THE
PEOPLE'S COLLEGE
VEST-POCKET
EDITION

of the report of the

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

Being the gist of Three
Volumes in Exact Words of
the Reports

Compiled by
FRED D. WARREN

With an Introduction by
FRANK P. WALSH
Chairman of the Commission

16401

NO.
DEFENDANT'S
IDENTIFICATION
6

The People's College
FORT SCOTT, KANSAS.

A College of the Working Class with Two Aims.

1. **To bring education within the reach of every man, woman and child.**
2. **To teach from the viewpoint of the working-class.**

The People's College Is Built and Maintained by The People's College Union.

Every person believing in the two aims stated above is eligible to membership in The People's College Union and becomes thereby a director of The People's College.

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FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE WORKERS BY THE WORKERS.

The People's College is a Workers' University, operated, maintained and controlled by the workers themselves. It is incorporated under the laws of the State of Kansas, not for profit. Its purpose is to disseminate, among the working class, knowledge free from the control of special privilege.

Since the findings of the Commission on Industrial Relations have taken so many of the points, heretofore in dispute between organized labor and capital, out of the realm of controversy into the realm of acknowledged fact, The People's College felt that it was most important that a summary of this Report should be compiled, so that every worker might, at all times, have within reach these fundamental facts of such mighty import to Labor, to assist in the campaign for industrial organization and solidarity. Fred D. Warren—a member of the Advisory Board of the College—compiled this digest of the Report, covering all of the important findings, given in the exact words of the Report. Frank P. Walsh—Chairman of the Commission, and also a member of the Advisory Board—has given this digest his commendation by writing the introduction.

We believe that this will be of real service, and are glad to dedicate it to the WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE
Fort Scott, Kansas

Political freedom can exist only where there is industrial freedom; political democracy only where there is industrial democracy.—Final Manly report, page 2.

All unused land should be forced into use by making the tax on non-productive land the same as on productive land of the same kind, and exempting all improvements.—Manly report, page 38.

The unemployed have aptly been termed the "shifting sands beneath the State." There is no condition which more demands the immediate attention of Congress than that of unemployment.—Manly report, page 38.

Means should be devised for employing the idle during periods of depression on such public work as road building, reforestration, construction of public buildings, irrigation and drainage of swamps. — Manly report, page 182.

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PERSONNEL OF COMMISSION

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Representing Labor.

BASIL M. MANLY,
Director of Research and Investigation.

The act of Congress resulting in the appointment of the above named commission recites in part as follows: "That a commission is hereby created to be called the Commission on Industrial Relations. Said commission shall be composed of nine persons, to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, not less than three of whom shall be employers of labor, and not less than three of whom shall be representatives of organized Labor." * * * * That the commission shall inquire into the general condition of labor in the principal industries of the United States including agriculture, and especially in those which are carried on in corporate forms: * * * The commission shall seek to discover the underlying causes of dissatisfaction in the industrial situation and report its conclusions thereon."

WITNESSES AND PUBLIC HEARINGS.

Carrying out the purpose of the act from which we quote, there were 230 witnesses examined before the commission at its public hearings, consisting of Capitalists, Bankers, Lawyers, Efficiency Engineers, Employment Agents and others representing the Employers. There were 245 witnesses affiliated with Labor. There were 265 affiliated with neither workers nor employers. Total witnesses, 740. "These hearings have occupied in all 154 days, or rather more than the equivalent of six months of the commission's time."

In the letter of transmissal of the report made by the commission to the Sixty-fourth Congress, the Chairman, Mr. Frank P. Walsh, says, "The plan of submitting none but undisputed facts in the final report of the commission has been faithfully adhered to. No statement or conclusion of fact adverse to the attitude or interest of any person or group of persons is submitted, except as declared or assented to by the person or by the individuals comprising the group affected. Thus, for perhaps the first time in the history of our Government, the facts in relation to the conditions in the industries examined and the relations inquired into, are placed beyond the realm of controversy, and established upon the solid and scientific basis of ascertained and indisputable fact."

SOME RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION.

Government ownership of telegraphs, page 105, Manly report.

Government ownership of telephones, page 107, Manly report.

Prohibition of courts from declaring laws unconstitutional, page 79, Manly report.

Constitutional amendment prohibiting Federal courts from making encroachment on personal rights of all citizens, page 78, Manly report.

Prosecution to regain land, water power and mineral rights secured from the government by fraud, page 37, Manly report.

Making tax on unproductive land the same as on land in use and exempting all improvements from taxation, page 38, Manly report.

That private ownership of public utilities be abolished and that states and municipalities take over the same under just terms and conditions, so that they may be operated by the states or municipalities.—Recommended by Walsh, Lennon, O'Connell, Garretson and Weinstock; page 254, Manly report.

That woman suffrage be adopted.—Approved by Walsh, Lennon, O'Connell and Garretson; page 254, Manly report.

That private ownership of coal mines be abolished.—Same as above.

Sickness insurance by Federal Government. --Manly report, page 152.

INTRODUCTION.

By FRANK P. WALSH
Chairman of the Commission.

Believing with Tolstoi, that "the rich will do everything for the poor except to get off their backs," I believe that the workers of America (who, in an unconscionable economic anomaly, include the poor of America) should shake the rich off their backs. I hold Labor responsible for its exploitation by the rich and powerful. I hold that only through the collective action of the toilers and producers in field and factory can the United States attain that right social and industrial condition wherein those who earn shall have. To hasten the coming of that right condition is the pressing duty of civilization; and Labor will have to perform that great duty.

—Frank P. Walsh.

Industrial Commission's Report.

The following pages are in the exact words of the Final Report of the Industrial Relations Commission. The number following each quotation refers to the page in the Report from which the quotation is taken. The letter "M" refers to Manly Report; the letter "W" to West Report on the Colorado war; "G" to Grant Report on the National Erector's Association and The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

From Final Report of BASIL M. MANLY.

Unjust Distribution of Wealth.—The wealth of the country and the income which is produced through the toil of the workers is distributed without regard to any standard of justice. The day laborer has less than enough to feed his family, while others who have done nothing live at ease.—24, M.

Unemployment and Denial of Opportunity to Earn a Living.—In our basic industries the workers are unemployed for an average of at least one-fifth of the year, and at all times during any normal year there is an army of men, who can be numbered only by hundreds of thousands, who are unable to find work, or have so far degenerated that they cannot or will not work.—33, 34, M.

Denial of Justice.—Laws necessary for the protection of the workers against the most grievous wrongs cannot be passed except after long and exhausting struggles; such benevolent measures as become laws are largely nullified by the unwarranted decisions of the courts; the laws which stand upon the statute

books are not equally administered and the whole machinery of government has frequently been placed at the disposal of the employers for the oppression of the workers. The constitution itself has been ignored in the interest of the employers; and the constitutional guarantees erected for the protection of the workers have been denied to them and used as a cloak for the misdeeds of corporations.—38, 39, M.

Denial of the Right of Organization.—The Commission has held public hearings and made thorough investigations in such industrial communities as Paterson, N. J., Los Angeles, Calif., Lead, S. Dak., and Colorado, where the right of collective bargaining on the part of the employees is denied. These investigations have shown that under the best possible conditions, and granting the most excellent motives on the part of the employers, freedom does not exist either politically, industrially or socially, and that the fiber of manhood will inevitably be destroyed by the continuance of the existing conditions.

Investigations have proved that although the physical and material conditions may be unusually good, as, for example, in Lead, S. Dak., they are the price paid for the absolute submission of the employees to the will of the employing corporation. Such conditions are, moreover, shown by the hearings of the Commission and by the investigations of its staff to be unusual. Los Angeles, for example, although exceptionally endowed in location, climate and natural resources, was sharply criticised for labor conditions which had developed during its "open shop" regime, even by Mr. Walter Drew, representing several of the largest associations which contend for the "open shop."

It is significant that the only claim ordinarily made for the conditions in such establishments or localities is that "they are as good as are secured by the union." As a matter of fact, there are few establishments which make this boast, and in the majority the conditions were found to be far below any acceptable standard.—87, M.

CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH AND INFLUENCE.—A careful and conservative study shows that the corporations controlled by six financial groups and affiliated interests employ 2,651,684 wage earners and have a total capitalization of $19,875,200,000. These six financial groups control 28 per cent of the total number of wage earners engaged in the industries covered by the report of our investigations. The Morgan First National Bank group alone controls corporations employing 785,499 wage earners.—117, M.

DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF WORKERS.

From Final Manly Report.

THE POSSIBILITY.—With the inexhaustible natural resources of the United States, her tremendous mechanical achievements, and the genius of her people for organization and industry, there can be no natural reason to prevent every able bodied man of our present population from being well fed, well housed, comfortably clothed, and from rearing a family of moderate size in comfort, health and security.—Page 9, M.

Actual Conditions.—It was found that the incomes of two-thirds of the families (64 per cent) were less than $750 per year, and of almost one-third (31 per cent) were less than $500, the average for all being $721. The average size of these families was 5.6 members. Elaborate studies of the cost of living made in all parts of the country at the same time have shown that the very least that a family of five persons can live upon in anything approaching decency is $700.—Page 10, M.

The Bread Winner Myth.—Seventy-nine per cent of the fathers earned less than $700 per year. In brief, only one-fourth of these fathers could have supported their families on

the barest subsistence level without the earnings of other members of the family or income from outside sources.—Page 11, M.

American Workers Not Living Decently.—Furthermore, in 77 per cent of the families two or more persons occupied each sleeping room, in 37 per cent three or more persons, and in 15 per cent four or more persons.—11, M.

Children Are Underfed.—In six of our largest cities from 12 to 20 per cent of the children are noticeably underfed and illnourished.—12, M.

Children of the Poor Not Educated.—Only one-third of the children in our public schools complete the grammar school course, and less than ten per cent finish high school. Those who leave are almost entirely the children of the workers, who, as soon as they reach working age, are thrown, immature, ill-trained and with no practical knowledge, into the complexities of industrial life. In each of the four industrial towns studied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, more than 75 per cent of the children quit school before reaching the seventh grade.—12, M.

Children of the Workers Denied Home Attention.—In the families of the workers 37 per cent of the mothers are at work, and consequently unable to give their children more than scant attention.—13, M.

Poverty Produces Crime.—Unsanitary housing and working conditions, unemployment, wages inadequate to maintain a human standard of living, inevitably produce the crushed or distorted bodies and minds from which the army of crime is recruited.—13, M.

Earnings of the Toilers.—Between one-fourth and one-third of the workers 18 years of age and over, in factories and mines, earn less than $10 per week; from two-thirds to three-fourths earn less than $15, and only about one-tenth earn more than $20 a week. This does not take into consideration lost working time for any cause. From two-thirds to three-

fourths of the women workers in factories, stores and laundries, and in industrial occupations generally, work at wages of less than $8 per week. Approximately one-fifth earn less than $4, and nearly one-half earn less than $6 per week.—Page 25, M.

The Family Wage.—All experience has shown that at the end the father's wages are reduced by about the amount that the children earn. This is the so-called "family wage."—26, M.

Contrast Between the Exploited and the Exploiter.—We have, according to income tax returns, forty-four families with incomes of $1,000,000 or more, whose members perform little or no useful service, but whose aggregate incomes, totalling at the least fifty millions per year, are equivalent to the earnings of 100,000 wage earners at the average rate of $500. The ownership of wealth in the United States has become concentrated to a degree which is difficult to grasp. The "Rich," two per cent of the people, own sixty per cent of the wealth. The "Middle Class," 33 per cent of the people own 35 per cent of the wealth. The" Poor," 65 per cent of the people, own five per cent of the wealth. This means that a little less than two million people, who would make up a smaller city than Chicago, own 20 per cent more of the Nation's wealth than all the other ninety millions.—28, M.

Inherited Power of Wealth.—The great fortunes of those who have profited by the enormous expansion of American industry have already passed, or will pass in a few years, by the right of inheritance, to the control of heirs or trustees who act as their "vice regents." They are frequently styled by our newspapers, "monarchs of industry," and indeed occupy within our republic a position almost analogous to feudal lords. These heirs, owners only by virtue of the accident of birth,

control the livelihood and have the power to dictate the happiness of more human beings than populated England in the Middle Ages. "The king can do no wrong," not only because he is above the law, but because every function is performed or responsibility assumed by his ministers or agents. Similarly our Rockefellers, Morgans, Fricks, Vanderbilts and Astors can do no industrial wrong, because all effective action and direct responsibility is shifted from them to the executive officials who manage American industry.—30, 31, M.

STARTLING CONDITIONS IN AGRICULTURE.

From Final Manly Report.

Rapid Growth of Tenancy.—The most alarming fact in America is the rapid growth of tenancy. In 1910 there were 37 tenant-operated farms in each 100 farms in the United States, as compared with 28 in 1890, an increase of 32 per cent in 20 years. No nation-wide investigation of the condition of tenant farmers has ever been made, but in Texas, where the investigations of this Commission were thorough and conclusive, it was found not only that the economic condition of the tenant was extremely bad, but that he was far from being free, while his future was regarded as hopeless.

Badly housed, ill-nourished, uneducated and hopeless, these tenants continue year after year to eke out a bare living, moving frequently from one farm to another in the hope that something will turn up. Without a large family the tenant cannot hope to succeed or break even, so in each tenant family numerous children are being reared to a future which under present conditions will be no better than that of their parents, if as good.—14, M.

Tenancy in Texas.—In 1880 Texas had 65,-468 tenant families, comprising 37.6 per cent of all the farms in the state. In 1910, tenant farmers had increased to 219,571, and operated 53 per cent of all the farms of the state. Reckoning on the same ratio of increase that was maintained between 1900 and 1910, there should be in Texas in the present year (1915) at least 236,000 tenant farmers. A more intensive study of the field, however, shows that in the eighty-two counties of the state where tenancy is the highest, the average percentage of tenants will approximate sixty.—127, M.

Tenancy in Oklahoma.—The percentage of farm tenancy in the state is 54.8 and for the 47 counties where the tenancy is the highest the percentage of tenancy is 68.13.—128, M.

What Tenancy Means.—The prevailing system of tenancy in the Southwest is share tenancy, under which the tenant furnishes his own seed, tools and teams, and pays to the landlord one-third of the grain and one-fourth of the cotton. There is, however, a constant tendency to increase the landlord's share, through the payment either of cash bonuses or of a higher percentage of the product.

Under this system tenants as a class earn only a bare living through the work of themselves and their entire families. Few of the tenants ever succeed in laying by a surplus. On the contrary, their experiences are so discouraging that they seldom remain on the same farm for more than one year, and they move from one farm to the next in hope of being able to better their condition. Without the labor of the entire family the tenant farmer is hopeless.

As a result, not only is his wife prematurely broken down, but the children remain uneducated and without the hope of any condition better than that of their parents. The tenants, having no interest in the results beyond the crops of a single year, the soil is being rapidly exhausted, and the conditions, therefore, tend to become steadily worse. Even at present a very large proportion of the tenants' families

are insufficiently clothed, badly housed and underfed. Practically all the white tenants are native born. As a result of these conditions, however, they are deteriorating rapidly, each generation being less efficient and more hopeless than the one preceding.—128-129, M.

Exorbitant Interest Charges.—A very large proportion of the tenants are hopelessly in debt and are charged exorbitant rates of interest. Over ninety per cent of the tenants borrow from some source, and about seventy-five per cent borrow regularly year after year. The average interest rate on all farm loans is 10 per cent, while small tenants in Texas pay 15 per cent or more. In Oklahoma the conditions are even worse, in spite of the enactment of laws against usury. Furthermore, over eighty per cent of the tenants are regularly in debt to the stores from which they secure their supplies, and pay exorbitantly for this credit. The average rate of interest on store credit is conservatively put at 20 per cent, and in many cases ranges as high as 60 per cent.—129, M.

Oppression by Landlords.—The tenants are in some instances victims of oppression on the part of landlords. This oppression takes the form of dictation of character and amount of crops, eviction without due notice, and discrimination because of personal and political convictions. The existing law provides no recourse against such abuses.—129-130, M.

Feudal Factory Farming.—The condition of agricultural laborers cannot be dismissed without referring to the development of huge estates which are operated by managers with hired labor on what may properly be called a "factory system." The conditions upon such estates are deplorable, not only because of the extremely low wages paid, (80 cents per day in the case of one which was most carefully investigated), but even more because these estates, embracing within their boundaries entire counties and towns, are a law unto themselves and the absolute dictators of the lives, liberties and happiness of their employees. It

is industrial feudalism in its extreme form. Such estates are, as a rule, the property of absentee landlords, who are for the most part millionaires, resident in the eastern states or in Europe.—15-16, M.

HORROR OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

From Final Manly Report.

Extent of Unemployment.—Wage earners in the principal manufacturing and mining industries in the United States lose on the average from one-fifth to one-fourth of the working time during the normal year. The number of unemployed persons, even in normal times, is appallingly great. Even in times of greatest industrial activity there is a considerable percentage, ranging from seven to fifteen per cent, of all the members of unions in different trades and industries, of workers who are unemployed during the year. In any year the unemployed who congregate in the large cities alone during the winter months number several hundred thousand, while in years of industrial depression the number of unemployed in the entire country is at least three millions.—161, M.

Classes of Unemployment.—The loss in working time is of two principal classes: Lack of work and sickness. Lack of work accounts for approximately two-thirds of the average worker's loss of time at work; ill health for approximately one-fourth of the loss in working time. Strikes appear to be the cause of less than two per cent of the loss in working time, and accidents are the cause in about the same proportion.—163, M.

Causes of Unemployment.—In addition to the two basic causes of unemployment—unjust distribution of income and land monopolization—which were analyzed in detail in an earlier section of the report, the following causes demand attention: Evolutionary changes in in-

dustry. * * * The introduction of machinery and new processes, * * * immigration and by the entrance into industry of women workers, both of which factors have caused an increase in the supply of cheap and unskilled labor."—163, M.

Industrial Fluctuations.—The fluctuations in business affect capital as well as labor, but the result is entirely different. Capital suffers the same fluctuations and every industry has its "peak loads." The essential differences are, first, that a fair return on investment is estimated by the year, while for labor, it has become more and more customary to hire and pay and discharge by the week, day or hour or by the piece, and; second, that while capital can offset the fat years against the lean, the human beings who are unemployed cannot, but must starve or suffer a rapid physical and moral deterioration. The result is that unless the wage earners are very strongly organized—and the vast majority are not—they must bear the whole burden of the waiting period when they must act as a reserve force ready to meet the maximum demand of the busy season.—169, M.

Seasonal Labor.—The seasonal fluctuations in the canning industry in California, involve nearly nine-tenths of all the workers; in logging camps which depend upon snow operations are practically suspended in summer; while in the brick and tile industry only 36.5 per cent of the total number of employees are retained during the dull season. * * * The effects of the loss in working time and the attendant irregularity of employment may be summed up in the term "the workers economic insecurity."—164, 165, M.

The Dread of Unemployment.—Not only is practically every wage earner in constant dread of unemployment, but there are few who do not suffer bitterly many times in their career because they are unable to get work.

Every year from 15,000 to 18,000 business enterprises fail and turn their employees out; every year new machinery and improvd processes displace thousands; cold weather and wet weather and hot weather stop operations and force wage earners into idleness; and where there are not these natural causes, there are the customs and habits and holiday rushes which result in overwork, followed by under-employment. All these facts in connection with the conservative figures of fluctuation in the amount of employment prove that "The Unemployed" eventually include practically every wage earner, and not alone a surplus portion.—168, M.

THE REAL AGITATOR.

Sir Charles Napier says, "People talk about agitators, but the only real agitator is injustice, and the only way is to correct the injustice and allay the agitation."—63, M.

INJUSTICE CAUSE OF DISORDER.

In popular governments, evils are often borne with stolid patience until a culminating point is reached, when the people burst into sudden frenzy and redress their grievances by violent and extreme measures, and even tear down the fabrics of government itself.—76, M.

PUBLIC UTILITIES' GRAFT UNDER PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

From Final Manly Report.

The Telegraphs.

Condition of Workers.—The workers employed by the two principal telegraph companies (The Western Union Telegraph and the Postal Telegraph-Cable) are not only underpaid, but subject to many abuses, such as the denial of proper periods of relief while on duty, the establishment of arbitrary speed rates, which frequently result in overstrain, the arbitrary discharge of employees without notice for any cause or no cause, the employment of young boys for messenger service under conditions which can result only in their moral corruption, and the employment of women for telegraph service at night.—104, M.

Companies Illegal.—The two companies have a monopoly of the transmission of telegrams, and no effective competition exists between them. These companies are performing a service in the transmission of intelligence which has been held by the Federal Supreme Court to have been reserved by the Constitution specifically to the Federal Government. —105, M.

Companies Overcapitalized.—The telegraph companies are enormously overcapitalized, and their rates, which are graded to pay dividends upon their large amounts of stock which do not represent the investment of cash, are very much higher than the cost of service warrants.—105, M.

The Service Inefficient.—Owing to the duplication of offices on the part of the two companies and the maintenance of branch offices which are idle for a large part of the time, this service is being performed inefficiently and at an unusually high cost, in spite of the low wages paid the operators.—105, M.

Recommends Government Ownership.—The property of the telegraph companies, or such part of their equipment as may be necessary for the efficient operation of a National telegraph system should be purchased by the Federal Government after proper valuation and placed under the general jurisdiction of the Postoffice Department for operation.—106, M.

Telephones.

Labor Conditions.—The wages paid even in the cities having the highest standards, are insufficient to provide decently for women who have no other means of support. The requirements and nervous strain incident to the service are so very severe that experienced physicians have testified that operators should not ork more than five hours per day, whereas tne regular working hours are from seven to nine per day.

The operators, who are principally girls and young women, are required to work at night, going to and returning from their work at hours when they are subject to grave menace. The telephone operators are unable to secure reasonable conditions for themselves bcause of their youth and the fact that they ordinarily remain in the service only a short time. The organization of employees for their own protection is effectively resisted by the employing companies.—106-7, M.

The Companies Overcapitalized.—The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has increased its capitalization enormously without the investment of new capital. The transaction by which the company, which had been a subsidiary of the American Bell Telephone Company, absorbed the parent company in 1899 was not only designed to evade the legal limitations contained in the Massachusetts charter of the Bell Telephone Company, but resulted in the increase of the capitalization of the combination from $25,886,300 to $75,276,600 without the addition of any new capital.—107, M.

The Companies Illegal.—The transmission of intelligence is a function which is specifically reserved by the Constitution to the Federal Government, but which in the telephone field has been permitted to become the practical monopoly of a single corporation.—107, M.

Government Ownership Recommended.—The purchase by the Federal Government, after proper valuation, of the property of the interstate and local telephone companies, or such part of their equipment as may be necessary for the efficient operation of a National telephone system, is recommended.—107, M.

Railroads.

Abuses of Labor.—The railroad construction camps are largely unsanitary, overcrowded and improperly equipped for the health and comfort of the employees. In addition there are many abuses, such as overcharging at the commissary and grafting by foremen.—111, M.

Fake Beneficiary Associations.—The so-called voluntary benefit associations of a number of the railroads constitute, under the present management, a great injustice to employees. These funds, which are contributed almost entirely by the employees, the management as a rule paying only the cost of administration, until recently were generally used to relieve the companies from liability for accident, employees being required to sign a release in favor of the company at the time they became members of the benefit association.

In some cases, even, the membership is compulsory. Nevertheless the employees have no voice in the management and receive no equity when discharged. Finally, such associations, under present management, serve to exert an undue influence over employees, since the members, if they quit the service for any period or for any cause, sacrifice to the company all that has been paid in.—111, M.

Private Railroad Armies.—Under the authority granted by the several states the railroads maintain a force of police, and some, at least, have established large arsenals of arms and ammunition. This armed force, when augmented by recruits from detective agencies and employment agencies, as seems to be the general practice during industrial disputes, constitutes a private army clothed with a degree of authority which should be exercised only by public officials; these armed bodies, usurping the supreme functions of the state and oftentimes encroaching on the rights of the citizens, are a distinct menace to public welfare.

The Pullman Company.

Employees Are Underpaid.—Conductors and porters employed in the car service of the Pullman Company are employed under conditions which seem to require radical readjustment. Both classes of employees are admitted by officials of the Company to be underpaid. The standard salary of the porters ($27.50) per month) is such that the porters are obliged to secure tips from the public in order to live. The Pullman Company is admitted by the chairman of the board of directors to be the direct beneficiary of the tips from the public to the extent of the difference between a fair wage and that which is now paid.—108, M.

Labor Conditions Are Bad.—The hours of service are extremely long, the regulation of the company allowing porters and conductors when in service only four hours sleep per night and penalizing them severely if they sleep while on duty. Employees of the Pullman Company are subpect to many other abuses, among which may be mentioned the arbitrary deduction from their salaries for such time as they may not be needed for the actual service of the company, although they are required to report at the office each morning and are sometimes compelled to wait the greater part of the day without compensation; the requirements that porters shall

furnish blacking, although they are not permitted to charge passengers for shoe cleaning; the system of arbitrary penalties for the infraction of multitudinous rules; the requirement that all employees shall purchase their uniforms from one mercantile establishment, the owners of which are largely interested in the Pullman Company and the lack of proper sleeping quarters for employees when away from their home stations.—109, M.

Unions not Permitted.—The employees of the Pullman Company are unable to improve their condition through organization, as employees known to be members of labor organizations are discharged, and through the means of an effective espionage, employees are deterred from affiliating with labor unions.—110, M.

Company Overcapitalized.—The company is tremendously overcapitalized, having increased its capitalization from $36,000,000 in 1893 to $120,000,000 in 1915, without the investment of a single dollar on the part of the stockholders. Upon the basis of actual cash paid in, the annual dividends of the company are not less than 29 per cent. During the history of the company the stockholders have received cash amounting to at least $167,000,000 and special stock dividends of $64,000,000, making a total of $231,000,000 on an actual investment of $32,601,238.—110, M.

The Business Illegal.—The company enjoys a practical monopoly of the sleeping car service.—110, M.

IRRESPONSIBLE CORPORATIONS ARE TYRANTS.

From Final Manly Report.

The Irresponsible Corporation.—Theoretically and legally the final control and responsibility of the corporation rests with the stockholders, but in actual practice a very different situation is found. The relationship of stockholders to a corporation is anything but permanent; in a busy week on Wall street, the number of shares bought and sold in one of the great corporations will greatly exceed the total number of shares that are in existence.

The stockholders, as a class, therefore, have no guiding interest in the permanent efficiency of the corporation as regards either the preservation of its physical property or the maintenance of an efficient productive organization. Stocks are bought either as a speculation or as an investment, and in case either the physical property deteriorates or the productive organization tends to become inefficient, the stockholder generally takes no steps to correct the condition, but merely throws his stock upon the market.

This marks a very real and definite distinction from the actual ownership of a property or business which must be kept in good condition by the owner as regards both plant and organization. If all industries were owned and operated by individuals, there might be some reason to hope that generally satisfactory wages and physical conditions might be attained through the education of the owner to a realization that permanent success depended absolutely upon the maintenance of the plant in the best condition and the permanent satisfaction of the legitimate demands of the workers, but with the impersonal, remote and irresponsible status of control by stock ownership such a hope must be purely illusory.

The ordinary stockholder in a large corporation actually occupies a less direct relationship to the corporation in which he is interested, has less knowledge of its actual operations, and less control over its management, than the ordinary citizen has over local, state and national governments.—17-18, M.

Profits the Only Interest.—Boards of Directors in theory are responsible for and would be naturally expected to maintain supervision over every phase of the corporation's management; but, as a matter of fact, we know that such supervision is maintained only over the financial phase of the business, controlling the acquisition of money to operate the business and distributing the profits. Actual direction generally exists only through the removal of executive officials who fail to deliver the expected profits and through the appointment of their successors.—18, M.

Ignorance of the Great Financiers.—Upon the testimony of financiers representing, as directors, hundreds of corporations, the typical director of large corporations is not only totally ignorant of the actual operations of such corporations, whose properties he seldom, if ever, visits, but feels and exercises no responsibility for anything beyond the financial condition and selection of executive officials. Upon their own statements, these directors know nothing and care nothing about the quality of the product, the condition and treatment of the workers from whose labor they derive their income, nor the general management of the business.—18, M.

Corporate Indifference to Humanity.—As far as operation and actual management are concerned, the executive officials are practically supreme. Upon their orders production is increased or decreased, plants are operated or shut down, and upon their recommendation wages are raised or lowered. But even they have little direct contact with the actual establishment of working conditions, and no relation at all with the rank and file of the

workers. They act upon the recommendations of superintendents, whose information comes from assistants and foremen and from the elaborate statistics of modern business, which account for every piece of material and product, show the disposition of every penny that comes and goes, but ignore, as though they did not exist, the men and women whose labor drives the whole mechanism of business.—19, M.

Profits, the Spur That Drives Modern Business.—In modern corporate business the actions of officials are governed not by their personal intentions, but by the inexorable demands for interest and dividends, and are driven, not by their desire to create a permanently successful business with contented labor, but by the never-relaxed spur of the comparative cost-sheet. The constant demand is for high production at low cost, not through improvements and good conditions which might give them next year, but this very month.

In the high pressure of business every superintendent knows that if his plant is at the bottom of the comparative scale for two months, his position topples, and if for three months, it is virtually gone. He cannot afford to experiment with changes that will not give immediate results. If he were his own master he might take a chance, knowing that the loss of this year would be compensated by gains under better conditions next year, but the monthly cost-sheet does not wait for next year; it demands results now.—20, M.

COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS!

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

My appreciation of the conditions surrounding wage-earners and my sympathy with every endeavor to better these conditions are as strong as those of any man.

Louis XVI.

There is none but you and me that hathe people's interest at heart. ("Il n'y a que vous et moi qui aimions le peuple."—31, M.

LEGISLATURES OBEY THE CAPITALISTS.

From Final Manly Report.

Capitalists Fought Child Labor Legislation.—Although agitation for the protection of children began during the early part of the nineteenth century in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticutt, New York and Pennsylvania, no adequate legislation was obtained until near the end of the century. Time after time in each of these industrial states the sentiment of the public was aroused, organization was effected, and well-drafted bills were introduced, only to be killed in committee, emasculated or killed on the floor of the legislature, or passed with exceptions which rendered them entirely ineffective.

Even the attempt to reduce the hours of children below twelve per day was bitterly contested and met by every known trick of legislative chicanery. The whole history of the contest for adequate child labor legislation is even now being repeated in some of the southern states, where laws prohibiting the employment of children are bitterly contested and beaten session after session by legislators unsympathetic or controlled by cotton-mill interests.—40, M.

Capitalists Fought Prohibition of Night Work.—Although the movement to restrict the working hours of women and to prohibit night work began in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania as early as 1840, the first legislation limiting the hours was the ten-hour bill passed in Massachusetts in 1874, and night work went unregulated until the passage of the act of 1899 in Nebraska.—40, M.

Capitalists Fought the Safety-First Movement.—The movement for safety of life and limb in the factories and workshops, although pushed with great vigor in almost every session of the State Legislatures after 1880, secured only a few acts providing for such obvious matters as the guarding of set screws and gears, but made practically no provision for their enforcement. No really effective action to promote safety took place until after many years of hard fighting. The first workmen's compensation acts were passed between 1900 and 1910, which for the first time made the unsafe condition of factories directly expensive. Even upon the railroads, where the safety of the public as well as the workers was involved, at least ten years of constant agitation on the part of the railroad brotherhoods and various interested citizens was necessary before the first Federal Act providing for safety appliances was passed in 1893.—41, M.

Capitalists Fought Protection to Seamen.—In the movement to secure the safety, comfort and liberty of seamen, it is a matter of record that Andrew Furuseth, President of the Seamen's Union, backed, not only by members of his own organization, but by the entire American labor movement, attended each session of Congress and devoted his whole energies to securing legislation upon this subject for the entire period of 22 years from 1893 to 1915, when the Seamen's Bill finally became a law.—41, M.

Legislatures Trick the Workers.—The legislatures have been criminally slow in acting for the relief of grievous wrongs and have used every subterfuge to escape adequate and aggressive action, even while thousands of men, women and children were being killed, maimed or deformed as a result of their negligence.—42, M.

COURTS ARE CONTROLLED BY CAPITALISTS.

From Final Manly Report.

They Annul Labor Laws.—After wholesome and necessary laws are passed they are in large part nullified by the courts, either upon technicalities of a character which would not be held to invalidate legislation favorable to the interests of manufacturers, merchants, bankers and other property owners, or thrown out on the broad ground of unconstitutionality, through strained or illogical construction of constitutional provisions.—44, M.

It is startling and alarming to citizens generally to learn that the concensus of Federal decisions is to the effect that the sections of the constitution defining the rights of citizens to trial by jury, security from unwarranted arrest and search, free speech, free assertion of writ of habeas corpus, bearing of arms, and protection from excessive bail and cruel and unjust punishments apply only to Federal jurisdiction and in reality protect the citizen only against the action of the Federal Government.—54, M.

It is impossible to imagine a more complete mockery of justice and travesty upon every conception of fair dealing than the innumerable decisions holding unconstitutional, wise and salutary laws for the protection of the workers, upon the ground that they violate the right of contract, even while the workers, whose rights are supposed to be affected clamor for the maintenance of the statute.—58, M.

They Do not Enforce Law to Protect Labor.—The ordinary machinery of law provides no adequate means whereby laborers and other poor men can secure redress for wrongs inflicted upon them through the non-payment

of wages, through overcharges at company stores, through exorbitant hospital and other fees, fines and other deductions, through fraud on the part of private employment agencies, loan offices and installment houses and through grafting of foremen and superintendents.—59, M.

Courts Protect Rich Criminals.—In some localities the control by the employers of the entire machinery of government is such that lawless acts on the part of agents of the employers go unpunished, while vindictive action against leaders of the strike is accomplished by methods unparalleled in civilized countries.—73, M.

Recommended for the Courts.—A constitutional amendment specifically guaranteeing personal protection to citizens of States. A constitutional amendment prohibiting courts from declaring legislation unconstitutional.—78-79, M.

VALUE OF THE UNION.

From Final Manly Report.

Extent of Unionism.—At present it may be roughly estimatel that in manufacturing, mining, transportation and building industries, if the proprietary, supervisory, official and clerical classes are excluded, twenty-five per cent of the workers twenty-one years of age are trade unionists.—183, M.

Work of Unionism.—The effects of trade unionism on wages are undoubted. Without some form of combination the wage workers cannot bargain on equal terms with their employers. During the past fifteen years, a period of rapidly rising prices, wages in well organized trades have kept pace with the rising cost of living, in contrast with the relative decline of the purchasing power of the wages received by labor generally.—183. M.

Trades Unionism and Pauperism.—It is significant that trade union members are practically never found among the applicants for charity during periods of unemployment. They may be unemployed, but they are in some way cared for, either by having work found for them or by systematic or voluntary relief.—175, M.

SPIES IN THE UNION.

Report by Luke Grant.

Spies Incite to Violence.—If the secret agents of employers, working as members of labor unions, do not always instigate acts of violence, they frequently encourage them. If they did not they would not be performing the duties for which they are paid. If they find that labor unions never discuss acts of violence they have nothing to report to those employing them. If they do not report matters which the detective agencies employing men can use to frighten the corporations to cause their employment, they cannot continue long as spies. Either they must make reports that are false, in which discovery would be inevitable, or they must create a basis on which to make a truthful report.—99, G.

Graft Behind Espionage.—At the bottom of the whole system of espionage in labor unions is the one word, "graft." The individual operative grafts on the detective agency employing him and the agency grafts on the corporation that pays the bills. In neither case is there honest value received for the money which is paid. The system is an incentive to the commission of crime.—100, G.

Spy Does not Protect the Public.—The union spy is not in business to protect the community. He has little respect for the law, civil or moral. Men of character do not engage in such work, and it follows that the men who do are, as a rule, devoid of principle and ready to go to almost any extreme to please those who employ them.—100, G.

CARNEGIE, ROCKEFELLER AND OTHER FOUNDATIONS.

From Final Manly Report.

They Help to Control Industry.—The domination of industry is being rapidly extended to control education and social service of the nation. This control is being extended largely through the creation of enormous privately managed funds for indefinite purposes, designated as "foundations," by the endowment of colleges and universities, by the creation of funds for pensioning teachers, by contributions to private charities, as well as through controlling or influencing the public press.—118, M.

Work Exceeds the Public Work. — Two groups of the foundations, namely, the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations, together have funds amounting to at least $250,000,000, yielding an annual revenue of at least $13,500,000, which is at least twice as great as the appropriations of the Federal Government for education and social service.—118, M.

Untaxed and Under Autocratic Control.—The funds of these foundations are exempt from taxation, yet during the lives of the founders, are subject to their dictation for any purpose other than commercial profit. In the case of the Rockefeller Foundations, the control of the funds and of the activities of the institutions now and in perpetuity rests with Mr. Rockefeller, his son, and whomsoever they may appoint as their successors. The funds of these foundations are largely invested in securities of corporations dominant in American industry. The policies of these foundations must inevitably be colored, if not controlled, to conform to the policies of such corporations. —119, M.

Funds in Foundations Represent Exploitation.—The funds of the foundations represent largely the results either of the exploitation of American workers through the payment of low wages or of the exploitation of the American public through the exaction of high prices. The funds, therefore, by every right, belong to the American people.—119, M.

The Foundations Are Illegal.—The charters of these foundations were granted under conditions of such laxity that those granted by New York State are legally defective and unconstitutional. In increasing the number of its trustees without complying with the requirements of the new law governing corporations. the Rockefeller Foundation has already been guilty of a breach of the law.—121, M.

Menace of the Foundations.—These foundations are subject to no public control and their powers can be curbed only by the difficult process of amending or revoking their charters. Past experience, as, for example, in the case of the insurance companies, indicates that the public can be aroused only when abuses have become so great as to constitute a scandal. The entrance into the field of industrial relations, through the creation of a special division by the Rockefeller Foundation, constitutes a menace to the national welfare. This movement has the power to influence the entire country in the determination of its most vital policy.—121, M.

Foundations Control the Press.—The purpose of Mr. Rockefeller to influence the press is shown by the employment of an experienced publicity expert as a member of his personal staff, and is indicated by his evident interest in the ownership or control of a number of publications. The extent of the possible influence of these foundations and private endowments of institutions for education and public service is shown by a large amount of evidence in possession of the Commission.—123, M.

Foundations Control Education.—There is developing a degree of control over the teachings of professors in our colleges and universities which constitutes a most serious menace. In June of this year (1915) two professors, known throughout their professions as men of great talent and high character, were dropped from the positions they occupied and no valid reason for such action was made public. Both were witnesses before the Commission, and made statements based upon their own expert knowledge and experience which were given wide publicity.—124, M.

MAL-ADJUSTMENTS UNDER CAPITALISM.

From Final Manly Report.

Prison Labor.

Evil Results.—The competition of prison-made articles has resulted in the existence of a low wage scale in many industries and has subjected the manufacturer to a kind of competition which should not exist in any civilized community. The only beneficiaries of the convict labor system are the contractors who are permitted by the state to exploit the inmates of the prisons.—234, M.

Suggested Remedy.—Indoor manufacture by convicts should be abolished as far as possible, and prisoners worked on State farms and State roads, the prisoners to be compensated, and Congress should make convict-made goods sent into any State subject to the laws of that State. 234, M.

Immigration.

Bad Influences of Immigration.—The enormous influx of immigrants during the past twenty-five years has already undermined the American standard of living for all workmen except those in the skilled trades and has been the largest single factor in preventing the wage scale from rising as rapidly as food prices. The presence of such a large proportion of immigrants has greatly hampered the formation of trade unions, and has tremendously increased the problem of securing effective and responsible organizations. 235, M.

Influence of Prejudice.—The unreasonable prejudice of almost every class of Americans toward the immigrants, who form such a large proportion of the labor force of our industries, has been largely responsible for the failure of the Nation to reach a correct understanding of the labor problem and has promoted the harshness and brutality which has so often been manifested in connection with industrial disturbances.—235, M.

Suggested Remedy.—Restricted immigration.—236, M.

The Burnet-Dillingham bill applying a literacy test as a restriction upon immigration was endorsed by the Report, but Chairman Walsh filed the following opposition report on this recommendation: "I wish to record my opposition, as a matter of principle, to all restrictions upon immigration."—302, M.

STATE CONSTABULARY.

Violence seems to increase rather than diminish when the constabulary is brought into an industrial dispute. The legal and civil rights of the workers have on numerous occasions been violated by the constabulary; and citizens not in any way connected with the dispute and innocent of any interference

with the constabulary have been brutally treated and in one case shot down by members of the constabulary, who have escaped punishment for their acts. Organized upon a strictly military basis, it appears to assume in taking the field in connection with the strike that the strikers are its enemies and the enemies of the State and that a campaign should be waged against them as such.—149, M.

A BIT OF EVIDENCE.

Chairman Walsh. What do you think has been accomplished by the philanthropic activities of the country in reducing suffering and want among the people?

Mr. Guggenheim. There has a great deal been done. If it were not for what has been done and what is being done we would have revolution in this country.—23, M.

ORIGIN OF VIOLENCE.

Violence is seldom, if ever, spontaneous, but arises from a conviction that fundamental rights are denied and that peaceful methods of adjustment can not be used. The sole exception seems to lie in the situation where, intoxicated with power, the stronger party of the dispute relies upon force to suppress the weaker.

The arbitrary suppression of violence by force produces only resentment which will rekindle into greater violence when opportunity offers. Violence can be prevented only by removing the causes of violence; industrial peace can rest only upon industrial justice.—139, M.

ROCKEFELLER AND THE COLORADO WAR.

From Report of George P. West.

Corporate Control of Politics.

Fixing the Courts.—In the counties where these coal companies operate they have the judges and sheriffs, and through the sheriffs can select the jurors.—42, M.

Complete Political Machine.—"I found a very perfect political machine, just such a machine as Tammany in New York; just as much of a machine as you will find in any of the places where a great many voters are susceptible to an organization of that character. I found that the head of this political machine is the sheriff, that it was carried along lines very similar to those maintained by Tammany." Attorney General Farrar, closely related to the Colorado Fuel and Iron company in his dealings, under oath, page 49, W.

How the Machine Worked—Up there a few men got together in a room some days before the convention. They have already fixed up who the delegates to the convention shall be. They have probably given the local superintendent of the mines the number of delegates to which that community will be entitled. They do not tell him whom to bring. He knows he is to select a certain number of delegates who are to come in and follow the dictations of a single man whose name is given to them before they leave. The candidates are selected, not with a view to their fitness to discharge their duty, not with a view to their integrity, but "are they satisfactory to the company?"—From a speech of Jesse C. Northcutt, October 10, 1912, before he became an attorney for the company, page 51, W.

Some Results of Corporate Control.—Free speech in informal and personal intercourse was denied the inhabitants of the coal camps. It was also denied public speakers. Union organizers would not be permitted to enter the camps and address meetings. Periodicals permitted in the camps were censored in the same fashion. The operators were able to use their power of summary discharge to deny free press, free speech and free assembly, to prevent political activities of employees contrary to their interests, and control political activities for the suppression of popular government and winning of political control.—54, W.

Control Through Ownership of Homes.—Many of the mining camps were situated on land owned by the employing company. No bit of ground and no house could be occupied except by consent of the company, which discouraged home building and refused to sell lots for that purpose even to their oldest employees. In these towns the company owns not only the miners' dwelling, but the church, school, store and saloon buildings.

Miners and their families bought every article of food, clothing and household supplies at stores owned by the company, and from which large profits were drawn. The company either sold a concession to sell liquor to its employees at a yearly rate of so much for each man employed in its camp, or rented the saloon building at a yearly rental, amounting in one instance to one-half the original cost of the building. The company became in effect a beneficiary of the liquor traffic.—54, W.

Corporate Control of Religion and Education.—A church building could not be erected in a closed camp without the consent of the company, and the company assumed the right to compel the dismissal of ministers of the gospel who opposed company policies or interests * * * Control of the schools within the closed camps was no less absolute. Mine superintendents and other company officials dictated the selection

of teachers and procured the dismissal of teachers to whom they objected.—55, 56, W.

Corporate Usurpation of Power. — Many camp marshals, whose appointment and salaries are controled by local companies, have exercised a system of espionage and have resorted to arbitrary powers of police control, acting in the capacity of judge and jury and passing the sentence: "Down the canyon for you," meaning thereby that the miner so addressed was discharged and ordered to leave the camp. These, taken with brutal assaults by camp marshals, have produced general dissatisfaction among the miners.—59, W.

Tyranny of Political Control.

Open Swindling of the Miners.—Checkweighmen were denied at the mine scales; there was actual and deliberate cheating of miners by many of the coal operators. Yet by a state law enacted in 1897, the miners were given a right to employ a checkweighman whenever they desired to do so.—63, 65, W.

State Law Overridden for Profit.—Company stores were operated through subsidiary companies, all of the stock of which was owned by the mining companies. President Welborn of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, testified that the company earned more than 20 per cent on a capital of $700,000. He testified that his company never paid in script, but that script was in use in company stores until 1913. There was a state law against both the company store and the use of script, passed in 1899.—68, 69, W.

Federal Law Ignored.—Store managers are the postmasters in most places. For years it has been the custom of the Rockefeller stores to give a company draft when a postal order was solicited, and charge the U. S. postal rates. The amount of money the

government has lost by this trickery would take many experts many days to foot up. Testimony of Rev. Eugene S. Gladdis, page 70, W.

Sabbath Breaking Encouraged.—At Delagua an officer of the National Guard noticed a saloon open on the Sabbath and said to the proprietor: "Do you know of a state law which prohibits keeping saloons open on Sunday?" "Oh, that's all right," replied the liquor vendor. "I am justice of the peace in this town and we don't pay much attention to such things as state laws." Sabbath breaking is condoned by local officials; selling to minors and drunkards is an offense that is allowed to pass without protest.—72, W.

Frightful Housing Conditions.—A camp physician thus describes a certain Italian quarter at Sopris: "Houses up the canyon so-called, are simply disgraceful; eight are habitable and 46 simply disgraceful. I have had to remove a mother in labor from one part of the shack to another to keep dry." The C. F. and I. Company now own and rent hovels that are unfit for the habitation of human beings and are little removed from the pig sty make of dwellings. Frequently the population is so congested that whole families are crowded into one small room.

At Segundo there are 73 one-room shacks. At an altitude of 10,000 feet in Floresta where the thermometer drops to an extremely low register there is not a plastered house to be found. As a fruit of such folly the medical reports of all camps for 1912 and 1913 gave 151 cases of typhoid, or nearly three a week for the entire year. For more than a year a cesspool, within a few feet of the company's store, was allowed to relieve itself by overflowing at the top and running down the principal thoroughfare of the town. Both the store manager and his wife had been down with the typhoid. This stygian situation and others almost as offensive were reported

to the head of the medical work, and were passed over by a reply to the kicker: "Better be careful or you will step on somebody's toes."—76, W.

Tyranny of the Camp Doctor.—By a special order from the head of the medical department at Pueblo, the doctor's charges, whether reasonable or extortionate, may be deducted from the employee's pay check. There is not a camp hotel or boarding house in a C. F. and I. camp where the bedrooms are heated. Men suffer with mountain fevers. Presumably for an object-lesson for the whole camp, **a bill for service was collected through the mine office by the company physician, when the family had been so bold as to call in a doctor of their own choice, and the father was discharged for being unwilling to pay it.** This case was reported to the Denver headquarters and no redress was ever made.—77, W.

The Eight-Hour Fight.

The Long Agitation.—Miners employed in the coal and metalliferous mines of Colorado began their fight for an eight-hour day for underground workers in 1895. The Supreme Court in that year advised the legislature that an eight hour law would be unconstitutional. The state platforms of all parties in 1900 declared for a constitutional amendment, and such an amendment was submitted by the legislature in 1901, and was adopted by a popular vote in November, 1902. The vote was 72,980 to 26,266 and the majority in favor of the amendment was greater than that given to any other of the seven measures submitted at the same election.—62, W.

Will of the People Defeated.—The will of the people as expressed in this mandate to the legislature was defeated during the session of 1903, by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and other large smelting and mining corporations. Eight different bills were introduced and none passed. So great was the scandal created by the failure to comply with the constitutional mandate that at an

extra session of the legislature during the following summer, called for other purposes, each house adopted a resolution blaming the other house for the failure.—63, W.

Tricking the People.—In 1905 a bill was passed providing for the eight-hour day to apply to coal miners only. In 1911 an eight-hour bill applying to all classes of underground labor was passed by the legislature, but the companies obtained sufficient signatures to a referendum petition to procure its submission to the people. At the same time they initiated another eight-hour bill applying only to workers whose employment was continuously in contact with noxious fumes, gases and vapors. The voters of Colorado adopted both measures in 1912, but the conflict between them led to discussion and doubt, and they were replaced by a new bill that was enacted by the 1913 legislature and which went into effect April 13, 1913.—63, W.

The Law Is Ignored.—For eleven years after the people of the State had ordered the enactment of an eight-hour law, the companies successfully defied the popular will and succeeded in blocking the enforcement of effective legislation. When at last they granted the eight-hour day, in March, 1913, we have the word of Mr. Bowers that it was not respect for the popular will, but the desire to defeat unionization that actuated them.—63, W.

The Strike of 1913-14.

What It Was About.—Four of the seven formal demands of the strikers were for the enforcement of state laws, which had been persistently violated by the operators. These demands were: 1. An eight-hour working day for all classes of labor in and around the coal land and at coke ovens. 2. A checkweighman at all times to be

elected by the miners without interference by company officials. 3. The right to trade at any store they please, and the right to choose their own boarding places and their own doctor. 4. Enforcement of the Colorado mining laws; abolition of the notorious and criminal guard system which has prevailed in the mining camps of Colorado for many years. —62, W.

Refusal to Consider Grievances of the Miners.—It was not until after more than a month had been spent in fruitless endeavors, until it became apparent that the operators would not so much as enter the same room with representatives of the union, that after a final written request for an interview in which the likelihood of a strike was plainly stated, that the union officers called the convention which voted for the strike.—85, W. **The governor asked the operators to sign a letter agreeing to obey all state laws affecting the conduct of their mines and the well being of their employees. They refused to sign it without alterations.**—87, W. Secretary of Labor Wilson held a conference with the operators on December 4, at which he proposed to create a conciliatory board. The operators refused to consider Secretary Wilson's suggestion.—92, W.

Repeated efforts to settle the strike by private and public agencies were made during the winter that followed. All were resisted by the operators.—93, W.

Representative Foster, chairman of the Congressional sub-committee that held extensive public hearings in Denver and Trinidad, visited Mr. Rockefeller in New York in a futile effort to convince him that the difficulties should be arbitrated.—93, W.

Secretary Wilson renewed his efforts to bring about peace, appointing a commission to go to Colorado and attempt mediation * * * The operators were extremely bitter and obstinate.—93, 94, W.

President Wilson himself addressed a plan of settlement to the operators and strikers. President Wilson's plan was promptly accepted by the policy committee of the union.—97, W. The operators refused to accede to the President's wishes.—98, W. A spirit of accommodation or conciliation at no time actuated the operators either in Colorado or New York. Such a spirit, if manifested, would have prevented the strike and all the disastrous events that accompanied it.—100, W.

Miners Desert Their Homes.—From 8,000 to 10,000 miners, comprising from 40 to 100 per cent of the employees at various camps, packed their meager household belongings on carts and wagons, and, accompanied by their women and children, moved down the canyons through a drenching fall of snow, sleet and rain, to the ten colonies that had been established by the union officials. This sudden exodus became necessary because in many of the coal camps the companies owned every house and every foot of ground.—31, M.

The Opposition Prepares.—In Huerfano County alone 326 men, many imported from other states, had been commissioned as deputy sheriffs by Sheriff Jefferson Farr prior to September 1st. Sheriff Farr admitted before this Commission that for all he knew, they might have been redhanded murderers, fresh from the scenes of their crimes, and that they were employed, armed and paid for by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the other large companies. The first violence had already occurred in the killing of Gerald Lippiatt, a union organizer, who was shot down on the streets in Trinidad, by a detective in the employ of the operators.—101, 102, W.

The Strike Becomes a War.—The union officials and strikers determined there should be no resistance. It is clearly established that the operators had employed 326 armed mine guards in Huerfano county prior to September 1st, (when the strike was called), and that **no step was taken to arm the strikers un-**

til twelve days after that date.* * * Active in the management of the companies' armed guards were agents and officials of the notorious Baldwin-Feltz Detective agency of West Virginia * * * It was employed by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company to aid in recruiting guards, to install and operate machine guns at the principal mines, and generally to supervise the work of protecting the mines and suppressing the strike.—102, M.

The Corporation Begins a Civil War.—Under direction of A. C. Feltz and Detectives Belk and Belcher of this agency an armored automobile was built at the shops of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. This car, christened, "The Death Special," was mounted with a machine gun and first used by company guards and later by militia officers.—102, W.

On October 9, 1913, an attack was made by mine guards on the Ludlow tent colony and one miner was killed. Following this attack the policy committee of the union sent a letter to the operators deploring the killing at Ludlow and asking for their assistance and cooperation to prevent similar occurences in the future. **No reply was received.**—103, W.

On October 17th a party of mine guards rode to the Forbes tent colony in an armored automobile and opened fire on the colony with a machine gun. One man was killed and a boy was shot nine times through the leg. A few days later mine guards fired on strikers in the streets of Walsenburg and killed three union men ** * * The tent colonists began arming themselves rapidly * * * Feltz recruited a force at Trinidad which was entrained on steel box-cars equipped with machine guns, and started toward Ludlow * * * Strikers took a position on a hill south of Ludlow and when the train arrived shooting began. The train was forced to turn back to Forbes Junction.—105, W. Governor Ammons ordered General Chase to occupy the strike district.—107, W

The Militia Takes Charge.

It Is Not Impartial.—The pretense that leaders of the militia have been impartial is absurd. The militia arrested strikers and held them for long periods without placing charges against them. Numerous instances were found by the committee where women and young girls were insulted by militiamen. Instances where militiamen had taken part in robberies and holdups were reported to the committee.

Captain VanCise admitted that none of the men were Colorado men. Three of them were ex-regulars. One had been dishonorably discharged from the army and had served time in Leavenworth prison. Another had forged his discharge papers. Members of the organized militia committed burglaries. Strikers and union officials charge that many of the 172 prisoners whose cases were in the hands of the Military Commission were mistreated and even tortured by officers and enlisted men. —120, 121, 123, W.

Coal Companies Pay the Militia.—The economic dependence of the Colorado National Guard on the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and other operators has been fully established. President Welborn of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, testified that his company had paid militiamen from $75,000 to $80,000 on certificates of indebtedness bearing interest and collectable from the State. Troops were quartered in company buildings and furnished with supplies by company stores in return for these certificates.—123, W.

Rockefeller Knew and Endorsed All.

He Refused to Recognize the Strikers.—The policies and acts of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and of the other companies that acted with them had the hearty support and endorsement of the greatest and most powerful financial interest in America, that of John D. Rockefeller and his son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who controlled the company through

ownership of approximately 40 per cent of its stocks and bonds. Letters from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., heartily approving of his company's refusal to meet representatives of the strikers, of the measures taken to suppress the strike, and of the coercion of the Governor that resulted in throwing the State troops on the side of the owners, were shown not only to executive officers of his company, but to other operators who followed its lead, and his support contributed largely to the unyielding and lawless policy that finally resulted in the horrors of the Ludlow massacre and the intervention of the Federal Government. —16, 17, W.

Heartlessness of the Capitalists.—Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., the most influential single owner, had not visited Colorado for ten years at the time of the strike, nor had he attended a directors meeting during that period. He testified that he "had not the slightest idea" of what wages the miners received, of what rent the company charged them for their houses, or of other details vitally affecting their welfare. In striking contrast with this utter ignorance of actual working and living conditions in the coal camps was the detailed information furnished to Mr. Rockefeller regarding the progress of their successful efforts to break the strike. He followed step by step the struggle of his executive officials to gain arbitrary power, and he supported this struggle in every letter he wrote to his agents.—34, W.

The Massacre at Ludlow

Preparation for It.—By April 20th, the Colorado National Guard no longer offered even a pretense of fairness or impartiality, and its units in the field had degenerated into a force of professional gunmen and adventurers who were economically dependent upon and subservient to the will of the operators. This force was dominated by an officer whose intense hatred for the strikers had been dem-

onstrated, and who did not lack the courage and the belligerent spirit required to provoke hostilities.

Although 1,200 men, women and children remained at the Ludlow tent colony, and Linderfelt's immediate force consisted of not more than 35 men, the militiamen were equipped with machine guns and high power repeating rifles and could count on speedy re-inforcements by the members of Troop A, which numbered about 100. The Ludlow colony had been repeatedly searched for arms and ammunition, and Major Boughton's testimony before the Commission indicates that Linderfelt believed the strikers to be unarmed. Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, a member of the Colorado State Senate, testified that while visiting in the strike zone just before the Ludlow affair, she heard reports and threats that the Ludlow colony was to be wiped out.—126, W.

The Massacre Itself.—On April 20th, militiamen destroyed the Ludlow tent colony, killing five men and one boy with rifle and machine gun fire and firing the tents with a torch. Eleven children and two women of the colony who had taken refuge under one of the tents were burned to death or suffocated after the tents had been fired. Hundreds of women and children were driven terror-stricken into the hills or near-by ranch houses. Others huddled for twelve hours in pits underneath their tents or in other places of shelter while bullets from rifles and machine guns whistled overhead and kept them in constant terror.

After It Was Over.—During the firing of the tents the militiamen became an uncontrolled mob and looted the tents of everything that appealed to their fancy or cupidity. Three of the strikers killed at Ludlow were shot while under the guard of militiamen who had taken them prisoners. They included Louis Tikas, a leader of the Greek strikers, a man of high intelligence who had done his utmost

that morning to maintain peace and prevent the attack, and who had remained in or near the tent colony throughout the day to look after the women and children. Tikas was first seriously or mortally wounded by a blow on the head from the stock of a Springfield rifle in the hands of Lieutenant Linderfelt of the Colorado National Guard, and then shot three times in the back by militiamen and mine guards.

Following Up the Tragedy.—Having burned and looted the tent colony and killed or driven off its inhabitants, the militiamen on the following day maintained a close watch in all directions and fired on all persons who showed themselves in the roads or nearby fields and hillsides. Many of the women and children had taken refuge at the ranch house of Frank Bayes and family, three-quarters of a mile northeast of the colony. He sheltered the women and children as best he could, but insisted that none of the men should remain in or around the ranch house. On Tuesday morning the militia started firing at the Bayes house and at least six bullets struck it. A bullet passed just above the bed of two of Mr. Bayes' children.—131, W.

Lawson and Linderfelt.

Colorado Law for Labor.—In pursuance of the "law and order" policy on which they were elected, Governor Carlson and Attorney General Farrer have proceeded vigorously with the prosecution of union officials and strikers. Their most conspicuous success came with the conviction, on a charge of murder in the first degree, of Mr. John R. Lawson, member of the executive board of the United Mine Workers of America and the most conspicuous Colorado official of that organization.

Mr. Lawson is an old resident of Colorado. He had worked his way from breaker-boy to

where he commands the friendship and respect of large numbers of the state's best citizens. He is believed by this Commission to be a man of exceptionally high character and a good citizen in every sense of the term. The judge before whom he was tried was appointed by Governor Carlson after serving the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company as attorney and assisting in the preparation of cases against strikers.

The panel from which the jury was drawn was selected by the sheriff of Las Animas county, an official whose sympathies have been with the mine owners from the beginning. Much of the evidence on which he was convicted came from men in the employ of a detective agency retained by the coal companies. The killing of John Nimmo, a mine guard, by the strikers during one of the many skirmishes between them and the deputies was the crime for which Mr. Lawson was convicted. He was held responsible for Nimmo's death because he was leading the strike and was at Ludlow tent colony on the day of the battle.

Nimmo was one of the small army of deputy sheriffs employed and paid by the companies and deputized by subservient sheriffs who made little or no effort to investigate their records. On August 17th the Supreme Court of Colorado issued an order prohibiting Judge Granby Hillyer, who presided at Mr. Lawson's trial, from presiding at other trials of strike leaders, on the ground that he had been, just prior to his appointment, an attorney for the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and other operators.

The court also issued a writ of supersedeas permitting the Lawson case to come before it on its merits. The prosecution and conviction of Mr. Lawson under these circumstances and his sentence to life imprisonment at hard labor, marked the lowest depths of the prostitution of Colorado's government to the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. It is the crowning infamy of all the infamous records in Colorado of American institutions perverted and debauched by selfish private interests. —21, 22, 23, W.

Colorado Law for Defenders of Criminal Corporations.—The same authorities who conducted this and other successful prosecutions of strikers have taken no steps to prosecute Lieutenant E. Linderfelt of the Colorado National Guard or other members of the guard who took part in the wanton slaughter of three unarmed strikers held prisoners at Ludlow, and in the burning of the Ludlow tent colony which resulted in the death by suffocation and burning of thirteen women and children.

Yet at the coroner's inquest a doctor who examined the body of Louis Tikas, one of the slain strikers, testified that a blow on the head, dealt by Lieut. Linderfelt with the stock of his rifle, was so severe that it might have caused death even had Tikas not been shot three times through the body as he lay prostrate on the ground by men under Linderfelt's command. It is true that Lieut. Linderfelt and other members of the guard were tried by a court martial composed of their fellow officers and their trifling demotions in rank were assessed as punishment.

Nor have the same authorities taken steps to prosecute the officials and directors of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, in spite of evidence gathered by this Commission, and which has become common knowledge, that these officials, through their agents and subordinates, created a private army of armed guards and later procured the enlistment of these gunmen in the militia, and of well-substantiated charges that these disreputable agents of the company in the guise of militiamen committed various crimes from robbery and arson to murder.—26, 27, W.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

The immediate effects of the form and character of industrial organization are greater and closer to the lives and happiness of all classes of citizens than even the form and character of our political institutions.

WORKERS' SHARE.

The crux of the question is, Have the workers received a fair share of the enormous increase in wealth which has taken place in this country as a result largely of their labors? The answer is emphatically—NO!—8, M.

PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS.

It is suggested that the Commission recommend to Congress the enactment of an inheritance tax, so graded that, while making generous provision for the support of dependents and the education of minor children it shall leave no large accumulation of wealth to pass into hands which had no share in its production. The revenue from this tax which we are informed would be very great, should be reserved by the Federal Government for three principal purposes:

1. The extension of education.

2. The development of other important social services which should properly be performed by the Nation, which are discussed in detail elsewhere.

3. The development, in co-operation with States and municipalites, of great constructive works, such as road building, irrigation and reforestation, which would materially increase the efficiency and welfare of the entire Nation.—32, 33, M.

THE RIGHT TO THE LAND.

A basic theory of our Government, which found expression in the Homestead Acts, was that every man should have opportunity to secure land enough to support a family. If this theory had been carried out and homesteads had either gone to those who would use them productively or remained in the hands of the Government, we should not

have a problem of such a character. But these acts were evaded; land was stolen outright by wholesale, and fraudulent entries were consolidated into enormous tracts which are now held by wealthy individuals and corporations.

LAND REMEDIES.

1. Vigorous and unrelenting prosecution to regain all land, water power and mineral rights secured from the Government by fraud.

2. A general revision of our land laws, so as to apply to all future land grants the doctrine of "superior use," as in the case of water rights in California, and provision for forfeiture in case of actual nonuse. In its simplest form the doctrine of "superior use" implies merely that at the time of making the lease the purpose for which the land will be used must be taken into consideration and the use which is of the greatest social value shall be given preference.

3. The forcing of all unused land into use by making the tax on nonproductive land the same as on productive land of the same kind, and exempting all improvements.—37, M.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN vs. THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.

The Fourteenth Amendment, although a humanitarian measure in origin and purpose, has been within recent years practically appropriated by the corporations. It was aimed at restraining and checking the powers of wealth and privilege. It was to be a charter of liberty for human rights against property rights. The transformation has been rapid and complete. It operates today to protect the rights of property to the detriment of the rights of man. It has become the Magna Charta of accumulated and organized capital.—56, M.

DISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT.

The existing labor and life conditions of common laborers in this country produce immense numbers of justified labor complaints and claims, involving not only great sums of money in the aggregate but untold personal hardships and suffering.

The existing public and private legal institutions are utterly inadequate to secure justice to the laborers in the matter of these complaints and claims.

This situation has already created in the laborers distrust of the Government, of employers, and of the well-to-do classes generally, and is one of the contributory causes of existing industrial unrest.—61, M.

PERSONAL RIGHTS SUPREME.

In considering the action which needs to be taken it has been urged by some that the end to be achieved is to place personal rights on a parity with property rights. It is necessary to render a firm protest and warning against the acceptance of such an ideal. The establishment of property rights and personal rights on the same level can leave only a constant and ever-growing menace to our popular institutions. With the acceptance of such an ideal our democracy is doomed to ultimate destruction. Personal rights must be recognized as supreme and of unalterable ascendency over property rights.—78, M.

WAGES AND WEALTH.

1. The welfare of the State demands that the useful labor of every able-bodied workman should as a minimum be compensated by sufficient income to support, in comfort, himself, a wife, and at least three minor children, and in addition to provide for sickness, old age, and disability. Under no other condition can a strong, contented and efficient citizenship be developed.

2. Under existing conditions such an income is not received by fully one-half of the wage earners employed in industry.

3. The natural resources of the United States are such that an industrial population properly educated and efficiently organized can produce enough to achieve this standard of living.

4. It is probable that even at present the national agricultural and industrial output is sufficient to permit the establishment of such a standard.

5. The problem is, therefore, essentially one of distribution.—92, 93, M.

EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

The physical well-being, mental development and recreational needs of every class of population demand that under normal circumstances the working day should not exceed eight hours.—94, M.

FEUDALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

The conditions existing in typical industrial communities which are either wholly or in large part owned or controlled by a single corporation or individual employer, present every aspect of a state of feudalism except the recognition of specific duties on the part of the employer. The employees in such communities are dependent on a single corporation, or employer, for their livelihood. Futhermore, the employer in many cases controls the social and political life of such communities, either by the complete absorption of local political powers or by domination of the local authorities.

Such feudalistic conditions tend to develop principally in connection with the private exploitation of natural resources, being most frequently found in mining camps, lumber camps (including turpentine camps) and large plantations. There are, however, striking examples even in the case of manufacturers, as for example, the textile towns and steel towns.—113, M.

MONEY AND RELIGION.

Several colleges and universities have abandoned sectarian affiliations and charter clauses relating to religion in order to secure endowments from the Carnegie Corporation and pensions for professors from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. It would seem conclusive that if an institution will willingly abandon its religious affiliations through the influence of these foundations, it will even more easily conform to their will, any other part of its organization or teaching.—123, M.

THE AGE-LONG STRUGGLE.

The workers insist, "that people can free themselves from oppression only by organized force. No people could gain or maintain their rights or liberties acting singly, and any class of citizens in the State subject to unjust burdens or oppression can gain relief only by combined action."

It has been pointed out with great force and logic that the struggle of labor for organization is not merely an attempt to secure an increased measure of the material comforts of life, but is a part of the age-long struggle for liberty; that this struggle is sharpened by the pinch of hunger and the exhaustion of body and mind, by long hours and improper working conditions; but that even if men were well-fed they would still struggle to be free.

It is not denied that the exceptional individual can secure an economic sufficiency either by the sale of his unusual ability or talent or by sycophantic subservience to some person in authority, but it is insisted that no individual can achieve freedom by his own efforts. Similarly, while it is admitted that in some cases exceptional employers treat their employees with the greatest justice and liberality, it is held to be a social axiom that no group of workers can become free except by combined action, nor can the mass hope to achieve any material advance in their condition except by collective effort.—81, M.

MISTAKES OF TRADE UNIONS.

The evils of graft, "machine politics," factional fights and false leadership, which have been found sometimes to exist in such organized industries, are those which are inevitable to any democratic form of organization. They are the same evils which have accompanied the development of the American Nation, and of its States and municipalities. Such evils as we have found to exist are indeed to be condemned, but a study of the history of these organizations seems to show clearly that there is a tendency to eradicate them as the organizations become stronger and as the membership becomes more familiar with the responsibilities and methods of democratic action.—88, M.

REVOLUTION.

Looking back over the industrial history of the last quarter century, the industrial disputes which have attracted the attention of the country and which have been accompanied by bloodshed and violence have been revolutions against industrial oppression, and not mere strikes for the improvement of working conditions.—89, M.

BENEVOLENT TYRANTS.

It is evident, therefore, that there can be at best only a benevolent despotism where collective action on the part of employees does not exist.

A great deal of testimony has been introduced to show that employers who refuse to deal collectively with their workmen do in fact grant audiences at which the grievances of their workmen may be presented. One is repelled rather than impressed by the insistence with which this idea has been presented.

Every tyrant in history has on stated days granted audiences to which his faithful subjects might bring their complaints against his officers and agents. That justice was never secured under such conditions, except at the whim of the tyrant, is sure. It is equally sure that in industry justice can never be attained by such a method.—85, 86., M.

FREE SPEECH.

One of the greatest sources of social unrest and bitterness has been the attitude of the police toward public speaking. On numerous occasions in every part of the country, the police of cities and towns have either arbitrarily or under the cloak of a traffic ordinance, interfered with or prohibited public speaking, both in the open and in the halls, by persons connected with organizations of which the police or those from whom they received their orders did not approve.

It is axiomatic that a Government which can be maintained only by the suppression of criticism should not be maintained.—150, 151, M.

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