. fair. Should the management refuse to do this, all union men in the city of Wilkesbarre

and vicinity will be ordered not to buy, read, or otherwise support the *Evening Leader*; and all merchants will be asked to withhold all patronage from *Evening Leader* from this day forth.

WILLIAM CARNE, President.

E. L. BARRETT, Secretary.

### MR. MITCHELL ON RECOGNITION, NON-UNION MEN, AND VIOLENCE.

From "The Voice of Labor" by John Mitchell, *Collier's Weekly*, Sept. 8, 1902.

According to the statements in the public press, it would seem that the fifth point which the miners have at issue is: That the union be recognized.

These statements are erroneous and have created a wrong impression.

**We make no formal demand for a recognition of the union.**

We merely argue that if an agreement could be reached between operators and miners which would be binding to both for a certain period of time, say three or four years, it would do away with local strikes. Operators complain strenuously of these local strikes; but until they are willing to enter into the proper agreements with the union I am bound to say that such strikes are liable to occur.

#### UNION STANDS FOR LAW AND ORDER.

Another statement which frequently appears in the public press, emanating from the operators, is: That miners have no right to refuse to work with non-union men, as the right to labor is alienable, and the companies cannot be a party to any agreement that would interfere with or hamper this right.

This statement, like others emanating from the operators, is calculated to make an erroneous impression on the public mind. It is nowhere written in the rules of the union that a member must refuse to work with non-union men. Wherever trouble has occurred by reason of such construction of our purposes, it has been the result of individual impulse, and never of official approval or consent. The union stands for law and order, and for the settlement of difficulties and disagreements by peaceful methods.

\* \* \* Isolated cases of violence have occurred, but in no instance was such an outbreak encouraged or in any way countenanced by the union.



## THE STRIKE ORDERED.

On May 9th Mr. Mitchell's executive committee decided to order a temporary strike and submit the question of continuing it to a general convention. The order is as follows :

To the United Mine Workers of the Anthracite District of Pennsylvania :

The Executive Committee of the Anthracite Mine Workers, who were delegated by the Shamokin convention to represent you in the negotiations with the mine operators and railroad presidents to obtain, if possible, higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions of employment, after exhausting all feasible, conciliatory and honorable means at their command, and after failing to secure any concessions of a tangible nature, and while under the resolutions adopted by the Shamokin convention authority was vested in the Executive Committee, should they fail in the negotiations, to inaugurate a strike at whatever time they deemed in their judgment held out the greatest prospects of success, the committee, after three days' serious deliberations, feel that in justice to themselves and the Anthracite Mine Workers and those dependent upon them, before a joint strike is inaugurated, the question should be further considered by a delegate convention in which representatives from the local unions shall be fully instructed by their constituents and prepared to vote either in favor of or in opposition to a complete cessation of work.

### WORK STOPPED ON MAY 12.

In the meantime, all persons employed in or around the collieries, strippings, washeries and breakers are instructed to temporarily abstain from working, beginning Monday, May 12, 1902, and continuing thereafter until after a final decision is reached by a delegate convention, which will convene on Wednesday, May 14th, at Hazleton, Pa.

The basis of representation in the convention shall be 1 vote for each 100 miners, and 1 vote for each additional 100 members or majority thereof.

The Executive Committees recommend that special meetings of all locals be held on Monday afternoon, May 12th, for the purpose of selecting delegates and considering the question involved, and it is specially recommended that specific instructions be given delegates as to how they shall vote on the proposition to inaugurate a strike or to continue to work under the present conditions.

The instructions for all men to suspend work on Monday do not include firemen, engineers, pump runners, or other laborers necessary to preserve the properties of the operators.

JOHN MITCHELL,  
President U. M. W. of A.

T. D. NICHOLLS,  
President, District No. 1.

JOHN DEMPSEY,  
Secretary, District No. 1

THOMAS DUFFY,  
President, District No. 7.

JOHN GALLAGHER,  
Secretary, District No. 7.

JOHN FAHY,  
President, District No. 9.

GEORGE HARTLEIN,  
Secretary, District No. 9.

#### THE STRIKE CONTINUED.

The delegate convention assembled under this call, and on May 15th voted to continue the strike. The total vote cast was 811; for the strike, 461¼ against 349¼; majority for strike, 111¼; less than 57 per cent. voting for strike.

At the start the engineers, firemen and pumpmen were not involved, but at a meeting of the three anthracite executive committees of the United Mine Workers held in Wilkesbarre on May 21 it was decided to call out the engineers, firemen and pumpmen employed about the mines. The order is as follows:

#### ENGINEERS, FIREMEN AND PUMP MEN CALLED OUT.

Wilkesbarre, Pa., May 21, 1902.

To the officers and members of all local unions in the anthracite coal regions:

Brothers: Pursuant to instructions of the Hazleton convention, the executive committees of Districts Nos. 1, 7 and 9 convened in the city of Wilkesbarre to-day, for the purpose of considering the advisability of authorizing engineers, firemen and pumpmen to remain at work for the purpose of preventing the mines operated by the various coal companies from being injured or destroyed by flooding.

After carefully considering the question in all its bearings we have decided—in accordance with the well-established principles of the United Mine Workers of America—to protect and preserve the properties of the coal operators by recommending that all engineers,

firemen and pumpmen whose labor is necessary to keep water out of the mines remain at work if the various coal companies pay, to them the scale of wages and comply with the conditions of employment formulated by the Shamokin convention; that is to say, the number of engineers, firemen and pumpmen required to keep the mines from flooding will continue working in their respective positions providing the companies require them to work not more than eight hours each day, without any reduction in their present compensation.

All other workmen, excepting those whose labor is essential to carrying out this policy, are requested to remain away from the collieries, strippings, washeries and breakers until they are officially notified that the present suspension is ended, or until instructions to the contrary have been issued by the executive boards and national officers.

Presidents of local unions and mine committees are hereby instructed to wait upon mine superintendents and notify them that on and after Monday, June 2d, all engineers, firemen and pumpmen are expected to work only eight hours each day, and are to receive present wages.

On behalf of executive boards:

JOHN MITCHELL,  
President U. M. W. of A.

T. D. NICHOLLS,  
President, District No. 1.

JOHN T. DEMPSEY,  
Secretary, District No. 1.

THOMAS DUFFY,  
President, District No. 7.

J. P. GALLAGHER,  
Secretary, District No. 7.

JOHN FAHY,  
President, District No. 9.

GEORGE W. HARTLEIN,  
Secretary, District No. 9.

The Union's demands not having been granted, on June 2d the majority of the engineers, firemen and pumpmen stopped work.

## INVESTIGATION BY THE COMMISSIONER OF LABOR ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

In June, by direction of President Roosevelt, the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, undertook an investigation of "the causes and conditions accompanying the present controversy between the anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania and the coal operators." On June 10th, at the office of the Delaware & Hudson Company in New York, Commissioner Wright had an interview with certain representatives of the coal companies, of which the following is a report:

### INTERVIEW OF COMMISSIONER WRIGHT WITH OPERATORS.

Present: Mr. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor; Mr. George F. Baer, Mr. R. M. Olyphant, Mr. E. B. Thomas, Mr. David Willcox.

Mr. Wright read the demands, as stated to him by Mr. Mitchell. Mr. Baer then made a statement, as follows:

We have never had a formal demand made upon us for anything other than a uniform scale of wages for the whole region. Mr. Mitchell, before the Civic Federation, presented substantially the demands named in the statement you have read.

Mr. Thomas: With one exception. He demanded that all coal be weighed.

Mr. Willcox: In his final telegram Mr. Mitchell states these demands without suggesting any willingness to make any conditions at all.

### MR. BAER'S STATEMENT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

Mr. Baer: The only formal statement we have of the demands is contained in Mr. Mitchell's dispatch. When the Civic Federation appointed the sub-committee, consisting of Mr. Mitchell and the other district presidents of the anthracite region and Mr. Thomas, Mr. Truesdale, and myself (Mr. Baer), it was then understood that no report should be made of any proceedings except to the Civic Federation, which was to be called together thereafter by the chairman. Primarily on this account we have hitherto declined to give a public statement. For reasons satisfactory to the Civic Federation no meeting was ever called to hear the report of the committee. Now, however, that the President desires information, we first submit the correspondence between Mr. Mitchell and the presidents of the coal companies, together with a statement of the history of the negotiations.

## FULL AND FAIR DISCUSSION.

At the request of the Civic Federation we met a committee of the Civic Federation, Mr. Mitchell, and his three district presidents, and spent one whole day discussing the questions at issue between us. This first meeting resulted in an adjournment for thirty days, Mr. Mitchell agreeing on his part to withdraw the order which had been issued to the men not to work more than three days a week after the 1st of April. At the expiration of the thirty days we again met the Civic Federation committee and Mr. Mitchell's committee, together with a delegation representing, as we understood it, the local organizations. There were probably twenty or more miners and mine workers' representatives at that meeting. Every phase of the situation was fully and fairly discussed. We endeavored to convince them that it was impracticable to increase wages; that it was impossible to establish an eight-hour day; that many of the men (the miners) only work from four to six hours a day now. We explained fully why a uniform schedule of wages could not be adopted in the anthracite region such as was common in the bituminous fields, by pointing out the great variety of work, the different classes of labor required, the peculiar condition of the veins, varying in depth, in pitch, in impurities, etc. At the end of a full day's discussion, at the request of the Civic Federation, the committee I have heretofore referred to was created. We spent two whole days together rediscussing the situation. The meetings were entirely friendly and harmonious. We exhibited our annual reports. We offered to exhibit any of our books to verify our statements. This offer had heretofore been made before the Civic Federation and was again repeated. We asked them to name any information they desired, and it would be furnished them. No practical conclusion was reached except this: That the operators stood on their offer to continue the existing wages for another year from the 1st of April and thereafter subject to sixty days' notice.

## THE STRIKE OF 1900.

The history of the strike begins from the time the United Mine Workers was a bituminous organization. Some time in the beginning of 1900, or the latter part of 1899, they succeeded in organizing a number of local unions in the Schuylkill region. In 1900 they inaugurated a strike in the upper coal regions. This strike did not extend to the Schuylkill region for some time. Finally, through sympathy, the anthracite mine workers in the Schuylkill region struck. There was

the usual violence and calling out of the military to protect property. Shortly after this strike was inaugurated Senator Hanna met a number of gentlemen and insisted that if the strike were not settled it would extend to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and the election of Mr. McKinley and Mr. Roosevelt would be endangered. He insisted that he was authorized to settle the strike, through Mr. Mitchell, if the operators would agree to a 10 per cent. advance in wages. After a great deal of pressure had been brought to bear upon the presidents of the coal companies and positive assurances were given that the situation was really dangerous, President McKinley sending to me personally a gentleman to assure me that Ohio and Indiana were in danger unless some adjustment was made, we agreed to put up a notice which was prepared, as we understood, at Indianapolis and furnished by the United Mine Workers. The private operators absolutely refused to join in this advance, and, instead of the strike being ended as promised, it continued on for some time, and it became necessary, in order to relieve the situation, to call a meeting of the private operators with the presidents of the coal companies and to agree with them that if they would put up notices to pay 10 per cent. increase we would meet a committee which they should appoint and endeavor to increase, if possible, the price of coal. They agreed to this, a committee was appointed by the private operators, and we sat two or three days a month for three months to reach an agreement with them. That agreement involved a heavy compensation to the private operators from the coal companies. The coal companies had to agree to change the basis of coal purchased from the private operators from a basis of 40 per cent. and 60 per cent. to a basis of 35 per cent. and 65 per cent. In other words, we had to decrease 5 per cent. and they increased 5 per cent.

#### THE ADVANCE OF 1900 CONTINUED.

Just before April we had another conference with the leaders of the mine workers, and they agreed that if we would continue the advance of wages for another year it would be satisfactory. In point of fact, the advance in the upper regions was 10 per cent., as was agreed upon, but in the Schuylkill region, by reason of the Schuylkill mines having worked during part of the strike, and the coal having advanced in price, the basis increased and the actual increase to the Reading Coal and Iron Company thereby became 16 per cent. instead of 10 per cent. Prior to the time of the strike in 1900 the basis of wages had been settled and proved satisfactory in the Schuylkill region and in the Lehigh region for a period of nearly thirty years. The wages were paid on

a system of profit sharing. The basis was that when coal at Schuylkill Haven was worth \$2.50 a ton the wages should be paid according to a scale then adopted, and that for each increase of 3 cents in the price of coal 1 per cent. should be added to the miners' wages. For illustration: If a miner on this basis received \$2 a ton and coal advanced to \$2.24, the wages of the miner were increased 8 per cent, equivalent on a \$2 basis (which is merely an illustration) to 16 cents. To show you how that would work out if no change had been made in the wages in the strike of 1900: The men on the old basis of \$2.50 a ton would have received in October, 1900, 15 per cent. advance; in November, 16 per cent. advance, and in December, 16 per cent. advance. In September, 1901, they would have received 20 per cent. advance. In the other months, the percentage, being according to the price of coal, as in the summer months coal is lower, would fall, so that practically the 16 per cent. advance made was no greater than they would have received under the sliding schedule.

#### WORKING OF THE MINES VERY UNSATISFACTORY.

The workings of the mines after the agreement was made with the mine workers proved very unsatisfactory. They attempted to enforce the collection of dues from their members. It is well known that when labor conditions become normal the mine workers refuse to pay their dues. In periods of excitement they pay. Last year the United Mine Workers insisted that we should permit one of their representatives to stand at the mine entrances and compel every man to produce a card of his organization showing that he was in good standing and had paid his dues. This was the source of a number of strikes and much trouble, we peremptorily refusing to do it. The object was to prevent non-union men from going into the mines. They knew it would not do to use force, but if they could establish the fact that it was to the advantage of every miner to belong to the union and that he would be looked upon with disfavor unless he did, they hoped to succeed. They went further. At a number of collieries they absolutely refused to work with non-union men. One colliery, the Temple, of which I am president, in an emergency employed carpenters who happened to be non-union men. The miners immediately struck, shut down the colliery, and refused to go to work unless we discharged these carpenters. That is a sample of what was going on all over the region, so that in one year, notwithstanding this agreement, we had 102 strikes in mines operated by the coal companies alone, of which we kept a record.\* In

\* A statement is annexed as an appendix showing in detail the cause, duration and result of the strikes from April to October, 1901.

addition to that we discovered that, for some reason or purpose of their own, the amount produced at each colliery was reduced about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and in many collieries more than that. Taking the Reading Coal and Iron Company alone, the total loss was over a million tons. The losses of the others seem to have been in the same proportion. We discovered by a comparison that, as the veins vary, the time required to mine a ton of coal varies; and there seemed to be a standard in the minds of these men of about \$2.50 as a basis. Therefore, when the miner mined a sufficient quantity of coal to produce approximately \$2.50, he quit work. In some of the collieries he worked less than four hours to produce that quantity of coal; in others it would take four and a half or five, but no man worked long enough to exceed \$2.60 a day. When we called Mr. Mitchell's attention to these facts before the Civic Federation, he said that the United Mine Workers had not authorized it and that all the strikes were unauthorized. Our reply was then that "You are not able to control your men," to which there was no answer except he stated that if he had a written agreement, instead of a verbal one, he might be able to do better. The trouble is, according to my individual judgment, that men belonging to the unions were gradually forgetting to pay their dues, and that this strike and these extraordinary demands were framed for the purpose of preserving the organization. They had to promise the men something to justify their existence. As Mr. Thomas's letter will show you, there are about 22 different languages and dialects spoken in the region, and it is impracticable to reach all to reason with the men.

#### AS TO WAGES.

Now, on the question of wages, I submit to you for use of the President a pay roll which I have taken at random. It is a November pay roll of last year, as that was before this controversy began, and it is at your service, to see what we pay our men, and the number of men, the day's wages, the average per day, and the classification of men—a full statement of the cost of mining coal for the month of November. I also submit a statement, taken from that pay roll, to show the daily pay of the larger groups of workmen. For example, the lowest scale of wages is 85 cents, as you will see, for boy slate pickers; 3,000 of them get 85 cents a day; men slate pickers, who are too old to do any other kind of work, get \$1.20.

Mr. Thomas: We had boys earning 14 cents an hour when their fathers were working on the track at 12 cents an hour.



\$1.991 PER TON THE COST OF MINING.

Mr. Baer: Now, to show the business side of it, I have had a careful statement made of the actual cost of mining for the last four years. In 1899 the cost of labor entering into mining a ton of coal was \$1.067, the material used in the colliery, \$0.314, general expenses, \$0.208. The total cost of a ton of coal in 1899 at the mines was \$1.589. In 1900 the labor increased to \$1.121, the material to \$0.35, general expenses decreased to \$0.19, and the total cost of a ton was \$1.667. In 1901 the labor rose to \$1.263, the material to \$0.365, and general expenses were \$0.19. The total cost was \$1.823 per ton. For the ten months ending April 30, 1902, the labor was \$1.383, material \$0.416, and general expenses \$0.192, so that the total cost was \$1.991. It must be understood that the Reading Company mines the greater part of its output from its own lands, held in fee, and there is no charge of royalty or for sinking fund in this whatever.

\$1.89 THE AVERAGE DAILY PAY PER MAN.

I also submit a statement to show what the average daily wages of all the employees are, without regard to classification, including breaker boys and every one, taken from our pay roll. In January, 1902, we had 15,976 inside laborers and 9,828 outside laborers, a total of 25,804 men. The average pay per day, which included the boys in the breakers and at the veins, was \$1.89. February, 1902, 26,270 men, and the average per day was \$1.898; March, 26,729 men, and the average per day, \$1.896; in April, 26,829 men, and the average was \$1.906.

THE READING INVESTMENT—PROFIT AND LOSS.

I submit the balance sheet of the Reading Coal and Iron Company for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, to show that we have invested, in round numbers, \$87,000,000. This is an actual investment. There is no fictitious value or watered stock in it. When the company was reorganized the coal lands were appraised and every item of property is as near actual valuation as we could get it. The cost of these lands was much greater than what appears on our balance sheet, and the colliery improvements, which are represented by \$7,000,000, are worth more than twice that amount. We have forty-four collieries, and a modern colliery costs from \$400,000 to \$500,000; I mean by that the shaft, pumping machinery, and the breaker. So that all these things are under valuation rather than over. On this investment there were mined from lands owned and leased 9,253,974 tons. The profit and loss for the year showed only \$555,394. There was, however, taken out of

current expenses \$413,000, which was 5 cents a ton, for depreciation of land. If we had paid the common royalty of the region on coal, the operations would have been carried on at a loss. The same general results are shown in the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre balance sheet, which shows that the profit and loss of that company was only \$239,804. The Lehigh Valley Coal Company's report shows a loss of \$491,576.

#### NO DIVIDENDS FOR COAL COMPANIES.

It is a fact that, taking the companies which are known as the principal coal companies, the Reading, Lehigh Valley, and Erie, neither of them has been enabled to pay dividends on stock for many years. It is commonly said that where the coal companies are owned by the railroad companies the loss in the coal companies is made up in the transportation. This is a great error. If you will take the history of the Reading Company, which has not paid a dividend in practically fifteen years, except within the last two years, when it has paid a dividend of 4 per cent. on \$28,000,000 of stock, you have this result. There is invested in the Reading Coal Company \$85,000,000; in the Reading Railway Company and what is known as the Reading Company there is outstanding \$140,000,000 of stock, making an investment, with the Coal Company assets, of \$225,000,000. No dividends have been declared in the last fifteen years on this stock, with the exception of two years on the preferred stock, which amounts to \$28,000,000. Taking the total earnings, without regard to dividends, of the Reading Company (which includes the railway company) and the coal company, the total earnings for last year were \$2,663,087 before the payment of the Reading Company's dividend and the general mortgage sinking fund. So that, in point of fact, for many years these companies have not been able to earn dividends on their stock. What I have said of the Reading is true of the Lehigh Valley, and the same thing is practically true of the Erie, for which Mr. Thomas will speak. With my experience in operating the Reading Railway Company, I find that we have only been able to increase its revenue by increasing our merchandise, passenger, and miscellaneous traffic, and that just in proportion as we have been able to increase that traffic, the financial affairs of the Reading Railway have improved, and not by reason of the coal business. You will see what I mean by that. In 1894 and 1895 the merchandise traffic of the Reading Railway was \$6,400,000; last year it was \$10,579,000.

## IMPRACTICABLE TO INCREASE THE COST OF MINING.

Now, as a business proposition it is absolutely impracticable to increase the cost of mining anthracite coal. Year by year, for reasons which we cannot control, the cost will increase, and by the increased cost of the material we must use in the mines, and by deeper mining, which not only adds to the original cost of sinking shafts, but enormously to the cost of pumping and hoisting. Forty per cent. of the anthracite coal is sold in the market below the cost of mining. The reasons are that these coals compete with bituminous coal. The steam-boat coal is used almost exclusively in pig-iron furnaces. Its price is regulated by the price of coke. Coke is a better fuel for smelting iron than anthracite, because it bears a heavier burden; and while formerly the furnaces of the Schuylkill region and the Lehigh region used anthracite coal exclusively, it is impossible to use anthracite fuel now alone, as the crushing weight of the material is so great that anthracite coal would become a compact mass, which will not let the blast through. Therefore, anthracite coal is confined to low-stack furnaces, or to high-stack furnaces where a certain percentage can be used. For instance, a company uses 40 per cent. of anthracite to 60 per cent. of bituminous. The rice and smaller sizes of coal, which would be waste, are sold as low as 41 cents per ton. The buckwheats and the peas run up until the highest price we get for those sizes is \$1.65 for pea. That puts the whole burden of any advance price on 60 per cent. of our production, which constitutes the domestic sizes. All the other sizes must be sold in competition with bituminous coal, and they must be sold to enable us to take precedence over bituminous coal, or they cannot be sold at all. The other 60 per cent., which are known as the prepared and domestic sizes, must bear the rise in price, and it comes upon every workingman and everybody who uses coal, for primarily this coal is used for household purposes, not for manufacturing; and were we to increase the price of coal then the cry would be that the coal barons are oppressing the poor. And the only suggestion that has been made to us when we presented these figures both to the Civic Federation and to Mitchell was that we should put this burden on the public. If we did, there would not only be general indignation, but many of the Western and New England markets would be taken from us; and to further increase the price of anthracite coal is absolutely to restrict its output and to injure the miners and injure us. So that it is not a matter of sentiment, but a hard business proposition. It is impossible to go any further than we have gone. If the President wants to send an expert to examine our books, they are at his service. But we can-

not meet the expectations of all the politicians and philanthropists of this country.

You may say to the President that we honestly believe that, so far as we know ourselves, we are men of as good consciences and as good intentions as anyone; that we have the interests of labor more at heart, because we are brought in daily contact with it, and that we have the interest of the business and the prosperity of the country more constantly before our eyes than all the members of the Civic Federation and the philanthropists put together. We can help to destroy the prosperity of the country by meeting the foolish demands of those who are asking for more than it is in our power to give.

#### TWENTY PER CENT. INCREASE WOULD BE SIXTY CENTS A TON.

Regarding an estimate of the increased cost of production as a result of the demands, the unknown fact is how much the production of the mines would be reduced by an eight-hour day. You can see that the investment is there; the machinery, pumping, and care of the mines go on for twenty-four hours; the general superintendents and the men who are paid by the month (and there are a great many who must be paid by the month). A mere increase of 20 per cent. in wages on the cost of prepared sizes would be about 46 cents a ton increase. To that must be added the increased cost by reduction of output, the general expenses all going on. Probably that might be estimated at 14 cents, making the whole about 60 cents.

The total amount of wages paid in the anthracite fields last year was, so far as I can ascertain, about \$66,000,000. So that there would be an increase of probably \$20,000,000.

#### NO DISCIPLINE IN THE MINES.

There is another factor which is involved in this question of labor. We have been unable to have any discipline in the mines at all. The men work when they please since the last strike. We have no control over them.

#### TWENTY-THREE YEARS OF PERFECT PEACE BEFORE 1900.

Mr. Olyphant then said: "I was only going back a little to say that in the strike to which Mr. Baer alluded, in 1876, the wages in the Wyoming region were different from those in the Schuylkill region; one was a basis and the other a fixed price per ton. We had twenty-three years of perfect peace—nothing to trouble us in our mines anywhere. Throughout that time we adhered to the rate of wages paid,

no matter what the condition of trade was. In our company we passed years when we did not come anywhere near making our fixed charges, but the men had their wages all the same. When we came on toward this strike in 1900 the great hue and cry was that the anthracite miners had been getting no more than they had received, while in the bituminous and iron industries the wages had been raised; though in both these industries wages had been carried to the lowest point that men could stand, and we had never in that region given one cent less than we had agreed at that time. This was the condition when these men came in upon us."

Mr. Baer: In 1900 we all felt that the only substantial grievance that the men had in our section was the fact that during the depressed times we were unable to run our collieries to their full capacity. It was not the basis of wages paid, but that we could not give them sufficient work. But for the last eighteen months the condition has been just the other way. We can not produce as much coal at our collieries as the market will take. They will not mine it for us. The condition of the whole anthracite trade has changed with the general demand for fuel all over the United States. It will not last long; a reaction is bound to come.

(On request of Commissioner Wright, Mr. Olyphant and Mr. Thomas corroborated all that Mr. Baer had said.)

Mr. Olyphant: I have nothing more to say, excepting this: That after the period of which I spoke these men have been coming in, having first sent their delegates to incite the men and make them feel that they could get more—in 1900 they came forward with their demands, which, as acceded to under the pressure which was brought upon the mine operators, amounted to nearly nine millions of dollars. That we consider to be an annual payment which we had to make. Eighteen months afterwards, not at all satisfied, they make demands which, as originally stated, would have amounted to fifteen millions, but have reduced them so that they would amount to about eight or nine millions, and have stated that they were coming again in 1903. Now, what is to be done in such a case?

Mr. Wright: The men who are paid per ton are practically sub-contractors?

Mr. Baer: Yes. They hire helpers at about \$1.75 per day, or whatever they pay them.

Mr. Wright: Do these helpers participate with the sub-contractors in any increase?

Mr. Baer: We have no means of knowing that.

Mr. Thomas: I assume that they must have done so, but am not certain.

THE UNION SEEKS TO CONTROL THE ENTIRE FUEL SUPPLY.

Mr. Willcox: There is one thing to say about the United Mine Workers. Do you stop to think of the gigantic character of this attempt? This is a union which seeks to control the entire fuel supply. That sort of a union is objectionable. It is really a trust.

Mr. Wright: What if the present status holds for four or five months? The statement of Mr. Thomas is that the country would adjust itself to bituminous coal.

Mr. Thomas: No; not in so short a time as that.

Mr. Wright: Then what would happen if the strike continues for four or five months?

Mr. Thomas: Strikes in anthracite fields have continued longer than that without any general inconvenience.

Mr. Wright: Are the men preventing the pumping of the mines?

Mr. Baer: They are preventing it, intimidating our men, etc. We are keeping the pumps at the mines running by the aid of armed crews. Mitchell's men are engaged in the most active war that is possible, and we cannot prevent it.

Mr. Wright: Was the price of coal enhanced last year?

Mr. Baer: No; we have not advanced the price of coal since 1900.

Mr. Wright: You receive no more for the coal?

Mr. Baer: For the smaller sizes we get less. There has been no increase in the price of coal since the circular of November, 1900, which was based upon the 10 per cent advance.

Mr. Wright: Has immigration affected this situation?

Mr. Baer: The act of 1889, which stated that a miner must have a certificate as a licensed miner and have worked two years or more in a mine, was intended to prevent outsiders from coming in. This did not refer to laborers. But we had no trouble up to 1900.

Mr. Wright: Suppose you should make a three-years' contract, or more, with the union on any basis. Would it help the situation?

Mr. Thomas: How can we tell about the markets—what the effect is going to be next year or the year after? We can no more tell whether we can pay the same wages next year or the year after or for three years from now than we can tell anything. Any recommendation or any statement that we might make, public opinion would compel us to comply with. Until the union assumes some legal and pecuniary responsibility no contract would be of any avail.

Mr. Wright: What has been the output per man, we will say, during the last two years, compared with the previous output?

OUTPUT PER MAN REDUCED TWELVE PER CENT. SINCE 1900.

Mr. Baer: Our records show that when a man produced 6 tons formerly, before 1900, it has been reduced to about 5; but I have made 12½ per cent. the basis in the statements, so as to be within bounds.

Mr. Wright: The official statistics of the Geological Survey show rather an increase in the output of the mines.

Mr. Thomas: That is not possible. There is a great deal of this coal, the washery coal, which the miner has nothing to do with.

Mr. Baer: Perhaps they have taken the aggregate number of men employed without reference to the class of work.

Mr. Wright: I am going to ask a question which does not belong to my errand. You are perhaps perfectly familiar with the methods of those coal markets where they have methods of arbitration, all grievances being first submitted to a board, and there being no suspension of work pending their consideration of them. Have you ever considered that method as applicable to your own mines?

Mr. Baer: Personally I have investigated that subject very clearly, and find that in England in times of depression nothing works at all; that if that condition is followed up it generally results in a strike. I have followed up that condition in Australia and talked with a gentleman who has traveled there, and I find that labor always expects something, and any arbitration which does not give them something is rejected. In times of prosperity it works very well, when everybody is making money.

Mr. Wright: Is there any sort of suggestion which the President or anyone else can make, looking to the cessation of this difficulty?

#### ONLY A COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION.

Mr. Thomas: If the Civic Federation and all the politicians in this country will simply say, "Gentlemen, this is a commercial transaction, in which we do not see our way clear to interfere," it will do more to end it than anything else. The sentiment has been right along that, through the Civic Federation, they could bring us to terms.

Mr. Wright: You think that the existence of that committee of thirty-six was more of an obstacle than anything else?

Mr. Thomas: I do.

Mr. Baer: We are working for the future of an industry which if it yields to public clamor at this time is irretrievably ruined.

Mr. Wright: Would you be willing to co-operate in appointing a small commission to consider the whole mining methods—simply the modus operandi—and to report at a future time for the acceptance of their conclusions by the operators and miners?

Mr. Thomas: In the first place, to get an intelligent report the men must have had experience in anthracite mining. Just where a body of men can be found who have the experience, the intelligence, and the leisure to devote to that I do not know. Any recommendation they might have to make should carry with it, so far as we are concerned, the force of law.

Mr. Wright: I mean a commission of such men as you would appoint and some to be appointed by Mr. Mitchell and his colleagues to investigate and report what it finds in the matter.

Mr. Thomas: We are not as free as they could be, on account of public opinion. You say this would be a voluntary commission. If we did not agree to its findings, the public would say: "Well, now that you have agreed to this, prove it."

Mr. Baer: After you have read over the correspondence and the statements we have made to-day, if you want anything more, if you want to send and look at our books, we will do whatever we can for you. It is a great pity that somebody did not go over the grounds before this.

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**STATEMENT OF MR. E. B. THOMAS, REPRESENTING ERIE RAILROAD COMPANY AND LEHIGH VALLEY COMPANY.**

I fully concur in Mr. Baer's general statement and in the figures which he has submitted. I did not come prepared for any meeting of this character, and brought no statistics as to the cost of mining, the rate of wages, or any facts whatever connected with the production of anthracite coal in so far as they relate to the Lehigh Valley and Erie companies.

I will cheerfully furnish, on request, any figures or statements desired. The great and growing industry of this country is the bituminous coal industry. The percentage of increase in tonnage and value exceeded in the last year that of any one industry in the United States. For several years prior to 1900 the best that could be said of the anthracite industry was that it was stationary, and indeed in some respects might be counted as declining. Seventy-five per cent. of the increase of 1901 has come from what is known as "washery" coals and from



the better practice that we have inaugurated in saving coal that heretofore went to the culm piles. This character of fuel is only marketed along our lines locally and at tide water, and is in active and keen competition with bituminous coal. Much of this character of coal does not net to producing companies over 25 cents per ton at the mines, but by reason of the facility with which it is handled, its cleanliness, and better method of preparation, the market for coal heretofore wasted has been increasing. In respect of the prepared sizes, that consumption will increase only as the prosperity of the country increases and with the building of homes. Anthracite coal is not strictly a necessity, but may more properly be classed as a luxury, and if some unfortunate accident should overtake the anthracite country and entirely extinguish the industry, leaving the rest of the country unimpaired, with our enormous supplies of bituminous coal it would simply take the place formerly occupied by anthracite. Bituminous coal is the fuel of the world, and is universally used in foreign countries, the only anthracite produced abroad being what is known as Welsh coal, but that is little used in England, being marketed almost entirely on the Continent. Prior to 1901 the difficulty in the anthracite region was to find a market for 60,000,000 tons when the consuming capacity of the country was only about 45,000,000.

The consumption of coal being in the fall and winter months, no one will buy coal in May and June for consumption in January unless it is to his advantage. Last year our companies inaugurated, and I think most of the other companies followed, a plan of reducing the price of coal to the consumer 50 cents per ton in the month of April and increasing that for five months at the rate of 10 cents per ton, in order to make an inducement for people to take their coal in the summer, and thereby more evenly distributing the production over the twelve months. For the first time in the history we made some progress in that direction. We had started in that direction this year when our work was interrupted by the strike of the miners.

The coal that is marketed in the West is transported in returning grain cars at a rate a little higher than the grain coming East. That same rate cannot be applied to tide-water coal, because it has to be transported in an entirely different class of equipment, which returns empty and requires entirely different preparation.

#### NOT OPPOSED TO UNION LABOR.

I think that the management of the anthracite properties are as earnest in their efforts to continue the prosperity of the industry as

anybody else in this country, but the anthracite industry is not broad enough to carry the financial and political prosperity of a country of 77,000,000. I want to state one point that we made before Mr. Mitchell at our conferences. We are not opposed to union labor. I have been dealing with union labor for thirty years, but what Mr. Mitchell is seeking to bring about is simply impracticable. Mr. Mitchell admitted in our conference that he had never been inside an anthracite coal mine but once in his life. I said, "Mr. Mitchell, I have not only weighed coal in bituminous mines, but I have had fifteen years' experience in the anthracite mines, and it is absolutely impossible for you to realize the differences which exist." There are carried on the pay rolls from 70 to 80 different occupations. They raised a question a while ago in the case of a man who was getting \$1 a day and another who was getting \$1.50 a day for mule driving. One was a cripple and the other was uninjured. It stands to reason who could do the most work. Now, the anthracite mining varies in its districts. You understand what are known as the anthracite districts. The different chambers in the same mine differ. I feel that our labor is better protected in the anthracite region, and that the companies—the larger companies; I do not speak of the smaller operators—are more disposed to give attention to petty complaints and questions of injustice, and make every effort to make the conditions of work pleasant. All of our division superintendents are held for the results of the men under them. Should the men under one division superintendent stop working for one or two days, naturally there is a falling off in the production of that mine. That man is under constant pressure to keep his men at work, and he can only do so by fair treatment of the men under him. The Lehigh Company has one mine from which it had not mined a pound of coal in the four months prior to this strike, because the miners declined to allow non-union men to work in the mine. I think it is an injustice. Every man has the inalienable right to work, and if he is required to have a license from a labor leader to do so, I say the time has come for a new Declaration of Independence.

In our posted notices to the miners we told them we would take up any grievances which might occur with the superintendents, and that we have done, and that we expect to do, and that seems to us fair, but we cannot take up differences through persons not in our employ. The discipline of the men cannot be taken out of our hands, because we are responsible for the safety of life and property.

Now, you take it on our railroad. We have had agreements with our men, and have them now, and cannot see that there is any reason why we should not.

Mr. Wright quoted the following from Mr. Mitchell: "That they are not interfering with the pumpmen."

#### INTERFERENCE WITH NON-UNION MEN.

Mr. Thomas stated: "Now, their demand is this: That these pumpmen should have, instead of a ten-hour day, an eight-hour day with the same pay. By a system of intimidation they have forced the most of all those remaining men out, and we have been compelled to go outside for men. One of the largest dry-goods firms in Wilkesbarre yesterday declined to sell blankets to the Lehigh Valley Coal Company to cover our imported labor under the threat that they would be boycotted if they did. Not only that, but a poor school teacher was obliged to give up her position because her father remained at work. But for the system of intimidation and boycott which prevails in the anthracite region, comparatively few, if any, of our engineers, pumpmen, or firemen would have left our employ, but the policy which is being pursued and the annoyance to which they are subjected is a disgrace to civilization."

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### REPORT OF COMMISSIONER OF LABOR.

Soon after this interview the Commissioner of Labor made to the President the report which follows:

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,  
Washington, D. C., June 20, 1902.

Sir: I have the honor to submit herewith a report on the causes of and conditions accompanying the present controversy between the anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania and the coal operators. I undertook this investigation in accordance with your verbal request of the 8th instant.

The organic law of the Department of Labor provides that the Commissioner of Labor is "authorized to make special reports on particular subjects whenever required to do so by the President or either House of Congress." Immediately after your request, as provided by the law quoted, I proceeded to the city of New York, for the purpose of ascertaining all facts possible relating to the present controversy. I have not visited the coal regions, but I have been

represented there by a very experienced gentleman who has studied the conditions of the coal regions many times and who undertook to make the necessary inquiries relative to the present strike.

I am very glad to say that in every direction I have been met with the utmost courtesy, and all the facts required were generously put into my possession. These facts have been gained from presidents of coal-operating railroads, independent operators, capitalists thoroughly familiar with the coal business, but not engaged in it, presidents of railroads not operating coal mines, officials of the miners' union, foremen, superintendents, business men, miners, and laborers.

One of the gratifying features of the investigation is that, so far as I have been able to ascertain, there has been no attempt to misrepresent, either wilfully or otherwise, the facts as the individuals testifying understand them. The difference in point of view, in attitude to the whole subject, often leads to apparently conflicting statements, but these conflicting statements are the result of position and not of any desire to misrepresent.

The whole subject is surrounded by many complications—in fact, I know of no strike with which I have been in any way familiar that has presented so many varying conditions, conflicting views, and irritating complaints. In order that these varying conditions may be more clearly understood and studied with the least possible difficulty, I make my report topically. While this method involves some repetition here and there, it enables one more clearly to comprehend the whole situation as presented by the parties to the controversy and by others, and the conclusions that are legitimately drawn from a study of the entire question.

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#### ORIGIN OF THE PRESENT STRIKE.

The present strike finds its root in the settlement of the strike which occurred in 1900, when the advance demanded by the miners in the anthracite regions was after considerable discussion conceded. Nearly all operators and many connected with the miners' union do not hesitate to say that since that settlement there have been increased sensitiveness and more intense irritation in the mining districts than during the previous twenty-five years or more.

The position of the operators in September, 1900, is very clearly stated in a document submitted by the Delaware & Hudson Company. In this document it is recited that the profit realized from the coal business was greater when the scale of wages was fixed,

because the price of coal was higher in 1880 than it has been since 1881. In 1880 the average price at tide water for all sizes was \$3.73. Since that time it has declined, reaching as low figures as \$2.71 in 1898. In September, 1900, it was \$2.80 per ton, almost \$1 less than it was when the scale of wages was fixed. The document also recites that since 1880 wages have never been reduced, but have constantly continued the same. In 1899, in the Wyoming region generally, it was found that the average daily net earnings of the miners had been \$2.85. It is also stated that the profits of the company's business were no greater in 1900 than when the scale of wages was fixed, twenty years before; that, on the contrary, during the five years from 1880 to 1884 the average net earnings were 8.65 per cent. upon the capital, while during the five years from 1895 to 1899 they were but 6.55 per cent.; that while wages were constant, business conditions compelled the company to reduce and at times to pass its dividends; that its then rate of dividend was 5 per cent., making the total payment on that account \$1,750,000, while it was paying out annually wages of all kinds to the amount of about \$10,500,000.

The claim was made, as shown in the document, that for the twenty years preceding 1900 the Delaware & Hudson Company paid to its employes at the collieries wages which never varied with the fluctuations in business; that while the mine workers are permitted to combine to raise the cost of production, the mine owners are prohibited by law from combining to raise the price of the product accordingly.

#### BASIS OF THE STRIKE LAID IN 1900.

It can easily be seen, therefore, that the basis of the present strike was laid in 1900. In view of the increasing sensitiveness since that time, and recognizing the conditions as stated, Mr. John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America, February 15, 1901, approached the operators with the following proposition:

"Would you kindly wire if your company will participate in a joint conference with anthracite miners during the month of March for the purpose of agreeing upon scale of wages for period which would be mutually agreeable to operators and miners."

The next day Mr. Olyphant, president of the Delaware & Hudson Company, sent the following reply:

"I understood that matter of wages was satisfactorily adjusted last October, and we have no present intention of departing from the arrangements then made. I therefore see no object in the conference

which you suggest, even if that method of procedure were desirable, which seems very doubtful."

Later on Mr. Mitchell sent a letter to Mr. Olyphant of date February 26, 1901. The history of this attempt to secure a conference as far back as March, 1901, is contained in the letter of the president of the Delaware & Hudson Company, dated March 6, 1901. In this letter Mr. Olyphant claims that during the year 1900 his company paid out in wages of all kinds about \$10,500,000, while it distributed among its stockholders \$1,750,000.

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#### DEMANDS OF THE MINE WORKERS.

The failure of the attempts to secure a conference in March, 1901, added to the irritation of the miners, and constant appeals were made to the officers of the union to make new demands, and, failing to secure compliance, organize a strike. It is generally believed by the operators, and many others, that the present strike was organized by the officers of the United Mine Workers of America and those of local unions having their allegiance to that body. The facts, so far as I can ascertain—and I believe they have been correctly reported to me—show that, in contradistinction to most strikes, the officers of the miners' union, with perhaps one or two exceptions, persistently opposed the present strike. Their reasons for opposing it were that they had carefully weighed the chances of success and the possibilities of defeat, and from what they learned in various interviews with railway presidents and operators they were satisfied that a strike, if engaged in, would last possibly all summer, and entail great hardship and suffering upon the mine workers and those dependent upon them, as well as work incalculable injury to the industrial and commercial interests of the country. They were also imbued with the belief that many of the alleged wrongs endured by the miners, and what were considered unfair conditions under which they worked, might be corrected by constant appeals to the presidents of the coal-carrying roads and independent operators. They had a slight hope that the strong prejudices of the anthracite coal operators might be softened by meeting them frequently, and by the presentation of the claims of the mine workers for better wages, and what they denominated more humane conditions of employment.

In their attempts to secure conferences and the frequent meetings of the representatives of mine workers and mine operators, the hopes

of the officers of the union were not realized, and the men—the miners and other employes—themselves demanded that a strike should be organized, which was done. This was voted in the convention at Hazleton on May 15, although the strike was begun May 12, 1902. The specific demands, as given to me in writing by Mr. John Mitchell, the president of the United Mine Workers of America, were as follows:

#### THE SPECIFIC DEMANDS.

1. That there shall be an increase of 20 per cent. to the miners who are paid by the ton—that is, for men performing contract work. These men involve about 40 per cent. of all the miners.

2. A reduction of 20 per cent. in the time of per diem employes. The mines are operated about 200 days per year, ten hours per day. This demand, if granted, would result in reducing the day to eight hours (20 per cent.), so that the mines would be operated 240 days at about the same pay; hence an equivalent of 20 per cent. increase in the earnings, no increase in the rates of per diem employes being demanded.

3. That 2,240 pounds shall constitute the ton on which payment is based for all coal mined where the miners are paid by weight. This would apply in any district where weighing coal would be practicable, and to those miners who are paid by the quantity and not to those paid by the day.

These constitute the specific demands of the coal-mine employes, and there is no disagreement as to the substance of the demands. No grievances were presented. The powder question was practically settled in 1900. In their conferences the miners wished to have the matter of impurities and other local grievances taken up with the companies and their local employes for adjustment, these matters not constituting a part of the present controversy or the demands leading to it.

#### MINERS' SUBSEQUENT OFFER.

These demands being rejected, the miners subsequently offered to accept one-half—that is to say, 10 per cent. increase in the pay per ton where mining is paid in that manner, and 10 per cent. decrease in the working day. They also offered to leave the whole matter to arbitration and investigation and to accept the result, provided the operators themselves would comply with the recommendation of the investigating committee.

All these demands and modified requests were rejected by the operators, and so the issue, clearly defined, remains an open one, the officers of the unions claiming that they can hold out for four or five months, while the operators take the ground that they can hold out

indefinitely and let the matter adjust itself. The employes are willing to make a three years' contract on the offered terms—that is, one-half the original demands.

#### CLAIMS AND COMPLAINTS OF THE EMPLOYES.

The specific demands in a strike are the material elements on which the controversy is based. The psychological elements must be considered, however, in order to ascertain the true situation. Thus the complaints and grievances and the irritations and complications which lead to a controversy are of far greater import than the categorical demands. So far as I can learn, the bottom idea on the part of the operators is to secure discipline or to preserve discipline. They claim that every concession that has been made has defeated this, and that if any ought to be made now, even if the concessions in themselves were right, they feel that they should not make them, as by making them they would defeat their power to preserve discipline. The foremen have their orders to go on under the present unhappy status and make a contest to the end of the matter.

#### MUCH TROUBLE WITH DISCIPLINE SINCE 1900.

There is not the slightest question that since 1900 there has been more trouble with discipline than during the whole previous period since 1871. The officers of the union are frank enough to say that there is a great deal of truth in this position of the operators, but, on the other hand, they claim that they have not been allowed to discipline their own men. The union officials are emphatic in their statement that they would be very glad to co-operate with the operators in securing wholesome discipline. They recognize that of all industries discipline is more essential in the mining regions than anywhere else. They are ready to guarantee to aid the operators in this fundamental difficulty, and they state that if they cannot do it they are not fit to have a union at all; that a leader who cannot maintain discipline is not fit to be in his place. They also claim that they have not been allowed (or even to try) to preserve discipline, and thus insubordination has ensued. The miners state that the operators cannot control insubordination, but that they themselves can control it. In this matter of insubordination the miners contend that the enormous percentage of foreigners who cannot speak the English language necessarily causes a great amount of misunderstanding of orders, and that under these misunderstandings foremen are very apt to cause trouble.



During the investigation the attention of the union officers was called to the criticism on the part of the operators that on account of such insubordination of the miners they were prevented from running their own business, and it was frankly admitted that there was some truth in this assertion, but that it was ridiculously exaggerated; that where foremen got into trouble they usually attributed it to the union. On the other hand, the union claims that it has been antagonized at every point, and that whenever anything of an evil nature occurs it is immediately attributed to it. Many instances are cited to show the truth of this statement.

#### UNION OFFICIALS CANNOT CONTROL THEIR MEN.

The operators claim that very many petty difficulties arise because the union officials cannot control their men. Many instances of this are cited in a report made some months ago by Mr. E. E. Loomis, superintendent of the coal-mining department of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company. This report was made prior to the inauguration of the present strike.

The claim is made that the union does not allow men to enter the mines unless they have a union card, although they may have the certificate required by the laws of the State of Pennsylvania that they are qualified to work as miners.

Nearly all the operators, so far as learned, have no confidence in the ability of the miners' union to control its own members to any such degree as to assist in maintaining proper discipline. Here is a sharp conflict, and one which reaches to the very essence of the irritating conditions that now attend anthracite coal mining.

#### ANTHRACITE UNION SUGGESTED.

Some of the operators do not hesitate to say—and it is believed that this statement is favorably regarded by some of the union officers—that no great progress will be made toward a more peaceful condition in the mining regions until the anthracite miners have a union of their own, its autonomy individualized and not complicated with that of the bituminous coal miners. This suggestion is made when discussing the question of discipline, the operators claiming that they had no trouble in the anthracite regions until the union of the bituminous coal miners undertook to organize the anthracite miners, and that if the anthracite coal miners had a union of their own, which might possibly be affiliated with the bituminous coal miners, they (the operators) would be in a better position and in better temper to meet

their employes through their organization than now, when they are obliged to deal with what they term strangers and outsiders.

The bearing of the operators' position on this subject, taken in relation to the whole question of discipline, is one which should meet with thorough consideration on the part of all, for it is believed by many that with the question of organization settled on the basis of the anthracite interests as distinct from the bituminous interests the question of discipline might be more easily considered. This is illustrated by the statement, during the present investigation, of one of the leading anthracite coal operators that a man who is not intellectually competent to do business in the anthracite region with a systematic recognition of the trade union is not competent to be there. A very well-known railroad president, although not of a coal-operating road, emphatically agreed in this opinion of the operator quoted, and did not hesitate to say that the present need in the anthracite mining business is for an entirely different type of men from those now engaged in it. If an anthracite coal miners' union could be organized and officered by men from the anthracite industry, such critics as those just quoted believe that the whole matter would be far on the way to fairly satisfactory adjustment.

All the operators whom I met disclaimed distinctly that they had any antagonism to labor unions as such. They do object, and most seriously, to some of the methods adopted by the unions, and they feel that when asked to make contracts with the unions the latter should put themselves in a position to be pecuniarily responsible for carrying out such contracts.

#### THE DEMAND TO HAVE COAL WEIGHED.

The specific demand of the miners' union that where miners are paid by weight 2,240 pounds shall constitute the ton represents an old, long-standing difficulty. The miners see little or no difficulty in adopting the system of payment by weight. They claim everywhere, and almost without exception, that they are systematically defrauded by the arbitrary action of the bosses—the men who determine how much deduction shall be made for impurities—and they especially complain that they are defrauded when paid by the wagon or carload. One manager stated during the present investigation that there is no end to the abuses of payment by the car. The testimony of foremen and managers is to the effect that these abuses should be done away with, the same as the abuses of the powder system, the truck system, and the company stores have been relegated to the past.

The miners also claim that the cars and the wagons constantly increase in size by various methods, but that they are paid no more for a carload than before such increase, that cars must be loaded to a certain height above the rail, so that when they are received at the breakers they shall be full cars after the jolting and massing of the contents.

All these things irritate, and even if it should be shown that the complaints are, on the whole, ungrounded, they are as real to the men as if the proportions of the complaints were preserved. There is a very great deal of testimony upon these points which cannot be very well controverted. Nevertheless, the difficulties which confront the operators are great.

Mr. Loomis, the superintendent of the coal-mining department of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company, has discussed this question quite fully. He says that his road, after long years of experience in the upper anthracite fields, evolved a system whereby coal from certain veins is paid for in accordance with the labor necessary to mine the coal in that specific vein. This system is based upon the cubic feet contained in the car used in the particular vein or mine. Some veins, being thicker, admit of a larger car being used than others, these being paid for accordingly. He argues that, assuming that the operators should concede the miners' demands to weigh all coal, the operators would necessarily have to use the present car prices, of which there are some twelve or fourteen different rates, as a basis to figure back from, and if figured properly the miner would be no better off than on the car basis, while the companies would be put to a great expense on account of scales, rearrangement of breakers, to say nothing of the trouble and controversies with committees in arriving at a ton price, the readjustment of all yardage prices, etc. He thinks that any readjustment would open the door to an endless amount of trouble and expense, while if the adjustment was fairly made the men would in no way be benefited by it. It is known that many of the men prefer to remain on the car basis. The Legislature of Pennsylvania has attempted, through legislation, to settle this question of weighing.

#### A MEASURE OF LABOR AND A MEASURE OF MATERIAL.

Mr. Loomis also states that some of the miners claim that if the companies sell the coal by the ton they should pay for it by the ton. The operators' argument is that one is a measure of labor and the other a measure of material; that they do not buy the coal from the

miner, but simply pay him for his labor; whereas, in turning the coal over to the dealer the operator sells it as his commodity.

When it is shown that a ton of coal, as it comes from the mines, contains a varying percentage of refuse, sometimes as high as 30 per cent., making it necessary to clean and prepare the coal before it is marketable, it is difficult to see the force of the argument why it should not be weighed and the miner paid for the work he does, or at least the operators share in the loss of his labor in mining impurities.

The operators do not hesitate to say that the miners' ton and the practice of loading rock and refuse into a car instead of prepared coal appear to be about as hard to explain to the public as was the powder question before that was settled, and that even if it were possible to make changes at the mines to admit of weighing coal, they feel that it would not be a wise thing to do. This may be true, but it should be remembered that the powder question has been settled, and there ought to be genius enough to settle the weighing question.

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#### WAGES AND COST OF PRODUCTION.

The remaining demand of the miners relates to compensation, the modified demand being a 10 per cent. increase in the rates per ton to those men who perform contract work, and 10 per cent. reduction in time to those who work by the day. The miners back this demand by the statement—and it has not been controverted—that after the increase which was granted in 1900 (on the face of it, 10 per cent., although in some instances it amounted to more) the prices of all commodities in the mining region were enhanced accordingly, or to at least as much as 9 per cent. beyond what they were prior to the increase; that now (in 1902) the general rise, in provisions especially, makes it impossible, or at least exceedingly difficult, for them to live properly on the present wages.

At the close of the report made some months ago by Mr. Loomis (already referred to) for his road, the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company, there are some very interesting tables of wages. His last table is a summary for four districts operated by his road. He shows that the miners' monthly earnings are \$66.48.

Mr. George F. Baer, president of the Reading companies, has submitted the following statement relative to the average daily earnings of 27,523 men and boys employed by the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company last November:

AVERAGE DAILY EARNINGS OF 27,523 MEN AND BOYS EMPLOYED BY THE  
PHILADELPHIA & READING COAL & IRON COMPANY,  
NOVEMBER, 1901.

Wagons, miners .....	\$2.293
Runs, miners .....	2.615
Robbing, miners .....	3.014
Miners' laborers .....	2.083
Day miners .....	2.322
Day laborers .....	1.937
Slate pickers:	
Men .....	1.200
Boys .....	.852
Car loaders .....	1.591
Laborers:	
First class .....	1.593
Second class .....	1.293
Drivers .....	1.696
Loaders .....	1.947
Fan and door boys .....	.949
Timbermen .....	1.970

Philadelphia, May 14, 1902.

Classifying the wages paid by the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company as to inside labor and outside labor, and total from January, 1902, to April, 1902, inclusive, Mr. Baer submits the following table:

AVERAGE DAILY WAGES EARNED BY EMPLOYEES OF THE PHILADELPHIA AND  
READING COAL AND IRON COMPANY FROM JANUARY, 1902, TO APRIL, 1902,  
INCLUSIVE.

Month.	Inside labor.			Outside labor.			Total.		
	Number of men.	Days worked.	Average per day.	Number of men.	Days worked.	Average per day.	Number of men.	Days worked.	Average per day.
January .....	15,976	182	\$2.102	9,828	201	\$1.478	25,804	194	\$1.900
February .....	16,518	173	2.164	9,752	201	1.481	26,270	181	1.908
March .....	16,494	162	2.190	10,285	191	1.484	26,779	181	1.908
April .....	16,681	191	2.199	10,198	201	1.455	26,879	192	1.926

Philadelphia, May 26, 1902.

I have in my possession a very elaborate statement in detail of the cost of mining coal by the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company for the month of November, 1901, made prior to the present strike. This statement thoroughly verifies the figures given in the above tables.

## THE DEMAND FOR REDUCTION OF TIME.

The reduction of time, which is included as a part of the demand for increase in compensation, is put forward by the miners on the ordinary arguments for the reduction of the length of the working day everywhere. Their work takes about two hundred days in the year; the remainder of the time they are idle, unless they find something to do in the way of farming, or occupation in other industrial lines. They claim that if the time per day should be reduced 20 per cent. without loss of pay—that is, if they were employed eight hours a day on the basis of payment of the present ten-hour day—they would work something like two hundred and forty or two hundred and fifty days during the year; that this would increase their pay practically the same percentage, because there would be no reduction in the per diem; that they would be in better condition, because more constantly employed, less idle time resulting, and they believe that an increased output of coal would be the result. They are willing, however, to accept nine hours per day instead of eight, as originally demanded.

The operators meet this demand with the statement that they are able to market only about 60 per cent. of the capacity of their mines; that their fixed charges have to be maintained throughout the whole year without reference to the amount of coal that can be marketed; that much of the machinery, the pumping, and the care of the mines go on for twenty-four hours each day; that the general superintendents and the men who are paid by the month must all be maintained; that an increase of 20 per cent. in wages would mean about 46 cents a ton increase, to which must be added the increased cost by reduction of output, while the general expenses are all going on. The latter are estimated at 14 cents, making the total addition per ton about 60 cents.

The total amount of wages paid in the anthracite coal fields last year is stated by the operators at about \$66,000,000. The increase under the original demand would be \$20,000,000, as estimated.

## THE RESTRICTED OUTPUT.

In respect to output, Mr. Baer says:

"In 1900 we all felt that the only substantial grievance that the men had in our section was the fact that during the depressed times we were unable to run our collieries to their full capacity. It was not the basis of wages paid, but that we could not give them sufficient work. But for the last eighteen months the condition has been just the other way. We cannot produce as much coal at our collieries as the market will take.

They will not mine it for us. The condition of the whole anthracite trade has changed with the general demand for fuel all over the United States. It will not last long; a reaction is bound to come."

#### FIVE HOURS PER DAY FOR CONTRACT MINERS.

Mr. Loomis, already quoted, says that the average hours contract miners worked per day for the four districts under the control of his road was five; that the average number of hours the breaker worked per day was seven and three-fourths, and it is claimed by operators generally that the contract miners do not work as many hours as the breaker runs, and hence that there is no ground for the demand for less hours.

#### STOPPAGES BY MINERS FOR VARIOUS CAUSES.

The operators also claim that there are constant stoppages of work on account of various causes, such as picnics, excursions, and matters of that kind, and that the fixed charges have to go on during these various stoppages. They also submit that they cannot comply with the demand for an increase in wages, whether this comes about through an advance in the pay per ton, or a reduction in time (which is the same thing) of men paid by the day.

The Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company submits the following statement showing the cost of labor, material, general expenses, etc., from 1899 to April 30, 1902:

#### COMPARATIVE COST PER TON OF MINING COAL BY THE PHILADELPHIA & READING COAL AND IRON COMPANY FOR THE FISCAL YEARS ENDING JUNE 30, 1899, 1900, AND 1901, AND FOR TEN MONTHS TO APRIL 30, 1902.

1899—Labor .....	\$1.067
Material .....	.314
	<hr/>
Cost in cars.....	1.381
General expenses .....	.208
	<hr/>
Total cost .....	1.589
1900—Labor .....	1.121
Material .....	.356
	<hr/>
Cost in cars.....	1.477
General expenses .....	.190
	<hr/>
Total cost .....	1.667

1901—Labor .....	1.263
Material .....	.365
	<hr/>
Cost in cars.....	1.628
General expenses .....	.195
	<hr/>
Total cost .....	1.823
To April 30, 1902—Labor.....	1.383
Material .....	.416
	<hr/>
Cost in cars.....	1.799
General expenses .....	.192
	<hr/>
Total cost .....	1.991
Philadelphia, May 23, 1902.	

This company submits also the following statement:

MONTHLY PERCENTAGE ABOVE BASIS ON SYSTEM OF WAGES FIXED ON A BASIS OF \$2.50 PER TON FOR COAL AT PORT CARBON FROM OCTOBER, 1900, TO MAY, 1902 INCLUSIVE.

Month.	Percent- age.	Month.	Percent- age.
1900		1901	
October.....	15	October.....	14
November.....	16	November.....	19
December.....	16	December.....	15
1901		1902	
January.....	15	January.....	18
February.....	15	February.....	18
March.....	16	March.....	16
April.....	7	April.....	7
May.....	10	May.....	10
June.....	11		
July.....	14	Average above basis.....	14.6
August.....	17	Total production, during above	
September.....	20	period..... tons.....	18,095,507

THE PHILADELPHIA AND READING COAL AND IRON COMPANY,  
Philadelphia, June 2, 1902.

The above table is explained by Mr. Baer in the following way:

WAGES PRIOR TO 1900.

"Prior to the time of the strike in 1900 the basis of wages had been settled, and proved satisfactory in the Schuylkill region and in the Lehigh region for a period of nearly thirty years. The wages were paid on a system of profit sharing. The basis was that when coal at Schuylkill



Haven was worth \$2.50 a ton the wages should be paid according to a scale then adopted; and that for each increase of 3 cents in the price of coal 1 per cent. should be added to the miners' wages. For illustration: If a miner on this basis received \$2 a ton, and coal advanced to \$2.24, the wages of the miner were increased 8 per cent., equivalent, on a \$2 basis (which is merely an illustration), to 16 cents. To show you how that would work out if no change had been made in the wages in the strike of 1900: The men, on the old basis of \$2.50 a ton, would have received in October 15 per cent. advance; in November 16 per cent. advance, and in December 16 per cent. advance. In September, 1901, they would have received 20 per cent. advance. In other months the percentage, being according to the price of coal, as in the summer months coal is lower, would fall, so that practically the 16 per cent. advance made was no greater than they would have received under the sliding schedule."

#### OPERATING AT A LOSS.

The Scranton Coal Company and the Elk Hill Coal and Iron Company, which are operated jointly, report the distribution of the gross receipts for the year ending December 31, 1901, as follows:

Paid for labor.....	57.71	per cent.
Paid for supplies, material, repairs, renewals, etc.....	12.19	"
Paid for taxes, insurance, and royalty.....	8.71	"
Paid for general expenses.....	.92	"
Paid for fixed charges.....	21.17	"
	100.70	"
Total .....	100.70	"

There is no charge included for depreciation, although the companies' fixed charges include a payment on the principal of the funded debt (virtually a sinking fund), based on the tonnage removed. No dividends were earned or paid on the stock of either of these companies. The excess of percentages over 100 represents the deficiency in earnings over charges.

#### PROFITS ON COAL MINING AND PRODUCTION.

It is alleged by the miners that the profits on coal mining are sufficient to warrant the increase in wages as demanded by them. The preceding table as to cost of labor, material, etc., together with other data furnished, gives the opportunity to calculate the net receipts at the mines for the coal mined by the Reading companies, the total cost per ton, and the net profit. It is shown that in 1899 the total cost was \$1.71 per ton; in

1900, \$1.865; in 1901, \$2.11; in 1902, \$2.25. The net profits were, respectively, \$0.13, \$0.198, \$0.287, and \$0.259. These figures show that in spite of the increase of wages in 1900 there was an increase of the net profit per ton in that year, in 1901, and so far the present year.

In respect to profits, it is shown by Mr. Baer that the balance sheet of the Reading Coal and Iron Company for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, shows that the company has invested, in round numbers, \$87,000,000, this being actual investment, there being no fictitious value or watered stock in it. He states that the company has 44 collieries, and that a modern colliery costs from \$400,000 to \$500,000; that the profit and loss for the year showed only \$555,394, there being taken out of current expenses \$413,000 (which was 5 cents per ton) for depreciation of land; that the latest balance sheet of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Company shows that the profit and loss of that company was only \$239,804. Mr. Baer continues his statement as follows:

**NO DIVIDENDS FOR READING, LEHIGH VALLEY OR ERIE STOCKHOLDERS.**

"It is a fact that, taking the companies which are known as the principal coal companies—the Reading, Lehigh Valley, and Erie—neither of them has been enabled to pay dividends on stock for many years. It is commonly said that where the coal companies are owned by the railroad companies the loss in the coal companies is made up in the transportation. This is a great error. If you will take the history of the Reading Company, which has not paid a dividend in practically fifteen years, except within the last two years, when it has paid a dividend of 4 per cent. on \$28,000,000 of stock, you have this result. There is invested in the Reading Coal Company \$85,000,000; in the Reading Railway Company, and what is known as the Reading Company, there is outstanding \$140,000,000 of stock, making an investment, with the coal company assets, of \$225,000,000. No dividends have been declared in the last fifteen years on this stock, with the exception of two years on the preferred stock, which amounts to \$28,000,000. Taking the total earnings, without regard to dividends, of the Reading Company (which includes the railway company) and the coal company, the total earnings for last year were \$2,663,087 before the payment of the Reading Company's dividend and the general mortgage sinking fund. So that, in point of fact, for many years these companies have not been able to earn dividends on their stock. What I have said of the Reading is true of the Lehigh Valley, and the same thing is practically true of the Erie, for which Mr. Thomas will speak. With my experience in operating the Reading Railway Company, I find that we have only been able to increase its revenue by increasing our merchan-

dise, passenger and miscellaneous traffic, and that just in proportion as we have been able to increase that traffic the financial affairs of the Reading Railway have improved, and not by reason of the coal business. You will see what I mean by that. In 1894 and 1895 the merchandise traffic of the Reading Railway was \$6,400,000; last year it was \$10,579,000.

"Now, as a business proposition, it is absolutely impracticable to increase the cost of mining anthracite coal. Year by year, for reasons which we cannot control, the cost will increase, and by the increased cost of the material we must use in the mines, and by deeper mining, which not only adds to the original cost of sinking shafts, but enormously to the cost of pumping and hoisting."

Reference should also be made to the statement of Mr. E. B. Thomas in the course of this investigation

#### MINERS SAY OUTPUT HAS INCREASED.

The miners claim that the output of anthracite coal has increased largely under unionized conditions and since the settlement of 1900. In order to consider this claim intelligently, Dr. E. W. Parker, coal-mining expert of the United States Geological Survey, has supplied me with some of the advance data for his report to the Government. These are shown in the following table:

PRODUCTION OF ANTHRACITE COAL IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1897 TO 1901.

Year.	Production.	Value.	Average value per ton.	Number of employees.	Days worked.	Average tonnage per year per man.	Average tonnage per day per man.
	<i>Tons.</i>						
1897.....	40,974,715	\$79,801,954	\$1.85	149,557	150	814.0	2.090
1898.....	47,093,076	75,414,557	1.75	145,184	152	828.0	2.100
1899.....	58,944,647	88,142,180	1.80	180,608	178	896.4	2.280
1900.....	51,221,953	85,757,851	1.85	144,206	190	855.0	2.140
1901.....	60,242,500	112,504,020	2.05	145,809	195	414.5	2.115

The statement of the operators and that of the mining expert of the Survey are in accord as to the total production and the increase therein. The average value per ton in 1900 was \$1.85, and in 1901 \$2.05. The average tonnage per man per day showed no increase; on the other hand, it was lower in 1901 than it has been since 1897, it being, in 1898, 2.10; in 1899, 2.23; in 1900, 2.14; in 1901, 2.115. Therefore, while the average value per ton rose, the average tonnage per day per man fell.

The foregoing statement as to the average tonnage per day per man is based on the total number of employes. It would be more accurate to give the coal production according to the total number of men em-

ployed underground. On this basis the average tonnage per man per day was, in 1897, 3.27; in 1898, 3.44; in 1899, 3.38; in 1900, 3.35; in 1901, 3.12.

The coal production per day according to the number of miners actually employed shows the same relative position. In 1897 it was 8.48; in 1898, 8.80; in 1899, 8.56; in 1900, 8.38; in 1901, 8.13.

#### MINERS' CONTENTION NOT SUSTAINED.

The miners' contention that the output per man has increased is not sustained by the official figures, but when considering the average tonnage per man per year of the total number of men employed underground they have reason for their contention. In 1897 this average tonnage per man per year was 490; in 1898, 523; in 1899, 585; in 1900, 556; in 1901, 612. The average tonnage per miner per year was, for 1897, 1,272; 1898, 1,338; 1899, 1,481; 1900, 1,391; 1901, 1,594. In this latter respect, however, it should be remembered that the number of days varied, as shown in the table giving the production of anthracite coal from 1897 to 1901. The true basis is the average tonnage per day per man, and not the average tonnage per year per man.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the anthracite coal trade, as a whole, was free from labor disturbances in 1901, and the output for the year showed an increase of 9,011,207 long tons, or more than 17 per cent., over 1900, when the product was curtailed by the miners' strike in September and October. The average price at the collieries for the coal sold was at an advance of 25 cents per ton over 1900, and reached the highest figure attained since 1888.

#### ANTHRACITE PRODUCTION NOT UP TO INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

During the past twenty years anthracite production has not kept pace with general industrial development. In 1880 the anthracite production represented 40 per cent. of the total coal output of the United States. The percentage of anthracite of total coal production since 1880 has been as follows: 1881-1885, 34 per cent.; 1886-1890, 32 per cent.; 1891-1895, 30 per cent.; 1896-1901, 24 per cent. Thus the percentage of anthracite of the total product has decreased since 1880 from 40 to 24 per cent. Comparing the production of 1901 with that of 1880, anthracite is shown to have increased about 135 per cent., while the bituminous product has increased about 425 per cent. These statements relative to production are taken from the *Engineering and Mining Journal* of June 7, 1902.

Mr. Baer makes the following statement bearing upon this point :

**FORTY PER CENT. OF ANTHRACITE SOLD BELOW COST.**

“Forty per cent. of the anthracite coal is sold in the market below the cost of mining. The reasons are that these coals compete with bituminous coal. The steamboat coal is used almost exclusively in pig-iron furnaces. Its price is regulated by the price of coke. Coke is a better fuel for smelting iron than anthracite, because it bears a heavier burden ; and while formerly the furnaces of the Schuylkill region and the Lehigh region used anthracite coal exclusively, it is impossible to use anthracite fuel now alone, as the crushing weight of the material is so great that anthracite coal would become a compact mass, which will not let the blast through. Therefore, anthracite coal is confined to low-stack furnaces or to high-stack furnaces, where a certain percentage can be used. For instance, a company uses 40 per cent. of anthracite to 60 per cent. of bituminous. The rice and smaller sizes of coal, which would be waste, are sold as low as 41 cents per ton. The buckwheats and the peas run up until the highest price we get for those sizes is \$1.65 for pea. That puts the whole burden of any advance price on 60 per cent. of our production, which constitutes the domestic sizes. All other sizes must be sold in competition with bituminous coal, and they must be sold to enable us to take precedence over bituminous coal, or they cannot be sold at all. The other 60 per cent., which are known as the prepared and domestic sizes, must bear the raise in price, and it comes upon every workingman and everybody who uses coal, for primarily this coal is used for household purposes, not for manufacturing ; and were we to increase the price of coal, then the cry would be that the coal barons are oppressing the poor.”

**THE QUESTION OF FREIGHTS.**

It is often alleged by the miners—and the allegation has been repeated to me in this investigation by capitalists and others not interested now in the coal-mining business—that the operators, where they are also railroad corporations, are in the habit of charging, as a part of the cost of their coal, an increased freight rate for the coal, thus adding to its cost and, in fact, keeping down the statement of profits of mining coal, carrying the profits to the traffic of their roads ; that the freight rates thus charged for anthracite are higher than those for bituminous coal carried by the same roads.

It is clear from the statements of the operators appended hereto that they have been able to bring up their traffic business in some cases to such

an extent as to avoid financial disaster to their respective roads. One president of a coal-operating railroad informed me that he was obliged some years ago to go into the coal-mining business in order to save his road, and I think this is the general impression. It is very difficult to ascertain the truth in the question, but I have been able to find out the difference in freight rates of bituminous and of anthracite coal.

The rate on bituminous coal from the Clearfield mines of the Philadelphia & Reading Railway Company is \$1.40 f. o. b. Port Reading; on anthracite coal the rate is \$1.55 f. o. b. Port Reading.

#### ANTHRACITE TRANSPORTATION NOT LIKE BITUMINOUS.

Some years ago the question was brought to the attention of the Interstate Commerce Commission by the suit of Coxe Bros. & Co. against the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, the claim being made that the mileage rate should be the same. The operating roads maintain that there is no similarity between the transportation of anthracite coal and that of bituminous coal. The anthracite region is geographically a broken country. To reach the mines expensive lateral railroads are required, with very heavy grades. Not only is the construction and maintenance of these roads costly, but, by reason of the grades, their operation is expensive.

Again, it is claimed that the distribution of anthracite and of bituminous coal is essentially different, bituminous coal being, as a rule, sold in large quantities to manufacturers and to the steamship trade. The contracts usually cover a year's delivery, thus enabling the transportation companies to send full train loads to one shipping point or consignee, the cars being unloaded at once and returned to the mines promptly.

#### ANTHRACITE DISTRIBUTION REQUIRES MUCH SHIFTING.

On the other hand, it is claimed that anthracite coal is generally used for domestic purposes, one train load containing six or seven different sizes of coal consigned to many different parties. This distinction in the sizes of coal, and also in the quality, is exceptional to the anthracite trade. Bituminous coal is practically of the same quality. These conditions involve not only the detention of the cars, but a vast amount of shifting, so that the detention of anthracite coal cars at the points of destination is much greater than that of cars used in the bituminous coal trade. By way of illustration, as it has been pointed out to me, there are in the city of Philadelphia 300 miles of track owned by the Philadelphia & Reading Railway Company, together with 50 freight stations and a large number of coal yards. To reach these points of distribution there must be much shifting. Sometimes only one or two cars are taken out

of a train for each yard, and as the size and quality\* of the coal vary, the expense in this constant shifting is claimed to be very heavy.

These conditions apply to the shipping ports, where the coal companies are compelled to keep coal standing in cars to be shifted out from time to time according to the orders of the shippers. At some of the very large ports, such as Port Richmond, the Reading people endeavor to overcome this difficulty by storing, when possible, large quantities of special sizes; but this method, it is claimed, subjects the company to the necessity of picking it up and reloading it, which, of course, is expensive.

It is also claimed—and I believe conceded by all—that the haul on bituminous coal is longer than that on anthracite coal, and that when once coal is loaded on cars, and full trains are obtained, the cost of a longer haul of, say, 50 miles or more, is relatively a small additional expense; that a full train can be transported a long distance much cheaper than miscellaneous traffic can be, where trains must be broken from time to time. These are the justifications for a less rate on bituminous for a long haul than on anthracite coal for a short haul.

#### GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

Much evidence has been offered to show the general condition of miners, their complaints and grievances, and the complaints and grievances of the operators. In a critical sense, these have all been referred to above. It is very clearly shown by the evidence that the miners have done something in the way of securing discipline, although they have disappointed the operators in such attempts. The miners claim that they have forced their members to accept discharge whenever they were wrong, and have ordered men back to work when the strike was not authorized by the labor union; that when the officers of the union have been able to see the manager of a company concerning any case, and have been allowed to confer, they have almost invariably been able to arrive at an adjustment of the difficulty, but that where the manager refused to deal with the representatives of the union there was no choice but to pass upon the matter according to the evidence of one side only, such evidence being taken as conclusive, and the officers being obliged to decide in favor of the men, who have preferred a wish not to work under existing conditions.

This, it is claimed, injures the corporations, because the results have not been based upon full evidence. The miners feel that the corporations, when they refuse to recognize the right of the unions to represent

\* In the coal business "quality" means different kinds of coal, such as "red ash," "white ash," and "free burning." The product of nearly every colliery varies more or less. Many consumers require coal from a particular colliery.

the men in adjusting any difficulty, cannot deny that the officers have the power to decide whether or not the employes shall strike. They also state that if the operators will make an agreement with them they will carry it out as far as it lies in their power to do so, but that without an agreement they are all the time quibbling as to conditions under which miners shall work. They feel that an agreement in writing will protect the corporations from unjust strikes, if they really desire such protection. The way it appears to the average workman is that the operators do not want an agreement that will bind them and prevent them from following their usual course.

#### OPERATORS SAY IT IS FOOLISH TO UNDERTAKE AN AGREEMENT.

On the other hand, the operators contend that no such agreement would have any binding effect upon the miners, and that it is ridiculous and foolish to undertake to make one; that they are interfered with constantly in their efforts to preserve order and good discipline.

All this shows, and proves clearly, that there is no confidence existing between the employes and their employers, and that suspicion lurks in the mind of everyone and distrust in every action on either side.

#### CHIEF DIFFICULTY LACK OF ORGANIZATION.

It is represented to me by reputable parties who have no interest in the mining business one way or the other that the chief difficulty lies in lack of organization. This is shown by the existence of many practices in the management of coal mines which appear to be unwise, unfair, and calculated to work hardship. There are many prosperous miners in the coal region, and, of course, there is also, as in every industry, great destitution. The whole problem is an extremely complex one, and involves many practices that have been built up through long years. The mine owners too often have regarded the average miner as unreasonable, and likely to be unruly when occasion offered. The miner has come to regard the average owner as greedy, and ready to do anything which will take advantage of him. Long-continued conditions on this basis of suspicion make the question one of great difficulty.

It would seem reasonable that if the men should be sure of steady work, or fairly steady work, they could well afford, perhaps, to take less wages, or even to continue on the present basis of payment. It is insisted by many that eight hours a day for six days in the week at less wages than they are now receiving would make the miners as prosperous a class of workmen as can be found in the United States.

Some of the miners have testified that if they can be paid by honest



weight they do not care anything about the increase of wages. They say they would rather work nine hours a day with a decreased wage than on the old basis.

So there are all sorts of conflicting statements from both sides. Nevertheless, considering all the testimony that has been offered, and weighing it as carefully and as impartially as I can, and listening to the statements of operators, miners, capitalists, bankers, students, and others—to all of whom I am grateful for their generous assistance—I cannot help feeling that there are certain suggestions that are reasonable and just in the premises.

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#### **SUGGESTIONS BY THE COMMISSIONER.**

1. That the anthracite employes should organize an anthracite coal miners' union, in its autonomy to be independent of the United Mine Workers of America. The new union might, of course, be affiliated with the United Mine Workers and the American Federation of Labor, but in the conduct of all the affairs relating to the anthracite coal regions the new union should preserve its own autonomy, and be financially responsible for its agreements.

2. That, considering all the facts relative to production, cost of coal at the mines, profits, freight traffic, etc., it would be reasonable and just for the operators to concede a nine-hour day, but that this should be done for the period of six months as an experiment, in order to test the influence on production, with the guaranty that if production is not materially reduced thereby, the agreement shall be made for a more permanent reduction of time.

3. That under a new organization consisting of anthracite employes there shall be organized a joint committee on conciliation, composed of representatives of the operators and of the new union, to which all grievances as they arise shall be referred for investigation, and that when two-thirds of the committee reach a decision, that decision shall be final and binding upon both parties.

4. That the first duty of such joint board of conciliation shall be to enter upon a thorough examination and investigation of all conditions relative to mining anthracite coal, to question of weighing, to discipline, to wage scales, and to all matters that now form the burden of the complaints and grievances of both operators and miners, such investigation or examination to be made through the employment of experts to be selected by the joint committee, the results of such investigation not to be considered in the nature of an award of a board of arbitration, but as verified information, on which future contracts can be made.

5. That whenever practicable, and where mining is paid for by the ton, and until the joint committee referred to shall have made its report, coal shall be paid for by the ton, and be weighed by two inspectors, one representing the operators and one representing the men, each side to pay its own inspector.

6. That there shall be no interference with non-union men.

7. That whenever practicable, collective bargains shall be made relative to wages, time, and other conditions, under rules to be established by the joint committee referred to.

#### QUESTION FULL OF DIFFICULTIES.

The proposition has been made that with the experience of the past the operators, in agreement with the miners, might establish a uniform or fixed percentage of deduction from all coal mined, as representing, on the average, the impurities, the result of which would be that every miner would know that a certain fixed percentage is to be deducted from the coal mined without reference to its purity; that such a rule, while it would be unfair and absurd in some cases, would be generous in others, and thus an understanding reached which would avoid all the irritations which now accompany the subject of weighing and the deduction for impurities. The question is full of difficulties, and it may not be possible to crystallize the proposition into a fixed rule; but it may be worth consideration by a joint committee such as has been suggested.

The conclusions stated above, Mr. President, seem to me, in the light of all the evidence that has been furnished me, to be reasonable and just, and should they be adopted, with some modifications, perhaps, here and there, they would lead to a more peaceful and satisfactory condition in the anthracite coal regions. They may not lead, even if adopted fully, to perfect peace, nor to the millennium, but I believe they will help to allay irritation and reach the day when the anthracite coal regions shall be governed systematically, and in accordance with greater justice and higher moral principles than now generally prevail on either side.

I am, Mr. President, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CARROLL D. WRIGHT,  
Commissioner.

The President.

## NATIONAL STRIKE CONSIDERED.

In June a demand arose among the miners for a national strike of coal miners. In accordance with this demand, Mr. Mitchell, on June 18, caused to be issued from the Indianapolis headquarters of the United Mine Workers a call for a national convention to consider the advisability of ordering a national strike. At the same time he gave out in Wilkesbarre the following statement:

"A national convention of the miners of the country will be held at Indianapolis at the earliest possible date to consider the advisability of inaugurating a national suspension of work. The call is made upon the acquiescence of five districts of United Mine Workers of America, that number being necessary to issue such a call. This makes it obligatory for the president of the United Mine Workers to call the convention. The five districts are Nos. 1, 7, 9, 17 and 24. The date will be decided by the National Secretary of the United Mine Workers, W. B. Wilson.

### CONVENTION AGAINST A NATIONAL STRIKE.

The date for the convention was announced subsequently as July 17. The convention consisted of 2,253 delegates. It was against a national strike, adopting, instead of such an order, the following resolutions:

### ASSESSMENTS TO HELP STRIKERS.

That the national treasurer immediately place \$50,000 from the national treasury at the disposal of the officers of Districts Nos. 1, 7 and 9 (the anthracite districts).

That all districts, sub-districts and local unions be asked to donate as much as they can afford.

That an assessment of ten per cent. be levied on the gross earnings of all members of local unions in Districts Nos. 6, 8, 12, 19, 23 and 25, and an assessment of \$1 per week upon all members of local unions in Districts Nos. 2, 5, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20 and 21. Members of districts now on strike which may resume work before assessment has been removed shall be assessed either ten per cent. of their gross earnings or \$1 per week, whichever their district may decide, from the time work is resumed.

An assessment of twenty-five per cent. upon the wages, salary or percentage of all national, district and sub-district officers and organizers, to begin with the 16th of July, 1902.

All contributions to the anthracite region to be divided pro rata to

each anthracite district, in accordance with the number of miners and mine laborers in each.

That each local union in the regions that are at work select a committee which shall obtain work for as many of the men on strike as possible and inform secretaries of strike districts of the number of men needed, the kind of work, wages and arrangements for transportation, and that the same proposition be submitted to all local unions in the American Federation of Labor.

#### AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

The convention issued the following address to the public:

The extremely low wages paid to anthracite miners; the refusal of the coal companies to have the coal properly weighed or permit the miners to employ a man, at their own expense, to see the coal they have mined weighed, measured or credited; the great number of hours the miner must work each day in the most unsanitary conditions; the cruel and unjust manner in which they have been treated by petty bosses; the arbitrary assumption by the employers that neither the miners nor the public have any rights that are entitled to consideration by them, have forced us to organize, not for the purpose of taking from the operators that which belongs to them, but for the purpose of securing, by business methods, better treatment than we have received in the past and fair recompense for our labor.

We have sought to accomplish this end by conciliatory methods. As proof of our sincerity we point to the joint convention system of adjusting the wages and conditions of employment from year to year which we have by our persistent efforts introduced and firmly established in a great majority of the bituminous fields of the United States. We have faithfully lived up to the letter and spirit of every contract we have made, nor shall we violate them now.

One hundred and fifty thousand of our craftsmen in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania have tried by every honorable means to adjust grievances with their employers without resorting to a strike.

They have failed because the employers have assumed to be the only parties interested in the operation of the mines, a position not sustained by conditions since a stoppage of work.

If it is the purpose of the coal operators to destroy our union, then we would be fully justified in taking drastic measures. We believe we have within our reach the means by which that purpose can be thwarted.

We believe that our interests and our obligations to the operators with whom we have agreements require that we shall not inaugurate a

general suspension of work in the coal trade. They may destroy our union, but they cannot make us violate our contracts.

The struggle in the anthracite region will be continued until our demands have been granted or a competent board of arbitration has declared that we are wrong. \* \* \* We appeal to the people to bring all possible pressure to bear on the officers and stockholders of the anthracite coal carrying railroads and other anthracite coal interests to treat considerately the appeals of their employes for arbitration.

We need more money for that purpose, and we appeal to every trade-union and trade-unionist, to every citizen whose interests are involved, and to every lover of fair play to assist us in raising \$1,000,000 per month from outside sources as long as the strike may last.

### MR. HEWITT REASONS WITH MR. MITCHELL.

On August 25th the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, who was then at Bar Harbor, Maine, was asked whether he considered arbitration the only means whereby the anthracite strike might be ended. To this Mr. Hewitt replied as follows:

#### TIME FOR THE PLAIN TRUTH.

"You ask whether the time has not arrived for arbitration in order to end the coal strike in the anthracite region. I think the time has arrived when the plain truth should be told, as well to the striking miners as to the public, from some recognized advocate of trade organizations as beneficial agencies for the improvement of the condition of workmen. For a quarter of a century I have uniformly maintained the right and the duty of association, both on the part of employers and employes. Such organizations, however, must be for lawful purposes, and must look to the accomplishment of results founded on justice. When claims are made contrary to the fundamental conditions upon which society is founded, they must be resisted at all hazards. I am clear that the claims of Mr. Mitchell and the organization over which he presides are in contravention of the principles of free government and of the rights of men to earn their living in any lawful way, without interference from organized labor or organized capital.

#### RECOGNITION OF THE UNION THE REAL ISSUE.

"The unhappy controversy now existing is not based upon any reasonable claim which labor can make for shorter hours or better wages. It is true that Mr. Mitchell alleges this to be the object of the strike, but

as a matter of fact it is notorious that the real object is to secure the recognition of his national organization as an authority entitled to decide upon the rates of wages and the conditions of labor in the coal fields wherever situated. If this demand be conceded it will not be possible for any man not holding a union card to secure employment in the coal fields. This will amount to a denial of the rights of every man to sell his labor in a free market. The concession of this demand will make Mr. Mitchell the dictator of the coal business, and put him in control of votes enough to decide the next Presidential election.

#### THE RIGHT TO LABOR CANNOT BE ARBITRATED.

"The right to labor is inherent in every human being, and cannot be surrendered without the sacrifice of individual liberty and of private property. It therefore cannot be arbitrated any more than the right of a man to his own home if it shall be claimed by an outsider who proffers arbitration. An offer of arbitration is always attractive, but there are many things which cannot be submitted to arbitration, and among them none is so important to the workingman as the right to sell his labor in a free market. The operators cannot yield this point without being disloyal to the owners of the property and to the workmen who carry on the operations.

"It would be far better to abandon the business of mining anthracite coal than to concede the demand of any man or set of men to deny the rights of employment and of labor, upon which the whole structure of free government is founded, and to which this country owes phenomenal progress. In my judgment, therefore, the operators are only doing their plain duty in declining to arbitrate a question which is in the domain of conscience, and involves the personal liberty of the individual.

#### RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION NOT IN QUESTION.

"The only solution of the trouble is for Mr. Mitchell to order the strike off without delay. When this is done, if there be grievances to be abated, they will be promptly adjusted between the local operators and the local unions. The right of association is not in question. This is admitted by both employers and employes. What is denied, and properly so, is the power, by the issue of union cards, to refuse employment to non-union men, and thus condemn them to ostracism, starvation and death. Such a result is abhorrent to justice, and is fatal to personal liberty.

"It is claimed in some quarters, and alleged to be the general opinion, that the operators ought to resume work without regard to the menacing conditions with which the anthracite coal mines are now surrounded.

Such a position does not appear to me to be reasonable. As the owners of property, the operators undoubtedly owe a duty to the community, which is suffering great loss from the scarcity of fuel. The right of private property, guaranteed by the constitution, is always subject to the underlying principle that it is to be used so as not to damage society.

#### A CLAIM TO THE POWER OF LIFE AND DEATH.

"Any claim of the operators, therefore, that they can do with their own as they see fit, does not rest upon a sound foundation. If, however, in the recognition of their duty to the public, they are compelled to respect other fundamental conditions equally, if not more, important to the public welfare, they would be false to their duty if they should yield to clamor and pressure from those who have not carefully considered the consequences of such action. There is a principle more important than the obligation of private property to subordinate itself to the general welfare. The demand of any man or set of men not occupying public office to decide upon the conditions upon which labor shall seek its living, and to make it subject to a license from irresponsible leaders, whether representing capital or labor, is in effect a claim to the power of life and death, and can never be conceded without a base surrender of duty to greed.

#### CLAIM OF THE MINE WORKERS IMPRACTICABLE

"The coal operators, therefore, are not fighting so much for the control of their own property as for the right of the citizen to labor where he may find employment, without interference from organizations or men who have no right to control his freedom of action.

"Finally, the claim of the United Mine Workers' organization to control the entire coal industry of the country is based upon an impracticable idea. Very little knowledge is necessary to show that the coal regions of the United States differ so much from each other that the policy which is adapted to one is utterly unsuited to another. Moreover, the various mines differ from each other in conditions, requiring careful adjustment in the wages of labor, and in some respects in the hours necessary to keep them in working order. All that a national organization could possibly do would be to support the claim of workmen who for any reason are dissatisfied with the conditions which prevail in any particular locality or mine.

#### GENERAL STRIKE AN OUTRAGE.

"But to call a general instead of a local strike, when a local grievance is not adjusted in a satisfactory way, is an outrage of such vast propor-

tions that it cannot for a moment be tolerated by a free people. Moreover, in this day of free discussion and the publicity of all the facts through the newspapers, there is no possibility that any coal operator could or would resist demands which are founded upon justice. The coal mines are all under official inspection, generally by officers who sympathize, and properly so, with the miners. Any real grievance, therefore, will not only be promptly made known, but will be as promptly redressed, when the questions at issue are discussed with good temper, and free from the passions which are excited by a general strike throwing thousands of men out of employment.

"The consequences of such strikes are so disastrous, not merely to the parties directly concerned, but to the whole community, that every effort should be made as soon as the existing strike has been called off, and the excitement is abated, to prevent by appropriate legislation the recurrence of such calamitous conflicts, whereby everybody is injured and no one is benefited.

"The enactment of such legislation will not be attended with more difficulty than in the case of other disputes, now regulated by law and subject to the adjudication of the courts. When the miners shall realize that they are making war upon their own rights secured by centuries of conflicts and sacrifices, and that a present victory will result in depriving them of all personal freedom, such disastrous conflicts will cease to recur, and arbitration may then well be invoked to settle local disputes.

#### HOPE OF THE WORKERS RESTS ON PERSONAL LIBERTY.

"The hope of the working classes in the future, as in the past, for better conditions, rests upon personal liberty and the security of property. The English-speaking miners understand this proposition perfectly well, but for the time being they are powerless in the presence of bad leadership and the state of terror which prevails in the coal region, subjecting them to obloquy, violence and death, by which unwilling acquiescence is enforced.

#### PROTECTION OF WORKERS, NOT ARBITRATION, THE GREAT NEED.

"What is wanted to end this destructive conflict is not arbitration, but the stern repression of violence and the assured protection of the miners who desire to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families. To this protection they are entitled, and the Government which fails to afford it is a reproach to republican institutions.

"The demand for arbitration comes with an ill grace from a leader who began the conflict with an order calling on the engineers, firemen and



pumpmen to abandon their task, thus exposing the mines to utter ruin. If this order had been obeyed, the resumption of work would have been indefinitely postponed, and the helpless victims of this desperate expedient reduced to hopeless poverty.

“‘To rule or ruin’ is not a policy which commends itself to the American people, who believe in the old-fashioned rule, that he who demands equity must first do equity.”

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#### MR. MITCHELL'S REPLY TO MR. HEWITT.

At Wilkesbarre, Pa., on August 27th, a reply to the arbitration statement of Abram S. Hewitt was made by Mr. Mitchell.

“The members of the miners' organization,” said Mr. Mitchell, “have never sought to prevent non-members from working with them in the mines, and they had no intention of seeking to abridge the right of any mine worker to become or not to become a member of the organization in the future. The miners are on strike for living wages; they are on strike for American conditions of employment, and nothing Mr. Hewitt can say will prove sufficient to divert attention from the real issues.

“Mr. Hewitt's fear that I might become a dictator and go into the business of naming Presidents of the United States is, to say the least, amusing, and were it not for the fact that I know Mr. Hewitt to be a serious man, I should conclude that he was jesting. The truth is that the miners' union is a non-political organization; its members vote for whom-ever they choose, and if I or any other officer of the organization were to attempt to dictate, or even suggest, how the miners should vote, I should be promptly told that the miners were abundantly able to judge for themselves in the exercise of their sovereign citizenship.”

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#### ANOTHER STATEMENT BY MR. HEWITT.

At Bar Harbor, on September 1st, Mr. Hewitt was asked to reply to the statement made by Mr. Mitchell consequent to Mr. Hewitt's statement of August 25th.

Mr. Hewitt was averse to continuing the discussion. He said that he felt he had discharged himself of his duty in giving out the already published interview, and that, so far, he had seen no communication in rebuttal which prompted him to make a reply.

In reply to a number of questions, Mr. Hewitt answered casually.

When asked as to the surpluse of labor in the coal fields, and the limited hours of work, he said:

**MEN RESPONSIBLE FOR LIMITED AMOUNT OF WORK.**

"There is more than sufficient labor in the coal fields at the present time, and the union is itself responsible, in a measure, for the limited amount of work and resultant pay accorded each miner. For the men being made members of the organization, it becomes necessary to so subdivide the work among them that each man is employed a shorter number of hours, with a consequent deduction of wage earnings.

"The union seeks to have each man paid the same wage for this shortened time as was paid when the supply of labor was less and the time of employment longer. The men then were paid sufficiently high wages to maintain a 'standard of living' that was satisfactory, as is witnessed in the case of many of the mines, notably the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company. It was because of this satisfactory 'standard of living' and wages that the excess labor was attracted to the coal fields."

Speaking of Mr. Mitchell's statement that the coal strike had little political significance, Mr. Hewitt merely cited the instance of the last Presidential campaign, when the labor vote became a most important question in national politics and forced a compromise when there would have otherwise been a long drawn out fight. The situation to-day is, if anything, more suggestive of political possibilities than it was at that time.

**STOCK AND BOND HOLDERS OUTNUMBER MEN EMPLOYED.**

"There is one phase of this strike," said Mr. Hewitt, "to which the public as a whole has not had its attention drawn. It is a mistake to suppose that the mines are in the hands of seven or eight individuals who alone reap the rewards of victory or suffer the disadvantages of defeat in this crisis. The mines belong to many thousands of stockholders and bondholders, who outnumber the men that are employed. It is a vast field, divided up among all sizes of investors.

"Speaking of the earnings of the anthracite mines, while they are immensely productive and valuable industries, their earnings are not what they are commonly supposed to be. In the case of one of the oldest companies doing business in Pennsylvania, the earnings for the last sixty years have averaged approximately 6 per cent.

"The men who to-day are administering these concerns are executing the duties of their office not for their personal ends, but in the interest of a very large public. According to the statements that have appeared as coming from the miners' union, it has been suggested that the question of

higher wages and shorter hours be met by the operators by raising the price of coal to the public, which must be made to suffer the compromise."

#### IRRESPONSIBILITY OF THE MINERS' ORGANIZATION.

Mr. Hewitt drew from the case of G. B. Markle & Co. an illustration, pointing to the irresponsibility of the miners' organization. In the face of repeated violations of contract and their agreement to submit all local differences to arbitration, and not to be influenced by the disputes arising in other quarters, they nevertheless, in 1900, at Mr. Mitchell's solicitation, notwithstanding that their condition was eminently satisfactory, joined the general strike that was called by the United Mine Workers in that year. It was this irresponsibility, the absence of corporate qualities, that called for a firm stand on the part of the operators, who were in duty bound to guard their just business interests.

#### A VAST LABOR TRUST.

Mr. Hewitt commented on the fact that the public seemed not to be aware that here is growing up a vast labor trust, fraught with a far greater menace to industrial conditions than many of the so-called monopolies that are now occupying the attention of the entire country.

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#### ANOTHER INTERVIEW WITH MR. HEWITT.

Mr. Hewitt having returned to New York from his summer home at Bar Harbor, on September 12th, consented to talk on the general situation, and in the course of his remarks declared that the operators were ready and anxious to adjust any grievances with their own employes.

"I told Mr. Mitchell before the strike began just what was going to happen," said Mr. Hewitt. "Mr. Mitchell is fighting for his very life. He wants recognition, not arbitration. Mr. Mitchell destroyed the principle of arbitration in the coal regions." Continuing, he said in part:

"Mr. Morgan will not interfere in this strike. I know that positively. There will be no arbitration; that is absolutely certain. The strike will soon be over. It will wear itself out. The men will soon get tired and return to work. Mr. Mitchell came to me before the strike, and I then predicted just what has happened.

#### "A CASE OF MITCHELL WORKING FOR MITCHELL."

"I don't altogether blame Mr. Mitchell for bringing on this strike. He certainly worked up the excitement of the men to a certain degree. That was his first mistake. Mr. Mitchell advised against the strike.

When he called the convention at Shamokin he thought he would be able to control it and show what a big fellow he was. But these young fellows came in and wanted the strike, and the convention got beyond Mitchell's control. Then he called the Indianapolis convention. He told the anthracite miners that he would ask the bituminous miners to go on a sympathetic strike. He did so, and they refused. This was another of Mr. Mitchell's mistakes. Mr. Mitchell, in public, clamors for arbitration. But does he want arbitration? What Mr. Mitchell wants is recognition for himself. It is a case of Mitchell working for Mitchell. Mr. Mitchell is fighting for his very life, but there will be no recognition of Mr. Mitchell on the part of the operators, and no arbitration between the operators and Mr. Mitchell.

#### MR. MITCHELL DESTROYED THE PRINCIPLE OF ARBITRATION

"It was Mr. Mitchell who destroyed the principle of arbitration in the coal fields. The operators are willing and ready to adjust any grievances by concessions or otherwise with their own employes, but they will have nothing to do with Mr. Mitchell. That is positive. What Mr. Mitchell does is this, to use an illustration: He comes to the operator and says: 'See here, you're not treating your employes right. I want you to arbitrate with me.' It is just as if a man came into my office here and said: 'This is a comfortable office. I think I will take it.' Naturally I would answer: 'Certainly not. This is my office, and I mean to keep it.' It is as if he then would say, 'Let us arbitrate.' That was just the situation in the case of the operators and Mr. Mitchell. If they recognize him it will mean nothing less than giving him the management of their properties, and you can easily see how absurd that will be."

Referring to some of the comments which have been made on his earlier statement, Mr. Hewitt said:

"Some of my critics reproach me with being the owner of coal property, and therefore not disinterested. Now, all through my life I believe that it is generally recognized that when I have expressed myself in disputes between capital and labor I have generally sided with the workman. In 1876, during the days of the Molly Maguires, I made a tour of inspection through the mining regions. I found terrible conditions then. I found the men living like pigs and dogs, under wretchedly brutal conditions. It was shortly after this that I became a director of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company. I advised the management to better the conditions of the workingmen. They replied that they could not do so and derive profit from their business. I did my best to convince them that it would always conduce to the profit of the employers to consider the interests of those working for them. Finally I brought them around

to my point of view, and it was not long before better conditions obtained among the employes of that company.

#### MINERS THRIFTY AND RESPECTABLE.

"When this strike was called the employes of the companies almost to a man owned their own homesteads. They were thrifty and respectable—as respectable people as you will meet anywhere. They had \$800,000 in the savings banks. They never wanted to strike, but now they have to live on their savings, and walk around with their hands in their pockets, against their will, simply because they do not dare to go back to work. Is that right, I ask.

"The same year I was elected president of the American Institute of Mining Engineers. At the centennial celebration of mining and metallurgy in the United States, held in that year, I, in my capacity as president-elect, delivered a centennial address. In my address I made what I believe to be the first reference to the so-called trust question. President Roosevelt is now beginning to discuss the trust question in his speeches, but he is a young man, and as yet only in the kindergarten. He will know more later on."

Mr. Hewitt produced a copy of this address, and pointed out portions which referred to trusts and conditions in the mining regions.

#### MUST BE ECONOMY, REGULARITY AND STABILITY.

In these parts was the following:

"But besides economy in mining, there must be regularity and stability in the operations of the mine. There can be no real profit where those operations are subject to constant interruption, caused by strikes or artificial impediments. The loss of interest on the plants at the mines and in the lines of transportation caused by any serious stoppage to the works would of itself be sufficient to render an investment of this kind unprofitable. To insure continuous operations the best relations must exist between the corporate owners and the laborers in their employ. It is notorious that throughout the coal regions these relations have been of an unsatisfactory character, resulting, at often recurring intervals, in strikes and lockouts, which have no redeeming feature, but, on the contrary, have raised the price of coal to the consumer, have impaired the dividends of the owners, and have reduced the workingmen and their families to a condition of suffering and demoralization appalling to every well-wisher of the race. It is fortunate, therefore, that the interests of all classes concur in prevention of these destructive and demoralizing collisions, and that owners of the property, for their own self-protection, will be driven to remove the causes which have produced them.

## COAL REGIONS MIGHT BE A PARADISE.

"It is idle for them to expend their capital for the best machinery, for the highest skill, for the most economical transportation, unless they can at the same time insure the continuous production from a contented laboring population. This they have it in their power to do. If the same spirit of sacrifice which has sent out our missionaries into every heathen land had been shown in the coal regions, and the same efforts had been made to establish and maintain the schoolhouse, the church, and, above all, the Sunday-school, which have borne such fruits elsewhere in this broad land; if the hospital for the sick and the comfortable refuge for the unfortunate had been carefully provided; if reading-rooms and night schools and rational places of amusement had from the outset been maintained for a growing and restless population, the coal regions to-day might have been a paradise on earth instead of a disgrace to civilization. And here it is that this new power of concentrated management can exert itself with sure and absolute success. The appropriation of a few cents a ton on the coal mined to the work of improving the moral and intellectual conditions of the miners and their families will, in time incredibly short, change the whole face of society in the coal regions."

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**MR. BAER TO SENATORS QUAY AND PENROSE.**

At a meeting with the Hon. M. S. Quay and the Hon. Boies Penrose, United States Senators from Pennsylvania, on September 3d, Mr. George F. Baer, president of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company, made the following statement:

"I recognize that it is your right and your duty as Senators, representing the great State of Pennsylvania, to do whatever can legitimately be done to end a strike that so seriously affects business and brings so much suffering to the women and children of the coal regions. The newspapers' story that I said 'the strike was a private affair, which did not concern the public,' is, like much of the stuff they make me say, a reckless fabrication. The issues involved are matters of great public concern. The price of coal to the manufacturers and the many thousand workingmen in the cities is just as important as the tariff, and there can be nothing of greater consequence to the people of this Commonwealth than the establishment of law and order in the coal regions, so that every man desiring to work shall be free and safe, 'none daring to molest him or make him afraid.'

THE MANAGEMENT OF BUSINESS BELONGS TO THE OWNERS.

"Now, what I have said is, that the management of business belongs to the owners. In the case of the coal companies the law casts the management and control on the directors and officers, whose responsibility is to their stockholders, to the State and to the public. The right of the stockholder is to have good management and a fair return on his investment. The obligation to the State is to conduct the business in strict conformity to the laws it has established. The duty to the public is, so far as practicable, to conduct the business so as to add to the common welfare.

"To make the application: The coal operators say that they cannot mine coal because the miners make demands which render it impossible to mine coal profitably, and that the State has enacted laws prohibiting the employment of men in the mines unless they have worked two years in anthracite mines, and therefore they cannot for the time being mine coal. How, then, under these circumstances, can there be any violation of public duty? If we yield to the extravagant demands of the miners we will lose money. If we attempt to increase the price of coal, we will destroy the industries depending upon anthracite fuel. If we increase the price on the domestic sizes we will be called robber-barons, oppressors of the poor, monopolists, and enemies of mankind. We have concluded, therefore, that our duty to ourselves and to the public will best be served by standing firmly on these propositions:

PROPOSITIONS OF THE OPERATORS.

**"1. That the wages paid in the anthracite coal regions are, compared with the wages paid in like employment, fair and just, and that men willing to work honestly can earn more money on the present basis of wages than in any other industry engaged in producing common articles of necessity in the United States.**

**"2. That wages cannot be increased without increasing the price of coal, and to increase the price of coal will restrict the market and drive the public to use bituminous coal, a cheaper and more abundant fuel, and that a restricted market will curtail production and result in depriving the miners of regular employment.**

**"3. That we are not fighting labor organizations. We fully recognize the right of men to organize to protect themselves from oppression and to benefit themselves in any legitimate way. But we do oppose their unreasonable interference with the discipline and ordinary management of our business. We will not permit them to select our employes. Neither politics, religion, nationality or membership in labor organizations shall debar any competent man from working for us. We are fighting the battle of freedom for the individual and his right to labor on his own terms.**

**"4. That it is by reason of varying conditions at each mine impracticable to adopt a uniform scale of wages for the whole region. But that at each**

colliery every complaint and grievance will be taken up and investigated by the superintendents, and adjusted whenever it is just. I personally offered to Mitchell and his district presidents to go with them and investigate any grievance.

NONE OF THESE CAN BE ARBITRATED.

"You see, Senators, none of these things can be the subject of arbitration.

"You cannot arbitrate a question of wages when an increase will destroy the business and a decrease will be unacceptable to the workmen. A free man cannot be compelled to work, and an owner, by the same rule, cannot be made to do business at a loss.

"We cannot arbitrate a question as to whether mining operation and business generally shall be managed under the common rules of law and equity, by the owners and the servants they have selected, or by a labor organization.

"You cannot arbitrate the right to select your own workmen.

"You cannot arbitrate the right to protect your property and your workmen from the mob rule of labor organizations, who boldly proclaim a purpose to destroy property and endeavor to make their proclamations effective by killing and injuring their fellow-workmen who refuse to join in their lawlessness. When John Mitchell ordered the engineers, firemen and pumpmen to desert their posts he knew that unless the operators could supply their places the mines would be destroyed, and with their destruction 140,000 men, with their wives and children dependent upon their labors, would be deprived of work for a long time.

"The operators were compelled to employ police at their own expense to guard the new men employed to man the pumps to save their mines. The whole power of Mitchell's organization was used to prevent pumping. The men at the mines are fed and lodged there, protected by armed guards. Each colliery is in a state of siege. The guards, and the law authorizing them, are denounced, and when private citizens like Beddall are murdered, the State authorities are denounced for sending troops to preserve the peace. To-day that gallant soldier, General Gobin, who fought with such distinction in our Civil War, and than whom no juster man lives, is bitterly maligned for protecting the property and lives of Pennsylvania citizens.

"Can such questions be arbitrated?

"In fact we had a series of conferences before the strike began, which were practically efforts to arbitrate.

THE TALK WITH THE CIVIC FEDERATION.

"You will recall that the Shamokin convention, which declared that none but union men should be permitted to work in the mines, invoked



the aid of the Civic Federation. At the request of the Civic Federation, the representatives of the coal operators met a committee of the Civic Federation, Mr. Mitchell, who is the head of the bituminous miners, and his three district presidents. One whole day was consumed in free and open discussion, and after this meeting we adjourned for thirty days, Mitchell agreeing to withdraw the order which had been issued to the men not to work more than three days per week after April 1st. At the expiration of thirty days we again met the Civic Federation, and Mr. Mitchell and his committee, together with a delegation representing the local mine organization, at which meeting there were twenty or more miners or mine workers. Every phase of the situation was fully and fairly discussed, and at the end of the discussion, at the request of the Civic Federation, a committee was appointed, consisting of Mitchell and his three district presidents (Messrs. Fahy, Duffy and Nicholls), and Messrs. Truesdale, Thomas and myself on the part of the operators. The distinct understanding, expressed in the resolution passed by the Civic Federation, was that the committee should report to the Civic Federation at a meeting thereafter to be called, and that no one should make public the result of the conferences prior to the assembling of the Civic Federation.

"We spent two whole days rediscussing the whole matter. We exhibited all the papers, and offered to produce all the books that would throw any light on the subject.

#### CONDITIONS IN THE COAL REGIONS INTOLERABLE.

"We told them that the conditions in the coal regions during the past year, since the Union had been organized there, were intolerable; that notwithstanding the adjustment of 1900, in which a general advance of 10 per cent. (which actually became 16 per cent. at the Reading collieries), from the first of April, 1901, to the first of April, 1902, there had been 102 strikes in mines operated by the coal companies alone, and we did not know how many among the private operators. We showed them that for some mysterious reason the miners only worked from four to six hours per day, and that when they had produced at the mines sufficient coal to earn about \$2.50 per day, they would quit work; that the product of the collieries had been reduced about 12½ per cent., and that in the case of the Reading Company it amounted to a loss of 1,000,000 tons. We produced the pay rolls to show the number of men employed, the average paid per day, and the classification of the men. These pay rolls showed that the lowest scale of wages was 85 cents for boy slate pickers. The average pay per day of all the men and boys—26,270 in all—employed by the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company amounted to \$1.89. We showed them that in 1899 the cost of labor in mining a ton of coal was

\$1.06, and the total cost of a ton of coal at the mines was \$1.58; that in 1900 the labor increased to \$1.12 per ton, and the total cost at mines to \$1.66, and that in 1901 the labor cost was \$1.26, and the total cost at the mines was \$1.82. For the ten months ending April 30, 1902, the labor was \$1.38, and the total cost \$1.99 per ton. It must be understood that this is the Reading Company's cost. The greater part of its output is from its own lands, held in fee; and the question of royalty paid on leased mines is, relatively, a small item.

#### BALANCE SHEETS ALSO PRODUCED.

"We also showed them the balance sheets of the different companies. To meet their assertion, that whilst the coal companies were not making money the transportation companies were, we showed that the three principal anthracite coal-carrying companies, the Reading, Lehigh Valley and Erie, had not paid dividends on their stock for years, and we went into full details on this subject.

"We produced the records showing the sales of coal.

"We showed them how that 40 per cent. of the anthracite coal is sold in the market below the cost of mining, because of the competition of bituminous coal. That steamboat coal is used almost exclusively in pig-iron furnaces, the price of which is regulated by the price of coke. That rice and smaller sizes of coal are sold as low as 41 cents per ton. Buckwheat and pea are sold at low prices—the highest price being \$1.65 for pea. This puts the whole burden of any advance in price on the 60 per cent. of our production, which consists of domestic sizes. All the other sizes must be sold in competition with bituminous coal, and they must be sold to enable us to compete with bituminous coal, or they cannot be sold. Any rise in the price of these sizes falls upon the workingmen and everybody who uses this coal, which is used primarily only for household purposes, and not for manufacturing. We told them that if we increased the price of coal the cry would be raised that the coal barons were oppressing the poor.

#### MEN WOULD NOT WORK.

"We explained to them how, in prior years, by reason of the over-production of anthracite, steady work had not been given the miners, but that during the past eighteen months the consumption of anthracite coal has so largely increased as to enable the market to take all that could be mined, and that the difficulty now was not in the market, but in the fact that, for reasons which we could not control, the men would not work as many days or hours as they should, nor mine as

many tons of coal per day as could be readily mined in a reasonable day's work, and thereby increase their daily pay.

CIVIC FEDERATION NEVER MET TO RECEIVE THE REPORT.

"For reasons satisfactory to the managers of the Civic Federation another meeting was never called to hear the report of the sub-committee appointed, and after we adjourned the United Mine Workers started the machinery of their organization in motion, and the strike followed.

"I have been informed on reliable authority that Mitchell and his committee earnestly opposed this strike, but that he had made so many promises that when the convention finally acted Mr. Mitchell's advice was not taken, and by a small majority a strike was ordered.

"Our final conclusion, gentlemen, is to repeat what has been said from the beginning, that when the men go back to work they will be paid the wages which were paid prior to the strike, and will be continued in accordance with the notice heretofore given; and if the men at each colliery go to work, every grievance or complaint which they may have shall be honestly and fairly considered and decided. We will not discharge any of the men who have taken the places of the strikers, neither will we discriminate against the men who have been in the strike, unless they have participated in the violence and crime which have prevailed since the strike began.

NO SURRENDER TO A LAWLESS ORGANIZATION.

"To make any other terms would be to surrender the management to an organization which has been lawless, and would lead to continued persecution by them of the men who have stood faithfully by us.

"You see, Senators, we have discussed this whole subject fully, and I have endeavored to show you that sound business management makes it impossible to increase wages. We know that the wages are fair and relatively high, and that if the leaders of the bituminous mine workers had not, for selfish purposes, invaded the anthracite fields, our men would have continued to work peaceably and contentedly.

"I regret that no other solution can be found, but you will see how impossible it is to overlook the controlling business conditions already pointed out."

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MR. MITCHELL'S REPLY TO MR. BAER.

At Wilkesbarre, Pa., on September 29th, Mr. Mitchell made public his answer to the statement of Mr. Baer. It was:

Wilkesbarre, Pa., September 29, 1902.

The recent utterances of Mr. Baer, spokesman of the anthracite coal trust; Mr. Hewitt and other interested persons, disclose a well-defined

purpose to confuse and cloud the real causes which resulted in the coal strike, and an attempt to divert attention from the actual issues involved; however misleading as are their utterances, it is a relief to know that they now admit that the public has rights and interests which cannot be ignored with impunity; and inasmuch as the public must be the final arbiter of the coal strike, it is imperative that it shall not be deceived by statements which are at variance with the facts.

With the purpose of correcting some of the false impressions and misrepresentations contained in the statements of the gentlemen referred to, I issue this letter. It is not my intention to point out the innumerable instances in which Mr. Baer has deceived in statement and allegation. His unsupported assertions that certain things are true cannot be accepted as final or conclusive, particularly in view of the fact that unquestioned authorities can be cited to prove him to be in error. Mr. Baer states "that the wages paid in the anthracite coal regions are, compared with the wages paid in like employment, fair and just." By "like employment" Mr. Baer must refer to bituminous coal mining. I am willing and prepared to demonstrate that wages in the bituminous coal fields are from 20 to 40 per cent. higher than those paid for similar classes of work in the anthracite fields.

#### BITUMINOUS WAGES HIGHER THAN ANTHRACITE.

The fact is that the minimum wages received by any class of adult mine workers in the soft coal mines is  $26\frac{1}{4}$  cents per hour, while the minimum wages paid to boys is  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents per hour; in the anthracite coal mines men performing precisely the same labor receive from 13 to 20 cents per hour, while boys are paid as low as 5 cents per hour and rarely receive to exceed 8 cents per hour. The bituminous miner works a maximum of eight hours per day, which is two hours less than men in the anthracite field are required to work; moreover, the anthracite mine worker labors under the further disadvantage of being more liable to be killed or injured, the casualties being 50 per cent. greater in the anthracite than in the bituminous mines.

There are other statements of Mr. Baer which are equally incorrect; among these is his assertion that "the miners only worked from four to six hours per day," and his further assertion "that the lowest scale of wages was 85 cents for boy slate pickers." If Mr. Baer desires I shall gladly furnish him with the names and addresses of thousands of slate pickers, each of whom received much less than 85 cents a day, and I shall be willing to have the returns verified by the companies' own pay rolls.

The next misstatement of Mr. Baer to which I shall give notice is that which claims that "for some mysterious reason" the miners restricted the

output of the mines. Mr. Baer claims "that in this manner the product of the collieries has been reduced about 12½ per cent. and that in the case of the Reading Company it amounted to more than 1,000,000 tons."

MR. BAER AGAIN CONTRADICTED.

This is vitally important if true; but it is not true. The fact is that instead of a loss of 1,000,000 tons there was an increase in the year 1901 from the mines operated by the Reading Company of 838,243 tons; and a total increase from all the anthracite mines of 9,000,000 tons. (See report of Pennsylvania State Bureau of Mines.) The output of coal in 1901 was far in excess of that of any year in the history of coal mining, and even a paper so avowedly and bitterly hostile to the Mine Workers' Union as the *Engineering and Mining Journal* admits that "virtually the only restriction on output was a shortage of cars." "This shortage," the *Journal* continues, "soon became marked," and "by the end of November the Reading collieries and those of some other companies were mining on short time." (Issue of January 4, 1902.)

Although his statement does not admit of any such construction, it is still possible that Mr. Baer refers to the per capita output; but even here he errs. A careful calculation of the per capita output from the Pennsylvania State Bureau of Mines shows that despite Mr. Baer's assertion that the miners worked only from four to six hours per day, despite the assertion that the men restricted the output, the per capita production in 1901, the year complained of, was greater than the per capita output for any single one of the thirty-one years of which we have record, from 1870 to 1900. In attempting to account for the increased tonnage the operators point to the installation of labor-saving machinery, which reduces the proportion of men and boys employed by the day. If we disregard all mine workers whose labor might be saved by such appliances and take simply the output per certified and employed miner, we find that the production per miner was 1,271 tons in 1897, 1,296 tons in 1898, 1,383 tons in 1899, 1,391 tons in 1900, while in the year 1901 it was 1,585 tons. I refer Mr. Baer to the annual reports of the Pennsylvania State Bureau of Mines, and ask if these figures do not refute the statement that organization in the coal mines is inimical to good workmanship.

MINERS' DEMANDS RESTATED AND INCREASED.

Since the very inception of this strike the aims, objects and ideals of the United Mine Workers of America have been willfully distorted by a small army of critics. We have been unjustly maligned and our motives and purposes maliciously impugned. We therefore take this opportunity to repeat specifically that we do not seek to interfere with the manage-

ment of the coal properties or with the proper discipline of the workers' force; but we do demand: **First, an increase in wages for men employed on piece work; second, a reduction in the hours of labor of men employed by the day; third, pay for a legal ton of coal; fourth, that the coal we mine should be honestly weighed and correctly recorded; and, fifth, we favor incorporating in the form of an agreement the wages that shall be paid and the conditions of employment that shall obtain for a specific period.** As to the reasonableness of these demands, we have proposed to submit to and abide by the award of an impartial board of arbitration.

#### LAWLESSNESS DENIED.

There could be no grosser perversion of truth than the assertion of the operators that the Mine Workers' Union is a lawless organization. During the past twenty weeks the whole power of the union has been exerted to preserve peace among a voluntarily idle population of three-quarters of a million; and it is a tribute to the activity of our officers and the loyalty and self-restraint of our members that we have been more successful in allaying violence than the coal and iron police in inciting it. Despite all our precautions we regret that occasional violence has resulted, but it would be as logical to charge any one of the religious, social or political organizations, or even the United States Government, with being an unlawful organization because some of its members transgress the law, as it is to charge the United Mine Workers of America with being an unlawful organization because some of its members violate the law. The officers of the union are as severe as the operators in their earnest condemnation of any and every act of violence upon the part of a striker; and no attempt has been made or will be made to condone any offence of this sort.

#### COAL AND IRON POLICE ACCUSED.

The public should be made aware, however, that the operators and a certain section of the press are by no means discriminating in the fixing of responsibility, and that crimes of violence are laid at the doors of strikers when the imported guardians of law and order, the armed coal and iron police, are clearly and unmistakably at fault; and I challenge the operators or their friends to point to one single utterance on their part in disapproval of the lawless actions of their hired guards. Some time ago the Bellevue washery at Scranton was destroyed by lightning. A reward was offered by the coal companies for the arrest and conviction of the person who set fire to the washery. This is an example of the manner in which the strikers are maligned.

Mr. Baer assumes that the pumpmen, engineers and firemen were called out so that "mines would be destroyed and with their destruction 140,000 men with their wives and children dependent upon their labors would be deprived of work for a long time." The truth is that the strike of the pumpmen, engineers and firemen was called in their own interest absolutely, and by their own request, and it was for the purpose of removing grievances against which they alone complained and against which some of them had inaugurated an independent, although unsuccessful, strike more than one year ago. The fact that several weeks elapsed between the strike of the miners and the independent strike of the pumpmen, engineers and firemen, and the further fact that the operators were given twelve days' official notice that the pumpmen, engineers and firemen would strike unless granted an eight-hour day, should convince Mr. Baer that the strike of these men did not originate in any desire on the part of the Mine Workers to deprive themselves of the source of their own livelihood. If the Mine Workers had sought the destruction of the mining properties they would have ordered the strike of steam men without giving the companies any notice at all.

#### AS TO MR. HEWITT'S ACCUSATIONS.

Similar accusations against the Mine Workers are made in a public utterance by Mr. Hewitt, in which that gentleman reveals his real feelings toward organized labor. I do not refer to his expressed fear that I shall become a "dictator," "in control of votes enough to decide the next Presidential election," or to his assertion that in this contest the allied coal presidents are fighting the battle of independent labor against the aggressions of the United Mine Workers in order that the individual workman may be employed upon terms satisfactory to himself. As an influential director of one of the coal roads Mr. Hewitt is undoubtedly aware that the companies are fighting to compel the workmen to accept employment under conditions satisfactory to the coal trust, and that the preservation of men's individual rights is simply a cloak under which they seek to destroy organization among their employes. He is undoubtedly in a position to know that membership in an organization was frowned upon by the mine managers and that specific instructions were issued from the general offices of the coal companies notifying some classes of workmen that they must either sever their connection with the union or surrender their positions. In fact, many of the local strikes which occurred in 1901 were in protest against the action of the companies which discriminated against and discharged union workmen because of their affiliation with the organization.

## MINES IDLE IN SPITE OF TROOPS.

In this strike it has been claimed by enemies of the union and believed by Mr. Hewitt, although acknowledging in himself "a recognized friend of trade organizations," that men were prevented from going to work through fear of bodily harm, and it was confidently predicted that the moment the militia came the strike would resolve itself into a stampede. The militia has been in Shenandoah for more than eight weeks, and still, for lack of mine workers, not a pound of coal has been produced in that vicinity. The militia is now stationed in the Panther Creek Valley, in Wilkesbarre and in Scranton, and yet its presence has not been followed by the desertion of a single miner who laid down his tools on the 12th day of May. On the contrary, many men brought here to take the places of the strikers have joined the ranks of the strikers since the arrival of the militia, and there is not the remotest possibility of the mines being successfully operated until an honorable and equitable settlement of the strike has been made.

Reverting to the demands of the miners for increased wages and improved environment, Mr. Baer claims that he cannot possibly pay an increase in wages that would amount to 10 or 15 cents per ton to the miners, but he and the allied presidents admit that they can afford to sacrifice, temporarily, a large market and lose millions of dollars rather than pay this increase; nevertheless, without advancing the miners' wages one cent, the operators did raise the market price last year from 30 to 50 cents per ton, and at the present time Mr. Baer and his fellow-presidents are forcing the public to pay from \$5 to \$10 excess upon a ton of coal in order to save this same public 10 or 15 cents.

Mr. Baer states that 40 per cent. of the coal produced is sold in the market below the cost of mining; but he fails to say that the larger portion of this 40 per cent. is made up of grades of coal for which the miners receive no compensation whatever. Indeed, up to a few years ago, or before the installation of washeries, the miners were docked for loading this very coal which brings small prices now in the market; and, according to Mr. Baer's process of reasoning, the miners should receive less wages for the larger grades because they mined the small sizes gratuitously.

## CALLS MR. BAER'S STATEMENTS MISLEADING.

I shall not enter elaborately into the question of cost, but shall merely say that Mr. Baer's statements are utterly misleading. The rise in wages in 1900 was more than counterbalanced by an increase in the cost of living which left the miner worse off than before. Mr. Baer claims that this advance of 10 per cent., which was paid the miners in 1900, cost the com-



panies more than 10 cents a ton; but this is at least problematical. In March, 1902, the *Engineering and Mining Journal* (see issue of March 29th) made a careful calculation in order "to show what effect the increase in wages last year had upon the cost of coal." As a result of this computation, based upon the figures of the Delaware & Hudson, the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western and the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, which cannot be accused of being either friendly or fair to us, states that "the conclusion to be drawn is that the resulting increase in cost was not large, in all probability not over five cents a ton at the outside."

#### ONLY \$1.01 PER DAY.

Mr. Baer claims that the average pay per working day in his mines is \$1.89. Admitting for the sake of argument the correctness of his figures, this would make, upon the average number of working days in 1901, a grand annual total of \$368 per employe, or an average of \$7.05 per week; thus, as a result of the strenuously opposed and bitterly regretted advance wrung from the operators by the strike of 1900, the average adult employe of the Reading Coal and Iron Company is permitted to spend upon himself, his wife and his children the munificent sum of \$1.01 per day.

In closing this statement I desire to say that we have entered and are conducting this struggle without malice and without bitterness; we believe that our antagonists are acting upon misrepresentation rather than in bad faith; we regard them not as enemies, but as opponents, and we strike in patience until they shall accede to our demands or submit to impartial arbitration the differences between us. We are striking, not to show our strength, but the justice of our cause, and we desire only the privilege of presenting our case to a fair tribunal. We ask not for favors, but for justice, and we appeal our case to the solemn judgment of the American people.

#### WEIGHTY QUESTIONS INVOLVED.

Involved in this fight are questions weightier than any question of dollars and cents. The present miner has had his day. He has been oppressed and ground down, but there is another generation coming up, a generation of little children prematurely doomed to the whirl of the mill and the noise and blackness of the breaker. It is for these little children we are fighting. We have not underestimated the strength of our opponents; we have not overestimated our own power of resistance. Accustomed always to live upon little, a little less is no unendurable hardship. It was with a quaking of hearts that we called for a strike; it was with

a quaking of hearts that we asked for our last pay envelope, but in the grimy, bruised hand of the miner was the little white hand of a child, a child like the children of the rich; and in the heart of the miner was the soul-rooted determination to starve to the last crust of bread and fight out the long, dreary battle to win a life for the child and secure for it a place in the world in keeping with advancing civilization.

JOHN MITCHELL,  
President United Mine Workers of America.

OPEN LETTER FROM MR. HEWITT TO MR. MITCHELL.

Dear Sir: In a brief note I acknowledged the receipt of your letter of September 12, and stated that as soon as I was relieved from the accumulation of correspondence due to my long absence, I would send a formal reply to your complaint that I had "assailed me (you) personally, and made charges that are without foundation in fact." You do me the justice to express the opinion that I would not make any assertions in regard to you and your actions which I did not believe to be true. In my previous note I assured you that I had never consciously, either in public or in private, impugned your personal character.

I have prepared a formal and somewhat exhaustive reply to your letter; but in view of your manifesto, which appeared in the papers of Monday last, in reply to Mr. Baer's statement and my Bar Harbor interview, asserting that these declarations "disclosed a well-defined purpose to confuse and cloud the real issues which resulted in the coal strike, and an attempt to divert attention from the actual issues involved," I have concluded to withhold the letter from the press, although it is at your service if you desire to see it. It will not be pleasant reading, and I do not wish to add one word which will tend to aggravate the present situation, already deplorable beyond endurance.

TOOK SIDES WITH NEITHER PARTY.

In your comments upon my Bar Harbor interview you have assumed that I am the champion of the operators and the opponent of the United Mine Workers. A greater mistake cannot be made. I did not take sides with either party to the controversy, but endeavored to show, from the point of view of a man who had devoted many years to the study of the relations of capital and labor, that the policy which you had adopted in the strike was contrary to the spirit and genius of American institutions, and that the operators could not treat with your organization without violating their obligation as trustees of the owners of the coal properties.

many thousands in number, and their duty as citizens of a free country. In this view I am glad to say that I am sustained by the weighty opinion of Bishop Talbot, whose sincerity and knowledge of the facts cannot be called in question. He has spoken the last word on the subject, and you cannot do better than act on the advice of this eminent prelate and recognized friend of the miners in his diocese.

REIGN OF TERROR MUST CEASE.

Whatever issues may have been originally involved in the unfortunate controversy culminating in the strike, I am satisfied that the time has passed when the public will pay any attention to any statements from you or Mr. Baer, or from me. The patience of the public is exhausted. They want coal, and not discussion and recrimination. They want the reign of terror which prevails in the anthracite region to cease, and to cease at once. They see that the operators are doing all in their power to reopen and work the mines. They see that you are doing all in your power to prevent the mines from being worked. They know that one word from you will end the strike, which has brought ruin to every interest and disgrace upon the American name.

Why do you not speak this word? You say that the miners' union does not object to working with non-union men. The operators say they do not object to the employment of union miners. Here, then, both sides are in accord. You say that the miners' union does not demand recognition. The operators say they will not recognize the miners' union. Here, again, there is an agreement between the parties.

MR. MITCHELL ALONE RESPONSIBLE FOR DELAY.

You say that the miners' union demands that the matters in dispute shall be submitted to arbitration. The operators say that they are ready, and always have been ready, to submit to arbitration any grievances with their own employes which cannot be settled by conference and conciliation. As to arbitration, then, there is no difference of opinion, unless you insist that the arbitrator on behalf of the miners shall be selected by the United Mine Workers, of which you are the president. If you take this ground you demand recognition of your organization by the operators, which you have heretofore disclaimed. Unless, therefore, you go back upon your open declaration as to recognition, there is no reason why the strike should not be called off at once. For any delay, with all its calamitous consequences, you alone will be responsible.

In your letter to me you say, "As far as the question of arbitration is concerned, I have never asked that I be a party to the arbitration of the questions at issue in the coal fields." And later you add, "The truth is that

if my personality stood in the way of an honorable settlement of the coal strike, I would willingly resign my position or withdraw from the contest."

MR. MITCHELL ASKED TO PROVE HIS SINCERITY.

In view, therefore, of the demonstration which I have made that there are no differences as to the employment of union and non-union labor, or as to the recognition of the miners' union, or as to the propriety of arbitration, and of your declaration that you will not let your personality stand in the way of a proper settlement, will you give the proof of your sincerity by taking immediate steps to call off the strike, and thus bring to an end the reign of violence, which must be as abhorrent to you as it is to every good citizen? Any delay on your part will simply place the responsibility upon your shoulders, but prompt action will certainly be gratefully acknowledged by the general public, whose patience is now exhausted, and who will no longer endure the interruption to work by violence, which will end only when the strike is called off or the authorities of Pennsylvania shall adopt the sternest measures of repression.

POSSIBLE COMPENSATION FOR THE STRIKE.

If, when the strike shall be over, the United Mine Workers could be induced to declare that they will never begin another strike or engage in a boycott, but will devote their energies and resources to the maintenance of industrial peace; and if the owners of the coal mines would undertake to devote a fixed royalty to the improvement of the social conditions under which the mines are operated, as I have advocated for the last twenty-five years, some compensation will accrue to the public for the vast losses in wages, in profits, in the interruption to business, caused by a contest which ought never to have existed and from which no one has profited but the owners and miners of soft coal. Yours truly,

ABRAM S. HEWITT.

New York, October 1, 1902.

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THE POSITION OF THE INDEPENDENT OPERATORS.

In all the statements which have gone forth concerning the attitude of the anthracite coal companies in the struggle with Mr. Mitchell's Mine Workers' Union, the individual operators have hardly been heard from. Naturally, the heavier interests of the great companies engaged in the coal business have overshadowed theirs in the public mind, yet the individual operators represent heavy investments, and produce many millions of tons of coal every year. Of these operators the firm of G. B. Markle & Co., the head of which is Mr. John Markle, is the largest.

This firm, moreover, is interesting from the fact that in 1900 it was for a long time the pivot on which the success or failure of Mr. Mitchell's efforts turned. It had had in existence since 1885 an agreement with the men in its employ providing for the settlement in an amicable way of all differences that arose. Furthermore, the firm had done much in the way of effort to elevate the men in its employ, and their families. Mr. Mitchell could not leave this uncaptured fort behind him in his campaign to capture the anthracite coal region, yet it was only by dint of a long siege, with the usual accompaniments of violence and intimidation that he at last succeeded in inducing the Markle men to repudiate their solemn pledge, throw to the winds that same principle of arbitration for which Mr. Mitchell is now contending, and join the Mitchell ranks.

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**STATEMENT BY MR. JOHN MARKLE.**

Mr. John Markle, in view of his representative standing among them, was asked what the position of the individual operators was in the present strike. He said:

You ask where the individual operator stands in this contest. I feel that as I have been a resident of the anthracite region, and an individual employer, since 1880, I may be better able to answer the question by first giving you a history of events leading up to the present labor troubles, and then answering the query propounded.

In as few words as possible I would like to refer to the history of the anthracite coal strike in 1900.

In 1899, John Mitchell, flushed with victory in the bituminous regions, came into the northern anthracite country (Scranton and Wilkesbarre) to organize the men working in the anthracite field as a part of the United Mine Workers of America, the organization that he had to a large extent built up in the bituminous fields of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and elsewhere.

As soon as Mr. Mitchell made his appearance, every coal operator in the anthracite region, with common instinct, and each in his own way, prepared to defend his property. The operators were not without experience of the evils to both employers and employes from the machinations of labor agitators, and Mr. Mitchell was recognized as one of the most dangerous of these professional disturbers of the industrial peace. The anticipated struggle was soon on, and Mr. Mitchell was reinforced by lieutenants thoroughly schooled in the bituminous region during the organizing there.

Every kind of inducement was presented to the anthracite workers to lead them to join the Mitchell organization. One special plea was this:

"HELP US THROTTLE CAPITAL."—MITCHELL.

"We already have the workmen in the bituminous regions of this country with us. Come, join us, and we can then throttle capital and bring it under our control under all conditions and circumstances, for we can then call out such a vast army of workers as will stop the wheels of industry throughout the country. The general public will not for a moment allow this condition to exist, and the operators will be forced to deal with us, the United Mine Workers, and recognize our authority."

This is the argument he used in private with the laboring men in the anthracite field. The story he told the public was very different. Turn to the files of the reputable papers of 1900, and there you will see the statements from him that he had come among the poor, downtrodden workmen to try to lift them to a higher plane than they had ever before occupied.

During this time each operator, in his own way, was fighting this fight, realizing that if Mitchellism accomplished anything on the grounds upon which he was working, the condition of affairs in the anthracite region, as far as labor was concerned, would become intolerable. Again I refer you to the files of the reputable press of this country, in which the history has been given of our position and our endeavors in this fight.

#### ARBITRATION AGREEMENT SIGNED.

In 1885 we had a local strike on our properties lasting three months. The strike was caused by two of our miners at one of our collieries, all the other employes going out in sympathy. Later the strike was declared off by the men, who returned to work without obtaining any concessions, after signing an agreement containing a clause whereby we and they agreed to settle differences that might arise by arbitration, such arbitration to be conducted in a specified way satisfactory to both. It was then our belief and hope, as well as that of our men, that this arrangement would prevent future difficulties.

In 1875 a sliding-scale basis of labor was agreed upon between the employers and employes of the Lehigh region, in which our mines are located. The compensation for the employes was based on the selling price of coal at tide. It covered not only the miners, but also the other classes of labor, save the breaker hands. So an agreement was drawn up with a specific sliding scale as part and parcel of it, together with the arbitration clause mentioned. All our employes signed this agreement before returning to work in 1885.

## THIS AGREEMENT BROKEN, BUT RENEWED.

In 1887 the professional agitator, with his lieutenants, came into the Lehigh region. The Knights of Labor was the name of the organization then, and Mr. T. V. Powderly was its president. They succeeded in the fall of 1887 in having our men break the agreement containing the arbitration clause, and induced them to quit work. The strike lasted six months, the men again returning without any of their demands being obtained. At the end of the strike we, still believing our men could be educated to the value of arbitration, insisted upon the same agreement being executed again, and all our employes again signed it before returning to work. This was in the spring of 1888.

From the spring of 1888 to the summer of 1897 no strikes took place in our region. No demands for arbitration were made. But in the summer of 1897 professional agitators again appeared, and succeeded in getting out the men in a large number of the collieries in the Lehigh region. They failed to get our men out. Our men stood by the agreement of 1888 and acted under it. A committee was appointed, grievances were presented to us, and ten days given to answer. At the end of the ten days we answered the specific grievances presented, reminding our men at the same time that if any of these answers were not satisfactory they had a right to demand arbitration. At this stage of the negotiation the rioting took place at Lattimer, a village a few miles from us, and as a result this strike was brought to an end. Our men dropped the arbitration at this stage of their own volition. During all the trouble in this region in 1897 they did not lose a single day's work.

## NO FURTHER TROUBLE UNTIL MR. MITCHELL CAME IN 1900.

Now we reach the time of the contest in 1900. John Mitchell arrived on our property on a Sunday afternoon, with a band of music, endeavoring to gather our men together to urge them to become members of the United Mine Workers of America. The great majority of our men paid no attention to him, but a day or two afterward they had a meeting and selected some of our oldest employes as a committee, who, again acting under their agreement, prepared a set of grievances, submitted the same, and gave us ten days in which to answer, they stating they would continue at work.

Mr. Mitchell evidently felt that the fight was now centering on our property. He made his headquarters at Hazleton, Pa., a few miles from our Jeddo and Highland collieries, and started in to win over or coerce our men into joining the United Mine Workers. When the committee came to me with the written statement of their grievances referred to, I

commended them for their honesty of purpose and loyalty to our arbitration agreement. I also reminded this committee that in case our answers were not satisfactory they could demand arbitration, and assured them that we would fulfill our part to the letter.

They reported back to our employes. In the meantime the professional agitator and his lieutenants were making inroads upon certain classes of our men. The committee were told by certain of our men, who had been won over by agitators, that the statements we had made to them were not correct. Some of the committee returned and gave me that information, and asked if I would be willing to meet all of our employes and make to them such a statement as I had made to this committee. I said I would be glad to do so.

John Mitchell was still arguing that we were insincere in offering to submit to arbitration; that if the men should submit to arbitration we would never allow our arbitrators to select the third man, and thereby would block the intent of the arbitration agreement. At this stage of the affair Father Phillips, a priest of Hazleton, who had been living there for years, was strongly advocating the advisability of our men living up to their contract. This was entirely of his own volition. I had not seen, communicated or conversed with Father Phillips in years.

**MR. MITCHELL CALLS THE OFFER OF ARBITRATION ONLY A BLUFF.**

One of Mr. John Mitchell's arguments with Father Phillips, as Father Phillips himself stated to me, was that this arbitration was nothing but a "bluff."

Father Phillips, before the time was up for us to answer our men, asked if I would agree to accept Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia as the third arbitrator, if it met with the approval of our employes, as the statement had been made that no third arbitrator could or would be agreed upon. He put the question squarely to me, and I at once answered by saying, "Unquestionably, if our employes are satisfied, I will now very gladly accept so eminent a man as Archbishop Ryan for the third arbitrator."

Next, chronologically, we reach September 19, 1900. On that day, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I was to address our workmen at the old Japan schoolhouse. In the meantime this committee of our men had sent out their own notices calling a meeting for the hour specified. Some of them called upon Father Phillips, asking him if he would not be present to re-iterate the statements that passed in the interview between himself and myself.

When the notice issued by our employes for the meeting got in the newspapers, Mr. Mitchell called a meeting at the old Japan schoolhouse.



the same place we had selected, one hour before the time of the meeting our men had arranged.

When I arrived at the schoolhouse there was a large audience assembled. John Mitchell was addressing them. He came there, as above explained, unsolicited, bringing with him anywhere from fifty to one hundred men, not of our employes. Many of our men were so indignant when I arrived that some of the more impetuous wanted to know whether they should not throw Mitchell off the platform. I replied: "Be patient, and hear what he has to say."

Of vital importance, in my judgment, in connection with the subject of arbitration, are the utterances of Mitchell in this speech. After all his positive assertions about our arbitration agreement not being bona fide, and after he had asked me, and I had agreed, to abide by the arbitrators' verdict, he said in pleading tones, addressing the audience:

MR. MITCHELL URGES BREAKING THE ARBITRATION AGREEMENT.

"I ask you for the sake of your downtrodden and struggling fellow-workmen, who do not enjoy such advantages as you possess, to go on strike and to help win their battle. The few must suffer for the many."

With dramatic effect he cited the case of an old woman who had protested against her son going on strike in some Western community, but who, nevertheless, by their persuasion had struck, and how she had suffered; and how, after the strike was won, that old woman, with tears in her eyes, came and thanked him, the modest Mr. Mitchell, for what he had done and was doing to ameliorate the conditions of the workmen.

When Mr. Mitchell had finished, his lieutenants moved a resolution of thanks for the address, and, further, that they all now adjourn and go home. The hooters brought along for the purpose, acting under instructions, at once began shouting, and tried to move the crowd away. But the trick did not work. Our men refused to be stampeded, and when I arrived on the platform they gave me a respectful hearing.

At the close of the little speech I made to them I told them that if there was any question as to whether or not we were sincere in our arbitration agreement, this was their opportunity to test us. Father Phillips followed me, telling the story of the interview that took place between us, and also cautioning them against breaking the solemn contract they had made. In substance he said that the greatest blow that they could give organized labor would be the breaking of this arbitration agreement. Our men continued to work.

### MEN IN FEAR OF BODILY HARM

Inroads on their ranks, however, were gradually being made by the professional agitators. Men daily went over to the United Mine Workers through such persuasion as I have mentioned, and by the same threats, intimidation and violence as exist to-day. Almost daily, rauding parties of several hundred men appeared upon our property, led by Mr. Mitchell's lieutenants, including the same Mother Jones who last year was paid something over \$1,800 out of the United Mine Workers' treasury for her services in promoting industrial warfare. Our collieries were working in a crippled condition, and continued to do so until the end of that strike. The committee that first came to me were so coerced by the professional agitators' so-called "persuasive measures," that the committee, being in fear of bodily harm, withdrew from active participation in the negotiations then pending between them and our firm.

Even this did not dishearten the loyal nucleus in the body of our employes who favored abiding by their solemnly pledged agreement. These men selected a new committee, but so great was the reign of terror then existing that they had to go clandestinely in a remote place in the woods to do it—had to skulk away like criminals or conspirators to exercise their right as free American citizens to carry out the provisions of a business compact that they had made.

### EMPLOYERS OFFER TO ARBITRATE, BUT MEN BREAK THE AGREEMENT.

When the ten days allowed for the answer had expired, I presented to them our answers to their grievances. They replied, asking for arbitration on all specific points on which we and they had failed to agree. This was in strict accordance with our arrangement. I asked them to select their arbitrator, and we would select ours. The committee withdrew, and when they came back it was to present me with a statement over their own signatures that the employes had broken their agreement and that there would be no further action in the matter.

While this condition of affairs was going on in our territory, Mr. Marcus A. Hanna, in co-operation with Mr. Mitchell, was endeavoring to obtain for the United Mine Workers concessions, and he finally succeeded. Mitchellism was victorious. Ten per cent. increase in wages was offered to the employes in the anthracite region by the corporations. Nothing remained for the individual operators save to follow suit. Work was resumed October 29, 1900. This success of Mitchellism invited every class of labor in the anthracite region—clerks, teamsters and barbers—to form labor unions. I believe the only class that to-day in this region is not under labor organizations is the household servants. One of Mr. Mitch-

ell's lieutenants, Mother Jones, even attempted to form such a union, but failed.

#### DISCIPLINE UNKNOWN SINCE THEN.

John Mitchell was placed on a pinnacle. The laborers of that section of the country believed he could now accomplish anything, and it was almost a matter of faith with them that it was only a question of time when they could sit idly by and do nothing but draw wages. It is unnecessary for me here to acquaint you with the fact, thoroughly known, of the number of strikes that have taken place from that date until the strike that we are now contesting. During that interval such a thing as discipline in the management of coal mining had been practically unknown.

It was a common experience among foremen throughout the region that when they gave an order, in very many instances not only was the order disobeyed, but the disobedience was emphasized by such remarks as "You go to hell. John Mitchell's my boss." In instance after instance, when the foreman insisted on his plain rights, and enforced the order, a strike was the result. It is wholly within the bounds of truth to say that from the time when the concessions of 1900 were granted there has existed in the anthracite coal regions a condition of anarchy in the management of the vast industries centered there. Mr. Mitchell himself has found the exact word which describes it—a condition that was "intolerable."

An experience on our property at this time was a mandate issued by the United Mine Workers that no United Mine Worker should work with a non-union workman. They, the United Mine Workers, have been endeavoring to force that situation on our property and on the properties of all other coal operators whom I have seen.

#### HONEST WORK IMPOSSIBLE.

I know of workmen, not only on our property, but on other properties, who have stated that a workman cannot do an honest day's work under the present condition of affairs, as the United Mine Workers will allow only so much to be done per day. Men have told other operators, as they have told me, that they pray that the operators stand firm in this contest, since otherwise honest and ambitious employes can no longer exist in the anthracite coal field.

Referring to a statement of President Baer of the Philadelphia & Reading, he says that from their experience since the strike in 1900 there is 12 or more per cent. less production per man in the mines since the 10 per cent. increase in wages was given them. Our own experience fully justifies this assertion.

You are, no doubt, acquainted with the correspondence, the meeting

of the Civic Federation and the attempts to bring about a settlement of the present difficulty between the presidents of the coal roads and the United Mine Workers.

Significant in this correspondence, and in the interviews between Mr. John Mitchell and the presidents of the coal roads, is the clause I desire to quote from a telegram that was sent to the presidents, dated Scranton, May 8, 1902, signed "John Mitchell, Chairman; T. D. Nicholls, Secretary":

**THE AGREEMENT BREAKER NOW PROPOSES ARBITRATION.**

"We propose that the industrial branch of the National Civic Federation select a committee of five persons to arbitrate and decide all or any of the questions in dispute, the award of such board of arbitration to be binding upon both parties, and effective for a period of one year."

This from the man who persuaded our workmen to violate the very principle of arbitration from which he now expects to profit.

The coal presidents having declined to comply with Mr. Mitchell's demands, the strike was declared. The collieries shut down on May 10th of this year. Mr. Mitchell's organization next notified the coal presidents that if their demands were not yielded to before Thursday, June 2d, the engineers, firemen and pumpmen would be called out. The demands were not conceded, and these employes were ordered to quit work.

Thus Mitchellism, by direct act of aggression, made possible the destruction of vast mining operations. Only by heroic measures on the part of the operators at their various properties were they able to save them from ruin. It will be interesting reading some day in the future to know how, and at what expense, the operators of the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania succeeded in keeping their properties, representing many millions of investments, from being virtually destroyed by this infamous order of Mr. Mitchell.

**THE THREAT OF A NATIONAL STRIKE OF COAL MINERS.**

Mr. Mitchell's organization's next step was a threat to call out the bituminous miners and stop the wheels of industry of this country. As it is only a short time ago that the meeting of the bituminous miners took place, it is unnecessary for me to call your attention to the fact that the bituminous miners did not go on strike. Why they did not you will have to answer.

The rest of the history is so vividly before the readers of the present day that it is unnecessary for me to go into any detail, other than to say that Mr. Mitchell's organized "persuasion" consists of a bludgeon in one hand, a dynamite bomb in the other, and a knife or revolver in the clothes.

In the *Sun* of September 4th is set forth a record of the intimidations, coercions, tyrannies and murders that have been committed so far.

Almost daily new promises have been made by the United Mine Workers and others to the deluded employes to prevent them from returning to work, which nobody knows better than Mr. Mitchell that the great majority are, and have been for weeks, anxious to do. Please remember that it is an absolute fact that the great majority of the employes would go to work to-day if they were not interfered with. Please remember as a fact that a small minority of men, controlled by these professional agitators, are holding back those who would go to work, not by persuasion, as we understand the word, but by intimidation, coercion and bodily injury.

Up to the present time Mr. Mitchell has not been able to accomplish any of the results he has undertaken, and he professes to be pining for arbitration—he who with cajoleries, threats and violence destroyed a system of arbitration under which employer and employe in the anthracite region had worked in harmony for years. And now latterly in his desperation threats have been thrown out calculated to intimidate politicians into interceding for his success.

Now I feel that I have very fully covered the whole situation. In view of the foregoing, need I state in many words where the individual operator stands in this contest? On the broad principle of the fundamental rights of American citizenship, he stands shoulder to shoulder with the corporations who control the anthracite coal properties, and in standing in that position he is fighting for you, Mr. Anthracite Consumer; for you, Mr. Honest Worker, and for you, Mr. Honest Employer; for you, Mr. Bondholder, and for you, Mr. Stockholder, in the whole anthracite region.

#### NO ARBITRATION WITH ANARCHISTS.

I believe that in 1900 we proved beyond question the impossibility of arbitration with such an organization as that represented by Mr. Mitchell—irresponsibility on the one side and responsibility on the other. I believe that you would not for a moment ask us to arbitrate with an organization that endeavored to destroy the property of the anthracite coal field, as did Mr. Mitchell's organization when it called out the men who were saving the mines from destruction by water. I claim there is not a whit of difference between that act and the act of the Anarchist who, with torch in hand, goes through a street to burn up buildings. Would you wish to arbitrate with that class of people? Or would you insist upon the upholding of the law? Are you ready to protect the inalienable right of man to sell his labor at what price and in what market he desires?

We are. Is it the welfare of the laboring man, or the advancement of Mr. John Mitchell, that Mr. Mitchell is seeking?

The whole drift and purport and aim of Mitchellism is to teach the man who is employed that his natural enemy is the man who gives him employment. And the corollary to this proposition is that the workman's best friend is the man who throws him out of employment by precipitating strikes.

I think, without too much egotism, I may say that on our property we had been for years endeavoring to better the condition of our employes, arbitration with such an organization as that represented by Mr. Mitchell and his Mine Workers' Union destroyed what it had taken so much time and patience to build up.

People in general have been wondering why they did not long ago become acquainted with the facts in this contest in the anthracite coal field. My answer is that the different political parties had to be convinced by developments that in this affair they could not afford to mix. That time has arrived.

I have no hesitation in saying that I am satisfied that no political party will attempt for a moment to interfere in the situation existing in the anthracite region.

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### PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT INTERVENES.

President Roosevelt began an effort to settle the strike on October 1 by sending the following telegrams:

White House, Washington, October 1, 1902.

George F. Baer, President Reading Railway System, Philadelphia; W. H. Truesdale, President Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company, No. 26 Exchange Place, New York, N. Y.; E. B. Thomas, Chairman of the Board, Erie Railroad Company, No. 21 Cortlandt Street, New York, N. Y.; Thomas P. Fowler, President New York, Ontario & Western Railway Company, No. 56 Beaver Street, New York, N. Y.; R. M. Olyphant, President Delaware & Hudson Company, New York; John Markle, No. 527 West Thirty-fourth Street, New York, N. Y.:

I should greatly like to see you on Friday next, October 3, at eleven o'clock A. M., here in Washington, in regard to the failure of the coal supply, which has become a matter of vital concern to the whole nation. I have sent a similar dispatch to Mr. John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

John Mitchell, President United Mine Workers of America, Wilkesbarre, Pa. :

I should greatly like to see you on Friday next, October 3, at eleven o'clock A. M., here in Washington, in regard to the failure of the coal supply, which has become a matter of vital concern to the whole nation. I have sent a similar dispatch to the presidents of the anthracite coal companies.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

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#### REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE.

The coal operators and Mr. Mitchell having accepted the invitation of the President, the conference suggested by him took place at the temporary White House in Washington on October 3.

The following abstract of the stenographic report of the coal strike conference was made public by Secretary Cortelyou :

The conference opened at 11 o'clock. The operators and representatives of the miners were presented to the President. Those in attendance were: George F. Baer, president of the Reading Railway system; W. H. Truesdale, president of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company; E. B. Thomas, chairman of board, Erie Railroad Company; Thomas P. Fowler, president of the New York, Ontario & Western Railway Company; David Willcox, vice-president and general counsel of the Delaware & Hudson Company; John Markle, representing the independent operators; John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America; Thomas D. Nicholls, Thomas Duffy, and John Fahy, district presidents of the United Mine Workers of America; Attorney-General Knox, Secretary Cortelyou, and Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor.

The President at the outset expressed his hearty thanks for their attendance, and stated that owing to his peculiar relations to the situation he felt that he should make to them a very careful statement of his position, and of his intentions in asking them to meet. The President's statement follows :

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#### STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

"I wish to call your attention to the fact that there are three parties affected by the situation in the anthracite trade—the operators, the miners, and the general public. I speak for neither the operators nor the miners, but for the general public. The questions at issue which led to the situation affect immediately the parties concerned—the operators and the miners; but the situation itself vitally affects the public.

"As long as there seemed to be a reasonable hope that these matters could be adjusted between the parties it did not seem proper for me to intervene in any way. I disclaim any right or duty to intervene in this way upon legal grounds, or upon any official relation that I bear to the situation; but the urgency, and the terrible nature of the catastrophe impending for a large portion of our people in the shape of a winter-fuel famine impel me, after much anxious thought, to believe that my duty requires me to use whatever influence I personally can bring to end a situation which has become literally intolerable.

#### URGES IMMEDIATE RESUMPTION.

"I wish to emphasize the character of the situation, and to say that its gravity is such that I am constrained urgently to insist that each one of you realize the heavy burden of responsibility upon him. We are upon the threshold of winter, with an already existing coal famine, the future terrors of which we can hardly yet appreciate. The evil possibilities are so far-reaching, so appalling, that it seems to me that you are not only justified in sinking, but required to sink, for the time being, any tenacity as to your respective claims in the matter at issue between you. In my judgment the situation imperatively requires that you meet upon the common plane of the necessities of the public.

"With all the earnestness there is in me I ask that there be an immediate resumption of operations in the coal mines in some such way as will, without a day's unnecessary delay, meet the crying needs of the people. I do not invite a discussion of your respective claims and positions. I appeal to your patriotism, to the spirit that sinks personal considerations and makes individual sacrifices for the general good."

#### MR. MITCHELL SUGGESTS ARBITRATION.

Upon the completion of the President's remarks Mr. Mitchell made a statement, as follows:

"Mr. President, I am much impressed with what you say. I am much impressed with the gravity of the situation. We feel that we are not responsible for this terrible state of affairs. We are willing to meet the gentlemen representing the coal operators to try to adjust our differences among ourselves. If we cannot adjust them that way, Mr. President, we are willing that you shall name a tribunal who shall determine the issues that have resulted in the strike, and if the gentlemen representing the operators will accept the award or decision of such a tribunal the miners will willingly accept it, even if it is against their claims."



## CONFERENCE TAKES A RECESS.

The President—Before considering what ought to be done, I think it only just to both of you—both sides—and desirable from my standpoint, that you should have time to consider what I have stated as to the reasons for my getting you together, and I shall trespass so far upon your good nature as to ask that this interview cease now, and that you come back at 3 o'clock. I should like you to think over what I have stated, not to decide now; but give it careful thought, and return at 3 o'clock.

The conference then adjourned until 3 o'clock.

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**MR. BAER'S STATEMENT.**

Upon reassembling at 3 o'clock Mr. Baer spoke as follows:

"Mr. President, do we understand you correctly that we will be expected to answer the proposition submitted by Mr. Mitchell this morning?"

The President—It will be a pleasure to me to hear any answer that you are willing to make.

Mr. Baer—I have prepared an answer.

Mr. Baer then read the following:

To the President of the United States:

We understand your anxiety is, forcibly expressed in the sentiment you read to us this morning, to bring about "an immediate resumption of operations in the coal mines in some such way as will, without a day's unnecessary delay, meet the crying needs of the people." We infer that you desired us to consider the offer of Mr. Mitchell, verbally made this morning, expressing and speaking for the United Mine Workers, to go back to work if you would appoint a commission to determine the questions at issue. You distinctly say that you "do not invite a discussion of your respective claims and positions;" but we assume that a statement of what is going on in the coal regions will not be irrelevant.

**LAWLESSNESS AND CRIME IN THE COAL REGIONS.**

We represent the owners of coal mines in Pennsylvania. There are from fifteen to twenty thousand men at work mining and preparing coal. They are abused, assaulted, injured and maltreated by the United Mine Workers. They can only work under the protection of armed guards. Thousands of other workmen are deterred from working by the intimidation, violence and crimes inaugurated by the United Mine Workers, over whom John Mitchell, whom you invited to meet us, is chief.

I need not picture the daily outrages committed by the members of

this organization. The "domestic tranquillity" which the Constitution declares is the chief object of government does not exist in the coal regions. There is a terrible reign of lawlessness and crime there. Only the lives and property of the members of the secret, oath-bound order, which declared that the locals should "have full power to suspend operations at collieries," until the non-union men joined their order, are safe. Every effort is made to prevent the mining of coal, and, when mined, Mitchell's men dynamite bridges and tracks, mob non-union men, and by all manner of violence try to prevent its shipment to relieve the public.

THE "PEACE OF THE LAW," NOT AN ARMED TRUCE, NEEDED.

The Constitution of Pennsylvania guarantees protection to life and property. In express terms it declares the right of possessing and defending property "to be inalienable." When riot and anarchy too great to be appeased by the civil power occur, the Governor of Pennsylvania is bound to call out the State troops to suppress it. He must fearlessly use the whole power of the State to protect life and property and to establish peace—not an armed truce, but the peace of the law, which protects every man at work and going to and from work. He has sent troops to the coal regions. Gradually the power of the law is asserting itself. Unless encouraged by false hopes, order will soon be restored, and then we can mine coal to meet the public wants. If the power of Pennsylvania is insufficient to re-establish the reign of law, the Constitution of the United States requires the President, when requested by the Legislature and the Governor, "to suppress domestic violence."

TO RESTORE THE MAJESTY OF THE LAW THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

You see, there is a lawful way to secure coal for the public. The duty of the hour is not to waste time negotiating with the fomenters of this anarchy and insolent defiance of law, but to do as was done in the War of the Rebellion—restore the majesty of law, the only guardian of a free people, and to re-establish order and peace at any cost. The Government is a contemptible failure if it can only protect the lives and property and secure the comfort of the people by compromising with the violators of law and the instigators of violence and crime. Just now it is more important to teach ignorant men dwelling among us, misled and used as tools by citizens of other States, that at whatever cost and inconvenience to the public, Pennsylvania will use the whole power of government to protect not only the man who wants to work, but his wife and children while he is at work, and to punish every man who by instigation or by overt acts attempts to deprive any man of his liberty to work.

MR. MITCHELL'S TERMS REJECTED—ARBITRATION OFFERED.

Under these conditions we decline to accept Mr. Mitchell's considerate offer to let us work on terms he names. He has no right to come from Illinois to dictate terms on the acceptance of which anarchy and crime shall cease in Pennsylvania. He must stop his people from killing, maiming and abusing Pennsylvania citizens and from destroying property. He must stop it because it is unlawful, and not because of any bargain with us. We will add to our offer "to continue the wages existing at the time of strike and to take up at each colliery and adjust any grievance" this further condition: If the employers and employes at any particular colliery cannot arrange a satisfactory adjustment of any alleged grievances, it shall be referred to the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of the district in which the colliery is situated, for final determination.

GEORGE F. BAER,  
President.

MR. MITCHELL'S STATEMENT.

Mr. Mitchell then made a statement as follows:

At the conference this morning we, the accredited representatives of the Anthracite Coal Mine Workers, were much impressed with the views you expressed, and the danger to the welfare of our country from a prolongation of the coal strike that you so clearly pointed out. Conscious of the responsibility resting upon us, conscious of our duty to society, conscious of our obligations to the 150,000 mine workers whom we have the honor to represent, we have, after most careful consideration, and with the hope of relieving the situation and averting the sufferings and hardships which would inevitably follow in the wake of a coal famine, decided to propose a resumption of coal mining upon the lines hereinafter suggested.

Before doing so, Mr. President, we desire to say that we are not prompted to suggest this course because of any doubts of the justice of our claims. In deferring to your wishes we are prompted by no fear on our part of our ability to continue the contest to a successful issue. Thanks to the generous assistance rendered us by our fellow-workers in this and other lands; thanks to a justice-loving American public, whose sympathies are always on the side of right, we are able to continue the struggle indefinitely.

A PRESIDENTIAL TRIBUNAL PROPOSED.

But, confident of our ability to demonstrate to any impartial tribunal the equity of our demands for higher wages and improved environment,

we propose that the issues culminating in this strike shall be referred to you and a tribunal of your own selection, and agree to accept your award upon all or any of the questions involved. If you will accept this responsibility, and the representatives of the coal operators will signify their willingness to have your decision incorporated in an agreement for not less than one year, or more than five years, as may be mutually determined between themselves and the anthracite coal mine workers, and will pay the scale of wages which you and the tribunal appointed by you shall award, we will immediately call a convention and recommend a resumption of work, upon the understanding that the wages which shall be paid are to go into effect from the day upon which work is resumed. Very respectfully yours,

JOHN MITCHELL,  
President U. M. W. of A.

THOMAS DUFFY,  
T. D. NICHOLLS,  
District Presidents, U. M. W. of A.

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#### MR. THOMAS'S STATEMENT,

Then Mr. Thomas submitted the following statement in behalf of the Erie Railway Company :

"No one can more fully realize the gravity of the situation, or the grave responsibilities resting upon them, than the men who for months have been seeking to protect the property under their charge, as well as the lives of loyal employes, from the attacks of misguided men, incited by people foreign to the State and to the industry we are seeking to defend. We are doing all in our power, and with increasing success, to mine coal. Mr. Mitchell and his lieutenants are doing all in their power to prevent it. We ask that such efforts cease, or, failing that, the State of Pennsylvania, and if she is unable, the powers of the United States, shall be exerted to afford full protection to employes, not only while at work, but to and from their homes, as well as to their families; and that the reign of terror, riots, intimidation and murder which for months has prevailed in the anthracite region shall cease.

#### ASKS THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAW.

"A record of twenty killed, over forty injured, and with constant and increasing destruction of dwellings, works, machinery and railroads by mob violence, with no proper enforcement of law or order by the proper officials, is not the time to act on Mr. Mitchell's suggestion of this morning to arbitrate with men not in our employ. There are over 17,000

loyal employes at work in and around the anthracite mines, and since this conference has been called, open threats are current in that region that such men will neither be permitted to work nor to live in that country. We are contending for the right of the American citizen to work without regard to creed, nationality or association. To seek to prevent this is a crime, and we cannot by implication sanction such a course. We ask the enforcement of law and order in the State, that we be permitted to deal with our employes free from foreign interference, convinced that under such conditions we can fully perform our full duty to the public, our owners, and to our employers. I fully concur in the suggestion of Mr. Baer, which can be pursued in case of failure to agree with our employes; but in many years of such dealing it has never yet been requisite to call in assistance to fairly and satisfactorily deal with our own men."

#### MR. MARKLE'S STATEMENT.

Mr. John Markle submitted the following:

Mr. President: I have listened with deep interest to the remarks that you made before us a few minutes after 11 o'clock this morning, and do thoroughly appreciate the seriousness of the situation in the anthracite coal field of Pennsylvania. As you disclaim any right or duty in this way to intervene in your official capacity, but are using your personal influence, and as you admit this matter is beyond the merits of the issue between the coal presidents and the operators on one side, and the miners on the other, and I now express the fact that the "situation has become literally intolerable," and as you further state: "The evil possibilities are so far-reaching, so appalling, that it seems to me that you are not only justified in sinking, but required to sink, for the time being, any tenacity as to your respective claims in the matter at issue between you. In my judgment the situation imperatively requires that you meet upon the common plane of the necessities of the public. With all the earnestness in me I ask that there be an immediate resumption of operations in the coal mines, in some such way as will, without a day's unnecessary delay, meet the crying needs of the public."

#### MANY ACTS OF VIOLENCE CITED.

I fully indorse these remarks from you, and as an American citizen, and a citizen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, I now ask you to perform the duties vested in you as the President of the United States, to at once squelch the anarchistic condition of affairs existing in the anthra-

cite coal regions by the strong arm of the military at your command. A record of twenty-one murders, a long list of brutal assaults, houses and bridges dynamited, daily acts of violence now taking place, and several washeries burned down, are actual evidences of this condition of lawlessness existing there. Are you asking us to deal with a set of outlaws? I can hardly conceive of such a thought. The respectable citizens of these United States will insist upon the officers in power giving to the citizens of Pennsylvania law and order, and the right to work if they so desire.

Mr. President, I represent the individual coal operators, and in addition thereto we represent far better than Mr. Mitchell does a majority of the anthracite coal workers, including some seventeen thousand men who are now working, endeavoring against great odds to relieve the public of the possibilities of a coal famine, in making this appeal of you. Mr. Mitchell's organization is a small minority of the total number of workers in the anthracite coal field, and he is holding a large majority by intimidation, coercion, and attempts at bodily harm. If you desire anthracite coal to be placed in the market quickly, take the necessary steps at once, and put the Federal troops in the field, and give to those desiring to work proper protection. By proper protection is meant that the men desiring to work shall not only be allowed to do so, but shall be protected while doing so—at their homes, while going to and from their work, and at the operations where they are employed; and, in addition to this, while the men are absent from their homes, at work, their families also be protected. You do this (the citizens of the United States whom I represent seem to feel that they have a right to ask this of you), and I will assure you that anthracite coal will be rapidly placed in the market to relieve the seriousness of the situation.

“EVERY KIND OF UNLAWFUL STEP.”

Please remember, Mr. President, that there is a large idle class of men now in the anthracite coal fields, taking every kind of unlawful step to prevent those who desire to work to relieve the situation in the anthracite coal market. Please remember that in the field now are only 3,000 National Guards. Please remember that the total National Guard of the State of Pennsylvania is only 10,000.

Mr. President, a condition exists, not a theory, in the anthracite coal fields, between a set of professional agitators and their co-workers on the one side (anarchistic in their acts), and the operators and a majority of the working men on the other, who are endeavoring to relieve the seriousness of the anthracite coal situation.

You, Mr. President, I believe, can relieve the situation at once. Will you do it?

### MR. TRUESDALE'S STATEMENT.

Mr. Truesdale made the following statement :

Mr. President: Representing the interests of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company, its board of managers, and its stockholders, permit me to say that, realizing fully the gravity of the situation as stated by you, and appreciating the burden of responsibility which this situation imposes upon us, we feel that our duty at this time, having in mind all existing conditions, is so plain and straightforward that we cannot possibly mistake it. As citizens of this country, as trustees of vast and important interests committed to our care by the thousands and tens of thousands of security holders, whose savings or legacies are invested in these properties, as men who have committed to them the interests of thousands of as loyal, true, faithful citizens and employes as ever marched to victory in support of right and freedom under the flag of this or any other country, but who, with their families, are to-day outcasts, hunted, hounded and driven almost to desperation, simply because they seek to exercise their plain, simple right and duty of working at their chosen avocation, or, as in many cases, of protecting and saving from destruction by fire, flood or dynamite the properties of other citizens, their employers, who are only endeavoring lawfully and peacefully to maintain possession of, to protect, and operate their properties, this duty is so unmistakably plain that "he who runs may read."

#### FIRST DUTY TO SUPPRESS LAWLESSNESS.

It is first and foremost our duty, and we take this occasion to state it and press it upon your consideration, and through you upon that of the authorities of the State of Pennsylvania, to insist upon it that the existing conditions of anarchy and lawlessness, of riot and rapine, a condition which has been raging with more or less violence throughout the anthracite regions during the past five months, be immediately and permanently suppressed. To this end we ask that the entire authority and power of the State of Pennsylvania, civil and military, and, if needs be, that of the United States Government as well, be exercised forthwith.

#### PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE UNION ASKED FOR.

Second.—We ask that the civil branch of the United States Government, taking cognizance of, and following the decision of its courts, rendered in litigation growing out of previous similar conditions, at once institute proceedings against the illegal organization known as the United Mine Workers' Association, its well-known officers, agents and members,

to enjoin and restrain permanently it and them from continuing this organization, and requiring them to desist immediately from conspiring, conniving, aiding or abetting the outlawry and intolerable conditions in the anthracite regions for which they, and they alone, are responsible. We are advised by our counsel that such civil action will lie on the part of the United States Government, as it is well known that United States statutes are daily being openly and grossly violated; that previous decisions of the courts justify fully such action being taken at this time, and that ample remedy can be given immediately and effectively for existing conditions.

We feel it our duty, Mr. President, to at this time urge that the protection of the laws of the United States be forthwith given our property and our employes, as suggested above. Can it be expected that those who are now daily flagrant violators of the laws, State and National, who have no respect for the rights of persons, property, order or good morals, will be bound by the decision of any commission or body of men which has no power or authority to compel compliance therewith? We know they will not be.

#### THE DUTY TO THOSE WHO ARE AT WORK.

Third.—Then, Mr. President, there is a great, pressing duty imposed upon us at this time to the thousands of true, loyal citizens of Pennsylvania, who have been lawfully pursuing their various avocations or professions under great difficulties, and who, with great sacrifice, have been abused, villified, boycotted, and in many cases almost ruined because they had manhood to raise their voices against the illegal acts and violences of this illegal organization and its officers and agents. No step can be taken by us, Mr. President, which can possibly result in placing these good citizens of Pennsylvania at the further mercy of this illegal organization, its officers and members. Think of it, Mr. President, physicians have been threatened and boycotted because they saw fit to minister to the dying children of some poor worker because he was exercising his God-given right to labor for his family, and to provide the wants of his dying child. Members of the clergy have been treated likewise for performing the offices of the dead to the member of a family of a non-union worker. The conditions there are simply indescribable, and it is hard to believe that they can possibly exist to the extent that they have anywhere in this free country.

#### THE DUTY TO THE BOYS AND YOUNG MEN.

Fourth.—Another duty, Mr. President, and we regard it as the most supreme: One-sixth of the membership of this illegal organization is



composed of young men and boys between the ages of 14 and 20, the future citizens and lawmakers of the great State of Pennsylvania. These young men and boys during the past two years have had their young, immature minds poisoned with the most dangerous, anarchistic, distorted, wicked views and errors concerning the rights of citizenship and property that any one can possibly conceive of; all taught the teachings and practice of the officers, organizers and apostles of the United Mine Workers' Association.

Mr. President, no adjustment of this matter can be thought of which by any possibility can result in further strengthening and fixing in the minds of this youthful element in the anthracite coal fields the belief that the teachings of this organization and its officers, with their acts and doings in support thereof, constitute the ethics and objects of American citizenship frequently referred to during the past week in proclamations issued in behalf of this illegal organization. The consequences that may result to the coming generation in the anthracite coal regions as the result of existing conditions there are fraught with the gravest dangers to the stability and perpetuity of this country and its institutions.

Fifth, and finally, Mr. President, as a plain citizen of these United States, looking at the whole question broadly, and with reference to its possible effect on our future welfare and prosperity, I think it my bounden duty to resist and combat with every power and faculty, both physical and mental, the avowed and evident object and purpose of this United Mine Workers' Association, as exemplified in the anthracite district of Pennsylvania to-day, and as taught and defended by its officers and other exponents of its well-known and so-called purposes and principles.

#### NOT AN ENEMY OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

Mr. President, I am no enemy of organized labor, when so organized as to promote the real interests of the laboring man, and when, in accomplishing this, lawful, legitimate methods are pursued. I do, however, oppose the Mine Workers' Association, because many of its avowed purposes are absolutely at variance with the spirit of our laws and institutions; because its officers and members are not content to be governed by the same laws and like administration thereof as other citizens of this country. As witness of this, see the conditions to-day in Pennsylvania, with the Mine Workers' Association in full control of the large body of its members, violating every principle of our Government and laws pointing to the rights of persons and property.

The same condition exists to-day in Tennessee and Alabama, where the members of this organization have but recently gone on a strike. This same condition existed in Kentucky for about two years, where this or-

ganization was in control, and where its members practised the same unlawful methods as are being followed in Pennsylvania to-day.

Mr. President, we firmly believe that any adjustment of this matter as has been suggested here to-day will only result in perpetuating a condition that is utterly abhorrent to any good American citizen, and most intolerable and damaging to the interests which I represent. We cannot, therefore, concur therein.

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#### MR. WILLCOX'S STATEMENT.

Mr. Willcox submitted this:

The United Mine Workers of America is an association composed of a large number of miners and laborers engaged throughout the country in mining anthracite and bituminous coal, and employed by the owners of mines. It has divided the whole country into various districts, each of which is represented by a so-called president, and embraces local unions, and it seeks to compel every one engaged in the industry to join the organization. The affairs of the association are managed by an executive committee having its headquarters at Indianapolis, and by conventions called from time to time representing the entire organization. The object and practice of the association are, so far as possible, to regulate the supply of labor engaged in the occupation of coal mining throughout the country, and the terms of employment thereof. It thus consists of one central organization, which restrains and controls the production of fuel everywhere throughout the country, and monopolizes the labor engaged therein. These are its purposes and results. Its ultimate object is to control the entire fuel supply of the country.

#### THE UNION A MONOPOLY.

At this hearing it is represented by one person, while six persons represent the part of the production of anthracite coal. It is therefore the most extensive combination and monopoly which the country has ever known. It habitually enforces its orders and directions by whatever means may be most effectual, including strikes, boycotts, picketing, besetting, and the like, not confined to its own members alone, but in which are compelled to join, as far as possible, all other persons similarly employed. Its violent methods have already received the condemnation of the Circuit Court of the United States (*Reinecke Co. vs. Wood*, 112 Fed. Rep., 478; *U. S. vs. Weber*, 114 Fed. Rep., 950; *United States vs. Haggerty*, Fed. Rep., 510).

In accordance with these objects, last May the United Mine Workers ordered a strike in the anthracite coal region, which extended to all the

workings therein. Since that time it has, so far as possible, forced all persons who are willing to work to cease doing so. Within a few days, one or more miners who had returned to work, having been formerly connected with the Mine Workers' Association, have been murdered by those acting in sympathy with the strike.

These facts show that the Mine Workers' Association is not within the rules regarding ordinary local labor organizations. On the contrary, the association and all of its members constitute a combination or conspiracy not only at common law, but also in restraint of trade and commerce among the several States, and also an attempt to monopolize the labor necessary in supplying coal found in one State to the markets of other States, and thus to monopolize this part of the commerce among the several States.

#### SUCH A COMBINATION UNLAWFUL.

The action had by the said United Mine Workers has greatly injured the interstate business originating in the anthracite coal fields. The courts have already many times held that such a combination is unlawful within the act of Congress of July 2, 1890, passed for the purpose of preventing restraints of interstate commerce, and known as the Sherman Act (United States vs. Coucil, 54 Fed. Rep., 994; 157 Fed. Rep., 85; Thomas vs. Cincinnati Company, 62 Fed. Rep., 802, 803; United States vs. Agler, 62 Fed. Rep., 824; United States vs. Elliot, 62 Fed. Rep., 801; 64 Fed. Rep., 27; Arthur vs. Oakes, 63 Fed. Rep., 310; in re Debs, 64 Fed. Rep., 724; Affd. 158, United States, 564, 600; United States vs. Transmissouri Association, 166 United States, 280, 343, 356). In addition, the Circuit Court of the United States for the Western District of Virginia, on March 5th, held that this identical, this Mine Workers' Association, was illegal (United States vs. Weber, 114 Fed. Rep., 950).

The case comes clearly within the Debs case. That was an effort to organize a universal association of railroad employes covering the country, for the purpose of controlling interstate commerce. The Government instituted suit by injunction, and when the injunction was disobeyed, enforced the same by the use of the United States Army. This quickly disposed of the matter, and the action of the Government was upheld by the courts (in re Debs, 64 Fed. Rep., 724, affd. 158, U. S., 564, 600).

#### PROCEED AS IN THE DEBS CASE.

The true course for the National Government is therefore to proceed in accordance with the precedent in the Debs case. These considerations were called to the attention of the President and the Attorney-General last June. The anthracite coal companies are making every effort to mine coal

as rapidly as possible. They are obstructed by the failure of the State authorities to fully protect those who desire to work for them, and by the failure of the National Government to enforce the statute under which the Mine Workers' Association has been already held to be illegal. As soon as action of that sort is effectively taken there can be no doubt that the supply of coal will be ample.

The question at present is merely whether an unlawful association shall be permitted in this country, by means which are illegal, to decide who shall be allowed to work, what shall be his hours of work, and what he shall be paid. This is contrary to the spirit and the letter of our laws. If they are enforced, such an effort will cease at once.

While the United Mine Workers have been endeavoring ever since the strike began to prevent the production of coal, the operators have been actively seeking to increase the same, and are now actually producing about 15 per cent. of the normal output. This company now has about 1,000 men engaged in the business. The production is steadily increasing, and the rate of increase would have been more rapid but for the failure of the State and National governments to protect the lives and liberty and property of those desiring to work for the operators, and to protect the operators from the onslaught of this illegal combination to restrain and monopolize the entire coal supply of the country. If the functions of government in this regard were efficiently discharged, production would be rapid enough to supply all necessities.

#### SERIOUS QUESTIONS FUNDAMENTALLY INVOLVED.

Grave as are the matters mentioned in the President's memorandum, the questions fundamentally involved are even more serious. They are whether freedom of life and property is to continue in this country, or is to exist merely in accordance with the will of combinations and conspiracies which are prohibited by the Constitution and the statutes and the common law, and whether this company's faithful employes are to be delivered to the destruction which surely awaits them in case of the triumph of the Mine Workers' Association. This company respectfully and earnestly urges upon the President the use of his lawful powers in the premises which was made in the Debs case by one of his predecessors, and which was sustained by all the courts. If the National Government would now enforce the law with equal promptness, the strike would end next week.

The representative of the United Mine Workers has now stated that its members are willing to return to work, and he has frequently said that he did not demand official recognition of the union, notwithstanding that the Shamokin convention of March last resolved that the employment of

non-union men should be a cause for striking. The condition of returning to work which he makes is that a commission be appointed by the President to investigate existing conditions, and that the mine workers and the operators agree to abide by its recommendations. The personnel of such a commission is uncertain; its action would be without authority of law or precedent, and it would be without knowledge of the varying conditions in the different collieries and regions. This company has no power to commit the welfare and existence of the property to such uncertainties. Moreover, as already pointed out, the Mine Workers' Association is an illegal body, and has no lawful control over its members. This is shown by the fact that after the settlement of 1900 local strikes were more numerous than ever, and that its representative is now constantly counseling against violence, while, nevertheless, outrages and murders are of constant occurrence. He must, therefore, be powerless, or insincere, and any assurances as to the future would be without value.

#### RENEWED OFFER OF ARBITRATION.

In order, however, that this company may be under no charge of unwillingness to endeavor in good faith to remedy any grievances which may exist upon the part of its employes at its several collieries, it is willing that the same shall be ultimately passed upon by the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of the State of Pennsylvania for the district where the collieries are situated. These are the local officers of the law, having knowledge of the facts. It is willing, therefore, in case of a resumption of work, to add to its notice already posted a provision to that effect, similar to that in Mr. Baer's statement. This would be as follows:

"If the employer and employes of any particular colliery cannot reach a satisfactory adjustment of any alleged grievance, it shall be referred to the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of the district in which the colliery is situated, for final determination."

#### MR. MITCHELL'S SECOND STATEMENT.

The President asked Mr. Mitchell if he had anything further to say. Mr. Mitchell said:

"The charge by the gentlemen that twenty murders have been committed in the anthracite coal regions during the present strike is untrue. If they will name the men, and will show that they have committed the murders, I will resign my position. That is a fair proposition, Mr. President, a fair example of how our organization and our people are maligned. The truth of the matter is, as far as I know, there have been seven deaths, unfortunately. No one regrets them more than I do. Three of them were

committed by the coal and iron police, and no one else has been charged with them. God knows the miners do not escape being charged with everything done there. They speak about burnings. There was a reward offered for burnings. I can bring affidavits of a hundred people, if necessary, that lightning caused one burning that they charged to the United Mine Workers.

"Mr. President, I have admitted on more than one occasion that there has been some lawlessness, but I will say that a large portion of such lawlessness has been provoked by criminals who have been brought into the anthracite regions to recruit the coal and iron police.

"I want to say, Mr. President, that I feel very keenly the attacks made upon me and my people, but I came here with the intention of doing nothing and saying nothing that would affect the reconciliation."

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#### MR. FOWLER'S STATEMENT.

Mr. Fowler asked permission to submit later a statement of his views in behalf of the New York, Ontario & Western Railroad Company, which was as follows:

To the President:

I beg leave to state that I fully concur in the statements submitted at this time by the gentlemen whom you have invited to be present at this morning's conference. I, however, ask leave to present my views more fully at a later day, and hope to have in your hands early next week a statement presenting in some detail the serious situation and conditions prevailing throughout the anthracite coal regions at the present time.

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#### MR. MITCHELL'S PROPOSITION REJECTED.

The President then asked the representatives of the anthracite companies whether they would accept Mr. Mitchell's proposition. They answered "No," and in response to a further question from the President said that they would have no dealings whatever with Mr. Mitchell looking toward a settlement of the question at issue, and that they had no other proposition to make, save what was contained in the statement of President Baer, which was that if any man chose to resume work, and had a difficulty with his employer, they would both leave the settlement of the question to the Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of the district in which the mine was located.

At about 5 o'clock the conference was brought to a close without agreement.

### PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S PROPOSITION TO MR. MITCHELL.

On Monday, October 6th, the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, went to Philadelphia, and gave to Mr. John Mitchell the following from the President:

"If Mr. Mitchell will secure the immediate return to work of the miners in the anthracite regions, the President will at once appoint a commission to investigate thoroughly into all the matters at issue between the operators and miners, and will do all within his power to obtain a settlement of those questions in accordance with the report of the commission."

Mr. Wright returned to Washington and reported to the President that Mr. Mitchell had taken this proposition under advisement.

### MR. MITCHELL'S CALL TO THE STRIKERS.

Before this proposition had been delivered to Mr. Mitchell, he issued on October 6th, the following statement:

To District Secretaries and All Mine Workers in the Anthracite Field:

You have no doubt read in the papers the proceedings of the conference at the White House last Friday, in which your officers proposed an immediate resumption of work if the operators would agree with us to refer the questions at issue in the strike to the decision of the President of the United States and a tribunal named by him. You have noted the reply of the presidents of the coal-carrying roads, in which they responded to our overtures by denouncing your union, its members and officers in the most vehement and malicious manner possible. They also declared that a large majority of the strikers would return to work if given military protection, and they demanded that the President send United States troops to the coal field.

#### MASS MEETINGS ORDERED TO DENY OPERATORS' STATEMENTS.

In order to demonstrate to the people of our country that the statements of the operators are unfounded and that the mine workers are law-abiding citizens, the officers of all local unions should call mass meetings of all men on strike, union and non-union, such meetings to be held in each mining town at 2 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, October 8th.

We know that the mine workers are not restrained from going to work by fear of bodily harm, and if this is the sentiment prevailing at the meetings, resolutions should be adopted emphatically declaring the statements of the operators to be untrue. We also advise that acts of lawlessness by the coal and iron police and by strikers be denounced and the services of members of the union tendered the local authorities to preserve law and order.

**STRIKERS WARNED NOT TO COMMIT OVERT ACTS.**

Great care should be exercised that those on strike do not permit themselves to be provoked by the coal and iron police into the commission of overt acts. The operators, failing to break the strike and deprive you of your well-earned victory, are now attempting to array public sympathy against you by making false claim that a reign of terror exists in the coal fields. Be steadfast and true while this struggle for living wages and American conditions of employment is going on, and we have no hesitancy in saying that victory will be achieved in the not distant future. The heart of the nation beats in sympathy with you and all good citizens favor your cause.

Do not fail to have resolutions drafted in plain, temperate language; telegraph them at our expense to President Mitchell's headquarters immediately upon the adjournment of meetings.

JOHN MITCHELL, President U. M. W. of A.  
 T. D. NICHOLLS, President District 1.  
 THOMAS DUFFY, President District 7.  
 JOHN FAHY, President District 9.

**MR. MITCHELL'S CALL ANSWERED.**

In response to this call meetings were held by the various locals at which resolutions were adopted in conformity to his request, and declaring the intention of the miners to remain out until all their demands were granted.

**MR. MITCHELL REJECTS THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSITION.**

Mr. Mitchell's reply to the proposition of President Roosevelt was made in the following letter:

Office National President United Mine Workers of America.  
 John Mitchell, National President; Second Vice-President American Federation of Labor.

Hotel Hart, Wilkesbarre, Pa., October 8, 1902.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir: Hon. Carroll D. Wright has no doubt reported to you the delivery of your message to me last Monday and my statement to him that I should take your suggestion under advisement, although I do not look upon it with favor. Since that time I have consulted with our district presidents, who concur fully in my views.



We desire to assure you again that we feel keenly the responsibility of our position and the gravity of the situation, and it would give us great pleasure to take any action which would bring this coal strike to an end in a manner that would safeguard the interests of our constituents.

In proposing that there be an immediate resumption of coal mining upon the conditions we suggested in the conference at the White House we believed that we had gone more than half-way and had met your wishes. It is unnecessary in this letter to refer to the malicious assault made upon us in the response of the coal operators. We feel confident that you must have been impressed with the fairness of our proposition and the insincerity of those who maligned us.

Having in mind our experience with the coal operators in the past, we have no reason to feel any degree of confidence in their willingness to do us justice in the future; and, inasmuch as they have refused to accept the decision of a tribunal selected by you, and inasmuch as there is no law through which you could enforce the findings of the commission you suggest, we respectfully decline to advise our people to return to work simply upon the hope that the coal operators might be induced or forced to comply with the recommendations of your commission.

As stated above, we believe that we went more than half way in our proposal at Washington, and we do not feel that we should be asked to make further sacrifice. We appreciate your solicitude for the people of our country, who are now and will be subjected to great suffering and inconvenience by a prolongation of the coal strike, and we feel that the onus of this terrible state of affairs should be placed upon the side which has refused to defer to fair and impartial investigation.

I am, respectfully,

JOHN MITCHELL,  
President U. M. W. of A.

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### PENNSYLVANIA TROOPS ORDERED OUT.

A riot occurred in Shenandoah, Pa., on the evening of July 30, in which one man was killed and several were wounded. That night Sheriff Beddall sent the following telegram:

POTTSVILLE, Pa., July 30, 1902.

*William A. Stone, Governor, and Adjutant-General T. J. Stewart, Harrisburg, Pa.:*

Bloodshed and riot in this county, property destroyed, citizens killed and injured; situation beyond my control; troops should be sent Shenandoah immediately.

S. ROWLAND BEDDALL, Sheriff.

In response to this request two regiments of the Third brigade, Pennsylvania National Guard, were ordered out that same night, and took the field with a troop of cavalry.

Gov. Stone, on October 6, issued the following order calling out the entire Pennsylvania National Guard :

“MOB LAW REIGNS.”

GENERAL ORDERS.—In certain portions of the counties of Luzerne, Schuylkill, Carbon, Lackawanna, Susquehanna, Northumberland and Columbia, tumults and riots frequently occur and mob law reigns. Men who desire to work have been beaten and driven away and their families threatened. Railroad trains have been delayed, stoned and the tracks torn up. The civil authorities are unable to maintain order and have called upon the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard for troops. The situation grows more serious each day. The territory mentioned is so extensive that the troops now on duty are insufficient to prevent all disorder. The presence of the entire division of the National Guard of Pennsylvania is necessary in these counties to maintain the public peace. The Major-General commanding will place the entire division on duty distributing them in such locations as will render them most effective for preserving the public peace. As tumults, riots, mobs and disorder usually occur when men have attempted to work in and about the coal mines, he will see that all men who desire to work and their families have ample military protection. He will protect all trains and other property from unlawful interference; will arrest all persons engaging in acts of violence and intimidation and hold them under guard until their release will not endanger the public peace; will see that threats, intimidation, assaults and all acts of violence cease at once. The public peace and good order will be preserved upon all occasions and throughout the several counties, and no interference whatever will be permitted with officers and men in the discharge of their duties under this order. The dignity and authority of the State must be maintained and her power to suppress all lawlessness within her borders be asserted. By order of William A. Stone, Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

THOMAS J. STEWART,  
Adjutant-General.

## OPERATORS PROPOSE A COMMISSION—THE STRIKE ENDED.

On October 13th the coal operators issued the following address to the public:

The managers of the different coal properties in the anthracite coal fields who join herein wish their position in the present strike to be understood, and therefore make the following statement of facts:

There are in the anthracite regions about seventy-five operating companies and firms, and 147,000 miners and workmen (of whom 30,000 are under age), comprising some twenty nationalities and dialects. Of these workmen possibly one-half belong to the United Mine Workers' Union, of which Mr. John Mitchell is president. That organization was originally formed in the bituminous coal region, and three-fourths of its members are miners of bituminous coal, and bituminous coal is sold in active competition with anthracite coal. The remaining workmen in the anthracite fields belong to no union whatever.

### HISTORY OF THE STRIKE.

The present strike was declared by the Mine Workers' Union on May 10, 1902. Since that time many workmen not belonging to or not willing to follow that organization have been working in and about the mines. From seventeen to twenty thousand are now at work, and many more have wished to work, but have been prevented by a course of violence and intimidation toward those working, and toward their families, accompanied by the destruction of property, and the fear of death or bodily harm to every man who wishes to exercise his right to work.

### THE REIGN OF TERROR.

A schedule is being prepared, and will be annexed hereto, showing some of the things done to create this reign of terror, and every instance stated can be verified by reference to the officers of the law, civil and military, in the anthracite region. This violence has continued and steadily increased, notwithstanding repeated disavowals by Mr. Mitchell, and it is clear that he either cannot, or will not, prevent it, and that the rights of the other workmen cannot be protected under the supremacy of the Mine Workers' Union.

### FAIR AND FULL WAGES.

The coal companies believe that the wages paid in the coal regions are fair and full, and all that the business in its normal condition has been able to stand, if the capital invested is to have any reasonable return. The profits have been small, several of the companies have become bankrupt,

and have been reorganized several times. Several have never paid dividends, and the dividends of the others have been a small return for the capital invested. It is not, however, the purpose of this statement to discuss this question.

#### WILLING TO ACCEPT FAIR ARBITRATION.

The undersigned are not, and never have been, unwilling to submit all questions between them and their workmen to any fair tribunal for decision. They are not willing to enter into arbitration with the Mine Workers' Union, an organization chiefly composed of men in a rival and competitive interest, and they are not willing to make any arrangement which will not secure to the men now working, and all now or hereafter wishing to work, whether they belong to the Mine Workers' Union or not, the right and opportunity to work in safety, and without personal insult or bodily harm to themselves or their families. For these reasons the arbitrations heretofore proposed have been declined.

#### OFFER OF OCTOBER 3D REAFFIRMED.

It will be remembered that at the conference in Washington, October 3d, we made the following offer: That we would take up at each colliery any alleged grievance, and consider it fairly, and adjust it, if it proved to be a grievance, and in the event of a failure to make a satisfactory adjustment, the questions at issue to be submitted to the final decision of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of the district in which the colliery is located. This offer was made by us in good faith, and we desire here to reaffirm it.

#### THE NEED OF COAL.

The coal companies realize that the urgent public need of coal, and the apprehension of an inadequate supply for the approaching winter, call for an earnest effort to reach a practical conclusion which will result in an increased supply, and the presidents of the companies desire to make every effort to that end which does not involve the abandonment of the interests committed to their care, and of the men who are working and seeking to work in their mines. This responsibility they must bear and meet as best they can.

#### THE OPERATORS' POSITION.

They, therefore, restate their position:

**That they are not discriminating against the United Mine Workers, but they insist that the Miners' Union shall not discriminate against, or refuse to work with, non-union men; that there shall be no restriction or**

**deterioration in quantity or quality of work, and that owing to the varying physical condition of the anthracite mines, each colliery is a problem by itself.**

#### A COMMISSION SUGGESTED.

We suggest that a commission be appointed by the President of the United States (if he is willing to perform that public service), to whom shall be referred all questions at issue between the respective companies and their own employes, whether they belong to a union or not, and the decision of that commission shall be accepted by us.

#### CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMISSION.

The commission to be constituted as follows :

1. An officer in the Engineer Corps of either the military or naval service of the United States.
2. An expert mining engineer experienced in the mining of coal and other minerals, and not in any way connected with coal-mining properties, either anthracite or bituminous.
3. One of the judges of the United States Courts of the eastern districts of Pennsylvania.
4. A man of prominence, eminent as a sociologist.
5. A man who by active participation in mining and selling anthracite coal is familiar with the physical and commercial features of the business.

#### WHAT IS ASKED OF THE STRIKERS.

It being the understanding that immediately upon the constitution of such commission, in order that idleness and non-production may cease instantly, the miners will return to work, and cease all interference with, and persecution of, any non-union men who are working or shall hereafter work.

The findings of this commission shall fix the date when the same shall be effective, and shall govern the conditions of employment between

the respective companies and their own employes for a term of at least three years.

GEORGE F. BAER,

President Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Company, Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, Temple Iron Company.

E. B. THOMAS,

Chairman Pennsylvania Coal Company, Hillside Coal and Iron Company.

W. H. TRUESDALE,

President Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company.

T. P. FOWLER,

President Scranton Coal Company, Elkhill Coal and Iron Company.

R. M. OLYPHANT,

President Delaware & Hudson Company.

ALFRED WALTER,

President Lehigh Valley Coal Company.

October 13, 1902.

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#### APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMISSION.

The following statement was issued from the White House on October 16th:

After a conference with Mr. Mitchell, and some further conference with representatives of the coal operators, the President has appointed the following members of the commission to inquire into, consider and pass upon all questions at issue between the operators and miners in the anthracite coal fields:

Brigadier-General John M. Wilson, U. S. A., retired (late Chief of Engineers, U. S. A.), Washington, D. C., as an officer of the Engineer Corps of either the military or naval service of the United States.

E. W. Parker, Washington, D. C., as an expert mining engineer. Mr. Parker is chief statistician of the coal division of the United States Geological Survey, and the editor of the *Engineering and Mining Journal* of New York.

Judge Gray, Wilmington, Del., as a Judge of a United States Court.

E. E. Clark, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Grand Chief of the Order of Railway Conductors, as a sociologist, the President assuming for the purposes of such a commission that the term sociologist means a man who has thought and studied deeply on social questions and has practically applied his knowledge.

Thomas H. Watkins, Scranton, Pa., as a man practically acquainted with the mining and selling of coal.

Bishop John L. Spalding, of Peoria, Ill. The President has added Bishop Spalding's name to the commission.

Carroll D. Wright has been appointed Recorder of the commission.

Subsequently Mr. Wright was made a member of the commission with the same standing as the others.

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**MR. MITCHELL ACCEPTS THE COMMISSION.**

Wilkesbarre, Pa., Oct. 16, 1902.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your telegram of October 16th, which reads as follows:

"I have appointed as commissioners, Brig.-Gen. John M. Wilson, Mr. E. W. Parker, Judge George Gray, Mr. E. E. Clark, Mr. Thomas H. Watkins and Bishop John L. Spalding, with the Hon. Carroll D. Wright as Recorder. These names are accepted by the operators, and I now most earnestly ask and urge that the miners likewise accept this commission. It is a matter of vital concern to all our people, and especially to those in our great cities who are least well off, that the mining of coal should be resumed without a day's unnecessary delay."

**MR. MITCHELL REPLIES TO THE PRESIDENT'S NOTIFICATION.**

Replying thereto, I beg to inform you that your recommendations were submitted to the members of the Executive Boards of Districts 1, 7 and 9, United Mine Workers of America, and they have unanimously agreed to call a delegate convention to be held next Monday, and will recommend to the convention that all men now on strike return to the positions and working places formerly occupied by them, and submit to the commission appointed by you all questions at issue between the operators and mine workers of the anthracite coal fields.

In connection with this subject we are glad to know that the managers of the coal companies have decided to recede from the untenable position which they so long occupied and to accept a modified proposition for the arbitration of the coal strike, and to give you full latitude in the selection of a commission. It will be remembered that we proposed on October 3d to place the whole matter in your hands and to accept the verdict of a tribunal of your own selection. It will also be remembered that the company managers at that time refused to accept the arbitrament of the President of the United States, and preferred that of the local Common Pleas judges. We proposed to leave everything to you, without

condition or reservation, having the utmost faith in your impartiality and good judgment.

OPPOSED AT FIRST, BUT NOW AGREE.

In their refusal to accept your arbitrament the operators sought to hold you in part accountable for the very conditions which you were trying to remedy, and to instruct you as to your duties concerning them. Eight days later they again appeared before you, dropping the Common Pleas judges, and proposing to abide by the verdict of a tribunal appointed by you, but attempting to prescribe within fixed and narrow limits the character and vocation of the men you were to name. To this proposition, as the operators made it, we were unalterably opposed, first, because our respect for you as a man, and our ideas as to what is due to the dignity of your office, demanded that we should not be a party to a request of you to accept this great responsibility accompanied by detailed and impertinent restrictions as to the manner in which you should meet it; second, because careful analysis of their proposition disclosed to us, as it did to you and the public, that the restrictions were too narrow to enable you to secure under them a well-balanced and thoroughly impartial tribunal.

But now that you have yourself removed these objections by broadening and strengthening the commission, we feel confident that our convention will declare its willingness to have all questions between the employing companies and the 95 per cent. of their employes who are members of our organization determined by the board of eminent and impartial men chosen by you.

GRATEFUL TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

We feel grateful to you, Mr. President, for the patriotic efforts which you have made to bring about an honorable settlement of the strike—efforts which you continued despite the remarkable spirit and conduct which you at first found in the company managers. We were in a position to sympathize with you, inasmuch as we had long been forced to endure arrogance, insult and false witness from the same source. Our gratitude is due to you and to the American people, and the press, who have supported you and us in the long struggle which we hope is now about to close.

During all these long months, in which our motives have been impugned and our characters maliciously assailed, we have refrained from saying any word or taking any action which would tend to render reconciliation more difficult; but now it becomes a duty to defend ourselves against the slanders which have been heaped upon us, and to proclaim that we have from the first favored practically the method which is now employed to break the deadlock.



If our proffer of arbitration or impartial investigation had been accepted six months ago instead of now, there need have been no strike. We have been so eager, Mr. President, to respond to the people's demand for coal that during the progress of the strike we have more than once offered arbitration, but we have invariably been met with the reply, "We will not permit outsiders to dictate to us in the management of our affairs. We have nothing to arbitrate."

Now that the managers of the companies have been compelled by you and a thoroughly aroused public conscience to recede from this position, we are proud that the firmness and the heroic endurance of our men and women in support of their rights and of a vital American principle have won the victory.

The poor, underpaid mine workers of these coal regions, who toil hard from early morning until late at night for a livelihood, nobly supported by organized labor in this and other lands, have taught these corporation managers a useful lesson in civic and social duty. We exult over this tribute to the dignity of labor because it is the triumph of right and of good public policy.

"THEIR INABILITY TO OPERATE WITHOUT OUR CONSENT."

We do not, however, exult over our opponents; we appeal to them now, as we have from the first, to turn their eyes to the future, and to co-operate with us in an effort to establish better relations between employer and employe for the advantage of both.

We forgive them their arrogant refusal to deal with us, and in this hour, when they are forced to acknowledge their inability to operate their mines without our consent and co-operation, we hold out the right hand of friendship, and ask them to join with us in securing amicable relations and wholesome conditions in this region. We forgive them even the false accusations which they have made against us. They charged us with being criminals, rioters and anarchists, and our organization they denounced as "lawless and irresponsible." They know, and did know, that their charges were untrue and without foundation in fact; they know that every officer of the United Mine Workers of America, from the president down, has constantly urged upon its membership the imperative need of respecting the law; that "every man who commits a deed of violence is an enemy to our cause" has been our watchword.

"THERE HAVE BEEN A FEW CRIMES."

Despite these admonitions, supported with all our influence, there have been a few crimes and a number of misdemeanors chargeable to those on strike. But, Mr. President, we make the unqualified declaration

that the imported guardians of law and order, the companies' coal and iron police, have committed more unprovoked murders during this strike than can be charged to the great army of men who have been in idleness for the past five months. We have repeatedly, and in language not susceptible of misconstruction, condemned transgressions of the law on the part of those on strike, and we challenge the coal companies to point to one public utterance on their part in which they have even deprecated acts of violence committed by their hired guards.

We declare that it was unfair and unmanly for the coal-road operators to insult us while we were your guests, and to charge our organization with responsibility for acts of lawlessness during the strike. It would be just as logical to charge the American army in the Philippines with being an army of murderers, torturers and robbers because a few crimes were committed by soldiers there. Until the millennium there will be crimes in every community, and human nature is the same, no better and no worse, among the half-million people dependent upon us in the coal fields as it is everywhere in our country.

“THE PRETENSE OF THE OPERATORS.”

The pretense of the operators that they were unable to produce coal because intimidation kept from work men who were willing to work has been proved false by the fact that the protection which they demanded has decreased rather than increased the number of men mining coal. A hundred thousand troops could not have enabled the operators to start their mines, for the simple reason that the men who work them are members of the United Mine Workers of America, men who were determined to stand to the last for their rights to organize, and through their organization to demand better wages and improved conditions of employment. Deprivation, misrepresentation, and troops together were not sufficient to drive them into surrender. They stood shoulder to shoulder to the very last.

The operators declared that they would have nothing to do with the United Mine Workers of America, but they have found it necessary to recognize the power of the United Mine Workers of America through you, Mr. President, and to seek terms of peace which will enable them to resume their business of mining and selling coal. The recognition of our strength thus forced upon the operators by stern necessity we exult over, not in any narrow spirit, but because we believe it marks a forward step to a new era. Upon the foundations laid through war we are ready to join with them in building for better conditions and a long and lasting peace. The United Mine Workers of America, since its organization in the anthracite field, has constantly sought to establish:

## AIMS OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS.

First, fair wages and just conditions of labor, conditions just to both operators and miners. We have never made demands beyond the ability of the industry to pay on a basis of equitable division of profits between labor and capital.

Second, amicable relations between employers and employes, the latter speaking through their organization, and their organization aiding the companies in maintaining discipline, adjusting all difficulties by conciliatory methods, averting local strikes and lockouts, and securing stable and satisfactory conditions to the industry. Our organization, by the same methods which we have proposed here, has secured just such relations and just such results in the soft coal fields of the country. Organization, like an individual, must stand upon what it has done and the life it has lived. We invite scrutiny and investigation of our record and character. In the soft coal fields we have joint conferences with the operators, and with them we adjust differences, we sign joint agreements, together we preserve discipline, settle disputes, and maintain harmony and stability in the trade.

We have asked the anthracite operators to inquire of the soft coal operators how well they are pleased with their business relations with us, whether or not we keep agreements and render satisfactory service for wages paid to our members. One business man might thus learn of another what is the character of our organization. Many soft coal operators have publicly declared that they would not dispense with our co-operation, and would deem it a disaster if compelled to get back to the chaotic conditions which existed when their labor was unorganized. Upon our past record we are willing to stand or fall.

## TIME AND AGAIN HAVE ASKED RECOGNITION.

We have, time and time again, invited the anthracite operators to adopt these business methods, and to deal with us on this basis. Despite repeated rebuffs, we persisted, but they resented any attempt upon our part to organize their employes; they refused our overtures for amicable discussion and a possible satisfactory adjustment of wage differences in joint conference. They refused to have any dealings with their employes except as individuals; they refused concessions and refused arbitration; they put their backs against the wall of prejudice and their faces arbitrarily against progress; they thought themselves stronger than the great union principle which is making such strides throughout the world; that while combining their corporations, and pooling their interests in hard

and fast alliance, they could deny the men who worked for them the right to organize and speak through their organization.

When the inevitable conflict came on, they attempted to justify themselves upon the false plea that ours is an irresponsible organization; when we demonstrated our responsibility and reliability they then asserted that we were a lawless organization which was dominating by violence. When society attempted to interfere to settle the strike they declared their divinely appointed right to be let alone. When representatives of National and State governments tried to mediate, they resented such "meddling by politicians." But, thanks to you, Mr. President, and to the power of public opinion, they have been brought to a realization of the fact that the interests and welfare of the American people cannot be ignored with impunity.

By the eminent tribunal which you have named we have confidence that justice will be done our people. We are glad to have a chance to appear before such a court empowered to consider and dispose of all questions at issue. First among these is the demand of the mine workers for increased wages and a reduction in the hours of labor; second, is the relations which ought to exist between the employers and the organization which the men have formed, and which they authorize to speak for them.

From this arbitration we hope and believe will come a complete, satisfactory, and permanent solution of the troubles which have vexed the anthracite field from time immemorial. Respectfully yours,

JOHN MITCHELL,

President United Mine Workers of America.

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#### **MINERS' CONVENTION VOTES TO RETURN TO WORK.**

The convention called by Mr. Mitchell assembled at Wilkesbarre on October 20, and on the following day, after long discussion, voted unanimously to return to work on Thursday, October 23. Mr. Mitchell notified President Roosevelt of this action in the following telegram:

We, the representatives of the employes of the various coal companies engaged in operating mines in the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania, in convention assembled, having under consideration your telegram of October 15, 1902, addressed to John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America, which reads as follows:

"I have appointed as commissioners Brig.-Gen. John M. Wilson, E. W. Parker, Judge Gray, E. E. Clark, Thomas H. Watkins, Bishop J. L. Spalding, with Carroll D. Wright as recorder. These names are accepted by the operators, and I now earnestly ask and urge that the miners likewise accept this commission. It is a matter of vital concern to all our

people, and especially to those in our great cities who are least well off, that the mining of coal should be resumed without a moment's unnecessary delay."

We have decided to accept the proposition therein embodied and submit all questions at issue between the operators and mine workers of the anthracite coal region for adjustment to the commission which you have named.

In pursuance of that decision we shall report for work on Thursday morning, October 23, in the positions and working places occupied by us prior to the inauguration of the strike.

We have authorized John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America, with such assistants as he may select, to represent us in all hearings before the committee.

**MR. MITCHELL NOTIFIES MINERS TO RETURN TO WORK.**

Upon the adjournment of this convention Mr. Mitchell issued the following order:

To all Miners and Mine Workers in the Anthracite Region:

Gentlemen: You are hereby officially notified that it was unanimously decided to-day by the delegates attending the special convention that all mine workers should report for work Thursday morning, October 23, and that the issues which culminated in the strike should be referred for adjustment to the commission appointed by the President of the United States. We are authorized by the executive officers of Districts 1, 7 and 9 to caution all those who resume work to exercise more than usual care in order that accidents to life and limb may be averted. Owing to the condition of the mines after an idleness of five months, there will be great danger when work is resumed. We are prompted to offer this advice by the fact that at the close of the strike two years ago many more accidents and deaths occurred than take place when the mines are operating regularly.

JOHN MITCHELL, President U. M. W. of A.  
W. B. WILSON, Secretary-Treasurer.

**THE PRESIDENT'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMISSION.**

The members of the Strike Arbitration Commission appointed by President Roosevelt met at the White House on October 24th. The President presented to them their instructions, as follows:

White House, Washington, October 23, 1902.

To the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission:

Gentlemen—At the request, both of the operators and of the miners, I have appointed you a commission to inquire into, consider, and pass upon

the questions in controversy in connection with the strike in the anthracite region, and the causes out of which the controversy arose. By the action you recommend, which the parties in interest have in advance consented to abide by, you will endeavor to establish the relations between the employers and the wage workers in the anthracite fields on a just and permanent basis, and, as far as possible, to do away with any causes for the recurrence of such difficulties as those which you have been called in to settle. I submit to you herewith the published statement of the operators, following which I named you as the members of the commission; Mr. Wright being named as Recorder; also the letter from Mr. Mitchell. I appointed Mr. Mosely and Mr. Neill as assistants to the Recorder.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

## DEMANDS OF THE MINE WORKERS AS PRESENTED TO THE COMMISSION AND REPLIES OF THE OPERATORS.

### IN THE MATTER OF THE ARBITRATION BETWEEN THE OPERATORS AND MINE WORKERS OF THE ANTHRACITE COAL REGION.

#### TO THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE COMMISSION :

The mine workers make of the operators the following demands, which were formulated by the Shamokin convention held March 18th to 24th, and for the enforcement of which the strike was inaugurated.

First. An increase of 20 per cent. upon the prices paid during the year 1901 to employees performing contract or piece work.

This demand is made on account of the following reasons :

(1) The present rate of wages is much lower than the rate of wages paid in the bituminous coal fields for substantially similar work.

(2) The present rate of wages is lower than is paid in other occupations requiring equal skill and training.

(3) The average annual earnings in the anthracite coal fields are much less than the average annual earnings in the bituminous coal fields for substantially similar work.

(4) The average annual earnings in the anthracite coal fields are much less than the average annual earnings for occupations requiring equal skill and training.

(5) The rate of wages in the anthracite coal fields is insufficient to compensate the mine workers in view of the dangerous character of the occupation, in relation to accidents, the liability to serious and permanent disease, the high death rate and the short trade life incident to this employment.

(6) The annual earnings of the mine workers are insufficient to maintain the American standard of living.

(7) The increased cost of living has made it impossible to maintain a fair standard of life upon the basis of present wages and has not only prevented the mine workers from securing any benefit from increased prosperity, but has made their condition poorer on account of it.

(8) The wages of the anthracite mine workers are so low that their children are prematurely forced into the breakers and mills instead of being supported and educated upon the earnings of their parents.

(9) Wages are below the fair and just earnings of mine workers in this industry.

Second. A reduction of 20 per cent. in hours of labor without any reduction of earnings for all employees paid by the hour, day or week.

The second demand is similar to the first in that it is designed to increase the hourly rate of wages of mine workers employed by the hour, day or week, and all the reasons applicable to the first demand are asked to be applied to the second without repetition.

In addition thereto we submit the following:

(10) The ten-hour day is detrimental to the health, life, safety and well-being of the mine workers.

(11) Shorter hours improve the physical, mental and moral condition of the workers.

(12) Shorter hours increase the intensity and efficiency of labor.

(13) The tendency of National and State governments, of organized trades and of production generally is toward shorter hours.

(14) A working day of eight hours is sufficiently long for the best interests of the workingmen and of the community.

Third. The adoption of a system by which coal shall be weighed and paid for by weight wherever practicable; the minimum rate per ton to be 60 cents for a legal ton of 2,240 pounds; the differentials now existing at the various mines to be maintained.

This demand is made on account of the following reasons:

(1) Measurement by the legal ton wherever practicable is the only honest and just system of measuring the earnings of the mine workers.

(2) When the operators sell or transport coal it is on the basis of a legal ton of 2,240 pounds.

(3) The excessive ton was originally intended to compensate the operator for the weight of the small sizes of coal which were then discarded but which are now utilized and sold and therefore there is no present necessity for the use of any other than the legal ton.

(4) The adoption of this system would remove an incentive, both to the operator and the worker, to cheating and dishonesty, and would allay jealousy among the miners and prevent unjust discrimination and favoritism.

(5) The change of the present system to the one asked for would prove a strong factor in allaying suspicion and discontent amongst the mine workers.



Fourth. The incorporation in an agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and the anthracite coal companies of the wages which shall be paid and the conditions of employment which shall obtain, together with satisfactory methods for the adjustment of grievances which may arise from time to time, to the end that strikes and lockouts may be unnecessary.

In support of this demand we submit the following reasons:

(1) The anthracite mine workers should not be compelled to make or sign individual agreements, but should have the right to form such organization and choose such agents and officers as they desire to act collectively instead of individually whenever they deem that their best interests are subserved thereby.

(2) Agreements between employers and employees through workingmen's organizations are the ordinary method of regulating production and wages in the bituminous coal fields and in other large industries, and are beneficial, successful and in keeping with the spirit of the times.

(3) Unions of workingmen tend to better discipline of the men and to the improvement of their physical, moral and mental condition, and to the preservation of friendly relations between employer and employee.

(4) Experience shows that the trade agreement is the only effective method by which it is possible to regulate questions arising between employers and employed in large industries, and that a trade agreement is the only possible way "to establish the relations between employers and the wage workers in the anthracite fields on a just and permanent basis and as far as possible to do away with any causes for the recurrence of such difficulties as those you (the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission) have been called in to settle."

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN MITCHELL,  
Representative of the Anthracite Mine Workers.

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**BEFORE THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE COMMISSION.**

ANSWER OF THE PENNSYLVANIA COAL COMPANY TO THE STATEMENT OF DEMANDS OF THAT PORTION OF ITS EMPLOYEES WHO ARE REPRESENTED BEFORE THE COMMISSION BY MR. JOHN MITCHELL.

First. Answering the first demand for an increase of 20 per cent. upon the prices paid during the year 1901 to employees performing contract or piece work, and the reasons set forth in said statement in support of such demand:

1. It denies that its present rate of wages is lower, or that the average earnings of its employees are less than the rate of wages paid to, and the average annual earnings of, employees in the bituminous coal fields for substantially similar work. There is a great dissimilarity between anthracite and bituminous mining, and the conditions and character of the work in any one part of the anthracite field differ so materially from those of work in other portions of the anthracite field and in the bituminous field that there is, and can be, no uniformity in the rate of wages paid for contract or piece work, and the wages paid in one field cannot be taken as a standard in fixing a wage scale in any part of the other.

2. It denies that its present rate of wages is lower, or that the average annual earnings of its employees are less than the rate of wages paid to, and the average annual earnings of, employees in other occupations requiring equal skill and training.

3. It denies that the rate of wages paid to its employees is insufficient to compensate the mine workers in view of the character of the occupation and conditions, or that the conditions of labor in its mines are such as to expose its employees to extraordinary hazards or liability to permanent disease, or to unusually early death, as compared with many other employments requiring equal skill and training, and in which lower rates of wages prevail. A large proportion of the accidents in the mines are due to the carelessness of the men, and not to the character of the employment, as is shown by the annual reports of the Mine Inspectors of the several anthracite districts made to the Pennsylvania Bureau of Mines.

4. It denies that the annual earnings of its mine workers are insufficient to maintain the American standard of living. In so far as a satisfactory American standard is not maintained, the failure to do so is due to a voluntary limitation established by the men themselves. Large numbers of its employees are not American citizens, and many have no knowledge of or desire to conform themselves to American standards of living. The wages paid by this Company are sufficient to enable its employees, if they so desire, to maintain a standard of living fully equal to that adopted by other wage workers in employments requiring equal skill and training.

5. It denies that the increased cost of living has made it impossible for its employees to maintain a fair standard of life upon the basis of present wages; or that the mine workers have been prevented thereby from securing benefits from increased prosperity. While this Company fixes the contract rate per unit of weight, the daily and annual earnings are the product of this rate multiplied by the term of work performed by the miner. The latter factor is not within the control of this Company, but is restricted by the refusal of the miner to work more than six hours per

day when in the mines, or to work at all on many of the days when opportunity is afforded. Every miner can increase his annual earnings by working more steadily. In spite of this self-limitation of earnings the communities made up of the mine employees of this Company were, until the intervention of the United Mine Workers Organization and the inauguration of the recent strike, as prosperous as industrial communities of like size throughout the United States, and with those disturbing causes removed will become so again. This is evidenced by the large and growing individual deposits in the savings banks, State and National banks in such communities; the investments in homes and building associations, the self-supporting churches, and the standards of living maintained in those communities.

6. It denies that the wages of its anthracite wage earners are so low that their children are prematurely forced into the breakers and mills instead of being supported and educated upon the earnings of their parents. The employment of persons under the age of twenty-one is regulated by the Laws of Pennsylvania, and no person is employed by this Company who is under the statutory age. The State of Pennsylvania has annually expended large sums of money for the education of children, and for the furnishing of free text-books, and has enacted laws for compulsory attendance at its schools. This Company has paid large amounts by way of taxation for these purposes. Such of its employees as are industrious, thrifty and economical always have been able to comfortably maintain and educate their children. Where the children of its employees are set at work by their parents at an age when, although beyond the compulsory school age they should be attending school, it is usually due to the desire of the parents and not to the conditions of their employment.

7. It denies that the wages of its employees are below the fair and just earnings of mine workers of this industry.

During the long period of depression prior to 1900 it did not reduce the rates of wages which had been adopted many years before when the average selling price of coal was greater than at the present time, but continued the same rates in order that its employees should not be distressed by the depressed conditions then prevailing. In October, 1900, it advanced the wages of all its contract employees to an amount which averaged from 10 to 14 per cent. upon the rates previously paid. These increased rates have been continued ever since, and by notices posted at its collieries March, 1902, were continued until April 1, 1903, and thereafter subject to sixty days' notice.

It believes that its employees were satisfied and content with the rates of wages so paid, and that the strike inaugurated in May last was contrary to the wishes and desires of a large majority of its employees who would

have preferred to continue in their employment at the wages which they were then, and are now, receiving, but were forced into the strike by the votes of other mine workers in no way connected with this Company.

The wages paid to its employees are reasonable, just and adequate, and are much higher per hour of actual work than are paid in other employments requiring similar skill and training, and if they would avail themselves of the opportunity afforded and work as many days as is customary in other industries instead of suspending work during a considerable portion of the year, their annual earnings and prosperity would relatively increase.

It is because the wages paid by it are reasonable and adequate and higher than the wages paid in the bituminous coal fields, or in other occupations requiring equal skill and training for substantially similar work, and enable its employees to maintain a standard of living satisfactory to them, that an excess of labor has for many years been attracted to the anthracite coal fields and to the mines of this Company; that its employees have grown gray in its service, and seldom, if ever, have voluntarily left it to seek employment in the bituminous coal fields, or in other occupations, and that at the termination of the recent strike practically all of its employees, who during the strike had found employment in the bituminous coal fields and elsewhere, immediately abandoned the same, returned to the anthracite coal fields, and sought their former employment, preferring to work in the anthracite mines.

Second. Answering the second demand for a reduction of twenty per cent. in the hours of labor without reduction of earnings, for employees paid by the hour, day or week, and the reasons set forth in said statement in support of such demand:

1. To the first nine reasons assigned, which are identical with the reasons given in support of the first demand in said statement, it makes the same answers given in reply to the first demand as hereinbefore set forth.

2. It denies that under the conditions prevailing in the anthracite coal industry the ten-hour day is detrimental to the health, life, safety or well-being of its mine workers. The labor of those employed by the hour, day, or week—which does not include cutting of coal and other contract or piece work—for the most part is not severe in its character, and the experience of many years has demonstrated that a nominal ten hours' day is not detrimental to the health, life, safety or well-being of such employees so engaged.

3. It denies that shorter hours than now obtain would materially improve the physical, mental and moral condition of such employees.

They are idle from various causes so many days in the month, and there are so many days when they do not work the full ten hours, that their work on the days when they do work ten hours cannot be detrimental to their health, life, safety or well-being. Their work on the workdays throughout the year does not average more than eight hours per day.

4. It denies that under the conditions in the anthracite coal industry any reduction under ten hours would increase the intensity and efficiency of labor. This is a matter which depends upon the personal qualities and characteristics of the worker, and this Company believes that the cases in which greater intensity and efficiency have been secured by a reduction of hours were usually those in which work has been done by piece work instead of by the hour or day, or where some other similar stimulant to energy and efficiency has been provided by penalty or bonus.

5. The length of time worked per day is not uniform and cannot be made so, owing to the varying conditions of the industry. The true measurement of the pay of employees is by the hour even when they are nominally employed by the day, and it would be unjust and unfair to this Company in the present state of the anthracite coal business to increase its expenses twenty per cent., or any other per cent., by reduction to that extent of the hours of labor of its employees, without a corresponding reduction of the present rate of wages which is based upon a ten-hour day.

Third. Answering the third demand for the adoption of a system by which coal shall be weighed and paid for by weight wherever practicable, and the reasons set forth in said statement in support of such demand:

It alleges that while it is not practicable to do so in all parts of the anthracite field, it already has a system by which the coal is weighed, and its miners are now fully compensated for every ton of 2,240 pounds of merchantable coal produced. For much of this coal it receives less on board cars at the breaker than it pays the miner, in addition to which it pays for day labor, dead work, material, general expenses and interest on its investment. There never has been any disagreement between this Company and its employees over its system of weighing coal.

Measurement directly by the legal ton is not practicable at the mines of this Company on account of the nature of the product, its preparation for market and the mixture of rock, slate and bone. It denies that the miners' ton in excess of 2,240 pounds was originally intended to compensate the operator for the small sizes of coal then discarded. It was intended to cover the waste material of any and every character, whether rock, slate or bone. These waste products still exist and are unmarketable. There is the same necessity to-day that there always has been for the use of the miners' ton as a basis of compensation.

Under the system in vogue at the collieries of this Company there is no incentive to defraud the miner. He is paid for the quantity mined in accordance with his contract and the weight is checked at his option by a weighmaster selected by him.

Fourth. Answering the fourth demand, for the incorporation in an agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and the Anthracite Coal Companies, of the wages which shall be paid and the conditions of employment which shall obtain, and the reasons set forth in said statement in support of such demand:

It submits that this demand is not within the scope of the questions referred to this Commission for decision. The questions at issue between the several companies and their employees, referred to the Commission for decision, relate to wages and mining conditions and methods, and not to what the companies' relations to the United Mine Workers of America should or might be. That is not a question at issue between this Company and its employees. While it is alleged in the statement that this demand is one of those "formulated by the Shamokin convention and for the enforcement of which the strike was inaugurated," yet Mr. Mitchell has repeatedly declared that it was not one of the demands of the employees represented by him or one of the demands for the enforcement of which the strike was inaugurated. It was not included in the specific statement of the demands of the employees given in writing by Mr. Mitchell to the Commissioner of Labor in June, last, and its consideration was distinctly and unequivocally excluded by the terms of the communication to the public by the chairman of this Company and other coal operators on October 13, 1902, which was the basis of the appointment of this Commission and defined the subjects submitted for its decision. In that communication it was stated that a large number of their employees are not members of the United Mine Workers of America, and that the Companies had declined to deal with that Association; that the issues involved before this Commission, so far as this Company is concerned, are limited to those between it and its employees without reference to their membership or non-membership in the United Mine Workers of America, or any other labor organization; that they were not willing to enter into any arrangement which would not secure to all their employees, union or non-union, the right and opportunity to work in safety, free from interference, and without personal insult or bodily harm to themselves or their families. Partly to insure the protection of every employee in his right to work, it was expressly provided that "the findings of this Commission shall govern the conditions of employment between the respective companies and their own employees," and it is respectfully submitted that there is

neither authority nor occasion for requiring an agreement with the United Mine Workers incorporating such findings of the Commission.

2. Further answering said fourth demand and the reasons set forth in the said statement in its support, it denies that the United Mine Workers' Association as now organized and conducted tends to better discipline of the men in the anthracite field or to improvement in their physical, moral or mental condition, or to the preservation of friendly relations between employer and employee. This Company has never opposed trade unionism or organized labor, nor has it discriminated against its employees on account of membership or non-membership therein; but it has insisted upon its right to employ any competent person, whether union or non-union, and upon the right of every such employee to work free from interference. The United Mine Workers have denied that right, have declared it compulsory on the part of all employees in the anthracite industry to become members of their Association, have refused to work with non-union men and have undertaken to prevent them from working, and to enforce such demands by ordering strikes of the employees of the companies employing non-union men.

3. The United Mine Workers is primarily an organization of bituminous coal workers. Until its advent in the anthracite field in 1899, peace and contentment had reigned for a quarter of a century in the mines of this Company. Unrest, agitation, turmoil and financial loss have followed its appearance. In 1900, with a membership of less than 6,000, or about 5 per cent. of the anthracite mine workers, it brought about a long and disastrous strike. A large advance in wages was granted upon the understanding that the controversy was satisfactorily ended, but notwithstanding, the agitation was continued, and efforts were made to restrict the individual exertions of employees and limit the amount of their work. A depreciation in the quantity and deterioration in the quality of work followed, amounting to about 12 per cent. of the average output per man per day. During the past two years the members of the Association brought about more strikes and interruptions of work than had occurred during the previous twenty years. In six months there were more than 100 interruptions of work occasioned by unwarranted demands and agitation, resulting in great loss of wages, and in a loss of over 600,000 tons of production. When the recent strike was declared a reign of terror was inaugurated which the United Mine Workers either could not or would not prevent, and which steadily grew worse throughout the anthracite field until the Governor of Pennsylvania was obliged to issue a proclamation that tumults, riots and disorder prevailed and mob law reigned, and to call out the entire National Guard of Pennsylvania to protect the men who desired to work and their families and to preserve the public peace.

4. The United Mine Workers' Association embraces within its field of operation both the anthracite and bituminous coal fields, and an overwhelming majority of its members are employed in the mining of bituminous coal which is in active, keen and increasing competition with anthracite coal. Twenty years ago 40 per cent. of the total coal output of the United States was anthracite. Since then it has been gradually reduced to 24 per cent. owing to the competition of the bituminous product, which now threatens the anthracite market more than ever before. Since 1880 the bituminous production has increased more than 425 per cent., while the production of anthracite has increased only about 135 per cent. Forty per cent. of anthracite coal is sold at about the cost of mining because it must be sold in competition with bituminous coal or not at all. Every advance in the cost of production of anthracite coal tends to benefit its competitors in the bituminous field. A large proportion of the employees in the anthracite field are not members of the United Mine Workers. The relations and community of interest that usually exist between employer and employees do not exist between the anthracite producers and United Mine Workers, but the interests of the latter are closely related to the interests of the bituminous producers.

The fourth demand is in effect that an association controlled by the employees of a rival and competitive industry be allowed to regulate the wages and conditions of employment in the anthracite field affecting large numbers of employees not members of that association.

5. The United Mine Workers' Association is unincorporated and therefore legally irresponsible, and there is no legal method of enforcing any contract its officers might make. It is not a trade union composed of workers in a given trade, but is an organization composed of employees of different competing industries—anthracite and bituminous mining, and in the anthracite field alone comprising employees engaged in upwards of thirty different trades and occupations, such as miners, carpenters, engineers, slate-pickers, blacksmiths, drivers, firemen, masons and stablemen, whose interests are not in common except that they are all employed in the coal field. About 20 per cent. of the 150,000 employees are boys and youths from 14 to 21 years of age, and they are of over twenty different nationalities, speaking over a dozen different languages and dialects. The employees in the anthracite field nearly equal in number the wage earners in a city of half a million inhabitants, and the demand that the wages and conditions of employment of all these anthracite employees be governed by agreement entered into with the officers of this Association is about as unreasonable as would be a demand that all similar dealings with the wage



earners of a great city should be conducted only through the medium of a set of officers controlled and chosen chiefly by the inhabitants of a rival city.

PENNSYLVANIA COAL COMPANY,

By E. B. THOMAS,

Chairman of the Board.

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**BEFORE THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE COMMISSION.**

ANSWER OF THE HILLSIDE COAL AND IRON COMPANY TO THE STATEMENT OF DEMANDS OF THAT PORTION OF ITS EMPLOYEES WHO ARE REPRESENTED BEFORE THE COMMISSION BY MR. JOHN MITCHELL.

First. Answering the first demand for an increase of 20 per cent. upon the prices paid during the year 1901 to employees performing contract or piece work, and the reasons set forth in said statement in support of such demand:

1. It denies that its present rate of wages is lower, or that the average earnings of its employees are less than the rate of wages paid to, and the average annual earnings of, employees in the bituminous coal fields for substantially similar work. There is a great dissimilarity between anthracite and bituminous mining, and the conditions and character of the work in any one part of the anthracite field differ so materially from those of work in other portions of the anthracite field and in the bituminous field that there is, and can be, no uniformity in the rate of wages paid for contract or piece work, and the wages paid in one field cannot be taken as a standard in fixing a wage scale in any part of the other.

2. It denies that its present rate of wages is lower, or that the average annual earnings of its employees are less than the rate of wages paid to, and the average annual earnings of, employees in other occupations requiring equal skill and training.

3. It denies that the rate of wages paid to its employees is insufficient to compensate the mine workers in view of the character of the occupation and conditions, or that the conditions of labor in its mines are such as to expose its employees to extraordinary hazards or liability to permanent disease, or to unusually early death, as compared with many other employments requiring equal skill and training, and in which lower rates of wages prevail. A large proportion of the accidents in the mines are due to the carelessness of the men, and not to the character of the employment, as is shown by the annual reports of the Mine Inspectors of the several anthracite districts made to the Pennsylvania Bureau of Mines.

4. It denies that the annual earnings of its mine workers are insufficient to maintain the American standard of living. In so far as

a satisfactory American standard is not maintained, the failure to do so is due to a voluntary limitation established by the men themselves. Large numbers of its employees are not American citizens, and many have no knowledge of or desire to conform themselves to American standards of living. The wages paid by this Company are sufficient to enable its employees, if they so desire, to maintain a standard of living fully equal to that adopted by other wage workers in employments requiring equal skill and training.

5. It denies that the increased cost of living has made it impossible for its employees to maintain a fair standard of life upon the basis of present wages, or that the mine workers have been prevented thereby from securing benefits from increased prosperity. While this Company fixes the contract rate per unit of weight, the daily and annual earnings are the product of this rate multiplied by the term of work performed by the miner. The latter factor is not within the control of this Company, but is restricted by the refusal of the miner to work more than six hours per day when in the mines, or to work at all on many of the days when opportunity is afforded. Every miner can increase his annual earnings by working more steadily. In spite of this self-limitation of earnings, the communities made up of the mine employees of this company were, until the intervention of the United Mine Workers' organization and the inauguration of the recent strike, as prosperous as industrial communities of like size throughout the United States, and with those disturbing causes removed will become so again. This is evidenced by the large and growing individual deposits in the savings banks, State and National banks in such communities, the investments in homes and building associations, the self-supporting churches and the standards of living maintained in those communities.

6. It denies that the wages of its anthracite wage earners are so low that their children are prematurely forced into the breakers and mills instead of being supported and educated upon the earnings of their parents. The employment of persons under the age of twenty-one is regulated by the Laws of Pennsylvania, and no person is employed by this Company who is under the statutory age. The State of Pennsylvania has annually expended large sums of money for the education of children, and for the furnishing of free text-books, and has enacted laws for compulsory attendance at its schools. This Company has paid large amounts by way of taxation for these purposes. Such of its employees as are industrious, thrifty and economical always have been able to comfortably maintain and educate their children. Where the children of its employees are set at work by their parents at an age when, although beyond the compulsory school age, they should be attending school, it is usually due to the desire of the parents, and not to the conditions of their employment.

7. It denies that the wages of its employees are below the fair and just earnings of mine workers in this industry.

During the long period of depression prior to 1900 it did not reduce the rate of wages which had been adopted many years before when the average selling price of coal was greater than at the present time, but continued the same rates in order that its employees should not be distressed by the depressed conditions then prevailing. In October, 1900, it advanced the wages of all its contract employees to an amount which averaged from 10 to 14 per cent. upon the rates previously paid. These increased rates have been continued ever since, and by notices posted at its collieries March, 1902, were continued until April 1, 1903, and thereafter subject to sixty days' notice.

It believes that its employees were satisfied and content with the rates of wages so paid, and that the strike inaugurated in May last was contrary to the wishes and desires of a large majority of its employees who would have preferred to continue in their employment at the wages which they were then, and are now, receiving, but were forced into the strike by the votes of other mine workers in no way connected with this Company.

The wages paid to its employees are reasonable, just and adequate, and are much higher per hour of actual work than are paid in other employments requiring similar skill and training, and if they would avail themselves of the opportunity afforded and work as many days as is customary in other industries instead of suspending work during a considerable portion of the year, their annual earnings and prosperity would relatively increase.

It is because the wages paid by it are reasonable and adequate and higher than the wages paid in the bituminous coal fields, or in other occupations requiring equal skill and training for substantially similar work, and enable its employees to maintain a standard of living satisfactory to them, that an excess of labor has for many years been attracted to the anthracite coal fields and to the mines of this Company; that its employees have grown gray in its service, and seldom, if ever, have voluntarily left it to seek employment in the bituminous coal fields, or in other occupations, and that at the termination of the recent strike practically all of its employees, who during the strike had found employment in the bituminous coal fields and elsewhere, immediately abandoned the same, returned to the anthracite coal fields, and sought their former employment, preferring to work in the anthracite mines.

Second. Answering the second demand for a reduction of 20 per cent. in the hours of labor without reduction of earnings, for employees

paid by the hour, day or week, and the reasons set forth in said statement in support of such demand:

1. To the first nine reasons assigned, which are identical with the reasons given in support of the first demand in said statement, it makes the same answers given in reply to the first demand as hereinbefore set forth.

2. It denies that under the conditions prevailing in the anthracite coal industry the ten-hour day is detrimental to the health, life, safety or well-being of its mine workers. The labor of those employed by the hour, day or week—which does not include the cutting of coal and other contract or piece work—for the most part is not severe in its character, and the experience of many years has demonstrated that a nominal ten-hours' day is not detrimental to the health, life, safety or well-being of such employees so engaged.

3. It denies that shorter hours than now obtain would materially improve the physical, mental and moral condition of such employees. They are idle from various causes so many days in the month, and there are so many days when they do not work the full ten hours, that their work on the days when they do work ten hours cannot be detrimental to their health, life, safety or well-being. Their work on the work days throughout the year does not average more than eight hours per day.

4. It denies that under the conditions in the anthracite coal industry any reduction under ten hours would increase the intensity and efficiency of labor. This is a matter which depends upon the personal qualities and characteristics of the worker, and this Company believes that the cases in which greater intensity and efficiency have been secured by a reduction of hours were usually those in which work has been done by piece work instead of by the hour or day, or where some other similar stimulant to energy and efficiency has been provided by penalty or bonus.

5. The length of time worked per day is not uniform and cannot be made so, owing to the varying conditions of the industry. The true measurement of the pay of employees is by the hour, even when they are nominally employed by the day, and it would be unjust and unfair to this Company in the present state of the anthracite coal business to increase its expenses 20 per cent., or any other per cent., by reduction to that extent of the hours of labor of its employees, without a corresponding reduction of the present rate of wages, which is based upon a ten-hour day.

Third. Answering the third demand for the adoption of a system by which coal shall be weighed and paid for by weight wherever practicable, and the reasons set forth in said statement in support of such demand: it alleges that while it is not practicable to do so in all parts of the anthra-

cite field, it already has a system by which the coal is weighed, and its miners are now fully compensated for every ton of 2,240 pounds of merchantable coal produced. For much of this coal it receives less on board cars at the breaker than it pays the miner, in addition to which it pays for day labor, dead work, material, general expenses and interest on its investment. There never has been any disagreement between this Company and its employees over its system of weighing coal.

Measurement directly by the legal ton is not practicable at the mines of this Company on account of the nature of the product, its preparation for market and the mixture of rock, slate and bone. It denies that the miners' ton in excess of 2,240 pounds was originally intended to compensate the operator for the small sizes of coal then discarded. It was intended to cover the waste material of any and every character, whether rock, slate or bone. These waste products still exist and are unmarketable. There is the same necessity to-day that there always has been for the use of the miners' ton as a basis of compensation.

Under the system in vogue at the collieries of this Company there is no incentive to defraud the miner. He is paid for the quantity mined in accordance with his contract, and the weight is checked at his option by a weighmaster selected by him.

Fourth. Answering the fourth demand, for the incorporation in an agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and the anthracite coal companies, of the wages which shall be paid and the conditions of employment which shall obtain, and the reasons set forth in said statement in support of such demand:

It submits that this demand is not within the scope of the questions referred to this Commission for decision. The questions at issue between the several companies and their employees, referred to the Commission for decision, relate to wages and mining conditions and methods, and not to what the companies' relations to the United Mine Workers of America should or might be. That is not a question at issue between this Company and its employees. While it is alleged in the statement that this demand is one of those "formulated by the Shamokin convention and for the enforcement of which the strike was inaugurated," yet Mr. Mitchell has repeatedly declared that it was not one of the demands of the employees represented by him or one of the demands for the enforcement of which the strike was inaugurated. It was not included in the specific statement of the demands of the employees given in writing by Mr. Mitchell to the Commissioner of Labor in June, last, and its consideration was distinctly and unequivocally excluded by the terms of the communication to the public by the chairman of this Company and other coal operators on Octo-

ber 13, 1902, which was the basis of the appointment of this Commission and defined the subjects submitted for its decision. In that communication it was stated that a large number of their employees are not members of the United Mine Workers of America, and that the companies had declined to deal with that Association; that the issues involved before this Commission, so far as this Company is concerned, are limited to those between it and its employees without reference to their membership, or non-membership in the United Mine Workers of America, or any other labor organization; that they were not willing to enter into any arrangement which would not secure to all their employees, union or non-union, the right and opportunity to work in safety, free from interference, and without personal insult or bodily harm to them or their families. Partly to insure the protection of every employee in his right to work, it was expressly provided that "the findings of this Commission \* \* \* shall govern the conditions of employment between the respective companies and their own employees," and it is respectfully submitted that there is neither authority nor occasion for requiring an agreement with the United Mine Workers incorporating such findings of the Commission.

2. Further answering said fourth demand and the reasons set forth in the said statement in its support, it denies that the United Mine Workers' Association as now organized and conducted tends to better discipline of the men in the anthracite field or to improvement in their physical, moral and mental condition, or to the preservation of friendly relations between employer and employee. This company has never opposed trade unionism or organized labor, nor has it discriminated against its employees on account of membership or non-membership therein; but it has insisted upon its right to employ any competent person, whether union or non-union, and upon the right of every such employee to work free from interference. The United Mine Workers have denied that right, have declared it compulsory on the part of all employees in the anthracite industry to become members of their Association, have refused to work with non-union men and have undertaken to prevent them from working, and to enforce such demands by ordering strikes of the employees of the companies employing non-union men.

3. The United Mine Workers is primarily an organization of bituminous coal workers. Until its advent in the anthracite field in 1899, peace and contentment had reigned for a quarter of a century in the mines of this Company. Unrest, agitation, turmoil and financial loss have followed its appearance. In 1900, with a membership of less than 6,000, or about 5 per cent. of the anthracite mine workers, it brought about a long and disastrous strike. A large advance in wages was granted upon the understanding that the controversy was satisfactorily ended, but notwithstanding

the agitation was continued, and efforts were made to restrict the individual exertions of employees and limit the amount of their work. A depreciation in the quantity and deterioration in the quality of work followed, amounting to about 12 per cent. of the average output per man per day. During the past two years the members of the Association brought about more strikes and interruptions of work than had occurred during the previous twenty-five years. In six months there were more than 100 interruptions of work occasioned by unwarranted demands and agitation, resulting in great loss of wages, and in a loss of over 600,000 tons of production. When the recent strike was declared a reign of terror was inaugurated, which the United Mine Workers either could not or would not prevent, and which steadily grew worse throughout the anthracite field until the Governor of Pennsylvania was obliged to issue a proclamation that tumults, riots and disorder prevailed and mob law reigned, and to call out the entire National Guard of Pennsylvania to protect the men who desired to work, and their families, and to preserve the public peace.

4. The United Mine Workers' Association embraces within its field of operation both the anthracite and bituminous coal fields, and an overwhelming majority of its members are employed in the mining of bituminous coal which is in active, keen and increasing competition with anthracite coal. Twenty years ago 40 per cent. of the total coal output of the United States was anthracite. Since then it has been gradually reduced to 24 per cent., owing to the competition of the bituminous product, which now threatens the anthracite market more than ever before. Since 1880 the bituminous production has increased more than 425 per cent., while the production of anthracite has increased only about 185 per cent. Forty per cent. of anthracite coal is sold at about the cost of mining because it must be sold in competition with bituminous coal or not at all. Every advance in the cost of production of anthracite coal tends to benefit its competitors in the bituminous field. A large portion of the employees in the anthracite field are not members of the United Mine Workers. The relations and community of interest that usually exist between employer and employees do not exist between the anthracite producers and United Mine Workers, but the interests of the latter are closely related to the interests of the bituminous producers.

The fourth demand is in effect that an association controlled by the employees of a rival and competitive industry be allowed to regulate the wages and conditions of employment in the anthracite field affecting large numbers of employees not members of that association.

5. The United Mine Workers' Association is unincorporated and therefore legally irresponsible, and there is no legal method of enforcing any contract its officers might make. It is not a trade union composed of

workers in a given trade, but is an organization composed of employees in different competing industries, anthracite and bituminous mining, and in the anthracite fields alone comprising employees engaged in upwards of thirty different trades and occupations, such as miners, carpenters, engineers, slate-pickers, blacksmiths, drivers, firemen, masons and stablemen, whose interests are not in common except that they are all employed in the coal field. About 20 per cent. of the 150,000 employees are boys and youths 14 to 21 years of age and they are of over twenty different nationalities, speaking over a dozen different languages and dialects. The employees in the anthracite field nearly equal in number the wage earners in a city of half a million inhabitants, and the demand that the wages and conditions of employment of all these anthracite employees be governed by agreement entered into with the officers of this Association is about as unreasonable as would be a demand that all similar dealings with the wage earners of a great city should be conducted only through the medium of a set of officers controlled and chosen chiefly by the inhabitants of a rival city.

HILLSIDE COAL AND IRON COMPANY,

By E. B. THOMAS,

Chairman of the Board.

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**ANSWER OF THE PHILADELPHIA AND READING COAL AND  
IRON COMPANY.**

TO THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE COMMISSION :

The Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, replying to the demands of John Mitchell, representing certain anthracite mine workers, says :

First. That it owns thirty-seven collieries situate in the counties of Schuylkill, Northumberland, and Columbia, and that it did operate previous to the strike inaugurated by the United Mine Workers of America thirty-three collieries and four washeries, and that at that time it had 26,829 employees in and about the mines.

Second. The first demand for "20 per cent. increase upon the price paid during the year 1901 to employees performing contract or piece work" is arbitrary, unreasonable, and unjust.

This company denies that there is any such similarity between the mining of bituminous and of anthracite coal as to make wages paid in one a standard for the other. It avers that the bituminous coal fields extend over many States of the Union; that they differ widely in the physical and local trade conditions which largely control wages; that the work of mining anthracite coal is not substantially similar work to the mining of



bituminous coal; and making all necessary allowances for differences in conditions, it denies that the rate of wages in the mines operated by this company is lower than that paid in the bituminous coal fields, whose coal output competes actively with the products of this company's mines.

Third. This company denies that the present rate of wages is lower than is paid in other occupations in the same locality and controlled by like conditions.

This company is not informed as to the average annual earnings in the bituminous coal fields, but it avers that nearly all of its former employees who, during the past five months, worked in the bituminous mines, have returned to the anthracite regions, preferring to work in the anthracite mines. And it further avers that the annual earnings of the anthracite mine workers is largely reduced by their refusal to work as many days as it is customary to work in other occupations, and that by reason thereof this company is subjected to great loss, and the cost of producing coal is largely increased and the annual earnings of its employees diminished.

Fourth. This company denies that the average annual earnings of the men working full time in the anthracite coal field is less than the average annual earnings for occupations requiring equal skill and training.

Fifth. This company denies that "The rate of wages in the anthracite coal fields is insufficient to compensate the mine workers in view of the dangerous character of the occupation in relation to accidents, liability to serious and permanent disease, the high death rate and the short trade life incident to this employment."

Sixth. This company avers that whilst the sixth specification is too general and vague for specific answer thereto, that it is true that the anthracite coal regions (almost entirely dependent on the anthracite mining industry) are among the most prosperous in the United States; that employees of temperate and economic habits have saved money, and invested their savings in houses, building associations, and other property, and that deposits in Savings, State and National banks, aggregating millions of dollars, have been made by such employees; that the standard of living is equal to that of the average American workman; that the towns and cities are better than any mining towns in the bituminous coal fields of the United States.

This company denies that the alleged increased cost of living has made it impossible to maintain a fair standard of life upon the basis of present wages or from securing any benefit from increased prosperity, and that the condition of the workmen is poorer on account of it.

This company further denies that "the children of the anthracite mine workers are prematurely forced into the breakers and mills instead of being supported and educated upon the earnings of their parents because of low wages of such parents, or that such wages are below the fair and just earnings of mine workers in this industry." It avers that the State of Pennsylvania makes large annual appropriations to schools, and that the school districts levy local taxes for school purposes; that textbooks are supplied from public funds, and that the laws provide for compulsory attendance at public schools. In the county of Schuylkill this company paid for school taxes in the year 1901, \$80,000.

The local school boards are elected by the qualified voters of the townships, boroughs, and cities. The means of education provided by the State, through its system of free schools and compulsory attendance, are not fully utilized, because of the failure of the local school boards to enforce compulsory attendance, but the wages paid are ample to insure a good common school education for all children in the coal regions desiring to attend school.

No boys are employed in and about the mines and breakers in violation of the statutes fixing the ages of employment.

In addition to provisions for education, ample hospitals for the care of the sick and injured are maintained in the anthracite coal regions.

This company avers that there is not anywhere else in the world a mining region where the workmen have so many comforts, facilities for education, general advantages, and such profitable employment.

Seventh. This company denies that the second demand "for a reduction of 20 per cent. in hours of labor without any reduction of earnings for all employees by the hour, day, or week" is either just or equitable, and avers that the reasons assigned in support of the demand are impracticable, in so far as they relate to the mining of anthracite coal. The certified miners, under present conditions, seldom work eight hours a day. The greater cost in the production and preparation of anthracite coal for market is not the cutting of the coal. Many employees are paid by the month, the pumping continues day and night, the machinery is expensive, and the cost of coal is largely conditioned on the collieries running full time. The output is entirely dependent on the quantity of coal a certified miner is willing to cut daily, and because of this it is seldom practicable to work the full breaker time.

In general, we deny that, in so far as they relate to anthracite mining, "That the ten-hour day is detrimental to the health, life, safety, and well being of the mine workers;" that "shorter hours improve the physical,

mental, and moral conditions of the workers;" that "shorter hours increase the intensity and efficiency of labor."

It admits that the tendency of National and State governments and of labor organizations is towards shorter hours, but denies that a working day of less than ten hours will be of real advantage to the workmen engaged in and about the anthracite mines and collieries. In some exceptionally exhausting work, a day of ten hours is too long, but there is no exhausting labor, which justifies a reduction of hours of work in the anthracite coal operations.

Any increase in wages will necessarily increase the price of coal to the public, restrict its use, and seriously affect the ability of the industries using it as fuel to compete with the industries using bituminous coal; it will bear heavily on the workmen and necessarily oppress the general public, and injure the general business of the country. Because of the injury to the mines by the strike of the United Mine Workers of America the cost of producing coal has been greatly increased and a temporary advance in price was made by this company, but it will be impracticable to continue such increase when mining operations become normal.

Eighth. This company, replying to the third demand, says: That it has had no disagreements with any of its employees about the weighing of coal. The quantity is usually determined by measurement; that when coal is mined by the ton it is customary and necessary to make allowances for slate and impurities. But this company does not mine by the ton. It denies that there is anything unreasonable or unfair in the method it has practiced in arriving at the measurement of the coal from its mines.

Ninth. This company, replying to the fourth demand, says: That the United Mine Workers of America are primarily a bituminous coal organization; that bituminous coal is a rival competitor in the market with anthracite coal; that ever since the advent of the United Mine Workers of America in the anthracite fields the business conditions in the anthracite mines have become intolerable; the output of the mines has decreased, discipline has been destroyed, strikes have been of almost daily occurrence; men worked when and as they pleased, and the cost of mining has been greatly increased.

At the Shamokin Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, referred to in the statement, it was resolved: "That the United Mine Workers at any colliery, when the employees refused to become members of the organization and wear the button, the local governing such colliery, after using all persuasive measures to get such employees to join, and failing in such shall have full power to suspend operation at such collieries until such employees become members of the organization."

Subsequently, to wit, on May 12th, the United Mine Workers of America inaugurated a strike, and by threats and intimidation caused a suspension of work at all mines. Under date of May 21st they issued a formal official order requiring all pumpmen, firemen, and engineers to desert their posts of duty, with intent to force submission to their unjust demands by the destruction of the mines. By threats and violence they tried to prevent other men from taking the places of the firemen, pumpmen, and engineers. The said United Mine Workers of America well knew that if this company did not succeed in keeping the pumps going the mines would be so greatly injured that it would be impossible to mine coal for many months after the strike ended, and that by reason thereof the workmen of the anthracite fields would be deprived of employment and the public be made to suffer untold hardships because of inability to procure fuel during the Winter months.

In obedience to the strike and pump orders, and the power expressly given by its Shamokin Convention—"to suspend operations at such collieries until such employees become members of the organization"—all manner of force and violence was used to prevent pumping of the mines to save them from destruction, and to prevent non-union men from working. The situation is well described in the proclamation of the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, to which we beg to refer as part of this answer.

This company avers that these acts of intimidation, of injury to persons and property, and disturbance of the public peace, were contrary to the law of the land.

This company, further answering, avers that the jurisdiction of this Commission is limited to the conditions named in the statement of the coal company presidents, by virtue of which the Commission was appointed, and that by express terms, as well as by necessary implication, the investigation is confined to matters affecting its employees, and excludes the United Mine Workers of America from any part or recognition in the proceedings, recommendations, or decisions of this Commission.

Further answering, it says that if and when a labor organization, limited to workers in anthracite mines, is created which shall obey the laws of the land, respect the right of every man to work whether he belongs to a union or not, and shall honestly co-operate with the employers in securing good work, efficiency, fair production, and necessary discipline, trade agreements may become practicable.

And, further answering, the company says that it does not and will not discriminate against workmen belonging to the United Mine Workers of America, or any other labor organization, so long as they perform satis-

factory work, and behave as law-abiding people should, but that the company will at all times employ any person it sees fit, and will not permit any labor organization to limit the rights of employment to the members of its organization.

Respectfully submitted,

THE PHILADELPHIA AND READING COAL AND IRON COMPANY,

By GEO. F. BAER, President.

JOHN F. WHALEN,

S. P. WOLVERTON,

Counsel.

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### TO THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE COMMISSION.

ANSWER OF THE LEHIGH VALLEY COAL COMPANY TO THE DEMANDS PRESENTED BY JOHN MITCHELL AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF ANTHRACITE MINE WORKERS.

First.—It denies that the demand for an increase to its employees engaged in contract or piece work of twenty per cent. in the prices paid during the year 1901 is warranted by the conditions surrounding or pertaining to such employees and it avers that the prices prevailing during the year named for such work are adequate and just, whether tested by the wages paid in other trades or employments or by the conditions under which such work is performed. A comparison merely between the rate per ton paid to miners respectively in the anthracite and bituminous fields is wholly misleading if it is intended to demonstrate thereby that the anthracite miner is underpaid, for the conditions surrounding the two are so dissimilar and the amount of labor required to produce the same results as to product varies so materially that to disregard these in making a comparison would lead to entirely false conclusions. Taking into consideration all such qualifying conditions, this respondent denies that the bituminous miner is better paid than the anthracite. Were it otherwise, considering the proximity of the two fields, the bituminous mines would have been filled during the past years at the expense of the anthracite, a condition which has not existed and does not exist.

Further, this respondent denies that the wages are inadequate, having regard either to the risks incident to the character of the work, the cost of living or the support and maintenance in a decent and proper way of a miner and his family.

That there are boys engaged in various occupations in and about the anthracite mines is not due to the insufficiency of the wages earned by their parents. Such work as is performed by these boys is not laborious

and is of a less exacting character than that in which boys of similar ages engage in other occupations, and in the employment of such boys, care is taken that none are employed under the age which the State of Pennsylvania by Legislative enactment has designated as a fit one for the commencement of manual labor.

This respondent calls attention to the fact as pertinent to the question whether the annual earnings of the contract miners are sufficient and adequate, that no complaint whatever has been made as to the insufficiency of earnings of any other class of labor employed in and about the mines and this despite the fact that under the rate of wages now prevailing, the contract miners can earn more per day than any other class of labor in and about the mines and are exposed to no greater hardships or risks than their fellow employees. The absence of such complaint is persuasive evidence of the fact that the wages received by such other employees are fair and adequate and that consequently the demand of the contract miners who can and do earn more than such other employees is not justified and consequently should not be granted.

As bearing upon this question of alleged insufficient earnings, this respondent in conclusion submits that if the annual earnings of the contract miners are deemed by them to be inadequate or insufficient, they could, were the miners themselves so disposed, be readily increased to the extent of twenty per cent. by the simple expedient of working steadily for even eight hours a day.

For the year 1901, the average hours' work by these contract miners on the days when they did work, did not amount to seven hours per day, and on many days they were idle of their own volition.

An adequate remedy is therefore in their own hands, but it is not made use of because the desire for increased earnings has not been strong enough to induce the steadier work necessary for the purpose.

Second.—Replying to the demand for a reduction of twenty per cent. in hours of labor without any reduction of earnings for all employees paid by the hour, day or week, this respondent also says that this demand is unwarranted and should not be approved by this Commission nor made the basis of action by it.

The reasons adduced in support of such demand are insufficient to support the same considered merely with reference to the advantage of an eight-hour labor day as affecting all character of work. The conditions affecting anthracite mining and the methods necessary to be pursued in the operation of the mines make the proposed limitation inexpedient and unjust.

Under the system prevailing and having regard to the production of the maximum output of the mine which is of importance to both the operator and to the public, the coal mined or cut by the contract miners should be promptly loaded and shipped from the mine, and if the hours during which the other employees at the mines could be called upon to work were to be restricted to eight, frequently this could not be accomplished promptly and the operation of the mine would thus be retarded.

In point of fact, however, a very large proportion of the employees who would be affected by a reduction of the hours of labor, actually work under the present system less than eight hours a day upon an average. The contract miners work irregularly and for short hours and this necessarily results in the other employees even while on duty being idle while waiting for coal to handle. Then again, due to the complicated nature of the operations as a whole at any one mine, there are more or less inevitable stoppages or interruptions of work which have the effect also of shortening the hours of labor actually performed by the employees. Due to these and to other causes, in which latter may be included days of suspension of work by the miners themselves because of holidays or strikes, the average number of hours worked during last year by the employees of this Company was substantially less than eight hours per day for each working day of the year.

Third.—Replying to the demand that there shall be adopted a system by which coal shall be weighed and paid for by weight wherever practicable, this respondent says that the granting of such demand would be inexpedient as it would accomplish no real good and would result in conditions which would work to the disadvantage of both the operator and the miner.

In the first place, there are many operations where the only practicable way is to pay as is now done—by the yard, and this because the coal mined by the contract miner is not immediately loaded, but accumulates for weeks and even months before being loaded, and as no system of weighing is possible until the coal is loaded on the mine car, the payment of the miner would be postponed for such a long period as to make it impossible to secure labor for the mining of coal that must be mined in this way.

The method of paying the miner by weight of coal mined has been followed only in the case of a few mines, and as a matter of fact has not been successful in eliminating contention, and this largely because of the fact that deductions from the weight of the coal actually loaded in the mine car had to be made on account of the impurities and refuse that would, even in the case of honest and careful loading, be sent out

with the coal. Under such a system there is a constant temptation to the men engaged in loading the car to defraud the company by loading with the coal, rocks, slate and other impurities, and the honest miner is made to suffer by reason of the fact that as it is impossible to examine each separate car with the view of ascertaining the percentage of refuse loaded therein, an average deduction has to be made based upon the average per car of such refuse, with consequent injustice to the honest miner and overpayment to the dishonest one.

It would be wholly impracticable to pay by weight without a proper allowance for such impurities and refuse, as such a system would undoubtedly lead to a reckless and dishonest loading of the mine cars and would indeed be almost a direct incentive to such practices.

There is another and serious objection to the payment by weight, based upon the consideration of the time that would necessarily be consumed in weighing and the consequent holding back of the mine shipments that would result therefrom. None of the mines of this respondent are so arranged or equipped as to make practicable without very considerable outlay, any system for weighing the coal, and even if its mines were so re-arranged as to allow the coal to be weighed, serious delay in its movement to the breaker would result with consequent decreased daily output of each mine.

This Company's practice has been and is to pay, in cases where coal when mined is immediately loaded, by the mine car, and where coal is not immediately loaded, but is held back on account of conditions prevailing in the mines, by the cubic yard, and so far as known its practice in this respect has been satisfactory to its employees, and it submits that this system best answers requirements and conditions that have to be taken into account in the different fields of the anthracite region.

The demand embraced in the Third demand, already alluded to, that the minimum rate per ton to be paid to the miner shall be sixty cents for a legal ton of 2,240 pounds, is so extravagant that its effect could not have been intelligently considered or understood by those making it. In many cases it would increase the price payable to the contract miner more than forty per cent., and this particular demand is so inconsistent with the first demand made that this respondent assumes that it is not intended to seriously urge or press it.

Fourth.—Referring to the Fourth demand which asks for the incorporation in an agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and the anthracite coal companies of all matters pertaining to wages, conditions of employment or any other subject affecting these companies' em-



ployees in and about the mines, this respondent submits that in making this demand the petitioner has asked this Commission to exceed and transcend the powers vested in it.

This respondent has declined to deal with the United Mine Workers of America in the manner sought to be enforced by this demand, because it regards such action as prejudicial not only to it, but to its employees. It recognizes the right of its employees to exercise such lawful means as may be at their disposal to enforce demands which they deem just, and this may justify the existence of an employees' organization, but this by no means justifies the claim that the employer should be required to deal with such organization in the manner proposed rather than with his own employees directly, or that he should enter into contracts or agreements with such organization for the barter and sale of the labor of its members. No effective discipline can possibly be maintained and consequently no good results achieved in any undertaking in which the employee regards himself as subject not to the commands or requirements of his employer, but only to such commands or requirements as may be approved by some organization of which he is a member. Such methods tend neither to good organization nor to effective work.

The method proposed is further objectionable in that it gives almost coercive power to the organization to compel all employees engaged in a common employment with members of the Union to ally themselves with it, and results, therefore, in depriving individuals of the right to sell their own labor upon such terms as they can secure and compels them to abide by and accept the terms which may be secured for them by an organization over which as individuals they can exercise but very little control.

These objections apply strongly to any agreement of the character demanded with the United Mine Workers of America, and in addition there are special reasons against such a course that apply peculiarly to that organization. It would be unprofitable to enumerate all these, but one, and this a most potent one, is that the organization named is under the control of bituminous miners and it would be quite as reasonable to allow the bituminous operators to determine the cost at which anthracite coal shall be produced as to permit the wages, hours, and conditions of labor of the anthracite miners to be fixed by an organization controlled by bituminous miners.

LEHIGH VALLEY COAL COMPANY.

By FRANCIS I. GOWEN.

## BEFORE THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE COMMISSION.

THE ANSWER OF THE DELAWARE AND HUDSON COMPANY, A CORPORATION CHARTERED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK AND AUTHORIZED BY STATUTES OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA TO CARRY ON BUSINESS IN SAID STATE, TO THE DEMANDS OF ITS EMPLOYEES ENGAGED IN THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF ITS COAL MINING BUSINESS IN PENNSYLVANIA, SO FAR AS THE SAME ARE REPRESENTED BEFORE THE COMMISSION BY JOHN MITCHELL.

First.—The first demand in said statement is for an increase of twenty per cent. upon the prices paid during the year 1901, to employees performing contract or piece work. This respondent denies each and every allegation of fact contained in the reasons set forth in support of said demand.

This respondent at all times wishes and endeavors to pay to all of its employees prices for their services which shall be just and adequate, and believes that it has pursued that course in the past. During the long period of depression prior to 1900, this respondent did not reduce the same, but continued to make the same rates of payment so that its employees should not be distressed by the prevailing conditions of business and the difficulties incident to marketing its product. In October, 1900, after a strike of considerable duration, this respondent made a general advance of ten per cent. in such prices; the rates so increased have been continued ever since; by notices posted at its collieries in March last the same were continued until April 1, 1903, and thereafter subject to sixty days' notice, and no request for any further increase has ever been presented by this respondent's employees. Those of its employees who perform contract or piece work, as a matter of their own volition work only about six hours a day and take numerous holidays, without the consent or approval of this respondent, and their earnings, by hours of actual work are, therefore, much higher than those in any similar employment. The satisfactory character of the conditions prevailing has been conclusively shown by the facts that, without any effort on the part of this respondent, for many years those seeking employment have thronged to the region and as soon as the recent strike was terminated, those employees of this respondent who had secured other employment, immediately abandoned the same and returned to their work in respondent's service at the present rates of payment.

The work of bituminous coal mining is carried on throughout the country under conditions differing so materially among themselves and also from those of anthracite coal mining, that there is no uniformity in the rate of wages paid in that industry, and neither industry is a proper standard of comparison with the other. The rates paid to the bituminous

miners have fluctuated greatly with the prosperity of the industry, while as already said, those paid to this respondent's employees have never been reduced in periods of business depression. Still further, the rates paid to bituminous miners require the coal to be free from all impurities and cover the service of loading the coal into the mine cars, while the anthracite miners hire laborers to do this for them, and the substance which they send out contains a considerable amount of impurities which are subsequently removed in the breaker. Any comparison attempted to be made between the rates paid in the two industries must, therefore, be based upon the amount paid in each for the entire service of mining the coal and loading it upon cars and upon the amounts paid for clean coal. Moreover, the bituminous miners are for the most part under contracts requiring them to work at least eight hours per day if the operator wishes, while the anthracite miners do not average more than six hours per day and this difference would warrant higher rates in the bituminous industry as it would diminish the fixed charges. Again, anthracite coal requires large expenditure in preparing the same for market, from which bituminous coal is free.

The prices paid by this respondent to its employees for their services are higher than those paid in the same region, or indeed throughout the country generally for similar services in other lines of employment.

Second.—The second demand is for a reduction of twenty per cent. in hours of labor without any reduction of earnings for all employees paid by the hour, day or week. This respondent denies each and every allegation of fact contained in the reasons set forth in support of said demand, save that it admits that there has recently been much agitation for shorter hours on the part of organized trades.

This demand does not contemplate that the aggregate earnings of each employee covered thereby shall be increased, but merely that he shall work a shorter time for the same amount of money. It, therefore, concedes that the present earnings of this class of labor are sufficient, and, in fact, the labor in question is fully paid in comparison with other labor in the region of a similar character. Inasmuch, therefore, as the present rates are adequate for the service rendered, it does not seem reasonable that such service should be reduced. This respondent's pumping machinery works all the time, and the best results are obtained from its breakers by running them full time so far as possible. The labor in question is for the most part employed in connection with these parts of the respondent's works and is not severe in its character and past experience has shown that the performance thereof has had no detrimental physical or moral effect. The reduction of hours suggested would add very considerably to the cost

of production and to the fixed charges which must be met. Such addition to the cost of production would tend to permanently increase the price of coal. This increase would fall upon the domestic sizes used by the public generally and amounting to about sixty per cent. of the entire product because the small sizes compete with bituminous coal and the prices thereof could not be permanently raised.

The real question at issue is whether the wages paid by this respondent to its employees are reasonable and the proper measure is the rate paid by the hour because the length of time worked by the day is not uniform, and owing to the conditions of the industry cannot be made so. For the reasons above stated it would be improper and unnecessary to arbitrarily increase the expense of mining as this demand suggests.

Third.—The third demand is for the adoption of a system by which coal shall be weighed and paid for by weight wherever practicable; the minimum rate per ton to be sixty cents for a legal ton of 2,240 pounds; the differentials now existing at the various mines to be maintained.

This demand differs materially from the one heretofore presented to the operators, which was merely that "coal should be weighed and paid for by weight wherever practicable." This respondent denies each and every allegation of fact in the reasons set forth in support of said demand, save that it admits that when it sells or transports coal it is on the basis of a ton of 2,240 pounds. The same is, however, coal after all impurities have been removed from it and the coal has been fully prepared for market, while the substance sent out by the miner from the mine contains a large amount of such impurities which must be removed from it and the coal prepared for market in the breaker. The two matters are, therefore, entirely different.

At present the miners are paid upon the basis of a unit of the mingled coal and slate sent out by the miner, consisting of a mine car, or of a definite weight thereof. If a man is paid a specified amount for a car load or for a specified number of pounds of the substance which he sends from the mine, it has no relevancy to the subject to say that he is not paid by the ton. The parties are at liberty to settle the unit of payment as they see fit and no injustice is done thereby. This demand by its terms admits that the system suggested is not in all cases practicable. Therefore there can be no general rule applicable to all cases.

This respondent has for many years paid its miners for coal mined by weight at many of its mines at rates mutually satisfactory to it and them. The unit upon which payment is made at these mines was fixed after careful experiment and by mutual agreement as the amount necessary to produce a ton of 2,240 pounds of marketable coal after the removal of im-

purities by passing through the breaker. At other of respondent's mines where this method has not been practicable, payment has been made by the car, the cubical capacity of the car being definitely fixed so as to produce a marketable ton, as nearly as could be calculated; and the rates per car being agreed upon after full discussion between this respondent and its miners, so as to yield the miner a fair and full remuneration for his labor. No complaint has been made to respondent by its employees of any inequality in pay for similar work by reason of this diversity of methods, and there is none in fact. This respondent is, however, at all times ready to take up with its employees at its several collieries any questions which may be raised as to the practicability of extending the weighing system or of equalizing rates in any way. The end to be secured is fair pay for work done which shall be as nearly equal in the varying mines and veins as practicable. The present methods are the result of many years of experiment and mutual conference between respondent and its employees; and are more equitable than would be a new and untried system based on purely theoretical premises. Since it is not demanded that the rates per ton shall be uniform, no gain in equality would be made by fixing a definite weight. There are two factors in the problem of the miners' pay for coal mined, viz.: (a) quantity or weight, (b) rates of pay. Nothing can be gained in the direction of uniformity of result by fixing absolutely one factor if the other may be indefinitely varied. If the Commission could, in the time at its disposal, satisfactorily determine which, if any, of respondent's collieries can practicably adopt the weighing system, and should advise such adoption, it would then be necessary to fix new rates for all the varying veins in such collieries in such way as to reach the same result already reached in passing upon the first demand.

As this demand seeks to set up a new standard of payment for the miners, it is really a branch of the first demand and the two must be taken together and applied practically to the production of the mines to determine how far they would affect the existing rates paid to the miners. The suggestion of a minimum rate of sixty cents per ton of 2,240 pounds is purely arbitrary, and no reason is assigned for its adoption. It has not the character of a uniform method of payment, because it includes retaining the present differentials. As already said, it therefore raises no question save whether the rates already paid are sufficient; that is to say, the question arising under the first demand. To adopt this suggestion and attach to it the differentials now existing would involve an entire readjustment of the rates as above stated with no practical advantage. The differentials existing in the different mines, and frequently in the different veins of the same mines, have been adopted from time to time by agreement between this respondent and its employees, without reference to any such minimum

as is now suggested, and to fix a minimum and preserve the differentials would lead to endless confusion, and be wholly inconsistent with the grounds leading to the establishment of such differentials in the first place.

Inasmuch as this demand lays stress upon the fact that this respondent sells and ships coal by the ton of 2,240 pounds, it seems proper to again call attention to the fact that this is not the substance sent from the mine, but merchantable coal prepared for sale by the operations of the breaker. If this should be made the unit of payment to the miners, it should, of course, be the same substance—namely, merchantable coal prepared for sale. This might be applied by weighing the merchantable coal after the same had been run through the breaker and the amount payable therefor might be then divided among the miners in proportion to the quantities produced by them respectively. In that case the sum payable for each ton of merchantable coal would necessarily be fixed in connection with the first demand, as it then would be a question entirely what prices should be paid to the miners for their services.

The fourth demand is for the incorporation in an agreement between the United Mine Workers of America, and the anthracite coal companies of the wages which shall be paid and the conditions of employment which shall obtain.

The reasons set forth in support of said demand are mainly expressions of opinion; so far as they contain any allegation of facts, this respondent denies them. No such demand as this was formulated by the Shamokin Convention of March, 1902, or has ever been presented to this respondent and Mr. Mitchell has frequently stated that he did not demand on behalf of the anthracite employees recognition of the United Mine Workers association. The operators' submission clearly expressed their unwillingness to enter into relations with the United Mine Workers' association, especially because it would sacrifice the rights of non-union men, and stated as the subject matter of the submission "all questions at issue between the respective companies and their own employees whether they belong to a union or not." It is, therefore, respectfully submitted that this fourth demand is not within the scope of the present submission. But even if this were not the case, this demand should not be granted for the following reasons.

1. The United Mine Workers of America is an association composed of a large number of miners and laborers, including many minor children, each of whom is entitled to half a vote, engaged throughout the country in mining anthracite and bituminous coals, which are competitive products.

It has divided the whole country into various districts, each of which is represented by a president and embraces local unions and seeks to induce everyone engaged in the industry to join the organization. The affairs of the association are managed by an executive board having its headquarters at Indianapolis and by conventions called from time to time representing the entire organization. The object and practice of the association are so far as possible to regulate the supply of labor engaged in the occupation of coal mining throughout the country and the terms of employment thereof. It thus consists of one central organization which seeks to control the production of fuel everywhere throughout the country and embraces in its membership a very much larger number of bituminous than anthracite mine workers. Its ultimate object is to control the entire fuel supply of the country. It opposes the introduction of labor-saving machinery; seeks to limit the supply of labor, and reduce all to the standard of the least efficient, and to systematically raise the cost of production. It sets up extravagant demands in order to serve as a basis of compromise. It habitually enforces its orders and directions by whatever means may be most effectual, including sympathetic strikes, boycotts, picketing and the like, not confined to its own members alone, but in which are compelled to join as far as possible all other persons similarly employed. Its methods have been frequently condemned by the courts, and its response has consisted mainly in criticism of the judiciary. Both the purpose of the association and its method of accomplishing its results are, therefore, of doubtful legality and its tendency is to obstruct the progress and prosperity of the country.

2. The United Mine Workers' association is an unincorporated body with a constantly shifting membership; it declines to become incorporated, and opposes any system of arbitration which shall compel it to any course of action. It is, therefore, incapable of making a contract which has any binding effect upon anybody. So, too, this respondent is a corporation engaged in the management of its own affairs; is not connected with others in the same line of business, and is incapable of making contracts for the performance of services save with its own employees. There would, therefore, be no propriety or legal force in making a contract with an unincorporated association the bulk of the members of which are not engaged in this respondent's business or even residents of the localities where the same is carried on, and would be unable to perform any such contract, even if it imposed any legal obligation upon them. It is, indeed, a complete misnomer to call any such proposed arrangement a contract as it would bind nobody and would be incapable of enforcement.

3. The United Mine Workers' association has shown its inability to control its own members. After the settlement of the strike of October, 1900, upon terms which were accepted by the organization of the Mine Workers' association, local strikes and disturbances were more frequent than they had ever been before. Moreover, during the strike which has just terminated, notwithstanding public expressions of the officers of the Mine Workers' association in favor of preservation of the peace, there were constant disturbances and acts of violence, which were finally fully recognized by the Governor of Pennsylvania, and rendered necessary calling out the entire militia of the State by a proclamation which stated that conditions of tumult and disorder existed which were constantly increasing.

4. Inasmuch as the United Mine Workers' association has frequently expressed its indisposition to work with non-union men, the effect of a contract such as suggested would be to exclude from employment in the mines all men not belonging to said association and to deny to them the opportunity to labor to which they are entitled. It would also have the effect of turning over the control of this respondent's business to those who are not interested in its efficient prosecution, and would destroy the effective discipline which is indispensable to successful mining operations.

5. This respondent has never discriminated against members of any labor organization and does not desire to do so now. Such organizations have in fact existed in its mines and in its service generally for many years. Its position is that the members of no such organization shall discriminate against or refuse to work with non-union men; that there shall be no restriction or deterioration in the quantity or quality of work by reason of the existence or action of any such union, and that the successful prosecution of its business requires that all its employees shall be treated with equal justice, and the management of its property shall remain in the hands of those to whom it is entrusted by law.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

THE DELAWARE AND HUDSON COMPANY,

By R. M. OLYPHANT, President.

DAVID WILLCOX,

JAMES H. TORREY,

Of Counsel.



## ANTHRACITE STRIKE COMMISSION.

Before the Honorable

GEORGE GRAY, Chairman,	} Commissioners.
JOHN M. WILSON,	
E. W. PARKER,	
E. E. CLARK,	
THOS. H. WATKINS,	
JOHN J. SPAULDING,	
CARROLL D. WRIGHT, Recorder.	

THE ANSWER OF THE DELAWARE, LACKAWANNA AND WESTERN RAILROAD COMPANY TO THE DEMANDS MADE BY JOHN MITCHELL, REPRESENTATIVE OF CERTAIN OF THE ANTHRACITE MINE EMPLOYEES.

## I.

The first demand made by the representative of a portion of the employees of this company engaged in mining anthracite coal is that it shall increase the wages of such employees performing contract or piece work in its mines twenty per cent., and in reply to this demand and to the several reasons given in support thereof this respondent says:

It is a corporation, duly organized and existing under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania, and is authorized thereby to own and operate coal mines and railroads and to buy and sell coal. This company owns and operates about twenty-five anthracite collieries in the State of Pennsylvania and employs about twelve thousand persons in that branch of its business.

This company has always sought to pay its employees fair and reasonable wages, and that it has done so is demonstrated by the fact that it has always been able to obtain all of the employees it required in the conduct of its business. This statement is subject to one exception, and that is, that during the recent strike it was unable to obtain all the employees it required to conduct its business, but it was not due to the fact that the wages and conditions of employment were not attractive to persons seeking employment from this company, but it was due to the fact that by reason of the lawless methods adopted by the association known as the United Mine Workers of America, the men desiring to work were prevented from so doing by reason of the many acts of violence performed against such men by the members of said association. This company also states that it is reliably informed that eighty per cent. of its employees were opposed to entering upon this strike, but were forced to strike by a majority vote of this organization in other fields.

This company denies that the work of its mining employees engaged in mining anthracite coal is similar to that of the bituminous miner, but alleges the fact to be that there is great dissimilarity in the anthracite mines and veins and methods of mining coal therein, and when these conditions are compared with those prevailing in the bituminous mines and veins they will be found to be so widely different that no fair comparison can be made.

It alleges the fact to be also that the conditions prevailing in the various anthracite coal mines and veins are so varied and different that it is necessary, in order to obtain men to mine the coal, to pay them prices to correspond, or prices that will enable a miner working in a thin vein to earn as much as a miner working in a good or thick vein for the same amount of labor performed. This company, therefore, submits that it is impossible to adopt a uniform rate to be paid to the miner for a unit or definite amount of coal mined by him at all mines, and urges that the question of what is a fair wage can be determined only by examining the conditions of mining coal prevailing at each colliery which this company operates. It is necessary to take into consideration the ease or the difficulty attendant upon mining coal from each particular one of its veins in which it is engaged in mining coal. It is, therefore, clear that the first reason given by the representatives of the Anthracite Mine Workers in support of his first demand that the wages paid in the bituminous fields for similar work are greater than those paid by this company to its employees in the anthracite mines is vague, indefinite and irrelevant.

This company denies that the present rate of wages paid by it to such employees is lower than that paid in other occupations requiring equal skill and training, and it says if such were the fact its employees would seek and obtain employment elsewhere rather than continue to work for the alleged inadequate compensation paid by such company.

This company is not informed as to the average amount earned per annum by workers in the bituminous coal field, nor as to how such average compares with the average annual earnings of workers in this company's anthracite coal mines, and asks that proof of the truth of this claim be made. It is unfair to attempt to compare the annual earnings of all anthracite employees with the average earnings of all bituminous employees, for the following reasons: (a) There is a larger proportion of young men and boys employed in the anthracite mines than in the bituminous for the purpose of breaking, preparing and cleaning coal; (b) The anthracite miners have not as a rule worked as many hours at mining coal per day as the bituminous miners.

This company denies that the average earnings of its employees engaged in mining coal are much less than the average annual earnings of

other occupations requiring equal skill and training, and it asks that the petitioner be required to prove this allegation.

During the recent strike as also during the strike of 1900 many of its mine employees sought and secured employment in bituminous coal mines, others secured work in other than mining industries, but immediately after these strikes were over practically all these men returned to the employ of this company and none of consequence continued work in their new places. It submits that this would not have resulted had these employees been so inadequately paid as is claimed.

It submits furthermore that during the present period of unequalled prosperity throughout the country, if this company's mine employees had been so grossly underpaid as claimed they would have sought employment elsewhere and in other lines of work requiring similar and equal skill and training. It alleges the fact to be that its mine employees have not done this but have seemed anxious to continue in the employ of this company at the wages and under the conditions obtaining.

It admits that the work of a portion of its employees in the mines is of a hazardous character, rendering them liable to accidents, particularly if discipline is not maintained and they fail to live up to the company's rules, and the anthracite mining laws. It denies, however, that the work of this element of its mine employees is substantially more dangerous in character than that of many of its employees engaged in the transportation service of its railroad, who are paid no higher rates of wages and in some cases less than its mine workers. It denies that the work of the balance of its anthracite mine employees is of a dangerous character or renders them particularly liable to accident.

It denies that any of its mine employees are unduly liable to serious or permanent disease or that the death rate among them due to disease is high, or that incidental to their employment their lives are shortened, and asks for proof of this claim.

It is not informed and has no means of definitely ascertaining what is regarded as the "American standard of living" to the maintenance of which the annual earnings of its mine employees or any of them, are alleged to be insufficient. It asks that this claim be more accurately and definitely set forth.

It alleges, however, that judging by the character of homes in which its mine employees live, the large percentage of whom own their own homes, the thrifty appearance of themselves and families as seen on Sundays and holidays when not at work, the infrequent cases where their wages in the hands of the company are held to satisfy legal process, the large aggregate of savings held in Savings Banks and Building and Loan Associations, the large sums the foreign element of the mine employees

monthly remit to their relatives in other countries, the mine workers in its employ are on an average as prosperous, comfortable and contented (or were, prior to the introduction of agitators and mischief-makers among them) as any body of workers in similar employment engaged in the promotion of any industry in this country.

It denies the truth of the allegation that the increased cost of living has made it impossible to maintain a fair standard of living upon the present basis of wages.

It alleges that the increase in the number of days worked by its mine employees in addition to previous increase in their rates of wages has not only fully covered the increase in cost of living, but has enabled its frugal and careful employees to save a substantial amount per annum in addition thereto.

It admits that some of its anthracite mine employees force their children to work in the breakers and mills, but denies that this is the result of the low wages paid them, or that it is due to any but the common causes that influence parents engaged in other pursuits to force their children to work at an early age. As a rule in mining, as in all other industries, this action is largely due to either the incapacity, improvidence or cupidity of the parents. It denies that it employs any persons to work in its breaker or mines except those who are of sufficient age as prescribed by the acts of Assembly in Pennsylvania in such cases made and provided.

It denies that the wages paid by it are below the fair and just earnings of mine workers in this industry, and asks that proof of this assertion be made.

## II.

For reply to the demand that a reduction of twenty per cent. in hours of labor, without any reduction of earnings, for all employees paid by the hour, day or week, it says that this demand is unreasonable, unfair and unjust, and the reasons given in support of said demand are neither sound nor true. On the contrary, it alleges that it is an axiom that the success of an individual man depends almost entirely upon the concentrating of his efforts on the work in which he is engaged for a reasonable number of hours of the day. The experience of a great many years has demonstrated that it is not unreasonable for man to labor ten hours out of the twenty-four. The farmer, the business and professional man seldom succeed by giving but eight hours of their time to their work; why should the miners be thus restricted in their opportunities of earning and of development.

The contract miner is not paid by the hour, day or week, but is paid for the amount of coal he mines. In order to afford him the opportunity to labor a reasonable number of hours, if he so desires, it is necessary to keep the mining plant in operation, and the men employed in that branch of work must labor a reasonable number of hours. The axiom applies to one or many. No such business employing thousands of men can hope to compete successfully in the markets of the world if its hours of labor are restricted between 7 A. M. and 3 or 3:30 P. M.

It denies that the ten-hour day is detrimental to the health, life, safety and well-being of the mine employees; or that shorter hours necessarily improve the physical, mental and moral condition of the workers; or that shorter hours would increase the intensity and efficiency of this company's mine employees, and asks that this claim be proven.

It admits that the tendency of National and State Governments and organized trades is generally towards shorter hours, but alleges that this is almost wholly due to the fact that political influence is exerted to this end in order to satisfy the demands continually made that the Government, State and Municipal patronage shall benefit as many people as possible.

This company alleges that the wonderful development of this country and the unequalled prosperity of its people, including the laboring element thereof, has been acquired as a result of the wonderful activity, industry and productiveness of the individual man; that this condition of prosperity has been reached under conditions where a ten-hour day for work has been regarded as a standard working day for men in many walks of life.

Under this condition the physical, mental, moral and financial condition of the laboring man of this country has steadily improved, and this respondent believes that the claims made by the advocates of the eight-hour day are not those which really govern their action.

This company alleges that it is now and has for some years operated its collieries to their full capacity and given employment to as many men as it could use to advantage. The reduction of the hours of work from ten to eight would materially restrict the production of anthracite coal to consumers throughout the country, and the increased cost of labor, together with the fixed charges on account of pumping, ventilation, etc., would largely increase the cost of production. This would necessitate a price that would either tend to force the public to use bituminous coal or still further restrict the consumption of anthracite, which would in turn act to the disadvantage of this company and its employees and impose an additional burden or cost on the public in the use of a necessary of civilized life in this zone.

## III.

Answering the demand for the adoption of a system by which coal shall be weighed, and paid for by weight wherever practicable, the minimum rate per ton to be 60 cents for the legal ton of 2,240 pounds, the differential as now existing at the various mines to be maintained and the reasons set forth in paragraphs 1 to 5 inclusive for such demand;

(1) It denies that measurement by the legal ton is the only honest and just system of measuring the earnings of its mine employees and asks for proof of this assertion.

(2) It admits that when it sells or transports coal it does so on the basis of a ton of 2,240 pounds.

(3) As this company pays its miners for the labor performed in mining its coal by the car and in pitching veins by the yard the alleged injustice account of "excessive ton" does not apply.

(4) It denies that the adoption of a system whereby coal shall be weighed would remove any incentive to cheating and dishonesty or that the same would allay alleged jealousy among miners, and further said company has no knowledge of any unjust discrimination or favoritism and demands proof of this allegation.

It is inferred that this is intended to apply to the practice of docking or disciplining mine employees for loading rock, slate, etc., in the cars contrary to their contract obligations. The weighing of coal would in no way prevent actions of this character. A careless or dishonest employee would in no way be reformed by such a change.

(5) It denies that the change from the present system to the one requested would prove a strong factor in allaying alleged suspicion and discontent among mine workers and asks for proof of this assertion.

The demand calling for the adoption of a system whereby coal shall be weighed, and prescribing the minimum rate of 60 cents per ton of 2,240 pounds with a continuation of the differentials as they now exist is out of all reason and its effect so far as this company is concerned is a demand for an additional increase in the wages now paid miners of from five to forty per cent., besides the increase of twenty per cent. set forth in petitioner's demand numbered first.

To change the present method of compensation from a car basis to a ton basis would cost this company an enormous sum to alter its breakers, and in equipment, maintenance and operation of scales, whereas if adjusted on an equitable basis, no one would be benefited thereby and none of the contentions would be obviated.

The method adopted by this company of paying its employees for the coal mined by car is fair to both the company and its employees. The car

prices and corresponding differentials in the different mines and veins on account of the ever varying conditions met with in relation to impurities which the miner has to contend with, such as yardages and allowances, have been adjusted from time to time to meet the changes and conditions. To change this method so as not to work an injustice to either miner or employer, it would be necessary to use the present prices paid for the different sizes of cars as bases or units. If this is done it is immaterial whether the miner is paid by the shovelful, cubical foot, car, 2,000-pound ton, 2,240 or 2,800-pound ton, so long as the price is adjusted in accordance with the basis of labor performed.

The present rate of pay, and the rate on which contracts have been accepted, in the majority of this company's mines, have been on car basis. This basis has been established after years of experience, and it can be shown by earnings to be fair to all concerned. A change in the basis of measurement without adjusting the prices to correspond would be eminently unfair to all.

#### IV.

With reference to incorporating in an agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and this company the wages that shall be paid and the conditions of employment which shall obtain, together with satisfactory methods for the adjustment of grievances which may arise from time to time it says:

It objects to this being made one of the issues which shall be submitted to your honorable Commission for determination or recommendation.

By the express terms of the proposition under which it consented to refer to the decision of this commission the "questions at issue between" itself and its "own employees whether they belong to a union or not," it reserved and exempted from the submission the question of making such an agreement and in equally express terms stated that the findings of the Commission should govern the conditions of employment between it and its own employees for the term named. And furthermore it maintains that it has never in any manner given its consent to joining with other companies or individuals in making an agreement with the "United Mine Workers of America" on the question of wages, conditions of employment or other matters, and it is now and always has been unwilling to have the question of the propriety or necessity of making such an agreement submitted for investigation or adjudication by your honorable Commission.

This company unequivocally asserts that it will under no condition recognize or enter into any agreement with the association known as the

United Mine Workers of America or any branch thereof. Nor will it permit said association or its officers to dictate the terms and conditions under which it shall conduct its business. It charges that said association has been declared by the Federal Courts to be unlawful, and that it is opposed to the vital principles of our government. It is seeking to obtain an enforced enrollment on its membership list of all persons employed in or about coal mines in the United States. If it succeeds, it will have the power at any time to paralyze the industries of our nation and bring untold suffering upon our people. Its principles oppress the industrious and ambitious laborer down to the standard of the sluggard. It has not in the past, and there is no reason to believe that it will in the future, hesitate to sacrifice life, liberty and property to gain its vicious and temporary end. It denies the right of man to sell his labor in a free market.

Respectfully submitted,

THE DELAWARE, LACKAWANNA AND WESTERN RAILROAD CO.

W. H. TRUESDALE, President.

WALTER W. ROSS,  
Of Counsel.

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**ANSWER OF THE SCRANTON COAL COMPANY AND ELK HILL COAL  
AND IRON COMPANY.**

TO THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE COMMISSION :

The Scranton Coal Company and the Elk Hill Coal and Iron Company, in reply to the demands set forth in the statement submitted to the Commission by Mr. John Mitchell, claiming to be "Representative of the Anthracite Mine Workers," respectfully state:

That the Companies named own and operate ten collieries and three washeries for the mining and preparation of anthracite coal, all situated in the County of Lackawanna, and when in full operation employ about 5,000 men and boys, many of whom Mr. Mitchell has no authority to represent before the Commission.

Further replying in detail to the demands contained in said statement,

We deny that employees of the Companies performing contract or piece work are entitled to an advance of twenty per cent. or any other amount over the prices paid for their work in 1901.

We aver that from the best information obtainable, the present rate of wages paid to employees performing contract or piece work in the anthracite fields is not lower than the average rate of wages paid in the bituminous coal fields for substantially similar work, nor lower than wages paid



in other occupations requiring equal skill and training; that the average annual earnings are not less than the average annual earnings in the bituminous fields for substantially similar work, nor less than the average annual earnings of workers in occupations requiring equal skill and training. But, we aver, that if it should appear that the average annual earnings of the anthracite employees performing contract or piece work are less than the annual average earnings of workers in the bituminous field, or in any occupation requiring equal skill and training, the fact is due to the conduct of the contract or piece workers themselves, because they (except on days when work may be interrupted by accidents in the mines, breakage of machinery, shortage of cars for shipment of coal, or other causes beyond the control of the Companies), themselves regulate their hours of labor; and that whereas, by remaining at work for a reasonable number of hours they could largely increase their earnings, they leave their work in from three to five hours, notwithstanding that their employers desire them to remain for a longer period and thus not only increase their own earnings, as before stated, but those of all the employees in and about the colliery, because the number of hours' work in the breakers and of all men and boys paid by the day or hour, and the earnings of the miners' laborers are entirely dependent upon and controlled by the amount of coal sent up from the mine by the contract or piece workers; and we assert that the miners, who are the contract and piece workers, deliberately fix their own hours of labor and the amount of their earnings without any regard for the interests or wishes of their employers, and in total disregard of the earnings and welfare of every other class of employees.

We further aver that the existing rate of wages paid the mine workers is sufficient compensation in view of the character of their occupation; that the proportion of accidents to the numbers employed is not greater than in many occupations requiring like skill and training; that there is no greater liability to serious and permanent disease, nor a higher death rate nor a shorter trade life incident to the occupation of mine workers, than is found in many other employments, and we assert that the fact is that there is no class of workers healthier, stronger and longer lived than the mine workers in the anthracite field.

While we are unable to say what is "the American standard of living," we assert that an inspection of the places and manner of living of the anthracite workers and the appearance of the men and boys employed, and of the families of the workers, with their schools and facilities for education provided for the children, demonstrate that, as a class, the mine workers and their families are as well housed, clothed, fed and educated as any other similar class in the country, due regard being had to their ordinary habits of life and ways and ideas of living; and that those who are sober,

industrious and thrifty, willing to attend to their duties when work is open to them, can accumulate means as readily as men engaged in any other industry.

In October, 1900, a general advance of ten per cent. was made in the wages of all employees in the anthracite region, and this advance alone has much more than covered any increased cost of living that may have latterly been met, but in addition to that advance, work has been much more steady and abundant for those who would avail themselves of the opportunity to work; yet the miners have not, and apparently will not, reap the benefit of that opportunity, but, on the contrary, since the advance of ten per cent. in 1900 the contract and piece workers have produced less coal per man than theretofore, apparently contenting themselves with about the same amount of income they had before the advance was made.

The laws of Pennsylvania prescribe that no minor under the age of fourteen shall be employed inside of any mine, and none under twelve years of age outside the mine; and that before employment the fact that the minor is above that age must be attested by the parents or guardian or by other satisfactory proof. The children of the anthracite mine workers enjoy as good educational advantages as children of any other class in any other community, and if they are forced to work before attaining the age mentioned, they do so in defiance of the law and through fraud on the part of the parents or others entitled to act for them.

Wages on the present scale are not below the fair and just earnings of mine workers in the anthracite industry, but, on the contrary, are a fair and just return for the amount and character of the work performed.

A reduction of twenty per cent. in the hours of labor, without any reduction in the earnings for all employees, paid by the hour, day or week, would result in an increase of cost of such labor to the employer of twenty-five per cent., which, if granted, must inevitably fall upon the public in an increased price of coal. All such labor is now paid its full value, and nothing in the conditions justifies any such increase, for the same reasons that apply to the other employees, as above stated.

We deny that the ten-hour day is detrimental to the health, life or safety and well-being of the mine workers, or that shorter hours improve the physical, mental or moral condition of the workers, or that shorter hours increase the intensity and efficiency of labor, or that a working day of eight hours is sufficiently long for the best interests of the workingman and of the community.

We aver that, outside of engineers, firemen, pump runners, and some classes of foremen, the employees rarely work ten hours out of twenty-four.

As has been before stated, the miners do not work an average of four to five hours when they go in the mine, but the time of the run of the breaker, and of all the work other than that of miners, is governed by the amount of coal cut by the miners. The system long ago established, and now prevailing, of taking the number of hours worked by all employees (except those working on monthly salaries, and the miners and their laborers, paid by contract or piece work) during a month, dividing the aggregate number of hours by ten, and thus arriving at what is called the number of days worked per month, is misleading, because it indicates a fewer number of days and a longer period of labor during each day than the men and boys have actually been at work, and inspection of the payrolls will prove this at a glance.

We aver that it is impossible to adopt any system by which the exact amount of coal contained in a mine car, as it comes from the mine, can be determined.

When the mine is feeding the breaker with cars, the hoist averages generally from one to two cars a minute. There is no time and no place to take out, sort and weigh the contents of a car. While it is true that in former years the very small sizes that are now merchantable were thrown on the dump, it is the fact that during that time much more lump coal was produced and sold than at present, from which there was little breakage or waste; whereas now that the demand for lump coal has very greatly decreased and the coal has to be broken down to the sizes demanded by the market and consumers, there is a considerable loss to the operator in the unavoidable making of small sizes in the process of breaking down and cleaning. The small sizes referred to, moreover, command but a comparatively small price in the market, are sold entirely for steam purposes in competition with bituminous coal, and net the companies but a trifling sum, so that if such small sizes should be included as demanded, it would be necessary in justice to the employers to reduce the price paid the miner per car or ton.

The difference between the "miners' ton" as it is known at the mines, and the market ton of 2,240 pounds, is intended to offset the impurities that are found in the mine car, and the loss by breakage in preparation, and this difference varies in amount at different mines, according to the conditions existing in each.

As under the contract or piece work system, the miner employs and controls his own laborer, who loads the cars in the mine, the miner usually only drilling holes, firing blasts and taking care of his chamber, the remedy for any complaint in this regard is in the hands of the miner, who, if he will stay in the mine a reasonable time and superintend the loading of the

cars and see that rock, slate and other waste is not thrown in, would himself remove any cause there may be for complaint for either the employers or the miner.

In reply to the Fourth demand presented, we assert that this Commission has no right or power to consider any proposition looking to an agreement with or recognition of the United Mine Workers of America for the reason that the letter of the Companies submitted to the President of the United States, which is the only basis and warrant for the proceedings of this Commission, expressly states that the Companies submit only such questions of difference as exist between them and their own employees as individuals.

We assert emphatically, that we have never compelled or attempted to compel, any of our employees to make or sign individual agreements, nor interfered with or questioned the right of the men to form or join any organization they may think it for their interest to affiliate with, and assert that we have never failed to consider, and adjust as far as possible any complaints made to us by our own employees, individually or by committees of their own number, chosen by them, irrespective of whether or not they belonged to associations or unions.

We deny that agreements between employers and employees through workmen's organizations are beneficial and successful in the bituminous coal fields or elsewhere, and assert that any such agreement as a method of regulating production would be and is injurious to the best interests of the public.

We deny that unions of workmen tend to better the discipline of the men and to the improvement of their physical, mental or moral conditions, and to the preservation of friendly relations between employer and employee, but assert, on the contrary, that since the advent of the association called "The United Mine Workers of America" in the anthracite fields, the workers there have become demoralized; that those who have joined the association have tyrannized over those who would not join and committed innumerable acts of violence and oppression since they forced the strike in May last, in order to deter from working those who wished to do so; that they attempted the destruction of the properties of the Companies by calling out the engineers, firemen, pump runners, and others, whose only work was to protect the properties from flood and fire, and preserve them not only for the owners, but for the men when they should resume work; under the rule of the Union unnumbered petty strikes have occurred since 1900 and the discipline at the mines where a large number of the employees are boys, always inclined to be unruly, but admitted to a vote and voice in the Union, has been so impaired as to make a marked

decrease in the efficiency of the working forces and the productive capacity of the mines.

Finally we assert that the great majority of the, "United Mine Workers of America" are men employed in the bituminous coal fields; that the action of the Union is controlled by a majority vote in their conventions; that the bituminous men largely outnumber and dominate the anthracite men; that few, if any, of the officers of the Union have had any experience in the anthracite field, most of them who have worked at all having acquired their knowledge of coal mining in the bituminous regions; that the system of mining and preparation of coal is entirely different in the two regions; that bituminous coal is substantially the only competitor of anthracite coal in the markets of the country, and that it is directly antagonistic not only to the interests of the owners of anthracite properties, but of every man and boy employed on those properties, that they should be led, advised and controlled by an influence (guided, perhaps, by the employer to some extent), that has not and can not have their interests solely at heart.

T. P. FOWLER,  
President, Scranton Coal Company,  
and Elk Hill Coal and Iron Company.

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**TO THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE COMMISSION.**

**THE REPLY OF THE LEHIGH AND WILKES BARRE COAL COMPANY TO THE DEMANDS OF THOSE ANTHRACITE MINE WORKERS REPRESENTED BY JOHN MITCHELL.**

The Lehigh and Wilkes Barre Coal Company, replying to the demands of John Mitchell, representing certain anthracite mine workers, says:

First. That it owns twelve collieries situate in the counties of Luzerne, Schuylkill and Carbon, and that it did operate, previous to the strike inaugurated by the United Mine Workers of America, eleven collieries and one washery, and that at that time it employed six thousand five hundred (6,500) men in and about the mines.

Second. The demand for an increase of twenty per cent. upon the price paid during the year 1901 to employees performing contract or piece work is unreasonable and unjust. An increase of ten per cent. was made in the year 1900. To grant this demand and further increase these prices by the amount named would add twenty per cent. to prices already recently increased by ten per cent.

There is no such similarity in the mining of anthracite and bituminous coal as to make wages paid in the bituminous coal field a standard for wages paid in the anthracite coal field. The mining of anthracite coal is not substantially similar work to the mining of bituminous coal. The present rate of wages in the anthracite coal mines operated by this Company, making proper allowance for the difference in conditions, is not lower than the rate of wages paid in the bituminous coal fields, nor is it lower than the rate of wages paid in other occupations requiring equal skill and training. The average annual earnings in the mines of this Company of men working the full time which they have the opportunity of working are not less than the average annual earnings of men working for the like time in the bituminous coal fields, nor are they less than the average annual earnings of men working like time in occupations requiring equal skill and training. Nor is the rate of wages in the anthracite coal mines of this Company insufficient to compensate mine workers, in view of the character and risk of their work. As respects the sufficiency of the earnings of workers in the mines of this Company, to maintain what is called in the demand presented by John Mitchell "the American standard of living" and "a fair standard of living," this Company asks that this standard be defined, so the issues on this point may be more definite, but it insists that it is easy for industrious mine workers working in its mines, whenever work is offered, to maintain, with present wages, a standard of living superior to that enjoyed by workmen in occupations requiring equal skill and training.

This Company expressly denies that the wages of any workers in its mines are so low as to prematurely force their children into the breakers and the mills instead of being educated upon the earnings of their parents. On the contrary, it alleges that boys are never employed in its breakers except with the knowledge of their parents and upon representation that such boys are above the lawful age at which they are permitted under the laws of Pennsylvania to work. That the wages of industrious employees in the mines of this Company are sufficient to enable them to maintain a comfortable standard of living, and to prevent their being forced to send their children prematurely into the breakers and mills, is evidenced by the investments that they have been able to make of savings in homes, in building associations, in savings bank deposits, and otherwise, so that the towns and cities adjacent to the mines of this Company, though containing a large foreign population who have not yet adopted the mode of life common to American workmen, are superior to mining towns in other mining districts of the United States.

Third. As respects the second demand that a reduction of twenty per cent. be made in the hours of labor, without any reduction of earnings, for all employees paid by the hour, the day or the week, this is in substance a demand for an increase of twenty per cent. in the cost of labor. It is unreasonable and unjust that any such increase should be made, and all considerations affecting the demand for a direct increase of twenty per cent. upon contract or piece work apply with equal force to this demand.

The certified miners, under present conditions, seldom work eight hours a day. The greater cost in the production and preparation of anthracite coal for market is not the cutting of the coal. Many employees are paid by the month; the pumping continues day and night; the machinery is expensive, and the cost of coal is largely conditioned on the collieries running full time. The output is entirely dependent on the quantity of coal a certified miner is willing to cut daily, and because of this it is seldom practical to work the full breaker time.

Any increase in wages will necessarily increase the price of coal to the public, restrict its use, and seriously affect the ability of the industries using it as fuel to compete with the industries using bituminous coal. It will bear heavily on the workmen and necessarily oppress the general public, and injure the general business of the country. Because of the injury to the mines by the strike of the United Mine Workers of America the cost of producing coal has been greatly increased and a temporary advance in price was made, but it would be objectionable to continue such increase when mining operations become normal.

Fourth. As respects both demands for this twenty per cent. increase, whether by direct increase in wages, or a reduction in the hours of work, the amount which can be paid for labor in the mines of this Company depends not upon any arbitrary amount which is claimed to provide a wage sufficient to maintain any particular standard of living, but upon the price at which anthracite coal can be sold. Anthracite coal is sold in increasingly close competition with other kinds of fuel, notably with bituminous coal, gas and oil, and any amount which can and will be paid for labor in the mining and preparation for market of anthracite coal depends upon the prices which the public are willing to pay for it in competition with other kinds of fuel.

Fifth. As respects the adoption of a system by which coal shall be weighed, and paid for by weight, this Company states that it has had no disagreements with any of its employees about the weighing of coal. The payments are determined by the car, not by the ton, which cars are uniform in size for the mine where used; and the rate per car is fixed for the dif-

ferent veins in the several mines or collieries. It denies that there is anything unreasonable or unfair in the method it has practiced in arriving at the payment for the mining of coal from its mines, but avers that such method is just and equitable.

Sixth. As respects the demand that the wages and conditions of employment shall be incorporated in an agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and the anthracite coal companies, this Company insists that this is not a subject which the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission should consider, and, on the contrary, alleges that this subject was excluded from consideration by the terms of submission under which the Commission was appointed.

The statement in which this Company joined, under which this Commission was appointed, contained the following proviso:

"The managers of the coal companies are not willing to enter into arbitration with the Mine Workers' Union, an organization chiefly composed of men in rival and competitive interests, and they are not willing to make any arrangements which will not secure to the men now working and all now or hereafter wishing to work, whether they belong to the Mine Workers' Union or not, the right and opportunity to work in safety and without personal insult or bodily harm to themselves or their families."

The question whether this Company should, against its will, become a party to any agreement between other anthracite coal companies and the United Mine Workers of America, respecting wages to be paid and the conditions of employment, is not before this Commission.

November 7, 1902.

Respectfully submitted,

ANDREW H. McCLINTOCK,

DE FOREST BROTHERS,

Counsel for Lehigh and Wilkes Barre Coal  
Company.



**ANSWER OF THE LEHIGH COAL AND NAVIGATION COMPANY.**

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE COMMISSION,  
APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company respectfully submits the following answer to the demands of the miners:—

*First.*—The Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company is the oldest corporation engaged in the mining of coal in the anthracite region. It was chartered in 1822, and was the successor of the Lehigh Coal Mine Company, which was organized in 1793. It also acquired certain rights on the Lehigh River which were granted in 1818. It gradually improved the slack-water navigation of the river, and finally completed the Lehigh Canal, from White Haven to Easton, where it connected with the State Canal (which it now controls), running to Bristol on the Delaware, twenty miles above Philadelphia. It also built and owns the Lehigh and Susquehanna Railroad system, running from Phillipsburg to Scranton, which is leased for a share of the gross receipts to the Central Railroad Company of New Jersey. It owns and controls about 14,000 acres of coal lands in Carbon and Schuylkill Counties, which are estimated to contain over 500,000,000 tons of available unmined coal. Its employees number about 6,000 and its capacity of production is over 200,000 tons a month. Its capital stock and funded debt amount to upwards of \$32,000,000. All of its capital stock and bonds were issued for full value, but although its more important coal lands were purchased at a time when the country was a wilderness, and all its lands have been acquired at moderate prices, the dividends upon its capital stock to date only average 4.02 per cent. The profit on coal mined by the company during the ten years ending December 31, 1901, has averaged 11.09 cents per ton, after charging off taxes on coal lands and depreciation, but not including any charge for royalty which represents the value of the coal in the ground. Nor were the rates of freight upon the railroad exorbitant, as is shown by the fact that the company operated its own canal, but found it advantageous to send the coal to market over the railroad, rather than by the canal. The building of the first blast furnace at Catasauqua, of the Crane Iron Company, was promoted by the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company in 1841, and the first development of the iron industry, and the subsequent development of the cement and other industries which have replaced the manufacture of pig iron since the exhaustion of the cheap ores of Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, were only rendered possible by the supplies of cheap fuel, and the moderate freights which have been given by the canal and railroads.

*Second.*—The demand for an increase of twenty per cent. upon the prices paid during the year 1901 to the employees performing contract or piece work is utterly unjustifiable, and the reasons given in support of such demand are not founded in fact. The first and third reasons are based upon the average annual earnings in the bituminous coal fields for substantially similar work.

(a.) This company does not know what rate of wages is paid in the bituminous coal fields throughout the country, but there is nowhere in any fields "substantially similar work" to that which is done under contract in the mines of this company. The bituminous coal fields, extending from Pennsylvania to the Pacific, have no uniform rate of wages, and the conditions are so different in different localities that it would be impossible to obtain, with any certainty, a standard which would be of any use in considering the wages which should be paid in the mines of this company. It is a fact, however, that miners of ordinary skill and experience have always been able to go from the mines of this company to any other mining region throughout the country and obtain employment; but with the exception of the very considerable number who have obtained positions as bosses and foremen and superintendents in bituminous mines, those who have gone from the mines of this company have invariably returned. This was notably the case during the recent strike. Labor was never in greater demand throughout the country, and any able-bodied man could find employment upon the railroads or in the iron furnaces and mills, or in the bituminous mines and slate quarries; but those who went to the bituminous mines found the conditions so much harder and so much more disagreeable that they refused to remain, and so soon as work was resumed nearly every one who had left the employment of this company returned; and one of the most serious difficulties which has occurred since the resumption of work has been that so many of them have insisted that those who have taken their places should be removed and that they should be given their old situations.

(b.) The second, fourth, fifth, and ninth reasons, which allege in effect that the present rate of wages and the average annual earnings are less than in other occupations requiring equal skill and training, and not sufficient to compensate the mine workers, in view of the dangerous character of their occupation, and below the fair and just earnings of mine workers, are equally unfounded. The work of the miner in the anthracite mines does not require unusual skill or training. A laborer of ordinary intelligence could in the course of a few months learn all that is necessary that a skilled miner should know. Under the law, a beginner is required to work two years before he can get a certificate as a miner who is to cut and blast coal, but no such length of time is really necessary to

qualify the average man for the work. That the rate of wages is not lower than that paid in other occupations requiring equal skill and training, and that the average earnings are not less or insufficient to compensate them in view of the character of their occupation, is apparent from the fact that they have preferred, during many years, to remain in the employment of the company rather than go elsewhere. About one-half of the men work inside and about one-half outside.

The wages earned per day, and the aggregate amount for the year 1901, are set forth in the statement hereto annexed, marked "Exhibit A." It will be seen that for a day of ten hours contract miners earned an average of \$3.14 per day; skilled laborers, \$2.31; unskilled laborers, \$1.83; boys, \$1.00 for work underground. The rates for outside labor average as follows: Skilled labor, \$1.96; unskilled labor, \$1.28; boys, 77 cents. The average annual earnings of adults were \$475.25.

They have some incidental advantages. Supplies are cheap, and the climate is an exceptionally good one, and while working underground the men escape the extremes of temperature which a farm laborer, a lumberman, or a workman in open quarries must encounter, and the experience of many years has shown that those who leave the anthracite mines, attracted by the stories of higher wages paid in the gold and silver mines of the Rocky Mountains, almost invariably return. In fact, very few men who have worked for the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company have ever left it voluntarily, except those able to obtain official positions, as bosses or superintendents in other mines and foreigners who had saved a competence and returned to their homes in Europe.

(c.) The further reason that the earnings are insufficient to maintain the American standard of living, and to maintain a fair standard of life upon the basis of present wages, and so low that their children are prematurely forced into the breakers, is entirely inconsistent with the facts, so far as the operations of this company are concerned. It is much to be regretted that the members of the Commission had only time to visit the nearly worked-out portion of one of the collieries of the company, and were unable to see Lansford, Summit Hill, and other mining villages in which the conditions of life are as favorable as are enjoyed by an American workman in any part of the country. Out of 3,043 families, 870 own their own houses. Pianos will be found in 146, and house organs in 337. The company owns and rents to its employees 671 houses, at an average rental of four dollars and seventy cents a month. The character of these houses is fully up to the average in any part of the country occupied by any other class of workmen. As a systematic misrepresentation of the facts in regard to the condition of the miners in the anthracite region, photographs of the shanties and huts put up and occupied by foreigners

(who are unwilling to pay fair rentals, and prefer to save the larger part of their earnings, in order that they may return to their homes and live in idleness) have been printed and widely published, and the attention of the Commission was called from time to time to hovels of this character as illustrations of the way in which the men were obliged to live; but if the homes of self-respecting miners, who have worked for this company from boyhood, as did their fathers before them, could have been visited it would have been seen that they were living with the comfort and neatness and conveniences of American civilization. It has been the policy of the company to sell surface rights to those of its employees who desired to put up their own houses, and for many years there has been a steady demand on this account. The town of Summit Hill has a population of about three thousand, and almost the entire surface, with the dwellings, is now owned and occupied by employees of the company. This borough and Lansford are lighted with electric light, both incandescent for domestic use and arc lights for the streets, the electricity for these lights being furnished by this company practically at cost. The incandescent lights in the dwellings in Lansford and vicinity number over 6,000. It should be added that this company owns over one hundred houses which were built many years ago, and which are much inferior to the present standard, and these are rented at a rate of about two dollars and fifty cents a month or less to those who are unwilling to pay a higher rental. It is in all cases, however, a matter of choice and not of necessity that any employee should occupy such a dwelling, and almost without exception these people are foreign born who do not speak the English language.

The families of the employees have ample school accommodations, with capable teachers, and over three thousand children are in attendance, while over seventy-five per centum of the whole fund expended in the region is derived from taxes paid by this company upon its coal estate. The law forbids employing boys under twelve years of age, but the company must rely upon the representations of the parents as to the ages of their boys. In case of doubt, they are required to furnish affidavits, and if any below the prescribed age do impose upon the officials of the company the number must be very limited. It is to be observed, also, that in the preparation and handling of the coal there is an unusual demand for the labor of boys. Slate picking is a very easy occupation compared to the work done by the boy upon a farm, and many are needed to take care of the mine mules and other light work, and in this way the wages of the household are largely and legitimately increased. It is probably true that it is by the combined exertions of the father and his boys that the comfortable dwellings which many of them occupy have been built and furnished, but in very many cases the father has been able to send his sons

to high schools or technical schools and to college for education. Since 1887 more than two hundred and fifty young men have gone from Lansford and other villages in the neighborhood to normal schools and colleges and become mining engineers, attorneys, chemists, dentists, architects, ministers, and priests.

As before stated, some of the foreigners prefer to live in a very niggardly and squalid manner, so that they may accumulate the larger part of their earnings, and return to Europe to live in idleness; but those who have their permanent home in the region have at least \$1,000,000 on deposit in the banks and saving funds in the vicinity, saved from the wages earned in the employment of this company. The annual remittances to their families and friends abroad, through agencies in the region and vicinity, amounted to \$150,000 or more. To this should be added the large savings of the Italian laborers who generally remit through New York bankers, and of Swedes who periodically send one of their number to Sweden to carry their remittances. In 1884 the company established a beneficial fund, to which it has contributed the sum of \$196,889, and the employees \$154,768.

When the strike of 1900 occurred, the employees of this company refused to join in the strike or to become members of the Union. Repeated meetings were held, and appeals were made to stand by the men in the other sections, but they declined, and upon two occasions mobs of several thousand men marched into the Panther Creek Valley and drove the men from their work.

In recognition of their fidelity the Board made a contribution to the beneficial fund of \$25,000 as set forth in the following statement:

*To the Employees of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company:*

"The officers and managers of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company desire to give public expression of their high appreciation of the conduct of their employees during the recent strike in other portions of the region. Their steadfast loyalty prevented the business and prosperity of the community in which they lived from being interfered with, and by working they served both the Company's interest and their own. Such an exhibition of friendly feeling on the part of the men in the employ of the Company is most gratifying, and it is confidently hoped that nothing will ever occur to disturb the cordial relations which have so long prevailed. In recognition of the courage and fidelity shown by their employees, the managers of the Company at their last meeting directed that a contribution of \$25,000 should be made to the Lansford Beneficial Fund.

"This fund has been in successful operation since 1884, and is one in which all the employees of the Company participate if they are so unfortunate as to be injured in the Company's service. This contribution is in addition to the sum paid annually, which is based on the production of coal by the Company. The contribution to this fund by the Company and the men amount up to this time to upwards of \$320,000, which sum has nearly all been paid out under the rules and regulations of the fund to the employees of this Company, and the fund in its practical working has proven to be one of the most worthy institutions.

"The sum donated is to be invested in good mortgage bonds, and held in trust, and the income from the same is to be used to augment the receipts of the fund.

LEWIS A. RILEY,  
*President.*

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 7, 1900."

Since then, most of them have joined the union, and felt bound to join in the strike when ordered last May.. No complaint was addressed to this company; no grievance alleged; and no request for higher wages made; but, without notice, the men left work in a body, against their own will and judgment, because required to do so by the vote of the miners employed in other coal fields. During the strike, many of them have expressed their anxiety to resume work, and many of them have assured the soldiers and officers, who were on duty, that so far as they were concerned, they would be glad to go back, if permitted to do so, and they were only deterred and held back by being kept in a state of subjection by a small minority of lawless men, who assaulted those who were at work, terrorized their families, attacked their homes, and made it impossible for any man to resume work unless sheltered and fed within the protection of the company. There have been, of course, the usual protestations on the part of the leaders of the union that they discouraged violence, but they were easily understood in the sense which was intended, and a fresh outbreak always followed a visit of the strike leaders to the neighborhood. These brutal and savage crimes were only committed in the interest of the strike ordered by the union. No personal animosity prompted or inspired them, but they were made systematically and repeatedly and deliberately in the interests of the strike of the miners' union, and the miners' union did nothing as an organization, to prevent them, nor made the slightest effort to secure the arrest and conviction of the men guilty of these outrages. On the contrary, it did what it could to shield and defend them. A list of the events of this character, far from complete, will be found in the Appendix, marked "Exhibit B."

*Third.*—The claim for a reduction of twenty per cent. in the hours of labor, without any reduction in earnings, for all employees paid by the hour, day, or week, would be peculiarly absurd if enforced as against this company. In point of fact, the breakers of the company are only able to run nine hours a day and not ten. The miners only work from five to seven hours a day, and the real difficulty in the region is that contract labor prices are too high, as the men get an amount sufficient for their wants by working less than three-quarters of a day. The men employed by the day only work, as a maximum, nine hours, and as many of them consume from half an hour to an hour in going to and from their work to the foot of the shaft, they do not even work nine hours. Compared to the work of the farm laborer or the man upon the railroad, the hours of labor and the wages are much more satisfactory in the mines of this company than in any other employment in Eastern Pennsylvania, as is shown by the fact that the supply has always been equal to the demand. As illustrating the influence of the excessive rates paid for contract work, it may be said that during normal conditions in April of this year the men working by contract only earned an average of \$3.02 a day, but when it became probable that a strike would be ordered, the same men earned an average of \$4.46<sup>a</sup> a day.

*Fourth.*—The claim that a system should be adopted by which coal should be paid for by weight "whenever practicable," has no application to this company. A geological map, made many years ago by Mr. Rothwell, is hereto annexed marked "Exhibit C," which will show at a glance the general character of the veins in the property of the Lehigh Company. Some of them are at places quite vertical, and are nearly always what are known as steep pitching. Not only does each mine, therefore, constitute a distinct problem, but the conditions in each mine vary from month to month, and almost from day to day. As no supervision can be exercised over the miner engaged in cutting coal at the top of a steep chamber or room, the work must be done by contract, and the only method which has ever given satisfaction is to pay for the cutting by the lineal yard. How much this should be can only be determined in each particular case between the superintendent or mine boss and the miner. When mining is not paid for by the lineal yard, the contract is based on a price at the breaker in cars. The cars used by this company are of uniform size, each containing one hundred cubic feet. The price paid varies according to the condition of the vein, locality, degree of danger, etc.; etc.; the car must be a full carload and be reasonably free from impurities; no uniform price per car could be fixed that would be fair to the miner or to the company, but most of the work is paid for by the lineal yard. Any method

of paying for coal by weight, under the conditions prevalent at the collieries operated by this company would therefore be impracticable, and is not desired by either the employers or employees. There must be a bargain made for each separate piece of work, and that this can be done to the satisfaction of both sides is conclusively proved by the fact already mentioned, that at the time of the strike in 1900 the employees of the company refused to join it, and were almost unanimously opposed to that ordered in May last.

Down to 1900 any differences of opinion between the miners and the mine boss were easily adjusted by a reference to the mine foreman, or, if necessary, by an appeal to the superintendent, but since the strike of 1900, and the men have been induced to become members of the miners' union, they have been much more disposed to be unreasonable and make trouble, and the adjustment of prices to be paid for contract work has not always been easy, and in consequence of the advance in wages, they have been able to earn the same rate of wages as formerly by less work, so that the result is that the output of the mines has been considerably reduced. Some influence, believed to be that of the union, has led the men to reduce the production, but notwithstanding this difficulty, it remains true that the only way in which wages can be satisfactorily measured is by contract for the work done, which necessarily varies from mine to mine, and sometimes between breasts upon the same gangway, and even upon the same breast, from day to day.

*Fifth.*—To the demand that there shall be an agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and the anthracite coal companies, this company respectfully calls attention to the fact that the statement under which the Commission was appointed declared that the managers of the coal companies were not willing to enter into arbitration with the mine workers' union, for the reason that that organization was chiefly composed of men in rival and competitive interests, and were not willing to make any arrangement which would not secure to the men then working, or then and thereafter wishing to work, whether they belonged to the mine workers' union or not, the opportunity to work in safety, without personal insult or bodily harm to themselves or their families.

This company desires to reiterate the objections then specified, and say that it would not have consented to appear before the Commission if it had not understood that it was not to be asked to enter into an agreement with the mine workers' union. In addition to the reasons urged by the representatives of the operators against entering into any such agreement, there are some peculiar to this company. The conditions of mining in the Lehigh and Schuylkill regions are quite different from those



which exist in the Wyoming and Scranton districts. While this company has no objection, therefore, to its own employees organizing among themselves, it has always objected and does object even to an organization which includes other anthracite fields, working under different systems of compensation, as a result of which its men are ordered upon strikes by reasons of controversies in which they have no interest. It is unreasonable and unjust that the mines of this company should be shut down because of a quarrel in a mine in Luzerne or Lackawanna Counties, and it is absurd that a question in dispute in its mines should be determined by the authority of miners in the bituminous coal field, who are interested to have the anthracite mines shut down in order that they may themselves work full time in their mines.

It would be still more inexcusable that any outside authority should assume to interfere in the discharge of an employee. Every freeman has the right to quit work when and as he chooses, and the employer must possess and be able to exercise the reciprocal right of discharge if he is to maintain discipline; and in a business where property of such vast importance, and the lives of hundreds, are at the mercy of those engaged in running the engines or hoists or in charge of the ventilation, it would be criminal for the owners to abdicate their duty and surrender their right to discharge any man in their employ at pleasure; and if this company has been erroneously advised to the effect that no such question has been submitted to the Commission for its consideration or decision, it respectfully prays to be permitted to withdraw from the submission which otherwise it would gladly make.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

THE LEHIGH COAL AND NAVIGATION COMPANY,

By  
LEWIS A. RILEY,  
*President.*

SAMUEL DICKSON,

*Counsel.*

## EXHIBIT A.

## WAGES OF MINERS.

STATEMENT SHOWING the earnings of the employes of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company for one year, based on the time worked during 1901, the number of the several classes of workmen, and the rates paid being taken from the pay roll for the first half of May, 1902:—

## A.—INSIDE THE MINES.

Description.	No. of employes.	Daily average rates.	Earnings per day.
Contract miners.....	622	\$3.144	\$1,955 57
Other skilled labor.....	707	2.31	1,633 17
Unskilled labor.....	1,032	1.83	1,888 56
Boys.....	114	1.006	114 68
Total.....	2,475	.....	<u>\$5,591 98</u>

Description.	No. of days employed.	Annual earnings per classes.	Average annual earnings per employe.
Contract miners.....	235	\$459,558 95	\$788 84
Other skilled labor.....	241	393,593 97	556 71
Unskilled labor.....	216	407,923 96	395 28
Boys.....	208.75	23,939 45	210 00
Total.....	.....	<u>\$1,285,021 33</u>	<u>\$519 20</u>

Average annual earnings of the 2,361 adults employed inside, \$534.20.

Average daily earnings for a day of ten hours, of the 2,361 adults employed inside, \$2.32.

## B.—OUTSIDE THE MINES.

Description.	No. of employes.	Daily average rates.	Earnings per day.
Skilled labor.....	605	\$1.96	\$1,185 80
Unskilled labor.....	1,279	1.28	1,637 12
Boys.....	761	.77	585 97
Total.....	2,645	.....	<u>\$3,408 89</u>

Description.	No. of days employed.	Annual earnings per classes.	Average annual earnings per employe.
Skilled labor.....	275	\$326,095 00	\$589 00
Unskilled labor.....	258	422,376 96	330 24
Boys.....	208.75	122,321 24	160 73
Total.....	.....	<u>\$870,798 20</u>	<u>\$329 22</u>

Average annual earnings of the 1,884 adults employed outside, \$379.28.

Average daily earnings of the 1,884 adults employed outside, \$1.499.

## SUMMARY A AND B.

	Aver. daily earnings per employee.	Aver. annual earnings per employee.
2,861 adults, inside.....	\$2.32	\$584 18
1,884 adults, outside.....	1.499	397 28
4,245 adults, inside and outside.....	1.955	475 75
114 boys, inside.....	\$1.006	\$210 00
761 boys, outside.....	.77	160 73
875 boys, inside and outside.....	.80	167 16
4,245 adults, inside and outside.....	\$1.955	\$475 75
875 boys, inside and outside.....	\$0.80	\$167 73
5,120 employees, inside and outside.....	1.756	421 05

During the months of August and December heavy rains occurred, drowning out a number of mines and resulting in loss of working time, equal to thirty days for all the collieries.

The 5,120 employees represent 3,043 families.

The average total daily wages paid by the company was equal to daily average per family.....	\$2 96
Total amount paid the employees of the company in 1901 was.....	2,158,885 88
Had not two floods reduced the working time by about thirty days, the amount paid would have been about.....	2,355,142 69

Approximate value of property owned by employees past and present of Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company:

	Approximate value.	Assessed value.
Lansford.....	\$1,054,956	\$175,826
Summit Hill.....	644,780	107,455
Mauch Chunk township.....	504,990	84,165
Rahn township.....	304,540	248,730
Tamaqua.....	362,780	152,270
Totals.....	\$2,871,946	\$768,446

## MONEY ON DEPOSIT.

First National Bank, Mauch Chunk.....	\$800,000
Second National Bank, Mauch Chunk.....	350,000
Linderman National Bank, Mauch Chunk.....	185,000
First National Bank, Lansford.....	132,000
First National Bank, Tamaqua.....	370,000
Tamaqua Banking and Trust Company.....	193,000
Savings and Building funds and other depositories.....	500,000
Total.....	\$2,580,000

It is safe to say that at least one million dollars of the above deposits is the property of employees of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, and represents savings from wages earned in its employ. Of the 3,043 families now furnishing the employees for the company, 870, or nearly 27 per cent., own houses. In 146 of these houses pianos are found. In 337 of these houses organs are found. Churches and schools within the boundaries of Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company's territory:

#### CHURCHES.

Lansford.....	12
Summit Hill.....	7
Mauch Chunk township.....	3
Rahn township.....	6
East Ward, Tamaqua.....	1
Total .....	<u>29</u>

#### SCHOOLS.

	Teachers.	Scholars.
Lansford.....	28	1,120
Summit Hill.....	16	812
Mauch Chunk township.....	13	475
Rahn township.....	17	682
East Ward, Tamaqua.....	3	140
Totals.....	<u>77</u>	<u>3,179</u>

#### EXHIBIT B.

##### LIST OF RIOTS, ASSAULTS, AND OTHER OVERT ACTS ON THE PART OF STRIKERS IN THE LEHIGH COAL AND NAVIGATION COMPANY TERRITORY.

[There are many minor cases that were not made note of and many Hungarians, who continued at work, have been beaten without attention being specially called to the fact, fearing that if they would tell they would be subject to further abuse.]

May 16th.—A large body of strikers surrounded the men loading stock coal at Hauto, and threatened that if they did not cease work they would be stoned to death. Since then these men have been fed and lodged by the Company, all the while working and living under a strong guard day and night.

June 2d.—The engineers and firemen were called out on strike. Many of them did not immediately desert, but through intimidation and fear of assault, they were afraid to continue at work. In the course of a week but few remained at their posts.

- June 4th.—At Nesquehoning, houses of engineers remaining at work were stoned.
- June 5th.—Briggs, the engineer at No. 6, at night in the presence of his wife was threatened with bodily harm if he did not cease working. His wife was thrown into hysterics.
- June 8th.—A large meeting of strikers was held in Lansford Opera House, at which Mitchell was expected to speak. As a result of the meeting, the next morning (June 9th), large gangs of strikers congregated on the street corners as early as three o'clock and by threats and by intimidation turned back many men on their way to work.
- June 11th.—Sheriffs of Schuylkill and Carbon counties were asked to restore peace. A young man, named Ackerman, in going to work at Lansford Shops, was surrounded by a large mob, and hit a terrific blow in the face by a big Hungarian.
- June 16th.—Mobs kept a number of stable bosses at home, thus preventing them looking after the stock.
- June 12th.—Mobs made midnight calls at the houses of men away at work to frighten their wives with threats of blowing up their homes with dynamite if they did not persuade their husbands from going to work.
- June 13th.—Merchants, butchers, milkmen and bakers were warned by committees of strikers not to furnish the necessaries of life to the families of men at work or suffer the penalty of boycott. Hungarians working at No. 10, captured in Tamaqua by Coaldale strikers, and marched to McAdoo. To make the journey as painful as possible to the marched men, pebbles were put in their shoes by the strikers.
- June 28th.—Martin Poinitski was beaten by strikers because he persisted in working. Both he and his wife were assaulted while on their way home.
- June 29th.—Hungarian workmen were kidnapped by strikers and forced to walk to McAdoo.
- June 30th.—Clay gang was stopped from going to work. Policemen escorting men to work in the morning were attacked by mobs. Coal and iron policeman Harris, in getting off a trolley car while on the way to his home, was surrounded by a mob and accompanied as far as the door of his house. Threatening to follow into the house, he drew his revolver and drove them away. Later on, he was arrested and put under bail for carrying a concealed deadly weapon.
- Four coal and iron policemen, in trying to make arrests at noon, were surrounded by a mob, pushed around, beaten, and one badly wounded. A Hungarian was kidnapped and marched to Tamaqua by Coaldale strikers. The man was badly beaten. Thomas Barr

and Henry Shaeffer, coal and iron policemen, in protecting a Hungarian going to work, and attacked by a mob, were interfered with and beaten. The policemen swore out warrants against the leaders of the mob, who were released under light bail.

John Pashuta was forcibly taken off the pavement on Ridge Street, Lansford, and marched down the valley toward Tamaqua. He was beaten, kicked, and dragged by his heels, and left for dead by the roadside. He is still disabled through the severe treatment given him, and the doctors say his injuries are permanent.

Chief of Police, Chester, and Assistant Superintendent, Snyder, in endeavoring to rescue Pashuta were surrounded by the mob, thrown to the ground, jumped upon and robbed of their revolvers.

July 5th.—At the baseball park Lansford, stones were wedged in the guard rail of the trolley road. This same place was blocked a number of times afterward.

July 7th.—William Black, a workman at Summit Hill, while coming out of the hall of the P. O. S. of A. was surrounded by strikers and marched to Coaldale, and there by order of the Secretary of the Coaldale local, was taken to a club room where he was abused and obliged to swear that he would not go to work again.

After he had taken the oath, the officers discovered that it would not be safe to let him get into the hands of the mob outside of the building, so he was finally taken out the back way by some of the prominent strikers and given his liberty.

July 8th.—Elmer McCready and Samuel Nevins, Jr., two young men working at Colliery No. 4, were assaulted and beaten by a body of strikers. Eight or ten of the strikers being known by the young men, they were arrested but they were released by the Justice, putting them under light bail.

July 9th.—M. B. Weidlich, a coal and iron policeman, was surrounded by strikers on a street of Lansford, at dusk, marched to Coaldale, beaten, shamefully abused and stripped of all his clothing but his drawers. In this condition he walked to his home, a distance of several miles, which he reached in an exhausted condition. He was confined to bed for several weeks by his injuries.

July 10th.—James Smyrle, a brakeman, living at Summit Hill, just as he was leaving his home in the morning, was captured by a mob of strikers and marched to Coaldale. He was badly beaten, had his nose broken, and was nearly stripped nude. He reached home without shoes and but little clothing. Smyrle was laid up for a week or more on account of his injuries.

- July 10th.—The Sheriff of Carbon County applied for troops, and to impress the Governor with the great need of them, a committee of Lansford citizens went to Harrisburg and made a personal appeal to the Governor that he send troops to the Panther Creek Valley to protect life and property, and which at that time he refused to do.
- July 13th.—Samuel Meese, a stableman at Nesquehoning, was chased by an angry mob of strikers. To escape them he took refuge in the house of a friend.
- July 14th.—Harry Hornsberger, a coal and iron policeman, stationed at Lansford Shops, while going to work and still within forty feet of his door, was assaulted by strikers and threatened with death if he did not desert his post. Hornsberger had one of his assailants, Daniel S. Lewis, arrested and put under bail.
- July 26th.—John Heugle, a brakeman working for the company, living at Hauto, was captured by his neighbors, strikers, and marched towards Nesuehoning. Word being phoned to Lansford Office of the kidnapping of Heugle, a force of policemen boarded an engine, overtook the mob and rounded up 47 of them. All were brought to Lansford and put in the lock-up. Later in the evening when the door of the lock-up was opened to take the prisoners to the Squire for a hearing, with the aid of a lot of Lansford strikers the greater number escaped. However, all were finally put under bail to appear at court.
- July 26th.—The wife of Heugle while trying to help her husband escape from the mob, was knocked down and jumped upon by George Jyumber, a striker. Jyumber was arrested and put under bail.
- July 26th.—In the evening Arlington switch was half thrown open and blocked with stones and iron. This was discovered by a motorman just in time to prevent a serious accident.
- August 4th.—Rioting at Summit Hill. A number of workmen were beaten and a trolley car was held up.
- August 11th.—Thomas Reeves, conductor, was pulled off his car at Summit Hill by a mob of strikers.
- August 18th.—Pay Sharpe was killed at Nesquehoning by William Ronemus, whom he was assaulting. Troops were again asked for, and a battalion of the 12th Regiment arrived at Lansford the next morning. During the day they located permanently at Manila Grove.
- August 23d.—Rails on trolley road, on Coaldale grade, were greased.
- August 23d.—A Hungarian was abused and assaulted by strikers on the pipe leading to Lansford Office.
- August 24th.—The guard rail on curve at baseball park was filled up with stones and blocked.

- August 25th.—Peter King, a non-union man, was robbed by strikers on Centre Street, Lansford, while on his way to work. To avoid being mobbed he goes to his home but once a week.
- August 25th.—William Henry was not allowed to leave his house by a mob of strikers, and was kept in until August 27th.
- August 26th.—Thomas Barr and Edwin Fritz, coal and iron policemen, were badly beaten by a mob of strikers in Coaldale. Seventeen strikers were arrested for this offence.
- August 26th.—Mrs. Samuel Pollock, the wife of a workman, was abused by strikers and her clothes torn off her while on the streets of Lansford.
- August 26th.—A Hungarian, named Shoemaker, was badly beaten by the strikers in Lansford.
- August 27th.—Two trolley poles, on the Summit Hill grade, were sawed off. Two trolley poles between Lansford and Coaldale were dynamited. The rails on the grade east of Coaldale were greased.
- August 27th.—A bullet was fired by strikers into the house of W. C. Henry.
- August 28th.—A detachment of soldiers was sent to guard the house of Henry. They remained on duty the entire night.
- August 28th.—Strikers started two cars of sills down the Summit Hill grade. The cars derailed near No. 4 breaker and were completely wrecked. The lock and chain on a switch was taken off and thrown away.
- August 29th.—Strikers in early morning, at Lansford Opera House, jeered and hooted the soldiers. The soldiers making a charge on the strikers drove about 40 of them into the opera house, many in their haste breaking windows to get in.
- August 29th.—John Kelly and Frank and John King, strikers, while insulting soldiers, were captured and put in the guard house.
- August 30th.—W. C. Henry being surrounded by a mob, drew his revolver to defend himself.
- September 4th.—The trolley track to car barn was blocked with stones, sills and beer kegs, requiring ten minutes to clear away the obstructions.
- September 12th.—A Hungarian, working at No. 4, was caught by strikers near Lansford Shops and terribly beaten about the head. In a semi-conscious state he wandered to the camp at Manila Grove, where the soldiers dressed his wounds. Two other Hungarians were assaulted by strikers in Lansford and badly beaten.
- September 13th.—Through the accidental discharge of a carbine a Hungarian laborer was killed at No. 4 colliery.



- September 16th.—The behavior of the strikers, who interfered with the funeral of the Hungarian accidentally killed at Colliery No. 4, which took place from his boarding house on West Bertsch Street, Lansford, was most disgraceful. They held up the funeral for an hour and a quarter, insulting the preacher of the Lutheran Church, to which the Hungarian belonged, while conducting the services, and threatening the pallbearers with severe punishment if they attempted to remove the corpse from the house. At the graveyard a mob of about 1,000 gathered to hoot and jeer, and when the grave was partly filled up, desecrated it.
- September 17th.—Thomas Richards, serving as a coal and iron policeman, in order to escape neighbors who were persecuting him and his family, moved to a quieter part of Lansford. His moving was greatly interfered with by the strikers.
- September 18th.—Charles Loftus, another coal and iron policeman, while moving to another part of town, was interfered with by the strikers. His family were offered all sorts of insults. By hooting, jeering and dancing around the wagon, and by prodding the team of mules, they caused a runaway, with the result that a piano on the wagon was dumped off onto the street and badly damaged. Not satisfied with this, they further damaged the piano by throwing stones at it.
- September 27th.—Strikers surrounded the house of John Hunsicker, living at Summit Hill, and to keep him from going to work threw stones at the house, breaking in the windows. A detachment of soldiers was sent to protect him on his way to work.
- September 20th.—Archie and James McMichael, while taking a boy to work at Lansford Shops, were surrounded by a mob of strikers, who were throwing stones. Archie McMichael with his revolver dispersed the mob.
- September 30th.—W. C. Henry, to have peace, was obliged to move out of his own house into one he rented in the East Ward of Lansford.
- September 30th.—Crowds of strikers congregated at the corner of Bertsch and Center Streets and the corner of Ridge and Center Streets, Lansford, waiting to interfere with workmen going home from work, were dispersed by soldiers sent for that purpose.
- October 1st.—A train of coal cars were derailed at No. 9 switch. The strikers, learning of the derailment, assembled in large numbers, and in various ways interfered with the railroad men in getting the cars on the track. The mob became so violent that a detachment of soldiers were called for to disperse it.
- Mrs. Bristricke was cook in the No. 10 stockade during the strike. Before going to the stockade she lived with Mike Nickles, and left all

her belongings in his house excepting what she needed at the colliery. Nickles and his wife also took work at the colliery and while so employed locked up their house. Upon their return from the colliery, they found their home had been entered, and the contents destroyed. The legs of beds and tables were sawed off, trunks were broken beyond repair to get at the contents, the bedding was ripped to pieces, and the clothing belonging to Nickles and family, Mrs. Bristricke and several other boarders at work in the stockades, maliciously destroyed. The sleeves of coats and legs of trousers were cut off, skirts torn apart, furs cut to pieces, and portions of all burnt up by building a fire in the middle of one of the rooms on the first floor, which burned a large hole in the floor.

To protect property and workmen, to keep the pumps running, and to load and prepare coal, 323 men were kept in stockades, and boarded and lodged. The greater number of these men did not get away from the stockades for months.

In addition to the above, there were 5 cases of kidnapping, many riots, many cases of assault and battery, and any number of cases of intimidations.

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**ANSWER OF THE INDEPENDENT OPERATORS OF THE LACKAWANNA  
AND WYOMING REGION.**

Scranton, Pa., Nov. 6, 1902.

TO THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE COMMISSION:

Gentlemen—We beg to submit the answer of the independent operators of the Lackawanna and Wyoming region to the demand of our employees for a higher rate of wages and shorter hours. To their demand for a uniform increase of 20 per cent. for contract miners, and an equivalent increase to all other help employed, in the way of shorter hours, we affirm that the scale of wages now in force is such as to enable the diligent and skillful miner to earn more per hour than any class of labor, skilled or unskilled, employed in the cities and towns wherein our mines are located.

Previous to the advent of the Union of Mine Workers, the hours of labor and the number of cars produced per shift were optional with the miner, and his daily or annual earnings were entirely under his own control and varied with his idea of the proper standard of living. Since the advent of the Union of Miners, the hours of his labor have remained entirely optional with him, allowing him to work as few hours as he may

see fit, restricting him only to a certain number of cars to be sent out in any one day. We assert, and it is our purpose to prove to the entire satisfaction, we believe, of your Honorable Commission, that the rate of wages now paid per hour to the contract miner, if he is diligent and industrious, is greater than that paid to any skilled or unskilled labor in the cities or towns in which he lives, and are sufficiently ample to furnish him means not only to educate his children and live as becomes an American, but also to enable him to lay by sufficient means to support himself in his old age.

If we are successful in the presentation of facts and figures to your Honorable Commission which will substantiate our contention, we believe that the rate of wages paid and the hours worked should not be disturbed.

We herewith answer in detail the statements presented by the miners to your Honorable Commission:

First—The present rate of wages is much lower than the rate of wages paid in the bituminous coal fields for substantially similar work.

This is not a statement of fact. The earnings per hour of the anthracite miner are greater than the earnings per hour of the bituminous miner, as can be shown by comparison.

Second—The present rate of wages is lower than is paid in other occupations requiring equal skill and training.

In presenting our answer to this statement it is difficult, for obvious reasons, to determine upon any class of labor which is suitable for purposes of comparison; notwithstanding that it requires less preparatory training to qualify a man to be a licensed miner than is required in any of the other skilled trades. Despite this condition it will be shown by comparison that the earnings of the miner per hour equal and in most cases exceed the wages of the skilled workman in other branches of trade in this vicinity.

Third—The average annual earnings in the anthracite coal fields are much less than the average annual earnings in the bituminous coal fields for substantially similar work.

This statement is practically answered by our reply to the first demand. From the fact that the miner controls his own time of employment, the equitable way to arrive at his wages is to consider the number of hours he works per day, which, as we have stated, is entirely within his own control. We believe that we can show to the satisfaction of your Honorable Commission that, based on the actual number of hours worked

by the miner in any one year, his annual earnings are greater than the annual earnings of the miner in the bituminous field for the same number of hours.

Fourth—The average annual earnings in the anthracite coal fields are much less than the average annual earnings for occupation requiring equal skill and training.

To answer this statement we beg to call the attention of your Honorable Commission to that which we have already stated with regard to the amount of time which the miner puts in at his work. As we have said, the miner controls absolutely his own time. The rate of wages he is paid is high, and whether his bulked earnings for a year are larger or smaller than those of occupations requiring equal skill and training is a condition for which the time the miner is willing to devote to his work is responsible, and for which the operator in no wise can be held to account.

Fifth—The rate of wages in the anthracite coal fields is insufficient to compensate the mine workers in view of the dangerous character of the occupation, in relation to accidents, the liability to permanent disease, the big death rate, and the short trade life incident to this employment.

We submit that this statement is misleading and incorrect. (a) The rate of wages paid in the anthracite field is commensurate with the danger of the occupation, and is moreover much higher than the rate of wages paid in other occupations which statistics conclusively prove are more hazardous. (b) So far as the deleterious effect of coal work on the general health of the miner is concerned, we beg to submit a paper herewith attached (Exhibit A) which is signed by a number of miners employed at a certain colliery in this city.

#### ATTENTION, VOTERS.

To the Voters of Lackawanna County:

We, the undersigned miners of the Sloan mines, do hereby recommend for your consideration the candidacy and nomination of Llewellyn M. Evans for the office of Mine Inspector. We, as men employed under him, can conscientiously speak of him with full appreciation of his worth as a man and official; we hereby testify that the general condition of the Sloan mines is second to none; the ventilation is certainly perfect, as there is an abundance of air in every section of the mines; in other words, in the faces of the chambers where the men are employed.

The Sloan mine is a reopened one, and from the old condition it has been completely transformed to the pride mines of the anthracite coal fields, and Llewellyn M. Evans is the gentleman who accomplished this transformation. Mr. Evans is a skilled and competent mining surveyor and in laying out the mines and grading the roads he has done this work with much pride and care; there is not a place on the main roads where the men and boys or mules need get their feet in water; there is plenty of space on each side of the car tracks for the safety of the men and boys from the danger of moving cars, and the driver boys can turn their mules around a car with safety in any section of the mines. Mr. Llewellyn M. Evans, while he is strict and careful, is decidedly just. He having had 21 years of practical experience in all departments of mining, from door boy to his present official standing, he is a competent judge of good work and its worth; he does not violate any agreement made between himself and his men; he is always ready to grant a fair day's pay for a fair day's work; he has passed all the technical examinations pertaining to mining with high markings.

The voters of Lackawanna County are well aware that there are to be two Mine Inspectors nominated and elected, and, in consideration of Mr. Llewellyn M. Evans' fairness between the workmen and the company and his practical worth and ability, we, the undersigned miners of the Sloan mines, ask with all fairness to Mr. Evans, and to do credit to the office, we urge each and every voter in the county to vote for Llewellyn M. Evans as one of your choice for the important office of Mine Inspector. Republican primaries, July 8, 1902, from 4 to 7 p. m.

We, the undersigned, have worked in the mines the number of years as follows.

Respectfully,

#### MINERS OF THE SLOAN MINES.

Michael J. Hogan.....	22	years.	Toney Friday.....	12	years.
William T. Bonetto.....	20	"	Jno. Butt.....	52	"
Jno. W. Lewis.....	38	"	David J. Powell.....	14	"
Jno. H. Williams.....	40	"	Jno. D. Gallagher.....	36	"
Jas. Davis.....	45	"	Wm. Charles.....	32	"
John Loliskie.....	10	"	Wm. McNicholas.....	37	"
Owen Davis.....	25	"	David M. Davies.....	16	"
Watkin Davis.....	49	"	Walter Delmer.....	17	"
Thos. Moore.....	17	"	Jno. Lewis.....	18	"
Joseph Bradbury.....	24	"	David Reese.....	21	"
Richard R. Richards.....	24	"	Morgan Lewis.....	23	"
William N. Thomas.....	20	"	Wm. N. Lewis.....	13	"
Franklin Heller.....	50	"	Solomon Jones.....	28	"
Lewis Jenkins.....	11	"	Thos. W. Jones.....	45	"
Evan Jenkins.....	47	"	Wm. J. Davies.....	25	"
William Jones.....	45	"	Gomer Hughes.....	35	"

John Price.....	40 years.	Patrick Durkin.....	20 years.
J. W. Laister.....	36 "	Jno. W. Gallagher.....	36 "
Thos. J. Davis.....	38 "	Jas. McNicholas.....	37 "
William Jenkins.....	45 "	Patrick Barry.....	15 "
Jno. T. Howells.....	30 "	John McNiff.....	20 "
Richard R. Thomas.....	22 "	Jerry Driscoll.....	43 "
Wm. E. Lewis.....	15 "	Thos. J. Lamb.....	17 "
Chas. Charles.....	46 "	Wm. Driscoll.....	15 "
Thos. W. Noyle.....	22 "	Jno. Kenney.....	21 "
Wm. J. Morgan.....	29 "	John Gallagher.....	15 "
Wm. E. Jones.....	30 "	Mark Provovich.....	15 "
Evan T. Jones.....	28 "	David Redmond.....	50 "
Jno. Hughes.....	15 "	Thos. E. Jones.....	40 "
Absalom G. Jones.....	50 "	Thos. Creans.....	25 "
Robert Stenner.....	45 "	John Bartley.....	25 "
Thos. L. Jones.....	29 "	Mike Liman.....	15 "
David J. Williams.....	38 "	Edward R. Jenkins.....	25 "
Llewelyn Davis.....	30 "	Thos. F. Howells.....	15 "
Jno. T. Lewis.....	50 "	Lawrence Burns.....	50 "
Wm. Thomas.....	10 "	Peter Gallagher.....	12 "
Jas. Edmundson.....	30 "	Daniel Hefferon.....	20 "
Miles Delmer.....	50 "	William Hopkins.....	22 "
Jno. T. Davis.....	15 "	Patrick J. Rainey.....	25 "
Evan Edmunds.....	35 "	Thos. Butler.....	27 "
Henry M. Davis.....	15 "	John Carroll.....	15 "
Owen Jones.....	30 "	Luke Scott.....	19 "
Jno. Jones.....	30 "	Edward Bryant.....	15 "
Jno. A. Phillips.....	30 "	Thos. Jones.....	27 "
Michael Joyce.....	18 "	Steve Boston.....	15 "
Owen Williams.....	20 "	Edward Jenkins.....	24 "
Morgan D. Hopkins.....	33 "		

Sixth—The annual earnings of the mine workers are insufficient to maintain the American standard of living.

We have already shown wherein the miner himself controls entirely the number of hours which he shall work, and so directly the bulked earnings which he receives per day or month. Moreover, we claim, and have stated, that the opportunity is afforded the miner to earn sufficient wages to educate his children, lay aside a provision for his old age, and live meanwhile according to the American standard. If, with these conditions obtaining, the miner does not live according to the customary American standard, we believe it fair to assume that the manner of his living is that which he elects as his own standard. The high plane of American living is due entirely to the thrift, industry and economy of the great mass of American people.

Seventh—The increased cost of living has made it impossible to maintain a fair standard of life upon the basis of present wages, and has not only prevented the mine workers from securing any benefit from increased prosperity, but has made their condition poorer on account of it.

In answering this statement, we beg to refer to our reply to the statement immediately preceding, and to state in addition: that, assuming that there has been an increase in the cost of living, it is an increase which falls on all alike. In this the miner's circumstances are no worse than those of others. There has been a general advance in wages in the past two years, and in this the miner has shared in common with the other trades. Again we find the miner on relatively the same footing as others. A condition exists, however, which makes the miner's condition in the labor world preferable to that of the followers of other occupations, in that he retains to himself the opportunity and privilege to increase his daily wage by his own effort, to a much greater extent than almost any other skilled workman.

Eighth—The wages of the anthracite mine workers are so low that their children are prematurely forced into the breakers and mills instead of being supported and educated upon the earnings of their parents.

This statement we deny absolutely. Where the children of the miners are prematurely forced into the breakers and mills, it is due entirely to the disposition of the parents, for the fact remains that many of our most prominent and progressive professional and business men have been miners themselves, or are the children of miners, and in their educational qualifications they are easily the equals of their associates whose start in life was from other surroundings.

Ninth—Wages are below the fair and just earnings of mine workers in this industry.

This is fully answered in our foregoing answers to statements.

Tenth—The ten-hour day is detrimental to the health, life, safety and well-being of the mine workers.

In answering this question we beg to refer your Honorable Commission again to the paper marked Exhibit A.

Whether ten hours work per day is detrimental to health, life and general safety is a proposition which is applicable to all avocations, and is not confined to that of mining alone. It is a matter to be determined by statistical research and the opinions of physicians and actuaries.

Eleventh—Shorter hours improve the physical, mental and moral condition of the workers.

This is purely a sociological question with which the coal operators have nothing to do. By this we do not desire to be understood as assuming an attitude of entire indifference to the physical and moral welfare of the mine workers, but we reiterate that the proposition is one which sociologists are better qualified to deal with than business men. The operators' concern in this controversy is to arrive at a satisfactory basis upon which the mining of coal can be proceeded with by the payment of a fair rate of wages to the mine workers.

Twelfth—Shorter hours increase the intensity and efficiency of labor.

Another sociological question. Shorter hours also increase the cost of production.

Thirteenth—The tendency of National and State governments, of organized trades and of production generally, is toward shorter hours.

This is the result of a nearly universal disposition among men to work no more than necessary in order to maintain such standard of living as they find most conducive to their own happiness.

Fourteenth—A working day of eight hours is sufficiently long for the best interests of the working man and of the community.

This is another sociological question.

1. Measurement by the legal ton wherever practicable is the only honest and just system of measuring the earnings of the mine workers.

This is not a statement of fact, and it must be admitted without argument that it is just as fair to mine coal by measure as by weight.

If a legal ton was made the standard in ascertaining the earning of the miners instead of the present practice of making twenty-seven and one-half hundredweight to thirty hundredweight the standard, it would not make the slightest difference in the miner's pay, as he would simply be paid by the hundredweight instead of by the ton.

If he were paid the same price for twenty hundredweight, or a legal ton, as for twenty-seven and one-half hundred weight to thirty hundredweight, it would be an increase of 40 to 50 per cent. in wages, and we submit that this claim for a legal ton is a very thinly disguised effort to secure 40 to 50 per cent. advance in wages.



2. When the operators sell or transport coal it is on the basis of a legal ton of 2,240 pounds.

The question at issue in this controversy is whether the miner is receiving fair wages for the labor he performs, and we submit that this question does not enter into the controversy at all.

3. The excessive ton was originally intended to compensate the operator for the waste of the small sizes of coal which were discarded, but which are now utilized and sold, and therefore there is no present necessity for the use of any other than the legal ton.

This statement has no bearing on the question at issue. If we understand aright, the questions before your Honorable Commission are to determine whether the mine worker is receiving a fair and just return for his labor. In the adjustment of this question we believe that the only points to be considered are: (a) The nature and character of the work performed; (b) The hours of employment; (c) The wages paid, both with respect to the cost of living, and in comparison with the rate of wages paid to other skilled labor.

These questions we have answered, but we again respectfully submit that the above statement is irrelevant and not a question at issue or of concern to the mine workers. We, however, might note that when this standard was established the market took from 20 to 40 per cent. of lump coal and a large percentage of grate coal, but, owing to changes in methods of burning and the substitution of soft coal and coke in iron making, the demand for lump and grate coal has practically disappeared. Now we only have market for egg, stove, nut and the smaller sizes. The grinding down of the lump and the grate to the smaller sizes entails a waste equal to the gain made by the selling of the smaller sizes. As a matter of fact, the records of many companies show that twenty-seven and one-half hundredweight to thirty hundredweight, according to the different kinds of coal, is barely sufficient, owing to the breakage in preparation and foreign substances sent out in the car, which run from 20 to 40 per cent., to produce a ton of marketable coal, including pea and buckwheat.

4. The adoption of this system would remove an incentive, both to the operator and the worker, to cheating and dishonesty, and would allay jealousy among the miners and prevent unjust discrimination and favoritism.

This is an absurd statement, and does not enter into the question in controversy at all. It is as easy to cheat, if the desire to do so is present, in weight as in measure, and it is impossible to keep a dishonest man honest.

5. The change of the present system to the one asked for would prove a strong factor in allaying suspicion and discontent among the mine workers.

This is simply a repetition of a former demand, and we desire to reiterate, as we have stated in our answers to former demands, that it is a poorly disguised effort on their part to secure an advance of 20 to 50 per cent. in the price for their labor in addition to the demand for 20 per cent. in wages which they have already made, and thereby increase a wage scale already above that of other employments requiring vastly greater skill and intelligence and years of apprenticeship at extremely low wages, as against a short term of apprenticeship at high wages required to make an efficient miner.

1. The anthracite mine workers should not be compelled to make or sign individual agreements, but have the right to form such organizations and choose such agents and officers as they desire, to act collectively instead of individually wherever they deem that their best interests are subserved thereby.

We do not deny the right of our employees to organize for purposes of mutual advantage and benefit to themselves, and to act collectively when their best interests may be served thereby. But we do deny the right of any interference with the individual for the purpose of preventing him from entering into any agreement he may see fit for the sale of his labor, a right guaranteed him under the Constitution of the United States.

2. Agreements between employers and employees through workingmen's organizations and the ordinary method of regulating production and wages in the bituminous coal field and in other large industries are beneficial, successful and in keeping with the spirit of the times.

This is absolutely disputed by the operators in the bituminous region.

3. Unions of workingmen tend to better discipline among the men and to the improvement of their physical, moral and mental condition, and to the preservation of friendly relations between the employer and employee.

To the statement that labor unions improve both the morals and discipline of their members, we answer that this may be true when applied to some organizations. But when applied to the Miners' Union as now conducted, we enter a most emphatic denial, and propose to introduce evidence showing that prior to the advent of the organization known as the United Mine Workers of America, it was considered bad form to kill or maim a citizen who attempted to exercise the right to sell his labor, guaranteed him under the Constitution of the United States. We also propose to show that the vast number of brutal murders and beatings committed

during the past five months show that the teachings of the Miners' Union has brought about such moral obliquity as to cause its members to believe themselves justified in these acts of violence, and we will prove that the officers and the members of this Union have justified this course by defending both by counsel and by procuring bail those who have been guilty of these atrocious acts. In regard to discipline, we offer to prove that the dictation of the Miners' Union as to whom we should hire, and particularly as to whom we should discharge, has resulted in such absolute and continued insubordination of employees in the anthracite mines as to bring about absolute reduction in efficiency of from 10 to 20 per cent. This can be conclusively proven by the daily production per man as shown by the Mine Inspector's Report of 1899, and compared to the same production of 1901. These statistics in some instances show a falling off of 20 per cent., entirely due to lack of ability to enforce discipline by discharge.

4. Experience shows that the trade agreement is the only effective method by which it is possible to regulate questions arising between employer and employed in large industries, and that a trade agreement is the only possible way to establish the relations between the employer and the wage worker in the anthracite field on a just and permanent basis, and as far as possible to do away with any cause for the recurrence of such difficulties as those you now (the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission) have been called in to settle.

We deny this statement and offer to show that for twenty years prior to the advent of the Miners' Union, the miners had been able to maintain a standard of hour wages higher than any other class of employees without regard to skill required. This they have done during long periods of depression in business. We will show that during some of these periods the bituminous miners have been forced to accept as low as one dollar per day, while at the same time the men engaged in anthracite mining received from forty cents to one dollar per hour. We will show that this scale of wages has been maintained without the help or assistance of any labor union or organization whatever, and practically without strikes or lock-outs. We will also show that since the advent of the Miners' Union we have had seven months of complete idleness, and many, many days and weeks of idleness at individual collieries as the result of the attempt of the Miners' Union to manage and control the operators' business in the matter of hiring and discharging men. We believe that we will be able to prove such tremendous losses of life and money as the direct results of the methods of this particular union as to convince your Honorable Commission that it is inexpedient to do any act which may contribute to its continued existence.

## STATEMENT OF THE NON-UNION MINE WORKERS.

### TO THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE COMMISSION.

THE NON-UNION MINE WORKERS WE REPRESENT PRESENT TO THE SAID COMMISSION THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT OF THEIR DEMANDS:

First. For an increase of twenty (20) per cent. upon the price paid during the year 1901, to employees performing contract and piece work.

Second. For a like increase of twenty (20) per cent. upon the prices paid during the year 1901, to employees paid by the hour, day or week.

This request for increased wages, rather than decrease of hours of labor, is earnestly urged because such increase of wages will apply to the class of labor now receiving least pay at the mines, and being, therefore, the class which is especially in need of increase of wages. Instead of desiring a reduction in the hours of employment, we insist upon a right to work as many hours as we choose, and as opportunity affords, so as to better our conditions and increase our earning capacity; and we insist that the operators shall not conduct their mines in such a way as to favor certain workers in certain chambers, and places of labor, to the detriment of others who are willing to work. At the same time, we insist upon the right of any of us to do as much work as the opportunity in the particular mine affords or offers, even though it may result in less work being done by another employee, who, through indisposition, is not willing to work when the opportunity affords, or by reason of any contract with the Mine Workers' Union restricting his own class of labor.

Third. We demand the adoption at each colliery of whatever methods may be necessary and practicable to secure for the miner a minimum rate of 60 cents per ton of 2,240 pounds upon all coal sold from said colliery, the differentials now existing at the various mines to be maintained.

Fourth. We protest against the making of any agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and our employers, determining

what wages shall be paid to us, and what shall be the conditions of our employment, or pretending to deal in any respect whatever with our rights or interests as mine workers.

Fifth. We earnestly protest against any agreement being made by our employers with the United Mine Workers of America, for the reason that any agreement, if made, will render it impossible for us to continue to earn our living by our labor in and about the mine in which we are now employed, or to which such agreement applies, and will subject us and our families to all manner of abuse, violence, outrage, and probably murder.

Sixth. We insist that it shall be an indispensable condition to any dealing whatever with any members of the Mine Workers' Union of America in the anthracite coal fields that they shall be effectually required to desist from all manner of annoyance to us and to our families, and shall permit us to exercise our right to earn our living in any lawful manner we choose, and under any conditions which are mutually satisfactory to our employers and ourselves.

Seventh. We protest against any rule, limiting or restricting the number of cars to be furnished to a contractor, miner or laborer for the purpose of loading the same, whether such rule be made either by the operators, the United Mine Workers, or by the mutual agreement of both of them, providing that the furnishing of the increased number of cars to any contractor, miner or laborer does not in any way restrict the number of cars to be furnished others, and we insist that a rule shall be adopted and strictly enforced, compelling drivers in the mine or those having charge of the management and distribution of the mine cars to the miner, contractor, and laborer not to favor any particular miner, contractor, or laborer in such distribution to the detriment and exclusion of other contractors, miners and laborers.

Eighth. We believe it to be an inalienable and undoubted right to work when we can obtain it, and to receive as compensation for it the best price we can obtain. And we further believe that the laws of the land vouchsafe to us protection from insult, outrage, violence, molestation or interference in the performance of our labors, and in order that we shall not be disturbed in the free and full exercise of these rights, we most respectfully urge that the assertion of them be made a part of the finding in this proceeding.

Ninth. In our effort to earn a livelihood for ourselves, our families, and those dependent upon us, we have been most outrageously interfered with. Our homes have been assaulted, and the lives of ourselves and those dear to us threatened. On our way to and from work we have been stoned, clubbed, beaten, insulted, jeered at, and the same course of outrageous treatment has attended us at our places of employment. In order that we might to some extent be protected at our work, our employers have been obliged to have guards constantly with us, and in many instances it became necessary to escort us to and from work to our homes. The sheriffs and their posses have been obliged to issue proclamation after proclamation to preserve the public peace, and it became necessary to increase their deputies and forces to a large number in and about all the collieries in the anthracite mine region, with a view to insuring the public tranquillity. By reason of the destruction of life and property and the gravity of the situation in and about the coal fields, it became necessary for the Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to order the State troops to the places of violence and disorder.

And this serious and outrageous course of conduct towards us was by no means confined to our homes and places of employment. It followed us everywhere. We have been hung in effigy in public places. The vicious and unlawful boycott has been practiced to such an extent upon us, that merchants dealing in the necessaries of life have been forbidden to furnish us, even with food and clothing. In church, where we worship, the service has been interrupted by members of the union because of our presence there. Our names have been published in conspicuous places as being "unfair" and enemies to labor. In very many instances, we have been obliged to stop work on account of fear, and we have been in constant terror. All kinds of crime, even murder of our comrades and fellow-workmen, have been committed, for no other reason than that we insisted upon our right to work, and against this course of conduct we emphatically protest.

Tenth. We hereby guarantee to abide by the decision of the Commission on all questions decided by them, and agree that whatever conclusion it reaches, the same shall be final and conclusive.

NON-UNION MINE WORKERS.

By JOHN T. LENAHAN,  
JOSEPH O'BRIEN,  
Attorneys.

## APPEAL OF HILLSIDE COAL AND IRON CO.'S EMPLOYEES.

To Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States; William A. Stone, Governor of Pennsylvania; B. B. Odell, Governor of New York; Senator M. S. Quay, Senator Boies Penrose, Senator Thomas C. Platt, Messrs. Baer, Thomas, Olyphant, Truesdale, Fowler, Markle and Walter:

We, the employes of the Hillside Coal and Iron Company, at the Forest City and Clifton collieries, in meeting assembled, do hereby unanimously adopt the following:

Whereas, in the summer of 1901, John Mitchell held a series of public meetings in the anthracite region, at which he suggested that certain demands should be made by the mine workers in the spring following, and telling them to go on strike if not granted; and

Whereas, at a convention held at Shamokin in April last, a strike was called by the said John Mitchell, representing the United Mine Workers of America, affecting the anthracite mining in the State of Pennsylvania, to take effect on May 12th; and

Whereas, since that time a partial suspension of mining and shipping of anthracite coal has been in force, affecting a large number of our people and causing those interested to try to discover some way of relieving the situation; and

"Whereas, another suspension was called by Mr. Mitchell, representing the United Mine Workers of America, of the engine drivers, pump runners and firemen, which had it been successful would have drowned the mines and caused the mining of coal to be practically impossible for an indefinite time and some of the properties to have been forever destroyed; and

### BOYCOTTED, THREATENED AND ASSAULTED.

"Whereas, to avert such a calamity, and recognizing that we had been justly and honorably dealt with by our employers in times past, we, the employes of the Hillside Coal and Iron Company, many of us having grown gray in their service, remained at our places of duty, and by so doing succeeded in keeping the mines at Forest City from destruction; for this we have been boycotted in the community, ourselves and our wives and children insulted in public and private, our lives threatened and assailed, our daughters and sisters dismissed from their employment as teachers in the public schools, we have been hounded through the streets by riotous mobs, stoning us and calling out 'Kill them!' necessitating the calling out of troops for our protection; and

"Whereas, it appears that pressure is being brought to bear on our employers rather than on the party that planned and called the suspension, and that through such pressure action might be taken affecting the future peace and welfare of our fellow-employees, our wives and children; therefore be it

LET NOT LOYALTY BE REPAID WITH INJURY.

"Resolved, That we ask our employers, the honorable gentlemen named above, and our fellow-American citizens that no compromise or terms of settlement be at any time considered that shall cause loyalty and faithfulness to be repaid with danger and injury to ourselves and families;

That we are unalterably opposed to becoming members of an organization that cannot and does not control its members from using the unlawful means of boycott, riot, intimidation and bloodshed to obtain its ends and objects, as exemplified in this and other strikes called by the United Mine Workers of America here and elsewhere;

That we ask that you consider the threat made time and time again that we will be forced out of our homes and employment and hounded out of the community;

REMEMBER THE MURDERS AND OTHER CRIMES.

That we ask you to remember the murders of Beddall, Sweeney, Winston and others;

That we ask you to remember the partial list of outrages committed, herewith attached, as recorded and tabulated by the press:

'Killed, 14; severely injured, 42; shot from ambush, 16; aggravated assaults, 67; attempts to lynch, 1; houses dynamited, 12; houses burned, 3; buildings burned, 10; washeries burned, 3; stockades burned, 2; riots, 69; works dynamited, 6; trains dynamited, 1; railroad bridges dynamited, 4; railroads seized, 5; trains wrecked, 6; attempted wrecks, 9; trains attacked, 7; strikes in schools, 14;'

NO UNION MAN EVER EXPELLED FOR COMMITTING A CRIME.

That we ask you to remember that no one was ever expelled from this organization for committing a crime, or for conduct unbecoming a man when such conduct or crime was against a non-union workman;

That the association employs attorneys to defend, and, if possible, to free members arrested for crime;

That, John Mitchell's denial notwithstanding, the organization at the Edwardsville and Shamokin conventions placed itself on record as sanctioning strikes being called at any colliery employing any non-union help,



thereby attempting either to force us into the union or out of our employment. This, we contend, is contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of our country and contrary to American manhood and citizenship.

We submit that it is a matter of record that several strikes took place in the Wyoming region during the year 1901, in the endeavor to force men into the union.

That we ask our employees to tell John Mitchell and his lieutenants, and all others, that when they say the coal and iron police, commissioned to protect the men that are now working and the property of the mining companies, are a lot of thugs and criminals, they are telling what they know, or should know, is falsehood. We have at Forest City forty-two coal and iron police sworn in to protect the men and property here. They are all old residents, and there are no better or more respected citizens in the community.

That we believe all organizations should be forced by the strong arm of the law to adopt only lawful means to their end.

THE SAME RIGHT TO WORK THAT OTHERS HAVE TO QUIT.

That we believe we have the same right to remain at our post of duty as others have to desert it; and we respectfully submit that we should not be assailed or made to suffer for doing what we believe is right to our manhood, right to our families, right to our employers and right to the nation.

That we freely and unsolicited acknowledge fair and honorable treatment and conditions of employment from the hands of our employers, at the present time and in the past, and submit as proof that strikes were unknown in our community up to the time of the coming of the paid agents of the U. M. W. of A., some three years ago, and that since that time it has been nothing but strikes and threats of strikes.

That we ask all, and especially our employers, to carefully consider that the situation demands, in our judgment, a final solution now, not a compromise, as, though wishing to be faithful and loyal, we do not feel that we should be called upon to again endure the pain, insult and danger to ourselves and families that we have endured during the last five months, and that a compromise would be insufficient and contain no safeguard to the public that a suspension of the mines will not again affect their interests as vitally as it does now. (Signed),

"HUGH JOHNSON,  
"BENJAMIN MAXEY,  
"JOHN PARKYN,  
"ROBERT DUNN,  
"J. G. WESTCOTT,

"Committee of Employees of the Hillside Coal and Iron Company."

## MR. MITCHELL AND THE WILKESBARRE CITIZENS' ALLIANCE.

The Citizens' Alliance, of Wilkesbarre, is an organization formed some time after the beginning of the anthracite strike, the avowed purpose of which is "the maintenance of law and order throughout the anthracite coal district of Wyoming Valley." In an address which he delivered before a convention of District No. 1, U. M. W. of A., at Nanticoke, on July 10, Mr. Mitchell referred to this organization. He said :

### MR. MITCHELL ATTACKS THE CITIZENS' ALLIANCE.

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Convention: I sincerely regret that pressure of work, and absence from the coal fields has not permitted my enjoying the pleasure of attending the various sessions of your convention, especially at a time when questions of grave import, not only to your constituency, but also to the entire population of the anthracite regions, were under consideration. But I am not vain enough to believe that either my presence or my absence would in any perceptible degree affect your action.

I am sure that the ineffaceable recollection of the conditions under which you and your constituency have worked during the past twenty-five years would deter you from legislating unwisely, and would inspire you to actions designed to protect and uplift those you have the honor to represent. It may not be amiss, however, for me to make a few comments upon the situation as it presents itself to me, and also to point out some of the means that are being used to discourage and injure you. The coal operators have organized a press bureau, and are constantly sending out through it what purport to be interviews with, and statements from them, while, as a matter of fact, there is not a coal operator in the entire region who will stand responsible for any of these statements, all of which are evolved from the mind of a young man who, in his zeal to serve the cause of capital, and injure the workers and citizens of the anthracite field, has overstepped the bounds of discretion, and has made himself and his newspaper articles a source of much amusement to the public in general.

### CALLS IT AN OPERATORS' ADJUNCT.

The operators have also organized another adjunct, under the name of the Citizens' Alliance. I am sure I do not know how many citizens are members of this mysterious organization, as so far only one has had the manhood or the effrontery to acknowledge his membership. I, of course, hesitate to criticise men for doing anything that they have a legal right to do; but when an organization of the citizens of any community is formed,

the alleged purpose of which is the maintenance of law and order, and when it develops that the entire energies of the organization are being directed against the coal strikers, it arouses a suspicion—to say the least—in my mind that the name of the association is a misnomer, and the alleged purpose a cloak under which certain so-called citizens have joined forces with the coal operators in a damnable attempt to crush the miners' union. In fact, the press agent of the Citizens' Alliance is not a citizen of this country at all, preferring to continue his allegiance to a foreign power.

Is it not rather strange that this organization was not formed at any time during the past twenty-five years, in which the anthracite coal companies were blacklisting, boycotting and driving from their homes and families all men who dared assert their rights and join a labor organization? Again, did anyone ever hear of the Citizens' Alliance proceeding against the coal trust when it threatened to close the mines of the independent operators by refusing to give them railway cars, simply because some independent operators had granted an eight-hour day to their firemen in the strike one year ago? Moreover, has this great Citizens' Alliance attempted to prevent the illegal efforts that the coal corporations are making to cause the defeat of every candidate for membership in the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania who advocated or favored labor measures in the last session?

If men have a right to belong to an organization, and if the organization is formed for good purposes, why do not its members come out in the sunlight like men, and acknowledge and be proud of their membership in it?

#### A COVERT THREAT.

However, gentlemen, let me say that we know more about the personnel of the Citizens' Alliance than its members think we do; and when this strike is over, some of those who are playing fast and loose with the cause of the mine workers will find it extremely difficult to account for their conduct.

Personally, I stand always, and under all circumstances, for law and order. Our organization advocates a full and complete observance of the laws of our country; and I want to declare emphatically that as law-abiding citizens, as patriotic, liberty-loving Americans, the members of the miners' union are second to none. While there may be some among us who have transgressed the law, let me say that the proportion of law-breakers in the ranks of the miners is no greater than in the ranks of the business, professional, or any other element in our country.

And now, gentlemen, permit me to warn you, and through you the mine workers of the anthracite region, that no attention should be paid to the silly reports that are being sent out announcing that the strike is about to collapse, or that our men want to resume work. These same predictions, emanating from exactly the same source, have been made through the columns of the press each day during the past month, and yet every mine is idle. Let me say that every mine will remain idle until this strike is won.

In all my experience in the labor movement I have never participated in a strike in which I felt so confident of success. If our membership will stand, as I know it will, we shall, in the not distant future, achieve a victory, and shall settle for all time the right of the coal miners to receive—for honest labor and unremitting toil—at least a sufficient wage to enable them to live, maintain and educate their families, and enjoy a few of the pleasures of our civilization.

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**CITIZENS ALLIANCE WRITES TO MR. MITCHELL.**

The day after Mr. Mitchell made this speech the Citizens' Alliance sent him the following letter:

Wilkesbarre, Pa., July 11, 1902.

Mr. John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers, Hotel Hart, City.

Dear Sir: A body of citizens residing in this city and adjoining places has formed an alliance whose purpose is the maintenance of law and order throughout the anthracite coal district of Wyoming Valley. To this end the alliance proposes to enlist every agency that can contribute toward a healthier public opinion concerning those fundamental rights which form the basis of civil liberty as inseparably connected with American institutions. We recognize the fact that in the United Mine Workers' strike there are extremists on both sides, but we believe that the conservative men among the operators, and among workers, should act in union with conservative citizenship among those who are necessarily neutral in this labor war. Because at the outset of the struggle you uttered words of caution to your followers, by which you advised peaceful methods as the only ones calculated to lead to success, and because you are the general in command of the largest force of belligerents now in the field in this country, we address this open letter to you.

We hope thereby to obtain from you not only a reiteration of your advice for peace, but also a definition in clear and unmistakable terms of

the acts from which strikers should abstain. Trades unions, such as the U. M. W., when conducted in the strict spirit of American personal liberty, are among the most tremendous powers for good that exist in this land. They have gained in numbers and in sympathy, so that to-day no man who is not altogether blinded by self-interest can fail to recognize and concede the fact that these organizations appeal to, and find ready response from, the hearts of men in all walks of life. If these unions will trust for their growth to an advancing public sentiment, and to the justice of their cause, each succeeding year is likely to find them more firmly entrenched in public confidence, and more thoroughly protected by progressive legislation. But these unions ought to be impressed by the fact that they can succeed only if they subordinate all their acts to the Golden Rule, which is most concretely expressed in the maxim: "So use thy own rights that thou dost not trespass upon another's."

#### RIGHT OF EVERY MAN TO LABOR OR NOT.

It is the right of every man to join with his fellow men in lawful organization; to labor or abstain from labor on such conditions of wages, hours and circumstances as he, in the privacy of his own judgment, may approve; and he may resign some portion of the right to private judgment to the body or union with which he has joined, and agree that he will exercise his rights only in accordance with the judgment of the union. So, also, it is the right of every man to remain outside of an organization, and to preserve his individuality. Until a man is convinced that his own best interests lie more in the welfare of the class to which, through his occupation, he belongs, he has the legal right and the moral duty to act in accordance with his own private judgment.

Your organization has declared a strike, not only of the miners and others concerned directly in mining, but also of pumpmen and steammen, whose only duties are the protection and preservation of the very property about which the interests of all the other strikers are centered. You will, perhaps, admit that a war measure to destroy the mines might not universally be accepted by the judgment of disinterested outsiders as the exercise of the highest wisdom in a strike whose purpose is only the betterment of labor conditions. The tendency of war among civilized people during the past three hundred years at least, has been to prevent unnecessary and merely wanton destruction.

"THE LAST VESTIGE OF PERSONAL LIBERTY HAS GONE."

But supposing you approve this phase of the strike, we cannot conceive that you will fail to see that among men who sympathize with work-

men in their united struggles for better conditions there are many who will unhesitatingly express dissent from a policy that seems destructive, and who will be ready to give every aid necessary to prevent its success. Such a man is not a criminal. Neither has he forfeited the right to live. The highways should be as free to him to go to and from his labor as to any man. Those are criminals who gather together in mobs to turn back the laborer through what has been miscalled persuasion, but what we all know to be for the purpose of terrorizing him by assault, calling "scab," hanging him in effigy, torturing wife and children, destroying homes and property, and by other forms of intimidation. It is these acts which have been widespread through this community that have made this strike one of violence and terror instead of peace and order toward all those who actively dissent from these methods employed for furthering its success. These demonstrations have paralyzed government and have established mob rule as the ally of your organization, which, through its leaders, asserts a respect for law. When in addition, Kuklux letters, signed by "committees of union men" and by "representatives of locals," are sent through the mail and otherwise, threatening innocent persons with arson, murder, and other bodily harm, merely for associating with, or living by, the side of other workmen, a condition of society has resulted in which the avowed criminal rules, anarchy has supplanted law, and the peace which prevails is the peace of fear. When butchers and bakers may not supply meat and bread, when the doctor may not attend the sick, the druggist may not dole out medicine, and the priest may not minister, either to those in health, or to those at death's door; when public officers may not perform public duties, when teachers in the school may not teach, or be appointed, except by the consent of strikers, or their sympathizers, then, indeed, the last vestige of personal liberty has gone, and society must be rebuilt upon a basis of submission to the tyranny, not necessarily of majorities, but rather of a band of men who will not hesitate to employ every means of intimidation as a lawful instrument of control. In the end the U. M. W. of A. and every man in it, can better afford to lose this strike, if the battle is fought out under the law, than to hope for gain by other means. In our view, the former gives it the only chance of winning.

#### ANARCHY WILL CERTAINLY BE REPRESSED.

Anarchy, turmoil and terror will in the end certainly be repressed, because the mass of American citizens (and among them we class the U. M. W.) are not yet ready to surrender to those forces. We are under the impression that the U. M. W. claims to be not only an executive force, representing its members in their combats with employers, but also an edu-

cational force that will raise its members to a higher citizenship. It is a well-known fact that a considerable proportion of its membership are men who have in recent years come to these shores from countries in which civil liberty and the right of private judgment and participation in government are practically unknown, and in which when evils become great there is no resource known to them except force. These men have come to this land, and most of them have cast their lot with us for good and all. They themselves will have to be molded to, and their children will become in bone and sinew part of, the American people. The U. M. W. is perhaps the only institution with which they are actively connected and in which they may have opportunities to receive just notions concerning the rights and duties imposed by American citizenship. The U. M. W. therefore has, and it cannot escape from, a large responsibility concerning these men. Of course there must necessarily be in the U. M. W., as in every large body of men gathered together for a particular purpose, a small class of agitators who would be mischief makers in any place. But an organization such as yours should have power to control and direct the force which it has called into existence, and therefore the community at large may fairly look for active control publicly exercised in these directions by its officers. We therefore appeal to you to declare:

MR. MITCHELL ASKED TO MAKE THESE FOUR DECLARATIONS.

1. The highways are free to all who desire work, notwithstanding a strike is in progress.
2. Boycotts against any business or professional man on the ground of services rendered to a non-union worker are condemned by the union.
3. That hanging in effigy, the digging of mock graves, and every other form of violence, threat and libel, are condemned by the union.
4. Strikers who participate in any of the offenses thus itemized will be held responsible to the union for all disturbances, unlawful boycotts, etc., in which either they themselves, or their wives and children participate.

MR. MITCHELL'S NANTICOKE SPEECH ANSWERED.

The foregoing was written before your speech at Nanticoke was delivered. Referring to that speech, we call your attention to the error on which it is based. The Citizens' Alliance is not an adjunct to, or organized by, operators. Its membership of more than 2,500 is in sympathy with "organized labor," but over and above it, and above all organized capital, we intend to uphold organized society. We are not the proper subject of criticism because we took no part in trying to suppress evils which are

said to have occurred long before the alliance was formed; nor are we the subject of criticism because we saw no need for an alliance among citizens to repress boycotts which you say occurred, but which were limited to operators and miners in their struggles with one another. But when the boycott raises its head against the private right of neutrals, and when lawlessness destroys property, it is the right and the duty of neutrals and citizens generally to organize in self defense and for the maintenance of public order; and we are justified in inviting a co-operation from both sides in the existing strike. Very truly yours,

CITIZENS' ALLIANCE,  
J. Ridgway Wright, Leader.

Attest:

THOMAS CASSEDY, Secretary.

#### ANOTHER LETTER TO MR. MITCHELL FROM THE CITIZENS' ALLIANCE.

On the last day of July the Citizens' Alliance made public the following open letter to Mr. Mitchell:

Wilkesbarre, July 31, 1902.

Mr. John Mitchell: Some weeks ago the Citizens' Alliance, desiring the valuable co-operation of your name and influence to prevent certain disorders then prevalent in this region, solicited your public declaration that boycotts, hanging in effigy, and every form of violence, threat and libel are condemned by the union of which you are president, and that strikers participating therein would be held responsible to the union for their offenses.

We confidently expected a prompt compliance with so reasonable a request.

But you have not complied, thereby creating the injurious impression, which is confirmed by present multiplied acts of violence, that you and the union do not condemn the wrongs enumerated.

There is still time, perhaps, to correct that impression, and thus mitigate, if not prevent, those frightful disturbances which now threaten the public peace and private security.

We do not want, what we have already received, the general asseveration of your regard for law and order.

#### SPECIFIC CONDEMNATION OF LAWLESSNESS REQUESTED.

We want your positive, pointed and specific condemnation of boycotting, rioting, unlawful assembly, and violence, perpetrated to prevent men from working.



Does the union condemn these specific things?

Do you condemn these specific things?

We know, of course, that in your heart you must condemn them, but we urge you to proclaim your condemnation for the sake of justice and peace.

The cause of honest labor, which you represent, and which we espouse with ardor equal to your own, cannot lose, but must gain by this frank avowal.

Will you not speak?

THE CITIZENS' ALLIANCE.

(Not the coal operators.)

J. RIDGWAY WRIGHT, Leader.

THOMAS CASSEDY, Secretary.

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#### MR. MITCHELL'S REPLY TO THE CITIZENS' ALLIANCE.

The next day Mr. Mitchell made the following reply to the communications of the Citizens' Alliance:

Hotel Hart, Wilkesbarre, Pa., August 1, 1902.

Mr. J. Ridgway Wright, leader; Mr. Thomas Cassedy, secretary; the Citizens' Alliance, Wilkesbarre, Pa.:

Gentlemen: Your communication of the 31st ultimo was delivered to me, and read as carefully as limited time would permit.

Replying, permit me to say that I do not recognize your right to make demands upon me to specifically declare myself opposed to any special classes of lawlessness. As a citizen of the United States, and the chief executive of the miners' organization, I have declared on innumerable occasions, and in language not susceptible of misconstruction, that I am opposed to lawlessness of every character; and I do not propose to alter my views to conform to the tenets of the Citizens' Alliance, and wink at capital crimes while inveighing against minor offenses.

Your association, if you properly represent its aims, is not formed for the suppression of lawlessness on the part of all who are guilty of its commission. On the contrary, your actions convey the impression to the miners, and to other good citizens, that your real purpose is to destroy the miners' union, and render futile its efforts to uplift the standard of citizenship by obtaining for the workers of this region higher wages and better conditions of employment. If this prevailing impression as to your objects is correct, I should advise that you abandon the field, as the work for the amelioration of the toilers will go on, and will succeed, despite the illy disguised efforts to thwart it.

## JUSTIFICATION OF THIS BELIEF.

That there is justification for this belief on the part of the workers and the general public is demonstrated by the fact that rewards sufficiently large to invite perjury have been offered in your name for the conviction of persons guilty of certain specific acts; but I have heard of no reward being offered by you for the apprehension and conviction of those who were guilty of murdering an inoffensive Italian striker at Duryea; for those who attempted to murder innocent little Charlie McCann, who, while peeking through the fence at the Stanton Colliery, was shot by a coal and iron policeman; nor have I heard of any reward for the conviction of those who have repeatedly assaulted peaceable striking miners.

You say, in substance, that you expect me to co-operate with you in the accomplishment of the purposes for which the Citizens' Alliance was organized. In reply to the invitation I desire to say that I have too much respect for the residents of Wilkesbarre and vicinity to in any way identify myself with men who have defamed the good people of this city by the accusations, insinuations and innuendoes contained in your letter published in the local and metropolitan papers on July 11 and 12. I have never in my life sought to condone an unlawful act. I have thrown the full weight of my personality and influence on the side of law and order; and I can say without egotism that the miners' union and its officers have done more for the conservation of peace than all the Citizens' Alliances that have been, or could be formed, by men like yourselves, whose sympathy with the poor and oppressed is like unto the friendship Brutus entertained for Caesar.

It seems to me that before your association can commend itself or its purposes to the impartial consideration of the citizens of Wilkesbarre and vicinity you will find it necessary to organize on broader lines, and devote your energies against all law breakers and to the suppression of lawlessness of every character.

## SOME TRANSGRESSIONS OF THE LAW.

I do not assume to say that there have not been some transgressions of the law by members of the miners' union; but I do say, and defy you to successfully contradict the statement, that there has been much less lawlessness on the part of the miners—and that which has occurred has been less serious—in proportion to their number than on the part of deputies and coal and iron police, who are charged with authority, and are specifically commissioned to preserve the law, and against whom you have made no protest, and your association taken no action whatsoever. And further, the records in the police courts will demonstrate that a smaller

number of miners have been convicted of crime in the anthracite mining towns during the progress of the strike than for a like period preceding it. Again, I have no hesitancy in saying that there never was a great upheaval, either industrial, political or social, in which there was a little real lawlessness as has existed in the anthracite region since the strike was inaugurated. As I said in my speech at Nanticoke—to which you took exception—the miners are as law-abiding, as patriotic, as liberty loving as any other class of citizens in our country, and I shall not permit you to malign them, or defame the residents of this community, either by direct charge or insinuation, without registering an emphatic protest. I am, yours truly,

JOHN MITCHELL,  
President of U. M. W. of A.

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**CITIZENS' ALLIANCE ANSWERS MR. MITCHELL.**

To this letter from Mr. Mitchell the Citizens' Alliance made the following reply:

Wilkesbarre, Pa., August 2, 1902.

Mr. John Mitchell: Your letter of August 1, in ostensible reply to ours of July 31, was duly received, after its appearance in public prints.

You decline to say in behalf of the union and yourself that you condemn boycotting, rioting, and violence, perpetrated to prevent men from working.

Indeed, you leave the distinct and unpleasant impression that you do not condemn those things.

Under cover of pretended compliance with our respectful and reasonable request, you abuse the privilege of honorable, open correspondence by renewing your vicious and unjustifiable attack upon the Citizens' Alliance.

If mere manners were of any consequence at this juncture, we might complain of your manifest discourtesy in not vouchsafing the slightest reference, except by insult, to our former letter of July 11.

You deny the right, which we have not asserted, to make demand, which we have not made, for a specific declaration of your opposition "to any special classes of lawlessness;" and very foolishly you exercise your undoubted right to refuse that declaration.

We respectfully requested your condemnation of boycotting, rioting, and violence, perpetrated to prevent men from working; but instead, you have most disrespectfully proffered your condemnation of the Alliance, which undertakes to combat those very wrongs.

You repeat your favorite general asseveration of regard for law and order, which we have already heard ad nauseam, which we explicitly said we did not want to hear again, and which we now tell you frankly, in the light of your communication, we do not believe.

"IF YOU WERE SINCERE."

If you were sincere in your frequent protestations against lawlessness, you would not refuse, as you do refuse, to proclaim, as we requested, your positive, pointed and specific condemnation of that same worst type of lawlessness, which undertakes to prevent men from freely working for whom they please, and upon such terms as they please, nor would you pour the vials of your wrath upon an organization which we admit has no such foolish aim as to suppress "lawlessness on the part of all who are guilty of its commission," but does aim to suppress that same worst type of lawlessness which thrives upon the fear of its victims to protest, and of civil authority to protect against its perpetration.

You are credited with having said that you "deprecate lawlessness committed by anyone, and particularly by men on strike;" which, stripped of its hypocrisy, simply means that you object to law breaking because it hurts the strikers, and not because it hurts society.

You announce very earnestly, though quite irrelevantly, your prediction, in which we cordially concur, that "the amelioration of the toilers will go on and succeed," but we venture to convey to you, in closing this correspondence, our positive assurance that such amelioration cannot possibly come by the path of anarchy, nor by the help of disregard for those fundamental rights proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, guaranteed by the law of the land, and most certainly possessed by every American citizen.

THE CITIZENS' ALLIANCE,

J. RIDGWAY WRIGHT, Leader.

THOS. CASSEDY, Secretary.

## SPECIAL REPORT, ANTHRACITE COAL.

### DESCRIPTION OF ANTHRACITE FIELDS.

In order to give an accurate idea of the location of the Anthracite deposits, and explain what is meant by the trade regions, Wyoming, Lehigh and Schuylkill, a map of the Anthracite regions accompanies this report. The county lines are shaded in various colors, and diagrammatically represented the regions indicated above embrace the following :

REGIONS.	LOCAL DISTRICTS.	COUNTIES IN WHICH LOCATED.
WYOMING.....	1—Carbondale. 2—Scranton. 3—Pittston. 4—Wilkes-Barre. 5—Plymouth. 6—Green Mountain.	Susquehanna. Lackawanna. Luzerne.
LEHIGH.....	7—Black Creek. 8—Hazleton. 9—Beaver Meadow. 13—Panther Creek.	Luzerne. Carbon. Schuylkill.
SCHUYLKILL....	10—East Mahanoy. 11—West Mahanoy. 12—Shamokin. 14—East Schuylkill. 15—West Schuylkill. 16—Lorberry. 17—Lykens Valley.	Schuylkill. Columbia. Northumberland. Dauphin.

The division between the Lehigh and Schuylkill regions is not very well marked, but practically all the mines in the Lehigh region are in Luzerne and Carbon Counties, the exceptions being those in local districts Nos. 9 and 13, which have a few mines in Schuylkill County.

The numbers given before the local districts noted above are for convenience in locating them on the map, and the divisions between these districts are indicated by heavy black lines running across the fields.

**STATEMENT SHOWING ANTHRACITE SHIPMENTS (BY REGIONS) FROM 1892  
TO 1901, INCLUSIVE.**

YEARS.	WYOMING REGION.		LEHIGH REGION.		SCHUYLKILL REGION.		TOTAL.
	Tons.	Per Cent.	Tons.	Per Cent.	Tons.	Per Cent.	Tons.
1892....	22,815,460	54.46	6,451,076	15.40	12,626,784	30.14	41,893,320
1893....	23,889,741	55.32	6,892,352	16.00	12,357,444	28.68	43,089,537
1894....	22,650,761	54.72	6,705,434	15.20	12,035,005	29.08	41,391,200
1895....	24,943,421	58.62	7,298,124	15.70	14,269,932	30.68	46,511,477
1896....	23,589,473	54.63	6,490,441	15.03	13,097,571	30.34	43,177,485
1897....	23,207,263	55.74	6,249,540	15.01	12,181,061	29.25	41,637,864
1898....	23,567,767	56.25	6,253,109	14.92	12,078,875	28.83	41,899,751
1899....	26,578,286	55.76	6,887,909	14.45	14,199,009	29.79	47,665,204
1900....	24,686,125	54.73	6,918,627	15.34	13,502,732	29.93	45,107,484
1901....	30,337,086	56.63	7,211,974	13.46	16,019,591	29.91	53,568,601

NOTE.—The figures in above table indicate only the amount of coal loaded into cars for shipment to market and do not include coal sold to local trade, and used for steam and heat at the mines. These two items would amount to about 12 per cent. of the above tonnage.

**TOTAL SHIPMENTS OF ANTHRACITE COAL, YEARS 1892 TO 1901, DIVIDED  
ACCORDING TO SIZES.**

SIZES.	1892.		1893.	
	TONS.	PER CT.	TONS.	PER CT.
Lump.....	3,907,296	9.3	3,450,892	8.0
Broken.....	4,692,187	11.2	4,864,580	11.3
Egg.....	6,078,277	14.5	6,086,868	14.1
Stove.....	9,681,988	23.1	9,375,459	22.9
Chestnut.....	7,508,580	17.9	8,016,434	18.6
<i>Prepared Sizes.....</i>	<i>27,960,982</i>	<i>66.7</i>	<i>28,843,341</i>	<i>66.9</i>
Pea.....	5,253,888	12.6	5,439,368	12.7
Buckwheat No. 1.....	8,971,025	9.5	4,345,478	10.1
Smaller than Buckwheat No. 1.....	795,179	1.9	1,010,458	2.3
<i>Small Sizes.....</i>	<i>10,025,042</i>	<i>24.0</i>	<i>10,795,304</i>	<i>25.1</i>
<i>Total....</i>	<i>41,893,320</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>43,089,537</i>	<i>100.0</i>

TOTAL SHIPMENTS OF ANTHRACITE COAL, YEARS 1892 TO 1901, DIVIDED  
ACCORDING TO SIZES.—Continued.

SIZES.	1894.		1895.	
	TONS.	PER CT.	TONS.	PER CT.
Lump.....	8,535,574	8.6	8,881,410	7.8
Broken.....	4,166,190	10.1	4,502,767	9.7
Egg.....	5,758,708	13.9	6,392,041	13.8
Stove.....	9,075,818	21.9	9,622,876	20.7
Chestnut.....	7,946,413	19.2	8,570,273	18.4
<i>Prepared Sizes.....</i>	<i>26,946,629</i>	<i>65.1</i>	<i>29,087,957</i>	<i>62.6</i>
Pea.....	5,639,947	13.6	6,402,889	13.7
Buckwheat No. 1.....	3,915,598	9.5	5,858,393	12.6
Smaller than Buckwheat No. 1.....	1,353,452	3.2	1,780,828	3.8
<i>Small Sizes.....</i>	<i>10,908,997</i>	<i>26.3</i>	<i>14,042,110</i>	<i>30.1</i>
<i>Total....</i>	<i>41,891,200</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>46,511,477</i>	<i>100.0</i>

SIZES.	1896.		1897.	
	TONS.	PER CT.	TONS.	PER CT.
Lump.....	2,922,530	6.8	2,207,530	5.3
Broken.....	3,942,466	9.1	2,848,667	9.3
Egg.....	5,524,773	12.8	5,747,860	13.8
Stove.....	10,104,151	23.4	8,903,478	21.4
Chestnut.....	7,860,877	18.2	7,807,835	18.7
<i>Prepared Sizes.....</i>	<i>27,432,267</i>	<i>63.5</i>	<i>26,302,840</i>	<i>63.2</i>
Pea.....	5,666,626	13.1	5,717,800	13.7
Buckwheat No. 1.....	5,450,196	12.6	5,842,351	14.0
Smaller than Buckwheat No. 1.....	1,705,866	4.0	1,567,343	3.8
<i>Small Sizes.....</i>	<i>12,822,688</i>	<i>29.7</i>	<i>13,127,494</i>	<i>31.5</i>
<i>Total....</i>	<i>43,177,435</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>41,637,864</i>	<i>100.0</i>

**TOTAL SHIPMENTS OF ANTHRACITE COAL, YEARS 1892 TO 1901, DIVIDED  
ACCORDING TO SIZES.—Continued.**

SIZES.	1898.		1899.	
	TONS.	PER CT.	TONS.	PER CT.
Lump.....	2,186,887	5.1	2,335,595	4.9
Broken.....	3,854,777	9.2	4,289,868	9.0
Egg.....	5,572,667	13.3	6,005,816	12.6
Stove.....	3,882,747	21.2	9,962,028	20.9
Chestnut.....	7,751,454	18.5	8,913,393	18.7
<i>Prepared Sizes.....</i>	26,061,645	62.2	29,171,105	61.2
Pea.....	5,698,866	13.6	6,720,794	14.1
Buckwheat No. 1.....	5,907,865	14.1	6,816,124	14.3
Smaller than Buckwheat No. 1.....	2,094,988	5.0	2,621,586	5.5
<i>Small Sizes.....</i>	13,701,219	32.7	16,158,504	33.9
<i>Total....</i>	41,899,751	100.0	47,665,204	100.0

SIZES.	1900.		1901.	
	TONS.	PER CT.	TONS.	PER CT.
Lump.....	2,282,447	5.0	2,187,553	4.1
Broken.....	4,112,884	9.1	4,423,584	8.3
Egg.....	5,628,225	12.5	6,989,330	13.1
Stove.....	3,666,891	19.2	10,561,957	19.7
Chestnut.....	3,522,062	18.8	10,250,550	19.1
<i>Prepared Sizes.....</i>	26,980,012	59.6	32,225,421	60.2
Pea.....	6,488,218	14.3	7,555,948	14.1
Buckwheat No. 1.....	6,576,984	14.6	7,894,618	14.7
Smaller than Buckwheat No. 1.....	2,984,828	6.5	3,705,066	6.9
<i>Small Sizes.....</i>	15,945,025	35.4	19,155,827	35.7
<i>Total....</i>	45,107,484	100.0	53,568,601	100.0



**STATEMENT SHOWING COMPARISON OF THE PERCENTAGES OF THE  
VARIOUS SIZES OF ANTHRACITE COAL SHIPPED TO  
MARKET IN THE PAST TEN YEARS.**

	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901
Lump.....	9.3	8.0	8.6	7.3	6.8	5.8	5.1	4.9	5.0	4.1
Broken.....	11.2	11.3	10.1	9.7	9.1	9.3	9.2	9.0	9.1	8.3
Egg.....	14.5	14.1	13.9	13.8	12.8	13.8	13.3	12.6	12.5	13.1
Stove.....	23.1	22.9	21.9	20.7	23.4	21.4	21.2	20.9	19.2	19.7
Chestnut.....	17.9	18.6	19.2	18.4	18.2	18.7	18.5	18.7	18.8	19.1
<i>Prepared Sizes.</i>	66.7	66.9	65.1	62.6	63.5	63.2	62.2	61.2	59.6	60.2
Pea.....	12.6	12.7	13.6	13.7	13.1	13.7	13.6	14.1	14.3	14.1
Buckwheat No. 1 Smaller than Buck- wheat No. 1....	9.5	10.1	9.5	12.6	12.6	14.0	14.1	14.3	14.6	14.7
	1.9	2.3	3.2	3.8	4.0	3.8	5.0	5.5	6.5	6.9
<i>Small Sizes....</i>	24.0	25.1	26.3	30.1	29.7	31.5	32.7	33.9	35.4	35.7
<i>Total....</i>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.**

	Tons.	Per cent.
Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey.....	35,234,059	65.77
New England States.....	8,199,940	15.31
Western States.....	5,963,035	11.13
Southern States.....	2,142,744	4.00
Pacific Coast.....	20,000	.04
Dominion of Canada.....	1,933,283	3.61
Foreign Ports.....	75,540	.14
<i>Total.....</i>	53,568,601	100.00

The above table is intended to show the disposition of Anthracite for consumption, in the several districts of the country, and as a supplement to this a statement is given representing approximately the consumption of Anthracite along the Eastern Seaboard, north of and including Philadelphia, during 1901.

Philadelphia.....	4,225,000	Tons.
New Jersey Coast.....	1,000,000	"
New York City, Brooklyn, Long Island and Staten Island.....	9,000,000	"
Miscellaneous Coast Points—Connecticut.....	1,000,000	"
Miscellaneous Coast Points—Rhode Island.....	600,000	"
Boston.....	2,000,000	"
Miscellaneous Coast Points—Massachusetts.....	500,000	"
Miscellaneous Coast Points—New Hampshire.....	250,000	"
Miscellaneous Coast Points—Maine.....	400,000	"
<i>Total.....</i>	18,975,000	Tons.

**AVERAGE F. O. B. PRICES RECEIVED FOR ANTHRACITE COAL SOLD AT  
NEW YORK HARBOR, YEAR 1902, JANUARY TO SEPTEMBER, INC.**

	Wyoming.	Lehigh.	Schuylkill.
Broken.....	3.5814	3.8970	3.5906
Egg.....	4.1256	4.2879	4.1147
Stove.....	4.2524	4.3568	4.2076
Chestnut.....	4.2605	4.3589	4.2008
Pea.....	2.7122	3.1067	2.7008
Buckwheat No. 1.....	2.2272	2.1595	2.1315
Buckwheat No. 2.....	1.5146	1.6402	1.4449
Buckwheat No. 3.....	1.2032	.....	.....

**YEAR 1901.**

	Wyoming.	Lehigh.	Schuylkill.
Broken.....	3.4472	3.8766	3.5358
Egg.....	3.9778	4.1917	4.0280
Stove.....	4.3211	4.3740	4.2975
Chestnut.....	4.3230	4.4086	4.3088
Pea.....	2.5769	2.5763	2.4937
Buckwheat No. 1.....	2.1020	2.0255	1.9946
Buckwheat No. 2.....	1.4383	1.4792	1.3185
Buckwheat No. 3.....	1.1575	.....	.....

**STATEMENT SHOWING ESTIMATED ORIGINAL CONTENTS OF ANTHRACITE  
FIELDS WITH THE TOTAL PRODUCTION TO CLOSE OF 1901, AND  
REMAINING CONTENTS OF FIELDS, AND PROBABLE AMOUNT  
OF COAL WHICH WILL BE GAINED FROM SALE.**

	Shipments 1820 to 1901, Inc.	Total Production Adding 10 per ct. for used at mines.
Wyoming Region.....	607,539,473	668,293,421
Lehigh Region.....	208,563,818	229,425,699
Schuylkill Region.....	409,472,958	450,420,253
<i>Total</i> .....	1,225,581,249	1,348,139,373

  

	Estimated Original Contents of Fields.	Amt. used up 2 1/4 times Production.	Est. Remaining Contents of Fields.
Wyoming Region.....	5,700,000,000	1,670,733,552	4,029,266,448
Lehigh Region.....	1,600,000,000	573,564,248	1,026,435,752
Schuylkill Region.....	12,200,000,000	1,126,050,833	11,073,949,167
<i>Total</i> .....	19,500,000,000	3,370,348,433	16,129,651,567

It is estimated that not over 40 per cent. of the remaining contents of the fields will be won by mining, and on this basis the future marketable product is shown below:

Wyoming Region.....	1,611,706,579 tons.
Lehigh Region.....	410,574,301 "
Schuylkill Region.....	4,429,579,747 "
<i>Total</i> .....	<u>6,451,860,627 tons.</u>

With an average yearly production of 60,000,000 tons, which includes coal used under the boilers at the mines and that sold to local trade, this supply would last about one hundred years.

It should be borne in mind that the figures given on page 155 are necessarily estimated, but they represent the best information on the subject, and are based on the calculations made by Mr. A. D. W. Smith, Mining Engineer, and former Assistant State Geologist, in a supplement to the report of the Coal Waste Commission made in 1893.

As the culm banks in the anthracite regions are now being used to secure small sizes of coal, it may be interesting to form some idea of the amount of coal which has gone to these banks since the commencement of the industry, which is estimated to be at least 35 per cent. of the total amount mined, or 471,848,780 tons.

Of course nothing like this amount remains, as much of it has been used in filling up old workings or has been washed away by the streams.

In late years a considerable amount of this coal has been reclaimed by erecting washeries at the culm banks.

The marketable coal gotten from these banks is stated below :

YEAR.	Shipments from Washerics.	Total Shipments.	Per cent. of Total Shipments
1890.....	41,600	26,615,459	.11
1891.....	85,702	40,448,386	.21
1892.....	90,495	41,893,320	.22
1893.....	245,175	49,089,587	.57
1894.....	684,116	41,391,200	1.53
1895.....	1,080,800	45,511,477	2.32
1896.....	895,042	48,177,435	2.07
1897.....	993,603	41,637,864	2.39
1898.....	1,099,019	41,899,751	2.62
1899.....	1,363,275	47,665,204	2.87
1900.....	2,059,349	45,107,484	4.57
1901.....	2,567,835	53,568,601	4.79

The above represents practically all the coal reclaimed from the culm banks which has been actually sent to market, but in addition to this a large but wholly unknown quantity has been used about the mines for steam purposes, and taken by employes for their domestic use. The present available supply from these banks could only be estimated in a rough way by persons familiar with the local conditions at each colliery.

## STATEMENT BEARING ON THE F. O. B. BUSINESS IN NEW YORK HARBOR, AND AVERAGE PRICES FOR STEAM SIZES DURING 1901 AND 1902.

Statement A shows the amounts and percentages of the various sizes of coal sold F. O. B. New York harbor during 1901 and 1902. It will be observed that the percentages of the small sizes amount to about 35, which is the average of the total production shipped from the mines, and is therefore a very fair basis from which to draw deductions. It is this coal which yields small returns both for production itself and the freight, which comes directly in competition with bituminous coal.

Statement B shows by months the prices received for the steam sizes of anthracite coal, F. O. B. New York harbor, in one case including and the other excluding Pea coal. A comparison of these prices with those received for bituminous coal, F. O. B. New York harbor would indicate fairly the conditions in a thoroughly competitive market.

Statement C shows the average monthly prices received for bituminous coal at Philadelphia, both for local and F. O. B. delivery, and is for comparison with the prices received at New York at the same period.

### STATEMENT SHOWING THE AMOUNTS OF THE VARIOUS SIZES OF ANTHRACITE COAL SHIPPED ON THE F. O. B. BASIS NEW YORK HARBOR.

#### STATEMENT A.

	Calendar Year 1901			Year 1902 to Sept. 30th, inc.		
	Tons	Per Cent.	Average Price	Tons	Per Cent.	Average Price
Broken.....	1,070,275	12.73	\$3.50	419,276	12.05	\$3.64
Egg.....	1,291,466	15.36	4.08	497,150	14.28	4.15
Stove.....	2,064,333	24.56	4.32	791,794	22.75	4.26
Chestnut.....	1,078,478	12.83	4.33	472,795	13.59	4.26
<i>Prepared Sizes.</i>	5,504,552	65.48	4.09	2,181,015	62.67	4.11
Pea.....	1,112,907	18.24	2.56	370,852	10.66	2.78
Buckwheat No. 1....	867,873	10.33	2.07	347,444	9.98	2.20
Buckwheat No. 2....	500,745	5.96	1.44	250,190	7.19	1.52
Buckwheat No. 3....	419,586	4.99	1.16	330,752	9.50	1.20
<i>Small Sizes....</i>	2,901,111	34.52	2.02	1,299,238	37.33	1.98
<i>Total....</i>	8,405,663	100.00	3.88	3,480,253	100.00	3.32

NOTE.—The above statement does not include all coal sold F. O. B. New York, as for instance that of the Pennsylvania Railroad Interests, and Individual Operators, but includes a sufficiently large proportion to make the percentages and average prices represent the facts.

**STATEMENT SHOWING AVERAGE F. O. B. PRICES RECEIVED FOR SMALL  
SIZES OF ANTHRACITE COAL AT NEW YORK HARBOR.**

**STATEMENT B.**

	Calendar Year 1901		Calendar Year 1902	
	A	B	A	B
January.....	\$2.08	\$1.71	\$2.02	\$1.69
February.....	2.08	1.70	2.03	1.72
March.....	2.01	1.68	2.02	1.71
April.....	1.93	1.64	2.02	1.69
May.....	2.00	1.68	1.97	1.66
June.....	2.00	1.64	1.43	1.42
July.....	2.00	1.85	2.36	1.45
August.....	2.00	1.68	1.69	1.47
September.....	2.04	1.68	1.48	1.45
October.....	2.02	1.67	1.81	1.59
November.....	2.00	1.67	....	....
December.....	2.04	1.72	....	....

NOTE.—In columns headed A, the averages include Pea coal ; in B columns they include only sizes smaller than Pea, and as Pea is now so largely a domestic size the latter averages more nearly represent the Anthracite sizes in competition with Bituminous coal.

**STATEMENT SHOWING MONTHLY AVERAGE PRICES OF BITUMINOUS COAL  
AT PHILADELPHIA.**

**STATEMENT C.**

	Calendar Year 1901		Calendar Year 1902	
	Local Delivery	F. O. B. Harbor	Local Delivery	F. O. B. Harbor
January.....	\$2.85	\$2.55	\$2.88	\$2.58
February.....	2.75	2.45	2.79	2.49
March.....	2.70	2.40	2.78	2.48
April.....	2.87	2.27	2.66	2.36
May.....	2.55	2.25	2.68	2.38
June.....	2.55	2.25	4.14	3.66
July.....	2.46	2.16	3.85	3.55
August.....	2.55	2.25	3.50	3.20
September.....	2.56	2.26	5.81	5.51
October.....	2.54	2.24	6.35	6.05
November.....	2.58	2.28	....	....
December.....	2.88	2.58	....	....

## APPENDIX.

## PARTIAL LIST OF STRIKES, APRIL TO OCTOBER, 1901.

COLLIERY	DATE	CAUSE AND DEMANDS	RESULT	Duration Days	Men Affect- ed.
Sugar Notch.	1901. April 1	LEHIGH & WILKESBARRE COAL CO. Colliery suspended by the company because of interference with contractors who were driving two gangways and airways at a price satisfactory to the company and themselves, but claimed by the interfering parties to be too low; also because the drivers were threatening to strike on account of a driver having been discharged for carelessly allowing a mule to be killed while under his charge.	The gangways and airways are being driven at the original prices.	36	610
Lincoln.	April 1	PHILADELPHIA & READING COAL & IRON CO. Twenty-one miners working breasts in No. 4 vein demanded an increase from 75c. per wagon to \$1 per wagon. Demand was refused and the men struck.	Men resumed work at old price.	15	21
North Franklin.	April 2	About March 15th there was handed to the district superintendent a petition signed by over 200 persons requesting the removal of the inside foreman of North Franklin Colliery. The petition was withdrawn, but again presented on April 8th and an investigation demanded. The mining superintendent of the company thereupon met a party of ten, who were considered to be the leading opponents of the accused foreman, at the colliery, and after a long and patient hearing, both sides being presented, it was decided by him that the charges were not sustained and the case was dismissed. It was found that 83 of the names upon the petition were those of men who had never worked at the colliery under this foreman. Some of the names were persons never employed at the colliery, being the names of children, saloon men, butchers, dairymen and store keepers of Treverton. One of the men whose name was signed to the petition stated that he was induced to do so by false representations on the part of the persons circulating the petition.			
Colliery No. 7.	April 2	SUSQUEHANNA COAL CO. Two slate bosses discharged at Breaker No. 5. Boys at No. 7 went on strike demanding reinstatement of bosses.	Returned to work next day. Bosses not reinstated.	1	1234

COLLIERY	DATE	CAUSE AND DEMANDS	RESULT	Duration Days	Men Affected
Henry Clay.	1907. April 9	PHILADELPHIA & READING COAL & IRON CO. Firemen and ashmen demanded an advance of \$1 per week. Demand was refused, forcing the total suspension of the whole of Henry Clay Colliery.	On the 20th of April, Henry Clay breaker was ordered to be dismantled, in preparation for the erection of new structure.	70	1200
Harry E	April 10	TEMPLE IRON CO. Two runners refused to deliver cars to miners not having union cards. Because of a slight thickening of the rock in two breasts the committee demanded that yardage should be paid. The miners in these breasts were willing to work on the old basis, but the union driver refused to deliver cars to them. One of the local leaders, in direct contravention of the rules, insisted on going through the mines and interfering with other employes. He was ordered to return to his place and on refusing was ordered from the mines. A committee entered the mines and demanded that every employe produce a "working card," ordering out every man who could not show one. They were ordered from the premises by the mine foreman, which precipitated a strike.	Runners were discharged. Driver was discharged.  He has not been re-employed.  The men returned to work without receiving any concessions or being permitted to interfere with other employes in any way.	7	734
Ewen.	April 11	PENNSYLVANIA COAL CO. Two out of a number of new runners hired at the regular wage paid for this work at the Pennsylvania Coal Co.'s collieries struck on account of the wages. Laborers refused to run cars and persuaded the old runners to go out with the new ones, throwing idle the bottom vein.	Entire colliery was ordered shut down until men returned to work at old figures, which they did on April 16th. Men who caused trouble were discharged.	4	335
Boston.	April 11	DELAWARE & HUDSON CO. In March miners working in gangways, airways and narrow chambers claimed that they were being interfered with on the grounds that they were working for less than "union rates," and during March and at the beginning of April several narrow chambers were stopped. Finally so many places were idle that the colliery was shut down on the night of April 10th. Work was resumed on the morning of April 18th under old conditions.	No advance was granted.	6	350

COLLIERY	DATE	CAUSE AND DEMANDS	RESULT	Duration Days.	Men Affected.
Plymouth No. 2.	1901. April 12	<p>DELAWARE &amp; HUDSON CO.—Cont'd.</p> <p>The same trouble as at Boston was experienced at this colliery in April. On April 11th four gangways and two airways were stopped for working for less than "union rates," and on that night colliery was shut down. On June 18th work was resumed, no advance being granted.</p> <p>After one week's idleness the company availed itself of the opportunity to make repairs and alterations in the breaker, which delayed the starting of the colliery for nearly a month after the men were ready to go back to work.</p>	<p>No advance was granted.</p> <p>Miners are now paying laborers \$2.20 for loading five cars, instead of for six cars, as was paid before May 1st.</p>	28 days on account of strike.	427
Greenwood No. 1.	April 15	<p>On April 15th the breaker headmen struck, demanding higher wages, as paid at other D. &amp; H. mines, and also refusing to work with non-union boss. The wage dispute was referred to the superintendent, who promised to consider the matter, and on that understanding work was resumed the following day. (No advance has yet been granted, July 1st.)</p>	<p>The docking boss joined the union April 20th, and began work again on April 22d.</p>	I	365
Tunnel Ridge.	April 16	<p>PHILADELPHIA &amp; READING COAL &amp; IRON CO.</p> <p>Four repairmen by night in the breaker were requested when colliery was working short time to work in the daytime instead of at night, but refused and demanded that they be permitted to work each night following the day on which the colliery worked. The demand was not granted and the repairing was done on idle days by other hands.</p>		36	4
Prospect.	April 16	<p>LEHIGH VALLEY COAL CO.</p> <p>Breaker oiler discharged for refusing to obey orders of the foreman. His reinstatement demanded. Two other breaker hands discharged for refusing to take his place.</p>	<p>No concessions on part of company. Three men not re-employed.</p>	9	745
Henry.	April 16	<p>Same cause as above. Henry coal prepared at Prospect.</p>	<p>Same as above.</p>	9	360
Maltby.	April 17	<p>Driver boy discharged for abusing two mules, one of which died as a result. Fire boss resigned his position and then claimed he had been discharged. Men demanded reinstatement of both.</p>	<p>Demand not granted.</p>	24	523



COLLIERY	DATE	CAUSE AND DEMANDS	RESULT	Dura- tion	
				Days	Men Affect- ed.
Richmond No. 3.	1901. April 17	ELK HILL COAL & IRON CO. Committee demanded working cards of the men and boys; they not all being able to produce same the colliery went out on strike.	Resumed without showing cards.	4	250
Baltimore Slope.	April 20	DELAWARE AND HUDSON CO. On April 20th the slate boss was removed to another occupation, which he refused to accept and quit work. The breaker boys demanded his reinstatement as slate boss. This being refused they struck on April 20th and remained idle one day. The matter was explained to a grievance committee, who declared themselves satisfied that the foreman's action was justifiable.	Demand of breaker boys was not granted.	1	328
Sterling Section of Henry Clay	April 20	PHILADELPHIA & READING COAL & IRON CO. A mule shoer inside the mines demanded an increase in his wages from \$11 per week to \$12, and upon demand being refused he stopped work and no one could be found to take his place for any length of time because of threats and intimidation. Another man started on this work on May 17th, satisfied with both the work and the wages, but was obliged to quit. The wages of \$11 per week is the highest rate paid anywhere for that kind of work.			
Lincoln.	April 22	Twelve employes at the washery refused to work because a non-union man was put in charge of the washery. It remained idle until May 27th, when the washery resumed work with the same man in charge.	No concessions.	33	22
Short Mt.	April 22	LYKENS VALLEY COAL CO. Men came out of No. 4 Slope in a body and demanded more price for robbing coal.	Demand refused.	1	41
Williams- town	April 22	SUMMIT BRANCH COAL CO. Men demanded (in No. 4 Slope) increase of \$1 for working safety lamps.	Fifty cents was offered, which was accepted after 6 days.	6	8
Jermyn.	May 1	DELAWARE & HUDSON CO. On April 13th mine foreman was notified by a committee of miners that on May 1st they would cease running cars out of the chambers. On May 1st they stopped running cars and the colliery stopped work.	Miners went back under old conditions, and at end of month company employed runners to do work objected to by miners. Also increased pay of runners.	5	530

COLLIERY	DATE	CAUSE AND DEMANDS	RESULT	Duration Days	Men Affected.
Shenandoah City.	1901. May 1	PHILADELPHIA & READING COAL & IRON CO. Thirty-one miners in the Buck Mountain Vein were notified to send out cleaner coal. They refused to do so and quit work in a body.	Men returned to work of their own accord, and promised to clean coal as ordered.		
Centralia.	May 5	LEHIGH VALLEY COAL CO. Demands for increase of wages for inside labor, inside laborers and yardage, and extra pay for drivers for cleaning their mules were presented.	Colliery shut down May 5th, upon receiving notice that a strike would be declared on the following Monday. Work was resumed June 24, when men went back to work without receiving any concessions except 8-hour day Saturdays, which is the custom of the region.	50	676
Ontario.	May 7	ELK HILL COAL & IRON CO. Demand of committee for working cards.	Cards not shown. Men went out.	2½	250
Colliery No. 6.	May 8	SUSQUEHANNA COAL CO. Miner stopped for having 1,500 pounds of slate and bone in car. Drivers would not give new miner any cars. Miners went on strike.	Men returned to work May 11th.	3	1038
Plymouth No. 3.	May 13	DELAWARE & HUDSON CO. Miners demanded an increase in yardage rates, based on a demand of laborers for increase of pay.	No advance granted. Men went out. Miners are now paying laborers \$2.20 for loading 5 cars instead of 6, the number constituting a day's work previous to May 1st.	30	467
Pine Brook.	May 14	SCRANTON COAL CO. Breaker boys struck on account of circus in the city.	Returned to work next day.	1	1075
No. 5.	May 17	PENNSYLVANIA COAL CO. Runners struck, claiming that the Pittston runners were being paid \$1.65 while they only \$1.45.	Demand granted after men returned to work.	5	245
No. 1 Shaft.	May 18	Breaker and outside hands struck because of non-union man being kept at work.	Returned to work as before, no concessions being made.	1	234

COLLIERY	DATE	CAUSE AND DEMANDS	RESULT	Men	
				Duration Days	Affect- ed.
No. 5. No. 6. No. 7.	May 16	SUSQUEHANNA COAL CO. Men came to work in the morning, but under the impression of its being a holy day refused to work.	Returned to work next day.	1	1166 1158 1329
Indian Ridge	May 18 May 21	PHILADELPHIA & READING COAL & IRON CO. Loader and driver demanded an increase of wages. Refused, because already paid regular rate. Remained away from work and another man substituted. Other drivers refused to work and quit. The remainder of the employes left the colliery in a body after demanding that discharged union employe be reinstated.	No concessions.	130	46
Hammond.	May 21	Contractors driving pump and steamway in the Buck Mountain vein on a successful bid, were stopped by the union, who ordered that the contract or "flat" price be abolished and a rate made of 16 per cent. advance. The company refused to change the price and the contractors refused to stop work. They were expelled by the union and the colliery employes were notified not to handle any wagons of coal they mined. The wagons were handled by the district superintendent and others, whereupon all the men at the colliery quit work. The superintendent declined to meet a union committee pending an investigation of the cause and object of the strike, and meanwhile the contractors and their families were subjected to a series of petty persecutions on the part of the union men and their families. On June 1st the superintendent was notified by a committee that the contract must be abrogated before the union would permit the colliery to start. They were informed that unless the colliery started by the following Monday morning the mules would be taken out of the mines. Threats were then made to stop the fireman at the boiler plant and drown the colliery, and the mules were hoisted without waiting for the time fixed by the Superintendent to expire. On June 7th a committee of the business men of Girardville met the superintendent at his office in Pottsville to endeavor to effect some kind of settlement of the trouble, and the matter was then left to the general superintendent's decision, but as the colliery was partly dismantled at this time, in pursuance of the work of rebuilding, he decided that it could not start and thus the matter ended.		65	600

COLLIERY	DATE	CAUSE AND DEMANDS	RESULT	Duration Days	Men Affected
Sterrick Creek.	1901. May 21	TEMPLE IRON CO. The compressor engineer and topping docking boss were discharged for neglect of duty. A committee waited on the foreman and demanded the reinstatement of the discharged employees, which was refused.	The men were not re-employed. And the colliery resumed operations the next day, other employes being advanced to the positions left vacant.	1	585
Sterrick Creek.	June	Miners in Grassy Island vein demanded an increase of 13 cents a car for robbing pillars.	Demand refused, and the men went out. Returned to work next day at old rate.	1	62
No. 5. No. 6.	May 27	SUSQUEHANNA COAL CO. Men came to work in the morning, but under the impression of its being a church holy day refused to work.	Returned to work next day.	1	1192 1158
Hallstead.	May 28	D. L. & W. R. R. CO. Four miners refused to work their chambers, claiming they could not be worked to advantage. These chambers were then given to non-union men. Driver boys refused to deliver cars to them.	Still closed. Sept. 1.	93	302
Wadesville	May 29	PHILADELPHIA & READING COAL & IRON CO. Twenty-one men employed at loading coal inside the mines demanded what was practically an increase of 10 per cent in wages. Demand was refused and the men struck, throwing the colliery idle.	No concessions. Some of the men returned to work, and places of the others were filled by other men. Union refused to sustain men in strike.	2	500
Law Shaft.	June 1	PENNSYLVANIA COAL CO. Runners went out on strike for more wages.	Returned to work at same wages as before strike.	5	270
No. 1 Shaft.	June 3	Shaft drivers struck on account of driver boss being discharged for cause.	No concessions.	1	190

COLLIERY	DATE	CAUSE AND DEMANDS	RESULT	Duration Days.	Men Affect- ed.
William Penn.	1901. June 4	SUSQUEHANNA COAL CO. Four miners demanded 50 cents more per yard for driving breasts in Buck Mountain seam, No. 3 Slope Level, West. They were getting \$4.50 per yard and demanded \$5. They were refused the increase and the four places are still idle. The net earnings for the previous three months for each of the four miners was \$2.39 per day.		14	
Short Mt.	June 10	LYKENS VALLEY COAL CO. Twenty-one timbermen struck to have non-union man discharged.	Demand not granted. Men asked to be reinstated, which was granted on personal application of each man.	4	21
Harry E.	June 15	TEMPLE IRON CO. United Mine Workers demanded discharge of carpenter or that he be forced into the union. Demands refused and strike was ordered for Monday, June 17th. On the evening of June 17th the union posted notices to the effect that work would be resumed the following day.	Colliery was shut down and kept idle from June 17th to June 29th, inclusive. Men returned to work with the understanding that the company should employ men irrespective of union. Carpenter, fearing personal violence, resigned.	14	728
No. 5.	June 21	SUSQUEHANNA COAL CO. Boys employed at rolls discharged for cause. Other boys refused to work unless discharged boys were reinstated. Demand was refused, which precipitated a strike.	Returned to work June 29th. Boys who were discharged not reinstated.	8	1133
No. 7.	June 21	Breaker boys demanded the discharge of slate boss on account of alleged cruelty. The charge was unfounded. The boys struck.	Returned to work June 27. Slate boss not discharged.	5½	1283
No. 1 Shaft.	June 21	PENNSYLVANIA COAL CO. Drivers on the west side were asked to do some temporary extra work, but struck. Laborers went out in sympathy with the boys.	Returned to work next day.	1	25
Plymouth No. 2.	June 24	DELAWARE & HUDSON CO. Runners demanded an increase of wages, which was refused. Runners struck, but were persuaded by the miners to return to work the next day.	Demand refused.	.1	126
Glenwood No. 1.	June 28	On June 27th five drivers were suspended for five days for running their mules to the barns in defiance of orders. Other drivers demanded their immediate reinstatement, which was refused. They struck the following morning.	Five drivers suspended for five days. Demand immediate reinstatement. Refused.	2	427

COLLIERY	DATE	CAUSE AND DEMANDS	RESULT	Duration Days.	Men Affect- ed.
Carbon- dale No. 1.	1901. June 29	DELAWARE & HUDSON CO.—Cont'd.  In the latter part of May the inside foreman made an agreement with two fifth-class drivers by which they were to drive and run cars and have their wages gradually increased monthly until they would reach the rate paid for runners. On June 29th they demanded runners' pay. On being refused they and five other drivers quit. No one would take their mules out and in consequence twenty-one chambers were thrown idle; each chamber would have sent out four cars, making 84 cars in all, which would yield 154 tons of prepared coal. The foreman met a committee of boys at noon on the 29th and they agreed to go to work on Monday, July 1st, under conditions first agreed upon.	Demands refused. Boys went back to work at old wages.	1	48
Wood- ward.	Aug. 1	D., L. & W. R. R. CO. Demand for display of Union cards. It was prohibited.	Entire colliery idle until Aug. 19th.	18	370
Audenried and Honey Brook.	Aug. 6	LEHIGH & WILKESBARRE COAL CO. Committees prohibited from collecting work cards on the premises of the company, and employes stopped work.	Employes returned to work after abandoning card collections.	7	1470
No. 1.	Aug. 9	LYTLE COAL CO. Men demanded six shifts pay for five shifts work.	Discharged 7 men and got others.	<sup>1</sup> Week	50
Maltby.	July 24	LEHIGH VALLEY COAL CO. Men refused to go back to work after firemen's strike unless the non-union men employed in the firemen's places were discharged and all the old firemen reinstated.	Demand refused, and colliery still out Sept. 1st. Other demands have been made since.		38
Drifton Shops.	June 10 to June 30	COXE BROTHERS & CO., INC. Basis—Nine hours' work and ten hours' pay.		20	199
Mechanics in all Depart- ments.	July 1 to July 31	Same as for the 20 days in June.  Strike still on; shop working with mostly non-union men, and has been working during the entire strike. The ranks of strikers showing weakness, and expect a decided break within the next week.		31	199

COLLIERY	DATE	CAUSE AND DEMANDS	RESULT	Duration Days.	Men Affected
	1901.				
Franklin.	July 16	LEHIGH VALLEY COAL CO.—Cont'd.		7	430
Dorrance.	July 16		Complete withdrawal	7	545
Prospect.	July 16	Demands of the firemen were that their	of demands.	7	531
Henry.	July 16	shift be 8 hours instead of 12, without any		7	491
*Maltby.	July 16	reduction in wages.		7	568
Exeter.	July 16			7	477
Heid.No.1.	July 16			x5	303
Heid.No.2.	July 16			7	288
William A.	July 16			x5	728
		DELAWARE & HUDSON CO.			
Legitts Creek.	Aug. 1	On August 1st a driver in the fourth vein was promoted to be a runner. The mine foreman did not think any of the other drivers in the same vein strong enough to do the work the promoted boy had been doing. He took a boy from the Clarke vein to fill the vacancy. All the drivers in the 4-ft. vein refused to take their mules from the barn. The mules were taken out for that day by company laborers. The drivers all came back the next day except four of the ring-leaders, who were discharged. All but one afterward allowed to come back to work.	Nothing.	1	11
Plymouth No. 5.	Aug. 15	On August 15th mine foreman was met at the head of the shaft and told that at a meeting held on the evening of the 14th the miners had unanimously decided not to obey the order of the company to pile the gob all on one side of the chambers. When told that they must obey the order if they continued to work, they said they would go in and put their tools away and quit. Only the miners in the Red Ash vein quit and the breaker was kept running all day on coal from the 5-ft. vein and from No. 4 Mine. The output was about 75 cars short. On the following morning the mine foreman found all the miners at the head of the shaft ready to go to work. He refused to let any go to work until they had come to an understanding regarding the gob. The spokesman for all then said the order would be obeyed and all were allowed to go to work.	Company's order obeyed.	1	96

\*Maltby did some work on 16th and 17th. xHeid. No. 1 and William A resumed work on 22d; other collieries on 24th.

COLLIERY	DATE	CAUSE AND DEMANDS	RESULT	Duration Days	Men Affected
Green-wood No. 1.	1901. Aug. 2	DELAWARE & HUDSON CO.—Cont'd. On August 1st or 2d the union cards of employes were examined unknown to and contrary to the orders of the mine foreman. The old shaft drivers quit on the morning of the 2d because one driver and two door boys had no cards. They remained idle one day. The three boys who were objected to were back at work with the others on the 3d and it is presumed they had taken out cards.	Employes objected to took out union cards.	1	76
Lytle Colliery No. 1.	Aug. 9	LYTLE COAL CO. Night drivers demanded a double shift for Friday night, or six shifts for five.	Discharged.	10	50
H. Ridge.	Aug. 31	UNION COAL CO. Chute bosses demanding more time, and as it was not granted they quit work; slate pickers came out in sympathy to have them reinstated. As the men had quit of their own accord, we would not reinstate them and the boys returned to work September 3d.	The slate pickers' request not being granted, they returned to work Sept. 3rd.	3	600
	Sept. 1 to Sept. 12	PHILADELPHIA & READING COAL & IRON CO. Labor parades and picnics.		5	18935
Von Storch.	Sept. 7	DELAWARE & HUDSON CO. Miners in Rock Vein demanded an increase on regular yardage, which was refused. They took their tools out and other men cannot be induced to take their places.	These chambers are boycotted.	Condition still exists.	14
Von Storch.	Sept. 10	A driver was injured, owing to the neglect of a runner, Michael Clark, who was discharged on September 7th. The drivers and runners came out with their mules and demanded that Clarke be reinstated and that Matthew Cavanaugh, fire boss and father of the injured boy, be discharged for informing on Clarke. This was refused and the drivers and runners struck. On September 11th a committee from the local union repeated the demand made by the runners and drivers, but was again refused. On the 14th the committee informed the foreman that they would go to work again on the 16th.	No concessions of any kind made, and work was resumed by the men voluntarily on the 16th.	5	534



COLLIERY	DATE	CAUSE AND DEMANDS	RESULT	Duration Days	Men Affected.
Langcliffe.	1901 Sept. 26	DELAWARE & HUDSON CO.—Cont'd. Through an error of the time-keeper the breaker boys were paid for six hours' work more than they worked during the last half of August. This was deducted from their time for the first half of September and they struck.	Nothing conceded.	½	321
Union Coal Company Hickory Ridge.	Sept. 4	PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD CO. Slate pickers struck in sympathy to have chute bosses reinstated.	No concessions.	1	600
Sugar Notch No. 9.	Sept. 5	LEHIGH & WILKESBARRE COAL CO. Inside drivers inaugurated a movement to cease work three-quarters of an hour in advance of the regular quitting time of the colliery, contending that their duties required them to work during noon intermission. The tactics of the drivers were then changed. The next move was to refuse to enter the barn in the morning to prepare and take out their mules until the whistle had been blown for starting work, stating that if they were required to remain at work until the regular quitting time at night they would report for duty only at the regular starting time in the morning.	After due warning a number of these drivers were discharged. Suspension of colliery ordered by company. Colliery idle 3 days, when drivers expressed willingness to obey fully company's orders. No concessions of any kind made by company.	3	475
Colliery No. 1.	Sept. 10	LYTLE COAL CO. (PENNA. R. R. CO.) Three night drivers demanded more wages.	Discharged.	6	16
Luke Fidler.	Sept. 20	MINERAL RAILROAD & MINING CO. (P. R. R.) On account of using a larger mine car than formerly, notwithstanding the fact that we offered the men a price proportionate for the increased capacity of the car, all of the miners in No. 1 shaft struck.	Men lost.	2	40
Baltimore Tunnel.	Oct. 17	DELAWARE & HUDSON CO. Ten men on No. 10 plane in Baltimore Tunnel Mine struck on October 17th for an allowance of 10 cents per car, and \$1 per yard on the rib. No advance was granted and all came back to work on the 18th.	Nothing. Tonnage lost. 128 tons.	1	31

COLLIERY	DATE	CAUSE AND DEMANDS	RESULT	Dura- tion Days.	Men Affect- ed.
Baltimore Tunnel.	1901. Oct. 17	<p>DELAWARE &amp; HUDSON CO.—Cont'd.</p> <p>All D. &amp; H. mines were idle on October 29th, "Mitchell Day." Work was suspended at the request of the employes. Following is a copy of a letter from the District President U. M. W. of A.:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">United Mine Workers of America. District No. 1. Scranton, Pa., October 26, 1901. Mr. C. C. Rose, Supt. D. &amp; H. Co.</p> <p>Dear Sir:—Your employes have delegated me to notify you that they will observe October 29th as a holiday, and you are hereby notified to that effect.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Yours truly, T. D. NICHOLLS, District Pres. (Signature typewritten.)</p> <p>HILLSIDE COAL &amp; IRON CO.</p>		1	31
Clifford.	Oct. 2	<p>HILLSIDE COAL &amp; IRON CO.</p> <p>Demand made by a wheel runner for an increase in wages from \$1.75 to \$1.93 per day.</p>	No change.	2	15