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Anthracite Coal Strike Commission

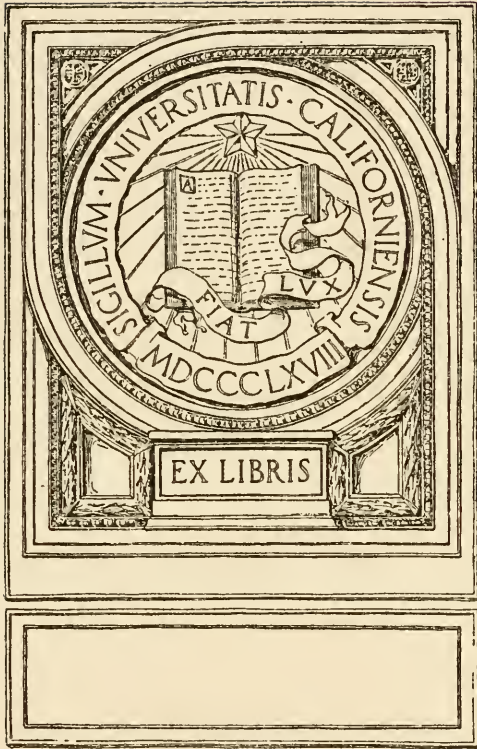
ARGUMENT

OF

H. T. NEWCOMB

of Counsel for the
Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company

PHILADELPHIA, PA., FEBRUARY 12, 1903





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H. T. NEWCOMB

on behalf of

Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company

To the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission:

The importance of a correct determination of the questions submitted to this Commission is not to be measured even by that attaching to the wages or annual earnings of an industrial army nearly 150,000 strong, or to the prosperity of the business which supplies the economic basis of a community of eight hundred thousand human beings and covering a region of almost eighteen hundred square miles, or to the price of the principal domestic fuel consumed in the eastern half of the United States. All of these things are directly connected with the issues between the anthracite mine workers and the operators by whom they are employed that have been submitted to this Commission and each of them must be affected in a greater or less degree by its award. But there are other matters of wider and far more permanent importance that are just as certainly involved. Wages, whether abnormally high or unnaturally low, must sooner or later, without extraneous interference or in spite of it, adjust themselves to the general level which is fixed by the prevailing standard of life and the condition of production and trade; no industry can long suffer beyond its fellows or enjoy advantages which they do not share; an excessive price for anthracite might

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for a time oppress the poor of the eastern states or an unduly low one might squander the limited and irreplaceable supply of that fuel, but, in the first case, the corrective power of natural forces would eventually remove the oppression, and, in the second, the evil would be no more than the anticipation by a few years or by a few decades of that exhaustion of the anthracite deposits which is already clearly in sight.

Labor is, however, a permanent condition of existence and in spite of the anticipations of socialists and the forebodings of pessimistic individualists, the institutions of private property and the wages system seem likely long to remain, as they unquestionably are to-day, indispensable to the successful direction of industry and the profitable expenditure of energy in productive toil. Of all rights of property the title of a man to himself is the most important. Liberty of action so far as it can be exercised without impairing the equal liberty of others is an essential of moral as well as of social and economic development. The decision of this Commission will authoritatively answer some questions of fundamental importance in regard to personal freedom that, once regarded as beyond dispute, have lately been raised by the acts and declarations of some of the parties to this controversy or of those who represent them. In fixing for a considerable time the relations that shall exist between those who perform manual labor in connection with the production of anthracite and the owners of anthracite property the Commission must profoundly influence the relations between employees and employers everywhere in the United States and for a long time to come. It is many decades since labor organizations began to constitute an important factor in the industrial systems of the English-speaking nations. These organizations vary greatly in character, in methods and in purposes

and, some of them having adhered to wrong principles and adopted fatuous or vicious methods, the movement has had many serious setbacks, but in spite of these errors and their consequences, the industrial position of organized labor is now one of great and probably increasing strength. To the inquiry which demands light upon the future influence upon American prosperity of this great industrial factor the award of this Commission must yield a response full of meaning. Shall organized labor treat protestants against its principles and methods as outcasts; shall its leaders, by teaching that they have no moral right to protest or to give practical expression to their beliefs, make certain that many of them shall be stoned and beaten and others deprived of property or life by its less cautious and controllable members; shall it forbid their families the necessities of life and the ministrations of priests and physicians; shall it deprive their children of employment? Shall labor unions decree a general level of efficiency which must be attainable by the least competent and beyond which no man may rise, shall they limit individual earning capacity by iron rules regulating the hours of labor and compelling energy to assume the mantle of sloth, shall they restrict output and thus prevent the creation of values certain to be transmuted into wages? Every one of these questions will be more or less directly answered by the conclusions reached by this Commission. This high court of extraordinary jurisdiction; constituted by the voluntary agreement of the parties before it; whose decree, enforceable by no other process, will be promptly executed to the last letter by the unbreakable word of those concerned; and from whose decision there can be no appeal is not only to write the contracts that are to control the relations between the employees of the several collieries of the anthracite region and the operators by whom they are employed, but it is to

formulate for free American labor a new bill of rights and to give to the industries of the United States a new declaration of the mutual rights and responsibilities of the employed and the employers.

SOCIOLOGICAL CONDITION OF THE ANTHRACITE REGION.

The anthracite deposits of Pennsylvania are principally within the counties of Carbon, Columbia, Lackawanna, Luzerne, Northumberland and Schuylkill* and they may be taken as constituting the anthracite region, although the veins extend somewhat into Susquehanna and Dauphin counties and Sullivan county contains a coal sometimes classed as anthracite. The mining operations of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company are, with the exception of one colliery in Dauphin county and one in Columbia county, entirely located within the counties of Northumberland and Schuylkill. The population, in June, 1900, of the anthracite region as thus defined, classified according to nativity and parentage, was as follows:

*These six counties produced 97.44 per cent of the total output of the year 1901.

POPULATION

(Data from pages 335 to 346 and page 598 of Part I of the Report on Population of the Twelfth Census)

COUNTY	TOTAL	WHITE NATIVES				WHITE FOREIGN BORN		COLORED	
		Native parents		Foreign parents		Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total
		Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total				
Carbon	44,510	26,021	58.46	11,202	25.17	7,270	16.33	17	0.04
Columbia	39,896	34,432	86.30	3,729	9.35	1,585	3.97	150	.38
Lackawanna	193,831	56,696	29.25	80,785	41.68	55,711	28.74	639	.33
Luzerne	257,121	84,814	32.99	98,400	38.27	72,941	28.37	966	.37
Northumberland	90,911	61,575	67.73	16,991	18.69	12,092	13.30	253	.28
Schuylkill	172,927	86,636	50.10	53,370	30.86	32,658	18.89	263	.15
Total	799,196	350,174	43.82	264,477	33.09	182,257	22.80	2,288	.29

If it may be assumed that the proportion of the 147,651 employees of the anthracite mines inhabiting these countries is the same as that which expresses the relation of their production to the aggregate output, it would follow that 143,871 persons or 18.00 per cent of their aggregate population are direct recipients of wages from the anthracite mining corporations. It is clearly reasonable to assume as a basis of a minimum estimate of the number of persons in these counties who are directly dependent upon the wages paid to mine workers that no more than one-fourth of the total employees are boys and unmarried men and that the average family of the remainder consists of five persons, including the head. On this basis there must be 575,482 persons, or 72.01 per cent of the total population of these counties, who derive their support directly from the mining industry.* This proportion is so great that it leads directly to the conclusion that whatever degree of prosperity or depression may be found in this region as an whole is directly attributable to the wages, annual earnings, conditions of employment and social and economic opportunities of the workmen who are engaged in the production of anthracite. If these workmen were not actually prosperous it would be impossible that prosperity and comfort should be shown for the anthracite region as an whole. Therefore, if comparisons with other regions and other communities make a favorable showing for the six chief anthracite counties, it must be that labor is fairly paid, that the conditions of employment are good, and that the opportunities for moral, social and economic development are not below the average.

*The Twelfth Census enumerated 157,194 private families in these counties. This shows a ratio of ninety-two mine workers for every one hundred private families.

The proportions of the different elements of population in these counties compare as follows with the state of Pennsylvania as an whole, with the North Atlantic group of states and with the United States:

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER REGIONS

(Data from Part I of the Report on Population of the Twelfth Census)

REGION	POPULATION	WHITE NATIVES				WHITE FOREIGN BORN		COLORED	
		Native parents		Foreign parents		Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total
		Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total				
The Anthracite Counties	799,196	350,174	43.82	264,477	33.09	182,257	22.80	2,288	0.29
The Non-Anthracite Counties of Pennsylvania }	5,502,919	3,378,919	61.41	1,165,551	21.18	800,286	14.54	158,163	2.87
Pennsylvania	6,302,115	3,729,093	59.17	1,430,028	22.69	982,543	15.59	160,451	2.55
*The North Atlantic States	21,046,695	9,917,689	47.13	5,981,211	28.42	4,738,988	22.51	408,807	1.94
The United States	76,303,387	41,053,417	53.80	15,687,322	20.56	10,250,049	13.43	9,312,599	12.21

*These states are Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania

The foregoing shows that the population of the anthracite region contains a larger proportion of persons of foreign birth and also of the children of immigrants than that for the North Atlantic states taken together and a very much larger proportion of both than the non-anthracite counties of Pennsylvania, the state as a whole or the United States. The nationalities represented in the foreign born population of the several counties of the anthracite region with the number of immigrants from each are as follows:

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN BORN *

(Data from pages 779-780 of Part I of the Report on Population of the Twelfth Census)

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	Total	Carbon county	Columbia county	Laekawanna county	Luzerne county	Northumberland county	Schuykill county
All Foreign Countries	182,332	7,275	1,594	55,727	72,962	12,106	32,698
Asia (except China)	261	1	7	126	79	2	46
Austria	14,956	1,083	91	3,651	6,054	916	3,161
Belgium	12	.....	.....	2	2	4	4
Bohemia	512	46	.....	91	102	229	44
Canada (English)	864	16	15	372	302	49	110
Canada (French)	77	2	2	41	19	7	6
China	73	4	2	12	30	14	11
Denmark	124	23	3	24	61	4	9
England	20,000	383	244	8,010	7,497	975	2,891
Finland	46	6	.....	2	15	9	14
France	406	23	15	147	85	42	94
Germany	21,833	1,334	238	6,124	8,137	1,585	4,405
Holland	38	1	.....	19	15	1	2
Hungary	13,319	1,677	30	2,511	6,512	776	1,813
Ireland	29,366	1,217	527	12,270	9,755	841	4,786
Italy	9,233	561	21	3,980	3,420	284	1,027
Norway	33	2	.....	11	20	.....	.....
Poland (Austrian)	7,837	87	38	1,689	4,533	700	790
Poland (German)	4,221	27	10	1,031	2,285	682	176
Poland (Russian)	23,801	101	203	4,920	9,185	3,318	6,074
Poland (Unknown)	1,315	7	1	99	1,028	53	127
Roumania	24	.....	.....	17	6	.....	1
Russia	9,346	45	10	846	3,146	846	4,453
Scotland	3,218	74	18	1,225	1,411	151	339
Sweden	600	43	2	152	373	8	22
Switzerland	655	36	1	473	84	12	49
Turkey	129	1	.....	63	14	.....	51
Wales	19,522	459	109	7,708	8,578	568	2,100
West Indies	13	.....	2	2	9	.....	.....
Other Countries	307	14	5	83	158	7	40
Born at Sea	101	2	.....	26	47	3	23

* The differences between the totals in this table and the numbers of white persons of foreign birth, shown on page 8, represent the colored persons who were born in other countries

The foregoing table shows that these counties, which contain but 1.05 per cent of the total population of the United States, include within their borders 1.74 per cent of the foreign born inhabitants of this country, 5.41 per cent of those born in Austria, 9.13 per cent of those born in Hungary, 1.92 per cent of those born in Italy, 9.69 per cent of those born in Poland, 2.20 per cent of those born in Russia, and 1.30 per cent of those born in Turkey. Representing the immigrants commonly regarded as more desirable there are in these anthracite counties 2.37 per cent of all of the persons born in England who now reside in the United States, 0.82 per cent of those born in Germany, 1.82 per cent. of those born in Ireland, 1.37 per cent of those born in Scotland and 20.82 per cent of those born in Wales. Some light is thrown upon the difficulty attending the problem of assimilating this influx of the foreign born by the statistics of literacy and citizenship at the date of the last Census. These data with comparisons appear in the following table:

*LITERACY AND CITIZENSHIP OF FOREIGN BORN MALES TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE
AND OVER

(Data from Part I of the Report on Population of the Twelfth Census)

REGION	NATURALIZED		FIRST PAPERS FILED		ALIEN		UNKNOWN	
	Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate	Literate	Illiterate
The United States	2,681,850	180,696	367,611	49,252	769,789	300,337	663,282	89,717
The North Atlantic States	1,020,314	74,823	108,513	16,053	423,575	186,582	250,017	47,218
Pennsylvania								
Total	214,257	20,452	22,921	4,694	88,762	59,236	62,542	14,276
The Non-Anthracite Counties	177,881	12,899	20,201	3,188	75,081	42,777	53,159	9,471
The Anthracite Counties								
Total	36,376	7,553	2,720	1,506	13,681	16,459	9,383	4,805
Carbon	1,428	194	163	46	1,144	800	222	68
Columbia	351	83	13	9	44	151	129	52
Lackawanna	12,618	2,076	784	279	3,461	3,129	3,377	1,842
Luzerne	13,801	3,022	1,061	606	5,374	7,090	3,558	2,009
Northumberland	2,145	579	325	254	1,104	1,343	485	270
Schuylkill	6,033	1,599	374	312	2,554	3,946	1,612	1,004

* The Census Office designates as illiterate all persons who can neither read nor write and all who can read but are unable to write

It appears from an analysis of the foregoing that the six principal anthracite counties contain 4.89 per cent of the illiterate males of foreign birth over twenty-one years of age in the United States, 2.82* per cent of the males of voting age who have not taken the initial step toward citizenship, and 5.61 per cent of those who have obtained their first papers only. As compared with the state of Pennsylvania as an whole the foreign born males of voting age in these counties constitute 18.98 per cent of the total and include 36.93 per cent of the naturalized illiterates, 32.08 per cent of the illiterates who have obtained their first papers, and 27.79 per cent of those illiterates who remain completely alien. They also include 19.57 per cent of all persons of foreign birth not fully naturalized, 15.30 per cent of those who have taken first papers only and 18.72 per cent of those completely naturalized. The percentage of illiteracy among the native white males of voting age of Pennsylvania is 2.53 and that among the same element of population in the anthracite counties 3.63. The corresponding percentage for the United States is 4.88.

There can be no better index to the sociological condition of any community than the extent in which the families of which it is composed occupy separate homes and own, with or without encumbrance, the homes which they occupy. The following table shows these facts for the anthracite region, together with suitable comparisons:

*Those reported in the "unknown" class have been disregarded in the analysis of citizenship.

POPULATION AND HOME OWNERSHIP

(Data from Part II of the Report on Population of the Twelfth Census)

REGION	TOTAL POPULATION	POPULATION LIVING IN PRIVATE FAMILIES			NUMBER OF FARM HOMES	NUMBER	HOMES NOT ON FARMS			
		Total	Per cent of total	Number of families			Owned		Owned without encumbrance	
							Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent*
The United States	76,303,387	73,562,195	96.41	16,006,437	5,700,341	10,539,456	34.43	2,350,758	68.08	
The North Atlantic States	21,046,695	20,180,490	95.88	4,557,266	675,776	3,947,964	29.96	657,860	57.50	
Pennsylvania :	6,302,115	6,086,595	96.58	1,333,174	225,056	1,078,118	33.37	219,175	63.93	
Total	5,502,919	5,311,622	96.52	1,145,980	210,544	935,436	32.95	186,933	63.60	
The Non-Anthracite Counties	799,196	774,973	96.97	157,194	14,512	142,682	36.12	32,242	65.92	
The Anthracite Counties:	44,510	42,376	95.21	8,703	1,014	7,689	35.39	1,864	69.32	
Carbon	39,896	39,019	97.80	8,675	2,754	5,921	44.84	1,720	72.67	
Columbia	198,831	186,531	96.23	38,054	1,855	36,199	40.91	9,376	66.28	
Lackawanna	257,121	250,477	97.42	49,443	3,289	46,154	33.97	9,892	65.56	
Luzerne	90,911	88,427	97.27	18,530	2,611	15,919	33.00	2,985	59.04	
Northumberland	172,927	168,143	97.23	33,789	2,989	30,800	33.81	6,455	66.86	
Schuylkill										

* On the basis of those owned for which the fact of encumbrance or other wise is reported. In many cases this was not ascertained

No one will deny that the foregoing makes an extremely favorable showing for the anthracite region especially when it is remembered that an uncommonly large proportion of the population of this district consists of immigrants of relatively recent arrival who have as yet enjoyed for but a brief period the opportunities which the dominant industry of those counties affords. Every one of the counties shows a proportion both of owned homes and of homes owned free of encumbrance that notably exceeds the average for the North Atlantic states and in both respects the averages compare favorably with those for the state as a whole and for the non-anthracite counties. The evidence of the prosperity of the anthracite region afforded by this table is supplemented by the following statement which relates to the towns in that district:

HOME OWNERSHIP IN PENNSYLVANIA TOWNS

(Data from pages 709-10 of Part II of the Report on Population of the Twelfth Census)

TOWN	TOTAL NUMBER OF HOMES	OWNED		OWNED AND UNENCUMBERED	
		Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent*
Carbondale	2,887	1,549	53.65	1,083	71.02
Dunmore	2,469	1,282	51.92	694	62.92
Hazleton	2,806	836	29.17	649	77.91
Mahanoy City	2,517	710	28.21	411	58.71
Mount Carmel	2,411	727	30.15	404	55.80
Nanticoke	2,298	836	36.38	343	41.33
Pittston	2,470	1,144	46.32	734	74.75
Plymouth	2,668	693	25.97	449	56.13
Pottsville	3,415	1,283	37.57	855	67.32
Seranton	20,299	7,436	36.63	4,600	64.04
Shamokin	3,561	892	25.05	537	62.59
Shenandoah	3,620	803	22.18	487	63.25
Wilkesbarre	10,140	3,512	34.64	2,009	58.86

*On basis of those owned for which the fact of encumbrance or otherwise is reported. In many cases this was not ascertained

While statistics of deposits in banks and saving institutions do not ordinarily establish any facts in regard to the prosperity of particular individuals or portions of a community, it is submitted that when one industry so far dominates a district as that of anthracite mining does the six counties under discussion such statistics do express the general condition of the people. These institutions exist for no purpose except to handle the business of the community and the funds which they hold are in a large degree both the basis and the measure of commercial activity, which commonly coincides with general welfare. The following statement shows data upon this subject :

BANKS AND SAVING INSTITUTIONS

(Data from the reports of the Banking Commissioner of Pennsylvania or supplied by the United States
Comptroller of Currency)

COUNTY	Deposits in National banks	Deposits in state banks and trust companies	Amounts due share- holders of building and loan associations	Total
Carbon	\$1,781,665	\$	\$931,402	\$2,713,067
Columbia . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	41,941	41,941
Lackawanna	14,183,287	10,122,704	2,759,695	27,065,686
Luzerne	9,114,828	12,490,430	272,360	21,877,618
Northumberland	2,303,234	1,556,159	1,361,918	5,221,311
Schuylkill	4,421,427	2,437,370	2,377,873	9,236,670
Total	\$31,804,441	\$29,606,663	\$7,745,189	\$66,156,293

Beyond this the Commission has had specific evidence of the ownership of homes and other property by miners. The testimony of Dr. Peter Roberts, the sociological expert called to testify on behalf of the striking mine workers, on this subject was as follows:

"Q. Have miners been obtaining homes to any extent within the last ten years?

"A. Yes, sir.

"Q. In what section?

"A. All through the northern coal fields here; down also through the middle coal fields and the southern coal fields as far as opportunity was given them to acquire real estate and homes.

"Q. All classes alike, or has it been confined to particular nationalities?

"A. All classes alike with the exception, possibly of the Italians, who do not settle and make homes in the United States."*

Another witness called by the complainants, the Rev. James Moore, of Avoca, declared that from twenty to twenty-five of the families belonging to his congregation occupy homes which they own. As he gave the attendance at his church as about three hundred, it is evident that almost half of the families represented must reside in owned homes.† Many of the miners and other mine workers who were called as witnesses testified that they live in houses which they own and several told of owning property under rental to others. A mining superintendent testified that when he built a house for his own use he was offered a loan on it by one of the miners working under his direction,‡ and the Commission will not forget the witness who complained of the condition of the company house in which he resides and for which he pays \$4.75 per month, but admitted on cross-examination that he owns a house

*Testimony p. 760.

†Testimony p. 1470.

‡R. A. Phillips, superintendent of the coal mining department of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western. Testimony p. 6098.

that is insured for \$1,000 and for which he obtains a rental of fifteen dollars per month.* There has also been much testimony showing that a very gratifying proportion of the employees of particular companies and at particular collieries occupy houses which they own.

THE ANTHRACITE REGION AS A TRAINING SCHOOL FOR AMERICAN CITIZENS.

The data in regard to the extent and character of the immigration into the anthracite region that have been given show that in this district the problem of assimilating the large number of persons who come to America with little acquaintance with its institutions and little of the spirit out of which they have been developed is especially acute. The immigrants from southern and eastern Europe must be brought to an entirely new conception of government before they are qualified to perform the duties and bear the responsibilities of American citizenship. For fear of the law and of the agencies of government there must be substituted in their minds an high respect for those rules of conduct by which a free people has chosen to regulate the terms social and economic intercourse. They must be educated to an adequate comprehension of what it means to enjoy liberty regulated by law and a due regard for the equal rights of others and must acquire a deep sense of obligation to cherish and conserve the institutions which were not established here without much effort and abundant sacrifice. The solution of the problems of assimilation that are peculiarly difficult in the anthracite region cannot be regarded as of merely local importance. Whatever degree of success or failure is there attained cannot fail profoundly to affect the welfare of every section of the United States and the future development of this nation.

*August Baker. See testimony p. 2524.

Organized society in this region has not overlooked these problems nor failed to act in accordance with its obligations. The foundation of sound training for citizenship is broadly and deeply laid by the provision of most ample school facilities while an excellent statute renders school attendance compulsory and thus interposes the arm of the State for the protection of the future citizen against the selfish or indifferent parent who might regard the child as an asset and seek to derive an income by depriving him of the opportunities so generously provided and so freely offered. Many witnesses called by the striking mine workers have testified to the excellence of the school facilities of the anthracite region and to their superiority over those of other portions of the state. Mr. Griffith, superintendent of the schools of Nanticoke, declared that the qualifications of the teachers, the school houses and the general equipment for educational purposes of that place are far superior to those in the rural districts and that the term of school is longer than the average for the state.* Mr. Phillips, city superintendent of Scranton, testified that the school facilities in the Lackawanna and Wyoming region equal those in communities of similar size and wealth elsewhere and that he knows of none better in the country.† The following statement shows the relation between the number of persons classified by the Census Office as being of school ages (from five to twenty years inclusive) and the value of public school property and the expenditure for school purposes as reported by the United States Bureau of Education for the principal towns and cities of the anthracite region:

*Testimony p. 2318.

†Testimony pp. 2074-81.

SCHOOL POPULATION AND FACILITIES,

(Data from Part II of the Report on Population of the Twelfth Census and the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1899-1900)

PLACE	Number of persons of school age	VALUE OF PUBLIC SCHOOL PROPERTY		ANNUAL EXPENDITURE	
		Amount	Per individual of school age	Amount	Per individual of school age
Carbondale	4,445	\$178,000	\$40.04	\$42,895	\$9.54
Dunmore	4,360	150,000	34.40	39,705	9.11
Hazleton	4,996	205,000	41.03	39,615	7.93
Mahanoy City	4,622	112,000	24.23	35,604	7.70
Mount Carmel	4,712	90,000	19.10	25,491	5.41
Nanticoke	4,421	99,637	22.54	30,046	6.80
Pittston	4,227	85,000	20.11	24,006	5.68
Plymouth	4,718	100,000	21.20	21,852	4.63
Pottsville	4,983	*	.....	63,843	12.81
Scranton	34,301	1,000,000	29.15	363,232	10.59
Shamokin	6,557	300,000	45.75	41,446	6.32
Shenandoah	6,437	130,000	20.20	45,576	7.08
Wilkesbarre	17,473	525,000	30.05	154,064	8.82

* Not given

The reports from which the foregoing was compiled show that in the entire United States there are 26,099,788 persons of school age and that the value of the school property and the annual expenditures amounts to \$332,777,996 and \$99,457,234 respectively, showing an average value per capita of possible pupils of \$12.75 and an average annual rate of expenditure of \$3.81 per capita. The number of persons of school age in Pennsylvania is 2,031,171, and is to be compared with public school property valued in the aggregate at \$33,136,226 and an annual expenditure of \$9,964,421. The averages per capita of possible pupils are therefore \$16.31 and \$4.91 respectively.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

(Data from the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1899-1900)

PLACE	ENROLLED PUPILS				ATTENDANCE IN PUBLIC DAY SCHOOLS	
	Number in private and parochial schools*	Number in public schools	Total		Total in days	Average per day
			Number	Per cent of persons of school age		
Carbondale	154	2,607	2,761	62.11	391,950	2,010
Dunmore . . . . .	.....	2,595	2,595	59.52	428,000	2,140
Hazleton	400	2,850	3,250	65.05	389,340	2,163
Mahanoy City	200	2,150	2,350	50.84	301,500	1,675
Mount Carmel	200	2,190	2,390	50.72	254,694	1,415
Nanticoke	950	2,214	3,164	71.57	273,960	1,522
Pittston	750	1,650	2,400	56.78	216,000	1,200
Plymouth	750	1,986	2,736	57.99	252,938	1,421
Pottsville	500	2,988	3,488	70.00	451,400	2,257
Shamokin	1,350	3,654	5,004	76.32	474,660	2,637
Sheandoah	450	3,053	3,503	54.42	421,200	2,340

* Largely estimated by the Bureau of Education

The statistics of school attendance collected by the Census are given only by states and territories and for cities of twenty-five thousand inhabitants. There are but two cities of more than twenty-five thousand in the anthracite region, Scranton with 102,026 inhabitants and Wilkesbarre with 51,721. The two eastern cities nearest to Scranton in population are Fall River, Mass., and Paterson, N. J., and those nearest to Wilkesbarre are Elizabeth, N. J., and Erie, Pa. The following table shows comparisons of school attendance for these cities:

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

(Data from Part II of the Report on Population of the Twelfth Census)

CITY	Number of persons between ages of 5 and 20, inclusive	PERSONS ATTENDING SCHOOL DURING CENSUS YEAR									
		Total		Males		Under 10 years of age		10 to 14 years of age		15 years old and over	
		Number	Per cent of those of school age	Number	Per cent of those attending	Number	Per cent of those attending	Number	Per cent of those attending	Number	Per cent of those attending
Scranton, Pa.	34,301	48.21	7,923	47.91	6,325	38.25	7,993	48.33	2,219	13.42	
Fall River, Mass.	35,532	47.79	8,441	49.71	6,986	41.14	8,622	50.78	1,372	8.08	
Paterson, N. J.	33,170	52.88	8,770	50.00	8,604	49.05	7,747	44.17	1,189	6.78	
Wilkesbarre, Pa.	17,473	50.81	4,247	47.84	3,511	39.55	4,142	46.65	1,225	13.80	
Elizabeth, N. J.	16,229	53.15	4,290	49.74	3,291	38.16	4,263	49.77	1,041	12.07	
Erie, Pa.	16,537	48.30	3,870	48.45	2,901	36.32	4,055	50.76	1,032	12.92	

The figures representing the length of attendance during the Census year make an equally favorable showing for the anthracite region. A table follows:

LENGTH OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

(Data from Part II of the Report on Population of the Twelfth Census)

CITY	PERSONS ATTENDING FOR SPECIFIED PERIODS DURING CENSUS YEAR									
	One month or less		Two to three months		Four to five months		Six months or more			
	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total	Number	Per cent of total
Scranton, Pa.	77	0.46	254	1.54	331	2.00	15,875	96.00		
Fall River, Mass.	146	0.86	288	1.70	237	1.39	16,309	96.05		
Paterson, N. J.	74	0.42	226*	1.29	377	2.15	16,863	96.14		
Wilkesbarre, Pa.	20	0.23	74	0.83	99	1.11	8,685	97.83		
Elizabeth, N. J.	31	0.36	78	0.90	122	1.42	8,394	97.32		
Erie, Pa.	31	0.39	85	1.06	100	1.25	7,772	97.30		

In addition to those in the public schools of Scranton and Wilkesbarre there were, during the year 1899-1900, according to the Commissioner of Education, seventy-six hundred persons in the private and parochial schools of those cities. These facts clearly show how baseless is the charge that the children of the anthracite region are kept away from school by the necessity of laboring to aid in the maintenance of the families to which they belong or that they are prematurely taken out of school for any reason or purpose. The public school facilities of the region are not only excellent in quality and extent, but they are utilized by those for whom they have been established more generally than those of many other regions.

The anthracite region is also liberally supplied with churches, libraries, reading rooms and all of the means by which modern society provides opportunities for the moral and intellectual advancement of its members. To these institutions the operating corporations contribute both directly and indirectly, and this is especially true of those maintained by taxation, for the mining companies everywhere pay the largest share of the taxes, while in many portions of the region they are substantially the only taxpayers.

For the past two or three years, however, there has been another influence that must have affected in a marked degree the training of those immigrants who form such a large share of the population of this region. The advent of the United Mine Workers in 1899 or 1900 has unquestionably been followed by a rapid growth in membership and that organization has lately had such strength as almost to control the public sentiment of many of the mining communities of the anthracite district. There can be no doubt that the doctrines and policies advocated by the men from the bituminous coal fields who dominate this

organization have gained ascendancy in the minds of thousands of those who have with such apparent readiness accepted their leadership. The views of these leaders are therefore of national consequence. If they claim for the majority of workers at a particular colliery or of the entire region the right to declare that the minority shall not work, or assert that such a majority may fix the prices for which their fellow workmen shall be permitted to dispose of their labor or the hours that they may work or the conditions under which their services may be rendered, it is perfectly natural that their followers should come to believe that the privileges of American citizenship do not include liberty of action in these matters when it would contravene the wishes of a greater number. If these leaders teach that the man who, in order to provide bread for his children or to preserve from destruction property on which the livelihood of entire communities depends, continues to perform his duties when others have chosen to abandon their employment is a traitor to his fellows and as such properly to be treated as an outcast, that his family must be shunned and may even be denied access to the necessaries of life, many of their fellows are certain to regard the secondary as well as the primary boycott as an approved American institution. However frequently these leaders may advise in general terms against enforcing by physical means the new moral law which they declare requires the immediate and practical acquiescence of every individual in the plans of the majority, if they fail to search out those guilty of specific acts of violence and to visit upon them prompt and equally specific condemnation, if they fail to write into the polity of their organization provisions for the discipline of those who disregard their advice or misconstrue their more general declarations concerning unlawful acts they cannot escape responsibility for the consequences of

their neglect. If they oppose the introduction of machinery, or, while denying that they wish to restrict the effectiveness of labor to a level fixed by the less energetic and capable, defend with skillful casuistry every device by which the performance of the more efficient is limited there need be no surprise over the fact that the local unions in innumerable instances adopt resolutions fixing precise limits upon the labor of their members and enforce them by stopping all production when they are disobeyed. If they accuse the judges who differ with them as to the proper use of the time-honored processes of American and English jurisprudence of partiality to the employers and with heated rhetoric impugn their motives, it is not strange that many of the new-fledged and embryo citizens whom they lead fail to comprehend that the American judiciary is second only to the integrity of American citizenship as a bulwark of American liberty and that general respect for the Courts and the laws is an absolute essential to the preservation of the institutions of the country. If they rail at the militia and falsely accuse the lawfully constituted coal and iron police of provoking disorder the dissatisfaction with these guardians of peace which they foment among their followers is sure to find expression in a general antipathy to the agencies of the law.

The doctrines of the United Mine Workers of America, as presented to the workmen of the anthracite region by leaders who have little acquaintance with its peculiar problems and no direct responsibility or interest in the success of the industry, and the practices of its local assemblies, which these leaders have not effectively opposed, have already produced results the consequences of which will be felt for years to come and in every respect unfortunate. If the final sum of such teaching is not to be expressed in national disaster it is necessary that the doctrines should

be promptly and radically modified and the practices speedily corrected. This Commission cannot withhold from them its severe and specific condemnation without, by its silence or its omissions, seeming to accord to them the indorsement of its high authority and the sanction of its almost measureless moral influence.

DESTROYING INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

The history of the anthracite industry from 1899 to 1903 has so often been sketched that few are unacquainted with its more important events. The beginning of that period saw a region throughout which the utmost good feeling characterized the relations between the employed and the employers. Between the mine workers and the officers of the mining corporations there was complete confidence and mutual respect. The door of every employer was open to the workman or to the group of workmen who wished to present a grievance or to suggest an improvement in the relations existing. Grievances were carefully considered and whenever corrections were needed they were promptly, fairly and intelligently applied. This condition was not satisfactory to the leaders of the organization of bituminous miners of which Mr. John Mitchell is the head. Under his ambitious leadership they had planned a monopoly of the labor of all American coal fields. They sent their salaried emissaries into the anthracite region and employed others on a commission basis* of payment and by preaching discontent succeeded in bringing about the strike of 1900. To make this strike effective Mr. Mitchell personally advised the employees of G. B. Markle & Co. to violate an agreement of long standing which provided for the arbitration of all disputes† while other well-known agents of

*Testimony p. 342.

†Mr. Mitchell. Testimony p. 546.

his organization planned marches and resorted to the customary methods of intimidating men who would like to work.* The settlement of this strike gave to all of the workers of the anthracite mines an advance in wages of at least ten per cent and to those of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company an increase of sixteen per cent, which was in part offset, however, by the abolition, at the demand of the organization and on the personal advice of Mr. Mitchell, of the sliding scale. Entering this strike with a membership of but a few thousand the unrest which it occasioned supplemented by refusals to work with non-union men† has enabled the organization to increase its strength until, without by any means equaling the exaggerated number sometimes suggested, its membership does include a considerable percentage of the employees in and about the mines. The entire period of the existence of the United Mine Workers in the anthracite region has been characterized by unrest and disorder of a serious description. The discipline which is obviously essential to the safety of the men employed in the mines has been seriously impaired by the insubordination of those who have not been taught to see in organization anything more than a device to get the better of their employers and to protect themselves against the legitimate consequences of their own wilful misconduct. On his direct examination Father Curran, a witness certainly friendly to the strikers and called in their behalf, declared that the organization had

“ . . . brought about certain abuses which of course are not to be tolerated anywhere; such, for instance, as bringing about petty strikes of little boys, slatepickers. They are not to be tolerated.”‡

*Testimony p. 7694.

†Mr. Mitchell, p. 91.

‡Testimony p. 1571.

The general superintendent of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company testified that his company had suffered from twelve local strikes between 1900 and 1902, of which three were on the part of slate pickers and two in connection with a demand to be permitted to collect working cards.* Another witness, Mr. W. G. Thomas, superintendent of the Black Diamond Coal Company, testified that when a driver boy was cautioned by the driver boss about a matter vital to the safety of other employees, he replied: "Go to hell! Mitchell is my boss," and that when this boy was discharged it occasioned a strike in which all the men in the mine participated and keeping the colliery idle for an entire day.† These are but samples from the very large number that has been related to the Commission, but they surely justify Dr. Roberts' conclusion that the present—

"Local unions are not trained to discuss patiently, adopt calmly and execute bravely, plans for the amelioration of mine employees. Their minds constantly dwell upon immediate personal advantage, either in shorter hours of labor or increased pay. Material interests seem to be the pivot of all their movements. They demand immediate action, with a view to direct personal gain. The future welfare of the industry, the difficulties and outlays of operators, the conditions of the trade, and the intellectual and moral elevation of the mine employees are seldom thought of."‡

Mr. Mitchell tacitly admits these evil results of the advent of his organization in the region to which it had been wholly foreign, but contends with less than his customary plausibility that the wise course on the part of the operators would be to enter into an agreement with it including among the terms of the contract provisions forbidding the misconduct which he is unable to deny. He made this

*Mr. William J. Richards. Testimony p. 6768.

†Testimony pp. 1037 *et seq.*

‡Testimony p. 832.

suggestion very concisely in an answer to a question on cross-examination, in which he spoke as follows:

"The Union will be here. It will have all the power for good or evil that it has now. The coal operators, if they desire to, could not crush the Union. They cannot wipe it out. I hope they would never try to do it. Then it is going to stay here. As long as it is going to be here, why not have an arrangement that will place limitations on its power as far as the effect of the discipline of a working force is concerned? I think we will not have the very things that you complain of, and the things that I complain of, too."*

Two years of the dominance of the United Mine Workers has been sufficient to substitute for the general peace, good will and mutual confidence which antedated its coming the conditions out of which grew the strike of 1902. The change has already been summarized by Honorable Carroll D. Wright, a member of this Commission. In the report which, as Federal Commission of Labor, he submitted to the President of the United States on June 20 of last year he said:

"The present strike finds its roots in the settlement of the strike which occurred in 1900, when the advance demanded by the miners in the anthracite region 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. . . .

"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 there is no confidence existing between the employees and their employers and suspicion lurks in the minds of everyone and distrust in every action on either side."

THE STRIKE OF 1902.

The authority of Dr. Roberts, the eminent sociologist, who has devoted years to the study of the labor conditions

*Testimony p. 366.

in the anthracite region and was the witness called next after Mr. Mitchell on behalf of the striking mine workers, supports the statement that so far at least as the Reading district is concerned the strike of 1902 did not originate with the rank and file of the organization. His studies have told him how this organization is dependent upon strife for its very existence and he has learned that its leaders busily concern themselves in efforts, presumably along the lines which he and they recognize as most effective to maintain the interest of its members. Dr. Roberts has declared that

"The leaders of the miners' organization are kept busy devising means whereby the interest of the members of the union may be maintained. Indifference, jealousy and dissension are constantly invading its ranks. During the last year when the industry was to a great extent peacefully conducted, the interest flagged. About twenty per cent of the men neglected to pay their dues, and another twenty per cent perfunctorily paid their money and took no interest in the organization. When the last convention was called and the rumors of conflict filled the air, the delinquents soon fell into line. The union is only interesting to a large number of its members when a conflict is impending."*

The foregoing is especially significant when taken in connection with other statements of the same witness in regard to the conditions in the portion of the anthracite region in which the operations of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company are located. Dr. Roberts is the pastor of a church in Mahanoy City, and when he speaks of the relations between the Reading and its employees he does so from personal knowledge. The following statements made by him form parts of his testimony:

"The Reading Company, for instance, has the reputation of dealing justly and liberally by its employees."†

"The Reading Company has given very liberal concessions to its workmen. It was the first to offer ten per cent advance to its employees on the September wages, which were six per cent above

*Testimony pp. 829-30.

†Testimony p. 800.

the basis, and so actually giving an advance of sixteen per cent. It also restored the old prices paid for timbering. These concessions have been interpreted by the leaders of the union as efforts to induce their employees to forsake the organization.”*

“In the middle and southern coal fields the grievances are few. Some of the employees of individual companies complain that the operators do not live up to their contracts. The relation between the Reading Coal and Iron Company and its employees is most amicable. The men as a rule are contented with present conditions and are opposed to a strike. The delegates from the Schuylkill regions formed the conservative element in the Shamokin convention. They still hope a peaceful settlement will be effected. Yet, they declare that if the grievances of their brethren in the Wyoming and Laekawanna valleys are not adjusted they will join them in a strike and preserve the integrity of the union.”†

Mr. Joseph Fetzer, a stationary engineer, who declared that he struck reluctantly, was called by the complainants and gave specific evidence, which was supplemented by that of other witnesses and controverted by none, of the methods generally stated by Dr. Roberts. Mr. Fetzer had not been re-employed at the date of his appearance as a witness, but has now been restored to the payroll of the company, where it is hoped that he will long remain. When testifying for the striking mine workers his only complaint was that he had not been immediately re-employed on the resumption of work, and he spoke as follows in regard to the company:

“They have behaved very well to me, have done right in every respect. I was sick and they not only paid me for the time I lost, but on two different occasions gave me a free pass to go to see a doctor in Philadelphia. They behaved very good to me and it was appreciated very fully.”‡

In response to an inquiry whether he had always had fair treatment from Mr. Veith, the company’s mining superintendent, and its other officers, the same witness said:

“Always the best of friends. I always looked upon Mr. Veith as a good friend and old neighbor of ours from way back. Mr.

*Testimony p. 821.

†Testimony p. 824.

‡Testimony p. 2698.

Veith and our families have been acquainted I should say forty-five years, maybe more, between forty-five and fifty years.”*

The methods employed by the Reading, which produced this satisfactory condition of affairs, have been explained to the Commission by Mr. Veith, its mining superintendent, and Mr. McGuire, one of its superintendents of division. Mr. McGuire’s testimony was, in part, as follows:

“If there is any difference between the mine foreman and any employees in the colliery, it is taken up by the district superintendent. If they fail to settle it, it is called to the attention of the division superintendents. Then, if they collectively fail to make any settlement, or come to an understanding, the matter is referred to Mr. Veith.

“Q. Do such grievances always receive attention?

“A. Always receive attention; yes.

“Q. Have you ever had any difficulties that could not be and were not adjusted amicably?

“A. Never had any of that kind.”†

Again under cross-examination the same witness said:

“I have known cases where Mr. Veith has received a letter from a man in Tower city, and instead of putting a man to the trouble of coming to Pottsville, he has went to Brookside colliery and notified him to be there and settle it right there on the spot.

“Q. That is an exception, however, is it not?

“A. It is not an exception; no, sir; it is a rule there. You may call it a rule.”‡

The testimony of Mr. Veith was especially direct and convincing. He said:

“Q. Have you any difficulty with the men in arriving at a satisfactory adjustment of all these questions?

“A. No, not that I know of.

“Q. Have you always met them whenever they came to you?

“A. Yes, sir.

“Q. Always endeavored to adjust them?

“A. Yes; our men are accustomed, if they can’t agree with the boss, superintendent or division superintendent, then they have the privilege to come and see me.

“Q. Have you ever refused to talk to any man?

“A. No; I don’t know why I should.”§

*Testimony p. 2693.

†Testimony pp. 7930-1.

‡Testimony p. 7953.

§Testimony p. 7837.

But under the urging of organizers from the bituminous coal fields many of the employees of the Reading entered into agreements with the mine workers of the soft coal districts and with those in other portions of the anthracite region which by their terms surrendered to the employees of rival operators and to the producers of a competing product the ultimate decision as to the conditions upon which these Reading employees should consent to continue their relations with this considerate and liberal employer. They were induced to make arrangements with persons remote from the district in which they labor in the observance of which they might be compelled to deal most unfairly with a fair employer. The greatest evil which is obviously latent in such an arrangement came to pass. The satisfied mine workers of the Schuylkill region were overborne by numbers and forced to choose between the violation of their vicious contract and committing a serious injustice upon those who had always been just to them. Most of the members of the organization chose to abide by its decision and the disastrous strike of 1902 was inaugurated. Their principal excuse is that a heavy share of the privations which it entailed was borne by themselves and those who deprecate most intensely the fallacious system that occasioned so much suffering in the mine regions and in the homes of the poorer consumers of anthracite will accord to this misguided devotion to an imaginary obligation that degree of respect which, without regard to the error of moral judgment involved, is always due to those who make sacrifices in the performance of what they suppose to be a duty. Other and less creditable incidents of the prolonged strike will receive attention later in this argument.

THE DEMANDS OF THE STRIKING ANTHRACITE MINE WORKERS.

THE WEIGHT BASIS OF PAYMENT.

The demands of the late strikers, so far as they concern the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, are but three in number, and one of these is excluded from the jurisdiction of the Commission by the terms of the submission. Very early in the proceedings the complainants saw from the testimony of their own witnesses the inherent weakness of the demand concerning the weighing of coal, especially in its application to the Schuylkill region, and so far as this respondent is concerned it has been definitely and formally abandoned.

WAGES AND EARNINGS.

The complainants ask for an order compelling a general horizontal advance of twenty per cent in the rates of payment in force during the year 1901 for all contract or piece work. This demand applies chiefly to the contract miners, although in the instances in which the coal is loaded by laborers employed by the former it is contended that the advance, if granted, would accrue to the latter as well. In the collieries of this respondent coal is mainly loaded by employees of the company who work on a per diem basis and are in no way affected by this demand. Mr. Mitchell freely acknowledged while on the witness stand that he had no definite knowledge of the amounts earned by contract miners during 1901, and it is now perfectly clear that this general demand was based upon nothing more than a general belief that a demand for higher rates could be sustained. The Commission has so frequently, throughout the testimony, heard the earnings of individuals understated by themselves, no doubt with no intention to deceive but merely on account of their failure to keep accurate accounts and a tendency to minimize the

amounts that is natural on such occasions, that it need not be surprised that Mr. Mitchell, whose knowledge of these matters has been confessedly acquired at second or third hand, should have been led to underestimate the earnings of the certificated miners of the anthracite region. Happily no one need now be under any misapprehension concerning these earnings, for the facts necessary to establish the truth have been made easily available through the labors of this Commission and the co-operation of the mining companies.

During the year from November 1, 1900, to October 31, 1901, inclusive, the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company actually paid for mining work done by certificated miners, under the contract system in vogue at the thirty-seven collieries which it operated during that period, the sum, as shown by its payrolls, of \$3,484,036.18,* exclusive of all deductions for working material and supplies. Unrestricted access to the payrolls and time records has been permitted during the progress of this investigation to the Commission and its agents and to the representatives of the complainants, and there is not and cannot be any controversy over the facts which they show. The time spent in the mines by a contract miner on any day on which he enters at all is accepted as a shift and appears as such on the payrolls, except in instances in which miners work as partners and mutually agree that on account of the loss of time of one of them he shall receive pay for a fraction of a shift only. The shift is therefore a unit that may be defined as a day varying in length according to the dispositions or perhaps the opportunities of the different miners. The number of these shifts worked during the

*For this and the data following see Statement Showing Average N Earnings of Contract Miners at Collieries of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, filed in evidence on December 10, 1902.

year shown was 1,389,568.5, and this precisely expresses the number of daily units of labor, variable as they are, for which the payment of \$3,484,036.18 was made. Dividing the latter amount by the former it appears that the average net payment per day to the contract miners during the period in question was \$2.507. The average number of days worked by the Reading's breakers during the period was 260.4. This number of days work was therefore offered to each individual among the number necessary not only to perform the number of days labor actually paid for, but to make up the larger number that would have been gladly paid for had it been possible to obtain an occupant for every working place on every working day. No colliery ever works without its full complement of men when it can be obtained, and even when in former years it was necessary to prevent overstocking the market with anthracite the evil was invariably obviated by closing the collieries on certain days rather than by wastefully operating them short-handed. During the year covered by these statistics the Reading desired to obtain more coal than it succeeded in mining. A man who worked 260.4 days at the average rate of \$2.507 per day would earn \$652.82, and if any contract miner in the employ of this respondent, whose daily labor was performed under average conditions with no less than the average degree of efficiency, failed to earn at least this amount it must have been on account of idleness which may have been due to a lack of disposition to work more regularly or to personal or family misfortunes over which the company could have had no control.

More than this, if the conditions under which any contract miner labored who worked 260.4 shifts were so peculiarly disadvantageous as to leave his net earnings below this average and if the capacity of any such miner was so

limited as to produce that result these miners were balanced by others more fortunate or skillful whose earnings exceeded the average. The differences in the capacity of men will never disappear, but there can be little doubt that in the long run those in the character of working places will balance themselves, as among different individuals, especially as the foremen and other officers of the company are constantly seeking to adjust the rates of payment so as to equalize the unavoidable physical differences. But although the collieries worked on the average but 260.4 days of varying duration there was an average of 15.6 other days on which work would have gone on had not the employees prevented it by failing to report for duty in adequate numbers. No individual workman could have obtained these additional days by his separate action, but if a sufficient proportion of the total number had accepted these opportunities the man who did not remain absent from his work on any day would have had no less than 276 days work and, if an average man in an average place, would have earned \$691.93. It is not contended that large numbers of men are able to work on every working day, but it is urged that the proper average allowance for necessary idleness is easily made by any man of business experience. In the case of the anthracite miners this allowance is diminished by the frequent opportunities afforded by unavoidable break-downs and temporary suspensions for other reasons, for attention to matters which under other circumstances might occasionally require the absence of the most faithful employee. It would be fruitless to attempt to reduce to figures an allowance as to the proper extent of which opinions will naturally differ, but some recognition of this factor will properly be made by any one who considers the following table:

EARNINGS OF CONTRACT MINERS

(Data from statement put in evidence by Mr. J. P. Jones, paymaster for the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company)

COLLIERY	Average number employed	Actual number of shifts paid for	Actual amount paid to contract miners	Average payment per shift	NUMBER OF DAYS THAT		EARNINGS FOR		Total number days offered
					Breaker started	Breaker would have started had men reported	Breaker days actually made	Breaker days lost by action of employees	
Alaska	250	65,969	\$160,445.47	\$2.432	265	15	\$544.48	\$36.48	\$680.96
Boar Valley	166	43,210	104,192.88	2.411	260	17	626.86	40.99	667.85
Burnside	277	74,788.5	182,885.25	2.445	270	15	660.15	36.67	696.82
Bust	53	13,829	37,328.19	2.70	258	17	696.60	40.50	737.10
Bear Ridge	26	7,657	21,243.72	3.01	267	15	803.67	51.17	854.84
Boston Run	60	16,222	42,726.48	2.634	269	12	708.54	31.61	740.15
Draper	66	17,789	53,654.07	3.016	268	11	808.29	42.22	850.51
Ellangowan	248	62,702	157,376.10	2.511	253	16	635.28	40.18	675.46
Bagio Hill	199	53,302.75	126,808.30	2.38	268	14	687.84	33.32	721.16
Garro Hill	39	9,277	22,606.15	2.437	258	14	630.01	48.74	678.75
Girard Mammoth	58	14,004	41,874.80	2.991	241	18	720.83	53.84	774.67
Gilberton	70	17,619	52,782.53	2.996	253	14	757.99	41.94	799.93
Glendower	112	27,647	79,396.82	2.879	249	13	716.87	37.43	754.30
Good Spring	302	55,435	132,734.96	2.394	183	11	438.10	26.34	464.44
Henry Clay	110	27,819.25	61,415.74	2.207	252	17	556.16	37.52	593.68
Indian Ridge	91	24,830.25	61,187.62	2.515	265	17	668.99	42.76	711.75
Kohinoor	134	35,966	96,024.76	2.67	267	15	712.89	40.65	753.54
Kniekebocker	275	73,352	179,461.61	2.427	268	14	650.14	33.97	684.11
Loeast Gap	186	51,155	132,713.25	2.594	274	19	710.76	49.28	760.04
Lincoln	358	96,718.25	198,468.29	2.052	270	14	554.04	28.73	582.77
Maple Hill	143	38,427	99,739.59	2.597	269	14	698.59	36.36	734.95
Mahanoy City	100	26,582	73,691.93	2.772	266	15	737.35	41.58	778.93
North Franklin	185	49,552.5	124,640.64	2.515	266	15	674.02	37.72	711.74
North Mahanoy	146	38,298	103,425.47	2.701	261	11	713.06	37.82	750.88
Otto	92	24,001	72,355.86	3.015	260	19	783.90	57.29	841.19
Potts	26	6,697	21,827.05	3.707	200	14	963.82	51.90	1,015.72
Preston No. 3	95	24,447	60,393.94	2.463	259	13	637.92	32.62	670.54
Phoenix Park	172	44,631	107,816.92	2.416	259	19	625.74	45.91	671.65
Rohanco	53	13,461.5	39,429.20	2.923	256	15	743.82	43.94	787.76
Richardson	167	44,140.25	101,812.54	2.307	266	16	633.66	36.91	670.57
Shenandoah City	87	23,500.25	60,373.81	2.569	269	16	691.06	799.60	650.57
St. Nicholas	207	55,662	138,587.62	2.49	269	15	669.81	37.35	707.16
Suffolk	199	53,021	120,884.01	2.28	267	17	608.76	38.76	647.52
Silver Creek	80	20,581	51,852.44	2.519	256	20	641.86	50.38	692.24
Turkey Run	190	51,017	133,590.63	2.619	268	16	701.89	41.91	743.80
Tunnel Ridge	99	26,265	61,740.86	2.351	265	20	623.02	47.02	670.04
Wadesville	215	60,463	163,222.23	2.70	280	14	756.00	37.80	793.80
Total	5,326	1,389,568.5	\$3,484,036.13	\$2.507	290.4	15.6	\$652.82	\$39.11	\$691.93

In connection with the foregoing statement it should be observed that a part of the necessary allowance for unavoidable absence from work that must be made in all industries is to be found in the column showing days on which the breaker would have started had an adequate number of men reported for duty. It is also to be noted that the general averages of \$652.82 and \$691.93 are lower than they would be if the Henry Clay colliery, which did not work at all during the months of April, May and June, 1902, had been excluded.

The very direct and simple method of calculation explained in connection with the foregoing has been subjected to a great deal of unjustifiable criticism, probably because it has been recognized from the beginning that unless the statement could be weakened the contention that the miners are underpaid would fall to the ground. There could be no more accurate method of ascertaining the precise facts of the situation than that adopted for this statement and no more enlightening tabulation has been presented to the Commission. The method is the same in principle, although more accurate in its detailed execution, as that followed by every official statistical bureau which attempts to show the earnings of the employees of manufacturing establishments. Moreover it is sustained by the tabulations of the exact payments to the contract miners of nine of the Reading's collieries, which were presented on the schedules prepared by the Commission. Thus the foregoing table shows average earning for the 260 days on which the Preston No. 3 breaker worked of \$963.82, while the statement compiled on the forms submitted by the Commission shows that the average of all men who worked 250 days or more was \$996.86. For the Turkey Run colliery the statement just given shows \$644.86 for 256 breaker days, while the tabulation of the specific

amounts paid to particular men shows that the men who worked 225 days or more averaged \$677.23. Similar comparisons could be made for each colliery and would show that the figures given underrate rather than otherwise the earning power of men who work steadily.

It has been conceded throughout this inquiry that it is the business of every industry to pay fair wages, that what constitutes fairness is not to be determined by the profits of the business and that no employer has any right to plead the lack of financial success of his undertakings as an excuse for failure adequately to compensate those whom he employs. This leaves no method of determining what constitutes fair wages for any service or at any time except by comparisons with other industries and other periods of time. The question is reduced to a determination of the normal market rate for the grades of labor employed supplemented by suitable allowances for any especial advantages or disadvantages that may accompany the employment. The advantages of employment as a contract miner include the excellent opportunities for advancement which have been shown by the testimony of many witnesses now occupying positions of great responsibility who have told the Commission that they started in the breakers or in the mines, the opportunity to increase earnings by the exercise of greater diligence and the acquisition of superior skill, the even and moderate temperature of the mines which is the cause of the exceptional healthfulness of the occupation, the short hours of labor necessary to earn good wages and the large degree of individual freedom that may properly be permitted in the industry. Its only serious disadvantage is its hazardous character which is particularly expressed by the extreme penalties with which it punishes the too numerous instances of negligence on the part of men to whom danger has become familiar. The unques-

tionably dangerous character of the occupation does not justify an effort to exaggerate this element and it certainly renders highly improper any apparent justification of the gross disregard of ordinary prudence which has produced so many deplorable accidents. Concerning the general healthfulness of the occupation of mining the Commission has before it the statistics of the registration states compiled by the Census Office, which, however, do not cover the state of Pennsylvania, and therefore permit very general conclusions only. These data show a much lower death rate among "miners and quarrymen" than in any other occupation. The average, however, is more or less affected by the relative ages of those engaging in the different occupations, but so far as this might tend to reduce the death rate of miners by reason of the elimination of the very old, it is probably offset by the inclusion of deaths from accidents as well as those from disease. The death rates for the different age classes compare as follows with those in the different classes of occupations.

ANNUAL DEATH RATES PER ONE THOUSAND IN REGISTRATION AREA* BY AGES AND OCCUPATIONS

(Data from Part I of the Report on Vital Statistics of the Twelfth Census)

OCCUPATION	All ages	15 to 24 years	25 to 44 years	45 to 64 years	65 years and over
Miners and Quarrymen	9.6	5.4	7.8	13.1	116.6
All Occupations	15.0	5.1	8.8	19.9	98.4
Professional	15.3	4.8	7.6	20.7	105.6
Clerical and Official	13.5	7.2	11.1	19.9	55.9
Mercantile and Trading	12.1	2.6	6.7	19.9	93.8
Public Entertainment	15.4	5.2	11.6	23.8	68.0
Personal Service, Police and Military	12.9	5.9	8.2	19.9	64.0
Laboring and Servant	20.2	7.7	13.9	31.9	126.6
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industry	13.8	4.4	8.4	20.2	105.4
Agricultural, Transportation and other outdoor†	15.8	4.6	6.6	14.7	96.7
All other Occupations	6.5	3.1	6.5	12.7	55.5

*This area consists of Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island and Vermont

†Includes miners and quarrymen

The Journal of the American Medical Association declared editorially in its issue for December 6, 1902, that many of the miners represented by the statistics of the Census "are engaged in much more unhealthy work than coal mining" and that "according to the English figures" the work of a quarryman "is in some respects less healthful than that of the coal miners." Convincing information upon this subject has been placed before the Commission by numerous witnesses who are themselves examples of long trade life. The following shows that some of the witnesses who have appeared are themselves excellent illustrations of the fact that many men follow the occupation of mining for periods as long as those common in any trades requiring physical exertion:

NAME	Present occupation	AGE		Number of years in mines	Began as	Called by	Page of Testimony
		At present	At entering mines				
McHugh, Andrew	Miner	...	...	32	Laborer	Strikers	2221
Malone, Thomas	"	65	23	45	"	"	2339
Taylor, George	"	60	9	51	"	"	2019
Allgood, John D.	"	45	19	26	"	"	2260
Rogan, P. J.	"	47	18	34	"	"	2359
Welsh, Patrick	"	40	9	31	Breaker boy	"	2403
Stevenson, Richard	"	60	24	36	"	"	8949
Baker, August	"	...	...	22	"	"	2524
McElwee, John	"	60	...	49	"	"	2669
Chenney, Isaac	"	63	10	53	"	"	2504
Stranmix, J. T.	"	52	14	38	"	"	1263
Smith, George	"	...	...	29	"	"	2492
Gallagher, James	"	61	29	32	"	"	1632
Evans, Z. D.	"	48	15	33	Miner	"	2392
Archibald, John	"	65	10	55	"	"	2085
Devenney, John	"	52	20	32	"	"	2626
Coll, Henry	"	57	28	29	"	"	1898-9
Hart, Thomas	"	...	...	30	"	"	2655
McMonigle, Neal	"	54	17	37	"	"	1872
Dettery, W. H.	"	39	9	30	"	"	1116
Thomas, Thomas	Superintendent	44	9	35	"	Operators	6652-3
Price, Evan A.	Mine foreman	...	...	42	"	"	6703
McMillan, Henry	Superintendent	42	9	33	Door boy	"	5523-4
Allen, William	"	48	19	29	Laborer	"	5741

NAME	Present occupation	AGE		Number of years in mines	Began as	Called by	Page of Testimony
		At present	At entering mines				
Jones, David E.	Inside foreman	10	55	45	Slate picker	Operators	7791
Bodman, Frederick	Foreman	...	...	30	.....	"	5053
Veith, John	Mining superintendent	...	...	52	Miner	"	7820
Smith, James	Mine foreman	43	12	31	Door boy	"	5840
Boyd, Adam	Division superintendent	43	8	35	.....	"	8010
McGuire, John	"	58	12	46	Breaker boy	"	7925
Peterson, Victor L.	Superintendent	...	...	19	Laborer	"	5470
Tasker, Reese	Division superintendent	56	9	47	.....	"	8118
Wilson, James	District superintendent	...	...	30	.....	"	8136
Brennan, Patrick	"	...	...	38	.....	"	8139
Hogan, Theodore	Mine foreman	34	11	23	Door boy	"	5543
Walsh, Richard	Miner	...	...	32	.....	"	6099
Cummings, John P.	Division foreman	50	12	38	.....	"	5981
Phillips, R. A.	Superintendent	...	12	...	Door boy	"	6008
Whildin, Thomas	General inside foreman	56	8	48	Slate picker	"	7677
Thomas, Thomas R.	Inside foreman	51	19	32	Miner	"	4924-8
Reese, Abednego	Foreman	54	7	47	Door boy	"	6429
Reeves, Archibald	Mine foreman	55	9	46	Water boy	"	7802
Thomas, George O.	Inside foreman	...	...	28	Slate picker	"	6905
Morgans, Morgan R.	Inside superintendent	...	...	35	Laborer	"	6782
Evans, David W.	Foreman	...	...	49	.....	"	6939
Long, James	Superintendent	43	12	31	Slate picker	"	7673-4
Stein, William	.....	63	8	55	.....	Commission	3282

No effort has been made to make the foregoing an exhaustive list of those who were so questioned so as to bring out the necessary facts and the great majority of the witnesses called were not asked concerning their ages or length of service. The list is decidedly suggestive as it stands and certainly throws light upon some of the important conditions of this industry. There can be no doubt that the conclusion reached by Mr. John Veith, as the result of spending more than half a century as an anthracite miner in Pennsylvania and in the direct supervision of mining operations in the Schuylkill region, that the "business of mining coal, working in the mines as they are now managed, is a healthy occupation, outside of accidents, as compared with other employments,"* is an accurate one. This is also sustained by the testimony of Dr. William B. Keller, who furnished statistics based upon 3,973 examinations for life insurance which he had made, showing that the percentage of rejections among miners was but 4.66 per cent and that for all persons examined 5.76 per cent.† Dr. Gibbons, one of the witnesses on behalf of the complainants, declared in his examination-in-chief:

"I do not mean to say that the miners are an unhealthy class. They are, I think, the hardiest and best fellows for anything on the face of the earth, but certain conditions will bring them down, as it will any other individual, perhaps not so quickly, but sufficiently often to make them a subject of disease more easily than one would suspect."‡

The general conclusions of the editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association as expressed in the article from which quotations have already been made are as follows:

"Taking it altogether, the facts collected from all available sources seem to indicate, what we have already expected, that the

*Testimony p. 7863.

†Testimony pp. 5195 *et seq.*

‡Testimony p. 969.

occupation of coal mining is not either relatively or absolutely unhealthful as compared with the majority of other means of gaining a livelihood. It has its inconveniences and hardships and is exposed to special dangers from accidents, but these can be minimized by proper care, appliances and legal regulations. In Great Britain the mortality from coal mining from this cause is given by Newsholme as less than twice that in the general population. The special diseases to which miners are liable seem also to be largely preventable, thus greater care in changing the equable atmosphere of the mine to the extremes of heat and cold outside would probably reduce the proportion of respiratory affections, such as asthma, etc., that are now claimed to be incident to the occupation. These are the natural deductions from the data furnished by the authorities above quoted and which cannot well be discredited."

That coal mining is a dangerous occupation in respect to its liability to accidents has not been denied by any of the parties before the Commission. The accidents to mine employees are numerous, far more numerous than they would be if there were less recklessness on the part of those upon whom the penalties directly fall. While the respondents have not attempted to deny the facts they have heard them grossly exaggerated by the other side. It has been asserted that mining is more dangerous than any other important occupation; thus placing it ahead, in point of danger, not only of railway employment, but beyond those vocations which require men to "go down to the sea in ships" or to labor in constant proximity to enormous quantities of high explosives or subject them to the great dangers which surround many other forms of necessary labor. A comparison between the death rates from accidents of those who follow the most dangerous callings in the anthracite mines and in the American railway service follows:

FATAL ACCIDENTS TO MINERS AND TRAIN-
MEN.*

INDUSTRY AND OCCUPATION.	Number of employees.	Number of fatal accidents in year.	Number of fatal accidents per 1,000 employees.
Mining—			
All inside employees	98,464	441	4.47
Contract miners	37,804	224	5.92
Miners' laborers	26,265	122	4.64
Railway transportation—			
Trainmen	209,043	1,537	7.35

The foregoing comparison between the death rates from accidents in the most dangerous branches of two dangerous occupations shows that 209,043 railway trainmen accept a risk that is 24.16 per cent greater than that for the contract miners in the anthracite region, 58.41 per cent greater than for the miners' laborers, and 64.43 per cent greater than for all inside employees. Unfortunately there are no statistics accessible from which it would be possible to obtain the ratios of non-fatal accidents among different classes of mining employees. The following statement shows the rates of accidents to all classes of anthracite mining and railway employees:

*Data from the Report of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Mines for 1901 and the Report of the Statistician to the Interstate Commerce Commission for the year ended June 30, 1901.

ACCIDENTS OF ALL KINDS

(Data from Report of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Mines for 1901 and the Report of the Statistician to the Interstate Commerce Commission for the year ended June 30, 1901)

INDUSTRY	NUMBER	KILLED OR INJURED					
		TOTAL		KILLED		INJURED BUT NOT KILLED	
		Number	Rate per 1,000	Number	Rate per 1,000	Number	Rate per 1,000
Mining							
All Employees	147,651	1,756	11.89	513	3.47	1,243	8.42
RAILWAY TRANSPORTATION							
All Employees	1,071,169	43,817	40.91	2,675	2.50	41,142	38.41
Trainmen	209,043	18,252	87.31	1,537	7.35	16,715	79.96
Switchmen, Flagmen and Watchmen	47,576	1,365	28.69	175	3.68	1,190	25.01
Stationmen	127,141	1,973	15.52	48	.38	1,925	15.14
Shopmen	204,194	9,343	45.76	99	.48	9,244	45.27
Trackmen	272,983	6,712	24.59	458	1.68	6,254	22.91
Telegraph Employees	26,606	83	3.12	11	.41	72	2.71
Other Employees	183,626	6,089	33.16	347	1.89	5,742	31.27

The foregoing needs little comment. The items relating to all employees in the railway industry include general officers and general office clerks and many other persons whose work is in no way comparable with mining employees of any grade. The net result of these comparisons is that for no less than seven hundred thousand railway men, including all except stationmen, shopmen and telegraph employees, the average annual loss of life per thousand is greater than for the employees working in and about the anthracite mines.

It is especially gratifying to this respondent that the statistics compiled by the state Bureau of Mines establish the fact that in spite of the geological disadvantages under which its work is conducted the ratios of fatal and non-fatal accidents to the number of employees are lower in the three inspection districts in which it operates, as an whole, than in the other five taken together. In 1901 one employee in each 310 was killed and one in each 149 was injured in districts 6, 7 and 8, while in districts 1 to 5, inclusive, the corresponding numbers were 277 and 107 respectively.

Granting that the work of a contract miner is dangerous it remains to be decided how much in the way of a differential allowance for the risk incurred may properly be added to the normal wages for equally skillful and laborious service. It is not possible to measure in dollars and cents the loss of a human life and any effort to discuss this feature of the case is complicated by the flood of sympathy that is aroused even by the cold statistics by which the degree of danger is measured. But there are dangers to be avoided that are quite as real although less visible or readily measured. To pay an excessive differential means to lure into a region already overcrowded a further influx of laborers and to raise the price of coal to millions of consumers

The death rate from inability to purchase an adequate supply of fuel is no more ascertainable than the extent in which strength of body and mind would be undermined among the children of adults who might survive the blighting consequences of insufficient warmth. It is narrow and destructive sympathy which closes its eyes to the suffering that would be widespread and chronic in order to confine its vision to the obvious and acute. The best way to determine whether a reasonable allowance is made in the wages of the contract miner and his laborer for the dangers which they incur is by comparing them with the rates in the more dangerous callings of the railway service. The average payment to the contract miners of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company during 1901 was \$2.507 per day of about seven hours average duration. The statistician to the Interstate Commerce Commission has given the average daily earnings during the fiscal year 1901 of locomotive engineers as \$3.65, of train conductors as \$3.00, of firemen as \$2.08 and of other trainmen as \$1.93 per day.* Only the two latter classes are comparable in skill and responsibility with the average contract miner. The miners' laborers of the Reading receive \$2.058 per day.

The following statement shows the daily earnings of various classes of railway employees in the region covered by the foregoing averages during each year from 1892 to 1901 inclusive:

*These averages apply to Group II, which consists of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia, except those portions of these states which are south of the Potomac river or west of a line roughly drawn from Buffalo, N. Y., through Pittsburg to Parkersburg, W. Va.

AVERAGE DAILY WAGES OF CERTAIN CLASSES OF RAILWAY MEN IN NEW YORK,
PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE, MARYLAND AND A PART OF WEST
VIRGINIA

(Data from the Fourteenth Annual Report of the State's Line to the Interstate Commerce Commission)

Year ended June 30th	General office clerks	Station agents	Other station men	Engine men	Firemen	Conductors	Other trainmen	Mechanists	Carpenters	Other shopmen	Section foremen	Other trackmen	Switchmen, flagmen, and watchmen	Telegraph operators and dispatchers	Employees-account floating equipment	All other employes and laborers
1892	\$2.43	\$1.70	\$1.68	\$3.41	\$1.95	\$2.84	\$1.81	\$2.19	\$1.96	\$1.67	\$1.83	\$1.18	\$1.54	\$1.91	\$2.05	\$1.51
1893	2.40	1.74	1.67	3.52	1.99	2.90	1.86	2.22	2.01	1.65	1.76	1.20	1.59	1.87	2.09	1.54
1894	2.30	1.71	1.63	3.49	1.95	2.87	1.84	2.05	1.96	1.57	1.73	1.16	1.54	1.87	2.02	1.51
1895	2.34	1.69	1.64	3.55	2.01	2.86	1.84	2.11	2.00	1.57	1.71	1.17	1.54	1.90	1.99	1.51
1896	2.32	1.66	1.64	3.57	2.02	2.90	1.86	2.20	1.99	1.59	1.71	1.18	1.54	1.88	2.02	1.50
1897	2.27	1.66	1.64	3.56	1.97	2.86	1.84	2.14	2.01	1.58	1.69	1.17	1.53	1.90	2.00	1.54
1898	2.28	1.69	1.65	3.61	2.03	2.94	1.87	2.18	2.03	1.57	1.69	1.17	1.55	1.94	2.02	1.51
1899	2.30	1.69	1.65	3.60	2.02	2.93	1.87	2.20	2.03	1.59	1.68	1.18	1.56	1.97	1.96	1.54
1900	2.30	1.68	1.64	3.62	2.05	2.97	1.90	2.19	2.04	1.64	1.66	1.19	1.59	2.01	2.01	1.56
1901	2.32	1.72	1.63	3.65	2.08	3.00	1.93	2.20	2.08	1.75	1.69	1.20	1.56	2.01	2.12	1.57

The foregoing very clearly shows that the daily earnings of mining employees compare very favorably, the same grades of labor being used, with those in the railway industry.* They also compare favorably with labor in other industries in the same region. The following statement which has been made from data reported by the Census Office offers opportunity for comparisons. The average employee of the industries shown is believed to be fairly comparable as to skill and other qualities of the services rendered with the average contract miner. At any rate very little acquaintance with industrial affairs is necessary to determine where allowance for differences should be made or what should be its extent. The averages presented relate to males of sixteen years of age or older.

*See appendix, showing rates of pay and earnings of mining employees other than contract miners of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company.

ANNUAL EARNINGS IN MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS IN CERTAIN PENNSYLVANIA CITIES

(Data from Part II of the Report of Manufactures of the Twelfth Census)

INDUSTRY	Allentown	Easton	Harrisburg	Reading	Scranton	Shenandoah	Wilkesbarre
Blacksmithing and wheelwrighting	\$528	\$430	\$440	\$471	\$433	\$405	\$480
Brick and tile	317	285	316	352	337	.....	.....
Carpentering	623	564	554	495	544	.....	530
Carriages and wagons	498	.....	481	409	519	.....	489
Foundry and Machine shop products	533	.....	456	434	515	.....	462
Furniture, cabinet making, repairing and upholstering . . . . .	.....	565	444	515	420	.....	388
Iron and steel	545	.....	483	430	530	.....	.....
Lumber, planing mill products, including sash, doors and blinds	459	500	510	476	433	.....	540
Masonry, brick and stone	465	493	549	473	529	.....	416
Monuments and tombstones	522	480	.....	572	.....	.....	528
Painting, house and sign, etc.	531	500	396	451	438	630	.....
Paper hanging	543	440	496	479	482	.....	.....
Paving and paving materials	456	.....	.....	340	.....	.....	401
Plastering and stucco work	533	..	.....	454	400	.....	.....
Roofing and roofing materials	424	483	487	465	.....	.....	.....
Saddlery and harness	555	490	439	408	466	.....	624
Tinsmithing, coppersmithing and sheet iron working	476	452	373	456	525	.....	347

It will be seen that the average in none of the industries and cities even approximated the \$652.82 earned by the miners who do contract work in the Reading's collieries. The Bureau of Industrial Statistics of Pennsylvania collects reports of wages and earnings from the manufacturing establishments of the state and publishes them in two series of averages from which the following relating to the year 1901 have been selected as representing industries in which the large proportion of highly skilled male labor required renders the data of value in determining whether the contract miners are fairly paid, in spite of the fact that they represent all grades of labor.

AVERAGES FROM 1892 SERIES.*

INDUSTRY.	Average daily earnings.	Number of days worked.	Earnings of employees who worked full time.
Pig iron	\$1.71	337	\$576.72
Rolling Mills, general product.....	2.19	316	692.10
Iron and steel sheets and plates....	2.08	278	577.28
Plate and bar	2.20	291	641.12
Steel	1.88	296	555.94
Architectural cast and wrought iron work	1.77	306	541.36
Iron forgings	2.51	295	740.47
Nails and spikes	1.67	266	443.11
Nuts and bolts	1.42	286	406.38
Pipes and tubes	1.72	303	521.14
Iron foundries and machine work..	1.87	303	567.43
Stoves, ranges and heaters.....	2.14	234	501.31
Hardware	1.36	293	398.70
Malleable iron	1.83	302	553.05
Saws, edged tools, etc.....	1.75	301	527.39
Metal and metallic goods.....	1.56	326	508.46
Locomotives and engines	2.06	304	625.99
Engines and boilers	1.76	301	530.96
Boilers	1.57	308	484.35
Bridges	1.79	309	553.43
Car springs	2.72	303	822.76
Car couplers	1.60	303	485.19
Cars and car wheels.....	1.85	305	564.10
Ship building	1.60	313	500.56
Window glass, bottles and table goods	1.96	235	460.45
Pianos and organs	1.46	299	437.73
Carbons	1.74	294	510.37

*This series shows a general average for all industries in the state of \$1.84 per day and \$544.80 for a year's labor comprising 296 days. The 1896 series shows an average of \$1.53 per day or \$449.95 for a year in which there were 293 days worked.

AVERAGES FROM 1896 SERIES.

INDUSTRY.	Average daily earnings.	Number of days worked.	Earnings of employes who worked full time.
Steel castings	\$1.65	302	\$497.01
Steel billets, slabs, blooms, etc.....	2.65	290	768.14
Tool steel, etc.	2.68	295	789.40
Iron and steel forgings.....	1.90	278	529.41
Iron specialties	1.59	301	478.72
Malleable iron	1.72	286	493.18
Bolts, nuts, etc.	1.19	306	363.63
Wire nails, rivets, etc.....	1.50	301	451.64
Tacks and small nails.....	1.25	280	350.11
Wire	1.37	302	415.00
Wire rope	1.40	308	431.76
Wire goods	1.02	294	300.70
Wagon and carriage axles and springs	1.79	277	496.42
Scales, etc.	2.09	293	611.75
Stoves, ranges, heaters, etc.....	2.22	249	552.39
Bath boilers, tanks, etc.....	1.50	304	455.23
Hardware specialties	1.46	296	430.87
Edge tools	1.52	297	450.39
Wrenches, picks, etc.	1.83	281	513.27
Locomotives and cars built and repaired	2.02	304	612.57
Wrought iron pipe and tubes.....	1.77	284	502.18
Cast iron pipe	1.52	315	478.64
Brass, copper and bronze goods....	1.58	305	480.62
Iron and steel bridges.....	1.83	309	566.83
Locomotives, stationary engines, etc.	2.06	303	625.27
Engines, boilers, etc.	1.86	303	562.88
Cars, springs, axles and railway supplies	1.77	308	538.68
Iron vessels and engines.....	1.73	330	572.32
Boilers, tanks, stacks, etc.....	1.66	298	496.49
Machinery	1.80	307	551.42
Foundries and machine shops.....	1.80	303	545.33
Files, etc.	1.29	288	372.45
Saws	2.03	288	583.70
Plumbers' supplies	1.46	332	486.09
Electrical supplies	1.90	300	570.78
Shovels, spades, scoops, etc.....	1.73	283	488.42
Safes and vault doors	1.50	303	545.60
Metal and metallic goods.....	1.58	294	464.93
Building and structural iron work..	1.72	306	524.78
Iron chairs	1.71	290	495.81
Iron fences and railings.....	1.54	306	470.09
Agricultural implements	1.70	302	512.69
Steam pumps	2.30	302	693.70
Bicycles	2.08	274	569.78
Pianos and organs	1.48	296	436.40
Tinware	1.36	272	368.95
Cordage, ropes, twine, etc.....	1.14	300	342.54
Pottery	1.60	304	486.17
Paving brick	1.60	234	374.08
Building brick	1.63	230	375.55
Fire brick	1.44	298	428.42
Window glass, bottles and table goods	1.76	256	450.28

In considering the foregoing it is necessary to remember that a very large proportion of the manufacturing establishments are located in the great centers of population where rents and numerous other items among those that make up the annual cost of living are more costly than in the anthracite region. Bearing this in mind it is important to observe that among the seventy-nine averages representing daily earnings from the two series which are shown there are but four which exceed \$2.507, the average daily earnings of contract miners in the Reading's collieries. Of the averages representing annual earnings there are only six which exceed \$652.82, the average amount earned for full time by the same class of workmen in the Reading's mines, and the shortest time represented by these higher averages is 290 days. Nine of the seventy-nine averages of annual earnings are below \$400, twenty-nine between \$400 and \$499, thirty between \$500 and \$599 and five between \$600 and \$652. The conclusion very forcibly suggested by these comparisons is that contract miners are now paid more than any labor of the same quality under similar conditions anywhere in the state of Pennsylvania.

The Commission cannot possibly be under the impression that the work of the contract miner *requires* an high degree of skill. There is no doubt that it affords *opportunity* for the acquisition and exercise of skill far beyond that necessary to make a start in it. For those who have the industry and intelligence demanded in order to reach an high plane of efficiency and who work diligently it not only affords superior opportunities for promotion to positions in the direction of the industry, but while remaining as contract miners they receive a large differential addition to their annual earnings. In this wide difference between the earnings of the least capable and those who are most

efficient lies an incentive to development that is superior to that in any other industry of similar character. This incentive has the greatest sociological as well as economic value, and it must not be eliminated at the demand of persons actuated by principles which would confine the highest efficiency and the highest capacity for individual development within limits set by average or less than average diligence and capacity.

There is better evidence that the contract miners, and indeed all of the employees of the anthracite mines, are well paid than could be derived from comparative statistics of wages or earnings. This evidence exists in the fact, frequently admitted by all parties to the submission, that the region is over-stocked with labor. Surplus labor does not accumulate where the inducements are not genuine and substantial. No proof that the wages and conditions are good could be more absolute than the common admission that men have come there and remained there until the supply of labor is greater than the market for anthracite will justify. No part of the broad area of this busy and prosperous country is closed to the immigrants who flock to the anthracite region or to the children of those who worked in the mines in former decades or to those born to the present generation of mine workers. Yet to this region immigrants still come in large numbers and in it remain, with but rare exceptions, all who ever become a part of its chief industry, with their children and their children's children. If during the rare occasions when the normal progress of industry is interrupted by struggles similar to that of 1902 any of them are forced temporarily to seek a living elsewhere, the fact that they almost invariably take the first opportunity to return is one of common knowledge. During the months from May to October of last year thousands of miners sought and obtained em-

ployment elsewhere, but when work was resumed there was scarcely a working place, except those which in the wantonness of intoxication with newly-acquired power the union leaders had caused to be rendered inaccessible by the rising waters, which was not immediately sought and occupied by its former tenant. For years the great and growing industries of the United States have bid against one another for labor. Since the close of the last period of depression there has been no time when the man of vigorous impulse and strong and willing muscles could not choose his location and the manner in which he would labor. If the anthracite mine workers are underpaid, if the conditions under which they labor are not desirable conditions, if their employers are cruel and grasping, why have none of the numerous avenues of escape from all these evils been utilized? Why did not the complainants substitute for one among their horde of witnesses to inconsequential facts a single individual who had left the anthracite region to mine bituminous coal or to labor in some of the many fields of industry which have lately sought vainly for additional workmen? Why is it that all the information before the Commission in regard to men who left the anthracite field for other work is that whether they went to the soft coal fields or elsewhere they hurried back to their old employment at the first word of the termination of the strike? These are inquiries to which the theories of the complainants afford no response. That the answers, now thoroughly understood, are inconsistent with those theories and leave them utterly discredited is apparent to any practical man.

HOURS OF LABOR.

The demand for a reduction of the length of the working day to eight hours applies to "all employees paid by the hour, day or week," and so far as the Philadelphia and

Reading Coal and Iron Company is concerned this includes all employees except contract miners and the relatively few laborers employed by the latter. Much that has been suggested in this argument in relation to the compensation of those who work under contract is equally applicable to this demand and will not be repeated.

It is necessary to recognize at the outset that the demand for an eight hour day in the anthracite industry has no genuine relation to a similar demand in occupations in which the possibility of regularity in production is greater or in which it is practicable to work substantially the full number of hours adopted as the standard on every day on which a start is made. The usual interpretation of the demand for an eight hour standard in industries in which some irregularity is essential is that it means that the number of hours worked per week shall be but forty-eight. Now forty-eight hours per week for fifty-two weeks amounts to 2,496 hours, a number equaled during the year covered by the statistics asked for by the Commission in but one of the Reading's collieries. This colliery, the West Brookside, worked on 280 days and made a total of 2,504 hours. Two collieries made 2,425 and 2,402 hours respectively in 274 and 269 days. Of the others seventeen made more than 2,300 but less than 2,400 hours, nine made between 2,200 and 2,299, and eight made less than 2,200, half of them less than 2,000. The average of the thirty-seven collieries was 2,250 hours or 9.86 per cent less than the equivalent of forty-eight hours per week for fifty-two weeks. The following statement shows for each colliery the number of days on which starts were made, the total number of hours worked and the average number of hours per start during the year from November 1, 1900, to October 31, 1901, inclusive:

BREAKER STARTS AND HOURS

(Data from Tables Filed with the Commission)

NAME OF COLLIERY	Number of days breaker started	Total number of hours worked	Average number of hours per start	NAME OF COLLIERY	Number of days breaker started	Total number of hours worked	Average number of hours per start
Alaska	265	2,358	8.9	Maple Hill	270	2,363	8.7
Bear Valley	260	2,241	8.4	Mahanoy City	269	2,392	8.9
Burnside	270	2,347	8.7	North Franklin	266	2,294	8.6
Bast	258	2,266	8.8	North Mahanoy	268	2,372	8.8
Bear Ridge	267	2,321	8.7	Otto	264	2,342	8.9
Boston Run	269	2,395	8.9	Potts	260	2,264	8.7
Draper	268	2,369	8.8	Preston No. 3	260	2,282	8.8
Ellangowan	253	2,218	8.8	Phoenix Park	259	2,311	8.9
Eagle Hill	268	2,382	8.9	Reliance	259	2,259	8.7
Girard Mammoth	238	1,786	7.3	Richardson	256	2,263	8.8
Gilberton	241	2,116	8.8	Richardson City	266	2,301	8.7
Glendower	253	2,242	8.9	St. Nicholas	269	2,386	8.8
Good Spring	249	2,189	8.7	Suffolk	269	2,402	8.9
Henry Clay	183	1,527	8.3	Silver Creek	267	2,375	8.9
Indian Ridge	252	2,156	8.5	Tunnel Ridge	268	2,374	8.9
Kohinoor	266	1,913	7.1	Turkey Run	256	2,029	7.9
Knickerbocker	267	2,320	8.7	Wadesville	265	1,891	7.1
Locust Gap	268	2,324	8.7	West Brookside	280	2,504	8.9
Lincoln	274	2,425	8.8				

The contention of the complainants is apparently that with a reduced standard day the same number of hours could be attained by working more days. The weakness of this argument is evident when the uneven demand for anthracite, the heavy cost of storing it, in any way except in the yards of the retail dealers, many of whom are unable to bear the interest cost of any considerable anticipation of the demands of consumers, and the peculiar dependence of the mining industry on railway transportation are borne in mind. The necessity of some method by which extraordinary demands for domestic fuel can be met without augmenting the cost of production by a further increase in breaker capacity has been amply demonstrated during the current season. The only way in which this can be accomplished under the conditions governing the operations of this respondent is by a temporary increase in the duration of the work day. This is especially true of the Reading, because its output is limited, not as in the case of other companies by the mining capacity, but by the capacity of the breakers to clean and prepare the product. The difference in this respect is due to the geological features of the Schuylkill region which compel the hoisting of large quantities of refuse that where the veins are flat can be left in the mines. Under the most favorable conditions and with the steadiest possible demand for anthracite it is wholly unlikely that in any future period of twelve consecutive months it will be possible to work the breakers more hours than were attained during the year that ended with October 31, 1901. Certainly it will not be practicable materially to increase the number of days on which starts are made while the demand of the employees for extraordinary holidays, such as those taken on account of religious festivals, circuses, county fairs and Mitchell days, makes an annual total of no less than sixteen days. A reduction in the hours

would certainly have the effect of diminishing the output of this company and as an incident it would necessarily shorten the day of the contract miners, whose average day at present does not exceed seven hours, and correspondingly impair their earning capacity. It has been suggested at various times by the complainants that a reduction in the length of the standard day would increase the earnings of per diem employees by requiring more days labor to produce the same output. This argument obviously refutes another of their contentions which is that the reduction would so far increase the intensity of effort as to prevent any diminution in the daily product. This argument, if valid under any circumstances, could not be applicable to the present case because as has been shown the average number of hours worked per week is much below that attained where the eight hour standard is steadily enforced. No one would venture to assume that within reasonable limits it makes any difference to the man who works no more than forty-eight hours per week whether this total is made up by strict adherence to the average or by somewhat varying items. It is true, however, that a greater aggregate number of days work would have to be obtained during the year in order to secure the present output. As this addition could not be secured by materially increasing the number of starts it would have to be obtained, by the enlargement of the breaker capacity and the employment of more men. Thus without in any way increasing the earnings of this class of workmen, most of whose earnings are below those of contract miners, the change would attract additional labor to the anthracite fields and increase the price of domestic fuel by augmenting the cost of its production. It would also reduce the productive capacity of those working under contract and their earnings would be similarly affected.

RECOGNITION OF THE UNION.

Although an attempt was made in the pleadings to inject a demand for the formal recognition of the United Mine Workers of America, through a contract with that organization, into the matters referred to this Commission, it was distinctly excluded by the terms of the Submission and has been practically if not expressly abandoned by the complainants. Therefore it need only be discussed at the present time in so far as the principles and practices of this organization have a bearing upon the general situation in the anthracite region. In a certain sense the United Mine Workers was long ago recognized by the operators. The painful consciousness of the existence of this exotic growth in the anthracite district, which could be brought home to the general public only by a serious and prolonged scarcity of hard coal, was long previously forced upon those who have the immediate direction of the industry. Ever since the settlement of the strike of 1900 they have felt the weight of its power to impair the efficiency of the mining methods and to bring demoralization and friction into relations that had previously been orderly and friendly. In their conscientious efforts to avoid or mitigate these effects the officers of the respondents have repeatedly conferred with committees from the various local unions and with Messrs. Mitchell, Fahy, Nichols and Duffy, the officers of the organization having highest jurisdiction in the anthracite district. But "recognition" in the sense in which it is used by the labor leaders means the execution of a formal contract with the organization that is recognized. The experience of the coal mining companies with the United Mine Workers and the conferences they have held have not led their officers to believe that such a contract with that organization would be beneficial to their employees, to the general public or to the security holders.

whom they represent. They accept the dictum of Mr. Mitchell that;—

“A labor union, like a man, must be judged by what it has done, by the life it has lived.”*

This assumes the possibility of discriminating between unions whose principles and conduct are good and those which do not come within that category. It certainly suggests that just as business relations with some men are not to be thought of there may be labor unions with which it would be unwise and dangerous to contract. What is the consequence of a detailed scrutiny of the practices of the United Mine Workers of America and its principles as indicated by its acts? It is an unincorporated organization, and its chief executive frankly announces that it shelters itself in irresponsibility because responsibility in law might prove its destruction. A contract with it is utterly unenforceable as against the union should the latter choose to violate it. More serious perhaps than this is the fact that under such a situation the final interpretation of the contract in case of a disagreement must be practically left to one of the parties, and it would be very easy to mask behind an *ex parte* interpretation a refusal to abide by an agreement which the organization wished to overthrow.

Discussing, in a formal address at its last annual convention, the suggestions concerning the incorporation of the body of which he is the head Mr. Mitchell quoted with approval an expression by the principal counsel of his organization before the Commission in which the latter said:

“The demand for the incorporation of trade unions is the last trench of those who oppose organized labor. It is impudent and presumptuous. No friend of trade unionism ever believed in it or advocated it, or called for it. It is demanded to-day by those interests and those enemies who have used every means at their

*Testimony p. 535.

command to oppose unionism, to counteract its influence and destroy it. How the labor organizations shall manage their own affairs is not the business of the corporations or the employers. This new demand for the incorporation of labor unions is not only unjust and unreasonable, but it is impudent and insulting to the last degree."

It may be helpful to set against this unreasoned invective a few of the expressions of those whom it places in "the last trench of those who oppose organized labor" and characterizes as "impudent" and "presumptuous" enemies of labor. One of them chanced to be Mr. E. E. Clark, the Grand Chief of the Order of Railway Conductors, who testified before the recent Industrial Commission, in answer to a question concerning the incorporation of labor unions:

"I think perhaps it will be some time before the idea will be generally accepted. At the same time it looks to me as if the logical conclusion is the incorporation of the trade unions and labor organizations under conditions which place them on a fair basis as compared with incorporations that are for pecuniary profit or the incorporations by which the men are employed."*

Another presumptuous enemy of organized labor is Mr. G. W. Perkins, president of the Cigar Makers' International Union. On the same subject he said to the Industrial Commission:

"I believe they should be incorporated. In the first place, trade unions have nothing to hide; they are not violators of the law. . . . If incorporated it would give us many advantages. . . . I favor being incorporated, first, because it would legalize us; second, give us more standing in the courts. We are willing to be brought into court any minute."†

Then comes the president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, who must also be a carefully disguised enemy of labor. He said in answer to similar inquiries by the same body:

"I hope the time will come when the Amalgamated Association will be able to take out letters of incorporation and become a chartered institution. . . . It will obviate the necessity for

*Report of the Industrial Commission, vol. iv, p. 116.

†*Ibid.*, vol. vii, pp. 171-2.

strikes; do away with the strike entirely. It would bring the manufacturer and his employee closer together, into more friendly relations. It would enable them to see . . . that as one prospers the other prospers; as one suffers the other necessarily suffers also. . . . Our people are not ready for it. They are not educated up to the point yet.”*

Mr. Mitchell declines to aid in the educational process, but clearly believes himself justified in abandoning in the discussion of this proposal his habit of decorous speech and giving the sanction of his authority to the passion and vituperation that another, less responsible than he, has brought to the support of the present prejudice. A different course has been chosen by Honorable Carroll D. Wright, the Federal Commissioner of Labor. He, also, was asked by the Industrial Commission concerning his views on the incorporation of labor unions and he spoke, in part, as follows:

“I believe, if you will allow me to express an opinion, that trade unionism will take a very great stride in securing the respect and co-operation of the public when it desires to incorporate. There are cases where incorporation would result in success, when the acts of voluntary associations would be apt to result in failure. It would dignify the whole business, to say the least, and protect the funds and protect the membership.”†

If these expressions are regarded anywhere as implying antagonism to organized labor so much the worse for those who take that view.

THE MONOPOLY SOUGHT.

The United Mine Workers seeks to include within its ranks every employee connected with the production of coal or coke anywhere in the United States and thus to establish a monopoly in commodities of the most vital necessity which would be more absolute and powerful than any that the world ever saw.‡

**Ibid.*, vol. vii, pp. 387-8.

†*Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 8.

‡Mr. Mitchell. Testimony pp. 524-6.

That this purpose is never lost sight of has been made abundantly evident by the testimony before this Commission. At the annual convention of the organization held at Indianapolis during last January, Mr. John Fahy, an emissary from the bituminous region, who now occupies the position of president of one of the three anthracite districts, used the following language:

"You now have the anthracite men with you to reach out and bring into the fold all others. I hope that it will not be long until every miner in the United States is a member of the United Mine Workers of America. . . . It would be criminal if this organization did not conduct its business with that end in view. We are not conducting our business in the interest of the operators, and we should not care what they think of us."

Vice-President Lewis, a general officer of the organization, made clear to the watchful public, through a speech at the same convention, the precise purposes for which the labor monopoly is sought and the methods that are to be employed when it has been attained. This portion of his address was as follows:

"It is said that the market price regulates the wages and the conditions of employment. Who is it that makes the market price now? It is the operator. We want to change that. We want to make ourselves so strong that we can control the market price of our product. We will then fix a standard, and we can take a vacation until the price comes up to that standard."

There was nothing novel in this doctrine, for it was but repeating declarations made to the United States Industrial Commission by Mr. Mitchell very soon after his succession to the presidency of the Mine Workers. To an inquiry whether his organization had "followed the arbitration theory to the fullest extent in all cases before resorting to a strike," he replied:

"Not in all cases. It is my opinion that at times when the market has become so demoralized and so chaotic that it has been necessary to engage in a general suspension of work in order to restore prices in the market, to make it possible for employers to pay living wages, in that case arbitration, I understand, has not

been offered by the miners, for the reason that it could not have any good result. Prices have been so demoralized at certain seasons, and run along for a year at a time, that it would be impossible for employers to pay higher rates of wages unless a suspension took effect, to take out of the market the coal that was stocked there, as was the case in 1897.”*

Before the same Commission Mr. Mitchell also supported the principle of sympathetic strikes in terms clearly pointing to the same general intention absolutely to control the labor market and through this to make every phase of the industry subservient to the power of his association. His expressions on this branch of the subject were as follows :

“Sympathetic strikes are, in our judgment, not only justifiable, but many times absolutely necessary, by reason of the fact that the capacity of the coal mines is so much greater than the possible consumption of coal that when one district is compelled to engage in a strike, either in opposition to a reduction of wages or for an increase in wages, the markets can be supplied by mines in other districts, and this has often been done without loss or profit to the employers that engage in the contest. . . .

“Another reason which makes sympathetic strikes justifiable is the fact that coal is sold on such close margins that where the operators of one district secure, by strike or otherwise, a mining rate that is less than that paid in competing districts, it is only a question of time until the miners in other districts must accept either a less rate of wages or the business will be diverted from the districts to which it properly belongs and will be secured by the operators paying the lower rate of wages.”†

All of the foregoing extracts from his testimony before the Industrial Commission were approved by Mr. Mitchell during his cross-examination.‡

The purpose to monopolize the fuel supply has not been a merely barren doctrine. The faith of the leaders in the vastness of the power to be gained by such a concentration of industrial control has been proved by rugged efforts to

*Report of the United States Industrial Commission, vol. xii, p. 36.

†Report of the United States Industrial Commission, vol. xii, p. 37.

‡Testimony pp. 98, 99, 101, 102.

overcome the obstacles in their path. One of these obstacles was the peace and content that existed in the anthracite region prior to 1900 and another the arbitration agreement between the employees of G. B. Markle & Co. and that company. Both were overcome. Another obstacle which existed in the anthracite region was a labor organization, composed of steammen, that did not recognize the authority of the United Mine Workers. The device adopted to destroy this union and to compel its members to become subservient to the monopoly still amazes by its audacity those who listen to the frequent assertions of leaders like Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Gompers that the man who takes the place of a workman who has struck for higher wages or what he regards as improved conditions of employment is a social outcast, one to be ostracized and "boycotted" to the extreme limit of the law. It will have to be told in the language used, under oath, by Mr. Thomas Duffy, one of the district presidents of the anthracite field and a prominent participant in the matters which he relates. Before this Commission he testified:

"I want to say that in 1901, I believe it was 1901, the firemen struck; they struck in the upper region, Luzerne, Lackawanna and down in the Schuylkill region. . . . They came in the Hazleton region and I, as the president of the district, went to the firemen that had served notice on the companies, the Lehigh Valley,—they wanted eight hours' work there and gave only ten hours' notice,—and I went in behind the stockade without permission and served notice on the firemen if they quit work that our union would put men in their places. . . ."

Thus, officially, in the person of one of its highest officers, to destroy an obstacle to the monopoly toward which its ambitions lead, this organization violated the new moral law advocated by its president, and other labor leaders, which makes every workman the puppet of a majority of his fellows. That men were supplied to take the places

*Testimony p. 9082.

of striking firemen* is clear from the testimony. A few extracts from Mr. Mitchell's own testimony will indicate how utterly this action violated a fundamental article of his creed. The following should be sufficient:

"We regard the man who works during a strike, who takes another man's place—

"Q. (Interrupting.) No, no—the man who keeps his own place.

"A. Who does what?

"Q. Who keeps his own place.

"A. In either event we regard him as an unfair worker. We think the man is blind to his own interests. We think he is joining forces with the employer to defeat the fair ends of those who go on strike. In other words, he is usually termed by the working people and others a 'scab.'"[†]

"Q. Why should you call a man a 'scab' who differs from his fellow workmen as to the wisdom of continuing to earn a living for himself under such conditions as he thinks are reasonable, even though he may be mistaken in that opinion, if you choose?

"A. It is simply a general appellation for every man who works when another one is on strike. He is looked upon, and I think justly, in the same light that Benedict Arnold was looked upon, or any traitor. He is a man who fails to stand for the movement that the people stand for, and, after all, the majority of the workers in any one particular community reflect the public sentiment of that community. It is the movement of the people of that community, and if a man wants to desert his fellow workers and wants to try to prevent them from accomplishing good ends, then he is justly looked upon with disfavor by those who are right, because his working does not affect himself alone. If it only affected himself, it would be a different proposition, but the fact that he works helps to defeat the objects of the men who go on strike."[‡]

"Q. Ah! that is it. But I do not think you would fling a term of opprobrium at a fellow workman because he thinks differently from those who belong to your union.

"A. I would regard them as 'scabs;' yes, sir. That is my personal opinion."[§]

"Q. Ought their lives and the lives of their wives and children to be made unendurable?

*Mr. Mitchell. Testimony pp. 2617-8.

[†]Testimony p. 373.

[‡]Testimony p. 374.

[§]Testimony p. 379.

"A. I think those wives and children had better ask their fathers.

"Q. That is your answer—

"A. I think it is they who have made their lives unendurable."*

Mr. Mitchell's testimony is full of declarations of this character† and his opinion was expressly approved by the president of the American Federation of Labor who was called to testify as an expert in labor organization doctrines and methods on behalf of the striking mine workers.‡

Of course it will not surprise any one that an organization whose officers would detail men to perform acts which they regard as worthy of such opprobrium would resort to extreme tactics to prevent the development of a rival organization in the region conquered by such measures. Dr. Roberts, a very friendly observer of union practices, is authority for the statement that dissensions between the laborers or the helpers in the mines and the miners themselves have affected the action of the organization; the laborers complaining that the miners work too little time and leave at an unseasonable hour imposing upon them the whole of the labor.§ The result of these dissensions Dr. Roberts expressed as follows:

"Hence the question arises, is the laborer always to carry the heavy end of the burden and only get one-third of the face value of the due bill? Against this there is a revolt. The laborers demand half, and there is a possibility of their forming an independent organization upon this issue. This would seriously impair the influence and power of the union, if not utterly destroy its usefulness."||

The absolutely certain way to prevent this threatened rebellion on one part of the miners' laborers is to secure

*Testimony p. 392.

†Testimony pp. 384, 476 and 480.

‡Testimony pp. 3158 and 3159. See also testimony of Father Curran, a strong union sympathizer, p. 1592.

§Testimony pp. 822-3.

||Testimony p. 829.

contracts with the operators under which it would be possible to enforce the despotic authority sought. Under such contracts it would be impossible for a new organization to be formed and substantially impossible for any workmen to remain outside of the ranks of the monopoly. This would be especially true if by persistent pressure the union should be able to force the anthracite operators, as it has some of those in the soft coal fields, to collect the dues and assessments of the organization. After these examples no one will be astonished to learn that the United Mine Workers lately, at a convention in Colorado, sought the adhesion of coal miners who were members of the Western Federation of Miners, an effort which if successful would have destroyed another labor organization.*

Another way to promote the desired monopoly is to force individuals into the ranks of the organization. Mr. Mitchell has assisted in showing how this is accomplished. The following was originally in his testimony before the Industrial Commission, but it was acquiesced in when read to him on cross-examination:

“We believe in a conciliatory policy and make every effort to induce non-union miners to affiliate themselves with our organization. If they will not accept our proffers of friendship and refuse to become members of our organization, we sometimes oppose them. By this I mean we do not make the same efforts to secure for them higher rates of wages or better conditions of employment. In some cases miners have declined to work in the same mines.”†

A notice, dated April 5, 1901, by Archibald Local No. 1649 of the United Mine Workers was posted at the head

*Mr. Mitchell. Testimony pp. 542-3.

†Testimony p. 93. Report of the United States Industrial Commission, vol. xii, p. 32.

of a shaft that every workman who had chosen independence could see what was in store for him.*

"ARCHIBALD LOCAL NO. 1649, U. M. W. OF A.

"SCRANTON, PA., April 5, 1901.

"NOTICE.

"There will be a special meeting of the above-named local at Janes Hall, Archibald mines, Saturday morning at 11 o'clock, and all men employed in and around the mines not members of the above-named local are requested to be present and join; if not, they will be stopped from work Monday, April the 8th, 1901.

"By order of

"M. H. HEALY, *President.*

"A. J. BAYLISS; *Secretary.*"

Clearly there need be no misunderstanding of the purposes of this organization. The declaration of its leaders and its constitution have been practically applied by its local unions and its national officers. It aims to control the output of coal, and by exercising this control to keep prices at a high level in order that the excess over the normal prices may be added to the earnings of its members. If such a monopoly of the fuel supply of the homes and factories of the country is desirable, it may be that the organization is performing a useful work, but if otherwise, the United Mine Workers should receive no sympathy from those who would necessarily be the victims of its success.

RESTRICTING EFFICIENCY.

The history of the United Mine Workers in the anthracite region contains a succession of instances illustrating every device by which the exceptional workman is compelled to limit his efficiency to a standard attainable by the less capable and employers are compelled to pursue antiquated methods. Mr. Mitchell has admitted that his or-

*Testimony p. 6303. For other notices or resolutions of a similar character, some of them equally imperative in tone, see pp. 139, 162, 166, 6304, 6306 and 8331. Among many examples of specific efforts in the same direction are those related on pp. 2395, 5266, 5844, 6055, 6418, 6915 and 7602.

ganization is opposed to the introduction of mining machinery* and Dr. Roberts, the witness for the complainants who followed him, declared that

“Miners often have two and three laborers to work for them, but when a miner takes a contract which enables him to hire miners and laborers he is disqualified as a member of the union, although he pays the standard wage in the colliery to the men he hires.”†

The testimony taken by the Commission establishes beyond the possibility of contradiction that the union has forbidden the ambitious and capable miner from contracting for work in which he would have to employ more than two laborers‡ and that it opposes his having more than one.§ The number of cars which the miner may send out has been restricted by many of the locals,|| in collieries where payment is by weight money penalites have been established to prevent increasing the earnings by putting on a large amount of topping,¶ and men have been fined for working when the breaker was idle.** Under the influence of this organization the miners often refuse to assist their laborers, they decline to cut coal and rock on the same day, they refuse to work when the breaker does not run, and they go home if their laborers do not report for duty. By these devices they restrict their own earning capacity, and it has been shown that many of them have little desire to earn more than what they call “miners’ wages,” while others are evidently restrained from the efforts necessary

*Testimony p. 120. Another extract from his testimony before the U. S. Industrial Commission. See report of the latter, vol. xii, p. 55.

†Testimony p. 849.

‡Mr. Mitchell. Testimony pp. 167, 5638 and 5644. Mr. W. H. Dettery. Testimony p. 1177.

§Mr. Mitchell. Testimony pp. 209 and 5638.

||Testimony pp. 4920, 5444, 6799 and in many other instances.

¶Testimony pp. 5269-70.

**Testimony pp. 5438 and 5448.

to do so by fear of incurring the ill-will of their fellows and becoming the victims of the displeasure of the organization. The net result of these efforts to reduce the output of the more capable workmen is shown by the following table:

DECREASE IN EFFICIENCY OF LABOR.*

	1901.	1899.
Total shipments, long tons	53,568,601	47,665,204
Shipments of washery coal, long tons	2,567,335	1,368,275
Difference, product of miners and inside employees, long tons	51,001,266	46,296,929
Number of miners	37,804	36,421
Number of inside employees	98,464	92,223
Average number of days worked by breakers	195	179
Total number of days worked by all miners	7,371,780	6,519,359
Total number of days worked by all inside employees	19,200,480	16,507,917
Average product in long tons per miner per day	6.92	7.10
Average product in long tons per inside employee per day	2.66	2.80

ENFORCING THE NEW MORAL LAW.

Little need be said concerning the details of the reign of terror that held the anthracite region in its grasp throughout a large portion of the recent period of idleness. Some estimable gentlemen who have chosen the position of advocates of the organization have testified to the remarkable peace and quiet which they assert prevailed throughout the entire period of the strike. The most satisfactory explanation of their testimony is that they rarely if ever visited the regions inhabited by the men who preferred to work or the roads traversed by them when they ventured

*The first three items are shown by tables put in evidence before the Commission by Mr. W. M. Ruley; the next three are from the report of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Mines for 1901, and the rest have been calculated from the others.

to go to and from the collieries and that in the seclusion of their studies they imagined that there was no reign of terror because they did not witness many of its atrocities. One of the historians of the French Revolution has shown that many of the Parisians of that time were able to remain equally unconscious of the scenes by which they were surrounded. A brief extract will perhaps prove suggestive :

“It is most essential to grasp the fact that there was no particular difference, for the vast majority of the population, in living in Paris during the Reign of Terror and at other times. The imagination of posterity, steeped in tales of the tumbrils bearing their burden to the guillotine, and of similar stories of horror, has conceived a ghastly picture of life at that extraordinary period, and it is only after living for months amongst the journals, memoirs and letters of the time that one can realize the fact that to the average Parisian the necessity of getting his dinner or his evening’s amusement remained the paramount thought of his daily life. . . . The Reign of Terror seems to us an age of unique experiences, a time unparalleled in the history of the world; yet to the great majority of contemporaries it did not appear so; they lived their ordinary lives, and it was only in exceptional cases that the serenity of their days was interrupted, or that their minds were exercised by anything more than the necessity of earning their daily bread.”*

But France had its reign of terror and not much more than a century later, on a different scale but with identical effects upon the minds and acts of men, the anthracite region of Pennsylvania was the scene of another. Dr. Roberts saw it, and in his manly fashion refused to blink the truth. He testified as follows :

“For three months no outrages were perpetrated until on July 31, in Shenandoah, and the troops were called out on August 1. Since then the reign of terror has come, and, as Mr. MacVeagh has said, increasing in intensity and ferocity as we come down to the fifth month.”†

*H. M. Stephens, “History of the French Revolution.” Volume II, Chapter 10.

†Testimony p. 862.

The conference of clergymen which met at Hazleton on November 12, 1902, and adopted the following resolutions did not consist of men who had been blind to the events of the preceding months:

“Resolved, That we should at this time, as law-abiding citizens, enter our earnest protest against the boycott, intimidation and threats and violence that have existed to a greater or less extent during the past five months and, notwithstanding the strike has been declared off, still exist. We deplore the effort of any person or persons to create the impression that the men have not been molested in the exercise of their rights as citizens of this commonwealth.

*“Resolved, further, That it is for the interest of the entire community that the deplorable occurrences of the past few months should never be repeated, and we call upon all law-abiding citizens to take a firm stand in the determination that all attempts to abridge the liberty of the individual in the anthracite coal field shall cease at once and forever.”**

What picture of an armed camp in alert expectation of a command to attack is more graphic than the description by “Squire” McKelvey, a witness called in rebuttal by the strikers, of what he saw from one o’clock in the morning until daybreak in the vicinity of a Lehigh Valley colliery. In his own words it is as follows:

“Well, one night I was coming home; I think it was on the last of July or August; I don’t remember which now. It was about twelve or one o’clock in the morning—twelve o’clock Saturday night or one o’clock Sunday morning. I noticed men scattered here and there along East Diamond avenue in Hazel township. So I went to my home and got my overcoat. It was a little cold, a little chilly, that night, and I started down East Diamond avenue as far as the dirt banks at No. 2 slope. I saw two men here, and two there, and maybe one here. Well, I advised them all along the line, whatever they did, not to harm anyone and to keep off the company property or to stay away from company property altogether. I came back then. I went up as far as Laurel Hill, which is about three miles from No. 2 banks. I went up to the hospital, and then I went down on the other side. I walked down there about a mile out of Hazleton.

*Testimony pp. 1598-9.

"Q. That is practically all around the Lehigh Valley Coal Company's property?

"A. No. 40?

"Q. Yes.

"A. Yes, sir. I saw men scattered there; some out smoking pipes, some sitting down at little fires playing cards, and others lying alongside of them asleep. So I advised them over again, whatever they did, not to molest anyone."*

The following is a part of the cross-examination of the same witness:

"Q. They were doing what is called picket duty there, were they not?

"A. Yes, sir.

"Q. That is what they were doing, was it not?

"A. Yes, sir; and good pickets they were."†

Subsequently under questioning by the Chairman of the Commission Mr. McKelvey admitted that the occasion of this incident was a rumor that work was about to be commenced at this colliery.‡ Just what it means to say that the picketing was well done is indicated by an extract from a letter written on September 22, 1902, to Governor Stone and General Gobin by Sheriff Beddall of Schuylkill county. He said in part:

"Men, acting for the strikers, post themselves at various points as pickets, ostensibly to persuade men by argument from going to work, but in numerous instances the workmen are threatened, assailed, beaten and driven back, and in an inconsiderable time mobs are assembled."§

General Gobin's testimony to the skill with which this work was planned and the effectiveness of its execution must also be repeated:

"I want to say, to the credit of the gentlemen who were running the other side of the campaign, that they did the best picketing that I ever saw in my life. I could not move a column of my troops in any direction, or at any time of the day or night, without

*Testimony p. 8434.

†Testimony p. 8450.

‡Testimony pp. 8465-6.

§Testimony p. 4616.

finding some people on duty. Even the headquarters in my stable were well picketed, and I appreciated the manner in which they did it. They did it well, but a little inconvenient.”*

Happily it is not necessary here to repeat the appalling record of this period of terror. During its progress many houses occupied by the defenceless wives and children of men who were at work were wrecked by dynamite, women and children were beaten because their husbands and fathers were earning their daily bread in the mines, and homes were destroyed by fire. Some men who worked were murdered, and others were stoned, stabbed or beaten. Collieries were attacked and men driven from work by stones or shots from fire-arms. And with this long record of atrocities, with many of which members and officers of the union have been connected by direct evidence, there is not a line of testimony to show that a single member of the organization was ever disciplined for complicity in a violation of the peace of the community. Members of the locals have been fined and expelled for being too efficient or ambitious as workmen, but none has been similarly punished for a violation of law or of public decency in the effort to prevent men from working during the strike.† But it has been claimed that the organization is not responsible for the lawlessness and violence that occurred. The position of those who use this argument is that what took place was nothing more than the natural accompaniment of a period of stress and idleness. Even if it could be admitted that this is true the fact would remain that it was the union which brought about the idleness and contention. That the lawlessness which sprang up, in a manner that

*Testimony pp. 4593-4.

†Mr. Mitchell. Testimony pp. 381, 432-3, 2622, 4387, 4391. Terrence Ginley, pp. 4368, 4376 *et seq.* Thomas Watkins, pp. 3356 *et seq.*

certainly suggests some prearrangement, all over the anthracite region at about the time of the Shenandoah riot and continued until suppressed by the militia or made objectless by the termination of the strike is a necessary accompaniment of the idleness of the mines is an undeserved aspersion upon thousands of workmen which is absolutely refuted by the fact that for the first two months and a half there was relatively little disorder.* Moreover when violence came it was adapted to the enforcement of the purposes of the organization with a precision which cannot be overlooked. If most of the attacks upon individuals, on homes, and on collieries had been planned in the secret councils of the leaders it would have been impossible that they should have been more effective in making work unattractive both to the miners and to the operators. The outbreaks were not purposeless exhibitions of restlessness, but they were especially directed at the men who tried to work or the collieries at which efforts were made to mine coal or those mines whose preservation their owners persisted in attempting in order that they might be made to supply coal in the future. There is no doubt that Mr. James Gallagher understands union methods, as he does most things that have fallen within his sphere of observation. His explanation of the reason that there was no rioting at Jeddo is therefore worthy of quotation. At Scranton he testified as follows:

“There was neither deputies nor coal and iron policemen, nor soldiers, until about three or four weeks before the (end of the?) strike, nor no call for them, because there was nobody working there. As soon as ever the strike commenced, the men pulled the fire from under the boilers and stopped the pumps and there was nothing doing except two or three bosses that was running around, and we didn't pay no attention to them.”†

*See testimony of Dr. Roberts, quoted on p. 84.

†Testimony p. 1650.

And when recalled at Philadelphia he used the following words:

"I never seen them commit any criminal acts of violence. We had no right to do that in Jeddo, because there was nobody working there, no non-union men, and therefore we had nothing to contend with or to quarrel or fight about."*

Father Curran's observation also supports the idea that the lawlessness was systematically directed and in aid of the efforts to prevent the mining, preparation and marketing of coal. A part of his testimony, given under cross-examination, follows:

"Q. Is it not a fact that the violence which characterized this whole region has been caused by his attempt to work?

"A. The 'scabs'?

"Q. Yes, or the mine operators attempting to operate their mines?

"A. Yes, sir; a great deal of it.

"Q. Is it not a fact, Father, that at every mine—and I speak now particularly of the individual operators where no attempt was made to work—that it was not necessary even to hire a guard; is that not a fact? Do you understand my question?

"A. That it was not necessary to hire a guard where there was no work?

"Q. And they were actually not hired; is not that a fact?

"A. Yes; that is generally true.

"Q. Violence followed an attempt on the part of the operator to work his property or an attempt on the part of a non-union employee to go to work, did it not?

"A. I admit that."

Such is the conclusion to which an avowed friend of the organization was forced by facts which do not admit of dispute. Whether planned in detail by officers of the union or merely the result of their general doctrines and their violent denunciations of all who disagreed with them they were equally adapted to the realization of the purposes which every leader had in view. There is no doubt that the voices of the more prominent officers were very softly modulated when they discussed in public the methods

*Testimony p. 9012.

of preventing the resumption of mining operations. There is no doubt that the union had peace committees in some places, although they do not appear to have been very active, or that in one instance at least officers of the organization issued a proclamation advising the observance of the law. So far as their public expressions go there is little to indicate that the leaders incited violence. They were profuse in offers and promises of assistance, but General Gobin testified* that "they never did anything" in the execution of these promises, and the exceptions to this rule must have been very rare and do not include a single instance of effective opposition to lawlessness. Thus the sheriff of Lakawanna county had conferences with Mr. Mitchell in which the latter agreed to use all his persuasiveness to subdue the growing violence, but it continued to grow.† Mr. Thomas Duffy, then a district president of the Mine Workers, led the crowd which succeeded in sending back to Philadelphia the steammens who had been hired by Messrs. J. S. Wentz & Co. These men were told that;—

" . . . whatever boiler house they would go to to keep up steam would be blown up with dynamite."‡

but Mr. Duffy disputes the charge that he used violent and profane language or did anything more than sweetly to persuade the men to let the mines be flooded.§ Mr. John Fallon, who promised Mrs. Rhoda Snyder that he would "go right up and attend to it" when she went to him at headquarters to say that her property was threatened by strikers, and did nothing of an effective character to prevent its destruction, is a member of the National Executive

*Testimony p. 4704.

†Sheriff Charles H. Schadt. Testimony pp. 3946-7.

‡Mr. John Weber, superintendent for J. S. Wentz & Co. Testimony p. 7609.

§Testimony pp. 9069-70.

Board of the organization. The house was rifled that night and burned to the ground.* This officer, although present at most of the sessions, had to be called as a witness by the non-union men in order that the Commission might have the benefit of any part of his knowledge of the anthracite situation, and then testified that he attended a great many hearings of persons arrested for breaches of the peace and made efforts to get bail for the defendants. His explanation of this activity was:

“I just merely went being as I was an officer.”†

Another incident of Mr. Fallon's relations to the strike was testified to as follows:

“A man who had a revolver had pointed it at myself and the deputy sberiff, and told us he was going to shoot us, and our men jumped on him and overpowered him and we took the revolver away from him. . . . When I took this man up that had threatened to shoot us this morning, I took him up there with three others who were arrested the same morning, and the crowd pushed in and Mr. Fallon was very evident. He pushed around and went up to the man—I do not remember his name, but he was a Freeland man—and shook hands with him and patted him on the back and said, ‘Brave boy! I will look out for you,’ and a lot of that kind of talk. This man was arrested because he almost precipitated a riot, and I must say that it was a very narrow escape. If the man had fired the consequences might have been serious.”‡

The statement of the president of one of the local unions to an inside foreman that he wouldn't have men at work very long as it would “be made good and hot for them” was followed at four o'clock the next morning by the gathering at the colliery of a crowd of between five and seven hundred men armed with baseball bats and shot guns.§ Another president of a local plead guilty to con-

*Testimony pp. 3474 *et seq.*

†Testimony pp. 3474 *et seq.*

‡Mr. Willard Young. Testimony pp. 7537-9.

§Mr. Willard A. Wallace. Testimony pp. 4209 *et seq.*

spiracy* and still another witnessed, without attempting to prevent, the clubbing of Mr. David Harris who was also shot at, is sixty-four years of age, and was merely acting in his regular capacity as a fire-boss.† These instances should be sufficient to establish a presumption that there was some participation of officers in other acts of violence. If there was not any such control over violence it would be well to explain why Mr. Martin Bubble, secretary of Local No. 484, could protect his brother, who remained at work, by issuing under the seal of the union the following:

“United Mine Workers of America, Local 484. Martin Bubble, secretary. Wilkesbarre, August 25, 1902. To whom it may concern: Do not interfere with Louis Bubble to and from work. (Signed) Martin Bubble, Sec. James Gallagher.”‡

The authority claimed and exercised by the leaders of the Mine Workers over the industry of the anthracite region did not stop with the prevention of coal mining. It was Mr. Mitchell, to whom the president of the local telephoned for instructions, who forbade the liverymen of Kingston to haul coal from the mines to Wyoming Seminary, but generously permitted them to haul it from the station.§ It was District President Fahy who, when an attempt was made to build a boiler-house for the Lehigh Valley Coal Company, wrote to Mr. Mandeville saying that he could not grant “permission” under the circumstances then existing.|| It was Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Fahy who refused permission to Mr. Christ to rebuild the breakers at the Keeley Run and Crystal Run collieries, the latter saying:

*Testimony pp. 4988 and 5002.

†Mr. David Harris. Testimony p. 4081.

‡Testimony pp. 4176 *et seq.*

§Rev. Levi L. Sprague. Testimony pp. 3873 *et seq.*

||Mr. R. S. Mercur. Testimony p. 6336.

"It is this way, Christ: If we grant you permission to build a breaker, someone else may come and ask permission to pump water, another may ask permission to mine coal. We don't know where this might stop."*

Mr. Christ also testified that the men whom he attempted to employ were deterred by fear and that those whom he succeeded in getting were molested.† These instances of direct connection on the part of officers with violence and directions which if disobeyed must lead to violence seems to explain why the information possessed by District Presidents Nichols and Fahy was not offered to the Commission and former District President Duffy was not called as a witness until the last days of the hearing and then only to deny a single accusation. Over and over again while on the stand Mr. Mitchell referred to these officers, and particularly to Mr. Nichols, as possessing detailed information which he did not have and promised that they would be called to testify.‡ Yet the Commission is still without the light which they would be peculiarly able to supply.

There is, however, a broader responsibility than that established by the incidents that have been recited from which no leader of the United Mine Workers who was active in the recent strike can escape. The doctrine so industriously inculcated that no man has the moral right to work when others are on a strike leads inevitably to violence. Leaders of men cannot teach that some men are acting in violation of the laws of morality without inciting some of those who believe themselves to be damaged to resort to force to bring about general conformity to the moral code which they accept. All the atrocities of intoler-

*Mr. H. K. Christ. Testimony pp. 7467-8.

†Testimony pp. 7481-2.

‡Testimony pp. 197, 232, 517, 543, 557, 582, 657, 2559, 2573, 2579 and 2580.

ance that blacken the pages of history have been justified in the minds of those who committed them by the plea that their victims were acting immorally. Few men who think themselves directly injured by acts which they believe contravene the standards of morality will patiently await the vengeance of the Almighty upon those who commit them. Little could it be expected that such patience would generally be exercised in the anthracite region when this new law of morals was being urged with such vigor by those responsible for its discovery. When they, on every possible occasion, likened the men who remained at work at the pumps or in the mines or washeries to the loyalists of the American Revolution, it is not strange that some of those at whom their denunciations were hurled were treated worse than were those who in the Southern states during the Civil War remained true to the American Union.

BOYCOTTING.

The use of boycotting during the strike is but another expression of the same sentiment. It was directed against the men who worked, against their families and relatives and against those who supplied any of them with the necessaries of life. It is the precise equivalent of the blacklist, a thing that does not exist in the anthracite region, but is an instrument for the preservation of which those who decry the latter are most solicitous. Dr. Roberts declares that—

“It is the fashion of the day to be one of the union, and if you are not, the boycott falls on you.”*

And Mr. Mitchell, referring to an expression of Archbishop Ireland, said:

“It depends on what the Archbishop means by it. If he means that men have not a right to boycott, then I disagree with him.”†

*Testimony p. 850.

†Testimony p. 482.

While in another place he gave tacit approval of the secondary boycott as follows:

“Q. Suppose a grocery store was incorporated, as it might be, or suppose the grocery storekeeper has a license to conduct a grocery store. Do you say he has any right, legal or moral, to decline to sell to me because I am pursuing a lawful occupation against which you protest?

“A. Well, I do not know what the law is in its application to storekeepers; I do not know whether they have the right to sell to whom they please.

“Q. Do you think you have a moral right to tell him not to sell to my wife because I am pursuing a lawful occupation in a lawful manner?

“A. No; but I have a right to tell him that I do not propose to deal with him any more.”*

FLOODING THE MINES.

Rarely in the history of the world has arbitrary authority been exercised in a more iniquitous manner than in the order requiring the men whose duties were to protect the mines from flooding to leave their posts. The pretense that this was an independent strike of the steam-men and not a mere device to compel compliance with the general demands of the Mine Workers is unworthy of consideration. These employees were “directed” by the organization to make certain demands, and in at least one instance in which all that they asked was granted they were not “permitted” to remain at work.† Some of the steam-men of the Delaware, Laekawanna and Western were utterly opposed to a strike, and held a meeting, at which they passed resolutions condemning it and asking Mr. Mitchell to rescind the order.‡ Two-thirds of those who attended this meeting were members of the Mine Workers.§ and they sent a committee to request of Mr. Mitchell permission to save the mines from

*Testimony p. 384.

†Mr. Mitchell. Testimony pp. 69 and 1453.

‡Testimony pp. 6238-9.

§Testimony pp. 6235 *et seq.*

flooding. He declined to relieve them from the obnoxious order, and Mr. Nichols threatened that if they refused to obey it they "would be scoffed at and would be ostracized" and their "children would suffer insult."* If the Union had been successful in its efforts to prevent pumping, as it was at several collieries which have not yet begun to contribute their quota to the supply of anthracite so sorely needed by the public or been able to give employment to their usual complement of workmen, the tragedy of a coal famine would have been enacted to the end throughout every eastern state. The opinion of Dr. Roberts, as expressed in the *Yale Review* of November, 1902, is that of a fair-minded and sympathetic student who had exceptional opportunities to learn the truth. He writes as follows:

"When the miners were called out, the firemen, pump-runners and engineers continued to work, and thus kept the mines from being flooded. On May 21 John Mitchell ordered these men out, unless the companies granted them eight hours as a day's work and no reduction in wages. This the operators, with rare exceptions, refused to do, and on June 2 about eighty per cent of the above employees quit work. The majority of the collieries were in danger of being flooded and much property destroyed. Measures were immediately taken to preserve the properties. Superintendents, foremen, assistant foremen, clerks and an army of imported men took charge of the pumps and stationary engines, and by persistent and strenuous efforts most of the collieries were kept from being flooded. All sections of the coal field were not equally successful in doing this. There were half a dozen shafts in the southern coal field, which gave employment to nearly 2,500 hands, at the mercy of the rising waters, and four or five months from the resumption of work, October 24, will expire before these mines will be in working order. On June 16 John Mitchell ordered out all fire bosses, loader bosses, barn bosses, etc. These classes of mine employees were not members of the Miners' Union, and the order seemed presumptuous, to say the least. It can only be justified on the assumption that the organization was anxious to cripple the operators in every conceivable manner and carry the conflict to the furthest possible extent. About thirty per cent of these

*Testimony pp. 6246 *et seq.* See also Mr. Mitchell, p. 656.

employees quit work, most of them from motives of fear, for it was not safe for them to work. . . . Those still remaining at the collieries performed any and all labor which was necessary for the preservation of property. For this they were denounced as 'scabs' and closely watched in going to and coming from work. Every colliery where water was pumped became a beleaguered camp. Around most properties stockades or barb-wire fences were erected. Armed deputies guarded the companies' shafts and breakers both night and day. Such were the conditions under which the water was kept out of the mines during the strike. . . . Lawlessness and disorder were rife in the anthracite coal fields."

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE AGENCIES OF GOVERNMENT.

The attitude of the Union toward the judiciary, the officers of the law and the militia is also unsatisfactory. Mr. Mitchell is authority for the statement that there is a "growing feeling of disrespect" among the members of his organization toward the judiciary* and those who have observed the temper of many of its officers will have no difficulty in assigning a reason. "Squire" McKelvey, a justice of the peace at Hazleton, who, on account of his ability to persuade men not to work and his expressed belief that it is "everybody's business" to do likewise,† is probably not included in this feeling, in an official letter, characterized as "armed thugs" the officers of the law and charged them with an evident purpose "to incite peaceful, law-abiding miners to break the peace" so as to be able to shoot them.‡ The joint convention at Hazleton adopted a resolution forbidding members of the Mine Workers from acting as deputy sheriffs or coal and iron policemen.§ General Gobin testified that the soldiers under his command;—

" . . . were constantly insulted; there was no vile name that was not employed toward them, and I was compelled to keep

*Testimony p. 487.

†Testimony pp. 8455-6.

‡Testimony p. 8443.

§Testimony p. 9115.

them out of the town. I do not think there was an officer or man that could pass through certain portions of the town without being subject to insult of some kind or other. If a man could not talk any English at all he could talk one vile epithet that he could apply to a soldier.”*

That this sentiment was not wholly an outgrowth of the strike is shown by the testimony of Dr. Roberts, who declared that there was opposition on the part of the Mine Workers to persons who were members of the militia and that when a soldier belonging to the Thirteenth Regiment secured employment at a colliery a committee of the local union asked the foreman to dismiss him.†

The foregoing incidents appear sufficient to demonstrate that when the United Mine Workers of America is judged by “the life it has lived” in the anthracite region it is definitely placed in the category of organizations, if there are any such, with which it is undesirable that there should be any alliance or contractual relations. It shows that this conclusion, on the part of the operators, does not imply any opposition to organized labor or any reluctance to deal with organized groups of workmen, or with committees or attorneys-in-fact duly authorized by them. The opposition to the United Mine Workers is to its purposes, which are inconsistent with public policy and to its methods which are un-American and despotic to the last degree.

CONCLUSION.

The anthracite mining industry now constitutes the best single market for unskilled or but slightly skilled labor in the United States and it is one of the greatest and steadiest. The thirty-eight thousand miners who hold certificates from the state may properly be regarded as skilled, although it is a part of the evidence in this case that many of them have but a small degree of skill and that certifi-

*Testimony p. 9.

†Testimony pp. 848 and 1037.

cates have been improperly issued by the miners who have been appointed to the examining boards.* Especially skilled also are the men who run the engines and small groups of men in other classes of employment. But for a very large proportion of the work little or no skill or experience is required. For the men who do such work this market for their labor offers numerous advantages. Primarily, compared with nearly all other markets for such labor, it supplies exceptionally steady employment. For men who would otherwise be employed wherever there is a ditch to be dug, or a railway embankment to be thrown up, who would necessarily go from place to place on the completion of each piece of work, the advantage of permanent employment is great. It enables them to acquire homes and helps to make them good citizens. They also have unusual opportunity to rise to the grade of skilled workmen. Two years is an exceptionally short period for learning any trade and there is neither a maximum age limit restricting admission to the ranks of the learners, nor a limit upon their number. During the period before a certificate can legally be obtained good wages are paid. When the workman has become a miner there is still before him a large field for development, and every increase in efficiency brings its direct pecuniary reward.

It has been shown that the wages compare most favorably with those in other industries, and the facts of the labor situation, including the acknowledged excessive supply, afford a certain foundation for the conclusion that the same grades of labor are not better paid anywhere else. Wages are not anywhere arbitrarily adjusted. At whatever level they may be found, it is certain that it has been reached through an economic process, the effects of which cannot

*Mr. James Gallagher. Testimony pp. 1714, 1715 and 1720-1. Mr. Thomas Whilden, p. 7747.

be subjected to interference without more or less serious reactions. The attraction by which the anthracite region has drawn labor beyond its needs will certainly be at once augmented by increased rates of wages or by shortening the working day. Whether this would be a permanent result is another question. The effect on the cost of production and through this upon prices and effective demand might react upon the industry so as to impair the comfort of the workmen and to make the region seem so much less desirable than it does at present that some who are now there would go elsewhere and the inflow would be stopped. It is well to remember President Hadley's warning, as expressed in the following extract, from his "Economics":

"If the men who demand a 'living wage' are prepared to increase their working efficiency as a means of making good their claim, their demand is effective in securing its object and salutary in its influence upon industrial life. But to believe that the wages can be paid without the work, or even that the increased efficiency of work necessarily results from improvement in wages, seems a dangerous fallacy. . . . The majority of trades-union leaders appear to underrate the closeness of the competition of capital and the narrowness of the margin of profit. They do not realize how closely actual piece wages have been forced up to the limit which prices will allow."

No one should fail to sympathize with the desire of any group of wage-earners to increase their earnings, and when their efforts in that direction are consistent with the general welfare they should have the support of every good citizen. But sympathy should be held in check by reason, and when it is proposed to take from one set of wage-earners for the sake of another, the intelligently sympathetic man will look to the interests of both. That great evil may come from misdirected efforts to do good is a truism especially applicable to the present situation. Especially is this true in the light of the fact that the country is obviously at the culmination of a period of industrial pros-

perity that must within a few years give place to one of relatively less activity. To fasten unalterably upon the anthracite industry an increased cost of production that would necessarily raise the prices of domestic fuel to the highest level obtainable even under present conditions might result in discomfort that would perhaps be but little greater among the working population of the Atlantic seaboard cities than among the employees of the anthracite mines and their families.

H. T. NEWCOMB.

February 12, 1903.

APPENDIX.

The demands of the striking mine workers do not include an increase of wages for employees working by the day, week or month, but merely ask that the amount of work required of these employees be reduced. It has been shown that the effect of the reduction in the length of the working day which has been asked would be to require more employees in order to produce the same amount of coal, and that it would be impossible that it should give those now employed a larger number of working days. The reasonableness of the earnings of these employees was not, therefore, in issue before the Commission, and it was not necessary to present their earnings as a part of the foregoing argument. In order that the record of earnings may be complete, however, the following statements are submitted:

EARNINGS OF OUTSIDE PER DIEM EMPLOYEES

(Data from Statement put in Evidence by Mr. J. P. Jones, Paymaster for the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company)

OCCUPATION	Average number		Total number of days' work paid for	Actual amount paid	Average payment per day	Average number of days worked	Average earnings for full time
	of men	of days' work					
Carpenters	158.1	43,321.25	\$95,471.60	\$2.204	274.0	\$603.90	
Blacksmiths	91.7	26,401.25	59,907.92	2.269	287.9	653.24	
Blacksmiths' helpers	46.8	12,129.50	19,379.65	1.597	259.2	413.94	
Hoisting engineers	164.3	59,706.00	125,613.65	2.104	363.4	764.59	
Pumping engineers	87.9	31,536.75	63,898.55	2.034	358.8	726.21	
Locomotive engineers	29.9	6,109.00	12,625.14	2.066	282.3	603.89	
Firemen	356.3	331,465.00	234,940.55	1.787	332.6	594.36	
Breaker engineers	53.7	16,676.25	30,576.49	1.834	316.5	569.46	
Jigger engineers	18.9	5,765.00	10,006.27	1.736	305.0	529.48	
Dirt plane engineers	27.7	7,111.00	13,554.50	1.906	256.7	489.27	
Locomotive engineers	14.3	3,962.00	8,447.25	2.132	277.0	590.56	
Planemen	67.9	14,615.25	22,685.50	1.552	215.2	333.99	
Timmen	101.3	23,585.00	38,463.58	1.631	239.8	379.70	
Plattformen	399.8	90,973.75	149,251.36	1.641	227.5	373.33	
Roekmen	170.5	38,973.75	59,476.52	1.526	228.6	348.84	
Koek and dirt drivers	38.2	8,373.00	10,248.60	1.223	219.3	268.20	
Chute hoists	221.4	59,778.50	103,485.42	1.731	266.4	461.14	
Slate pickers (men)	949.4	217,749.50	259,889.47	1.194	229.2	273.66	
Slate pickers (boys)	2821.2	636,940.00	532,623.47	.836	225.8	188.77	
Stablemen	43.1	15,700.25	29,554.83	1.882	364.3	685.61	
Drivers	3,150.00	8,150.00	4,506.98	1.431	176.0	251.86	
Timbermen	167.5	39,393.75	77,748.21	1.974	235.2	461.28	
Repairmen	90.3	21,741.50	36,340.18	1.671	240.8	402.38	
Roadmen	26.0	5,007.50	8,227.72	1.634	132.6	316.44	
Topmen	132.6	32,356.00	54,274.43	1.677	244.0	409.19	
Switchmen	8.3	1,684.50	2,482.98	1.474	202.9	299.07	
Car Runners	52.6	10,047.75	15,379.32	1.531	191.0	292.42	
Sprangers	72.6	16,310.00	21,132.47	1.296	224.6	291.08	
Others	71.7	17,328.00	24,125.39	1.382	241.7	336.45	
Laborers, 1st class	870.0	290,810.50	318,448.84	1.586	230.8	366.05	
Laborers, 2d class	294.6	46,592.75	59,524.00	1.278	227.7	291.00	
Lanunnen	12.9	3,695.50	6,918.71	1.919	270.5	536.36	
Car loaders	233.1	51,621.25	82,247.21	1.584	231.4	368.83	

EARNINGS OF INSIDE PER DIEM EMPLOYEES

(Data from Statement put in Evidence by Mr. J. P. Jones, Paymaster for the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company)

OCCUPATION	Average number of men	Total number of days' work paid for	Actual amount paid	Average payment per day	Average number of days worked	Average earnings for full time
Repairmen	373.8	9,194.5	\$203,413.28	\$2,255	241.3	\$544.13
Roadmen	199.7	45,867.25	93,439.59	2,037	229.7	467.90
Bottommen	321	75,535	151,070.33	2,000	235	470.00
Planemen	92.9	20,988.5	41,103.92	1,958	225.9	442.31
Switchmen	55.8	12,098	12,811.30	1,059	216.8	229.59
Car Runners	86.9	19,388	26,019.88	1,858	233.1	414.52
Spraggers	63.4	14,150.25	17,716.39	1,252	223.2	279.45
Door boys and oilers	415.7	94,732.5	90,446.06	955	227.9	217.64
Lampmen	17	4,826	9,710.20	2,012	283.9	571.21
Pumpmen	15	5,440.5	10,977.17	2,017	362.7	721.57
Stablemen	86.3	31,493.25	59,639.01	1,895	364.4	691.48
Drivers	932.5	212,826.5	363,439.98	1,708	228.2	389.76
Loaders	1062.8	243,402.5	476,407.25	1,957	229	448.15
Chute Starters	272.9	62,600	135,617.28	2,166	229.4	496.88
Day miners	759.9	180,007	416,164.23	2,312	236.8	547.48
Day laborers	912.4	212,811	411,255.01	1,932	233.2	450.44

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