

be dismissed. He called the proceedings an attempt to imprison men before proof of guilt. The names of many of the defendants being unknown to the officers the court stated that they should answer to their names at the call of the sheriff. Judge O'Brien announced that he would permit them to go on their own recognizance, but that he did not believe bail was necessary and that he did not intend to punish any man in advance of a hearing. He also directed that in future violations of the injunction the sheriff could arrest the violators and then release them on their own recognizance to appear in court at a stated time. He further said:

I think the court has the power to enforce its decrees by the method adopted in this case. There may be no authorities precedent, but it does not follow that the power does not exist in the court. Under the showing it seemed to me that if the injunction was to be enforced at all some process similar to this must be adopted. This is a supreme court injunction and this court must enforce it, laying aside whatever the private opinion of this court may be. There is no doubt that the injunction will be enforced. It is the duty of every citizen and inhabitant to obey it not merely in letter but in spirit. Law and order must be maintained or the Republic can not last. The men on strike are most interested in showing they are law-abiding citizens and willing to do their duty as citizens and the inhabitants of this county.

Addressing the men arrested at Allouez, Judge O'Brien said:

This court does not want to interfere with your liberty, but order and liberty should go hand in hand. The working class should respect this injunction. Do not interfere with men going to work. They have that right and the court will protect them in it. Respect the writ. I ask you to bear this in mind and tell the other strikers. Law and order come before even the solution of this industrial problem.

The 141 men who had been arrested at Allouez were then dismissed and there was a hearing of the men arrested at Mohawk. In addressing these men, the judge repeated in substance what he had told the men arrested at Allouez, and said, "You are permitted to parade, but you must not interfere with men going to work." He warned them, saying: "The supreme court says you have no right to picket. Whether this order is right or wrong, obey it. You have no right to call men scabs"; and further said, "You should recognize the absolute futility of attempting to evade the injunction."

On November 9 the militia arrested 99 strikers and women in Calumet, on the charge of violating the injunction.

STRIKE BREAKERS BROUGHT IN.

In September mining was done by the three largest companies, the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co., the Copper Range Consolidated Co., and the Quincy Mining Co. At all of the other mines work was still entirely suspended. At the Quincy mines the number that returned to work was comparatively small. At the Copper Range mines there was a larger number, and at the Calumet & Hecla mines a much larger number. By the end of September the production of the Calumet & Hecla mines was stated by company officials to be 40 per cent of the normal output, but officials of the Western Federation of Miners alleged that this statement was much exaggerated.

The first strike breakers brought into the district were brought by the Quincy Mining Co., and arrived at Hancock on the morning of September 19. These men were engaged by the Austro-American Labor Agency, 89 First Street, New York. They were Germans, and few of them could read English. The "statement of labor contract"

furnished to each showed that they were engaged to work underground in copper mines for the Quincy Mining Co., at \$2.50 per day, 9 hours a day, and each was to pay the company, out of his earnings during the first six months, the cost of his transportation from New York, \$24.50. Following is a copy of the "contract":

[Telephone, Orchard 3685. Frank & Nemerofsky, Props. Austro-American Labor Agency. 89 First Street, near First Street "L" Station, New York.]

STATEMENT OF LABOR CONTRACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHAPTER 700 OF THE LAWS OF 1910.

Name of employer.....	Quincy Mining Co. ¹
Address of employer.....	32 Broadway, N. Y. ¹
Name of employee.....	Mike Thomas. ²
Address of employee.....	152 Ridge. ²
Nature of work to be performed.....	Untorirdiech in der Kupfer Mine. ¹
Hours of labor.....	9. ¹
Wages offered.....	\$2.50 per tag. ¹
Destination of persons employed.....	Hancock, Mich. ¹
Terms of transportation.....	\$24.50 abezorgen, nach 6 monathe re- turniert. ¹
Remarks.....	Strike, ¹ 50 cents per month for doctor. ²

If more than one person is engaged, a list of names and addresses will be found attached.

New York, 9/16¹ 1913¹

English, German, Hungarian, Slovak, Italian, Swedish, Polish.

Rest of contract printed.

Identical contracts were seen by an agent of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. None of them were signed, but all of them bore the following names and addresses written in pencil and apparently in the same handwriting:

Mike Thomas, 152 Ridge.
Emil Rein, 323 Wash.
Horace Joseph, 343 23d St.
Joseph Kuerfers, 323 Wash.
Franz Isigkoit, 323 Wash.
Franz Mock, Essex St.

Karl Kamp, 323 Wash.
Karl Niermann, 323 Wash.
Adolf Rosenfeld, 3 St.
Lorenz Mascher, 323 Wash.
Karl Werner, 323 Wash.
Paul Schmidt, 323 Wash.

The items on the "contract" were printed in seven different languages, but the blanks were filled out in German, most of them by typewriting, but the word "strike" was written in English, probably to comply with the law in New York, but evidently intended to deceive the Germans who could not read English.

Thirty-seven men started from New York, but six of them left the train on the way to Hancock. The 31 who arrived at Hancock reached there in a car over a spur track to the Quincy mines at 2 a. m., September 19. According to an admission of Charles L. Lawton, general manager of the Quincy Mining Co., made to an agent of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, they were kept confined in the railroad coach several hours. Then they were escorted to a shaft house by soldiers and Waddell men. Gen. P. L. Abbey and other officers of the National Guard were present. There were present also a large body of strikers near enough to be seen by the newcomers.

On the same day, before any of the men from New York went to work, 14 of them broke away from the mine and went to some of the strikers and told them that they had not known that they were coming

¹ Typewritten.

² Written in pencil.

to a place where there was a strike, and did not know it until they arrived and saw the soldiers and in the background the strikers. The 14 men went to the headquarters of the federation in Hancock, where they made the same statements, and 12 of them put the statement in the form of an affidavit, a copy of which follows:

STATE OF MICHIGAN, *County of Houghton, ss:*

We, the undersigned, depose and say that we have been hired by the Austro-American Agency, New York City, to work in the mines of the Quincy Mining Co., at Hancock, Mich., with the understanding that there is no strike on in the district. On September 19, 1913, at our arrival to Hancock, we were locked into a coach from 2 o'clock a. m. until quarter after 4 o'clock, and then we were taken to the Quincy mine location. On September 19, 1913, we seen by the thousands of strikers parading on the county road. Then we found out that we were hired under misrepresentation by the agency who shipped us here. And furthermore say that we were not held by the Western Federation of Miners at their headquarters at Kansankoti Hall, Hancock, Mich., against our will or any other way, and that we are not willing to work in the Quincy mine while the strike is on, and therefore we came to the Kansankoti Hall to get protection against the Quincy Mining Co., as we were in the belief that we would be forced to work in the mines under conditions against our will.

Deponents further saith not.

ADOLF ROSENFELD.
KARL KAMP.
MIKE THOMAS.
EMIL REIN.
BRIMO JACOBS.
KARL WERNER.

JOSEF CURVERZ.
FRANK MOCK.
KARL NIERMANN.
PAUL SCHMIDT.
FRANK ISIVKEIT.
LORENZ MASCHER.

Witnesses:

JOHN KIISKILA.
WILLIAM KANGAS.
ANDREW PYHTILA.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 20th day of September, A. D. 1913.

JOHN KIISKILA.

Notary Public, Houghton County, Mich.

My commission expires November 17, 1916.

Several armed Waddell men came to the federation hall to find the men who had left the mine. The Waddell men raised quite a disturbance and arrested one man, but they did not find the men they wanted, as these men, apprehending trouble, had left the village.

During the latter part of September strike breakers were engaged through the Austro-American Labor Agency, 28 South Canal Street, Chicago, and the Chicago Commissary Co. and Employment Agency, 642 West Madison Street, Chicago. On September 29 an affidavit was made by 24 men employed through the Austro-American Labor Agency for the Quincy Mining Co. They swore that the agent of the agency informed them that there was no trouble or strike at the place where they were to work, that on arrival at the Quincy mine they were guarded by deputies and soldiers and not permitted to leave the bunk house and boarding house at the mine, and that they were otherwise mistreated. The affidavit follows:

STATE OF MICHIGAN, *County of Houghton, ss:*

We, the undersigned, being duly sworn, depose and say that we reside in the city of Chicago, State of Illinois; that we went into the Austrian-American Employment Agency and the agent asked us if we ever worked in the copper mines. We told him that some of us worked in the coal mines of Pennsylvania. We asked him whether there was any trouble or strike in the district where he was going to ship us, and he answered us that there was no trouble or strike in the district, and told us to come into his office at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. At 4 p. m. he told us that he had a good

railroad job for us that would pay \$2.10 to \$2.50 a day, and the board would cost us \$4 a week, and the company would pay us every two weeks. Then he handed us a slip of paper and said: "If you don't like to work in the mines, you can work on surface or on railroad."

On the 25th day of September, 1913, we left Chicago, Ill., and arrived on the following Friday, and were met by eight soldiers, who came into the car at Quincy Mills, to our best information. We asked the agent who accompanied us what the soldiers came to meet us for, and he said, "Don't be afraid." When we arrived at the boarding house we were presented a piece of paper for our signatures, and we inquired of the employment agent why we were to sign our names on the paper, and we were informed that we were to sign the pledge not to join or belong to any labor union or unions.

On Friday, the day of our arrival, we did not go down into the mine to work, but we were taken underground on Saturday following, and we worked underground shoveling rock and dirt and pushing big heavy cars; we were frequently told to get busy and get more on the cars; that the other miners had filled 16 cars per day.

We were told to work again, but we refused to do so, because we had found out that there was a strike, and we did not come to break the strike.

We further depose and say that our breakfast consisted of two boiled eggs, two slices of bread, and a cup of water supposed to be coffee; and our dinner consisted of two cheese sandwiches, a couple of soda crackers, and a cup of colored water supposed to be coffee; and our supper consisted of tomato soup, potatoes, two pieces of hamburger steak, boiled beans, and a cup of so-called coffee. And we further depose and say that we were fed like a bunch of dogs.

On Sunday morning there were some scrambled eggs placed at one end of the table, and the fellows at that end ate them all, and the rest of us at the other end of the table did not get anything but bread and so-called coffee, and we asked for more eggs from the deputy, and we were told by him that "If you are not satisfied, you can go to hell."

After that we went upstairs and the deputy followed us, and one of us went to talk to him and he pulled him down from the step outside and punched and beat him. After he was done with the fellow he jumped on one Meyer, and the said deputy was not able to lick him and went to get eight more deputies in the boarding house, and when they came in one of them shot in the house through the ceiling, and then he hit Meyer on his forehead with a gun and told him to wash his head, which was bleeding, and he answered and said that he was not going to do it and wanted to show it to the superintendent of the mine, but he was taken into the doctor's office to dress his wound.

On Monday morning we were going to work to earn enough money to get back, but when we found out that in our dinner pails there was only a piece of stinking bologna, two slices of bread, an apple, three soda crackers, and so-called coffee, we told them that we were not going to work, because we were hungry and did not have enough to eat in order to work, and have found out for sure that there is a strike in the district and did not want to be strike breakers.

We further depose and say, that on Monday we were confined in the boarding house, guarded by deputies, and kept as prisoners. The superintendent of the mine came and told us that if we would go to work the company will furnish us good board and lodging. We told him that we don't want to work. After that he took our names and requested us to go to work again, but we refused. Then the guards started to make trouble again. They passed all kinds of remarks and told us to go back if we had good shoes to walk with, and we answered and said that we are going to walk back, but we are not going to work as long as there is a strike.

The superintendent told us to wait until 4 o'clock in the afternoon in order to pay us. He came into the bunk house, made us line up one by one in the bunk house and let us enter in order to pass into the boarding house, and he handed us an empty envelope. Then we were taken by bunches of five outside of the boarding house and our pictures were taken and we were told to get out of there. We met a fellow on the road who took us into the union hall.

We further depose and say that we were guarded by deputies and soldiers in said bunk house and boarding house and were not permitted to go anywhere out of said bunk house and boarding house, against our will, and were like prisoners while we were at Quincy mine.

Albert Meyer, Stenly Deds, John Portko, Stenly Buttons, Pit Edort, Adam Lurick, Stulioz Buskoz, Frank Drzeswiecki, Henry Heorit, Fred Miller, Otto Jäspr, Mik Smith, Pete Morris, Tam Wazle, Galm Kurta, Frank Flisshel, Joo Remen, Chas. Marks, Styf Supski, Wm. Thomas, Alfred Funkel, John Pisolko, Adam Kulig, John Bielash.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, a notary public, in and for Houghton County, Michigan, this 29th day of September, A. D. 1913.

JOHN KUSKILA,
Notary Public, Houghton County, Mich.

My commission expires November 17, 1916.

At the same time the following affidavit was made by seven men employed through the Chicago Commissary Co. & Employment Agency for the Quincy Mining Co.:

STATE OF MICHIGAN, *County of Houghton, ss:*

We, the undersigned, being duly sworn, depose and say, that we reside in the city of Chicago, State of Illinois. That we went into the Chicago Commissary Co. & Employment Agency inquiring if there was any work to be had and we were informed that there is work in Michigan, either in the mines or on the railroad. We asked is there any trouble or strike in the district and were informed that there was no labor trouble or strike in that district, and we were promised to be paid at the rate of \$2.50 a day, board would cost \$5 a week, and the company pay every two weeks.

STANI SKINER,
FRANK FVODE,
EMIL BRAUN,
YACHNAL MILLER,
FRED BAUER,
ZOT BOLEFSKI,
TOM ZACKI.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, a notary public in and for Houghton County, Mich., this 29th day of September, A. D. 1913.

JOHN KUSKILA,
Notary Public, Houghton County, Mich.

My commission expires November 17, 1916.

The Houghton and Calumet Daily Gazette of October 1 said:

The strike breakers imported by the Quincy during the past two weeks all quit work yesterday morning and were paid off. They numbered about 75 and they all walked off the location toward Hancock as soon as paid. Just what their intentions are could not be learned yesterday afternoon.

During October many strike breakers were brought in by the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co., and some for other companies. Some of these men came from western points by way of Duluth, but most of them came from Chicago. The Houghton and Calumet Daily Gazette of October 28 said that over 1,200 new men had been brought into the district up to that time.

The following affidavit was made October 28 by men that were brought from Fargo, N. Dak.:

COUNTY OF HOUGHTON, *State of Michigan, ss:*

Barney McAllister and John McManus, being first duly sworn, depose and say that they are residents of Fargo, N. Dak.; that on the 21st day of October, 1913, they went to the Western Employment Agency office in Fargo, where they could get a ticket to the Michigan mines for \$2. They only intended to go as far as Superior, Wis., where they intended to stay. "One of the deputies at the station stepped up to us and we told him we wanted to get something to eat and would like to stay over night as we were tired." He said, drawing his gun: "You have to go to Calumet." Then we were taken to the cars. We were guarded until we got to Calumet where the train stopped. We were taken from the cars by five or six deputies, put in an auto and taken to one of the mining camps.

Deponents further saith not.

JOHN McMANUS,
B. McALLISTER.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, a notary public, this 28th day of October, 1913.

JOHN MALNAR, *Notary Public.*

My commission expires June 13, 1915.

VIOLENCE DURING THE STRIKE.

After the rioting which occurred on the first two days of the strike, when 16 men who tried to go to work were injured by the strikers badly enough for hospital treatment, there was but little disorder for three weeks, or until the middle of August, when work was resumed to some extent in the mines of the three largest companies. Complaints were made by men who had not joined the Western Federation of Miners that they had been threatened by federation men with bodily injury if they should return to work, and some men who had joined the federation asserted that they had by threats been coerced into joining it and that they were ready to give up their membership cards. Unquestionably some men were intimidated by members of the federation.

The situation was so quiet during the first three weeks of the strike that on August 11 the two batteries of artillery and one of the brass bands were sent home. From this time the military force was gradually reduced from the original number, 2,565, to about 500 in the latter part of September. The soldiers were not held in high esteem by the strikers, but were not execrated so much as were the Waddell "gunmen" or the deputy sheriffs, who were regarded as "scabs." The soldiers at first guarded the properties of the mining companies, though the strikers showed no disposition to injure property. As the soldiers were gradually sent home and as the number of deputies was increased, the duty of protecting property was left almost entirely to the deputies, and the soldiers gave most of their attention to following parades of strikers to see that men who wanted to go to work were not prevented. When work was resumed at some of the mines only day shifts worked, and the strikers got out in large numbers early every morning to meet the men going to work and try to persuade them not to work. If persuasion failed, the men were denounced as "scabs" and traitors to the cause of labor. If they could not thus be intimidated, they were in some cases roughly handled or beaten. As much as possible the soldiers and deputies stopped the disorder that occurred during this early morning "picketing." Crowds of strikers were kept constantly on the move, and the picketing parades were closely attended by the soldiers. Frequently these parades were led by women, and a number of them were arrested for abusing men going to work, grabbing their dinner pails or otherwise creating a disturbance. Fifteen women were arrested one morning in Laurium village. Arrests were made under act 163, Public Laws of 1867, Compiled Laws of 1897, section 11343, as follows:

(11343.) That if any person or persons shall, by threats, intimidations, or otherwise, and without authority of law, interfere with, or in any way molest, or attempt to interfere with, or in any way molest, or disturb, without such authority, any mechanic or other laborer in the quiet and peaceable pursuit of his lawful avocation, such person or persons shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction by a court of competent jurisdiction shall be severally punished by fine of not less than \$10 nor more than \$100, or by imprisonment in the county jail where the offense shall have been committed, not less than one month nor more than one year, or by both fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court; but if such punishment be by fine, the offender shall be imprisoned in such jail until the same be paid, not exceeding 90 days.

Neither the soldiers nor the deputy sheriffs interfered with the parades after the hour men went to work in the mines unless they considered there were signs of disorder. In a number of instances,

however, clashes occurred on the streets between the soldiers and crowds of strikers, and in some cases the strikers were dispersed at the points of bayonets, or by mounted soldiers riding through the crowds. Gen. Abbey justified this breaking up of crowds by the riot law of the State, sections 11334 to 11341 of the Compiled Laws of 1897. The first three sections follow:

(11334) SECTION 1. If any persons to the number of 12 or more, being armed with clubs or other dangerous weapons, or if any persons to the number of 30 or more, whether armed or not, shall be unlawfully, riotously, or tumultuously assembled in any city, township, or village, it shall be the duty of the mayor and each of the aldermen of such city, the supervisor of such township, the president and each of the trustees or members of the common council of such village, and of every justice of the peace living in such city, township, or village, and also of the sheriff of the county and his deputies, to go among the persons so assembled, or as near to them as may be with safety, and in the name of the people of this State to command all the persons so assembled immediately and peaceably to disperse.

(11335) SEC. 2. If the persons so assembled shall not, upon being so commanded, thereupon immediately and peaceably disperse, it shall be the duty of each of said magistrates and officers to command the assistance of all persons there present in seizing, arresting, and securing in custody the persons so unlawfully assembled so that they may be proceeded against for their offenses according to law.

(11336) SEC. 3. If any person present, being commanded by any of the magistrates or officers aforesaid to aid and assist in seizing and securing such rioters or persons so unlawfully assembled, or in suppressing such riot or unlawful assembly, shall refuse or neglect to obey such command, or when required by any such magistrate or officer to depart from the place of such riotous or unlawful assembly shall refuse or neglect so to do, he shall be deemed to be one of the rioters or persons unlawfully assembled, and shall be liable to be prosecuted and punished accordingly.

General Order No. 1, issued by Maj. A. H. Gansser, commanding the Third Regiment of Infantry, and dated Mohawk, Mich., August 31, contained the following item:

With the reduction of our military forces in the copper mines strike zone, the officers and men of this command are urged to redouble their vigilance, mindful of our mission, "To assist the civil authorities in the preservation of law and order and the safeguarding of life and property," mindful, too, that we are to perform this duty with firmness and kindness. Gen. Abbey directs that hostile crowds of more than 30 are to be peaceably dispersed. Rioters refusing to disperse are to be arrested, whether men, women, or children; this is to apply also to guard lines about mine properties.

The soldiers were not kept under proper discipline. One of the first orders issued by Gen. Abbey, General Order No. 3, dated July 26, 1913, provided:

Where such commanders of regiments find conditions warrant they may excuse applicants for limited time only. Not more than one man from any company, troop, or battery may be excused at the same time.

Gen. Abbey himself admitted that this order was not enforced. The result was that crowds of privates were daily seen on the streets; they visited saloons, and many of them became intoxicated, and some carried revolvers while they were in an intoxicated condition. They were reported to have visited disorderly houses.

On the night of August 12 a miner, a member of the Western Federation of Miners, was shot by a corporal near the Quincy mine because of neglect to obey an order to halt. The bullet took effect in one of his knees and in the calf of his other leg. Later during the same night a private was waylaid by an unknown person at South Kearsarge, and he was so badly beaten on the head that he was unconscious for several hours. On August 13 a private, who had been

kicked by a cavalry horse 10 days previously, died. No other soldiers were injured during the strike.

At Painesdale, about 5.30 p. m. on August 15, John Kollan, a striker, attempted to go to his boarding house by a short-cut path which had been used before the strike. A deputy sheriff, an employee of the Copper Range Consolidated Co., warned him not to go that way, and after a parley he went on. The deputy later asserted that Kollan threatened him, but this was denied. The deputy reported the matter to the man in charge of the Waddell men, and they decided to arrest Kollan on a charge of intimidation. Two deputies and four Waddell men then went to the boarding house. One of them laid his hand on Kollan's shoulder and told him he was arrested, but he broke away and ran into the house. Several other men who were playing tenpins in the yard also ran in the house, and it is claimed that one of the deputies was hit in the head by a tenpin. Thereupon the Waddell men and deputies surrounded the house on two sides and began firing at the inmates through three windows on one side and the back door. They claim that a shot was fired from the house. When the firing began there were 15 people in the house, including two women and four children. Four men were shot, and a baby in its mother's arms was powder burned. Firing continued until the six men had exhausted the bullets in their revolvers. One of the men in the house, Diazig Tizan, was killed instantly, and one of the wounded men, Steve Putric, died the next day. Another one of the wounded men was shot while he was sitting at a table eating supper. Neighbors later testified that the Waddell men and deputies, after shooting up the house, went into the street and gathered up stones and empty bottles and put them around the house to indicate that they had been used as missiles against them. These men then made a complete search of the house to find weapons, but did not find any. If a bullet was fired from the house no trace of it could be found, but the tracks of many bullets fired into the house were found in the walls.

Anthony Lucas, prosecuting attorney of Houghton County, visited the scene of the shooting, and after an investigation denounced it as wanton murder, and called upon the sheriff, James A. Cruse, to arrest all of the six men. The sheriff, however, allowed them all to escape and for several days their whereabouts were unknown. They fled to an adjoining county, and an attorney called on Lucas and told him that they would be returned if the charge against them was reduced from murder in the first degree. Lucas refused to compromise, and at the inquest the next week the men were present. After the inquest all six of them were indicted by a justice of the peace (who acts in such cases as a grand jury in other States) for murder in the second degree. The bond of each of the six men was placed at \$5,000 for the indictment in each of two cases, making \$10,000 bond required for each, and in default of bail they were committed to jail to await trial. Afterwards they were liberated on bail.

On Sunday, August 17, when Diazig Tizan and Steve Putric were buried, there was a great funeral parade of strikers at Calumet, and at the cemetery Federation leaders made speeches denouncing the

brutality of the Waddell men and deputy sheriffs. In the parade were displayed placards bearing the following inscriptions:

In memory of our murdered brothers.

Our Lord said: Do not take what you can not give.

Give not thy boughs of cedar; give back my life, oh things.

As a result of a clash between deputy sheriffs and a body of strikers and women, a girl 14 years of age, named Margaret Frazakas, daughter of a widow, was shot in the head, at North Kearsarge. An early morning picket parade of strikers, women, and children, from 150 to 200 in all, took place there on September 2. The soldiers prevented them from going near the mine, but while the soldiers were at breakfast the parade was stopped by 15 deputy sheriffs. When this occurred the paraders were going away from the mine and toward a county road, about 300 yards distant. The women and children were in front of the crowd when they were halted by the deputies at a crossroads. Epithets were passed between the crowd and the deputies, but no stones were thrown, clubs used, or arms fired, until the deputies began firing, and no shots were fired except by them. One of the deputies, a mine captain (foreman) gave the order to fire, and all of the deputies fired until they emptied their revolvers, about 90 shots in all. One of the first shots struck Margaret Frazakas down, but marvelously no other person was hit. The course of three bullets in a house on the corner showed that some of the shots were low enough to have struck persons, and one of the shots that pierced the side of the house came within a foot or two of hitting a man and child inside. Doubtless, however, many of the shots were fired in the air, else it is hard to account for only one person being injured. The girl was struck above the right ear by a bullet, and part of her brains oozed out. For days she was supposed to be fatally wounded. She was taken to the hospital at Laurium, where she remained for weeks. Her recovery was considered to be one of the most remarkable instances of the kind on record.

The deputies, after they had emptied their revolvers, did not take time to reload, but started to run, and they were pursued by the strikers, who not until then began to throw stones at them. They have not yet been brought to trial.

In Keweenaw County, where there are two mines, and where the Western Federation of Miners was very strongly organized, there was but little disorder during the first two months of the strike. John Hepting, the sheriff, had only a few deputies, and those he appointed at first were members of the Western Federation of Miners.

In July the local union of the federation granted written permission for members of the federation to continue as firemen at Mohawk and Ahmeek mines, to keep the pumps operating for the purpose of affording fire protection and providing electric lights at those mine locations. Trouble arose later at the Mohawk mine when the management attempted to require a master mechanic to attend the compressor pump for pumping out the water that was accumulating in the mine. The management brought nonfederation men from the company's stamp mill at Gay, 18 miles distant, to act as firemen. These men were intimidated by the strikers and left Mohawk because they deemed it was unsafe for them to remain there. At Ahmeek also the federation firemen were withdrawn.

When the first Ascher men were brought in on the night of September 29 some shooting occurred. They were brought in in a Pullman car to Ahmeek mine. Sheriff John Hepting and Prosecuting Attorney J. A. Hamilton of Keweenaw County investigated this shooting and reached the conclusion that the first shots were fired by men within the car. Thereupon they withdrew the blanket gun license which had been issued to the Ahmeek Mining Co. permitting employees of the company to carry arms. The prosecuting attorney stated that when these licenses had been issued the officers of the company had given a verbal promise to supply him with the names of those to be armed. He had required this promise because he feared that the company might bring in men from outside and arm them. These terms had not been kept by the company and therefore the license was revoked.

Gen. Abbey summoned the sheriff and prosecuting attorney to appear before him and expostulated with them about their withdrawal of the license for the guards at Ahmeek mine and said that this action would force the mine watchmen to carry their weapons openly. The result was the telegram to the governor, which follows:

EAGLE RIVER, MICH., October 2, 1913.

HON. W. N. FERRIS,
Governor, Lansing, Mich.

DEAR SIR: Due to the stirring conditions existing in Allouez Township since Monday evening, September 29, I find the situation is entirely beyond my control. Private citizens passing along the county road through said township have been fired upon from ambush and after careful investigation have been unable to apprehend any of the offenders. Several persons have been shot—no one seriously injured as yet. At a special meeting of the board of supervisors, called this day for discussion of this matter, with advice of prosecuting attorney and board of supervisors, I deemed it advisable to notify you and ask your aid in handling the situation, which is beyond my control.

JOHN HEPTING,
Sheriff.

J. A. HAMILTON,
Prosecuting Attorney.

F. X. KAISER,
Clerk.

S. R. SMITH,
Supervisor, Allouez Township.

WESLEY CLARKE,
Supervisor, Eagle Harbor Township.

D. L. VIVIAN,
Supervisor, Sherman Township.

During October there was more disorder than during previous months. Most of it occurred at Allouez and other mines in the northern end of Houghton County and at Ahmeek and Mohawk mines in the southern end of Keweenaw County. On October 3, 24 artillerymen were sent to Ahmeek, which increased the military force in Keweenaw County to 75 mounted men. On October 6 a clerk employed by the Ahmeek Mining Co., while passing a group of the strikers, was shot at twice. The second shot passed through his body. He stated that there were about 10 men in the party that fired on him, and that they fled when he fell. On October 15 Sheriff Hepting wrote to Gov. Ferris that in all Keweenaw County he was able to find only five men who would stand by him as deputies, protect the men who wanted to go back to work, and prevent violence.

He also said that he would be powerless without the aid of the troops, and without them the mines could not be operated.

On the morning of October 8 Deputy Sheriff James M. Pollack, jr., was found in an unconscious and dying condition on the sidewalk leading from Houghton to Hurontown. He had a number of wounds in his scalp and a bullet hole in his head. He lived less than two hours and never regained consciousness. On the same morning Joseph Minerich, bleeding profusely from a wound in the abdomen, walked into a boarding house at Hurontown. He was taken to a hospital in Hancock and died the night of October 9. Until his death he maintained that no one else was implicated in the shooting. However, nine men suspected of having been with Minerich at the time of the shooting were arrested on the charge of murder. One of these men, named Luka Pease, a brother-in-law of Minerich, is alleged to have made a statement that he, Minerich, and another man were walking on the sidewalk toward Houghton, that Minerich said something to Pollack which Pease did not hear, that thereupon Pollack shot Minerich in the stomach, and that while Pease was holding Pollack the latter was shot by Minerich. At the inquest a physician testified that in his opinion Pollack would not have been able to shoot anyone after he received the shot in his own brain. The case against the nine men arrested was set for hearing on October 29 before Judge Little.

On October 23, 35 strike breakers were brought to Calumet. While the train was stopped at Hancock, snowballs and stones were thrown at the car conveying the men. All the windows in this car and some in other cars were broken. Seven men charged with stoning the train were arrested. One of them was Dan Sullivan, president of District Union No. 16, Western Federation of Miners.

The newspapers reported several alleged attempts to wreck railroad trains in various parts of Houghton County by means of rails being spread or dynamite being placed on the tracks. This tampering with the tracks caused no injury, and the Miner's Bulletin claimed that it had been done to prejudice the public against the strikers, and that it was significant that the locomotive engineers knew just where to stop before running into danger. These incidents occurred after the agent of the Bureau of Labor Statistics had left the district.

In Ontonagon County, where there are several small mines, the Western Federation of Miners was even more strongly organized than it was in Keweenaw County. As no mine workers tried to go back to work in Ontonagon County, there was no disorder of any kind until the middle of October, when the Winona mine was reopened. The sheriff appointed only a few special deputies, and they were members of the federation.

Considering the number of men involved in the strike, the length of time the struggle was continued, and the bitterness caused by bringing soldiers and Waddell men to the district, the strike was remarkably peaceful. The only persons killed were two of the strikers, who were wantonly shot down by Waddell men and deputies at Painesdale, and a deputy and striker, who killed each other near Hurontown. The leaders of the Western Federation of Miners in charge of the strike repeatedly warned the strikers against car-

rying firearms and using intoxicants, and very few were arrested for these offenses. Undoubtedly many men that started to go back to work were intimidated and some abused and beaten. On the other hand, the deputy sheriffs and Waddell men acted with great brutality toward the strikers, and in many cases beat even women with clubs or night sticks.

In many cases it would be impossible to determine who was the aggressor. The real facts could be ascertained only by a court with power to subpoena witnesses, and even then there would doubtless be miscarriages of justice. The only conclusion that one can reach is that some of the violence was caused by the strikers and for some of it peace officers were responsible.

One of the most remarkable features of the strike was that, in spite of the excitement and passion which prevailed, no property of the mining companies was injured by strikers and, in fact, none showed any disposition to injure property.

During the course of the strike many of the strikers and some women were arrested on charges of intimidation or assault. When they were given hearings before justices of the peace, many of the cases were dismissed for want of sufficient evidence and in other cases the persons were released on peace bonds of from \$100 to \$300. Some of the accused persons were fined by the justices and some were bound over to the circuit court. Any person tried before a justice of the peace in Michigan has the right to demand a jury trial in the justice's court. In Houghton, Keweenaw, and Ontonagon Counties there is no grand jury, but justices of the peace bind over to the circuit court all persons charged with serious offenses.

The following table shows the number of persons charged with various offenses committed in connection with the strike who were given hearings before justices of the peace, according to a transcript of the various dockets, up to the dates mentioned:

Court.	Recorded to—	Number of persons.	Dismissed.	Acquitted.	Found guilty.	Bound over.	Ad-journed.	Placed under peace bond.
Justice Little's.....	Oct. 15	43	12	1		7	20	3
Justice O'Sullivan's.....	Oct. 8	58	16		1	11	27	3
Justice Eichkern's.....	Oct. 9	35	8		1	5	21	
Judge Armit's.....	Oct. 15	34	16	2	7	2	7	
Judge Jacolo's.....	Oct. 7	27	4	2	1	1	16	
Judge Fisher's.....	Oct. 10	56	17	2	4	7	26	
Judge Bartonen's.....	Oct. 10	2					2	
Justice Medlyn's.....	Oct. 11	8	1			3	4	
		263	74	7	14	39	123	6

The following is a list of the charges against persons for offenses committed in connection with the strike, and the number of persons against whom each offense was charged up to the dates mentioned in the table:

Males:	
Assault and battery.....	17
Assault with intent to commit murder.....	2
Assault with intent to do great bodily harm.....	19
Attempt at destruction of life or property.....	6
Carrying concealed weapons.....	10
Creating noise and disturbance.....	10

Males—Concluded.	
Drunk and disorderly.....	3
Felony assault.....	1
Inciting riot.....	32
Interfering with an officer.....	3
Intimidation.....	56
Loitering on sidewalks and street corners.....	1
Murder.....	15
No charge or not reported.....	7
Resisting an officer.....	17
Riotous assembly.....	5
Simple assault.....	3
Slander.....	1
Threatening to kill and murder.....	4
Unlawful assembly.....	1
Using indecent language in presence of women.....	1
Violation of ordinance No. 2, Red Jacket.....	1
	215
Females:	
Assault and battery.....	7
Assault with intent to do great bodily harm.....	1
Inciting riot.....	5
Intimidation.....	27
Resisting an officer.....	6
Simple assault.....	2
	48

The 15 persons charged with murder include 4 Waddell men and 2 deputy sheriffs charged with the murder of 2 strikers at Painesdale on August 15, and 9 men charged with the murder of Deputy Sheriff Pollack on October 8, when a striker also was killed. Of the 263 cases, all were against strikers or strike sympathizers, except the 6 men charged with murder at Painesdale. When the strikers mistreated the men that went to work during the strike they were arrested and fined, imprisoned, or bound over. But when peace officers, deputy sheriffs, soldiers, or Waddell men engaged in conflicts with the strikers and the officers were the aggressors in beating or riding down the strikers, there was no one to arrest the officers. This accounts for the fact that practically all of the cases in the courts of justices of the peace were against strikers.

The September term of the Houghton County circuit court was opened on September 2, and continued until September 20. Judge P. H. O'Brien presided. During this term the most serious cases against strikers were tried.

Louis Foder, charged with assault with a pistol with intent to kill a deputy sheriff, admitted that the pistol was discharged in a scuffle, but claimed that it was accidental, and after the judge, jury, and prosecuting attorney had inspected Foder's home, where the shooting had occurred, the judge, on motion of the prosecuting attorney, directed a verdict of not guilty.

Joseph Mihelich was charged with malicious attempt to destroy property. He had been arrested while passing a mine shaft, and some pieces of dynamite were found in his coat pocket. He claimed that he had been using dynamite for blowing up stumps in a farmer's field, who had promised him the wood from the stumps. In this case the jury reported a disagreement.

George Males, charged with assault with intent to do great bodily harm less than murder, in resisting an officer, was convicted only of simple assault, and appealed his case.

The statutes of Michigan provide that in each county the sheriff, county treasurer, county clerk, and judge of probate shall select the names of persons to act as petit jurors. The panel of 36 jurors that served during these trials was composed largely of employees of mining companies, and nearly all of the 36 were connected directly or indirectly with the companies. The only other striker tried during the September term of court was charged with carrying a concealed weapon, but was discharged. About 10 cases against strikers were continued over to the next term. These cases were those of persons charged with carrying concealed weapons, intimidation, and resisting an officer.

At the October term of the circuit court in Keweenaw County three cases connected with the strike were tried. The defendants in two cases were acquitted, and the other case was nolle prossed.

ARBITRATION PROPOSALS UNAVAILING.

The law of Michigan which provided for the settlement of strikes by a State board of arbitration, act 238, Public Laws of 1889, was repealed by the legislature of 1911.

The mining companies having refused even to acknowledge receipt of the communication from officials of the Western Federation of Miners, dated July 14, 1913, it was, of course, useless for the federation to ask the managers for a conference to arrange terms of arbitration. Two arbitration propositions made by the governor of Michigan and one made by the United States Department of Labor were accepted by the federation officials but were flatly refused by the mine managers. The managers held semiweekly meetings to discuss the strike situation and on all matters relating to the strike they acted together. All three propositions for arbitration were rejected by the managers on the ground that they would not deal with the Western Federation of Miners, for the reason, they asserted, that it was a lawless organization. They also claimed that there would have been no strike if their employees had not been incited to strike by agitators from Denver.

On July 29, six days after the strike began, C. E. Mahoney, vice president, and A. A. Kerr, attorney in Michigan for the federation, called on Gov. Woodbridge N. Ferris at Lansing and requested that he endeavor to arrange for holding a "joint conference of both sides" to the controversy, with the view of bringing about a settlement of the strike. In compliance with this request Gov. Ferris telegraphed Gen. Abbey as follows:

LANSING, MICH., July 29, 1913.

Gen. P. L. ABBEY,

Michigan National Guard, Calumet, Mich.

Present the following message to mine owners and employees involved in strike: "Mine owners and employees involved in strike: The welfare of this great Commonwealth demands a speedy settlement of your industrial dispute. As governor of Michigan, I offer my best services in joint conference of both sides to be held at Lansing at earliest possible date."

WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS.

On July 30 Gen. Abbey presented the governor's proposition to the managers at their meeting at the Houghton Club and, later in the day, presented it to officials of the Western Federation of Miners. The federation officials accepted the proposition, but the managers rejected it, their reply being as follows:

Gen. P. L. ABBEY,

Commanding Michigan National Guard.

SIR: In response to the message from his excellency the governor of Michigan to the mine owners and employees involved in strike, presented to us through you at a conference held this day for that purpose, and to which we have given careful consideration, we, who are the managers and superintendents of the mines affected by the existing situation, on behalf of the several companies and their numerous stockholders, as well as on behalf of the employees, who in a large majority have been and are not only willing but anxious to continue at work, desire to express to you, and through you to the governor, our high appreciation of the offer of his services in the pending dispute and our deep obligation to him therefor.

With the utmost respect for him personally, and for the high office which he holds with so much honor to the State of Michigan, and with great regret that the circumstances seem to us to render it necessary, we feel obliged to say that for the welfare and good name of the State as a whole, for the best interests of our employees, for the interests of this entire community, and as making for continued and lasting industrial peace and quiet in this district, we should not and can not enter into or take any part in a joint conference with the leaders or representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, which organization is solely responsible for the conditions now existing, nor with any representatives of those who are actively engaged in the strike, and who falsely assume to represent the great body of our employees.

In thus stating our position we feel that it is due to his excellency, as well as to yourself, that we should also state our reasons for this conclusion.

The copper mining district of Michigan has operated its mines on an extensive scale for upward of 50 years. In all that time there has been no general strike among the employees. There has never been any serious labor disturbance or dispute. The few which have occurred locally at some mine locations have been speedily and satisfactorily adjusted between the managements and the employees. There have been satisfaction and contentment on the part of those employed and good feeling and mutual respect between employers and employees. We believe it can be said truthfully that in this mining district the conditions of labor, the consideration for the employees, the means taken for their comfortable housing, for their general welfare, for their health, for the education of their children, and their fair and generous treatment in every respect have not been excelled anywhere in any industry of like kind.

The history of the Western Federation of Miners is well known. That organization was directly responsible for the strike in the Cœur d'Alene district, the Home-stake strike, the strike on the Mesaba Range in 1907, the recent strike in the Porcupine district in Ontario, the strikes at Bingham and at El Paso, and others which may be recalled. Each of those strikes was accompanied by lawlessness, riots, assaults, violence, destruction of property, and bloodshed. They resulted in the bloody riots of Colorado; the blowing up of the railroad station, with great loss of life; the assassination of Superintendent Collins of the Smuggler Union; the blowing up of Mr. Bulkeley Welles of the Smuggler Union; the murder of ex-Gov. Steunenberg of Idaho. Some of these strikes were under the leadership of some of the leaders of the present one. All of them were organized, incited, instituted, and called by the Western Federation of Miners.

About the year 1907 this federation, with such a record behind it, began to send their organizers from the West into this district. They have carried on a systematic attempt to secure the complete domination of the mine laborers of this district.

They have attempted to breed and engender discontent among some 20,000 employees of the mining industry, and it is but natural that they secured many recruits. For a long time it has been definitely known that as soon as their leaders felt that they were strong enough a strike would be called.

It is reliably known to us that the federation succeeded only in a small measure in attracting to itself the employees of the mining industry in this district. The majority, and on reliable information the large majority, of the employees declined to affiliate with them. On direct information, a very large number believed that they had no

grievance to strike for and did not wish to strike; on reliable information, the greater part of them desired to continue at work and now desire to resume work.

On the 23d of July the strike called by the officials of the Western Federation of Miners took place. It was and is under the direction of skilled and experienced strike leaders of the federation, who are not residents of this district or of this State. The strike took out only those affiliated with that organization on the morning when it went into effect. Many of our employees continued at work for the day.

A campaign of violence and riot was at once instituted. The officers of the counties were without power to maintain order or to restrain lawlessness. By threats publicly made, including threats of destruction of their homes in their absence, violence to their families, and death to themselves, the men of the night shift were deterred from going to work underground. Mechanics and laborers were driven from their employment by riotous mobs, armed with firearms, clubs, rocks, iron bars, and other weapons. Mechanics, miners, and laborers who desired to work, or while at work, were cruelly beaten and many were severely injured. One old man 75 years of age, who had worked in the mine for more than 30 years, was beaten and seriously injured. Another of like age was driven from his work at the point of a gun. The officers of the law were helpless, derided, cursed, and their authority ignored. A deputy sheriff's star was a signal for an attack on the wearer. Officers were assaulted and beaten. Active resistance undoubtedly would have resulted in the destruction of property and the loss of many lives. A store building and its contents were burned after the proprietors announced that they must refuse credit. The men were driven from the pumps and the mines were flooded with water, causing great destruction and damage. At some of the mines even the operation of pumps for the fire protection of the community was forcibly prevented and the men driven out. At every branch of the mining industry at the several mining locations the labor of the employees willing and anxious to work was stopped forcibly, riotously, by threats and intimidation, by violence and assault, by woundings and beatings. For the remainder of the week every mining location was wholly at the mercy of these rioters, and millions of dollars' worth of property absolutely in their hands.

All this was but the repetition of the results which have invariably followed the calling of a strike by the councils of the Western Federation of Miners.

Of their membership in this community many of our employees, since the strike was instituted, have been taken from their homes and intimidated and forced under threats into joining the federation. The strikers have paraded by day and by night, armed with weapons of all kinds, and have forced men, unwilling to do so, to join their parades. The large majority of our employees at the mine locations were for the time terrorized into complete submission to these riotous strikers, who are those who have affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners, and none others.

There was no call by these strikers for conference or for mediation or for adjustment while they thus completely dominated the situation.

There is therefore no industrial dispute between the mine owners and employees. Under the circumstances and because of our knowledge that the majority of our employees have at no time sympathized with the purposes of the federation, and have been and are now willing and anxious to continue in their employment, we can not recognize the right of the Western Federation of Miners to intervene or to assume to represent our employees with respect to the present conditions, or in any other manner whatsoever.

The suggested joint conference of both sides could mean nothing other than a conference in which one side would not be our employees or representatives of our employees, but would be the Western Federation of Miners or its representatives, whose sole object is undeniably to establish the federation in a dominant control of the mining industry of this district. With them we can not confer, and, with all respect to his excellency, we feel that we can not enter into a joint conference with or in any manner recognize that organization, which, most certainly to our knowledge, does not represent our employees, with the great majority of whom we have no dispute of any kind.

It has constantly been the practice in the past and will continue to be the practice in the future for managements of the various companies to confer freely with their own employees or with representatives of their employees on any matter relating to improved working conditions or real or supposed grievances and willingly to redress or correct any wrongs. No intervention of any kind was or will be necessary for such joint conferences; but to confer or treat with an organization foreign to your territory and to the interest of our employees and not in any manner representing them is something which we can not contemplate.

We desire to be clear and emphatic in conveying to you our opposition to the Western Federation of Miners, in the firm belief, based upon its record, which is a matter of history, that the domination of this district by that particular organization, for which purpose alone this strike has been incited and instituted by that organization, can result in nothing but harm to the best interests and welfare of our employees and of this entire community, and can conduce to nothing but a continuance of discontent, which is their doctrine, and a constant recurrence of lawlessness and disorder, which seem to follow upon their methods.

In spite of the beneficent effect of the presence of the Michigan National Guard under your efficient command, which has given to the people and the business interests of this community a feeling of confidence and a comparative peace and quiet, yet the intimidation of our employees, threats of personal violence, of the destruction of property, and even of the taking of human lives, continue to this day. No later than yesterday employees of more than one of our companies, nonsympathizers with the Western Federation of Miners, were set upon and cruelly beaten. Under no circumstances would we consent to confer with strikers or representatives of strikers or to compromise any differences or consider alleged grievances with a body of men who are thus lawlessly conducting themselves.

Under all the trying circumstances of the riotous proceedings of the days before your arrival we have refrained from the employment or the use of private armed guards. In the belief that the prevention of bloodshed was the first and the highest consideration, we prohibited and prevented the use of firearms or deadly weapons against those who were attacking our property and our employees. We have relied solely upon the constituted authorities for their protection. The local officers of the law, with conscientious and zealous desire to that end, found themselves without power to cope with the lawlessness, disorder, violence, and riotous conduct which ensued from the first inception of the strike. Through the request of his excellency, preferred by officials charged by law with the exercise of discretion in the matter, the Michigan National Guard, under your command, has come to this community for the sole purpose of the maintenance and enforcement of law and order, without favor either to mine owners or strikers.

We have imported no strike breakers. We have imported no mechanics, miners, or laborers. Our old employees, to a large majority within our own knowledge, who have no grievance and with whom we have no dispute, are willing and anxious to resume their work, from which they have been driven by force and violence on the part of a comparatively small but well-organized and well-officered body of strikers, who have submitted themselves to the influence and domination of the Western Federation of Miners.

Our only request of the great Commonwealth of Michigan is that our old employees who are willing and anxious to resume work may be permitted to do so without molestation from those who have undertaken and thus far succeeded by intimidation and personal violence in preventing them in the exercise of the right which the laws of Michigan assure to them to labor without interference or molestation. If our employees could to-day be assured of their entire freedom from unlawful molestation, if they could feel sure that their homes and their families would be safe in their absence, we should be assured of an immediate or speedy settlement, not of an industrial dispute which has no existence, but of a situation which if continued will mean that the organization known as the Western Federation of Miners, its local councils and those of our employees who have affiliated with it, and who alone constitute the active strikers, are not amenable to the laws of this State.

We have every assurance and a confident belief that our attitude as herein stated to you with reference to the present deplorable situation and with reference to the domination of the district by the Western Federation of Miners has the hearty support and approval of the entire business interests and the responsible citizenship of this community.

It is our belief, respectfully expressed, that the best and highest welfare of this great Commonwealth of Michigan demands as a foremost consideration that its laws be enforced, that lawlessness, violence, and disorder be restrained, and that the miners, mechanics, and laborers who desire to work be permitted to do so without violation on the part of any organization, combination of strikers or individuals, of the statute which makes it an offense against the peace and dignity of the people of this Commonwealth, by threats or intimidations or otherwise, and without authority of law, to interfere with or in any way to

molest or disturb any mechanic or other laborer in the peaceful pursuit of his lawful avocation.

We again wish to express our profound appreciation of the offer of his excellency communicated to us through you. If the situation were such as to admit of the suggested joint conference, we should gladly and thankfully accept the offer of his excellency the governor. We trust that we have shown by the statement of a situation which can be fully substantiated sufficient reasons for respectfully declining to enter into any conference with the Western Federation of Miners or its representatives.

We also wish to express to his excellency and to yourself our full appreciation of the prompt action which resulted in the presence in this district of the Michigan National Guard, which under your efficient command, with favor toward no interest, either of mine owners or employees, has in so large a measure restored to this community that peace and order and observance of law which makes in the highest degree for the welfare of the community and of the entire State.

Very respectfully,

JAS. MACNAUGHTON.
F. W. DENTON,
Copper Range Consolidated Co.
CHAS. L. LAWTON.
THEO. DENGLE.
R. M. EDWARDS.
J. L. HARRIS.

July 30, 1913.

The following mines are represented by the above signatures:

Mr. James MacNaughton is general manager of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co., Ahmeek Mining Co., Allouez Mining Co., North Kearsarge Mine, South Kearsarge Mine, Tamarack Mining Co., Osceola Consolidated Co., Laurium Mining Co., La Salle Copper Co., Isle Royale Copper Co., Superior Copper Co., St. Louis Copper Co., and Centennial Copper Mining Co.

Mr. F. W. Denton is general manager of the Baltic Mining Co., Champion Copper Co., and Trimountain Mining Co.

Mr. Charles L. Lawton is general manager of the Quincy Mining Co.

Mr. Theodore Dengler is agent of the Wolverine Copper Mining Co., and Mohawk Mining Co.

Mr. R. M. Edwards is president and general manager of the Franklin Mining Co., Rhode Island Copper Co., Indiana Mining Co., North Lake Mining Co., Algoma Mining Co., and general manager of the South Lake Mining Co.

Mr. J. L. Harris is general manager of the Hancock Consolidated Mining Co. and Oneco Copper Mining Co.

The second effort of Gov. Ferris to effect a settlement of the strike was through Judge Alfred H. Murphy, of the circuit court of Wayne County. Judge Murphy spent nearly two weeks in the copper range, acquainting himself with labor conditions in the mines and the causes of dissatisfaction that had led to the strike. On August 14 he held a conference with the mine managers at the Houghton Club, and urged them to agree to arbitration of the strike. He even went so far as to propose arbitration with the question of recognition of the federation eliminated, he having been assured by the federation officials that they would not insist upon a consideration of that question. The reply of the managers follows:

At the recent meeting with you of the mine managers of Houghton and Keweenaw Counties, the operations of whose mines is affected by the existing strike conditions, you submitted to us the following question:

"Eliminating any recognition now or hereafter of the Western Federation of Miners, what terms and conditions of labor will you authorize me, as the representative of the governor, to present to anyone interested as the basis for the reemployment of your men?"

You are authorized as representative of the governor to state that the men will be reemployed on the same terms and conditions of labor as existed at the several properties prior to the inception of the strike. That in such re-

employment the fact that a former employee has been a member of, or otherwise affiliated with, the Western Federation of Miners, will not of itself be considered as a bar to his reentering our employ. But we reserve the right to use our individual discretion as to the reemployment of any who may be known to have engaged in acts of agitation, lawlessness, violence, or intimidation, or inciting thereto. After such employment and the cessation of strike conditions any body of the employees at any mining property or affected individuals brought to the attention of any one of us through his own employees will be given full consideration, with the desire, as in the past of each of us severally, to correct any wrongs that we may find to exist, either in individual instances or in general conditions.

The foregoing answer to your question is the basis for the reemployment of our men. The great differences in working conditions existing at the various mines have made it impossible to formulate a statement of the terms and conditions of labor which could be made uniformly applicable to the several mines with justice to their respective employees or with fairness to the several mining companies. But you are further authorized, assuming such reemployment ensues, to state with respect to matters mentioned by you at our conference.

As to wages, let us say that the adoption of a uniform minimum wage is impracticable, owing to the great differences in conditions at the several properties. But to you, as the representative of the governor, we will when the work is resumed, and for a reasonable period thereafter, submit our pay rolls and all material data, and if, after being informed as to attendant conditions and circumstances, you find any iniquities in specific individual instances, they will be remedied in accordance with your recommendations. If, taking into full consideration the living and working conditions, the advantages and privileges furnished to or for the employees, the costs of mining and production, and all material circumstances, you find at any of our mines that the general rates of wages as to any class or all classes of employees are inadequate, unfair, or inequitable, we will severally give full and fair consideration to your recommendations in that regard.

As to the working hours, we have each had for some time under consideration a change in this respect, with the intention, if and so far as found practicable, to bring about as near an approach as conditions may warrant to an eight-hour day for our underground employees, a portion of whom have heretofore been in close approximation to that condition. The present situation does not alter our intentions. Any change of this character involves to a great extent a reorganization of the operations and for that reason must be a gradual one. The time within which it can be brought about can not now be stated. We can now state only the fact that it has been and is under favorable consideration.

As for the one-man drill, we can only state that with respect to this, as to all our operations, our efforts, in advance of all other considerations, are exerted toward securing the safety of our employees. The conditions of competition, the low grade of our rock as compared with other districts, the increasing expense, with debts and other conditions, have made the use of the one-man drill imperative for the continuation of operations.

The request for nonemployment of boys under 18 is clearly a matter for the legislature. The foregoing involves as a condition the early cessation of strike conditions, the elimination of any recognition now or hereafter of the Western Federation of Miners, and the withdrawal from that organization of those of its members who may be reemployed. This is not imposed as a condition of an arbitrary nature, nor is it stated through ill will, but must be recognized that in view of the nature of the teachings and utterances of such leaders in their addresses to their members and to the public with respect to ourselves, our officials, our employees, and our companies, there can not be a restoration of harmony, good feeling, and mutual respect between employers and employees, between bosses and men, or among the men themselves in any other way. To act otherwise on our part, to fail to bring about such restoration, most essential to the welfare of our men and of the community and the State, would be to invite an early renewal of strife.

James MacNaughton, general manager of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co., Ahmeek Mining Co., Allouez Mining Co., North Kearsarge Mine, South Kearsarge Mine, Tamarack Mining Co., Osceola Consolidated Mining Co., Laurium Mining Co., LaSalle Copper Co., Isle Royale Copper Co., Superior Copper Co., St. Louis Copper Co., and Centennial Copper Mining Co.

F. W. Denton, general manager of the Baltic Mining Co., Champion Copper Co., and Trimountain Mining Co.
 Charles L. Lawton, general manager Quincy Mining Co.
 Theodore Dengler, agent of the Wolverine Copper Mining Co. and Mohawk Mining Co.
 R. M. Edwards, president and general manager of the Franklin Mining Co., Indiana Mining Co., North Lake Mining Co., Algoma Mining Co., and general manager of South Lake Mining Co.
 J. L. Harris, general manager of the Hancock Consolidated Mining Co. and Oneco Copper Mining Co.
 R. R. Seeber, superintendent of the Winona Mining Co. and Houghton Copper Co.

Judge Murphy made his report to Gov. Ferris on July 26, and on the next day gave out for publication the following statement:

One of the duties given me by the governor was to offer my services in mediation in an effort to learn what concessions, if any, the employers would make. I put to them a question which eliminated the employees' demand for recognition of the Western Federation of Miners. I did so, because I am satisfied that the employers will not recognize the federation, whatever be the cost to themselves, their employees, and the whole community. With the obstacle of recognition removed, I wanted to see what the employers were willing to do. With that I learned it could then be ascertained what concessions the employees would make. The controversy would thus be narrowed to its smallest compass. Eliminating recognition of the federation, the question asked upon what terms the strikers would be reemployed.

The answer of the employers has now been made public. There are two outstanding features in it which in my judgment are unreasonable and arbitrary. A conference with the mine managers was had after the receipt of this answer. They adhere unalterably to it. I could not, with self-respect, propose these terms to the employees, for no self-respecting striker could submit to the two conditions I refer to.

The employers insist on refusing in their individual discretion reemployment to any striker who has engaged "in acts of agitation," or who has "incited thereto." To agitate for improved conditions, to agitate for the right of employees to organize, to agitate for any legitimate end is the right of every citizen. To penalize the exercise of that right by refusing employment throughout the copper country to any striker is to put him and his family upon that community practically without employment. It is wrong fundamentally and wholly wrong in principle. In policy nothing so much reminds me of it as the obtuse course of the Bourbons. It would put the strikers who return to work in the position of sacrificing their fellows who had been loyal in a common cause.

The position of the employers that withdrawal from the membership in the federation must be a condition precedent to reemployment is equally arbitrary and untenable. In principle, if the employer can do this, he can, with like propriety, compel withdrawal from any political, religious, or social body as a condition of employment. It is basically un-American. In this tense situation, where power should be used generously and gently, it is a policy which will set men's teeth, evoke in the striker the spirit of loyalty and sacrifice, and make them ready to suffer desperate hardships before acknowledging any such right in the employer.

The respective contentions concerning wages, hours, and other conditions of labor are attended by many considerations and by different factors in different mines. We are prone, I think, in the lower peninsula, to identify the copper country with the Calumet & Hecla only. True, it and its 12 subsidiary companies dominate the situation. But there are 15 other mining companies. Some of them have been operating for years without paying a dividend. Some have been calling upon their stockholders for from \$80,000 to \$100,000 a year in assessments to keep them running, in the hope that a profitable mine will be developed. And while at least a living wage may rightly be demanded from all mine operators, there are many conditions to be studied in working out just conclusions upon the questions of hours and wages.

I believe there are real grievances, at least upon the part of the trammers. They fill and move for distances varying from 50 to 1,500 and even, at places, 2,000 feet, a car which empty weighs 1,900 pounds and which carries 2½ tons

of rock. In the mines of South Africa this work is done by electric haulage. These trammers complain so generally of the treatment they receive from their bosses that I think a foundation for the complaints must exist. Nor do I believe that they have had opportunity in the past, without incurring the penalty of added difficulties and even discharges, to appeal from the boss to a higher authority for redress.

The time consumed by all underground men in getting to the levels below and returning to the surface at the close of work is borne by the employees. In the Butte (Mont.) district this is divided, the workmen going down on their own time and coming up on the company's time.

The one-man drill, of which there are now 400 in the Calumet & Hecla mine, has, I believe, like all labor-saving devices, come to stay. Its installation should be, if it has not been, accompanied by equitable conditions as to pay and safe conditions of operation.

I speak of the foregoing as indicating the real need of improvement in some conditions. To arrive at just conclusions on all the matters in dispute would involve full inquiry in the presence of, and with the cross-examination of, both employers and employees.

What should the State do? It is maintaining troops in the strike region at great expense. Many of Michigan's manufacturers are directly interested as consumers of copper.

The Commonwealth, as the organ of society at large, is directly concerned not only with the industrial but with the social and economical welfare of all the parties in interest—the men, the women, and the children of the Keweenaw Peninsula.

Yet the State is compelled to look on, with the contending forces at arm's length, with no ample authority to take care of its interests. Just what the State can do and should do in such a situation calls for careful study. It should not be done in a haphazard way.

The Canadian act, which provides a board of investigation and conciliation for industrial disputes in which is involved any public necessity, whether an article of commerce or a public utility, points a way. In Canada a board composed of three members—one appointed by each of the contending parties, and a chairman selected by both—is delegated to investigate. It has the full power of a court of record to compel the testimony of witnesses and the production of papers. A lockout or a strike must be suspended when contemplated until the board completes its hearing and makes its formal finding. Its report is not binding upon the parties. Its only appeal is to public opinion. But it is an appeal made after full inquiry and with an effort at impartiality. After the report, if desired, the lockout or strike may go into effect notwithstanding the finding. From March, 1907, to March, 1913, the act was invoked 145 times, and there were only 18 strikes during that period.

The State should at least have the power to bring the parties in for full examination. The State, as the ancient phrase has it, is *parens patrie*—the father of the country. For its own welfare and protection, and because of the social obligations it owes its people, it must devise a way of fulfilling that duty. But this calls for no hasty, ill-considered legislative program. It requires careful research and sound judgment.

That the duty which the State also owes its people to protect life and property still requires the presence of troops can not be doubted by anyone who will make impartial inquiry into existing conditions. The troops are being gradually reduced, and the governor, upon the information given him, will continue this policy. The time is not yet here when they may be wholly withdrawn.

A dispatch from Big Rapids, Mich., the home of Gov. Ferris, dated August 26, and published in the Houghton and Calumet Daily Mining Gazette, said that, after his conference with Judge Murphy, the governor said:

Judge Murphy's mission has been accomplished to my entire satisfaction. My talk with him merely strengthens my prior convictions. I do not hesitate to say that the men have real grievances. By this I do not want to be understood as taking the position that they are right in all their contentions and should have all the concessions they demand, but they are entitled to some of the things they ask, and this fact, in my opinion, makes the position taken by the operators seem arrogant and unfair.

You can say for me that as long as the presence of the soldiers in the copper country is necessary to afford any man who desires it protection for life and property they will remain on the job.

On September 4 Charles H. Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners, and Clarence Darrow, of Chicago, one of the federation's legal advisers, called on Gov. Ferris at Lansing and urged that he again endeavor to settle the strike by arbitration. Following is a copy of a letter written by President Moyer from Chicago on the same day and a copy of the governor's reply:

CHICAGO, September 4, 1913.

MR. WOODRIDGE N. FERRIS,

Governor of Michigan, State Capitol Building, Lansing, Mich.

DEAR SIR: Per your request, I hereby submit in writing the terms of settlement agreeable to the striking miners of the copper district in the State of Michigan.

First. The employer shall agree that all men who went on strike shall be reinstated in their former positions.

Second. The right of the employees to join any society, association, or organization shall be conceded by the employers. This being agreed to by the employers, the employees agree to submit all other questions in dispute, including hours, wages, and the one-man machine, to a board of arbitration, said board to be created as follows: Employers to select two members, the employees two, and the governor of the State of Michigan to act as the fifth member of the board, both parties at interest to be bound by the findings of the board.

Respectfully submitted.

CHARLES H. MOYER

(In behalf of the employees).

President Western Federation of Miners.

STATE OF MICHIGAN, EXECUTIVE CHAMBERS.

Lansing, September 5, 1913.

MY DEAR SIR: I have your communication of September 4, also one from Mr. Clarence Darrow, of Chicago, bearing the same date. I thank you for this communication. Rest assured that I shall continue to do everything in my power to bring about a settlement of this strike whereby justice will be the dominating factor.

I wish to assure you that I have done everything within my capacity to bring about a just settlement of this strike. My regret is that the very men I have pleaded for during the past 25 years should utterly misunderstand my attitude. I care nothing about this, provided the strike has a righteous conclusion.

Very sincerely, yours,

WOODRIDGE N. FERRIS, Governor.

MR. CHARLES H. MOYER,

President Western Federation of Miners, Calumet, Mich.

A dispatch from Lansing, dated September 15 and published in the Hancock Evening Journal of that date, said:

Gov. Ferris to-day received notice that another attempt to bring a settlement of the copper strike had failed. He received the following telegram from Allen F. Rees, of Houghton, attorney for the mine managers:

"We can not act along the lines of your telegram, because conditions seem to make it impossible."

The telegram referred to by Rees contained a plan of arbitration proposed by Chairman Hemaus, of the State railroad commission, and embodied the withdrawal of the Western Federation of Miners from the controversy.

During September Gov. Ferris was urged to call an extra session of the legislature to enact measures which would provide for arbitration or for improved conditions in the mining districts. Among measures which he was asked by various persons to recommend were:

1. The enactment of a law reestablishing a State board of arbitration.

2. The enactment of an eight-hour law for men working underground, similar to such laws in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

3. The enactment of a law which would prohibit sheriffs from bringing men from other States into their counties to act as "aids."

4. The enactment of a law which would change the burden of paying the expense of the militia, when called out on strike duty, from the State treasury to the treasury of the county where the militia should be sent.

5. The enactment of a law which would impose a tonnage tax on the production of the mineral mines of the State.

Gov. Ferris issued a letter to all the members of the legislature asking for their advice as to calling an extra session, and a large majority advised against it. He then abandoned the idea.

The Houghton and Calumet Daily Mining Gazette of September 11 said that Claude O. Taylor, president of the Michigan Federation of Labor, who had been in the copper district several days, and who had conferred with officers of the Western Federation of Miners, would call upon James MacNaughton, general manager of the Calumet & Hecla Mining Co., and lay before him another plan for arbitrating the strike. The Gazette further said:

The plan is practically the same as those already submitted to the corporations by Gov. Ferris, Clarence Darrow, and others, excepting that the labor people are willing to arbitrate the question as to whether or not the corporations shall recognize the right of the men to organize local unions not affiliated with the federation.

It is proposed to have the arbitration committee made up of seven men, three to be appointed by the strikers, three by the mining companies, and the seventh by these six. The strikers' three delegates are to be local men who are not officials of the federation of miners.

On September 11, Mr. Taylor called at the Calumet & Hecla offices, but the general manager refused to meet him.

At a regular semiweekly meeting of the mine managers, held at the Houghton Club on September 17, John A. Moffitt, special representative of the United States Department of Labor, presented the two following propositions:

Houghton, Mich., September 17, 1913.

To the managers of the mines in the copper district of Michigan.

GENTLEMEN: As special representative of the United States Department of Labor, I offer for your immediate consideration the good offices of the department in bringing about an adjustment of the existing strike of the mine workers. These good offices of the department are offered to you, collectively or separately, for the purpose of mediation, conciliation, or arbitration, under existing conditions, preferably the latter, to wit:

First. That all the issues involved in the strike shall be settled by arbitration.

Second. That the board of arbitration shall be composed of five members.

Third. That two of the members shall be selected by the mine managers.

Fourth. That two of the members shall be chosen by the mine workers now on strike.

Fifth. That the latter two members shall not be members of the Western Federation of Miners.

Sixth. That the latter two members shall be selected at a meeting which all mine workers now on strike shall be invited to attend.

Seventh. That the fifth member shall be designated by the United States Secretary of Labor.

Eighth. That the decision of this board of arbitration shall be binding on both the managers and the mine workers now on strike.

If this proposal as a whole is not acceptable to you, I request that you indicate what part of the proposition is objectionable.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN A. MOFFITT,

Special Representative, United States Department of Labor.

Houghton, Mich., September 17, 1913.

To the managers of the mines in the copper district of Michigan.

GENTLEMEN: With the view of adjusting amicably the differences between you and your former employees now on strike, I propose to you, collectively or separately, that you discuss these differences with a committee composed of such a number of persons as you may suggest; that these persons shall be members of the Western Federation of Miners, or shall not be members of that organization, as you may prefer, and they shall be chosen at a meeting which all of the mine workers on strike shall be invited to attend.

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN A. MOFFITT,

Special Representative, United States Department of Labor.

At this meeting of the mine managers some of them requested Mr. Moffitt to secure from the Western Federation of Labor information as to the number of members of the federation in the Michigan copper district at the time of the referendum vote on calling a strike and the number that voted in favor of striking. To each of the managers Mr. Moffitt sent a letter as follows:

Calumet, Mich., September 19, 1913.

To the managers of the mines in the copper district of Michigan.

GENTLEMEN: In compliance with the request that was made at your meeting in Houghton on the 17th instant, that I should ascertain if possible the number of votes cast by your employees in favor of a strike and the conditions under which the vote was taken, I desire to inform you that, upon investigation at the union headquarters at Calumet and other points, I gathered the following information:

That the executive board of the Federation of Miners was requested by the mine workers of this district to give their approval to holding a referendum vote on two propositions, which was granted, to wit:

A. Asking for a joint conference of the mine managers and the employees.

B. In case a joint conference should be refused, that a strike be called.

After the aforesaid request was granted, meetings of the men were held at their respective places of meeting in this district, and they were notified that on July 1 balloting would begin at the offices of the secretaries at the following places: Calumet, Ahmeek, South Range, Hancock, and Mass City, and that the polls would be open each day until July 12 from 8 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock p. m., and all the men were urged to vote.

Notice of said balloting was advertised in the local papers in foreign languages, and committees of the men were also sent to the various localities to remind the men of the referendum. The polls were closed to voting at 12 o'clock noon on July 12, and a canvass of the votes showed that nearly 9,000 votes were cast, and of this number 98 per cent voted in favor of the aforementioned propositions.

Very truly, yours,

JOHN A. MOFFITT,

Special Representative, United States Department of Labor.

When Mr. Moffitt presented the propositions for mediation or arbitration to the mine managers on September 17, their attorney, Allan F. Rees, said that these propositions contained "several new elements," and some time would be required to draft a formal reply. By "new elements" he probably referred particularly to the pro-

strikers should not be members of the Western Federation of Miners, the mining companies having always declared that they would not consent to arbitration by a board on which the federation was represented. He also probably referred to the request that if the arbitration proposition should not be acceptable as a whole the managers should indicate what part of the proposition was objectionable.

The reply of the mine managers, dated September 20, refusing to accept the good offices of the United States Department of Labor, did not discuss the propositions in detail, but was only a reiteration of the managers' declaration that "the real issue involved in the strike is recognition of the Western Federation of Miners," and that they were unalterably determined to bring about the "elimination" of that organization in the Michigan copper district. Their reply in full follows:

HON. JOHN A. MOFFITT,

Special Representative, United States Department of Labor.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned, being managers of the copper mines of the counties of Houghton and Keweenaw, in the State of Michigan, desire to express to you their most sincere appreciation of your offer of the good offices of the department in bringing about an adjustment of the existing strike, involving part of the mine workers of our companies, submitted to us in yours of September 16.

The first offer submitted by you begins with the proposition: "That all of the issues involved in the strike shall be settled by arbitration."

The real issue involved in the strike is recognition of the Western Federation of Miners as an organization entitled to represent, through its officials, the mine workers of the district. This has been publicly announced in speeches and in print by the officials of that organization themselves.

In like offers of mediation made by the governor of Michigan personally and through personal representatives appointed by him and acting by his authority we have heretofore definitely declined to treat with the Western Federation of Miners, either directly or indirectly. This conclusion was arrived at in the first instance because of the past history of the federation in its operations throughout the mining districts of the West; because it was and is our firm conviction that the domination of the employees of the mining companies by that federation would not be to the best interests of our employees themselves; and because the federation was entirely unjustified in attempting to speak as the representatives of our employees for the reason that, according to our best information at the time of the inception of the strike, confirmed by all the information which we have obtained since then, not to exceed 25 per cent of the employees of the companies (and in many instances a much smaller percentage) were members of the organization and the large majority of our employees were not willing to be dominated by that organization.

It should also be recognized that because of the attitude of the officers, leaders, and organizers of the Western Federation toward the mining companies and their officials and employees there could not be a resumption of mutual relations and good will and confidence between employers and employees so long as the employees or any part of them are under the influence or domination of the federation. This should be apparent from the nature of the teachings and utterances of the officers, leaders, and organizers of the federation, as set forth in their published speeches and in their official applications.

LARGE FORCE AT WORK.

All of the larger mines of the district have resumed operations with a large portion of the normal forces of their employees, who are entirely satisfied with conditions. In the case of the Calumet & Hecla, after deducting from the normal force those who are known to have removed from the district by reason of strike conditions or for other reasons, from 80 to 85 per cent of its employees have returned to work and are now engaged in their several occupations. Similar conditions (with varying percentages) exist at the other larger mines of the district which are now in operation.

Under these circumstances it is our judgment that we would be remiss in our duties toward the great majority of our employees if we should take any action which in any manner would recognize the Western Federation of Miners as the representatives of the mine workers or as dictating or dominating the actions of our employees, even to the extent of an arbitration as to their right to recognition or as to any other difference, real or fancied, which the federation may urge.

For these reasons, among many others which might be mentioned, we must adhere to our position that we will in no manner deal with the Western Federation of Miners, either directly, through mediation, arbitration, or in any other way.

The only issue involved at the time the strike was called by the Western Federation of Miners was our refusal to enter into any conference with a committee of representatives of the federation. The only demand that was made was for such a conference, with a statement that if we were not willing to meet the officials of the Western Federation of Miners it would be taken as proof that the situation could not be settled peaceably. We have had no other grievances submitted to us in any way, either officially or otherwise. This was not a grievance of our employees, but was a grievance of the federation represented by their officials and organizers from other States, who are entirely unjustified in making any claims to a right to represent the employees of the mines of this district.

Both of your propositions, as submitted by you, involve arbitration or discussion by or with committees, a part of them to be chosen "by the mine workers now on strike."

The mine workers now on strike are those only who are members of the Western Federation of Miners. As above stated, they constitute but a small part of our employees. No method of choosing or appointing arbitrators or committees by "the mine workers now on strike" could be devised in which such choice will not be the direct choice of the Western Federation of Miners as such, and with that federation we will have no dealings of any kind.

It can not be too definitely understood with relation to the present situation that the mining companies can not and will not in any manner recognize or deal with the Western Federation of Miners. They do not represent our employees, but, on the contrary, under present conditions, they stand between the employers and the employees as the only bar to a satisfactory and amicable adjustment of all existing differences.

Because of this situation and without any lack of full appreciation of the efforts of yourself and the Department of Labor, we feel that it is necessary to say to you that we can not accept any plan of mediation or arbitration between the mine employers and the mine workers on strike, which is but another designation for the Western Federation of Miners.

But we suggest to you in view of the situation as above stated and as it exists in the counties of Houghton and Keweenaw at this date, that if you should use your personal influence and the influence of the Department of Labor to induce the officials, organizers, and leaders of the Western Federation of Miners to come to a full realization of the futility of any attempt to secure recognition in this district or to retain a standing therein which would permit them to remain as a factor of influence among our employees or any portion thereof, and to withdraw themselves and their influence from the present situation and from the district, there would be nothing in the way of an early adjustment of any differences or grievances, if they exist, between the employers and their employees. In this way and in this way only can the present deplorable condition be remedied or adjusted.

Since the inception of the strike it has been stated in published speeches of the officials of the Western Federation of Miners that they demanded an eight-hour day, abolition of the one-man drill, and a minimum wage of \$3 per day for all employees. No grievances of that kind were stated or submitted to the companies in any form.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

As to the working hours, it may be stated to you, as was stated to Judge Murphy, who was here on a similar mission in behalf of the governor of Michigan, that for some time prior to the inception of the strike there had been under consideration by the several companies the institution of an eight-hour day

present strike situation does not alter the intention of the companies in that regard. It is known to the companies that a large number of their underground employees do not want the eight-hour day, and are opposed to it, but we will state to you that if the eight-hour day for our underground employees is desired by them or a sufficient majority of them, it has been and will continue to be given favorable publications [favorable consideration].

The one-man drill question is purely and simply a manufactured grievance. We know it to be the fact that those who operate these drills do not want them abolished. The continuation of the mining industry in this district requires the use and application of every modern appliance for the reduction of cost. It is made necessary by the low-copper content of the rock and the expense of deep mining, as compared with higher production of other competing districts. The one-man drill is an economic necessity which has come to stay. The conditions of its use have been proscribed by the legislature and the question of its abolition is one which could not be submitted to arbitrators.

As to the minimum wage question, the conditions at the different mines vary to such a large extent that no scale can be adopted applicable to all the different conditions. This has been impossible in the past and will continue impossible in the future and would be as unfair to the laborers themselves as to the companies.

We greatly regret that the situation is such as to render the plan of arbitration or of conference with a committee or with representatives of the Western Federation of Miners an impossibility to us. With the elimination of that organization, arbitration or mediation would become wholly unnecessary, as we are convinced that there would be no difficulty in adjusting satisfactorily all questions that might arise between our employees and the respective companies by whom they are employed.

Dated at Houghton, Mich., September 20, 1913.

The arbitration plan proposed by Mr. Moffitt was accepted by the three members of the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners, who were then in Calumet. A copy of their acceptance follows:

CALUMET, MICH., September 17, 1913.

MR. JOHN A. MOFFITT,

Special Agent, Department of Labor, City.

HONORED SIR: The striking miners of the copper district of Michigan, through their representatives, gladly accept your good offices in attempting to negotiate a settlement with their employers. They welcome arbitration in the settlement of this dispute, and further consider that your proposed method of constituting the board, eliminating as it does all question of the recognition of the Western Federation of Miners, puts it above any reasonable objection on the part of the employers, while at the same time it meets with our hearty approval, to wit: That all differences shall be settled by a board of arbitration, said board to consist of five members, two of whom shall be chosen by the mine managers involved in the controversy, or whatever numbers may desire a settlement; two to be chosen by the strikers in mass meeting assembled for the purpose, the two so chosen not to be members of the federation; the fifth member of the board to be chosen by Hon. W. B. Wilson, Secretary of the Department of Labor. We shall accept arbitration of said board in all matters at issue and hope that it will enter on its duties very soon.

Appreciating your efforts in the behalf of industrial peace based on justice, we remain,

Faithfully, yours,

C. E. MAHONEY.
YANCO TERSICH.
GUY E. MILLER.

Though the mine managers refused to accept the propositions for mediation or arbitration submitted by a representative of the Federal Government, they afforded Walter B. Palmer, a special agent of the United States Department of Labor, full opportunity to examine the working conditions underground and on the surface, and gave him and Charles B. Wait, a special agent of the same department, free access to their books to obtain data regarding the earnings

of employees of the mining companies, and a careful examination of the books and pay rolls was made.

On the suggestion of Gov. Woodbridge N. Ferris a movement toward effecting a settlement of the strike was inaugurated by the Copper Country Commercial Club. At a meeting of the executive committee of the club on September 13 a committee was appointed to investigate the working conditions in the mines and to bring about an adjustment of the differences. By a unanimous vote of the executive committee the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

PURPOSE OF ORGANIZATION.

The Copper Country Commercial Club is an organization of 500 business men and others of Houghton and Keweenaw Counties, whose purposes as stated in the constitution of the club are as follows:

To instill, cultivate, and develop a spirit of civic pride among the people of the copper country and an abiding confidence in the business and future greatness of the locality.

To upbuild, develop, and improve manufacturing, mercantile, agricultural, and other economic conditions.

To cooperate in and centralize all our efforts for general publicity.

To induce people to come to the copper country and make their homes among us; and

To take every possible means to promote the welfare of all of the people of this community.

DAMAGE DONE BY STRIKE.

For upward of seven weeks a condition of affairs has existed and to-day exists in the copper country which is nullifying every effort and every purpose of this organization.

On July 23 the Western Federation of Miners called a general strike of all of its members employed in the mines of this district, and within a few hours, by forcible means and otherwise, every man employed, in or about the mines, whether a member of the federation or not, was deprived of his work, thus throwing out of employment an immense body of men.

RIOT AND BLOODSHED FOLLOW.

From the day of its inception the strike has been attended with rioting and bloodshed. Every day riotous mobs roam through the streets of our communities and are held in check only by the force of the National Guard of the State. Attacks on workingmen are of daily occurrence; our jails are filled with persons awaiting trial for violent acts during the strike; our children daily have before their eyes the spectacle of men acting in absolute disregard of law and order; all of which creates a deplorable and disgraceful condition which should not be tolerated in a civilized community.

The expense already incurred for maintaining the troops and the augmented civil authorities is enormous.

REFUSE TO MEET FEDERATION.

The mine managers have refused to recognize the Western Federation of Miners and have refused to treat with them; mediation and arbitration have been offered from various sources and refused.

The press has been filled with the claims and counterclaims of the opposing parties, none of which has been verified.

Reports of working conditions, wages, and hours of labor in the mines of the copper country have been spread broadcast throughout the land which, if taken for true, are a lasting shame and disgrace to the community.

To avoid above conditions, many of our best people have left the copper country—some permanently, others to await the end of the struggle; business is demoralized; the enormous loss in wages to the men can never be regained; the damage to the copper country in its reputation for prosperity and well-being can not be estimated.

RIGHTS OF THE PUBLIC.

In view of the above, therefore, we believe that the time has come when this organization, whose every purpose is thus being destroyed, should rise up and demand that violence, rioting, and bloodshed must cease in this community, and that the rights of the thousands of people who are not directly involved in this strike must be recognized and respected.

We believe that the Copper Country Commercial Club should, through a committee of its members, conduct an investigation to ascertain the facts and truth as to wages, hours of labor, and working conditions in general in the copper country, and when the truth has been ascertained should publish it to the people of this county, of this State, and of the Nation.

OFFER TO MEDIATE.

We believe that inasmuch as every attempt to bring about a cessation of strike conditions has failed, this organization should, through such committee, offer its services to both employer and employee, so that order may be restored and a resumption of work brought about: It is therefore

Resolved, That the chairman of this meeting be authorized to appoint a committee of three members of the commercial club, which committee is hereby instructed to take every means to carry out the purposes herein mentioned with all possible speed.

That such committee may employ clerical help and incur such expense in connection with their work as may be necessary.

That such committee report the result of its work, and that it be authorized to make such report public by publishing the same in the press of this community and of the State.

THE MEN APPOINTED.

This resolution was adopted by unanimous vote of the executive committee and the following committee was chosen: Henry L. Baer, of Hancock; Edward Ulseth, of Calumet; and John W. Black, of Houghton. This committee will meet to-morrow and take up its work without delay.

It is the intention of the committee to consult with the men and with the mine managers and with all other persons interested in the unfortunate labor situation.

There is every reason for the belief that the committee will be able to use its good offices for the purposes of securing concessions from the mining companies for the men and to influence all parties to the controversy with the end in view of settling the differences and securing a more general resumption of mining operations than is now in vogue.

The executive committee of the commercial club appointed a committee to investigate the strike. It was composed of Henry L. Baer, a wholesale meat merchant of Hancock; Edward Ulseth, a contractor and coal dealer of Calumet; and John W. Black, a contractor of Houghton. This committee opened an office in Calumet and sought information from both the mine managers and the men who were on strike.

The officials of the Western Federation of Miners refused to cooperate with this committee or to furnish it with information, because they considered that the investigation by the commercial club was made on the suggestion of the mining companies and in their interests.

The report of the committee to Gov. Ferris was dated October 8, 1913, approved by the Copper Country Commercial Club on October 10, published in the Houghton and Calumet Daily Mining Gazette of October 14, and republished in an illustrated pamphlet of 85 pages. Sections of the report were republished as an advertisement in the Boston Globe of October 20, making a full page, and

in other Boston newspapers. Following are some of the conclusions which the committee reached, quoted from its report:

Attitude toward organized labor.—During the time that mining operations have been carried on in this district the industry has been singularly free from strike troubles. The entire district has been carried on on the open-shop principle, as nearly as the committee has been able to ascertain. At no time has any part of the district been thoroughly unionized, and at no time during the history of the district has any mining company treated directly with any labor organization. At the same time, men have been employed by the various companies without discrimination on account of union affiliations. At the present time there are employed by the various mining companies on surface, machinists, molders, railway engineers, brakemen, and others who belong to the various unions or labor organizations of their particular crafts. Up to the time of the present strike men were not discriminated against because of their membership in the Western Federation of Miners or any other miners' union, and many men undoubtedly were at work in the district underground who belonged to the Western Federation of Miners. Since the beginning of the present strike, however, every one of the managers of the mining companies operating in the district has announced that hereafter no member of the Western Federation will be employed, and it may be stated at this point that each of the managers of the various companies has also stated, both to this committee and to representatives of the Federal Department of Labor and the governor of the State, that they will under no circumstances recognize in any manner that particular organization.

When requested by this committee to give their reasons for this arbitrary attitude, the mining managers stated as their reason the record of the Western Federation, as they understood it, in other camps previous to the trouble in this district. They pointed out in particular the record of the federation in the strike carried on by it in the Cœur d'Alene district in Idaho in 1894, the strike carried on by it in the Cripple Creek and other mining districts of Colorado from 1894 to 1904, and took the stand that in their refusal to recognize or treat with the federation they were justified by the fact, as stated by them, that every labor dispute in which the Western Federation had taken a part was accompanied by bloodshed and violence. * * *

Blacklists.—The committee has investigated as thoroughly as was possible the question as to whether or not the mining companies in the Michigan district or the mine operators had formed any combination or had acted with any concerted plan previous to the present strike, and from such investigation the committee is convinced that, previous to the present strike, there has been no concerted action or combination among the mine managers or operators at any time until after the strike had commenced. Since the strike has been in progress the committee finds that the mine operators have adopted a uniform policy in regard to the recognition of the Western Federation of Miners and the reemployment of members of that organization.

The committee has also investigated thoroughly the question as to whether or not there existed in the copper district of Michigan a "blacklist" of any kind, and whether discharge from one company would affect the possibility of obtaining reemployment with some other company. On this point the committee finds that, beyond any question, there has never existed, in recent years at least, any agreement of any kind between the various companies, nor has there existed any blacklist of employees. The committee has found, as a matter of fact, that employees discharged by one company have found ready employment with the other companies, and in one instance found that an employee discharged by a mining captain in one shaft of a mine, within a few days was reemployed by a captain of another shaft of the same mine. * * *

Reemployment of labor.—As the district for some time previous to the strike was suffering a shortage of labor, the committee is informed that it will be necessary, in order to bring the number of employees up to the normal force, to give employment to considerable more men than were working on the day before the strike. A few of the companies are at the present time taking into their employment outside labor which is coming into the district. This, however, to a limited extent. For some time previous to the strike there existed a shortage of labor in the copper country. It is estimated from figures obtained at the various mines that they were operating with about 1,500 men short of normal force. In addition to this, it is estimated that when the strike commenced 2,000 men left the district, and therefore as nearly as the com-