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# REPORT

ON THE

# CHICAGO STRIKE

OF

JUNE-JULY, 1894,

BY THE

UNITED STATES STRIKE COMMISSION,

APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT JULY 26, 1894, UNDER THE  
PROVISIONS OF SECTION 6 OF CHAPTER 1063 OF  
THE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES  
PASSED OCTOBER 1, 1888,

WITH

APPENDICES CONTAINING TESTIMONY, PROCEEDINGS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1895.



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1895.

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# UNITED STATES STRIKE COMMISSION.

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## COMMISSIONERS.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT, *Ex-officio* Chairman..... READING, MASS.  
JOHN D. KERNAN..... UTICA, N. Y.  
NICHOLAS E. WORTHINGTON..... PEORIA, ILL.

## CLERKS.

EUGENE B. HASTINGS..... UTICA, N. Y.  
WILLIAM H. RAND..... KEENE, N. H.

## STENOGRAPHERS.

CHARLES P. WATSON..... PEORIA, ILL.  
CYRUS L. WATSON..... PEORIA, ILL.  
CHARLES W. MORRIS, JR..... HARRISBURG, PA.

## U. S. DEPUTY MARSHAL (IN ATTENDANCE).

H. BARTLETT LINDLEY..... CHICAGO, ILL.

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**MESSAGE**  
FROM THE  
**PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,**

TRANSMITTING

*The report of the Strike Commission on the Chicago strike of June—July,  
1894.*

---

DECEMBER 10, 1894—Ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

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*To the Senate and House of Representatives.*

I transmit herewith the report on the Chicago strike of June—July, 1894, forwarded to me by the Strike Commission appointed July 26, 1894, under the provisions of section 6 of chapter 1063 of the laws of the United States, passed October 1, 1888.

The testimony taken by the commission and the suggestions and recommendations made to it accompany the report in the form of appendices.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

*December 10, 1894.*

IX



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**REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS.**

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## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

UNITED STATES STRIKE COMMISSION,  
*Washington, D. C., November 14, 1894.*

SIR: We have the honor to hand you herewith our report upon the controversies which arose between the Illinois Central Railroad Company and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company and certain of their employees in June last. This report is made in accordance with your directions of the 26th of July and under the provisions of section 6 of chapter 1063 of the laws of the United States passed October 1, 1888.

The appropriation applicable to the investigation which we have conducted was \$5,000, a sum which has proved amply sufficient for all the expenses of the commission.

In addition to our report covering our consideration, conclusions, and recommendations, we hand you herewith a copy of the testimony taken at the hearings conducted by the commission, a digest of the suggestions made in writing to the commission, and various other matters which have been submitted to it, all bearing upon the difficulties and controversies considered. These matters are in the form of appendices.

We are, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

JOHN D. KERNAN.

NICHOLAS E. WORTHINGTON.

The PRESIDENT.

XIII



# REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

Upon the 26th of July, 1894, the President of the United States issued the following, viz:

GROVER CLEVELAND,

President of the United States of America.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Know ye, that whereas controversies have arisen between the Illinois Central Railroad Company, and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, two corporations engaged in the transportation of property and passengers between two or more States of the United States, and certain of their employees, which controversies may hinder, impede, obstruct, interrupt or affect such transportation of passengers or property;

And, whereas the premises and the representations on behalf of said employees being considered, the conditions in my opinion justify and require the creation of a temporary commission to examine the causes of said controversies, the conditions accompanying the same and the best means of their adjustment, as authorized by section 6 of chapter 1063 of the laws of the United States passed on the first day of October, 1888;

Now, therefore, by authority of the statute aforesaid, Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor of the United States, who is designated in said statute, and John D. Kernan, of the State of New York, and Nicholas E. Worthington, of the State of Illinois, hereby appointed by the President of the United States commissioners under said act, shall pursuant to the provisions of said act, constitute a temporary commission for the purposes therein specified.

The said commission is hereby directed to visit the State of Illinois and the city of Chicago, and such other places in the United States as may appear proper in the judgment of the commission, to the end that it may make careful inquiry into the causes of any pending dispute or existing controversies and hear all persons interested therein who may come before it; and said commission shall exercise all the powers, perform all the duties and be subject to all the obligations conferred and enjoined by the statute aforesaid upon temporary commissions created pursuant to its provisions.

In witness whereof I have subscribed my name hereto and caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed this twenty-sixth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and nineteenth.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

By the President:

W. Q. GRESHAM,  
*Secretary of State.*



Section 6 of chapter 1063 of the laws of the United States passed October 1, 1888, read: as follows:

That the President may select two commissioners, one of whom at least shall be a resident of the State or Territory in which the controversy arises, who, together with the Commissioner of Labor, shall constitute a temporary commission for the purpose of examining the causes of the controversy, the conditions accompanying, and the best means for adjusting it; the result of which examination shall be immediately reported to the President and Congress, and on the rendering of such report the services of the two commissioners shall cease.

"The controversy" referred to is defined in section 1 of said chapter 1063 as follows:

Whenever differences or controversies arise between railroad or other transportation companies engaged in the transportation of property or passengers between two or more States of the United States, between a Territory and State, within the Territories of the United States, or within the District of Columbia, and the employees of said railroad companies, which differences or controversies may hinder, impede, obstruct, interrupt, or affect such transportation of property or passengers.

At its first meeting in the city of Washington, D. C., held on the 31st day of July, 1894, the commission adopted the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas the President of the United States has appointed the undersigned a commission to visit Chicago, Ill., and such other places in the United States as may be proper, in the judgment of the commission, to the end that it may make careful inquiry into the causes of any pending dispute or existing controversies between the Illinois Central Railroad Company and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company and certain of their employees, and to hear all persons interested therein who may come before it; and

Whereas section 6 of chapter 1063 of the laws of the United States passed October 1, 1888, makes it the duty of said commission to examine the causes of said controversies, the conditions accompanying and the best means of adjusting the same, and to report the results of such examination to the President and to Congress; and

Whereas the questions involved in such controversies affect all interstate railroads and their employees; and

Whereas it is desirable that the report of this commission and future legislation, if any, upon the questions at issue between labor, whether organized or unorganized, and employers thereof, should be based upon all facts having any legitimate bearing upon such questions, and should be the result only of clear and well-defined public opinion: Therefore,

*Resolved* (1) That this commission will meet at the United States post-office building in the city of Chicago, Ill., on the 15th day of August, 1894, at 10 a. m., for the purpose of taking testimony in relation to said controversies, and to hear and consider all facts, suggestions, and arguments as to the causes thereof, the conditions accompanying, and the best means of adjusting the same, and as to any legislation or measures which ought to be recommended in regard to similar controversies hereafter.

(2) That all railroads, labor organizations, and citizens having either

a personal or patriotic interest in the right solution of these questions, and who can not conveniently attend such public hearing as aforesaid, are requested to present their views and suggestions in writing to the commission at any time prior to the date of such public hearing.

(3) That copies of this resolution be given to the press and be sent to all railroads engaged in the transportation of property and passengers between two or more States of the United States and to all labor organizations.

(4) That all communications be addressed to the chairman of the United States Strike Commission, Washington, D. C.

In accordance with the above resolution the commission met at the United States district court room in the city of Chicago, Ill., on the 15th day of August, 1894, when the chairman made the following announcement:

By the act recited in the commission of the President that has just been read, this commission is directed to examine the causes, controversies, and difficulties existing between the roads named and their employees at the time the commission of the President was issued. The board is constituted as a temporary commission for this purpose, and not for the purpose of arbitrating the difficulties that existed. It is practically a court of inquiry, and its proceedings will be in accordance with the usages of such courts. It will proceed to hear, first, all the witnesses on behalf of the employees, and, afterward, those on behalf of the corporations named in the commission, and all such witnesses are requested to hand their names to the clerk of the commission. Under the law parties may appear in person or by counsel, as they may see fit, and examine and cross-examine witnesses.

After all the witnesses have given their testimony the commission will then consider arguments and suggestions to be made bearing upon the questions before it. All such suggestions and arguments presented in writing will be filed and considered by the commission; but the question as to how far the commission will hear parties who desire to be heard orally will depend upon the time left at the disposal of the commission, and will be determined after the testimony is concluded. This commission, by the act creating it, possesses all the powers and authority which are possessed by and belong to United States commissioners appointed by the circuit courts of the United States. The hours of sitting of the commission will be from 10 a. m. to 12.30 p. m. and from 1.30 p. m. to 4 p. m. Parties and their counsel and witnesses attending will find seats within the rail. The commission is now ready to proceed to business, and the marshal will preserve order, limiting the attendance to the comfortable capacity of the room. The clerk will now call the first witness.

During the session of thirteen days at Chicago the commission examined 107 witnesses, who were either presented by the parties or cited to appear. At an adjourned session, held in Washington, September 26, 2 witnesses appeared, making a total of 109.

At the first hearing it developed that the Pullman employees very generally became members of the American Railway Union in March and April, 1894, and that the 19 local unions which they had formed had declared a strike at Pullman; also that the railroad companies named in the President's commission were members of the General Managers' Association.

The contest was chiefly between these two organizations, and hence nothing relating to the strike at Pullman or Chicago that affected members of either organization could be excluded as not germane to the subject under investigation. As a matter of discretion, the commission believed it wise to permit the broadest latitude of inquiry, inasmuch as the directions to the commission were "to examine the causes of and the conditions accompanying the controversies."

### LOSSES AND CRIMES.

According to the testimony the railroads lost in property destroyed, hire of United States deputy marshals, and other incidental expenses, at least \$685,308. The loss of earnings of these roads is estimated at \$4,672,916. (a) Some 3,100 employees at Pullman lost in wages, as estimated, at least \$350,000. (b) About 100,000 employees upon the 24 railroads centering at Chicago, all of which were more or less involved in the strike, lost in wages, as estimated, at least \$1,389,143. (a) Many of these employees are still adrift and losing wages.

Beyond these amounts very great losses, widely distributed, were incidentally suffered throughout the country. The suspension of transportation at Chicago paralyzed a vast distributive center, and imposed many hardships and much loss upon the great number of people whose manufacturing and business operations, employment, travel, and necessary supplies depend upon and demand regular transportation service to, from, and through Chicago.

During the strike the fatalities, arrests, indictments, and dismissals of charges for strike offenses in Chicago and vicinity were as follows (c):

Number shot and fatally wounded.....	12
Number arrested by the police.....	515
Number arrested under United States statutes and against whom indictments were found.....	71
Number arrested against whom indictments were not found.....	119

The arrests made by the police were for murder, arson, burglary, assault, intimidation, riot, inciting to riot, and lesser crimes. The cases passed upon by the special United States grand jury, which convened on July 10, 1894, related to obstruction of the mail, forbidden by section 3995 of the United States Revised Statutes; conspiracy to commit offenses against the United States, forbidden by section 5440 of the Revised Statutes; conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, forbidden by chapter 647 of the United States, laws

a Made up from evidence of and statements furnished by the twenty-four companies comprising the General Managers' Association.

b As to number of employees, see testimony of Thomas H. Wickes, page 586; as to loss of wages, see testimony of George M. Pullman, question 348.

c Made up from testimony of Superintendent of Police Brennan and further data gathered from the police and court records by the United States deputy marshal in attendance upon the commission.

of 1890; conspiracy to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate citizens in the free exercise and enjoyment of their rights and privileges under the constitution and laws of the United States, forbidden by section 5508 of the United States Revised Statutes.

Several indictments were found against Eugene V. Debs, George W. Howard, L. W. Rogers, and Sylvester Keliher, officers of the American Railway Union, under these different statutes. Neither indictments nor proceedings were had under the act to regulate commerce, approved February 4, 1887, as has been sometimes stated.

These great losses and many crimes; the vast numbers, strength, and resources of the labor that contended under the leadership of the American Railway Union upon the one side and Pullman's Palace Car Company and the General Managers' Association upon the other; the attitude of labor toward capital, disclosed in its readiness to strike sympathetically; the determination of capital to crush the strike rather than to accept any peaceable solution through conciliation, arbitration, or otherwise; (a) the certainty with which vast strikes let loose the disreputable to burn, plunder, and even murder; the conversion of industrious and law-abiding men into idlers, lawbreakers, or associates of criminals; the want brought to many innocent families; the transformation of railroad yards, tracks, and stations, as well as the busy marts of trade, into armed camps; the possibilities of future strikes on more extended lines of union against even greater combinations of capital—are all factors bearing upon the present industrial situation which need to be thoroughly understood by the people and to be wisely and prudently treated by the government.

#### TROOPS, MILITARY, ETC (b).

For the protection of city, state, and federal property, for the suppression of crime and the preservation of order, the city, county, State, and federal forces were utilized as shown in the following statement:

From July 3 to July 10 the number of United States troops sent to and used in Chicago to protect the United States mail service and federal buildings, and to sustain the execution of the orders of the United States courts was . . . . .	1, 936
Between July 6 and July 11 the State militia was ordered on duty at Chicago and remained so long as needed, to the number of about . . . . .	4, 000
Extra deputy marshals, about . . . . .	5, 000
Extra deputy sheriffs . . . . .	250
Police force of Chicago . . . . .	3, 000
<b>Total</b> . . . . .	<b>14, 186</b>

<sup>a</sup> See testimony of John M. Egan, questions 15 to 80; also see resolutions of General Managers' Association, testimony of Everett St. John, question 290.

<sup>b</sup> As to United States troops, see testimony of Mayor Hopkins, question 13, subsequently verified at number given; as to State militia, see testimony of Mayor Hopkins; as to deputy marshals, see testimony of Deputy Marshal Donnelly, question 4; as to police force, see statement furnished to John M. Egan, attached to testimony of Superintendent of Police Brennan, page 358.

Section 4 of Article IV of the federal constitution reads as follows:

The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence.

United States troops were not sent into Illinois upon the application of the legislature, nor of the executive, against domestic violence; i. e., violence affecting the State and its government as such. The President ordered the troops to Chicago—

- (1) To protect federal property.
- (2) To prevent obstruction in the carrying of the mails.
- (3) To prevent interference with the interstate commerce; and
- (4) To enforce the decrees and mandates of the federal courts.

He did this under the authority of section 5298 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, which provides:

Whenever, by reason of unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages of persons, or rebellion against the authority of the Government of the United States, it shall become impracticable, in the judgment of the President, to enforce, by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the laws of the United States within any State or Territory, it shall be lawful for the President to call forth the militia of any or all of the States, and to employ such parts of the land or naval forces of the United States as he may deem necessary to enforce the faithful execution of the laws of the United States, or to suppress such rebellion, in whatever State or Territory thereof the laws of the United States may be forcibly opposed, or the execution thereof forcibly obstructed.

And of section 5299, which provides:

Whenever insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combinations, or conspiracies in any State so obstructs or hinders the execution of the laws thereof, and of the United States, as to deprive any portion or class of the people of such State of any of the rights, privileges, or immunities, or protection, named in the constitution and secured by the laws for the protection of such rights, privileges, or immunities, and the constituted authorities of such State are unable to protect, or, from any cause, fail in or refuse protection of the people in such rights, such facts shall be deemed a denial by such State of the equal protection of the laws to which they are entitled under the constitution of the United States; and in all such cases, or whenever any such insurrection, violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy, opposes or obstructs the laws of the United States, or the due execution thereof, or impedes or obstructs the due course of justice under the same, it shall be lawful for the President, and it shall be his duty, to take such measures, by the employment of the militia or the land and naval forces of the United States, or of either, or by other means, as he may deem necessary, for the suppression of such insurrection, domestic violence, or combinations.

Other statutes tend to confer authority in the same direction.

**PULLMAN'S PALACE CAR COMPANY.**

This is a corporation organized in 1867, with a capital of \$1,000,000. It has grown until its present paid-up capital is \$36,000,000. Its prosperity has enabled the company for over twenty years to pay 2 per cent quarterly dividends, and, in addition, to lay up a surplus of nearly \$25,000,000 of undivided profits. From 1867 to 1871 dividends ranging from 9½ to 12 per cent per annum were paid. For the year ending July 31, 1893, the dividends were \$2,520,000, and the wages \$7,223,719.51. For the year ending July 31, 1894, the dividends were \$2,880,000, and the wages \$4,471,701.39.(a)

The business of the company is—

- (1) The operation of its cars upon about 125,000 miles of railroad, being about three-fourths of the railway mileage of the country, under contracts similar to that in evidence.(b)
- (2) The manufacture and repair of such cars.
- (3) The manufacture of cars of all kinds for the general market.
- (4) The care and management, as owner and landlord, of the town of Pullman.

In 1880 the company bought 500 acres of land, and upon 300 acres of it built its plant and also a hotel, arcade, churches, athletic grounds, and brick tenements suitable for the use of its employees. The town is well laid out and has a complete sewerage and water system. It is beautified by well-kept open spaces and stretches, flower beds, and lakes. The whole is at all times kept in neat order by the company. The main object was the establishment of a great manufacturing business upon a substantial and money-making basis. Efficient workmen were regarded as essential to its success, and it was believed that they could be secured, held in contentment, and improved as such for their own sakes and for the benefit of the company by the accommodations and surroundings that were provided.

The principal church and its parsonage are very attractive structures, but often are not occupied because the rental required to be paid is higher than any church society is willing to pay to obtain the gospel privileges to be thereby secured.(c) In the arcade is a tasteful library of books, carefully selected and cared for by the company. Three dollars per year is charged for its use, and as many as 250 persons a year out of from 4,000 to 5,000 employees and residents have at times, as stated by the capable librarian in charge, availed themselves of its opportunities. It is possible that the air of business strictly maintained there, as elsewhere, and their exclusion from any part in its management

a See testimony of George M. Pullman, questions 4, 5, 32 to 34 inclusive, 135 to 138 inclusive, and 216; as to wages paid, see "memorandum of pay rolls" in testimony of George M. Pullman, question 148.

b See testimony of Thomas H. Wickes, page 571.

c See testimony of Rev. W. H. Carwardine, question 54.

prevent more universal and grateful acceptance of its advantages by employees. Men, as a rule, even when employees prefer independence to paternalism in such matters.

The company provides and pays a physician and surgeon by the year to furnish to injured employees necessary treatment and drugs. It is, however, also a part of his employment to secure from the injured party a written statement as to the causes of injury, and it is his custom to urge the acceptance of any offered settlement. If suit follows, the doctor is usually a witness for the company.<sup>(a)</sup> We have no evidence that the doctor has ever abused his confidential relation toward the injured employees; but the system is admirably conceived from a business standpoint to secure speedy settlement of claims for damages upon terms offered by the company and to protect the company from litigation and its results.

Prior to June, 1893, all went well and as designed; the corporation was very prosperous, paid ample and satisfactory wages, as a rule, and charged rents which caused no complaint. During this period those defects in the system which have recently come to the surface and intensified differences, such, for instance, as the refusal to permit the employees to buy land in Pullman and build homes there, caused no disturbance.

From the evidence presented by the Pullman Loan and Savings Bank, it appears that prior to July 1, 1893, the wages paid enabled prudent employees to lay by considerable savings. Upon these the bank has paid, uniformly and without any recent reduction, 4 per cent per annum. The statement of the bank is as follows:

DEPOSITS IN PULLMAN LOAN AND SAVINGS BANK.

Date.	Employees depositing.	Percentage of employees of all depositors.	Total.	Average amount of deposit.
July 1, 1893 .....	2,425	86½	\$582,380.39	\$240.16
May 1, 1894 .....	1,679	86½	422,834.34	251.84
June 1, 1894 .....	1,539	82½	383,590.09	249.25
July 1, 1894 .....	1,414	80	364,454.59	257.75
August 1, 1894 .....	1,212	85	303,067.89	250.07

About one-half of the accounts are under \$100 and five-sixths under \$500. These figures illustrate how seriously the cutting down of wages and the strike ate into savings.

As the result of the Pullman system and its growth, when the depression of 1893 came, morally calling for mutual concessions as to wages, rents, etc., we find on the one side a very wealthy and unyielding corpo-

<sup>a</sup> See testimony of Dr. John McLean, generally; but more especially from question 59 to the end.

ration, and upon the other a multitude of employees of comparatively excellent character and skill, but without local attachments or any interested responsibility in the town, its business, tenements, or surroundings.

The conditions created at Pullman enable the management at all times to assert with great vigor its assumed right to fix wages and rents (*a*) absolutely, and to repress that sort of independence which leads to labor organizations and their attempts at mediation, arbitration, strikes, etc.

#### THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION.

This is an association of about 150,000 railroad employees, as alleged, organized at Chicago on the 20th of June, 1893, for the purpose of including railway employees born of white parents in one great brotherhood.

The theory underlying this movement is that the organization of different classes of railroad employees (to the number of about 140,000) upon the trade-union idea has ceased to be useful or adequate; that pride of organization, petty jealousies, and the conflict of views into which men are trained in separate organizations under different leaders, tend to defeat the common object of all, and enable railroads to use such organizations against each other in contentions over wages, etc.; that the rapid concentration of railroad capital and management demands a like union of their employees for the purpose of mutual protection; that the interests of each of the 850,000 (*b*) and over railroad employees of the United States as to wages, treatment, hours of labor, legislation, insurance, mutual aid, etc., are common to all, and hence all ought to belong to one organization that shall assert its united strength in the protection of the rights of every member.

The American Federation of Labor, composed of affiliated unions, with a membership of over 500,000, also tends in the direction of broader union for labor. The order of the Knights of Labor, with an estimated membership of from 150,000 to 175,000, has always advocated the solidarity of labor.

In the American Railway Union there are departments of literature and education, legislation, cooperation, mediation, insurance, etc. The organization consists of a general union and of local unions. The general union is formed by representatives of local unions, who elect a board of nine directors quadrennially. This board has authority to "issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the order." Any ten white persons employed in railway service, except superintendents, etc., can organize a local

<sup>a</sup> See testimony of Thomas H. Wickes quoted on pages XXV and XXVI; also, near close of his testimony, as to rentals; see also pamphlet of George M. Pullman introduced in evidence by Mr. Wickes.

<sup>b</sup> These figures were obtained from the last statistical report of the United States Interstate Commerce Commission. Witness George W. Howard fixes figures at upwards of 1,000,000, but he includes other territory than the United States.



union. Each local union has its board of mediation, and the chairmen of the various local boards upon a system of railroads constitute a general board of mediation for that system.

The constitution provides that—

All complaints and adjustments must be first taken up by the local union; if accepted by a majority vote, it shall be referred to the local board of mediation for adjustment, and, if failing, the case shall be submitted to the chairman of the general board of mediation, failing in which, they shall notify the president of the general union, who shall authorize the most available member of the board of directors to visit and meet with the general chairman of the board of mediation and issue such instructions as will be promulgated by the directors.

Under these provisions it is claimed that no strike can be declared except by order of a majority of the men involved. This is a commendable feature of the union. So long as strikes are resorted to, the power to order them should never be vested anywhere except in a majority of the employees concerned. If a two-thirds or three-quarters vote were required it would be still better. After a strike is ordered the board of directors of the general union practically directs its conduct.

In its profession of principles and purposes in its general and local constitutions the American Railway Union proposes to protect and promote the interests of its members as wage earners through organization and legitimate cooperation. Its constitution reads:

First. The protection of all members in all matters relating to wages and their rights as employees is the principal purpose of the organization. Railway employees are entitled to a voice in fixing wages and in determining conditions of employment. Fair wages and proper treatment must be the return for efficient service, faithfully performed. Such a policy insures harmonious relations and satisfactory results. The order, while pledged to conservative methods, will protect the humblest of its members in every right he can justly claim; but while the rights of members will be sacredly guarded, no intemperate demand or unreasonable propositions will be entertained. Corporations will not be permitted to treat the organization better than the organization will treat them. A high sense of honor must be the animating spirit, and evenhanded justice the end sought to be obtained. Thoroughly organized in every department, with a due regard for the right wherever found, it is confidently believed that all differences may be satisfactorily adjusted, that harmonious relations may be established and maintained, that the service may be incalculably improved, and that the necessity for strike and lockout, boycott and blacklist, alike disastrous to employer and employee and a perpetual menace to the welfare of the public, will forever disappear.

It is encouraging to find that public opinion and a regard for their own best interests now demand from labor organizations such a plain recognition of conservative principles as the foregoing. The great inherent weakness of such organizations at present is that in contentions with employers these principles are forgotten and that strikes are often ordered in hasty and disorderly ways, and are frequently con-

ducted with attendant violence and lawlessness. As an instance, it appears from the evidence that the strike on the Rock Island road was ordered at a meeting at Blue Island, attended by both railroad employees and by persons not in the employ of the road, and that a rising vote was taken without confining it to employees, and that amidst confusion and uncertainty as to what the vote was or who the voters were, a strike upon a great railroad system was inaugurated.

A recognition of the principle that under this Government wrongs must be corrected in lawful and orderly ways is absolutely indispensable; a practical denial of this principle in the conflicts incident to strikes would be fatal to both business and society and is unendurable under any government. Wage earners can not deny that this would be equally true were this Government one entirely "of labor, by labor, and for labor."

The omission of a direct provision in the constitution of the American Railway Union for the punishment or disqualification of a member who commits or instigates violence toward persons or property in strikes is a usual and a grievous omission, and deserves severe condemnation. Until labor organizations take hold of this question vigorously and control their own members effectually they are certain to lose sympathy in their contentions and to be defeated, even though their cause be just and deserve success.

In March, 1894, the employees of Pullman's Palace Car Company, being dissatisfied with their wages, rents, and shop treatment for the first time in the history of the town, sought organization, and joined the American Railway Union in large numbers. (a) Their meetings were held outside of Pullman, because the town has no facilities for such purposes. (b)

The Pullman company is hostile to the idea of conferring with organized labor in the settlement of differences arising between it and its employees. The position of the company in this respect is clearly stated in the testimony of Mr. Wickes, its second vice-president, which is here cited:

Q. 222. Has the company had any policy with reference to labor unions among its help?—Ans. No; we have never objected to unions except in one instance. I presume that there are quite a number of unions in our shops now.

Q. 223. What are they?—Ans. I couldn't tell you, but I have heard of some of them. I suppose the cabinetmakers have a union, and I suppose the car builders have a union, and the carvers, and the painters, and other classes of men. We do not inquire into that at all.

Q. 224. That is, unions among themselves in the works?—Ans. Members of the craft, belonging to other unions; that is, the cabinet union might have its headquarters in Chicago and our men would be members of it; but we did not object to anything of that kind.

<sup>a</sup> See testimony of Thomas W. Heathcoate, question 3; also page 432.

<sup>b</sup> See above reference; also testimony of Thomas H. Wickes, questions 230 to 234, quoted on page xxvi.

Q. 225. The only objection you ever made was to the American Railway Union, wasn't it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

Q. 226. What is the basis of your objection to that union?—Ans. Our objection to that was that we would not treat with our men as members of the American Railway Union, and we would not treat with them as members of any union. We treat with them as individuals and as men.

Q. 227. That is, each man as an individual, do you mean that?—Ans. Yes, sir.

Q. 228. Don't you think, Mr. Wickes, that it would give the corporation a very great advantage over those men if it could take them up one at a time and discuss the question with him? With the ability that you have got, for instance, where do you think the man would stand in such a discussion?—Ans. The man has got probably more ability than I have.

Q. 229. You think that it would be fair to your men for each one of them to come before you and take up the question of his grievances and attempt to maintain his end of the discussion, do you?—Ans. I think so; yes. If he is not able to do that, that is his misfortune.

Q. 230. Don't you think that the fact that you represent a vast concentration of capital, and are selected for that because of your ability to represent it, entitles him, if he pleases, to unite with all of the men of his craft and select the ablest one they have got to represent the cause?—Ans. As a union?

Q. 231. As a union.—Ans. They have the right; yes, sir. We have the right to say whether we will receive them or not.

Q. 232. Do you think you have any right to refuse to recognize that right in treating with the men?—Ans. Yes, sir; if we chose to.

Q. 233. If you chose to. Is it your policy to do that?—Ans. Yes, sir.

Q. 234. Then you think that you have the right to refuse to recognize a union of the men designed for the purpose of presenting, through the ablest of their members, to your company the grievances which all complain of or which any complain of?—Ans. That is the policy of the company; yes, sir. If we were to receive these men as representatives of the unions they could probably force us to pay any wages which they saw fit, and get the Pullman company in the same shape that some of the railroads are by making concessions which ought not to be made.

Q. 235. Don't you think that the opposite policy, to wit, that all your dealings with the men, as individuals, in case you were one who sought to abuse your power, might enable you to pay to the men, on the other hand, just what you saw fit?—Ans. Well, of course a man in an official position, if he is arbitrary and unfair, could work a great deal of injustice to the men; no doubt about that. But then it is a man's privilege to go to work somewhere else.

Q. 236. Don't you recognize as to many men, after they have become settled in a place at work of that kind, that really that privilege does not amount to much?—Ans. We find that the best men usually come to the front; the best of our men don't give us any trouble with unions or anything else. It is only the inferior men—that is, the least competent—that give us the trouble as a general thing.

Since the strike, withdrawal from the American Railway Union is required from those seeking work. (a) The company does not recognize

<sup>a</sup> See testimony of George M. Pullman, question 319.

that labor organizations have any place or necessity in Pullman, where the company fixes wages and rents, and refuses to treat with labor organizations. The laborer can work or quit on the terms offered; that is the limit of his rights. To join a labor organization in order to secure the protection of union against wrongs, real or imaginary, is overstepping the limit and arouses hostility. This position secures all the advantage of the concentration of capital, ability, power, and control for the company in its labor dealings, and deprives the employees of any such advantage or protection as a labor union might afford. In this respect the Pullman company is behind the age.

To admit the Pullman shop employees, however, into the American Railway Union as "persons employed in railway service" was not wise or expedient. The constitution can not fairly be construed to include as eligible members those who build cars and run them in and out over private switches. Such loose construction of a labor constitution is certain to involve any organization in such an infinite variety of conflicting positions and to force it into so many contests demanding different and perhaps apparently inconsistent treatment at the same time as to curtail its usefulness and threaten its existence. To reach out and take in those so alien to its natural membership as the Pullman employees, was, in the inception of the organization at least, a mistake. This mistake led the union into a strike purely sympathetic and aided to bring upon it a crushing and demoralizing defeat.

It is undoubtedly true that the officers and directors of the American Railway Union did not want a strike at Pullman, and that they advised against it,<sup>(a)</sup> but the exaggerated idea of the power of the union, which induced the workmen at Pullman to join the order, led to their striking against this advice. Having struck, the union could do nothing less, upon the theory at its base, than support them.

The union was as yet young; its membership was not as extensive as it hoped to obtain; its workings had the roughness of incipient effort in a new direction; it had recently attained some success in a strike upon the "Great Northern," and had thus aroused extravagant expectations among its members generally; great business depression prevailed; large numbers were idle and stood ready to accept almost any offer of work. For these reasons the officers and directors of the union knew that the times were inopportune for striking and did not advocate it.

A union embracing all railroad employees, even, is as yet a doubtful experiment. Such a union will have great difficulty in moulding itself to the complex character, nationalities, habits, employments, and requirements of its vast and varied membership.

The trade unionists argue that their strength lies largely in their

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<sup>a</sup> See testimony of George W. Howard, questions 21 and 22; testimony of Frank T. McDonald, latter part of question 5 and question 6; testimony of Eugene V. Debs, questions 8 and 22.

comparative freedom from these objections; and they insist that the basis of the membership of a successful labor organization must be substantial similarity in interests among the members. Trades unions have a record of success both here and abroad, especially in England, which largely sustains their position. They have promoted conciliation, arbitration, conservatism, and responsibility in labor contentions and agreements.

To preserve the integrity of associations designed to unite and organize labor on such a broad basis as that of the American Railway Union but two courses seem open:

(1) To take a position against all strikes, except as a last resort for unbearable grievances, and to seek the more rational methods of conciliation and arbitration. To this object the power of public opinion would lend aid to an extent not now appreciated.

(2) Conservative leadership, legal status, and the education of members in governmental matters, with the principle in view that in this country nothing can accomplish permanent protection and final redress of wrongs for labor as an entirety except conservative progress, lawful conduct, and wise laws enacted and sustained by the public opinion of its rulers—the people.

#### THE GENERAL MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION.

This voluntary, unincorporated association was formed in 1886, and has as members the 24 railroads centering or terminating in Chicago. The following facts relating to these roads for the year ending June 30, 1894, have been furnished by the Interstate Commerce Commission:

Number of miles operated .....	a 40, 933
Number of stockholders .....	b 52, 088
Capitalization:	
Capital stock .....	a \$818, 569, 004
Funded debt .....	a \$1, 210, 235, 702
Current liabilities .....	a \$79, 747, 911
Total .....	a \$2, 108, 552, 617
Gross earnings .....	c \$325, 825, 726
Net earnings .....	c \$102, 710, 917
Number of employees .....	d 221, 097

a Data for the Union Stock Yard and Transit Company are from Poor's Manual of Railroads, 1894.

b Not including the Union Stock Yard and Transit Company and the Chicago and Northern Pacific Railway.

c Data for the Union Stock Yard and Transit Company and the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway are from Poor's Manual of Railroads, 1894. Those for the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway are for the year ending December 31, 1893.

d Not including the Union Stock Yard and Transit Company, the Chicago and Northern Pacific Railway, and (except general officers) the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway.

In its constitution the object of the association is stated to be "the consideration of problems of management arising from the operation of railroads terminating or centering at Chicago." It further provides that "all funds needed shall be raised by assessments divided equally among the members." There are no limitations as to "consideration of problems" or "funds" except the will of the managers and the resources of the railroad corporations.

Prior to the recent strike the association was chiefly concerned with matters other than wages. It dealt with all questions concerning transportation centering at Chicago in which the roads had a common interest. It thus determined the policy and practically fixed the relations of all of the roads toward the public as to switching, car service, loading and unloading cars, weights of live stock, rates, etc., and sustained each road in maintaining the position of the association as to these matters. (a)

Until June, 1894, the association dealt incidentally and infrequently with wages. There were few railroad controversies as to wages during its active life, dating from January 20, 1892. (b) Hence its possibilities as a strike fighter and wage arbiter lay rather dormant. The following are instances of its action as to wage questions. Its roads fixed a "Chicago scale" for switchmen, covering all lines at Chicago. In March, 1893, the switchmen demanded more pay from each road. The association concluded that they were paid enough—if anything, too much. The roads so informed the men. The Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association of North America wrote to Mr. St. John, as chairman, acquiescing. He, as chairman of the General Managers' Association, concluded his reply as follows:

The association approves the course taken by your body and desires to deal fairly with all employees and believes that our switchmen are receiving due consideration.

This seems to show that employees upon association roads are treated as under subjection to the General Managers' Association. Mr. St. John, the president of the association, testifies as follows:

The result of this declination on the part of the various companies directly to their own committees was a threat on the part of some that a strike would occur, and in times of trouble of that kind, or anticipated trouble, it would be the most natural thing in the world for the association, or any line member of it, to arrange to protect the interests of the company he represented. He could not do otherwise. Arrangements were made by which agencies were established and men employed to come to Chicago in case of necessity.

Q. 256. Were those agencies established by the Managers' Association?—Ans. Yes, sir.

Q. 257. And they were designed for the purpose of protecting any line in the association?—Ans. That was a member of it.

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a See testimony of Everett St. John, pages 242 and 243.

b See testimony of Everett St. John, pages 244 and 245.

Q. 258. Against anything they deemed to be an attempt to enforce an unjust demand?—Ans. Yes, sir.

Q. 259. Was that the first occasion the managers ever took action in that direction?—Ans. That was the first occasion it took action during any period I was chairman of it.

This was the first time when men upon each line were brought sharply face to face with the fact that in questions as to wages, rules, etc., each line was supported by 24 combined railroads. On several other occasions similar action was taken; for instance, when some baggage agents of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway wanted higher wages, a committee of the association disposed of the matter. Mr. St. John was asked:

Q. 286. Why was not that application disposed of by the Lake Shore road instead of by the General Managers' Association?—Ans. In order that it might receive the attention due to the application, and so the pay of other roads could be determined, and see if we were underpaying them. There has been quite a number of cases where the prayer of the petition has been granted by this committee, and quite a number where it has been declined, but only after the most careful investigation.

This answer is ingenious and suggestive.

This association likewise prepared for its use elaborate schedules of the wages paid upon the entire lines of its 24 members. The proposed object of these schedules was to let each road know what other roads paid. Finding that the men upon some lines urged increase to correspond with wages paid elsewhere, a committee of the association prepared and presented a uniform schedule for all membership roads. It was deemed wise not to act upon the report. It was distributed to members in November, 1893. This distribution alone enabled the report to be used with efficiency as an "equalizer." As the result, during 1893—it being then well understood that as to wages, etc., it was an *incident* of the General Managers' Association to "assist" each road in case of trouble over such matters, one form of assistance being for the association to secure men enough through its agencies to take the places of all strikers (*a*)—reductions were here and there made on the different roads, the tendency and effort apparently being to equalize the pay on all lines.

It is admitted that the action of the association has great weight with outside lines, and thus tends to establish one uniform scale throughout the country. (*b*) The further single step of admitting lines not running into Chicago to membership would certainly have the effect of combining all railroads in wage contentions against all employees thereon.

The commission questions whether any legal authority, statutory or otherwise, can be found to justify some of the features of the associa-

*a* See testimony of Eugene V. Debs, pages 132 and 133; testimony of Everett St. John, quoted on pages XXIX and XXX; testimony of John M. Egan, question 4.

*b* See testimony of Everett St. John, question 280.

tion which have come to light in this investigation. If we regard its practical workings rather than its professions as expressed in its constitution, the General Managers' Association has no more standing in law than the old Trunk Line Pool. It can not incorporate, because railroad charters do not authorize roads to form corporations or associations to fix rates for services and wages, nor to force their acceptance, nor to battle with strikers. It is a usurpation of power not granted. If such an association is necessary from a business or economic standpoint, the right to form and maintain it must come from the State that granted its charter. In theory, corporations are limited to the powers granted either directly or by clear inference. We do not think the power has been granted in either way in this case.

The association is an illustration of the persistent and shrewdly devised plans of corporations to overreach their limitations and to usurp indirectly powers and rights not contemplated in their charters and not obtainable from the people or their legislators. An extension of this association, as above suggested, and the proposed legalization of "pooling" would result in an aggregation of power and capital dangerous to the people and their liberties as well as to employees and their rights. The question would then certainly arise as to which shall control, the Government or the railroads, and the end would inevitably be Government ownership. Unless ready for that result and all that it implies, the Government must restrain corporations within the law, and prevent them from forming unlawful and dangerous combinations. At least, so long as railroads are thus permitted to combine to fix wages and for their joint protection, it would be rank injustice to deny the right of all labor upon railroads to unite for similar purposes.

It should be noted that until the railroads set the example a general union of railroad employees was never attempted.<sup>(a)</sup> The unions had not gone beyond enlisting the men upon different systems in separate trade organizations.<sup>(b)</sup> These neutralize and check each other to some extent and have no such scope or capacity for good or evil as is possible under the universal combination idea inaugurated by the railroads and followed by the American Railway Union. The refusal of the General Managers' Association to recognize and deal with such a combination of labor as the American Railway Union seems arrogant and absurd when we consider its standing before the law, its assumptions, and its past and obviously contemplated future action.

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<sup>a</sup> See testimony of Eugene V. Debs, pages 132 and 133; testimony of Everett St. John, question 228; testimony of George W. Howard, question 49.

<sup>b</sup> See testimony of George W. Howard, pages 12 to 14; see also constitution of American Railway Union, published in connection with testimony of George W. Howard, and such portions of constitution of the Knights of Labor as are published in connection with the testimony of James R. Sovereign; see also testimony of Everett St. John, question 91.



### THE PULLMAN STRIKE: ITS CAUSES AND EVENTS.

Pullman's Palace Car Company is in the market at all times to obtain all possible contracts to build cars. Its relations with railroads, its large capital and surplus, its complete and well-located plant and efficient management enable it at all times to meet all competitors on at least equal terms. Prior to the business depression of 1893, the company was unusually active in building new cars for itself and for railroads to meet the expanded demands of general business, and for the expected requirements of the Columbian Exposition traffic. Its repair department was also full of work. An average number of 4,497 workmen, during the year ending July 1, 1893, earned \$2,760,548.99, or an average of \$613.86 each. The wages paid were about the same as paid elsewhere in the business, Mr. Wickes thinks possibly a little higher.

The depression of 1893 naturally affected the business at once, and to a greater extent in some departments than in others. Matters grew worse until, in the fall of 1893, the company closed its Detroit shops, employing about 800, and concentrated its contract and repair business at Pullman. The company and the railroads had a surplus of cars for the decreased traffic obtainable, and hence pending orders were canceled and car building stopped, except as occasional straggling contracts were obtained at prices which averaged less than shop cost, exclusive of interest upon capital or any charge for depreciation of plant or machinery.

#### WAGES.

From September 18, 1893, until May 1, 1894, the company did contract work at the price of \$1,421,205.75, which was \$52,069.03, or 3.663 per cent below shop cost for labor and materials.<sup>(a)</sup> Against this the loss to labor by the reduction of wages paid on this work was over \$60,000, making the wages of June, 1893, the basis of comparison.<sup>(b)</sup> It also had \$1,354,276.06 of unaccepted bids, upon which its similar loss would have been \$18,303.56, or 1.35 per cent.<sup>(a)</sup> Assuming that the analysis submitted as to the cost of several lots of cars affords a fair basis for averaging the whole of the contracts, it appears that the average percentage of cost of material in this contract work was about 75 per cent. Hence while the amount of loss was nearly equally divided, it seems that the percentage of loss borne by labor in the reduction of wages was much greater than that sustained by the company upon material. Three-quarters of the loss for the company and the balance for labor would have more fairly equalized the division of loss on these contracts.

<sup>a</sup> See testimony of Thomas H. Wickes, page 577.

<sup>b</sup> See testimony of Thomas H. Wickes, questions 45 and 46.

Some justification for the determination of the company as to the division of loss is claimed from the fact that in addition to its loss the company received no interest upon its capital, etc. On the other hand, it is an economic principle generally recognized that the shutting down of such a plant and the scattering of its forces usually result in a greater loss than that exhibited here by the continuance of business. The Pullman company could hardly shut down for seven and a half months at a cost and loss of less than 1 per cent upon its capital and surplus. To continue running was for its obvious and unfair advantage so long as it could divide losses equally with its labor.

The cut in wages during this period averaged about 25 per cent and was reached in two ways (a)—

First, by reducing the price paid for piecework, upon which 2,800 men are normally employed. This price is claimed to be based upon what a competent workman can do in a day. By testing the men the prices are thus fixed so that a man, if neither an expert nor a laggard, can earn an amount which is regarded by the company as fair wages. The men at Pullman claim that the company during 1893-94 set the pace through experts, so that with their forced loss of time an average man could earn little more than the rent of his home, owned by the company. (b) The company alleges that it simply readjusted piecework prices to suit the necessities of the times. The letting of piecework and the readjustment of prices therefor is largely in the hands of the "foremen," and hence sometimes subject to abuses unknown to the management.

Second, by reducing the pay in the repair shops, employing about 800, to correspond with the contract-work prices. (c) The main reason given for this reduction was that wages must be kept uniform. Under the contracts between railroads and the company the railroads have paid, since 1887, 2 cents per mile for each mile run by Pullman cars. (d) This is to pay the Pullman company for keeping the cars in repair, as it agrees to do, and is exclusive of the unreduced charges paid to the company for the use of berths, seats, etc. The depression of 1893 caused no change in this mileage rate under existing contracts. The company claims, and it is true, undoubtedly, that the depression somewhat reduced this fund by reason of the larger number of idle cars than usual to be repaired and stored at some expense, and caused

*a* See testimony of George M. Pullman, page 537; also questions 225, 226, and 246; also the testimony generally of all employees at Pullman sworn on hearing; also the various tables submitted by Thomas H. Wickes bearing on the matter, including the table of comparison of April, 1894, with April, 1893.

*b* See testimony of Thomas W. Heathcoate, latter part of answer to question 18; testimony of Merritt Brown, question 26; testimony of Thomas H. Wickes, questions 148 to 154 inclusive.

*c* See testimony of George M. Pullman, questions 227, 228, 234, and 235; also testimony of Thomas H. Wickes, question 274.

*d* See testimony of Thomas H. Wickes, questions 268 to 273.

some losses from failing roads. The testimony of the Pullman company, however, has left its claim in this regard in such loose and indefinite shape as to compel the conclusion that the reduction in the repair department was not made with reference to these depression results, but was part of a plan designed to reduce wages in every department to the lowest point possible to be reached in the department most seriously affected by the depression. Some reduction of wages in all departments was of course proper under the circumstances, but a uniform reduction as between departments so differently situated in reference to revenue as the car-building and repair departments was not relatively just and fair toward the repair-shop employees.

The earnings of employees at Pullman were reduced by these means and by lessening the amount of work, as appears in the table immediately following:

EARNINGS OF CERTAIN EMPLOYEES AT PULLMAN, 1893-94.

Date.	T. W. Heathcoate, inside finisher.		T. Rhodie, painter.		R. W. Coombs, car builder.		Jennie Curtis, seamstress.	
	Hours.	Amount.	Hours.	Amount.	Hours.	Amount.	Hours.	Amount.
1893.								
May.....	252½	\$78. 00	244½	\$65. 66	196½	\$47. 42	235½	\$39. 85
June.....	280½	96. 85	241½	65. 28	92	21. 00	212½	31. 24
July.....	238½	69. 12	216	57. 05	170	38. 75	181	27. 72
August.....	244½	62. 75	242	65. 14	173	36. 91	197½	30. 18
September.....	167½	44. 77	232	62. 62	94	21. 50	147½	23. 90
October.....	114	26. 92	230½	62. 04	42½	7. 39	230½	34. 02
November.....	119	29. 05	125½	32. 58	91	20. 54	151	24. 39
December.....	229½	43. 85	52½	12. 52	140½	18. 37	180½	28. 18
1894.								
January.....	261	49. 30	279½	66. 84	192½	34. 00	216	34. 21
February.....	238½	44. 95	227½	51. 69	240	60. 00	184	25. 47
March.....	262½	51. 53	254	51. 12	125	30. 80	212	24. 92
April.....	185½	37. 77	226½	48. 65	60	9. 00	197½	22. 14
Total.....	2, 588½	634. 80	2, 572	641. 19	1, 616½	345. 68	2, 345½	346. 82

The total amount of wages paid for the years ending July 1, 1893, and July 1, 1894, has been stated.

The above table is presented by the company. Some witnesses swear that at times, for the work done in two weeks, the employees received in checks from 4 cents to \$1 over and above their rent. (a) The company has not produced its checks in rebuttal.

During all of this reduction and its attendant suffering none of the salaries of the officers, managers, or superintendents were reduced. (b) Reductions in these would not have been so severely felt, would have shown good faith, would have relieved the harshness of the situation, and would have evinced genuine sympathy with labor in the disasters of the times.

a See testimony of Thomas W. Heathcoate, questions 88, 107, and 108.

b See testimony of George M. Pullman, questions 358 and 359.

In its statements to the public, which are in evidence, the company represents that its object in all it did was to continue operations for the benefit of its workmen and of trades people in and about Pullman and to save the public from the annoyance of interrupted travel. The commission thinks that the evidence shows that it sought to keep running mainly for its own benefit as a manufacturer, that its plant might not rust, that its competitors might not invade its territory, that it might keep its cars in repair, that it might be ready for resumption when business revived with a live plant and competent help, and that its revenue from its tenements might continue. (a)

#### RENTS.

If we exclude the æsthetic and sanitary features at Pullman, the rents there are from 20 to 25 per cent higher than rents in Chicago or surrounding towns for similar accommodations. (b) The æsthetic features are admired by visitors, but have little money value to employees, especially when they lack bread. The company aims to secure 6 per cent upon the cost of its tenements, which cost includes a proportionate share for paving, sewerage, water, parks, etc. It claims now to receive less than 4 per cent. It has some brickmakers' cottages upon which, at \$8 per month, it must obtain at least 40 per cent return upon their value. (c) These are, however, exceptional. The company makes all repairs, and heretofore has not compelled tenants to pay for them. Under the printed leases, however, which tenants must sign, they agree to pay for *all repairs* which are either necessary (ordinary wear and damages by the elements *not* excepted) or which the company *chooses* to make.

The company's claim that the workmen need not hire its tenements and can live elsewhere if they choose is not entirely tenable. The fear of losing work keeps them in Pullman as long as there are tenements unoccupied, because the company is supposed, as a matter of business, to give a preference to its tenants when work is slack. The employees, believing that a tenant at Pullman has this advantage, naturally feel some compulsion to rent at Pullman, and thus to stand well with the management. (d) Exceptional and necessary expert workmen do not share this feeling to the same extent and are more free to hire or own homes elsewhere. (e) While reducing wages the company made no

a See testimony of George M. Pullman, questions 350 to 357.

b See testimony of Isaiah Campbell, questions 22 to 35 inclusive; testimony of L. H. Johnson, questions 50 to 52; testimony of Duane Doty, questions 12 to 16; testimony of Andrew W. Pearson; testimony of Rev. M. L. Wickman, questions 8 and 15.

c See testimony of Duane Doty, questions 1, 2, 8 to 23, and 28 to 36 inclusive; testimony of George M. Pullman, page 530; testimony of L. H. Johnson, questions 53 and 54.

d See testimony of Thomas W. Heathcoate, questions 75 and 76; testimony of Rev. M. L. Wickman, questions 9 to 12 inclusive, and 21 and 22.

e See testimony of Rev. M. L. Wickman, questions 12 and 13.

reduction in rents. Its position is that the two matters are distinct, and that none of the reasons urged as justifying wage reduction by it as an employer can be considered by the company as a landlord.

The company claims that it is simply legitimate business to use its position and resources to hire in the labor market as cheaply as possible and at the same time to keep rents up regardless of what wages are paid to its tenants or what similar tenements rent for elsewhere; to avail itself to the full extent of business depression and competition in reducing wages, and to disregard these same conditions as to rents. No valid reason is assigned for this position except simply that the company had the power and the legal right to do it.

Prior to the so-called "truck" law in Illinois, rent was deducted from the wages. (a) Since then a check is given for the amount of the rent and another for the balance due for wages. (b) There is nothing to prevent the payee of the check from cashing it outside of the bank, but as the bank is rent collector it presses for the rent and is aided in collecting it by knowledge on the part of the tenant that by arrears he may lose his job. (c) At the time of the strike about \$70,000 of unpaid rents had accumulated. (d) It is fair to say that this accumulation of unpaid rent was due to leniency on the part of the company toward those who could not pay the rent and support their families. Neither have any actual evictions taken place. The company has held these matters in abeyance pending wage reductions and strike difficulties.

#### SHOP ABUSES.

Shop abuses also played some part in the controversy. The employees claimed that foremen were arbitrary and oppressive and mistreated the men in various ways. (e) It is likely that this arose largely from the friction caused by wage reductions and the more stringent shop rules needed to repress growing discontent. In times of depression the officers, directors, managers, superintendents, and foremen of large corporations are forced by their representative positions to bear down on labor with such weight, in order to protect stockholders against loss, that labor becomes sore and sensitive in small matters that might otherwise be overlooked. When these minor grievances were presented to the management a speedy investigation and correction were promised. The investigation was promptly begun before the employees struck.

*a* See testimony of Edward F. Bryant, question 69.

*b* See testimony of Edward F. Bryant, pages 515 and 516.

*c* See testimony of Edward F. Bryant, pages 515 and 516; also questions 77 to 79 inclusive, and 140; also testimony of Thomas W. Heathcoate, question 87.

*d* See testimony of George W. Howard, in question 32; testimony of Thomas W. Heathcoate, question 73; also testimony of Edward F. Bryant, questions 126 to 131 inclusive.

*e* See testimony of R. W. Coombs, question 27; testimony of H. O. Lindeblad, in question 5.

## THE STRIKE.

The reductions at Pullman after September, 1893, were the result of conferences among the managers; the employees for the first time knew of them when they took effect. No explanations or conferences took place until May 7 and 9 in regard thereto between the employees and the officers of the company. For the reasons stated the employees at Pullman were during the winter in a state of chronic discontent. (a) Upon May 7 and 9 a committee of 46 from all the departments waited upon the management and urged the restoration of wages to the basis of June, 1893. The company refused this, and offered no concession as to wages whatever, maintaining and explaining that business conditions did not justify any change. The company based its entire contention as to every department upon the facts in reference to car building (b) to which we have alluded, and offered to show its books and figures as to the cost and selling prices of cars. This offer, on account of the strike intervening, was not acted upon. Had it been, it would have resulted in the figures we have noted as to car-building contracts. The purpose of the management was obviously to rest the whole matter upon cost, etc., in its most seriously crippled department, excluding from consideration the facts as to wages in the repair department, to which we have alluded.

The demand of the employees for the wages of June, 1893, was clearly unjustifiable. The business in May, 1894, could not pay the wages of June, 1893. Reduction was carried to excess, but the company was hardly more at fault therein than were the employees in insisting upon the wages of June, 1893. There was little discussion as to rents, the company maintaining that its rents had nothing to do with its wages and that its revenue from its tenements was no greater than it ought to receive. Miss Curtis testified as to this as follows:

We stated our grievances to Mr. Wickes and told him we wanted our wages raised; he said it was impossible to raise them, as the company was losing money on its contracts and it could not possibly raise our wages a cent. We then asked if they did not think they could lower rents a little. He said, "No; it was utterly impossible to lower the rents one penny, as they were only receiving about 3 per cent on their investment now, and were losing money on contracts just to enable their men to have work." Mr. Wickes then appointed another interview with us the following Wednesday, and we went down again and saw Mr. Pullman; he said he could not raise our wages nor lower the rents.

The company had a legal right to take this position, but as between man and man the demand for some rent reduction was fair and reason-

<sup>a</sup> See testimony of Axel Lundgren, questions 4 to 12 inclusive; testimony of Pullman employees generally; also statement of Pullman employees attached to testimony of Sylvester Keliher.

<sup>b</sup> See pamphlet introduced by Thomas H. Wickes in his testimony, pages 578 to 586; testimony of George M. Pullman, question 45, etc.; see also note c, page xxxiii.

able under all the circumstances. Some slight concession in this regard would probably have averted the strike, provided the promise not to discharge men who served upon the committee had been more strictly regarded.

The next day, May 10, three of the committee were laid off by foremen for alleged lack of work, (a) not an unusual proceeding. Those who made the promise had nothing to do with this action and deny knowledge of it at the time. The foremen who did it are suspected by the employees of concluding that some laying off of committeemen just at that crisis would have a good effect and would accord with the policy and general views of the company. The foremen, however, deny this. This incident was inopportune and unfortunate, to say the least, and ought to have been more carefully guarded against by the company. An explanation of this occurrence was not asked for by the employees, as it ought to have been, before striking.

On the evening of May 10 the local unions met and voted to strike at once. The strike occurred on May 11, and from that time until the soldiers went to Pullman, about July 4, three hundred strikers were placed about the company's property, professedly to guard it from destruction or interference. This guarding of property in strikes is, as a rule, a mere pretense. Too often the real object of guards is to prevent newcomers from taking strikers' places, by persuasion, often to be followed, if ineffectual, by intimidation and violence. The Pullman company claims this was the real object of these guards. The strikers at Pullman are entitled to be believed to the contrary in this matter, because of their conduct and forbearance after May 11. It is in evidence, and uncontradicted, that no violence or destruction of property by strikers or sympathizers took place at Pullman, (b) and that until July 3 no extraordinary protection was had from the police or military against even anticipated disorder. (c)

Such dignified, manly, and conservative conduct in the midst of excitement and threatened starvation is worthy of the highest type of American citizenship, and with like prudence in all other directions will result in due time in the lawful and orderly redress of labor wrongs. To deny this is to forswear patriotism and to declare this Government and its people a failure.

As soon as the strike was declared the company laid off its 600 employees who did not join the strike, and kept its shops closed until August 2. During this period the Civic Federation of Chicago, composed of eminent citizens in all kinds of business and from all grades of respectable society, called upon the company twice to urge concili-

<sup>a</sup> See testimony of George W. Howard, question 22; also statement of W. C. Philpott in testimony of Thomas H. Wickes, page 587.

<sup>b</sup> See testimony of Axel Lundgren, questions 41, 43, 46, and 47; also statement of Thomas H. Wickes, page 591.

<sup>c</sup> See testimony of Thomas W. Heathcoate, page 417.

ation and arbitration. The company reiterated the statement of its position, and maintained that there was nothing to arbitrate; that the questions at issue were matters of fact and not proper subjects of arbitration. The Civic Federation suggested that competition should be regarded in rents as well as in wages. The company denied this. Wages and rents were to it separate matters; the principles applicable to one had no relation to the other. Later it gave the same answer to a committee of its employees. Upon June 15 and 22 it declined to receive any communication from committees of the American Railway Union, one proposition of that body being that the company select two arbitrators, the court two, and these four a fifth, to determine whether there was anything to arbitrate. The company also refused to consider any arbitration at the solicitation of the common council of Chicago, and repeated its stereotyped answer that there was nothing to arbitrate when appealed to by Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, himself a large manufacturer, whom Mayor Hopkins accompanied to Pullman. At that interview Mayor Pingree claimed to have telegrams from the mayors of over fifty of the largest cities, urging that there should be arbitration.

#### RAILROAD STRIKE.

Between June 9 and June 26 a regular convention of the American Railway Union was held with open doors at Chicago, representing 465 local unions and about 150,000 members, as claimed. The Pullman matter was publicly discussed at these meetings before and after its committees above mentioned reported their interviews with the Pullman company. On June 21 the delegates, under instructions from their local unions, unanimously voted that the members of the union should stop handling Pullman cars on June 26 unless the Pullman company would consent to arbitration. On June 26 the boycott and strike began. The strike on the part of the railroad employees was a sympathetic one. No grievances against the railroads had been presented by their employees, nor did the American Railway Union declare any such grievances to be any cause whatever of the strike. To simply boycott Pullman cars would have been an incongruous step for the remedy of complaints of railroad employees. Throughout the strike the strife was simply over handling Pullman cars, the men being ready to do their duty otherwise.<sup>(a)</sup> The contracts between the railroads and the Pullman company as to Pullman cars created such close relations between them as to increase the natural sympathy of organization between the members of the American Railway Union upon railroads and their brothers at Pullman. It is also apparent that the readiness

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<sup>a</sup> See testimony of Eugene V. Debs, questions 29 and 74; preamble and resolution of General Managers' Association, adopted June 25, 1894, in testimony of E. St. John; testimony of George W. Howard, question 100; testimony of Frank T. McDonald, question 14. Other witnesses on behalf of employees give testimony of a like character.



to strike sympathetically was promoted by the disturbed and apprehensive condition of railroad employees resulting from wage reductions on different lines, blacklisting, etc., and from the recent growth and development of the General Managers' Association, which seemed to them a menace. (a) Hence the railroad employees were ripe to espouse the cause of the Pullman strikers. In some instances they struck in disregard of existing contracts between their different organizations and the railroads, notably upon the Illinois Central. They evaded the responsibility of their organizations for this conduct by claiming to act as individuals. They justified themselves under the idea of balancing wrongs.

After June 26 the officers and agents of the union managed and urged on the strike at every available point upon the railroads centering at Chicago until it reached proportions far in excess of their original anticipations, and led to disorders beyond even their control. Urgent solicitations and appeals to strike and to stand firm continued in the many public meetings held each day in and about Chicago, and appear in the telegrams sent about the country.

On July 7 the principal officers of the American Railway Union were indicted, arrested, and held under \$10,000 bail. Upon July 13 they were attached for contempt of the United States court in disobeying an injunction issued on July 2 and served on the 3d and 4th, enjoining them, among other things, from compelling, or inducing by threats, intimidation, persuasion, force, or violence, railroad employees to refuse or fail to perform their duties. It is seriously questioned, and with much force, whether courts have jurisdiction to enjoin citizens from "persuading" (b) each other in industrial or other matters of common interest. However, it is generally recognized among good citizens that a mandate of a court is to be obeyed until it is modified and corrected by the court that issued it.

#### ACTION OF FEDERATED UNIONS.

Upon July 12, at the request of the American Railway Union, about 25 of the executive officers of national and international labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor met at Chicago. The situation was laid before them. The conference concluded that the strike was then lost; that a general sympathetic strike throughout the country would be unwise and inexpedient, and, at the time, against the best interests of labor. This conference issued a strong and temperate address to members, expressing sympathy with the purposes of the American Railway Union, advising those on strike to return to work, and urging that labor organize more generally, combine more closely, and seek the correction of industrial evils at the ballot box. To some

<sup>a</sup> See testimony of Eugene V. Debs, pages 132 to 134.

<sup>b</sup> See decision of Mr. Justice Harlan *in re* P. M. Arthur et al. *v.* Thomas F. Oakes et al. in the circuit court of the eastern district of Wisconsin, October 1, 1894.

extent the trade unions of Chicago had struck in sympathy, but this movement was checked by the action of the conference of the 12th and extended no further. This action indicates clearer views by labor as to its responsibilities, the futility of strikes, and the appropriate remedies in this country for labor wrongs.

Upon July 13 the American Railway Union, through the mayor of Chicago, sent a communication to the General Managers' Association offering to declare the strike off, provided the men should be restored to their former positions without prejudice, except in cases where they had been convicted of crime. The General Managers' Association in advance advertised that it would receive no communication whatever from the American Railway Union, and when received returned it unanswered. With reference to this, John M. Egan, strike manager of the General Managers' Association, testified as follows:

A few days later I was out of the office for awhile, and on my return I found the mayor and Alderman McGillen talking to Mr. St. John. I went into the room and Mr. St. John told me the mayor had come there with a letter signed by the officers of the American Railway Union. I told the mayor I thought he should not have permitted himself to be a messenger boy for those parties, and that I further considered that the General Managers' Association should not receive any such document. The document was left there, and during the afternoon I was requested to take the document back to the mayor. I endeavored to find him, but found he had gone to Kensington. I endeavored to reach him by telephone, but, as it was growing late and I could not locate him, I took the document back to the city hall and gave it to the chief of police, with the request that he place it on the mayor's desk, so he would receive it early the next morning. I wrote a letter in which I stated to the mayor that the General Managers' Association did not consider they should receive any such document. On my return to the office I was able to locate the mayor at Kensington, but they told me he had retired for the night, but I telegraphed the contents of the letter, with a request to the party who received it that he deliver it to the mayor that night. That is all I know about any overtures.

Q. 18. Was there anything in the document itself that was offensive or insulting to you?—Ans. The document was printed in the papers that afternoon and the next morning, and I think it speaks for itself.

Q. 19. Did you consider it offensive or insulting?—Ans. I considered that any party who attacked railway companies as the American Railway Union had done, and were whipped, as I considered they were, it was displaying considerable cheek to dictate the terms of their surrender.

Q. 20. You do not answer my question; I asked you if there was anything in the document itself that was offensive or insulting to you?—Ans. I don't know as I would be the judge of that.

Q. 21. What is your opinion about it?—Ans. I have not the authority to say whether it was insulting to the general managers or anything of that kind.

Q. 22. Did you return it on that account, because the terms of the document were offensive or insulting to you or to the managers?—Ans. Well, the managers requested it to be returned.

Q. 23. Was that the reason you returned it?—Ans. That was the reason I returned it; yes, sir.

**Q. 24.** Is it not a fact that instead of being offensive in its character so far as the composition was concerned, it was a document courteously composed and looking toward the settlement of a great and destructive strike that was then in progress?—**Ans.** Well, as I said, the document speaks for itself. I considered that the matter was settled then, practically.

In reply to this Mayor Hopkins testified:

I want to say in this connection that the papers quote Mr. Egan as saying in his testimony that he told the mayor he should not be a messenger boy for those men. I want to say emphatically that Mr. Egan never said that to me; I don't think I would have allowed him to say it.

At this date, July 13, and for some days previous, the strikers had been virtually beaten. The action of the courts deprived the American Railway Union of leadership, (a) enabled the General Managers' Association to disintegrate its forces, and to make inroads into its ranks. The mobs had worn out their fury, or had succumbed to the combined forces of the police, the United States troops and marshals, and the State militia. The railroads were gradually repairing damages and resuming traffic with the aid of new men and with some of those strikers who had not been offensively active or whose action was laid to intimidation and fear. At this juncture the refusal of the General Managers' Association to treat with the American Railway Union was certainly not conciliatory; it was not unnatural, however, because the association charged the American Railway Union with having inaugurated an unjustifiable strike, laid at its door the responsibility for all the disorder and destruction that had occurred, and, as the victor in the fight, desired that the lesson taught to labor by its defeat should be well learned.

The policy of both the Pullman company and the Railway Managers' Association in reference to applications to arbitrate closed the door to all attempts at conciliation and settlement of differences. The commission is impressed with the belief, by the evidence and by the attendant circumstances as disclosed, that a different policy would have prevented the loss of life and great loss of property and wages occasioned by the strike.

#### ACTION OF THE GENERAL MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION (b).

On June 22 an officer of the Pullman company met the general managers by invitation, and the general managers, among other things, resolved:

That we hereby declare it to be the lawful right and duty of said railway companies to protest against said proposed boycott; to resist the same in the interest of their existing contracts, and for the benefit of the traveling public, and that we will act unitedly to that end.

a See testimony of Eugene V. Debs, questions 77 and 78.

b See testimony of E. St. John, page 250, as to resolution above quoted; as to the association generally, see testimony of E. St. John, pages 241 to 260; also see testimony of John M. Egan, commencing on page 269.

From June 22 until the practical end of the strike the General Managers' Association directed and controlled the contest on the part of the railroads, using the combined resources of all the roads to support the contentions and insure the protection of each. On June 26 we find in the proceedings of the association the following statement:

A general discussion of the situation followed. It was suggested that some common plan of action ought to be adopted in case employees refused to do switching of passenger trains with Pullman cars, but were willing to continue all of their other work, and it was the general expression that in case any man refused to do his duty he would be discharged.

Headquarters were established; agencies for hiring men opened; as the men arrived they were cared for and assigned to duty upon the different lines; a bureau was started to furnish information to the press; the lawyers of the different roads were called into conference and combination in legal and criminal proceedings; the general managers met daily to hear reports and to direct proceedings; constant communication was kept up with the civil and military authorities as to the movements and assignments of police, marshals, and troops. (a) Each road did what it could with its operating forces, but all the leadership, direction, and concentration of power, resources, and influence on the part of the railroads were centered in the General Managers' Association. That association stood for each and all of its 24 combined members, and all that they could command, in fighting and crushing the strike.

#### VIOLENCE AND DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY AND MILITARY PROCEEDINGS.

The figures given as to losses, fatalities, destruction of property, and arrests for crime tell the story of violence, intimidation, and mob rule better than it can be described. Chicago is a vast metropolis, the center of an activity and growth unprecedented in history, and combining all that this implies. Its lawless elements are at present augmented by shiftless adventurers and criminals attracted to it by the Exposition and impecuniously stranded in its midst. In the mobs were also actively present many of a certain class of objectionable foreigners, who are being precipitated upon us by unrestricted immigration. No more dangerous place for such a strike could be chosen.

The strike, as a strike and as is usual with strikes, presented an opportunity to these elements to burn and plunder, and to violate the laws and ordinances of the city, State, and nation. Superintendent of Police Brennau swears as follows:

On the 26th of June the mayor directed me to use the whole police force in preserving the peace, protecting property, and preventing violence, and from that time on until the arrival of the troops I think I succeeded pretty well. So far as I understand, there had not been very much violence or depredations committed prior to the 3d of July, when

a See testimony of John M. Egan, question 4.

the troops arrived. *At that time the indications looked bad and the arrival of the troops, I think, was opportune.*

Q. 7. Why do you say the situation was threatening then?—Ans. At that time my police force had been on duty constantly for nine or ten days and the calls from the railway companies were so numerous and became so frequent that it more than absorbed the whole police department to supply all calls and demands. I had, at that time, 3,000 or 3,100 men in service, and every one of them was engaged in that particular business of preventing violence.

Q. 8. Did you have to keep part of that force in other portions of the city?—Ans. Yes, sir; this trouble extended all over the city; this city is practically a network of railways, and the territory being quite large—about 195 square miles, I believe—and to cover that territory, which is filled with railway tracks, yards, towers, switch houses, and freight houses, it can readily be seen that it would absorb the whole police force.

This appears to be a correct statement of the situation prior to July 3. The police force of Chicago, including the reserves, is not more than sufficient for the protection of the city under normal conditions, and it was during the strike placed under excessive and unusual strain. As a body, the police were courageous and efficient. We have in the evidence the authority of railroads for this statement. Some railroads charged the police with inefficiency and with failing to discharge their duties through sympathy with strikers. These charges have not been proved. The mayor directed suspension and discharge for any such cause, and some suspensions occurred on charges, but investigation disclosed no evidence to sustain them. The disorders at Blue Island were outside the city of Chicago. Appropriate orders for the police to cooperate with the troops were issued. That policemen sympathized with strikers rather than with the corporations can not be doubted, nor would it be surprising to find the same sentiment rife among the military. These forces are largely recruited from the laboring classes. Indeed, the danger is growing that in strike wars between corporations and employees, military duty will ultimately have to be done by others than volunteers from labor ranks.

The military and police confined themselves to their duty of arresting criminals, dispersing mobs, and guarding property. United States deputy marshals, to the number of 3,600, were selected by and appointed at request of the General Managers' Association, and of its railroads. (a) They were armed and paid by the railroads, and acted in the double capacity of railroad employees and United States officers. While operating the railroads they assumed and exercised unrestricted United States authority when so ordered by their employers, or whenever they regarded it as necessary. They were not under the direct control of any Government official while exercising authority. This is placing

<sup>a</sup> See testimony of John M. Egan, questions 4, and 8 to 12 inclusive; testimony of E. St. John, page 233; testimony of Deputy United States Marshal Donnelly, questions 2 to 7 inclusive, and 22 to 28 inclusive.

officers of the Government under control of a combination of railroads. It is a bad precedent, that might well lead to serious consequences.

There is no evidence before the commission that the officers of the American Railway Union at any time participated in or advised intimidation, violence, or destruction of property. They knew and fully appreciated that as soon as mobs ruled the organized forces of society would crush the mobs and all responsible for them in the remotest degree, and that this meant defeat. The attacks upon corporations and monopolies by the leaders in their speeches are similar to those to be found in the magazines and industrial works of the day.

Much stress has been laid upon the following dispatch, which Mr. Debs denies sending. It went, however, from the headquarters of the union, and that body is responsible for whatever it means:

CHICAGO, July 2, 1894.

To COURTHEAD, *South Butte, Mont.:*

The G. M. are weakening. If strike not settled in forty-eight hours complete paralysis will follow. Potatoes and ice out of sight. Save your money and buy a gun.

E. V. DEBS.

The union insists that a young clerk named Benedict sent this dispatch to a friend; that the expression "buy a gun" was one used between them and had no reference to the strike. Nothing like this is found elsewhere among the dispatches before the commission.

The participation of strikers in riotous proceedings is another and more serious matter. As to this, the commission has before it not only the evidence of parties interested for or against the strikers, but a vast amount of testimony from disinterested sources. Among these are the mayor and the officials of the police and fire departments of Chicago and the reporters of the newspapers of that city representing all shades of opinion as to the strike question. These latter witnesses were in the midst of the occurrences from day to day and observed events with keenly trained faculties. From this testimony it is fair to conclude that strikers were concerned in the outrages against law and order, although the number was undoubtedly small as compared with the whole number out. The strikers' experience and training were to be seen in the spiking and misplacing of switches, removing rails, crippling of interlocking systems, the detaching, side tracking, and derauling of cars and engines, placing of coupling pins in engine machinery, blockading tracks with cars, and attempts to detach and run in mail cars. The commission is of opinion that offenses of this character, as well as considerable threatening and intimidation of those taking strikers' places, were committed or instigated by strikers.

The mobs that took possession of railroad yards, tracks, and crossings after July 3, and that stoned, tipped over, burned, and destroyed cars and stole their contents, were, by general concurrence in the testimony, composed generally of hoodlums, women, a low class of for-

eigners, and recruits from the criminal classes. Few strikers were recognized or arrested in these mobs, which were without leadership, and seemed simply bent upon plunder and destruction. They gathered wherever opportunity offered for their dastardly work, and, as a rule, broke and melted away when force faced them. In the view that this railroad strike was wrong; that such mobs are well known to be incidental to strikes, and are thereby given an excuse and incentive to gather and to commit crime, the responsibility rests largely with the American Railway Union; otherwise that association, its leaders, and a very large majority of the railroad men on strike are not shown to have had any connection therewith. Labor advocates contend that strikes are the last resort; that they are the industrial war measures of labor to assert and obtain the rights which humanity, morality, and changed conditions demand; that labor can not otherwise arouse interest in its demands, and that, hence, labor is no more responsible for the public disorders and calamities that attend strikes than are the employers who provoke them. Many impartial observers are reaching the view that much of the real responsibility for these disorders rests with the people themselves and with the Government for not adequately controlling monopolies and corporations, and for failing to reasonably protect the rights of labor and redress its wrongs. None assert that laws can completely remedy contentions as to wages, etc., but many do insist that something substantial can be accomplished in this direction if attempted honestly, reasonably, and in good faith.

#### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

The commission has tried to find the drift of public opinion as to strikes, boycotts, and labor disputes upon railroads, and to find their remedy. The invitation freely extended in this direction has brought before the commission many expressions of views, orally and by written communications. A condensation of these latter is presented with this report. In reaching its conclusions the commission has endeavored, after careful consideration, to give due weight to the many suggestions and arguments presented. It is encouraging to find general concurrence, even among labor leaders, in condemning strikes, boycotts, and lockouts as barbarisms unfit for the intelligence of this age, and as, economically considered, very injurious and destructive forces. Whether won or lost is broadly immaterial. They are war—internecine war—and call for progress to a higher plane of education and intelligence in adjusting the relations of capital and labor. These barbarisms waste the products of both capital and labor, defy law and order, disturb society, intimidate capital, convert industrial paths where there ought to be plenty into highways of poverty and crime, bear as their fruit the arrogant flush of victory and the humiliating sting of defeat, and lead to preparations for greater and more destructive conflicts. Since nations have grown to the wisdom of avoiding disputes by conciliation, and even of settling

them by arbitration, why should capital and labor in their dependence upon each other persist in cutting each other's throats as a settlement of differences? Official reports show that much progress has been made in the more sane direction of conciliation and arbitration even in America. Abroad they are in advance of us in this policy. Were our population as dense and opportunities as limited as abroad, present industrial conditions would keep us much more disturbed than we now are by contests between capital and labor.

In England, prior to 1824, it was conspiracy and felony for labor to unite for purposes now regarded there by all classes as desirable for the safety of the Government, of capital, and for the protection of the rights of labor. All industrial labor is there, as a rule, covered by unions trained to greater conservatism through many disastrous conflicts under harsh conditions and surroundings. Capital abroad prefers to deal with these unions rather than with individuals or mobs, and from their joint efforts in good faith at conciliation and arbitration much good and many peaceful days have resulted. In fifteen of our States arbitration in various forms is now provided by law; the United States and eleven States have sanctioned labor organizations by statute. Some of our courts, however, are still poring over the law reports of antiquity in order to construe conspiracy out of labor unions. We also have employers who obstruct progress by perverting and misapplying the law of supply and demand, and who, while insisting upon individualism for workmen, demand that they shall be let alone to combine as they please and that society and all its forces shall protect them in their resulting contentions.

The general sentiment of employers, shared in by some of the most prominent railroad representatives we have heard, is now favorable to organization among employees. (a) It results in a clearer presentation and calmer discussion of differences, instils mutual respect and forbearance, brings out the essentials, and eliminates misunderstandings and immaterial matters. To an ordinary observer, argument to sustain the justice and necessity of labor unions and unity of action by laborers is superfluous.

The rapid concentration of power and wealth, under stimulating legislative conditions, in persons, corporations, and monopolies has greatly changed the business and industrial situation. Our railroads were chartered upon the theory that their competition would amply protect shippers as to rates, etc., and employees as to wages and other conditions. Combination has largely destroyed this theory, and has seriously disturbed the natural working of the laws of supply and demand, which, in theory, are based upon competition for labor between those who "demand" it as well as among those who supply it. The interstate commerce act and railroad-commission legislation in over thirty States are simply efforts of the people to free themselves from the results of

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a See testimony of Albert W. Sullivan, questions 42 to 52 inclusive.



this destruction of competition by combination. Labor is likewise affected by this progressive combination. While competition among railroad employers of labor is gradually disappearing, competition among those who supply labor goes on with increasing severity. For instance, as we have shown, there is no longer any competitive demand among the 24 railroads at Chicago for switchmen. They have ceased competing with each other; they are no longer 24 separate and competing employers; they are virtually one. To be sure, this combination has not covered the whole field of labor supply as yet, but it is constantly advancing in that direction. Competition for switchmen's labor still continues with outside employers, among whom, again, we find a like tendency to eliminate competitive demand for labor by similar combination. In view of this progressive perversion of the laws of supply and demand by capital and changed conditions, no man can well deny the right nor dispute the wisdom of unity for legislative and protective purposes among those who supply labor.

However men may differ about the propriety and legality of labor unions, we must all recognize the fact that we have them with us to stay and to grow more numerous and powerful. Is it not wise to fully recognize them by law; to admit their necessity as labor guides and protectors, to conserve their usefulness, increase their responsibility, and to prevent their follies and aggressions by conferring upon them the privileges enjoyed by corporations, with like proper restrictions and regulations? The growth of corporate power and wealth has been the marvel of the past fifty years. Corporations have undoubtedly benefited the country and brought its resources to our doors. It will not be surprising if the marvel of the next fifty years be the advancement of labor to a position of like power and responsibility. We have heretofore encouraged the one and comparatively neglected the other. Does not wisdom demand that each be encouraged to prosper legitimately and to grow into harmonious relations of equal standing and responsibility before the law? This involves nothing hostile to the true interests and rights of either.

A broad range of remedies is presented to the commission as to the best means of adjusting these controversies, such as Government control or ownership of railroads; compulsory arbitration; licensing of employees; the single-tax theory; restriction of immigration and exclusion of pauper labor; protection of American industries; monetary legislation; suppression of trusts and combinations; written contracts requiring due notice of discharge by employers and of leaving service by employees; United States labor commission to investigate and fix hours of labor, rates of wages, etc.; a fixed labor unit; authority to courts to settle these questions; insurance departments and pensioning of employees; fixing hours of labor and minimum rates of wages by statute; change in law of liability of master to servant; and various suggestions for relief, outside of any legislative action, through educa-

tional methods tending to the inculcation of mutual forbearance and just consideration of each other's rights in the premises.

The commission deems recommendations of specific remedies premature. Such a problem, for instance, as universal Government ownership of railroads is too vast, many-sided, and far away, if attempted, to be considered as an immediate, practical remedy. It belongs to the socialistic group of public questions where Government ownership is advocated of monopolies, such as telegraphs, telephones, express companies, and municipal ownership of waterworks, gas and electric lighting, and street railways. These questions are pressing more urgently as time goes on. They need to be well studied and considered in every aspect by all citizens. Should continued combinations and consolidations result in half a dozen or less ownerships of our railroads within a few years, as is by no means unlikely, the question of Government ownership will be forced to the front, and we need to be ready to dispose of it intelligently. As combination goes on there will certainly at least have to be greater Government regulation and control of quasi-public corporations than we have now.

Whenever a nation or a state finds itself in such relation to a railroad that its investments therein must be either lost or protected by ownership, would it not be wise that the road be taken and the experiment be tried as an object lesson in Government ownership? The Massachusetts Railroad Commission, which is noted for its eminent services as a conservative pioneer in the direction of Government control of railroads through the force of public opinion, for several years urged that the experiment of State ownership be tried with the Fitchburg system, because of the large State investment in the Hoosac Tunnel. We need to fear everything revolutionary and wrong, but we need fear nothing that any nation can successfully attempt in directions made necessary by changed economic or industrial conditions. Other nations under their conditions own and operate telegraphs and railroads with varying results. Whether it is practicable for this nation to do so successfully when it becomes necessary to save an investment or when the people determine it shall be done, is an open and serious question which can not be answered fully except by actual experiment.

We ought now to inaugurate a permanent system of investigation into the relations between railroads and employees in order to prepare to deal with them intelligently, and that we may conservatively adopt such remedies as are sustained by public opinion for defects or wrongs that may from time to time appear. In the long contest between shippers and railroads penal and specific legislation proved inadequate. The lessons of this period of legislation need to be well remembered by labor. Hasty, revengeful, and retaliatory legislation injures every interest, benefits nobody, and can not long be enforced.

The question of the right of Congress to legislate in regard to the  
S. Ex. 7—IV

conditions of employment and service upon railroads engaged in interstate commerce is a most important one, and the right seems by analogy to exist. Similar power as to rates, discriminations, poolings, etc., has been exercised in the act to regulate commerce, and has been sustained by the courts. The position of railroads as quasi-public corporations subjects them and their employees to this power, and imposes its exercise upon Congress as a duty, whenever necessary for the protection of the people. The question of what shall be done is therefore one of expediency and not of power. When railroads acted as judge and jury in passing upon the complaints of shippers, the people demanded and Congress granted a Government tribunal where shippers and railroads could meet on equal terms and have the law adjust their differences. In view of the Chicago strike and its suggested dangers, the people have the same right to provide a Government commission to investigate and report upon differences between railroads and their employees, to the end that interstate commerce and public order may be less disturbed by strikes and boycotts. Public opinion, enlightened by the hearings before such a commission, will do much toward settling many difficulties without strikes, and in strikes will intelligently sustain the side of right and justice and often compel reasonable adjustments. Experience, however, has taught that public opinion is not alone powerful enough to control railroads. Hence power to review and enforce the just and lawful decisions of the commission against railroads ought to be vested in the United States courts. There can be no valid objection to this when we bear in mind that we are now dealing simply with quasi-public corporations and not with either individuals or private corporations. What is safe and proper as to the former might be unsafe and unjust for the latter. That which is done under the act to regulate commerce as to rates can safely and ought properly to be done as to railroad wages, etc., by a commission and the courts.

Some stability and time for conciliation and amicable adjustment of disputes can also be secured by providing that labor unions shall not strike pending hearings which they seek; and that railroads shall not discharge men except for cause during hearings, and for a reasonable time thereafter. A provision may well be added requiring employees during the same period to give thirty days' notice of quitting and forbidding their unions from ordering or advising otherwise.

Many assert with force that no law can be justly devised to compel employers and employees to accept the decisions of tribunals in wage disputes. It is insisted that while the employer can readily be made to pay under an arbitration decision more than is or than he thinks is right, the employee can not practically be made to work. He can quit, or at least force his discharge, when the decision gives him less than he demands. Hence nothing reciprocal can be devised, and without that element it is urged that nothing just can be enacted of a compulsory nature. This may be true in general industries, but it has less

weight as between railroads and their labor. Railroads have not the inherent rights of employers engaged in private business; they are creatures of the state, whose rights are conferred upon them for public purposes, and, hence, the right and duty of Government to compel them to do in every respect what public interest demands are clear and free from embarrassment. It is certainly for the public interest that railroads shall not abandon transportation because of labor disputes, and, therefore, it is the duty of the Government to have them accept the decision of its tribunals, even though complete reciprocal obligations can not be imposed upon labor. The absence of such reciprocal obligations would rarely affect railroads unjustly, if we regard the question in a practical light.

Railroad employment is attractive and is sought for. There has never been a time in the history of railroads when men did not stand ready to fill a labor vacancy at the wages fixed by the roads. The number is constantly increasing. If railroads can thus always get the men that they need at what they offer, is there any doubt that the supply will be ample at any rates fixed by a commission and the courts? A provision as to notice of quitting, after a decision, would be ample to enable railroads to fill vacancies caused in their labor departments by dissatisfaction with decisions. To go further, under present conditions, at least, in coercing employees to obey tribunals in selling their labor would be a dangerous encroachment upon the inherent, inalienable right to work or quit, as they please.

When railroad employees secure greater certainty of their positions and of the right to promotion, compensation for injury, etc., it will be time enough to consider such strict regulation for them as we can now justly apply to railroads, whose rights are protected by laws and guarded by all the advantages of greater resources and more concentrated control.

In solving these questions, corporations seldom aid the efforts of the people or their legislators. Fear of change and the threatened loss of some power invariably make them obstructionists. They do not desire to be dealt with by any legislation; they simply want to be let alone, confident in their ability to protect themselves. Whatever is right to be done by statutes must be done by the people for their own protection, and to meet the just demand that railroad labor shall have public and impartial hearing of all grievances.

The commission does not pretend to present a specific solution of these questions. Its effort is simply to present the facts; to point out that the relations of capital and labor are so disturbed as to urgently demand the attention of all thinking and patriotic citizens; to suggest a line of search for practical remedial legislation which may be followed with safety, and, finally, to urge and invite labor and railroads to hearty cooperation with the Government and the people in efforts to substitute law and reason in labor disputes for the dangers, sufferings,

uncertainties, and wide-spread calamities incident to strikes, boycotts, and lockouts.

To secure prompt and efficient data for the formation of correct public sentiment in accordance with this line of thought, the commission contends that law should make it obligatory upon some public tribunal promptly to intervene by means of investigation and conciliation, and to report whenever a difficulty of the character of that occurring during the past season at Chicago arises. This intervention should be provided for, first, when the tribunal is called upon to interfere by both of the parties involved; second, when called upon by either of the parties, and, third, when in its own judgment it sees fit to intervene. The proper tribunal should have the right, in other words, to set itself in motion, and rapidly, too, whenever in its judgment the public is sustaining serious inconvenience. If the public can only be educated out of the belief that force is and must always remain the basis of the settlement of every industrial controversy, the problem becomes simplified. A tribunal, however, should not intervene in mere quarrels between employer and employed, unless the public peace or convenience is involved; but where it is a clear case of public obstruction, whether caused by individuals or by a corporation, a tribunal should not wait until called on by outside agencies to act. All parties concerned should be notified that the tribunal proposes, upon a certain day—and the earlier the day the better—to be at a given place, there to look into the cause of the trouble, to adjust the difficulties by conciliation, if possible, and, in the event of failure, to fix the responsibility for the same. Proceeding in this way the report of such a commission would cause public opinion promptly to settle the question, or, at least, to fix the responsibility where it belonged, and to render successful opposition to the conclusions reached an improbability. To carry out this idea involves no complicated legislation.

As authorized by statute, the commission has decided upon certain recommendations and certain suggestions, growing out of its study of the Chicago strike and boycott. These recommendations and suggestions are upon three lines: First, for Congressional action; second, for State action; and third, for the action of corporations and labor organizations. It readily sees the impropriety to a certain extent of making any recommendation for State action, yet feels it a duty, as a result of its investigations, to make such suggestions as will enable citizens interested in State legislation to benefit by its experience, and also to make such suggestions to corporations and labor organizations as shall tend to harmonize some of the existing difficulties. The commission therefore recommends:

## I.

(1) That there be a permanent United States strike commission of three members, with duties and powers of investigation and recommendation as to disputes between railroads and their employees

similar to those vested in the Interstate Commerce Commission as to rates, etc.

a. That, as in the interstate commerce act, power be given to the United States courts to compel railroads to obey the decisions of the commission, after summary hearing unattended by technicalities, and that no delays in obeying the decisions of the commission be allowed pending appeals.

b. That, whenever the parties to a controversy in a matter within the jurisdiction of the commission are one or more railroads upon one side and one or more national trade unions, incorporated under chapter 567 of the United States Statutes of 1885-86, or under State statutes, upon the other, each side shall have the right to select a representative, who shall be appointed by the President to serve as a temporary member of the commission in hearing, adjusting, and determining that particular controversy.

(This provision would make it for the interest of labor organizations to incorporate under the law and to make the commission a practical board of conciliation. It would also tend to create confidence in the commission, and to give to that body in every hearing the benefit of practical knowledge of the situation upon both sides.)

c. That, during the pendency of a proceeding before the commission inaugurated by national trade unions, or by an incorporation of employees, it shall not be lawful for the railroads to discharge employees belonging thereto except for inefficiency, violation of law, or neglect of duty; nor for such unions or incorporation during such pendency to order, unite in, aid, or abet strikes or boycotts against the railroads complained of; nor, for a period of six months after a decision, for such railroads to discharge any such employees in whose places others shall be employed, except for the causes aforesaid; nor for any such employees, during a like period, to quit the service without giving thirty days' written notice of intention to do so, nor for any such union or incorporation to order, counsel, or advise otherwise.

(2) That chapter 567 of the United States Statutes of 1885-86 be amended so as to require national trade unions to provide in their articles of incorporation, and in their constitutions, rules, and by-laws that a member shall cease to be such and forfeit all rights and privileges conferred on him by law as such by participating in or by instigating force or violence against persons or property during strikes or boycotts, or by seeking to prevent others from working through violence, threats, or intimidations; also, that members shall be no more personally liable for corporate acts than are stockholders in corporations.

(3) The commission does not feel warranted, with the study it has been able to give to the subject, to recommend positively the establishment of a license system by which all the higher employees or others of railroads engaged in interstate commerce should be licensed after due and proper examination, but it would recommend, and most urgently,

that this subject be carefully and fully considered by the proper committee of Congress. Many railroad employees and some railroad officials examined and many others who have filed their suggestions in writing with the commission are in favor of some such system. It involves too many complications, however, for the commission to decide upon the exact plan, if any, which should be adopted.

## II.

(1) The commission would suggest the consideration by the States of the adoption of some system of conciliation and arbitration like that, for instance, in use in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. That system might be reenforced by additional provisions giving the board of arbitration more power to investigate all strikes, whether requested so to do or not, and the question might be considered as to giving labor organizations a standing before the law, as heretofore suggested for national trade unions.

(2) Contracts requiring men to agree not to join labor organizations or to leave them, as conditions of employment, should be made illegal, as is already done in some of our States.

## III.

(1) The commission urges employers to recognize labor organizations; that such organizations be dealt with through representatives, with special reference to conciliation and arbitration when difficulties are threatened or arise. It is satisfied that employers should come in closer touch with labor and should recognize that, while the interests of labor and capital are not identical, they are reciprocal.

(2) The commission is satisfied that if employers everywhere will endeavor to act in concert with labor; that if when wages can be raised under economic conditions they be raised voluntarily, and that if when there are reductions reasons be given for the reduction, much friction can be avoided. It is also satisfied that if employers will consider employees as thoroughly essential to industrial success as capital, and thus take labor into consultation at proper times, much of the severity of strikes can be tempered and their number reduced.

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**APPENDIX A.**

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**TESTIMONY AND PROCEEDINGS.**

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**S. Ex. 7—1**

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## APPENDIX A.

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### TESTIMONY AND PROCEEDINGS.

The following is the testimony taken before the United States Strike Commission at its hearing at the city of Chicago, Ill., commencing on the 15th day of August, 1894, and closing on the 30th day of the same month; as well as the public proceedings had at an adjourned hearing at the city of Washington, D. C., on the 26th day of September, 1894.

The testimony taken is not printed in the exact order in which it was given, but is arranged under appropriate heads or topics; and where a witness is recalled his testimony on such reexamination appears in connection with his former testimony. The date on which each witness testified appears at the beginning of his or her testimony.

At the hearing at Chicago 20 witnesses were introduced by or summoned at the instigation of the officials of the American Railway Union, and 11 witnesses were called and sworn on behalf of the employees at the town of Pullman, making a total, on the part of the employees, of 31. Twenty-nine witnesses were called and sworn on the part of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway; one on behalf of the Illinois Central Railroad; one on behalf of the General Managers' Association (one of the witnesses, Mr. St. John, of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway, also testified on behalf of the said association), a total of 31. Sixteen were called and sworn on behalf of Pullman's Palace Car Company, making a total for employers of 47 witnesses.

There were called and sworn on the motion of the commission itself 28 witnesses; one witness volunteered and was sworn on his own motion. The whole number of witnesses examined at Chicago was, therefore, 107.

At an adjourned hearing at Washington there appeared voluntarily two witnesses, making the grand total of witnesses, 109.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT ROOM,  
Chicago, Ill., August 15, 1894—10 a. m.

The United States Strike Commission met in the United States district court room at the city of Chicago, Ill., on Wednesday, August 15, 1894, at 10 a. m.

Present: Hon. Carroll D. Wright, ex-officio chairman; Hon. John D. Kernan, Hon. Nicholas E. Worthington, commissioners.

Eugene B. Hastings, clerk; Charles P. Watson, stenographer; H. Bartlett Lindley, deputy marshal.

By direction of the commissioners the clerk read the commission of the President appointing the commission and defining its duties, etc.

The commission of the President is set forth in full in the report itself, page XV.

The chairman having announced the object, purposes, and proposed methods of the commission (for same see report itself, page XVII), further stated as follows:

Before we proceed with the examination of witnesses I will ask if there are any persons present who desire to note their appearance as counsel or otherwise for the parties in controversy.

(There was no response to this inquiry of the chairman.)

The clerk will now call the first witness.

TESTIMONY ON BEHALF OF THE RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE W. HOWARD.

August 15, 1894, George W. Howard, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

Mr. HOWARD. My understanding is, from what has been read, that the commission will simply investigate into the affairs of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific and Illinois Central railroads.

Commissioner WRIGHT. And their employees.

Mr. HOWARD. In that case I am not prepared to go on. I understood you would commence at the bottom of this trouble and go through with it step by step until the end.

Commissioner WRIGHT. We will arrive at the bottom of it by our method of examination satisfactorily to all.

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. George W. Howard; 46; Chicago, Ill. For nearly thirty years I have been a railroad man, but am at present vice-president of the American Railway Union.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Who is president of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Eugene V. Debs.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is he present?—Ans. No, sir; he is sick and under the care of a physician, but if the commission insists upon it he will appear, I presume, at any time—tomorrow or the following day.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you advise him that the commission would like to take his testimony?—Ans. Yes, sir.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What connection have you had with railroads, and with what roads?—Ans. I have filled every position from brakeman to general superintendent. I was on the Louisville, New Albany and Chicago Railroad; on the Mackey system of roads in southern Indiana; on the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. I have worked for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad; for the Louisville, Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad; for the Coronado Beach Company, a transportation line in southern California. I built that railroad, together with the street car system of San Diego.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long since you have been practically engaged in railroad work?—Ans. The last railroad work I done was as master of transportation of the Mackey system of roads in 1890.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Since that time what has been your occupation?—Ans. While holding that position I was grand chief conductor of the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, but I told Mr. Mackey if he was at any time in need of my services I would come to him at any time, and while I was in Los Angeles, Cal., he wired me to know if I would come and assist him as master of transportation, that he was sadly in need of my services, and I accepted that position, retaining my position in the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, I continued with Mr. Mackey as master of transportation during the busy season until the 16th of October. That was the third time I had worked for that system. I was reelected grand chief conductor of the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors in September, and that same fall, on the 16th of October, I resigned as master of transportation and went into the labor field again actively. I continued as grand chief conductor of the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors until 1892, when the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors was merged into the Order of Railway Conductors, the platforms of both being the same. I then quit the labor field and went upon a ranch in Kansas with my father and youngest brother, but was only there a few months when I was called on to participate in the formation of the plan of the American Railway Union.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You are now vice-president of that organization?—Ans. Yes, sir.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you connected with any other labor organizations? If so, state what organizations, and also what organizations you have been connected with in the past.—Ans. I was connected with the Yardmasters' Mutual Benefit Association for about seventeen years as a member only; then I was a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers for ten years; I was a member of the Order of Railway Conductors, and am now a member of that organization, and I belong to the Knights of Labor. I resigned my membership in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers last July and took a withdrawal card, and I presume my membership in the Order of Railway Conductors will be terminated on the 20th of this month.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). For what reason?—Ans. Because of a misunderstanding, more than anything else; and further, because I do not care to continue a member any longer, because they don't amount to anything.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State whether you were in Chicago during the recent difficulties on the Illinois Central and Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific roads, and if so, what you know of those difficulties, the causes which led to them, and the conditions surrounding them. State briefly, in your own way, the history of those controversies as you know it.—Ans. Just prior to the commencement of my examination I

stated to the commission that I was not prepared to answer specifically in regard to the trouble on the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific road; that is, as to the trouble between the management of the road and its employees. When I say specifically I mean that the employees there did have grievances of their own prior to this outbreak, and that was the case on nearly all the railroads in the country, because of reduction in pay, arbitrary treatment on the part of the officials toward their employees, and some of this was practiced on the Rock Island road. To ascertain what the specific grievances were that existed between the employees and the officials it would be necessary to convene their general grievance committees, which could be done, and allow them to testify.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Can you give the names of the persons on those committees?—Ans. I am not prepared to do so now, but can furnish them to you. To speak plainly, and I do not hesitate to say it, the cause of the general trouble here between the railroad companies and their employees was the declaration on the part of the general managers of the various roads that they would back Mr. Pullman. That may not be the exact language that was used, but they made up their minds they would back up Mr. Pullman in the stand he had taken against his employees.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). To whom was that declaration made?—Ans. It was made publicly through all the newspapers in Chicago. I think the newspapers show that General Manager St. John made the declaration, and he was chairman of the General Managers' Association.

14 (Commissioner KEENAN). Was it made, as you understand, by any public document issued over his signature, or over the signature of anybody connected with the association?—Ans. No, sir; I don't know that it was made by any public document. The fact is that in everything that has been done the press has been cited—that the press said so and so—and it seems they have taken articles that appeared in the press as authority for action, and we did the same.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what the American Railway Union did in connection with ordering a strike or boycott, or both, and the cause of its action?—Ans. The American Railway Union enrolled the Pullman employees to the number of nearly 4,000 from March until along in May.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were they enrolled by signing any document?—Ans. No, sir; the American Railway Union is not a secret organization at all; the members join the union by simply placing their names to the application for a charter.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you that application for the Pullman employees, and can you furnish it to the commission?—Ans. Yes, sir; we have it, and will furnish it, if desired.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you the constitution, bylaws, and books of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir; here at Chicago, and we will produce them, if desired.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you please file them as part of your testimony?—Ans. Yes, sir; I will do so (a).

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what action the American Railway Union took in regard to this difficulty and the cause for taking such action?—Ans. After the Pullman employees were enrolled as mem-

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<sup>a</sup> The application of the Pullman employees not filed. For constitution of the American Railway Union see Exhibit 1, at end of Howard's testimony.

bers of the American Railway Union they had grievances to adjust, and they appointed committees to seek an audience with the officials of the Pullman company with a view of adjusting those differences. I called with a committee upon the Pullman officials—

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Can you give the names of that committee?—Ans. I can not now, but will procure the names for you. There was a committee of 43, I think, representing each class of the Pullman service. We found that they could not adjust anything. We called upon Mr. Wickes, the second vice-president of the company, and Mr. Pullman, president of the company, and they both talked to the committee. I merely sat and listened to what was said between the officials of the company and its employees. I would like to state here that the American Railway Union is unlike any other labor organization in this country in that it makes its own members responsible for everything that is done; that is, we work upon the principle of the government "of the people, by the people, for the people," making the members the people and the officers merely the servants of the members. The officials may advise, but the members are not compelled to accept our advice nor act upon it; in fact, they can, by a majority vote, tell the officers what they must do. The employees of the Pullman company had decided to go upon a strike prior to their calling upon the company at the time I called with them, and after we had called at the company's headquarters and after the interview was ended I made up my mind to advise them not to strike. I asked Mr. Wickes if there would be any prejudice held against any of the committeemen for having served in that capacity, and he told me no. I have been acquainted with Mr. Wickes about twenty-five years, know him well, and I knew when he said that it would be all right, and I advised the men not to strike, but to go back to work.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State when that was.—Ans. That was in the early part of May. I advised them not to strike, but to go back to work, because Mr. Pullman had promised that their grievances should be looked into at once, and they did go back to work upon the advice I gave them, but the following morning, or sometime during that day, they claimed that three of the members of that committee were arbitrarily shut off from their work and sent home, which was a violation of the pledge that was made to us, but it was done by some of the under bosses at the works and not by the knowledge of Mr. Wickes or Mr. Pullman.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Your action at this time was as vice-president of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And they were members of your union?—Ans. Yes, sir. Well, the sending of these three men home who had been with the committee to see the officials, arbitrarily shutting them off from their work and sending them home, incensed the balance of the employees, and they all struck after an all-night session.

25 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Can you give the names of those three men?—Ans. I had arranged for a Pullman committee to be here at 10 o'clock this morning, and am looking for them every minute; when they come they will give you the names and any other information you desire. After the men had struck, we from time to time caused seven committees to be sent to Pullman with a view of settling the differences in an amicable way as between the company and its employees, but upon each visit they were told they had nothing to arbitrate.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Can you give us the names of the members of those several committees and the dates on which they called on the Pullman company?—Ans. I have not the names with me now but will furnish you their names; if I had known what the commission wanted I would have been prepared. In addition to this the Civic Federation of Chicago, composed of such men as Lyman J. Gage, and Mrs. Potter Palmer—an organization formed for the purpose of settling difficulties amicably as between corporations and employees—

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was that organization formed prior to this controversy or since?—Ans. Before; it has been in existence for perhaps a year; it was formed for that purpose and it was supposed that being composed of people of such high character no one would refuse to accept its good offices in the settlement of difficulties; the secretary of that Civic Federation called at our office after this strike was on and after we had tried to amicably adjust the difficulties and asked me what our status was, asked if we would be willing to arbitrate; I told him that was the object of the American Railway Union, publicly announced on all occasions and everywhere, that we were in favor of arbitration on all occasions; that we thought we ought first to meet in a spirit of conciliation and then arbitrate if there was anything we could not agree upon ourselves; he then asked me if we would favor the taking up of the matter by this Civic Federation, or I believe he wrote me first, and I answered him, and subsequently he came to see me; then Miss Jane Addams, quite a worker here in Chicago in the interest of harmony, also called to see us and we expressed the same desire to her; they called upon the officers of the Pullman company and they were met with the same response—that they had nothing to arbitrate; that was the answer from first to last. Well, things remained in that way until the convention of the American Railway Union convened here in Chicago on June 12, 1894; at that convention, I presume, we had seven or eight delegates from Pullman, perhaps a few more—

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Up to that time had there been any strike or boycott on the part of the Pullman employees or railroad men?—Ans. The strike was on at Pullman; the strike occurred at Pullman along about the early part of May—May 10 or 12.

29 (Commissioner KEENAN). That strike was in operation at the time you speak of?—Ans. At the time of the convention; yes, sir.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were minutes kept of the proceedings of the convention of June 12?—Ans. Yes, sir; by our general secretary.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). The commission would like to have a copy of those minutes.—Ans. Anything we have is at your disposal. This convention met in Chicago on June 12, and the Pullman matter was brought up for disposal and the delegates present, from all over the country, after wiring for instructions from their local unions in regard to the Pullman-strike and after receiving such instructions from their local unions all over the country, declared by an unanimous vote that they would handle no more Pullman cars on or after a certain date; they made the action public and five days' notice was given; that action was taken after two committees—the last two committees prior to the great strike—that had called to see the officials of the Pullman company with a view of settling the differences had made their report; the convention first appointed a committee consisting of three of its members, together with a like number of the Pullman employees, to go and see the officials of the Pullman company; they called on them and were told that they would meet no one except their employees and had nothing to arbitrate.

32 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Can you give the names of that committee?—Ans. Yes, sir; our minutes will show that. We have a record of everything. When that committee returned and made their report, the convention decided to send a committee composed of Pullman employees alone immediately back to see the officials, but when they called they were met with the same answer, that they had nothing to arbitrate, even after they had intimated that they would meet their own employees in a spirit of conciliation. Then the delegates assembled gave five days' notice that they would after that date—we have the date, which we will furnish—handle no more Pullman cars throughout the United States until Mr. Pullman agreed to arbitrate the differences between his company and his employees; not only to arbitrate, but he must agree to give them sufficient wages to enable them to live and keep out of his debt for rent, water, and gas. Mr. Pullman had stated to this large committee that had called to see him in my presence, "You owe me more than \$70,000 now for rent, and have I pushed you for it?" I mention that to show you that the employees wanted enough wages to enable them to live and keep out of his debt for water, rent, and gas.

After it was decided that the American Railway Union would not handle the Pullman sleepers after a certain date, just the day prior, or perhaps two days prior to that order going into effect, the railway officials announced publicly through the newspapers that they would haul such cars as they chose regardless of what the delegates to the American Railway Union convention might say, or what their employees might say at large anywhere. Mr. Pullman would not agree to arbitrate the differences existing between his company and its employees, and this resolution not to handle any more Pullman cars went into effect. Then the railway managers, in order to take advantage of the situation, would not run a mail train unless they could pull a Pullman sleeper behind it, and I think it was charged that their authority in acting that way was the declaration of Attorney-General Olney to the effect that a mail train consisted of the cars usually handled upon that train—one and all of them.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did they run Pullman cars upon unusual trains or only on the trains they usually had run them on?—Ans. I will not say they did; but we will be prepared to show here that they did run a mail train on one road, at least, out of here, and the Pullman cars were ordered cut off by the superintendent.

34 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Had it not been usual for them to put Pullman cars upon all trains such as you are speaking of to which they were attached during the strike?—Ans. No, sir; Pullman cars are not generally hauled on local mail trains. Of course, where through mail is hauled at night the Pullman sleepers go. Take the roads between here and Cincinnati or St. Louis; they don't haul Pullman sleepers on the day trains; they have no use for them; they haul them merely on night trains, which might be called mail trains if they had through mail on.

35 (Commissioner KERNAN). How was it on the two roads about which we are directed to investigate, the Illinois Central and the Rock Island; were Pullman cars hauled in that way on those roads?—Ans. I am not prepared to state exactly. Well, so far as the St. Louis run on the Illinois Central is concerned, of course they don't haul any sleepers between here and St. Louis on the daylight run because they don't need them, but they do on the night run, the "Diamond Special," but I would not consider that a mail train because they don't distribute any mail; they might leave some sacks of mail at night and they could



do that if they wanted to anyhow; I have been a railroad official myself for eighteen years—

36 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you prepared to say to what extent they pulled Pullman cars on the two roads in question on unusual trains?—Ans. No, sir. I have stated that I did not know what line of investigation you would commence here with, and of course I am not prepared to answer specifically in regard to those two roads. My information, in the absence of data, would be just general information. I will remember your question and will give you that information as well as I can later on. I will say this: We are prepared to show that a mail train was abandoned here on the order of a railroad official in the interest of an excursion, the cars taken off and put on the excursion train and sent out of town.

37 (Commissioner KERNAN). During the pendency of this strike?—Ans. Yes, sir. I would like to state for the benefit of the commission, although it don't bear exactly upon the matter, that a year ago last fall, I think it was, the general managers formed an association called the General Managers' Association. Such an association of general managers did not exist prior to that time. It is just the same as a labor organization. The object of that association, as published, was to render assistance to each other in time of trouble; say, in case of strikes, they pledged themselves to each other; that they would furnish men and money—I am speaking by the record now—that they would furnish men and money to defeat a strike on any road; that instead of the officials handling any strike that might occur on any road they were to put it into the hands of the General Managers' Association, and the whole association was to handle it and the expense was to be borne pro rata; that is, the cost of defeating a strike on any road. In fact, two strikes were mentioned in connection with this record, and from the action taken during this strike you are now investigating in employing Mr. Egan as general manager of the association, I am satisfied the record is right.

38 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where is that record?—Ans. We have it.

39 (Commissioner KERNAN). What record are you speaking of that shows these facts?—Ans. I am speaking of the announced intentions; that is, the record they published as being the aim of the General Managers' Association at the time it was formed, its purpose, etc.

40 (Commissioner KERNAN). You are speaking of what you read in the newspapers upon the subject of their intentions and designs?—Ans. Yes, sir; and which they afterwards affirmed to be true; and their actions have borne it out.

41 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any other source of information besides that?—Ans. I will tell you how you can get the information. They don't know that I know this, but it is a fact. They had twenty odd sets of books published, six books in a set, and the books, I understand, contain from thirty odd to 150 pages each, and the cost of getting up those books was something near \$6,000. The books were published and bound by H. O. Shepard & Co., in Chicago, and by the Poole Bros., of Chicago, printers, and the original briefs that were used in getting up this work are now in a safe in the Rookery Building in Chicago.

42 (Commissioner KERNAN). Who has them?—Ans. The General Managers' Association has them, but after enough of the books—I will not say exactly, but twenty-three or twenty-seven sets—were published to supply each member of the association with a set, the whole business was knocked down by the printer, and after it was knocked down

the association received applications from several general managers or officials of railroads outside of the association for the books, but they would not furnish them, and they have those books now. Those books were printed for the purpose of classifying all of the wages in all the different classes of the service throughout the country, with a view of equalizing the pay. Of course you can readily see the advantage that would be gained by a corporation if they could do that.

43 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, and the Illinois Central companies belong to this association of general managers?—Ans. I think they do. In fact, I feel sure they do; I have seen the name of Mr. Harahan, second vice-president of the Illinois Central, very frequently, and I know Mr. St. John, general manager of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, was general manager of the General Managers' Association.

44 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Please go back to the convention of the American Railway Union, which was held June 12, and give a more complete narrative of the action of the convention at that time, and the causes for its action which led to its declaring a "boycott" against the Pullman cars?—Ans. I do not use the word "boycott;" I never have used it.

45 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You said you voted to refuse to handle Pullman cars?—Ans. Yes, sir.

46 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That action would be generally understood as a "boycott"?—Ans. I don't use it in that way. I always contended that the men had a right to handle or not handle anything they pleased. I stated at the outset that I was not prepared to give specific information in regard to the grievances that existed between the Rock Island company and its employees or between the Illinois Central and its employees.

47 (Commissioner WRIGHT). We understand that, but in your convention of June 12, in declaring that you would not handle Pullman cars, were there other points discussed, as between the union and the two roads, as to which we are investigating?—Ans. No, sir; the American Railway Union, as a union, could not be used in that sense as antagonistic to anything; the only thing it ever did as a union, that is in a broad way, was to declare in favor of the People's Party; that is, without a canvass.

48 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did it in June declare a strike as against the Illinois Central and Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific roads?—Ans. The employees themselves declared that strike on, not the union.

49 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When was the American Railway Union organized?—Ans. It was launched on the 20th day of June, 1893.

50 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does it in its constituency comprehend other railway brotherhoods?—Ans. Not other railway brotherhoods. The American Railway Union is like unto a tree; taking into its membership every class of men working on a railroad, each class of men representing a branch of the tree, and when properly organized each class will be kept to itself in all technical matters, but in all matters of general concern the whole organization operates as one, which is unlike the old organizations, where each has a constitution unto itself. This is a compact organization of all classes, having one constitution for all.

51 (Commissioner WRIGHT). More on the plan of the Knights of Labor?—Ans. Yes, sir; or like this Government.

52 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What relation does the American Railway Union hold to other railway brotherhoods?—Ans. Nothing, except we always said when travelling through the country, speaking and organizing, that should the other railway brotherhoods ever need our assistance in any way it would be forthcoming. We also said we had no desire to tear down the old organizations, but statistics show that out of a million railway employees on this North American continent, including Central America, Mexico, Canada, and the United States—the reason I mention that is because the old brotherhoods secure their members from those countries—we have at least 898,000 that are unorganized, and we said to the representatives of the old brotherhoods, “You have been trying for thirty years to get the railroad employees of this country organized, and have not been able thus far to enlist more than 102,000 and keep them in line; we will now organize the other 898,000, and if you care to join with us in this endeavor to organize this other 898,000 we welcome you, and the cost of membership is so small that you can afford to join us and keep up your membership in these other organizations at the same time, as we charg  but a dollar; a dollar pays the entire expense for a year; that pays charter fee, for membership card, and all expenses so far as the general expenses are concerned, to the end of the fiscal year.”

Of course the local expenses of a union are just as much as they care to make them, according to the comfort or style they want to put on; if they want fine carpets, etc., they pay for them; that would be none of our business, and they can meet as cheaply and furnish as meagrely as they desire for their local lodges. We said we don’t want to tear down the old organizations but wish them to assist us, and we demonstrated to them that it was utterly impossible for them to ever get together and work in harmony; we proved it to them as we travelled through the country, and we said, “You can get together in the American Railway Union and work together in perfect harmony.” At the time of this recent trouble all of the grand officers of these various railway organizations were asked to assist the American Railway Union, or, I don’t think the language was used in that way, because it was not only the members of the American Railway Union that were included in this difficulty. I presume there were twice as many men engaged in this matter as we had members in the union.

53 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was your membership at that time?—Ans. I presume at the beginning of this trouble we had between 125,000 and 140,000 members that had been enrolled since August 15, 1893. We launched the union on June 20, 1893, but we did not attempt to organize until August 15, 1893. There has been no antagonism on the part of the American Railway Union toward any of the old brotherhoods, for we realized that with the meagre membership represented in other organizations, as compared with the great body of employees in this country, we could easily outstrip all of them in a year and could convince the progressive and thinking members of the old organizations that they could not hope for anything in the way of bettering the conditions under the old r gime, and we were satisfied that the practical, progressive ones would all join with us in undertaking the organization, at least, of the other 898,000 men who were not members of any of the old organizations.

But there was a reason for all this. If it had been possible for the old organizations to have ever gotten together amicably to assist each other the American Railway Union would never have been formed, but because of the antagonism that has always existed (and which grows

worse year by year) between the old brotherhoods, we know, and all of the grand officers of the old brotherhoods know, that they never can hope to get together for any unison of action for this reason: The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is an organization that takes only engineers into its membership, and provides that the engineer shall have served one year as such before he is eligible to membership, that is, they force him to remain out of the organization until he has run an engine for a year; suppose this engineer, while he was a fireman, was a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, you see the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers force this young engineer to remain in the ranks of the firemen for one year when he is an engineer, and in consequence of that rule on the part of the engineers, and in consequence of the young progressive element, there is a very great dislike to some of the grand officers of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. We found about 10,000 engineers in the ranks of the locomotive firemen, and as the membership of engineers grew in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen the young engineers refused to join the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and that makes two bodies of men clamoring for the same things, led by two different leaders, going forward to settle grievances for the same class of men, and has caused envy, jealousy, contention, and open warfare to result in certain portions of the country.

An engineer that belongs to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers feels, and properly, too, that they ought to have all of the engineers in the brotherhood, but they can not get them, as the history of the last eighteen years has shown. Sometimes the young engineers who belong to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen want a certain schedule or certain arrangements made on a railroad where they are working, but there are members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers on the same railroad who are older in the service, and they have different views; they want certain arrangements made for them and in order to settle the differences we have had Grand Chief Arthur, of the locomotive engineers, and Grand Chief Sargent, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, both confronting the general manager with a different schedule for engineers, and they are properly represented, too, because we have engineers in the firemen brotherhood as well as engineers in the locomotive brotherhood. There has been times when these men have gone to see general managers when they could not agree between themselves. One time in particular they went before General Manager S. H. Clark, at St. Louis, when he was on the Union Pacific system, and he said, "Go out and settle your own differences and then come to me and I will see what I can do." For these reasons it is impossible for them to get together.

The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen take into its association conductors, and do everything they can to keep conductors from joining the Order of Railway Conductors, and have several thousand conductors in its membership. The conductors who belong to the Order of Railway Conductors naturally think they ought to have all the conductors in their order, but can not get them, because the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen has the new conductor when he is first appointed, and they induce him to remain with the old organization and keep him out of the Order of Railway Conductors. There you have the same condition as exists between the locomotive engineers and firemen. This Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen also take switchmen in their organization. The Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association naturally felt envious, and in consequence of having switchmen in two different

organizations the grand officers of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen were enabled three years ago to go into partnership, practically speaking, with the officers of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway, and at one swoop knock out 400 switchmen on that line and fill their places at once, and that movement there has now resulted in the annihilation of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association, which occurred two years ago. These associations make great protestation of brotherly love for each other, but you see how it works; while they are loving each other they are annihilating each other, as I have said. Knowing his, we knew that employees could never secure any betterment of their condition in the old organizations. We knew the railroad officials understood their weakness by being divided, and for that reason they could always beat the men. If they could keep them divided they could whip them always, but the officials knew if the men would stand together they could not whip them.

54 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If I understand you correctly the union hoped by such action as it took on June 12 to secure this harmony which you say is so desirable among the railway labor organizations?—Ans. Yes, sir; we tried to do that; we tried to get them to join us.

55 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was your action, then, in support of the Pullman strikers undertaken with this wider view in sight rather than the narrow one of the local difficulty?—Ans. Oh, no, sir; we had no idea that we were paying any attention to the other organizations at all until after this matter became general.

56 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then the hope was that this harmony would grow out of it?—Ans. That was a matter that came up afterwards; we had always said to the other organizations, "Should you get into trouble at any time and want our assistance we will help you in any way desirable." The officials of the American Railway Union said that to all the other railroad organizations and its organizers. As we went throughout the country our meetings were always open. For the first time in the history of labor organizations in this country our meetings are open meetings. We admit everybody. When we organize everybody is welcome to come and hear what we say. There has been no secrecy, no oath, no obligation.

57 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then the action of the American Railway Union in support of the employees at Pullman was taken, if I understand you rightly, simply and solely for the purpose of support at that time?—Ans. Yes, sir; in fact we had to do it or surrender; we were forced to do it because the general managers took the stand that they were going to stay by Pullman, which forced us to take the stand we did or else lay down.

58 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But you have testified that their official action was after your action of the 12th of June?—Ans. We gave them an opportunity to have treated if they had wanted to.

59 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You gave the managers' association an opportunity?—Ans. No, because they would not recognize us; but we gave the Pullman company an opportunity.

60 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you treat in any way with the railway managers?—Ans. I had a talk with the general superintendent of the Louisville, New Albany and Chicago road. I told him what would likely occur; that I had nothing against the railway officials, so far as I was concerned, and we did not want to fight all the railroads in the United States on account of the Pullman matter.

61 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You say the American Railway Union is organized and professes to be ready to help any organization of rail-

road employees, whether its own members or otherwise, in any trouble?—  
Ans. Yes, sir.

62 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is through what we will term a “boycott” or “sympathetic strike,” or any other action open to it. Now, is not the General Managers’ Association organized for precisely the same purpose on their side?—Ans. Yes, sir.

63 (Commissioner WRIGHT). So the basis of the two organizations is precisely the same?—Ans. Yes, sir.

64 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is the secretary of the American Railway Union in Chicago?—Ans. Yes, sir; our offices are here.

65 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will he attend this hearing on request?—  
Ans. Yes, sir.

66 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you ask him to file with the commission the constitution and bylaws of the order, the official declarations which have been made by its officers during the recent strike, and a certified copy of the minutes of the convention of June 12, and of the board of directors?—Ans. I will do so.

67 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understand you to say the American Railway Union consists of railway employees?—Ans. Yes, sir.

68 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How did it happen that the Pullman employees then became members of the union; were they treated as railway employees?—Ans. Yes, sir.

69 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Upon what ground?—Ans. Because Pullman has a railroad of his own down there. Now, a good deal has been said about that and it has been said those employees were ineligible, but Mr. Pullman has about 50 miles of railroad there, has his own engines, own engineers, own shops, own yard service the same as any other railroad, except that I have no knowledge of Pullman carrying passengers; he has cars, does a switching service, and transfers between one yard and another and has car shops like all other roads; and further than that, the constitution of the American Railway Union provides that any ex-railway employee of good character is eligible to membership; the reason we put that in the constitution is this: Railroad men as a general thing are clannish; they want to associate with railroad men and it don’t matter if one of them is discharged and goes into other business like the grocery business, he still likes to affiliate with railroad men and likes still to be considered a railroad man; we, knowing that disposition on the part of railroad men so well, which long experience has taught us, we decided that ex-railway employees of good character could become members of the American Railway Union if they chose to do so; that is rutable in all of the old organizations as well.

70 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Don’t you take upholsterers, cabinet-makers, carpenters, and everybody of that kind in as members of the union?—Ans. Yes, sir.

71 (Commissioner KERNAN). You did not confine your membership at Pullman to those who were engaged exclusively in the operation of the Pullman railroad?—Ans. No, nor do we on any railroad. A man might be a plumber down in the Rock Island shops, but he would be eligible to membership; the same with a blacksmith.

72 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does this Pullman railroad you speak of do any transportation business that you know of, either freight, passenger, or mail, except that connected with the business of the Pullman company?—Ans. No, sir; but that would not exclude it.

73 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then, if I understand you, these men were taken in not for the specific purpose of giving the American

Railway Union a pretext for striking on their account, but because, under the constitution and bylaws of the union, they were eligible to membership?—Ans. That is all. If it came to our knowledge that the employees on any railroad were seeking membership in the American Railway Union for the purpose of precipitating a strike, they never could come in with the consent of the officials.

74 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do I understand that the applications for membership came from the employees at Pullman prior to their own strike?—Ans. Yes, sir; we had no intimation there was any trouble at all; if we had known that they would not have gotten in at all.

75 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is not the Pullman company the only company which has such a membership as you have described in your union?—Ans. No, sir.

76 (Commissioner KERNAN). With the exception of the Pullman employees, are there any other members in your union not actually connected with railroads?—Ans. Yes, sir; we have over 300 members in the car works at Michigan City and we have coal miners in the union; I don't know how many, but we have 400 at one point.

77 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do those coal miners operate mines belonging to railroad companies?—Ans. Yes, sir. We have also had an application from a lot of longshoremen running from Portland, Oregon, to San Francisco, working for the Pacific company who control those boats. I declared them eligible because they were employed and paid by a railroad company, and according to our constitution they could not be shut out.

78 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that is the reason you took in the Pullman employees, even when they were upholsterers, cabinetmakers, or carpenters, because they were paid by the Pullman company, which operates its own railroad?—Ans. Yes, sir; there is no difference between the Pullman railroad company and its shops and any other railroad company. Nearly all railroad companies do their own upholstering work; they build some of their own coaches, and even if they don't have an upholstering department to keep the seats in order they can not afford to send a car to the shops to repair one seat or a couple of seats.

79 (Commissioner KERNAN). About how many people are there at Pullman employed upon this railroad you speak of as engineers, switchmen, etc.?—Ans. I could not tell you, but not a great many. Only a few men, comparatively, are employed directly upon the railroad as compared with those in the shops; but when canvassing the matter I was informed by those I supposed would know—and I think they will testify here if you desire it—that at least nine-tenths of the employees at Pullman have worked on some railroad before they entered Pullman's employ; hence they would be eligible to membership in the American Railway Union even if they were not working for Pullman. A butcher, if he had even been a brakeman or held any position as a railway employee, if he be of good character, is eligible to membership.

80 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is the fact that a manufacturing corporation has a contract with a railroad company sufficient to admit the employees of the manufacturing corporation to membership in your union?—Ans. No, sir; not unless such employees at some time had been railroad men.

81 (Commissioner KERNAN). The operatives in a factory which make plush, the plush being used in the construction of car seats, would not be eligible to membership in your union?—Ans. Not unless they had at

some time been employed on a railroad; if they were ex-railroad employees, yes; otherwise, no.

82 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose that the plush factory had a half mile of railroad for the purpose of carrying its product to a connecting railroad, how would it be?—Ans. The very minute they got a railroad, and cars and engines of their own, if it were a steam surface railroad, the employees would be eligible to membership.

83 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In your action of the 21st of June, declaring that the American Railway Union would not handle Pullman cars, did you comprehend freight cars manufactured by the Pullman company?—Ans. No, sir.

84 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did your action reach the Wagner Palace Car Company's rolling stock?—Ans. No, sir; although they became involved.

85 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does not the Pullman company sometimes manufacture cars for the Wagner company?—Ans. I have no means of knowing, but I don't think they do.

86 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If they did, your action would not reach the Wagner company?—Ans. No, sir; because the Pullman company don't operate Wagner cars.

87 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You declared your action simply against the Pullman palace car sleepers and others owned by that company?—Ans. It was, I suppose, although I advised against it; my advice to the convention was not to do it; I advised that they merely declare the Pullman shops at St. Louis, Mo., and Ludlow, Ky., closed. I had organized the men at both those points myself, for I realized that if we could shut off Pullman's supplies his quota of cars would soon stop; I realized that if we merely took one sleeper off one of the roads we broke their quota of cars and they could not operate them; they would have to get wheels and other material to repair the cars, and if his shops at St. Louis were shut up, as well as the shops at Ludlow, that we could effect the desired end without involving the whole country; and I advised the convention to that effect, but they did not take my advice.

88 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The action of the 12th of June against the Pullman cars was because the company still owned and operated to a certain extent those cars, and not because the cars were manufactured by the Pullman company?—Ans. The object was to shut off Pullman's revenue, and because they were Pullman cars.

89 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If the Pullman company had manufactured them and parted with their title by sale to the Illinois Central your action would not have reached them?—Ans. No, sir; the sole object was to shut off Pullman's revenues; that was all.

90 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The connecting link of your action was the ownership of the cars by the Pullman company, and not the fact that the Pullman company manufactured the cars?—Ans. No; the manufacturing of the cars was not considered; in fact, the ownership of the cars was not considered particularly; we took it for granted that Pullman owned the cars, although I believe the Rock Island has an interest in their Pullman cars, and the Missouri Pacific also.

91 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did your union know at the time of this action that the Pullman cars are run by the railroads under any form of contract?—Ans. Yes; we knew that, but we knew it was in violation of the interstate commerce law and took that into consideration.

92 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In what respect?—Ans. Because in these contracts between the railroad companies and the Pullman



company the Pullman company binds them to pull nothing else but Pullman sleepers, and they can not handle a Wagner sleeper unless they violate their contract with the Pullman company, and it makes a monopoly of the Pullman company.

93 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does the interstate commerce law apply to passenger traffic as well as freight traffic?—Ans. Yes; I understand so.

94 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And that matter was considered in your convention which ordered the boycott?—Ans. Yes, sir.

95 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You think the Pullman company, then, in their contracts, strikes against or boycotts the cars manufactured by other companies?—Ans. Yes, sir.

96 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you claim it violates that provision of the interstate commerce law which provides that railroads may freely interchange cars without discrimination?—Ans. No, sir; but it violates the trust law, in that it creates a monopoly of the Pullman cars. We did not consider that the action taken would at all prevent the railroad companies from doing their ordinary passenger business. I have in my experience been compelled to cut off many Pullman sleepers from trains because of defects and take the passengers out and put them in the other coaches, and nothing was said about it, even when it was a mail train. It was not necessary to draw the sleeper, and any official could cut them off if they wanted to.

97 (Commissioner KERNAN). When we speak of the interstate commerce law, do we understand it to be the act which created the Interstate Commerce Commission and forbids discrimination against shippers?—Ans. I refer to the law as it has been used. For instance, against the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in the Ann Arbor strike; the engineers were arrested and judgment rendered for boycotting, and they paid it.

98 (Commissioner KERNAN). That was for interference with interstate commerce?—Ans. Yes, sir; and I claim this Pullman contract boycotts a Wagner car on every railroad where the Pullman company has a contract, unless it is absolutely necessary for the railroad to handle Wagner cars as well, and then a contract is made to that effect.

99 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Referring back to the 12th of June, is there anything more you desire to relate relative to the outcome of that convention?—Ans. I will tell you anything I know.

100 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Begin at that point and take us along through the difficulty, step by step, stating what action was taken by either side as against the other.—Ans. At the end of the notice, after the fifth day and after the convention had adjourned, I think it was somewhere about the 20th of June, 1894—the date will be furnished you—the employees commenced to refuse to handle Pullman cars. The railroad companies contended they would not run their trains unless they could run a whole train, whether it was a mail train or not; it made no difference, except the superintendent of the Wisconsin Central did cut off the sleepers, or had them cut off, once and sent a mail train out without them, and that could have been done all over the country if they had wanted to do so; but they held the mail trains because they wanted the sleepers to go, too. We insisted the mail trains should run, and were at all times ready and willing to give any assistance we could toward forwarding the mails; the order of the union was not intended to affect anything but the Pullman cars; we simply said we would not handle Pullman cars. So far as the balance of the

service was concerned, we did not intend to interfere with it, but let it go on the same as it had in the past.

101 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did that action extend to mail trains that had Pullman cars attached?—Ans. Yes, sir; we refused to handle the Pullman cars. The switchmen would not put them on to the trains; the engineers would not pull them; the firemen would not fire a train that had a Pullman car on it, even though it were a mail train. They said they would go with the mail train at any time if they would leave the Pullman cars off, and insisted on it, too, but they would not have it that way.

The movement on the various roads kept increasing, it kept spreading, the men refusing to handle the Pullman cars, and we issued several proclamations to the public showing that we were ready to settle at any time when we could be met in a spirit of fairness. We even addressed a communication to the General Managers' Association and told them we would be glad to meet them, or words to that effect. I will furnish a copy of that communication to the commission. The mayor of Chicago and another party, whose name I forget now, volunteered to take that communication to the general managers, and did so, and as soon as they saw who it was from they said, "We will return that unopened; we will not receive anything at all from those people."

102 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When was that communication sent?—Ans. It was after the trouble was under way; I will see that you are furnished with the date exactly. Then the managers said to the mayor, "We will receive this from you, you being the mayor, anyhow," and the mayor afterwards told me that Mr. Egan put his arm around his neck and said he did not want him to take any offense at anything he might have said; that it did not apply to him. Then matters remained until rioting began. The first knowledge we had of any rioting was the firing of a pistol by a man named Miller, in the employ of the Chicago Tribune at Blue Island. It seems the pistol was fired without provocation, and immediately afterwards, or the next day, troops were brought in here. I desire to say that from the beginning there were inflammatory utterances in some of these papers when there was not a thing of the kind occurred in Chicago. The Chicago Journal from the first was full of falsehoods from beginning to end, and would have the people outside of Chicago believe that the city was being everlastingly looted and turned over when there had not been an overt act committed. That was followed up later by the Tribune and Inter-Ocean; the Herald at first started out favorably inclined toward the Pullman employees and the action that had been taken to assist them, but it afterwards flopped over and denounced the proceedings on the part of the strikers; then it flopped back; then it was taken to task by the other papers, and it was actually a ridiculous performance all the way through on the part of a part of the press in Chicago.

When Mayor Pingree came here from Detroit he said he was surprised; that he expected to find one-half of the city in the hands of a mob and the other burned up. We were holding meetings all the time—that is, the officials representing the union—and we advised compliance with the laws, under no circumstances to use threats, intimidation, or violence. We contend now, and always have contended, that the American Railway Union has not been guilty of any violation of law. Only yesterday I called at the detective department of this city and gave to the mayor a list of names of men who had been engaged in throwing over and burning cars, and there are men under arrest here whose

arrest we worked up ourselves, none of them being members of our union. I gave in the name of a man yesterday—I don't know whether it will be proved or not—who tried to hire another man for \$100 to help him turn over and burn cars. I gave him the names of witnesses to prove this man did that. I gave him the name of another man who is employed on a certain railroad here now who claimed that he received \$400 to help burn cars, and gave him the witnesses to prove it.

Furthermore, we got a communication from the committee of public safety at Springfield, Ill., from the secretary of that committee, to the effect that they had detected three men in burning cars, and had overheard this man, whose name they gave, quarreling with those men. It was charged that they were to get \$500 from Mr. Egan for burning those cars; that they did get \$300 of it and were quarreling about the other \$200. They had not got it, and if they did not get it they were going to peach on the whole business. I gave the detective the name of one man that was recognized among the three, and they have it now working it up. We want to get to the bottom of this thing. We are not afraid of an investigation, and we kept suing for peace all the time, for we saw what it was leading to, but the officers of the union could not do anything. The members had declared it on, and, as I have told you, the officers could only advise, and if the members did not follow their advice they could not help it.

103 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say the members of the union declared it on; you have local lodges of your union at different points, have you not?—Ans. Yes, sir; over 400.

104 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who declared the strike at Pullman?—Ans. That was a local affair; the members at Pullman declared that.

105 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who declared the strike on the different railways in the city?—Ans. The members of the different unions; it was declared by all the members in the United States simultaneously.

106 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you mean to say that all the unions in the United States instructed their delegates at this convention to go on a strike?—Ans. Yes, sir; the delegates wired for instructions.

107 (Commissioner KERNAN). Those instructions were by telegraph?—Ans. Yes.

108 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you produce the telegrams from the local unions?—Ans. I do not know; they came to the delegates personally. Each delegate got his instructions personally, and I don't believe I can produce them. It was a private matter as between the different delegates and their local unions, and I do not think I could produce them now. There has been no trouble, however, about getting telegrams; the General Managers' Association got all the telegrams they wanted from the Western Union. We have no desire to withhold anything, and we would be glad to have them furnish them to the commission.

109 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then if the Western Union will produce the telegrams that passed upon this subject between the delegates and their local unions there will be no objection to that on the part of your organization?—Ans. No, sir.

110 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is that the only way by which we can get the telegrams?—Ans. That is the only way I know of; I presume the delegates destroyed the telegrams they received after communicating their instructions.

111 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will not your minutes show what the delegates read?—Ans. I suppose so, but the vote was unanimous; the officers of the convention had no vote at all; the delegates voted; all the officers could do was to advise, and then the delegates voted and told us what they wanted done.

112 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what official action the American Railway Union has taken in regard to these troubles.—Ans. We were approached on all sides by friends wanting to know why we did not call it off. We could not call it off, but we called a convention again week before last of delegates from each local union; each local union was wired to send a delegate to Chicago, with a view of taking action in regard to the trouble. Those delegates came, but some of them did not know what they came for and were therefore not instructed. After the matter was talked over pro and con, and it was found they were not all authorized to act by their local union, the matter was referred back to each local union to handle for itself, it being such a gigantic affair that we could not handle it as well as if it only took one system of road. Suppose the men on the Rock Island road had grievances they could not settle with the management and decided to strike; now, that strike would continue even though it might go through a convention. The convention could do nothing more than advise; the convention could furnish money, and that is what the convention did do for the Pullman employees, but it could not call the strike off at Pullman. The strike is on at Pullman yet, and will be on until the local unions there call it off. I advised in the premises lately, but they don't have to take my advice if they don't want to.

113 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What has been your final action relative to the action of the 12th of June?—Ans. After this last convention the delegates went home, and I think the strike was declared off on all of the railroads but two, viz., the Chicago and Eastern Illinois and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. The latter road was some three months behind in their pay on some portions of the road, and we have been trying to get Judge Caldwell to have the receivers pay their men up promptly once a month, as the law provides in the different states through which that road runs, but we have not been able to do anything. Judge Caldwell answered us that he would do everything he could, but it seemed they could not get money some way, and some of the men felt they ought not to go back to work until they got their pay; the only way they could get it was to quit. It seems out West there in some places that when a man quits, is discharged, then they get their money up to date; otherwise they can not get it.

114 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understand, then, that there was a substantial reason why the strike was not called off on those two roads?—Ans. Yes, sir.

115 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you stated fully the final action of your convention?—Ans. Yes, sir; the delegates went home and called off the strike, except on the two roads I have mentioned; I think the strike is yet on on those two roads, unless it has been called off within the last thirty-six hours.

116 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have the members of the American Railway Union been taken back generally into the employ of the roads?—Ans. No, sir; it has been decided by a majority of the railroad officials that they will not employ an American Railway Union man again.

117 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has that been the action of the two roads we are investigating?—Ans. Yes, sir; General Manager St. John

has said that an American Railway Union man shall not work for his road any more.

118 (Commissioner WRIGHT). As a matter of fact have not they taken back a good many members of the union?—Ans. Yes, sir; some of them will go back on all the roads, notwithstanding they say they will not take them.

119 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have not they all substantially gone back?—Ans. No, sir; to a very large extent they have not.

120 (Commissioner KERNAN). What per cent?—Ans. I would not like to guess at that, but a very large per cent of the men have not gone back.

121 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you mean they have not gone back voluntarily, or that the roads will not receive them?—Ans. Oh, they are willing to go back, but the companies will not take them back.

122 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have not they been taken back except so far as their places have been filled by new men?—Ans. The Illinois Central has taken back a good many of its old foremen, and a good many of the roads have taken back a good many of their old switchmen, but Mr. St. John has discharged some of the old yardmen that stayed with him, after he found they were American Railway Union men—notably at La Salle.

123 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has the Illinois Central taken that action?—Ans. Yes, sir; they took some back, but as a general thing they stand out against it; they will not take the men back if they can help it. In fact, I doubt if any road will take them back, except where they feel they must have their services; it requires experienced men to handle the switches in and about Chicago.

124 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does your constitution or bylaws authorize interference with men seeking employment, nor members of your union?—Ans. No, sir; we have never sought to, nor would not, under any circumstances, keep men from working.

125 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then your union does not undertake to say where a man has a right to work, whether he is a member of your union or not?—Ans. Yes, sir; we have always preached that.

126 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you give me the names of the principal railroad organizations outside of the American Railway Union, and the names of their officers?—Ans. Yes, sir; they are as follows:

*Order of Railway Conductors.*—Grand chief conductor, E. E. Clark, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; assistant grand chief conductor, Charles H. Wilkins, 4800 Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill.; grand secretary and treasurer, William P. Daniels, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; grand senior conductor, A. B. Garetson; grand junior conductor, E. W. Purrett, 514 Magnolia street, Toledo, Ohio; grand inside sentinel, R. E. Malready, 16 W. Second street, Corning, N. Y.; grand outside sentinel, W. C. Bradley, box 256, City of Mexico, Mexico.

*Order of Railroad Telegraphers.*—W. V. Powell, grand chief telegrapher; D. H. Gearheart, assistant grand chief telegrapher; J. Weatherbee, grand secretary and treasurer, Vinton, Iowa.

*Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.*—S. E. Wilkinson, grand master; P. H. Morrissy, first vice grand master; A. E. Brown, second vice grand master; G. W. Newman, third vice grand master; W. A. Sheahan, grand secretary and treasurer. Headquarters, Galesburg, Ill.

*Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.*—E. P. Sargent, grand master, Terre Haute, Ind.; J. J. Hannahan, vice grand master, 5949 Princeton

avenue, Englewood, Ill.; Frank W. Arnold, grand secretary and treasurer, Terre Haute, Ind.

*Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.*—P. M. Arthur, grand chief engineer; A. B. Youngson, assistant grand chief engineer; T. S. Ingraham, first grand engineer; H. O. Hays, second grand engineer; D. Everett, third grand engineer.

127 (Commissioner KERNAN). You say that the employees on these railroads had some grievances?—Ans. Yes, sir.

128 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did those grievances, as between the employees of the respective roads and their officials, have any part in the proceedings of this convention you speak of when the strike was ordered?—Ans. On some of the roads; yes, sir.

129 (Commissioner KERNAN). State how those grievances were connected with the strike.—Ans. On the Northern Pacific they had cut their men 10 per cent.

130 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was done by the union on that subject?—Ans. Nothing was done further than to have the men prepare to take steps for a restoration of their pay.

131 (Commissioner KERNAN). What I want to know is, whether that difference between the employees of the Northern Pacific and its officials had anything to do with the action directly— Ans. No, sir; but I believe it naturally—

132 (Commissioner KERNAN). What you mean is, the men were disposed to unite in the action of the convention on the question on which it acted?—Ans. Yes.

133 (Commissioner KERNAN). But it took no action on that specific grievance?—Ans. No.

134 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is that true of all the other railroads where there was any grievance?—Ans. Yes, sir; they had reduced the pay on the Louisville and Nashville, the East Tennessee and Georgia, the "Big Four," and Chicago and Eastern Illinois.

135 (Commissioner KERNAN). But those grievances had nothing directly to do with the action of the convention and were not brought up in the convention?—Ans. No, sir; for we had no right to take up those grievances in the convention.

136 (Commissioner KERNAN). You say seven committees visited Pullman on behalf of your association?—Ans. Yes; there were seven committees there. I don't know whether the committee from the Civic Federation visited them on behalf of our union, but on behalf of peace.

137 (Commissioner KERNAN). Will you give us the names of those committees, and the dates of their several visits?—Ans. Our secretary will do so.

138 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You just said that the union had no right to take up the local grievances of different roads.—Ans. No, sir; that is something that the convention would not take up at all, but this Pullman matter was a general grievance; this was the first time a matter of general concern ever came before the convention.

139 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Why was the trouble at Pullman a matter of general concern any more than the 10 per cent cut on the Northern Pacific?—Ans. For this reason: There was no way of adjusting this Pullman matter locally. If you took action at all you had to take action all around; if you did not you would be doing an injustice to some road. For instance, it would not do for the men on the Louisville, New Albany and Chicago road to refuse to handle Pullman sleepers on that road and let the men on the Wabash handle them, for

it is a competing road and you would be doing an injustice to the other employees; nor would it do to instruct the Wabash employees to refuse to handle the Pullman sleepers and allow the men on the Grand Trunk to handle them, because those roads reach a common point. But if it is a local grievance on one road, as, for instance, the cut of 10 per cent on the Northern Pacific, if the men are willing to submit it is none of our concern. It is for the employees themselves to say whether they will submit. If they do not want to submit they have a particular line of action to take in order to seek redress for any grievance they have; they appoint a local grievance committee at the seat of the trouble and then they have a general joint board of adjustment representing the various organizations on the system, and through their representative they meet the railroad officials and try to obtain a settlement of the grievances on that road, but the employees throughout the country have nothing to do with it. It is not general.

140 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then we understand that your union has no right to interfere with a local difficulty?—Ans. I was just going to state further in regard to that. If a convention should be called anywhere near the time of the trouble the only right the convention would have to recognize that trouble—say, for instance, the Northern Pacific grievances—would be to vote some assistance to those men if they were out upon a strike; aside from that they would have nothing to offer to the Northern Pacific, except it might be to talk over the matter in an advisory way; but this Pullman strike was a matter of general concern.

141 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Why was it not a local affair like the Northern Pacific strike?—Ans. I have just told you; the Northern Pacific was one system up there and those men could handle their own affairs, and it would not be general unless it spread to other roads by some act of the Northern Pacific in the way of transferring its traffic to some parallel line in order to whip the men on its own system; then the other line would become involved.

142 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Could not the delegates to your convention, if they thought the grievances were real upon any system and there was no redress, declare a strike of the entire union?—Ans. No, sir.

143 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Could the men themselves in the way your union prescribed declare a sympathetic strike over the entire country, on account of the grievances of one line; that is, your convention of the 12th of June could have declared that they would not handle Northern Pacific cars?—Ans. Yes, sir.

144 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And struck on all roads wherever they were used?—Ans. Yes, sir; the members of the different local unions could do that.

145 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That you would regard as a legitimate object of the union?—Ans. Just as legitimate as it is for the general managers to blacklist their employees.

146 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That don't quite answer my question. Ans. I don't want to answer that directly.

147 (Commissioner WRIGHT). We want to get at the bottom of it.—Ans. I know, but I will never admit, until we get out from under the ban of the court at least, that I would ever be engaged in a boycott or sanction one. I will be plain with you.

148 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did your union do anything on the 12th of June relative to the Pullman strike that it could not have done relative to any other strike?—Ans. No, sir.

149 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you aware that during this recent strike a great deal of property was destroyed, and that there was a good deal of alleged interference on the part of mobs with the men employed in the places of the strikers who were trying to put the railroads in operation?—Ans. Merely from hearsay, because I was not near any of it, nor did I see any of it.

150 (Commissioner KERNAN). You are familiar with what the newspapers said on that subject?—Ans. Yes, sir.

151 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is there in your constitution and bylaws with reference to the conduct of your members during a strike?—Ans. The general tenor all the way through—in fact, we say in our declaration of principles that a corporation will never be allowed to treat us any better than we treat it, and we exact of our members that they shall be upright and conform to law under all circumstances, and we would not uphold a member in violating the law.

152 (Commissioner KERNAN). What, if any, action was taken for the purpose of ascertaining whether your members violated those provisions of your constitution, or were violating the law during the recent strike?—Ans. In the various meetings we held at the different places we asked, and tried to ascertain through committees and otherwise, whether our members were violating the law.

153 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then you recommended and strongly advised that they should abstain from any destruction of property or interference with other men at work?—Ans. We did not say anything about destruction of property; we said “conform to the law in every respect, use no threats, intimidation, or violence.”

154 (Commissioner KERNAN). State whether your union itself, or the officers here in charge of its affairs, took any steps to ascertain if any of its members were engaged in violating the law.—Ans. Yes, sir; we took all the steps we reasonably could be expected to take; in our meetings held in different places we investigated and advised against violence; in fact, we advised that persons be arrested, whether our members or not, who committed any violence. We wanted to see them brought to justice.

155 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you appoint any committees of your members to act as inspectors or watchers?—Ans. Yes, sir; we had detectives.

156 (Commissioner KERNAN). To what extent did you take action in that way?—Ans. I could not state the number of people doing detective service, but we had regular detectives, as well as our own members.

157 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were any of your members arrested for violating the law upon the complaint of those you employed to watch?—Ans. No, sir.

158 (Commissioner KERNAN). What, if any, punishment is provided in your constitution and bylaws for those who are found to have violated the rule on the subject of conforming to the laws? Do you yourself intend to discipline and punish men for that. If so, how?—Ans. I would want to examine our constitution before answering that, but from my knowledge of our entire board, and what they all think and have said in regard to that matter, we, under all circumstances, expect a compliance with the law of the land.

159 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not true that you counsel obedience to the law?—Ans. Yes.

160 (Commissioner KERNAN). And then you rely upon the civil authorities to treat your members as they do others if they violate the law?—Ans. Yes, sir.



161 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you yourself undertake to watch your members in any way, or discipline or punish them if any charges of that kind are made?—Ans. Yes, sir; we do. During the Great Northern strike we had reason to believe that overt acts would be committed there if we did not do something to preserve the peace, and before the men went out upon a strike in Minneapolis and St. Paul and on the Eastern Minnesota road we had at our meetings regular reliefs appointed to patrol the property, watch the freight houses and cars, see that nobody turned switches, applied matches or torches, or broke into freight houses, or anything of that kind, and our instructions to our members were to “shoot the first person caught at it, even if it was one of our members.”

162 (Commissioner KERNAN). During the trouble in Chicago did you take any action of that kind?—Ans. No, sir; we tried to.

163 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think it would have been well for you to have done it?—Ans. I will explain that; when the strike came on we intended to take that action, and told our members at Blue Island what action should be taken at the last meeting held there, but it was such a gigantic affair here in Chicago and spread so rapidly when it did break out—that is, when the overt acts first commenced—that we were powerless; we did not have organization enough here in Chicago to prevent it.

164 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then the reason is that it so far got beyond your control that you were unable to do what you thought of doing, and the disreputable classes to a large extent participated and seized upon the property?—Ans. From reports we have received, I should say yes.

165 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not your experience that that is one of the incidents of large strikes, that it invites all of the dissolute and worthless members of society to avail themselves of the opportunity to plunder and burn property and violate the law in every way?—Ans. Yes, sir; generally, but I have known of a good many strikes that have taken place where no property was damaged.

166 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do not the facts I have just stated furnish a strong reason why some remedy should be found to avoid strikes if possible?—Ans. Yes, sir. During the Great Northern strike the president of the road admitted after it was over that no damage had been done to the property anywhere.

167 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is not the method of your union in declaring a strike different from what has been heretofore in vogue among labor organizations?—Ans. Yes, sir.

168 (Commissioner KERNAN). State the difference.—Ans. All of the other organizations have what they term a one man arbitrary power, and their plan of calling a strike is this: In the adjustment of grievances, if local, at any point, they commence by sending a local grievance committee to meet the official through which the grievance originates, and try to adjust it; if they can not do it, then the matter is referred to the general grievance committee of that entire system; that committee consists of the chairman of each local grievance committee on the entire system. For instance, take the Santa Fe system; they may have eighteen lodges, and each lodge has a local grievance committee; if a grievance started at Chicago it would be the duty of the local grievance committee at Chicago to effect a settlement if possible; if not, they send for the general grievance committee of the brotherhood over the entire system; they come to Chicago and go to the official where the trouble originates, and if it can not be adjusted they go step by step

until they get to the general manager of the road. If that committee can not settle it, then the matter is referred to the membership of the firemen, say, on the system, and if a two-thirds vote is in favor of going upon a strike, they can strike, provided the grand master sanctions it; but if he says no, they can not strike.

169 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then it is for the grand master of these different organizations to determine whether or not the membership shall strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

170 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have stated that under your organization a strike can not be declared by any one man, or by the executive committee or directors, but it must be declared and voted on by the members of the different local unions. Suppose there is a difference among them on the subject, what number of local unions control?—Ans. A majority vote of all the members of any system.

171 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose there were twenty systems, and in twelve of them a majority of them voted for a strike and the other eight unions voted against, what would be the effect?—Ans. It would be to declare a strike on the twelve systems and not on the eight; the men themselves on each system are the power.

172 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then the eight systems would not participate in it?—Ans. No.

173 (Commissioner KERNAN). And a convention of your delegates would have no power to declare a strike on those eight systems?—Ans. No, sir.

174 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then what you mean in this instance is that if one of the different organizations had voted against this strike that that organization would have continued to handle Pullman cars.—Ans. No, sir; not if a majority of the men on that system voted not to handle them.

175 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose they voted in favor of handling them.—Ans. If a majority of the men on any system voted in favor of handling them they would have handled them.

176 (Commissioner KERNAN). And they would not have been included in the strike at all?—Ans. No, sir.

177 (Commissioner KERNAN). But I understand that in this case it was the unanimous decision of the convention?—Ans. Yes, sir.

178 (Commissioner KERNAN). State whether your convention of June 12 advised or approved of local unions striking on lines over which the Pullman cars were not run at all.—Ans. On those roads where we were organized, even where the Pullman cars were not handled, if the road was in the General Managers' Association and the men on that road felt that the general manager of their road was assisting the other general managers in helping Mr. Pullman starve his employees into submission, then they went out of their own accord and engaged in the strike, with the view of assisting or forcing the general managers to let loose so we could get a settlement out of Pullman. If they were members of the General Managers' Association that was done. For instance, on the Mobile and Ohio road Mr. Clarke, the general manager and president of that road, wired us that he would not handle Pullman cars if we would call the strike off on his road; that he would cut the Pullman cars off and not handle them at all, and I thought it would be a good idea to do that; but we could only advise; we had no power to compel, and the men at St. Louis who were directly interested argued that if the Mobile and Ohio road was allowed to continue operations out of St. Louis that a force of men would have to be employed to make up the Mobile and Ohio trains, and if such a force was created for that

purpose it would be said, "Now you can make up our trains," and would weaken the cause, and they said they would not call the strike off on the Mobile and Ohio road. We advised that it be called off on that road by telegram—we advised it twice, but for the reason I have stated they would not do it.

179 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where this strike extended on lines such as you have mentioned, where no Pullman cars were run, it was then purely a sympathetic strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

180 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did your union, or its officers, suggest or advise all labor organizations throughout the country, whether composed of railroad men or not, to suspend labor?—Ans. We did not advise them to do that, but asked them to meet us here to consider the matter. We wired Mr. Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Sovereign, of the Knights of Labor, Mr. McBride, of the Coal Miners' Union, Pat McBride, secretary of the Coal Miners' Union, P. J. McGuire, of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, F. W. Arnold, grand secretary of the Locomotive Firemen, Mr. Morrissy, of the Railroad Trainmen, and others to meet us here, and quite a number assembled at the Briggs House to consider this matter, in pursuance of such invitation issued by Mr. Debs.

Mr. Debs laid the entire situation before that body of men at the Briggs House, consisting of about twenty. They asked Mr. Debs, "What do you want us to do?" Mr. Debs said, "I am not here to advise you what to do, but will leave it with the conscience of each and every man here to decide what he ought to do in the premises, and have you all decide together what ought to be done, if anything, to bring this matter to an amicable adjustment, or any action which you may see fit to take." He then read at that meeting a communication which had been prepared to present to the general managers, and said to Mr. Gompers, "If you have come here in the interest of peace to try and settle this matter, will you act as a board of arbitration to settle it—yourself with one or two others; will you take this communication of ours and present it?" He read it to the conference and they all agreed it was fair, and we were taking the proper steps; he then asked Mr. Gompers if he would act in the capacity of peacemaker, with one or two others, and go to the general managers with a view of settling the matter. At first Mr. Gompers was a little afraid that if he undertook it he would become involved in some way, and he didn't know whether he ought to or ought not; so, after Mr. Debs had made his statement, we both left the room and left the conference to decide for themselves. The next morning we decided to act ourselves and we went to the mayor of the city with the same communication; the mayor said he would willingly take the communication and do all he could, and we then paid no further attention to the representatives of these different organizations at all.

181 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was there any written record kept of the proceedings of that conference?—Ans. I don't know, because we had nothing to do with it, except to appear before them for perhaps thirty to forty-five minutes.

182 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did Mr. Debs invite that conference of his own accord, or on the proposition of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Everything he did was at the instigation of the union.

183 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was any action taken in the convention of the American Railway Union on that subject?—Ans. I think the convention instructed us to invite these labor organizations to attend the conference, more to place each of them on record than any-

thing else, because we knew that some of them would not attend any conference with us.

184 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How were those instructions given?—**Ans.** Verbally. It was decided by the convention to invite them to a conference.

185 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But the convention was not in session at that time?—**Ans.** No; but at the convention on the 12th of June this matter was brought up. I know there was a good deal of comment made that Mr. Arthur would not attend any kind of a conference; that Mr. Sargent would not; that Mr. Clark, of the Order of Railway Conductors, would not; and Mr. Barrett had already expressed himself by writing a letter to each of the general managers condemning the action of our union as being detrimental to his organization, which has since died.

186 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The American Railway Union, then, or its officers, took no action, as I understand you, with reference to advising or suggesting other organizations to strike as a means of supporting the action of the American Railway Union?—**Ans.** No, sir; they were simply told to do what their conscience dictated. Mr. Debs said, "Don't ask me to advise you what to do; you know what to do."

187 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was this communication you speak of as being presented to the conference afterwards presented to the general managers?—**Ans.** Yes, sir; the next morning by the mayor of Chicago. I will furnish you a copy of it tomorrow morning (a).

188 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You say that communication was taken to the General Managers' Association by the mayor?—**Ans.** Yes, and they refused to receive it. He brought it back and said they would not receive anything from us. We had said all the time we did not care anything about their recognizing the American Railway Union—we are upon record right along in regard to that—we did not care about the union's being recognized, it was the principle involved we were contending for.

189 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What principle do you refer to?—**Ans.** The principle of adjusting the differences fairly, or adjusting the grievances that existed by arbitration.

190 (Commissioner KERNAN). It has been charged that your union, in common with other organizations, encouraged and permitted the members to persistently interfere with unorganized labor and prevent unorganized labor from taking the place of strikers. Now, what is there as to that in connection with the American Railway Union?—**Ans.** It can not be shown in any instance. We have never done it and never countenanced anything of that kind. I will even go so far as to say that none of our members took that position that they had a right to and did do it. I will not say but what some of our members have been engaged in a fisticuff with somebody, but to my knowledge they have not done even that.

191 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did your organization take any steps to prevent that, or punish men for doing it?—**Ans.** Our principle has been to allow any and every man to work, under any and all circumstances, if he wants to. We have taken this ground openly, that when we stand together and act as a unit, and go out upon a strike, we leave the railroad company in the position of employing men if they can to operate its road and we will not interfere in any way, shape, or form; that has been our position from first to last.

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<sup>a</sup> See Exhibit 2, at end of Howard's testimony.

192 (Commissioner KERNAN). And any violation of that rule by your members would be a violation of the rules of the order?—Ans. Yes, sir.

193 (Commissioner KERNAN). But you do countenance their using arguments, do you not, with unemployed labor to induce them not to work?—Ans. Yes; we advise that, or did prior to the issuance of the injunction which said we should not do it any more.

194 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not true that that course as a rule results in violence?—Ans. No; I have had hundreds of men approach me and I have not had a cross word with them; they would tell me that they came under a misrepresentation and would go back willingly.

195 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think violence was incidental and not general, and was not sanctioned by the organization?—Ans. Yes, sir.

196 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there any punishment for a violation of that rule on members?—Ans. No, sir; there is not on the part of any organization.

197 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think that logically, in order to maintain your situation and prevent violence, organizations like yours ought to discipline their members for violation of that rule?—Ans. Yes; we started out, as I told you, to punish a violation of any illegal act.

198 (Commissioner KERNAN). From your experience in labor organizations, and from what you have seen of strikes, what, as a rule, is the effect upon a strike where it incurs destruction of property and violence?—Ans. The men are always defeated when such is the case.

199 (Commissioner KERNAN). So, even looking at it solely for the benefit of the organization, violence and destruction of property is of no benefit?—Ans. It is entirely the reverse.

200 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you rely in these strikes upon the aid of public opinion in favor of the strike?—Ans. Yes; we want public sentiment with us.

201 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is your observation as to the effect of violence and destruction of property upon public opinion?—Ans. It changes public sentiment at once against the strike.

202 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know of any of these organizations that have ever adopted what you agree to be the rule that ought to be adopted and then have punished or disciplined their members for participating in violence?—Ans. None but the American Railway Union. We take the ground and have argued it that the only weapon labor has is the strike and boycott. We have preached that all over this country. Some people speak of the ballot and we incidentally refer to that, but we know there are things that can not be rectified through the ballot, but we have never been in favor of a strike; in fact, we have deprecated it and have said that we want to see the day come when we will not have another strike. That day can never come, however, under present conditions—such conditions as have been for the last thirty years. It can not come until the labor element comes together in one solid phalanx, then their power will be recognized and it will not be necessary to use the strike or boycott. Upon this principle this Government, I might say, is a striking Government; it maintains an army and navy and forts and arsenals and the biggest Krupp gun on earth; but this Government don't have to strike, for if injustice is done to any American citizen by a foreign power and he comes to the Government to seek redress for that injustice, this Government is always met by the representative of the foreign government in a spirit

of conciliation and arbitration in the settlement of the grievance; we don't have to use our armies, because our power is recognized.

203 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you not think, as a matter of public policy in this country, that, instead of regarding the Army, Navy, etc., as a means of enforcing their rights, that they are regarded as simply protective?—Ans. You might put it protective, but the truth is that the enforcement of all law is based upon a force of arms, from a constable up.

204 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you regard such an universal confederation as you speak of at all practicable at the present time?—Ans. To get all labor in line? Yes, sir; unless conditions are changed.

205 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not true that the jealousy which exists between the different organizations of workmen would prevent an organization of that kind?—Ans. No, sir. We can bring it about, for the reason that the jealousy among the old organizations will kill them off.

206 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose that should occur, and the labor organizations were strong enough to have a strike of all labor unions in the country at once, would you regard that as a desirable thing?—Ans. No; it would be a very undesirable thing. I desire to say that if a disposition was manifested on the part of the employers of labor to treat their men fairly and justly and listen to their grievances, no matter how small, there would not be a labor organization in existence.

207 (Commissioner KERNAN). You are not prepared to say that all the demands made by labor organizations in these contests are legitimate, are you?—Ans. No, sir.

208 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are not a great many of them wrong, unjust, and oppressive?—Ans. Yes.

209 (Commissioner KERNAN). How are you going to restrain that element from predominating in your universal organization?—Ans. In my experience, instead of ignoring the men that were working under me, I have gone into partnership with their organization. I never had any trouble with men under me. For instance, if some of my men belong to a certain organization and were working upon a road where I was an official and they should be guilty of some infraction of the rules, for instance, had drank too much liquor, I would perhaps warn them two or three times to desist; and then, not caring to have any trouble with the organization to which he belonged, I would pick out three or four intelligent, fair minded men belonging to his organization, call them into my office, tell them exactly what the trouble was with the man I had spoken to, and then say to them: "You do not uphold anything of that kind in your organization?" "No, sir." "Your organization has been formed for the purpose of making good employees and reputable citizens?" "Yes, sir." "Now, I want you to keep this man Brown from drinking, if you can. I want to tell you now that if I catch him drunk again I will discharge him from the service of the road. Do you agree that that is right?" They can not help but say yes; and if the railroad officials would go into partnership with these organizations—organized men can be handled better than unorganized men—if employers would only do this they would find, after while, they could have everything their own way that was just and right, at least; and beyond that they should not care to go.

210 (Commissioner KERNAN). By partnership you mean to make conciliatory attempts to arrange difficulties and arbitrate them when they can not agree?—Ans. I have practised that rule all my life.

Where I had to deal with the devil and wanted a show-down, if I did not know, to a dead moral certainty, I could crush him out of existence, I had enough sense to know that my only hope was to go into partnership with him, and that is the only thing any sensible man can do unless he wants to get turned down himself.

211 (Commissioner KERNAN). It is charged that in these organizations the minority are slaves; that they are under the control of the majority, which governs them with an iron hand, and that the independence of a man is lost by belonging to an organization as they have been constituted. What do you say to that proposition?—Ans. Rather the reverse. You will find that the men—every railroad employee you may put on the stand will bear me out in this and also the officials, if they have been employees—that the men who are called the agitators, the hot-heads, are very much in the minority. There are only a few of them on a railroad. The thinking men are in the majority always. Sometimes they are led by some of these people they call agitators, and it looks as though they were being led unreasonably, but men have never been urged to do anything except they understood exactly what they were doing.

I know the excuse is often made that employees sneak around and make excuses to the officials to curry favor and try to place the responsibility on somebody else's shoulders for having done what they did. For instance, you will hear an engineer say, "I had to go out because I was afraid of my life," and I have seen them look around and laugh and think it smart to say that. I have heard some engineers say, "If you fellows will come up and tell me to get off my engine, I will get off," and some fellow will go up and say, "Get off the engine." Then that engineer will swear his life was in danger, when perhaps it was the best friend he had in the world that said it.

212 (Commissioner KERNAN). I suppose there is no qualification as to property or education connected with your membership, is there?—Ans. No; but it is always supposed that a man can read and write.

213 (Commissioner KERNAN). I suppose you require a written application?—Ans. Yes.

214 (Commissioner KERNAN). And require it to be written by the applicant?—Ans. Yes; or signed by him at least, and then indorsed by one other member in good standing.

215 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). So far as you are informed or are aware, was there any motive or purpose, either expressed or understood, on the part of the American Railway Union, or any of its members in connection with the Pullman strike, or railroad strike, other or different than to remedy the alleged grievances of the Pullman employees?—Ans. None whatever.

216 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had the connection or action of the railway union with this strike, in controversy, anything to do with promoting or defeating the strength of other railroad organizations?—Ans. Yes; the stronger we grew the weaker they got.

217 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did that have any influence with your organization in what it did with reference to the strike here?—Ans. No; but it did with the officers of other organizations, for as their membership decreased they charged it was our union that decreased it, and they charged we started the American Railway Union for the purpose of enlisting members from their organization, when such was not the case. We stated from first to last we cared nothing about their organization, except we said to the men, "You know you are taking money from members of your organization under false pretenses

right along; you know you give them nothing but insurance and charge them an exorbitant rate for that," and the progressive bright men could see that, and they connected themselves with our organization. When any of these railroad organizations take members in, they guarantee them protection for their labor, but immediately when they get them in they do not furnish them protection; they are discharged here and elsewhere without any apparent cause, and we have always contended that it is the least an official can do to tell a man when he discharges him why he is discharged. I never discharged a man unless I told him the reason.

218 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What I want to know more particularly is whether there was any motive, expressed or understood, in connection with the American Railway Union in this strike looking to the effect that the strike might have upon the strength or weakness of other railroad organizations—whether there was any intention of building up the American Railway Union at the expense of the other organizations?—Ans. No, sir; the other organizations have been declining for years. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has been losing thousands of members since September; the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen—more than forty of the lodges have surrendered their charters in the last three months on account of the hard times and they can not stand the assessments. The men in these organizations are getting their eyes open; they see they are getting nothing but insurance and are paying exorbitant rates for that. The secretary of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association defaulted for about \$40,000 and left about forty claimants in the lurch who were entitled to their insurance, etc.

219 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did the American Railway Union invite the Knights of Labor to participate in this controversy?—Ans. I think the Knights of Labor received the same invitation that was extended to the balance.

220 (Commissioner KERNAN). I am not speaking of the conference, but of the convention of the 12th of June.—Ans. Yes; they received the same invitation.

221 (Commissioner KERNAN). It is part of the duty of this commission to ascertain if we can find some means of preventing these difficulties in the future. Have you anything to suggest as to what might be accomplished by legislation or otherwise in that direction?—Ans. Yes, sir; after a very careful and long consideration of the troubles we have had for the last thirty years, I believe that the only solution is in the Government taking charge of the railroads, and the longer I live the more I am in favor of it, from the fact that the Government has already charge of about 30 per cent of our railroads. I mean there is that per cent of our railroads in the hands of receivers appointed by the Federal court, and that means they are absolutely in charge of the United States, for it has been demonstrated that where a receiver is in charge of a railroad he does not hesitate to call out the United States troops to back that railroad to the extent of the United States Government, if necessary to have it operated.

In the case of the Santa Fe—I can not help but mention this; I have thought about it a good deal, and it is wrong—where its men are several months behind with their pay, and where the State through which it runs gives labor a prior lien on the railroad property for which they work—there is not a State through which that road runs today but provides that the men in the employ of any corporation shall be paid



at least once monthly, and in some States twice monthly—notwithstanding these laws the Government steps in and takes charge of that road backed by the United States Army and violates the law of every State through which it runs; and I think if the Government would take charge of all the railroads and back them to the extent it does those now in its charge, then if there was a deficit the Government should meet it the same as they do on any mail route they have established. But since the railroads must fly to the protection of the Government when they get into trouble in order to be placed again upon their feet, which they have invariably done, I believe that the only solution of the whole business is to squeeze out the water and put all the railroads in the hands of the Government and give everybody a fair shake, the farmer as well as the manufacturer.

222 (Commissioner KERNAN). With reference to that last suggestion of yours, do you make that suggestion as a laboring man looking solely at the interest of labor, or looking at it broadly as best for the interest of the whole country?—Ans. As an American citizen.

223 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not pretty well established that in all countries where Government ownership of railroads has taken place that the service has depreciated, the rates have grown higher, and in every way the management has been less efficient than where the management has been left as in this country to railway corporations and private enterprise?—Ans. No, sir.

224 (Commissioner KERNAN). That has been my reading with reference to the history of railroad corporations. The rates on all railways in Europe where there is Government ownership are higher than they were before Government ownership, and very much higher than they are in this country; and the service has depreciated, not being as good as upon railways operated by an individual enterprise. If that is true, is not that a serious objection?—Ans. You will find there is a mistake about that. The truth about the matter is, unless you come in contact with the men who labor, or with representatives of labor, you can not get at the bottom of the situation, and there is no reason why the service should depreciate, there is no reason why the rates should be higher; but suppose they were, everybody uses the railroads, and I would say that is all right.

225 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, another suggestion. Under your proposition the Government would only own the railroads engaged in interstate commerce; then the railroads not engaged in interstate commerce would have to remain under private management, and the two would be in competition. Is it not a fact that in countries where that has been tried the invariable result has been that the Government has been forced to finally take all the railroads or else none?—Ans. Yes; that is so.

226 (Commissioner KERNAN). So your proposition involves Government ownership of all interstate lines, and State ownership of all other lines?—Ans. The State lines would be small and would not amount to much unless they had connection with the interstate lines in some way, and the feeling of dependence would certainly be so mutual that the State line in regard to the management would be made almost exactly as those made by the General Government for the management of its railroads; but the main thing is, we would never have any more strikes if the railroads were managed by the Government.

227 (Commissioner KERNAN). You would not have any more railroad strikes?—Ans. No; then the laboring men would be better satisfied, for instead of paying the vast sums that are now paid as interest upon

watered stock that money could be devoted to the payment of pensions to the old employees the same as they do in the Army; then the men would not feel that they had to resort to extreme efforts of any kind to maintain a livelihood; they would not have to sacrifice their manhood, for every man would know if he served a railroad faithfully until he was, say, 60 years old he would be entitled to a pension.

228 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Would not that proposition also involve Government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines, and probably waterways?—Ans. Yes, sir.

229 Commissioner KEERNAN). And all the employees of all these different lines would virtually become Government officials?—Ans. Well, every American citizen ought to be a Government official.

230 (Commissioner KEERNAN). In a certain sense, but would they not be in a different sense than that?—Ans. I don't know that they would any more than to protect the property.

231 (Commissioner KEERNAN). If the Government owned the railroads and paid the men operating them they would be Government employees?—Ans. Yes, sir.

232 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Would it not be a very great change from our present notions of the way to preserve our present institutions to have such a vast army of Government employees?—Ans. Yes, sir; but if I claim to be a true American citizen it is my duty to protect the property of this Government as much as it is the duty of the judge that sits upon the bench, notwithstanding he may have taken an oath—so have I.

233 (Commissioner KEERNAN). In order to provide against such a vast army of Government employees combining to secure a raise in their wages, or correct some grievance they might think they had against the Government, would it not be necessary to largely increase our military forces?—Ans. No, sir; I think not. We will take the history of the past to answer that. We have thousands and thousands of employees in the postal service; there has never been a strike in a postal department; in the matter of shorter hours when the letter carriers had a grievance it was referred to the proper tribunal and in due time extra pay was allowed them; there is always an intelligent way of getting at these things.

234 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Is it not true that until this vast army of employees reached the state you suggest that it would require, as a protection for the rest of us who are laboring at other occupations, and not engaged on railroads, an army of some kind to prevent those employees from making unjust demands upon the Government and forcing a compliance with their demands because of the immense power the organization would have?—Ans. I have too much confidence in the intelligence of the American people to think that such a situation as that would arise. My experience with humanity has been that where you treat a man right and talk to him reasonably there is no trouble.

235 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Don't you recognize as a principle of government that the Government must always be stronger in order to protect its citizens than any body of men under it?—Ans. I believe this. I believe everybody should be treated fairly and that the people themselves should be considered the Government, and if they are treated fairly and the Government owns the railroads you remove the necessity of the general managers or officials of the various railroads clashing, lying, underbilling, giving rebates, and violating the laws, as the Santa Fe road has just done by issuing one million of rebate in the face of the interstate-commerce law.

236 (Commissioner KERNAN). I am not expressing an opinion on the question; I am only trying to present the objections which are made on one side and the other in regard to the suggestions you make.—Ans. Any situation that will force any man, in order to maintain his position, to deviate from the dictates of his conscience in the way of right can never succeed. There is not a general manager in this country, or a railroad official, that has not been taught to take advantage of his competitors and is doing it right along regardless of law, and it will continue to be done and the law violated; and I contend we are compromising the Government when we make laws we can not enforce.

237 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assuming that the Government owned the railroads, telegraph lines, waterways, etc., as you suggest, it will then be the duty of the Government to see that the employees are fairly paid for their work?—Ans. Yes, sir.

238 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why would it not be the duty of the Government as well to see that everybody was paid for his work? Why would it have the right to make a discrimination and pay fair wages raised by taxation to one class of laborers in the country and leave the others to struggle for themselves?—Ans. My idea is that I am part of the Government myself; if I am a bricklayer and the Government takes the railroads and gives a fair rate that would be reasonable to allow us to raise something—

239 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assuming you are a bricklayer, if your scheme was put into operation why would you not have the right to insist that the Government become your paymaster and see that your wages were fair?—Ans. That is something that don't interest everybody universally; that is, the bricklaying business or any other trade does not, but the railroad business interests everybody because everybody must use the railroad. I don't know what interest I would have in the bricklaying business, or the shoemaking business, but I do care about the railroad business because that is a matter of common concern; if the bricklaying business became a matter of common concern I would say yes.

240 (Commissioner KERNAN). If all the bricklayers in the United States united in an organization such as you have described and stopped work so that a brick could not be laid in the United States, it would soon become a matter of common concern, would it not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

241 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then that association would be in precisely the same situation in its appeal to the Government to take charge of the bricklaying business and see that the wages were fair, as your organization now is?—Ans. No; it is like this: If the Government would only give the laboring element a square deal and keep its hands off they would settle that matter themselves.

242 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think the Government could provide for the fair hearing and discussion of the differences between the railroad companies and their employees before some public body, even though they had no arbitrary or absolute power except to recommend; do you not think that of itself would prevent many of these difficulties?—Ans. I contend that this Government has a right to take steps to compel parties in a dispute to meet in some spirit of conciliation.

243 (Commissioner KERNAN). How could the Government insist that you should meet Mr. Pullman tomorrow if you didn't want to?—Ans. They could do that as easy as they can tell me that I can not talk, and they have done that.

244 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose you say you don't want to go; can they compel you?—Ans. Yes; they have done that to me; put me in jail.

245 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it wise for the Government to do that?—Ans. No, it is wrong; there is nothing fair about it.

246 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you suggest any way by which the decrees of arbitrators can be enforced?—Ans. Yes, sir; I think like this—I think if a man acts a man, all right; if he don't, he ought to be made to.

247 (Commissioner KERNAN). How can you make the parties to an arbitration, the laborers on the one side and the employers on the other, obey the decision?—Ans. Take the case down at Pullman: He was not paying his men and girls sufficient money to enable them to live and keep out of debt; now, there was only two horns to the dilemma for them, either to continue working on, getting deeper and deeper in debt until they were reduced to absolute slavery, or quit in a body and compel Mr. Pullman to pay them enough money to live respectably and keep out of debt for rent, water, and gas. If the country at large had kept their hands off, the laboring men would have very soon brought Pullman to time; but the trouble is everything is behind the law and the laws are made to crush down the man that fights for his rights; people say that is wrong, but the history of the past has proved it is a fact; the law never takes the stand against the oppressors, but takes the stand against the oppressed; even the police are arrayed against the men, and if some overt act is not committed somebody is employed to do it and then it is charged to the people and they are arrested.

Men have been arrested in Chicago because they refused to turn switches when told to; they were arrested when they refused to get on an engine and fire an engine; one man was arrested for going up and looking at a policeman's star; in Albuquerque, N. Mex., they arrested a man and he was sentenced to fifteen days in jail for contempt of court because he refused to get on an engine and fire it when told; the fact that he did not get on the engine was considered contempt of court. I suppose that sentence was based on the Jenkins injunction. I wish I had some way of eliminating some of the wrongs of the common people. We could get along without so much law if we could all be actuated by the spirit of Christ when he was on earth; we would need no laws, and that is what it has to come to before we have things right.

248 (Commissioner KERNAN). Of course we all have our views as to the effect given to law and the necessity of something being done, and the commission is trying to find out what can be done, and the practical point I wish to direct your attention to is, as to how the decrees of arbitrators can be enforced. Suppose that at Pullman they had an arbitration and the arbitrators had determined that Mr. Pullman was paying too high wages and that the wages ought to be 25 per cent less and it fixed them at that rate, which they were to pay for five years to come, how would the employees be compelled to accept it?—Ans. I have too much confidence in the American people to suppose that a board of arbitration would do that.

249 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose that Mr. Pullman was paying today three times as high wages as he is and that he should insist on a reduction of 25 per cent, or about twice what he is paying now, and the employees should resist it. Now, then, arbitrators meet, hear the evidence, and determine that on the whole, in view of the hard times

and all the surrounding circumstances, Mr. Pullman was justified in making a cut, and that he should pay at that rate suggested for one, two, three, or five years, now, how are you going to compel the employees to accept it?—Ans. I will say to you they would accept it.

250 (Commissioner KERNAN). Compulsory arbitration is not worth anything unless it can be enforced. Now, suppose they will not accept it, notwithstanding the decision, how are you going to compel them to?—Ans. My experience is this, you will always find upon any reasonable proposition a vast majority of the American people with you; and I want to tell you what the trouble is today with these railway employees, and why there has been so much dissension in the past in regard to this matter of wages—and this will be told you without exception by every railroad employee on any railroad—that if there could be an assurance without a doubt that when their wages are decreased in depressed times that they would be restored when times got better, there is not an employee but what would willingly accept a reduction and assist the company out of difficulty; but the trouble is, they cut the wages down, the general managers lie to the men, and when good times come wages are not restored.

251 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not true that the only proper way to enforce an arbitration in the case I suggest would be to make it a crime of some kind, punishable in some way, for employees to refuse to fulfil the awards of the arbitrators, and would not that be a very harsh remedy, and would it not be likely to create a great deal of discontent and possibly work injustice?—Ans. I will say to you that you never would need to enforce any arbitration so far as the employees are concerned; you would have to enforce it on the other side.

252 (Commissioner KERNAN). You can hardly take the position that the employer should be compelled to obey the award and leave the employee free to do it or not?—Ans. No; I believe the whole business of compelling men to do what is right is wrong.

253 (Commissioner KERNAN). The only trouble is to find a way to compel both sides to obey?—Ans. That is the difficulty, but I would guarantee and give a big bond to start out tomorrow and get up an organization in this country, and I would get nine men out of ten in it—if they could be assured that the corporation would be held to any decision that might be made by arbitrators—to go on record and take an oath that they would be bound by it, or forfeit everything that was coming to them.

254 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does that cover your suggestions on that subject?—Ans. No, sir; I will answer you further by saying this, if there is any other way to get at it besides compulsion all right, but I do say the Government compels them to do what they want them to; it compels them to keep their mouths shut, even puts them in jail, and I contend if the Government can do that they can do another thing; we have too much law; we ought to appeal more to the conscience, more to the good feeling, good fellowship of the men, but so far as the other matter is concerned, we can never have the railroads operated in the way they are and have them make returns that will be satisfactory to the holders of the securities, especially the bondholders on the other side of the water who have never seen the property and they must have a return upon their investment. We can never have things right as long as we have this competition, because, whether it is a necessity or not, trickery will be engaged in by each of these managing officials of the various roads in order to make the best possible showing, and the whole thing is dishonest.

255 (Commissioner KERNAN). There is no law, at least I recall none, compelling a man to work if he does not want to, or compelling him to quit if he wants to stay.—Ans. I can tell you of cases where it has been done in the past three weeks.

256 (Commissioner KERNAN). Refer to some case where it has been done.—Ans. Did not Judge Jenkins issue that notorious injunction of his to prevent men quitting the service of the railroad company? 'If the Government can tell me I can not quit when I want to they can make me abide by any decision of their board of arbitration.

257 (Commissioner KERNAN). That decision was that a man had no right to quit in pursuance of a conspiracy between himself and others designed to interfere with the operation of railroads transporting United States mail.—Ans. That was rung in quite a good deal, but nobody was allowed to quit. I will offer you a solution for it, the same that is offered to any two men who step out to have a little fisticuff. Let everybody that is not interested stand aloof and have fair play. Don't interfere with one side or the other and the thing will soon be settled.

258 (Commissioner KERNAN). That will not do. What right have you and another man to go out in front of my property and engage in a fight to settle a dispute? Have I not a right to insist that you should settle it somewhere else, and I not be disturbed? And why should the Government any more permit me to settle differences in the way you are intimating?—Ans. Of course I only spoke of the fisticuff incident as an illustration of a principle. Suppose the people had said, "We are not going to protect Pullman's property with the militia and overawe the strikers, neither will we protect the strikers. We will maintain a neutral position and say, now, Mr. Pullman, you have to fight this out with your strikers; you can not get any militia to go down to Pullman and board at the expense of the State; you settle with those men; you are not paying them enough to live on; the public sentiment of the world is against you; if you can not settle with them accept the inevitable and keep your shops shut up forever."

259 (Commissioner KERNAN). When such a difficulty comes to a point where it disturbs public peace, don't you think the Government has a right to interfere?—Ans. Certainly there would not have been any disturbance of the public peace if they had kept their hands off, and there should have been no interference until the disturbance of the public peace called for it.

260 (Commissioner KERNAN). And then we have the police in the locality or the State or Government, as the case may be, step in far enough to restore and preserve the peace.—Ans. Yes; but in this case the United States Army was here before anything was done.

261 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think the troops were called too soon; that they ought to have waited until some actual disturbance of the public peace had occurred before interfering?—Ans. Yes, sir; I do. I know the police force of the city here was able to cope with anything that might have arisen; but, I tell you the people of America have been treated so unfairly—I do not speak of myself, but from the experience we had in going through the country—that the very sight of a blue coat arouses their anger; they feel it is another instrument of oppression that has come, and they are liable to do things they would not do if the blue coats were kept away. I have nothing against the blue coats, because I have been a Union soldier myself; but, I tell you truly, if we could only get down to the proper spirit and treat every man as he ought to be treated, and hold some of these employers accountable where the men are improperly treated, and let this Gov-

ernment protect its humble citizens that ought to be protected, then the humble citizens would shoulder the gun and go out as quick as anybody to fight the enemies of their country. The capitalist must extend the olive branch, because the working people look upon the capitalist today as a tyrant; they look upon the man who monopolizes capital as a tyrant, and in a great many instances they have cause to believe that he is a tyrant, especially as has been shown in this Pullman matter.

If this Government should get into trouble with a foreign power they will make me fight for it, if necessary, whether I want to or not. I must go as was done during our late war when Mr. Lincoln did not get all the troops he wanted; men had to go whether they wanted to or not. Now, if this Government has the power to make any citizen go to war whether he wants to or not and shoulder a musket and bare his breast to the bullet of the enemy for its protection, then this Government ought to fly to the rescue of every humble citizen it has got, should injustice be done to him, and protect him to the extent of every man and every dollar necessary; and that is the trouble with this Government, it don't do it.

262 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If the employees are always angered at the sight of a blue coat, what would be their feelings if a million and a half of blue coats were put at work on the railroad under Government control?—Ans. It would be for a man to say whether they were blue coats or not; everything would be done by law; we would all have a finger in the pie, and then pluck would count for something in regard to the management of these railroads, and the men working on the railroads would not necessarily have to wear blue coats.

263 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I only spoke of the blue coats as representing the Government officials.—Ans. If we did not want any such distinction we need not have them wear blue coats.

264 (Commissioner WRIGHT). They would have to have some Government mark to indicate they were employees.—Ans. The people would not care for that any more than they care to see a driver in uniform; there is nothing oppressive in a hackman's garb; nobody cares to see him rigged out.

265 (Commissioner KERNAN). You know all employees on a railroad would have to have police powers and that might induce conflict between other people seeking railroad employment and the official employees?—Ans. No more than now; and, furthermore, if all were being treated as they ought to be I tell you that I, or any American citizen, would fly to the assistance of a conductor to help him restrain a refractory passenger or arrest him if necessary.

266 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What action has the American Railway Union taken relative to what is known as compulsory arbitration?—Ans. We don't believe in that; we don't believe that any man ought to be compelled to do his duty.

267 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Your union is not in favor of that principle?—Ans. No, sir; not a compulsory arbitration.

268 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you believe in it as far as employers are concerned?—Ans. No, sir; we don't believe in it, but we advocate a spirit of conciliation and arbitration.

269 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do labor unions generally favor arbitration?—Ans. Yes.

270 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do they favor compulsory arbitration?—Ans. No, sir; I don't think they do as a general proposition. I believe the Order of Railway Conductors went on record as advocating compulsory arbitration, but the truth was that that was all they had to harp on, for they were taking money from their constituency and giving

them nothing but a little insurance, and they had to keep their courage up some way.

271 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The American Railway Union has taken some action upon it?—Ans. Yes; but we oppose it.

272 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any further suggestions to make outside of the question of arbitration and Government control of railroads with reference to a means of settling such troubles as have recently occurred, or avoiding them in the future, either through the instrumentality of law or any other instrumentality?—Ans. If you will give me until tomorrow morning I will answer.

273 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If you have any suggestions to make will you submit them in writing?—Ans. Yes, sir.

274 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You are aware one of our duties under the law is to consider methods of adjusting such difficulties as have occurred.—Ans. Yes, sir; and I would do anything I could to help you out.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If either the Illinois Central Railroad Company or the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company have a representative present they are at liberty to cross-examine this witness.

August 17, 1894, George W. Howard, recalled, on direct examination, testifies as follows:

275 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I understand that you wish to correct some statements you made in your former testimony; if so, you can do so now.—Ans. Not a statement I made, but you asked Mr. Heathcoate yesterday about Mr. Pullman agreeing to allow a committee to examine his books, that is, holding out the idea that an examination of his books would substantiate what he said with regard to having taken contracts for building cars at a loss. I desire to state that the morning following his making that statement, Wallace Rice, a reporter on the Herald, called to see Mr. Pullman; Mr. Rice was a member of the American Railway Union, but Mr. Pullman didn't know it at that time, and Mr. Rice called in the interest of the American Railway Union and asked Mr. Pullman if he would yet agree that his books could be examined; if so, perhaps the representatives of the employees would employ an expert to examine them. Mr. Pullman answered, "Why, I did not intend to allow them to examine my books." Mr. Rice said, "Well, you said so yesterday." Mr. Pullman said, "Yes, but I meant by that that I would furnish a statement to them from the books."

276 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Where is Mr. Rice?—Ans. He is in the city.

277 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Can you produce him?—Ans. I presume he can be produced, but I hardly know where he is now; he is not working for the Herald. I believe he is going to practice law; I will try to find out where he is this afternoon and ask him to appear.

278 (Commissioner KERNAN). You were not present when this statement was made to Mr. Rice?—Ans. No, sir; he told me he was going to see Mr. Pullman and then came back and told me what Mr. Pullman had said. There is one matter that is a little foreign to this investigation, but I would like to call the attention of this board appointed by the Government, if you will permit it, to a matter existing at this time in this country. I want to call your attention to the fact that the United States Government is right now boycotting or blacklisting 3,000 employees on the Union Pacific Railroad—that railroad being in the hands of the Government—because of the late trouble.



279 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That does not belong to our investigation.—Ans. We can produce employees here in connection with that matter showing that the Missouri, Kansas and Texas road is making a \$26 blanket rate from Texas to Washington, and there is a threatened boycott against it now on the part of the east and west lines from St. Louis and Chicago, they declaring that they will put this boycott into effect against the Missouri, Kansas and Texas road unless it takes down that rate.

280 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Had that any influence on the American Railway Union in its recent action?—Ans. Yes, sir; we claim that if the railroads are permitted to violate the laws of the community, if they are allowed to settle their own difficulties without interference, let the Government keep its hands off the employees, and let them settle their own difficulties.

281 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was that matter discussed in the convention of June 12?—Ans. It has been discussed in labor meetings for years past.

282 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But was it discussed at that time?—Ans. Not this matter I speak of, because this matter is only recent.

283 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But such matters?—Ans. Yes; they are always discussed at labor meetings everywhere.

284 (Commissioner KERNAN). We are confined to questions of the recent strike and I don't think this matter is relative to the inquiry.—Ans. I beg your pardon for having mentioned it. Concerning the licensing of railroad employees, that matter has been considered for a good many years by conductors and engineers in this country and they have been in favor of it and have tried to bring about the licensing of engineers and conductors employed on the various railway systems, and they have contended that if engineers, captains, pilots, and other officers on water-going vessels can be licensed they do not see why they should not be licensed as well, and in connection with that, that would partially render a solution of labor troubles, as against employees quitting work, by making it a penalty that their license should be revoked if they did wrong. Another thing, it would have a tendency to promote the moral conduct of railroad employees if it was provided that the license should be renewed once every year for a small fee and on condition that the man had been sober and strictly attentive to business during the year. They have that law in Alabama now. An engineer in Alabama must have a State license to run according to law, but they do interstate business between Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia.

285 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think, then, a license would tend to promote the efficiency of railway employees and would not be objectionable to the competent men?—Ans. The engineers and conductors have been in favor of it for years and years.

286 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You would have a penalty attached working a forfeiture of the license?—Ans. That could be provided for.

287 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And there should also be penalties exacted from the other side?—Ans. Yes; that would be fair.

August 29, 1894, George W. Howard, recalled in rebuttal, testified as follows:

288 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have, I suppose, kept the run of the testimony that has been given here on the part of the railroads and the Pullman company, have you?—Ans. I have, by the newspapers.

289 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have there been any facts testified to

regarding the matter which you desire in any way to criticise or answer?—Ans. Well, there are some—not facts, but misstatements that have been made here—

290 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, anything of that kind.—Ans. We have no hesitancy in stating to you about what was done anywhere and everywhere and we have always been that way. A good deal has been said about this meeting at Blue Island.

291 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where you made a speech and it is alleged that you made several statements. You may testify in reference to that whatever you desire.—Ans. It is true that Mr. Debs, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Lovejoy, and myself went to Blue Island and were met by a delegation of railroad men after we got there and went to a hall to address a meeting of the railroad men. This hall was full of men except a very small space right in the center of the room, quite a good many were sitting on the floor even, but the doors were wide open and everybody and anybody was welcome to come in. I want to say at the outset, with as much respect for a decent use of the English language as any man in America, I want to explain something about the brogue or parlance that practical railroad men have. Every railroad man in the United States, or on this continent, for that matter—for I have been in Canada and Mexico as well, and I have not found any exception to the general rule—all men who have served, oh, any time at all in the railroad business—practically, I mean, at any practical railroad work as brakemen, as firemen, as conductors, as engineers, or in the train service generally, in a practical way, they get in the habit of using certain phrases, and there is not a great deal meant, strictly speaking, by a great many of the terms that they use. I will say to you that “son of a bitch” among railroad men is a very common expression, and if there are any old-time railroad men in the house every one of them will verify what I say right now. I would not be afraid to give a bond of \$10,000 that every old railroad man will verify what I say right now about that, and it is even such a common expression (of course they don’t expect the world to know it is, because it is only among themselves that they use those terms) that when they meet their best friends sometimes they say, “Hello, you old son of a bitch.” It is a common thing, and they get so in the habit of using the term that it seems they sometimes use it on occasions where they lack for words to supply the deficiency.

I made a speech at Blue Island and spoke about Mr. Pullman. It was about that time that the newspapers had said quite a good deal about his refusing to assist his aged sister—I think it was an aged sister—that he had only given her \$100, and that through an earnest appeal of some business man in Chicago who knew her condition; and that he afterwards refused to assist her in any way, and that she was in abject poverty; and in talking to the railroad men about Mr. Pullman, for I wanted them to know all about Mr. Pullman and about the treatment of the Pullman employees, the reduction of their wages, etc., and of the treatment that was accorded to Miss Jennie Curtis in forcing her to pay the rent that was due to the Pullman company from her father at the time her father died. After narrating all this I said, “The old son of a bitch ought to be hung.” See? I knew who I was talking to. I was talking to railroad men, and I know how to talk to railroad men to get them to understand me. Now, as far as that coupling-pin business is concerned, I am surprised at the testimony that has been given here by railroad men who boast of their intelligence, and nearly all of them boast of what they know. I spoke just as plainly as a man could possibly speak. However, in regard to the hanging of Mr.

Pullman, I did not say I wanted to be a party to the hanging or anything of that kind; and I did not use the term, "son of a bitch," in any sense of degradation to Mr. Pullman's folks nor himself, but merely to emphatically express the principle that I wished them to understand I was trying to apply to that occasion; I was trying to do everything I could to array them against the Pullman company. That is exactly what I was trying to do.

And as to this coupling-pin matter, I will explain that to you, for I am on record all over this country, from here to the Pacific Coast, in town after town where we stopped, and on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, the Union Pacific, and all down the coast on the Southern Pacific, even down to San Diego, we made speeches against this wave of religious persecution that has been sweeping over this country for the past few years. I would invariably say this—and I said this at Blue Island, and it was no different from what I said at every place, and I can produce a thousand witnesses—yes, more, if necessary—but I have no hesitation in saying I can bring a thousand here to testify to this effect from various points where we made these speeches. I would start out, after telling them what we could do by organizing all upon one common plane, where the jealousies and all the differences that exist now between the old organizations would be eliminated, for we would all be in one organization; and we have stated from time to time, and, in fact, it was the purpose of the American Railway Union to do away entirely with strikes, for we said, "When we are organized so our force will be recognized, we will never have to use the only weapons that labor has got, the strike and boycott," and exactly upon the same principle that I stated here when I gave my former testimony—I believe I did, anyhow—I stated that this was a striking Government, did I not?

I stated that this was a striking Government, or said it certainly must be, from the armies and navies and forts and arsenals and human-killing machinery that it keeps on hand and maintains. And then in speaking of the Government I used that to illustrate what I meant by the recognition of the force of labor when it was in one solid phalanx. I said this Government will never strike. Why? Should injustice be perpetrated upon a citizen of this country by any foreign power, when a representative of this country goes forward to seek redress for that injury or injustice it will never be necessary for us to strike to protect that citizen, but we will always be met by a spirit of conciliation and arbitration, and it will never be necessary for this Government to strike and use its weapons, because its force is recognized. And upon that same principle I said that the force of labor would never have to strike when it had the good sense to get solidly in line, when its force would be recognized. And we would start out to refute the saying that capital defeats labor. We have always said and always will say that capital never has defeated labor nor can not defeat labor. Labor defeats itself through its tragic deeds. That is what we have said everywhere.

Now, in connection with this other matter. I started out by saying, "I am a Protestant. I want you to understand exactly how I stand," I told the audience; "but you men ought to have more sense than to have allowed emissaries of these corporations to have wormed themselves into your midst, some of them even joining your lodges," and I have even dubbed them "the sleuths of hell." I have even said that, and have explained how these sleuths would get on one side of a lodge room—that is, they would join a lodge of one of the brotherhoods and they would get on one side and secretly tell the members on one side,

"You have got to organize to protect yourselves against the encroachments of the fellows on the other side. These Protestants are going to do you up if you don't organize; they already now have a movement on foot to have every one of you discharged, and if you want to hold your own against them, organize, but don't let me be known in it. I am your friend." And this very same sleuth would go to the other side and would tell the very same thing to the Protestants about what the Catholics were doing: "Organize. If you don't the Catholics will do you up." And that very principle that was used throughout this country put the lodge fires out of scores of lodges of every brotherhood, and there is not a grand officer in these brotherhoods today but knows it, but they have not the nerve to come out and fight squarely against anything of that kind. And then I said, "I am a Protestant, and I am in favor of America, with all her free institutions, and, like Archbishop Ireland, I would be the first man, if our free institutions were attacked, to enlist for their defense;" and I might quote what Archbishop Ireland said in that connection.

I wanted to be neutralized between the Catholics and the Protestants. I wanted to appeal to their good sense. I would then tell them that when it came to a matter of religion, however, that it was not my business to inquire into any man's religious belief; that it was enough for me to know that I could worship my God according to the dictates of my own conscience, according to the rights that the Constitution of this country grants to all its citizens. And I said it was a mortal sin for a man to persecute another because of his religious belief, and that a man that persecuted another because of his religious belief ought to be persecuted and would, in time be persecuted, and I believe it. Then I explained further, in connection with this—preached them a little sermon as it were, and conscientiously, too, notwithstanding the language I sometimes use. It may puzzle some of you when I tell you that I profess to be a Christian man; but I do. I said that if where fault is found as between people of different religious belief it could not at all be consistent on the part of anyone to find that fault or even criticise it, unless the criticism was between consistent Christians to begin with, but I even questioned the propriety of that. I said, "If John Brown had to share the voyage through the valley of death with me, he then might, with some right, comment or criticise my action in regard to religious matters." But I always stated about in this way: "That I had to pass through that voyage by myself, alone, and that at the great bar of God, on the judgment day, I would have to stand and give an account for the deeds done in my body, and that John Brown could not answer one question for George Howard." That is what I stated. And I stated that there at that meeting at Blue Island in the substance I am giving you. I covered this ground, however.

Then, after explaining all this, I said, "Look out; these corporations have used this matter of religious persecution to divide you, and they have been successful in it. Now we are getting you together again; but look out, for they will hatch up something else; what it may be I know not, but as soon as I can get onto it I will tell you what it is. Look out, though, for they will never be idle. I tell you," I said, "as a representative of a corporation for nearly eighteen years, that their only hope to conquer you is to divide you, and there is not a general manager in this country that will deny that. I have talked it over with some of them. They have laughed about it. 'If you get the boys together you know what we have got, but if we divide you we will whip you.' 'Yes; we concede that; but you can't whip us if we

stand together.' They know it as well as we do. Now, no matter what they do towards dividing you, if they ever send one of these 'sleuths'—and perhaps I said 'of hell;' sometimes I used that expression—if they ever send one of these sleuths of hell among you again and you find him injecting his poisonous venom in between you to divide you on a matter of religion, or anything else that will prove detrimental to your interests as laboring men, I hope somebody in this city, or in this place, will have the nerve to take a coupling pin and tap that sleuth on the head and put him to sleep forever." That is exactly what I said, and I have said over a thousand times.

So far as urging or offering violence to people that ever attempted to take the places of our men, we invariably said, and nobody can truthfully say otherwise—and I can produce thousands of witnesses to testify, for they are all over the country, and we addressed thousands and thousands of men—we have said, "When we are together it will not be necessary for us to strike, and we never will strike unless the railroad companies force us to strike, and in that event we will only ask you to go home and put on your good clothes and stay away from the railroad company's property and let them get men to operate their lines if they can; we will have no objection, but we know they can't do it." And I say it now. They can't do it. The general managers were whipped the fifth day after this strike was on; they were whipped and they know they were whipped, and they laid down, and they said, "Now we will let the whole business go to hell," that is what they said, "until this great populace will arise and realize the necessity of the use of these roads, and when they get ready to operate the railroads and will quell this mob, why, we will then operate them." But, mind, the soldiers had not come, and there had not been any rioting done up to that time.

Now, I would like to have the General Managers Association, or some one connected with it, answer these questions to this commission. They are as follows:

"Did your company have a contract with the Government to transport the mails?"

292 (Commissioner KERNAN). If there were any questions to be asked, why were they not handed in at the proper time to the commission?—Ans. I did not know of the notice until today. There will be a general manager here, probably. The other questions I wanted to ask are as follows:

"Was the contract dependent upon your ability to transport Pullman cars?"

"Did your contract with the Pullman company provide that you should not carry the mails unless you took Pullman cars upon the same train?"

"Did the strikers at any time interfere to prevent you carrying the mails if Pullman cars were not attached to the trains?"

"Could you not, at all times, have transported the mails without interruption if you had not insisted upon attaching Pullman cars to the same train?"

"Was your contract with the Government to transport the mails any less binding upon you than your contract with the Pullman company, or was one contract in any sense made dependent upon the other?"

Now, there was one question that Mr. Pullman was not asked the other day when he was on the stand—I don't believe he was, and I want to mention this before the commission. It was currently announced in all of the papers, or nearly all of them, that in Mr. Pull-

man's making an explanation of the situation to Grover Cleveland, the President of the United States, he stated that the railroad companies, or their representatives, meaning the managers, I presume, had told him that if he yielded to the demands that were being made upon him to arbitrate these troubles with his men that they would refuse—in fact, it said they would boycott the Pullman cars. Now, that was stated publicly, and it was stated that he said so to Grover Cleveland, and I would like for this commission before it finishes its work, after they get to Washington, if not here—it can be done by letter—I would like them to bring that out in order to know if Mr. Pullman said that. We want to show, and we will show before we get through with this—if not here, at our trial—that the railroad managers did conspire and did not want any settlement, but they made up their minds that they would never have a better opportunity to crush the American Railway Union than they had now, and they have known for the last five years that the balance of the organizations amounted to nothing.

293 (Commissioner KERNAN). We asked the questions, I think, of both Mr. Pullman and Mr. Wickes as to what conferences they had had with the general managers and what was said at them, and as to whether there was any agreement or arrangement between them, or if they tried to influence them, or if they followed their advice or sought their advice, or if the general managers advised, or any of them, against arbitration. Those questions I know were asked of Mr. Wickes, and I think of Mr. Pullman also.—Ans. Well, I was not here and merely just thought of it. I believe I did mention it before, but I could not be here. I would like to go upon record in this way for the benefit of the community at large. I would like to ask the question, if railroad men were engaged in the riots, etc., why did not or why do not the railroad companies manifest the same disposition that we have manifested and are manifesting all the time to apprehend these rioters or these incendiaries? For we have been instrumental in having arrested all that have been arrested thus far; we have been instrumental ourselves in having all apprehended that have been apprehended.

294 (Commissioner KERNAN). One moment there. Those who have been arrested have been arrested either by police officers or by United States marshals, have they not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

295 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it your understanding that the arrests have been made at the instigation or suggestion of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir, through the officers; the testimony was furnished by the American Railway Union to these officers, and we will make this interesting before we get through.

296 (Commissioner KERNAN). Would that fact appear if we should go to the police headquarters or to the courts where these men were charged with these offenses?—Ans. Mr. Hopkins will tell you so personally when he comes on the stand, and I understand he is to be here today or his inspector, Shea; and I would like for Mr. Hopkins or his inspector, or chief detective—I would like for him to say whether any general manager has ever been to him.

297 (Commissioner KERNAN). We have had marshals on the stand who made arrests.—Ans. I understand that.

298 (Commissioner KERNAN). And we have had railroad men here who have been arrested. Now, as to them, I don't remember of any evidence that tends to show that they were arrested at the instigation of the order.—Ans. I won't say as to these frivolous arrests, but I mean arrests where we have got evidence against them and have got them held, and they are being held. There have been lots of men arrested

on trumped-up charges who have been discharged again—hundreds of them.

299 (Commissioner KERNAN). I would regard of some importance here any evidence showing that your organization or its officers charged men with these offenses that were committed and caused their arrest.—Ans. As I told this commission a week ago, I want John P. Hopkins, the mayor of the city, put upon the stand.

300 (Commissioner KERNAN). You understand that we have invited him?—Ans. Yes, sir; that is the reason I asked that he be put upon the stand a week ago.

301 (Commissioner KERNAN). We invited him among all the others to appear here when we first came here.—Ans. Now, if it was necessary, and I asked the chairman of the commission if it was necessary that we should furnish any more witnesses to demonstrate that there is a blacklist on the part of these corporations, and I was told no, that perhaps it would not be necessary, I want to say right now, that I can furnish hundreds of witnesses from different parts of this country right here in Chicago to prove that there is a blacklist and that they use it all the time, and furthermore, that J. A. Fillmore, the general superintendent of the Southern Pacific, does not deny it today, but boasts of it, if the reports are true not only from men on his line but from his public official utterances.

302 (Commissioner KERNAN). As to a "blacklist," may there not be simply a difference between you and the railroad companies in the use of terms?—Ans. Well, a boycott and a blacklist are the same thing.

303 (Commissioner KERNAN). What I mean is, if a man applying for railroad employment is always asked to furnish his references or clearance papers from other roads and then it is the practice for the company to apply to the road which he gives as a reference as to the man's character and ability and as to the cause of his discharge, and in answer to that inquiry the information is given that, if he quit as a striker that may or may not be given, but it generally is stated. Now, there has evidence to that effect been given here. Is that what you mean when you say there is a blacklist, or is it something different?—Ans. Here is what I mean. In fact, the laws of this land say it is wrong and common sense and justice say it is wrong to try to kill a man because he has made one mistake. As I said before—

304 (Commissioner KERNAN). The question is whether what I have said amounts to what you call a blacklist—that is, one road stating to another, upon inquiry that a man was discharged for such and such a cause, as for striking or for incompetency or for whatever it might be?—Ans. That would be all right if they would be open about it; if they would give a man a letter saying, "You were discharged for such and such a thing," we would say all right to that; that is fair and honorable; but they get secret information in which the names of these men are placed in a book and are kept on file by these various railroad companies throughout this country to prevent men who have made a mistake, we will say—that is, engaging in a strike or something that they honestly engaged in to better their conditions.

305 (Commissioner KERNAN). The evidence, so far as the railroad people are concerned, upon that point is, that the names of all men discharged are kept by the railroad companies somewhere for the purpose of keeping the records complete, and that that is furnished to the different division superintendents of the road so that they may not employ men who have been discharged upon other divisions. Now, that seems to be the evidence of the railroad managers as to that

question—or some of them admit that to be true.—Ans. I admit that, for I have kept them in my own office—

306 (Commissioner KERNAN). But they do take the position that they do not voluntarily send that list of names to other railroads; that they do not exchange lists of that kind with each other, but that they only give that kind of information to each other when it is sought, after a man makes an application for work. Now, if there is anything more in the black list I want to know it.—Ans. J. A. Fillmore, general superintendent of the Southern Pacific Railroad, said in the public press only yesterday that these men shall not be employed any more on his railroad and that he will follow them throughout the United States, and through the world, that they shall not be employed on any railroad in Canada. And right here on the Illinois Central and Rock Island you will find it; you will find that they have a blacklist, and I can produce thousands of witnesses to show they have—that is, we can not produce their books, you will have to do that, but they do exchange these and blacklist people as between each other. If they don't, how do you reconcile the testimony that has been given here by certain people to their statements when they told you that they have gone from here to Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Altoona, and elsewhere and found themselves on record when they got there, when they were never known in that part of the country before?

307 (Commissioner KERNAN). I do not remember of evidence of that kind. Evidence has been given of application made to work and references given and then afterwards the parties informed that their services were not wanted, and in some cases where men had got positions and handed in their references and then were discharged. Now, that might be consistent with this system of inquiry and would rather militate against your suggestion that the names are exchanged, because if that was so no man could get a position at all, but some of these men got positions.—Ans. But none of these fellows who were blacklisted got positions, and they won't unless the railroads are forced to the wall and compelled to employ some of the old men, and they will have to reemploy some of these men. But here is the advantage that could be taken if they would do their business open and above board—for instance, here is a letter headed "Chicago and Erie Railroad Company, office of superintendent Western Division, 621 Western Union Building, Chicago." It reads as follows:

AUGUST 22, 1894.

*To whom it may concern:*

The bearer, Mr. Frank Wells, entered service of this company as switchman at Chicago, and was in continuous service, with good record, up to June 29, 1894, when he went out on strike with other switchmen, and was not again permitted to enter the service.

Yours truly,

Geo. A. COE, *Superintendent.*

It says they would not let him enter the service of that company; but that man's name is on record with all the other railroads in Chicago. We could beat this if it was not for this undercut, the man might change his name. They have not been keeping this general black list until the last twelve years. We used to beat this; the man could change his name and go off and get a job somewhere else. I have had that done many a time to help these men out, and it was a common occurrence, and has been testified to here, although I don't know that it was testified to by more than one party, but a man from Pullman told you about it. They could beat it in that way by changing their names. We deplore anything of that kind, for we don't like to see a man sail under



a false name, but when that is the only thing he can do to obtain support for himself and family we say it is justifiable.

308 (Commissioner KERNAN). These questions that you have handed me to be answered—Ans. They can be asked from Washington by letter.

309 (Commissioner KERNAN). It seems to me they have been substantially covered, or can be covered without calling anybody. This first question that you ask here, "Did your company have a contract with the Government to transport the mails?" Of course, every company that transports mails has a contract with the Government, that will be conceded. The second question is, "Was the contract dependent upon your ability to transport Pullman cars?" Of course they would say "No" to that. The third question is, "Did your contract with the Pullman company provide that you should not carry the mails unless you took Pullman cars upon the same train?" They would say "No" to that; and, besides, we are to have a copy of the Pullman contract with the roads.—Ans. All of them?

310 (Commissioner KERNAN). Not all of them, but a sample of the kind of contract that they made is to be furnished to us. They said they were all substantially the same. The next question is, "Did the strikers at any time interfere to prevent your carrying the mails if Pullman cars were not attached to the train?" I have understood that the strikers at no time took the position that they would not operate the trains if they would take all the Pullman cars off, and I assume that to be so.—Ans. That is right.

311 (Commissioner KERNAN). There is nothing to the contrary, I think, here. Your next question is, "Could you not at all times have transported the mails without interruption, if you had not insisted upon attaching Pullman cars to the same train?" That follows from the preceding question and from the fact that the strike was against Pullman cars attached to trains. I assume, of course, that they could have transported the mails if they had removed all of the Pullman cars. I think the evidence that we have got covers those questions.—Ans. I knew on the Great Northern Railroad Charles Nielson, who is now Second Assistant Postmaster-General, when he was assistant superintendent. I had known him quite a while when he was on the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton road, and we talked personally about the matter, and I got evidence to show that they were running empty mail cars out on the road filled with United States deputy marshals, with no mails in at all, the United States marshals guarding empty mail cars. I went and told Mr. Nielson, "I have testimony to show that your United States marshals have been used by the Great Northern company to protect mail cars with no mail in them." He said, "I know that is a fact, for I ordered the man down to take all of the Government property out of the cars."

312 (Commissioner KERNAN). Your last question is, "Was your contract with the Government to transport the mails any less binding upon you than your contract with the Pullman company, or was one contract in any sense made dependent upon the other?" I do not think we should assume that the Government contract as to the mails was any less binding than any other contract that the road had.—Ans. The Government contract would certainly take precedence over anything.

313 (Commissioner KERNAN). I don't think we need to ask that question.—Ans. We know what they have to answer before you ask the questions; if the ground has been covered, it is superfluous to ask them.

314 (Commissioner KERNAN). We would assume that a contract to carry the mails is as binding as any contract a man can make.—Ans. The most binding. But we can't straighten these matters out without agitation.

August 30, 1894, George W. Howard, recalled, on behalf of employees, testified as follows:

315 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are these telegrams described in this information in the United States circuit court against Mr. Debs, yourself, et al., substantially correct?—Ans. I know nothing about a telegram, not one; I didn't send any and know nothing about them.

316 (Commissioner KERNAN). You are one of the parties defendant in that case?—Ans. Yes, sir.

317 (Commissioner KERNAN). I didn't know but what the information was served upon you and you had ascertained whether they were substantially correct.—Ans. I would not deny they are not correct, because there is nothing in them we care about. I think I read them over once, but the truth about the matter is that I have not paid enough attention to that suit to know.

318 (Commissioner KERNAN). I understand they were not denied by you in your answer. Some one has said to me that these telegrams were paid for by the American Railway Union, although it was further said that many of them were not sent by Mr. Debs himself, but were sent from headquarters by parties about there. Do you know how that is?—Ans. Yes, sir.

319 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is that substantially so?—Ans. Yes, sir.

320 (Commissioner KERNAN). You don't think we would be doing an injustice to the American Railway Union if we were to assume these telegrams in this bill were sent either by Mr. Debs, so far as he has testified here about it, or were sent from the headquarters of the American Railway Union during that time, do you?—Ans. I would like to look over them.

321 (Commissioner KERNAN). We can send to the telegraph office and get them, but that would take time and we would like to have them.—Ans. Mr. Debs' name is signed to all of them and I hate to testify to anything his name is signed to when I know nothing about it. I did not see one of those messages before they were sent. I didn't see any messages before they were sent before the strike at all.

322 (Commissioner KERNAN). We would not assume anything more than is stated in the answer of Mr. Debs, or one of the directors, perhaps it is Mr. Keliher's answer, to the effect that while Mr. Debs did not personally send them or know of them, that they were sent from the headquarters of the American Railway Union by parties there and were paid for by the union. If we could assume that to be true without doing injustice to the American Railway Union it would save us sending to the telegraph company.—Ans. I think we denied in toto all the charges made against us in that bill and made affidavit to that effect, and so far as I am concerned I know nothing about those telegrams. I read them over just once. I think the Government in its complaint against us claims to have gotten those telegrams or some telegrams from the Western Union company, and I said the other day on the stand and I say now that we have no objection to the Western Union company delivering any and all telegrams that were sent to us; we would just as soon they would do it openly as under cover, but as to those telegrams in that bill I would not want to say anything about

them because they have a direct bearing upon our case in court which is to be tried shortly. If I recollect right we deny in toto all the charges in that bill.

323 (Commissioner KERNAN). I assumed it was conceded in the answer of some of the defendants that these telegrams were sent from the headquarters of the American Railway Union and paid for by the union?—Ans. No, sir; that was never testified to by anybody that knew anything about it, certainly not by any of the defendants in the case.

324 (Commissioner KERNAN). I know you said in your former testimony you were willing the Western Union should produce anything that was sent?—Ans. Yes, sir; we have found telegrams and Mr. Debs has just unearthed a great many more that were sent by parties that we did not know anything about. We have some special detectives now at work trying to find out who sent some of the telegrams that were sent.

325 (Commissioner KERNAN). I suppose the custom in and about your headquarters during the strike was such that a number of persons there could have sent telegrams in this way?—Ans. I don't think there was any number of persons. The persons were very few that had authority to send telegrams, perhaps not to exceed one or two around headquarters.

326 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there anybody here who can say as to whether these telegrams were sent from headquarters or not?—Ans. No, sir; but I will do this: I will go and see our attorney, Mr. Irwin, who has jurisdiction of all papers except what was turned over to the commission, and tell him to let us know what he don't want to use in our case and you are welcome to all of the balance of them and to all the rest after our case is decided. Our case comes up September 5. We will give you a copy of anything and everything.

327 (Commissioner KERNAN). I don't know but what we could save time by taking this list in this bill.—Ans. You realize my position; I know nothing about them and we deny the whole thing I believe; I know so far as I am concerned I do; I know I didn't send them and I know Mr. Debs did not.

328 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, you see your attorney about it and if he thinks proper to make that admission, so we may be saved the trouble of going to the telegraph office about it, do so.—Ans. We have some telegrams that our attorneys have got, and as soon as we get through with them we will have no hesitancy in giving you the whole business.

## EXHIBIT 1.—CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION.

### PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES.

It is a self-evident truth that "in union there is strength," and, conversely, without union weakness prevails; therefore the central benefit to be derived from organization is strength—power to accomplish that which defies individual effort.

The American Railway Union includes all railway employees, *born of white parents*, organized within one great brotherhood. There is one supreme law for the order, one roof to shelter all, and all united when unity of action is required. The reforms sought to be inaugurated and the benefits to be derived therefrom, briefly stated, are as follows:

First. The protection of members in all matters relating to wages and their rights as employees is the principal purpose of the organization. Railway employees are entitled to a voice in fixing wages and in determining conditions of employment. Fair wages and proper treatment must be the return for efficient service faithfully performed. Such a policy insures harmonious relations and satisfactory results. The order, while pledged to conservative methods, will protect the humblest of its members in every right he can justly claim; but while the rights of members will be sacredly guarded, no intemperate demand or unreasonable propositions will be entertained. Corporations will not be permitted to treat the organization better

than the organization will treat them. A high sense of honor must be the animating spirit, and even-handed justice the end sought to be obtained. Thoroughly organized in every department, with a due regard for the right wherever found, it is confidently believed that all differences may be satisfactorily adjusted, that harmonious relations may be established and maintained; that the service may be incalculably improved, and that the necessity for strike and lockout, boycott and blacklist, alike disastrous to employer and employee, and a perpetual menace to the welfare of the public, will forever disappear.

Second. In every department of labor the question of economy is forced to the front by the logic of necessity; the importance of organization is conceded, but if it costs more than a workman is able to pay, the benefits to accrue, however great, are barred; therefore, to bring the expenses of the organization within the reach of all is the one thing required, a primary question which must be settled before those who stand most in need can participate in the benefits to be derived; hence to reduce the cost to the lowest practical point is a demand strictly in accord with the fundamental principles of economy, and any movement which makes it possible for all to participate in the benefit ought to meet with popular favor.

Third. The organization will have a number of departments, each of which will be designed to promote the welfare of the membership in a practical way and by practical methods. The best thought of workmen has long sought to solve a problem of making labor organizations protective, not only against sickness, disability, and death, but against the ills consequent upon idleness and those that follow in its train; hence there will be established an employment department, in which it is proposed to register the name of every member out of employment. The department will also be fully informed where work may be obtained. It is doubtful if a more important feature could be suggested. It evidences fraternal regard without a fee, benevolence without alloy.

Fourth. In the establishment of the department of education, a number of important features are contemplated, as, for instance, lectures upon subjects relating to economics, such as wages, expenses, the relations of employer and employee, strikes, their moral and financial aspect, etc. In this connection a daily paper will be established whose mission it will be to advocate measures and policies in which labor has vital interest, and also the publication of a standard monthly magazine, which will occupy a still broader field in the discussion of questions which engage the attention of the best writers and thinkers of the times.

Fifth. There will be a department designed to promote legislation in the interest of labor, that is to say, the enactment of laws by legislature and by Congress having in view well-defined obligations of employers and employees, such as safety appliances for trains; apprentices in all departments not to be encouraged, and the influence of the unions used to suppress them; work for the inauguration of the eight-hour day and the regulation and payment of wages, the rights of employees to be heard in courts when they have claims to be adjudicated. The enactment of employer's liability law and the restriction of Sunday work.

Sixth. In the department of insurance sound business principles will be introduced, something that has not hitherto engaged the serious attention its importance merits. At present insurance entails grievous burdens without corresponding benefits. To lessen the cost, while maintaining every security and every benefit, will be the problem the department will solve. It is the purpose to have a life as well as a disability department, both to be optional with the membership. With this declaration of its purposes and with boundless faith in its conquering mission, the American Railway Union consecrates itself to the great cause of industrial emancipation. It comes with a message of greeting and good cheer to all organizations and all men who stand pledged to the sacred work of lightening the burden and lifting up the bowed form of labor. It hails with a glow of satisfaction the signs of the times, indicating with an unerring certainty the coming of a new and better era, when heart, brain, and conscience in holy alliance shall be the controlling power in human affairs. In this spirit it enters upon its chosen field, and will labor with all the zeal, devotion, and ability at its command to attain the cherished object of its high ambition.

#### CONSTITUTION OF GENERAL UNION.

SECTION 1. This organization shall be known as the American Railway Union, and its headquarters shall be located at Chicago, Ill.

SEC. 2. The American Railway Union shall be composed of a general union consisting of a board of directors of nine members, and the duly accredited representatives; also of the local unions instituted under the jurisdiction of the order.

SEC. 3. The board of directors shall be elected quadrennially, and shall have general supervision of the organization; they shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in the months of June, September, December, and March, and such special meetings as may be required for the transaction of business. The board shall, at

each of its meetings, make special inquiries through its various standing committees and other available sources into the matter of protection, as vouchsafed by the constitution to all members of the order; and if it be found that any member has not been fully protected in all rights as an employee such action shall be taken as shall strengthen the order where weakness prevails and give it efficiency to fully protect the rights of every member.

SEC. 4. The officers of the board shall consist of a president, vice-president, and secretary, who shall be elected annually on the second Tuesday in June and shall serve until their successors are elected and qualified.

SEC. 5. The representatives of the general union shall elect the board of directors by a written ballot conducted upon the Australian system; each director must receive a majority of the votes cast to be elected.

SEC. 6. A majority of the board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SEC. 7. The board is empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders, and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the order, provided that no action shall be taken that conflicts with this constitution.

SEC. 8. Any officer or director may be removed from office by two-thirds vote of all the members of the board, provided he shall be entitled to a trial, and that the charges against him shall be reduced to writing, and that he shall be given an opportunity to make his defense.

SEC. 9. The board is authorized to fill all vacancies that may occur by removal, resignation, or death.

SEC. 10. The board shall have general supervision of the Railway Times and other publications of the organization.

SEC. 11. The committees of the board shall consist of three members each, who shall be appointed annually by the president and vice-president, as follows: Literature and education, legislation and cooperation, mediation and insurance, employment, finance and such others as may be deemed necessary.

SEC. 12. Special meetings may be called by the president or by the request of any three members of the board of directors.

SEC. 13. It shall be the duty of the president to preside over the meetings of the board and the quadrennial meetings of the general union. He shall at each annual meeting of the board, and at each quadrennial meeting of the general union, submit a report of the transactions of his office, and make such recommendations as he may deem necessary for the welfare of the order. He shall enforce the laws of the order, sign all charters, circulars, reports, and other documents requiring authentication. He shall decide all questions of appeal, which decision shall be final unless otherwise ordered by the board. He may, with a concurrence of the board, deputize any member to perform required service, issue dispensations not inconsistent with the constitution or regulations of the order, and perform such other duties as his office may impose, and he shall receive a salary as may be determined by the representatives of the general union.

SEC. 14. It shall be the duty of the vice-president to assist the president in the performance of his duties, to preside in the absence of the president, and in case of vacancy he shall succeed to the office of president and perform its duties until a successor is elected and qualified.

SEC. 15. It shall be the duty of the secretary to keep a correct record of the proceedings of the board of directors and of the general union. He shall submit to each local union a printed copy of the proceedings of all meetings of the general union and of all meetings of the board of directors, have charge of the correspondence of the order, file and keep all communications and papers received by him, sign all charters, circulars, and other documents emanating from the general union. He shall keep an itemized account between the general union and all the local unions, receipt for all moneys due from all sources, take charge of all the funds and properties of the order, make daily deposit of the funds in such bank or banks as may be directed by the board of directors, and perform all other duties appertaining to his office. He shall file a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount and with such securities as the board may require. At the close of each quarter he shall transmit to the board and to each local union a complete itemized report, approved by the committee on finance, of all the business transacted by his office. He shall be authorized to appoint, with the concurrence of the board, such assistants as shall be required for the performance of his duties, and for his services he shall receive a salary as may be determined by the representatives of the general union.

SEC. 16. It shall be the duty of the directors, while the board is not in session, to organize and visit local unions in such districts as may be assigned them by the president, to attend and address meetings held in the interest of the order; to investigate differences arising between members and their employers and give such advice or assistance as may be required. They shall perform such other duties as the board may direct, and at the close of each fiscal year they shall submit a report of the busi-

ness transacted by them; they shall receive a salary as may be determined by the representatives of the general union.

SEC. 17. A system of death and disability insurance shall be established, graduated according to age upon a plan to be formulated by the board of directors, who shall issue to local unions rules governing the same in pamphlet form, such insurance to be optional with the members.

SEC. 18. The revenue of the general union shall be derived from a capita tax; the capita tax not to exceed \$1 per annum from each member, payable in advance on or before the 20th day of May of each year.

Members joining the union between August and November shall pay 75 cents, between November and February 50 cents, and between February and the 1st of May 25 cents per capita tax. The board of directors shall be authorized to fix a capita tax from time to time at the lowest amount required to defray the expenses of the order.

SEC. 19. No money shall be expended except by order of the board of directors and upon a voucher signed by the president and secretary.

SEC. 20. Each State, Territory, and province of North America shall comprise a representative district, and for each one thousand members (or less) in good standing at the time of the district convention shall be entitled to one representative to the general union.

NOTE.—District of Columbia shall be a part of the State of Maryland.

SEC. 21. Delegates to the district conventions shall assemble at the capital on the second Monday in May of each year. They shall be empowered to adopt such measures as will bring about the advancement of organized labor, and also to elect delegates to the quadrennial conventions, as provided in section 20.

SEC. 22. The general union shall defray the expenses of the representatives while in attendance at the general union, and the rate of pay shall not exceed \$5 per day and mileage.

SEC. 23. The district convention shall be supported by the local unions, and all matters pertaining to railway employees discussed therein.

SEC. 24. The general union shall meet quadrennially. Special meetings may be called by the board of directors, or by a majority vote of the local unions. All meetings shall be held in the city where the headquarters of the order are located.

SEC. 25. The fiscal year of the order shall begin on the 1st day of May and end on the 30th day of April.

SEC. 26. The seal of the general union shall be circular in form, and shall bear the inscription: "American Railway Union, Chicago, Illinois, instituted June 20th, 1893;" in the center there shall appear a flaming torch, held by a hand, symbolizing the reign of light inaugurated by the order. All official correspondence shall bear the seal of the body, or branch of union from which it is sent.

SEC. 27. This constitution may be amended from time to time by the board of directors, provided that all amendments shall be transmitted to each local union and receive the sanction of the majority of those voting. Amendments may also be proposed by twenty-five local unions, and then become obligatory upon the board of directors to transmit the amendments to all local unions for ratification. Amendments may also be proposed by the board of directors and by local unions at each quadrennial meeting of the general union, provided a copy thereof shall be filed with the secretary of the general union, and such amendments shall require a majority vote for their adoption.

*Order of business, general union.*—(1) roll call; (2) examination of credentials; (3) election of committees; (4) introduction of resolutions and motions; (5) report of the board and officers; (6) report of committees; (7) election of directors; (8) welfare of the union; (9) miscellaneous; (10) adjournment.

#### CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL UNIONS.

SEC. 28. A local union shall consist of not less than 10 members; not less than 7 members shall constitute a quorum.

SEC. 29. In instituting a local union all railway employees of white parents shall be eligible, provided that 25 or more members, with the consent of the majority of the members in the local unions already established, may petition the board of directors for a charter to institute a local union; and if said charter be granted, said members shall be given transfer cards and file the same with the secretary of the new union.

SEC. 30. The seal shall bear the number and location of the union and in other regards shall be similar to the seal of the general union.

SEC. 31. Any white person of good character employed in the railway service is eligible to membership, except trainmasters, roadmasters, supervisors of bridges and buildings, general or commercial agents, superintendents of telegraph, master mechanics, division superintendents, superintendents of transportation and all other

officers of similar or higher rank. A person having served as a railway employee and not engaged in such service at the time of making the application may be admitted by a two-thirds vote of a local union.

SEC. 32. A person desiring membership shall make application in the prescribed form (to the nearest local union representing the line or system upon which they are employed), and shall be recommended by three members of such union; said application to be read by the secretary at the following meeting, and if accepted by a majority vote, the applicant at once becomes a member of the union and his name is enrolled as such on the roster of membership. An applicant receiving less than a majority vote shall be rejected and the application fee returned.

SEC. 33. When a member changes from one union to another the secretary shall, on application, issue a transfer card, which shall be accepted by the secretary of the union proposed to be joined, and the name of the bearer enrolled as a member of said union.

SEC. 34. Any member in good standing may terminate his membership by applying to the secretary for a card of withdrawal, which card shall be given upon the receipt of his membership card, which shall be returned to the general secretary, and his name stricken from the roll.

SEC. 35. Employment cards shall be furnished by the secretary of the general union to the secretary of the local union, and by them issued to members in search of employment; such cards shall show line and capacity where last employed; there shall be blanks on the cards to be filled by the secretary of the local union at the point visited by the holder for employment, who shall sign his name, stating whether there was employment to be had at that place, or not. Members of the American Railway Union will honor these cards to the best of their ability.

SEC. 36. Membership cards shall be issued by the secretary of the local union to all members in good standing. These cards to be good until the expiration of the fiscal year.

SEC. 37. The admission shall be \$1 and the capita tax, due the general union at the time of the admission, said fee must accompany the application.

SEC. 38. At the close of each meeting, the secretary shall transmit to the secretary of the general union the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their occupation and the name of the line upon which they are employed, together with a remittance of an amount equal to the capita tax for each member, as provided in the sections 18 and 37.

SEC. 39. The dues of a member shall be such an amount and payable at such times as may be determined by the local union.

SEC. 40. The capita tax for the maintenance of the general union shall be \$1 per year, payable by each member on or before May 1, and a full register of names, with due credit given those having made payments, shall be forwarded by the secretary of each union, together with a remittance to correspond, to the secretary of the general union, so as to reach him not later than May 20.

SEC. 41. Any member failing to make payment of dues or fees herein authorized shall be deprived of all benefits of the order. Upon payment of such arrearages such member shall be reinstated in good standing.

SEC. 42. Any local union failing to pay its capita tax shall be deprived of the benefits of the order, and if not paid within three months its charter shall be revoked by the board of directors.

SEC. 43. The officers of a union shall consist of a president, vice-president, secretary, lecturer, district representative, and such assistant officers as the union may determine. The boards shall consist of a board of mediation, a board of finance of three members each, and such other boards as the union may authorize, and they shall be elected in the month of April to serve for a term of one year. All committees shall be elected by written ballot unless otherwise ordered.

SEC. 44. A local union shall meet at least twice a month, and may hold special meetings, as the interest of its members may require and as the union may determine.

SEC. 45. It shall be the duty of the president to preside over the meetings of the union and to discharge its executive functions. He shall sign all cards and other documents requiring to be authenticated, and at the close of his term he shall surrender his office to his successor.

SEC. 46. It shall be the duty of the vice-president to assist the president in the performance of his duties, and in case of vacancy in the office of president he shall succeed to that position and discharge its duties until a successor is elected and qualified.

SEC. 47. It shall be the duty of the secretary to keep a record of the proceedings of the union, conduct its correspondence, keep a financial account between the union and its members and between the union and the general union, issue receipt and make due return for all moneys received, and transact all other duties the office may impose. The secretary shall execute such bond as the union may direct.

SEC. 48. It shall be the duty of the board of mediation to promptly examine into all complaints of members; they shall be authorized to deputize members to assist in the performance of their duties, and only such members shall be selected as directly represent the class or department in which the complaint originated.

SEC. 49. It shall be the duty of the representative to attend the meetings of the district convention and file with the secretary a report in writing of the proceedings thereof. For his services he shall receive such compensation as the union may determine.

SEC. 50. It shall be the duty of the board of finance to make examination of the books, accounts, and all other financial affairs of the union, and to make such recommendations as may be deemed necessary to promote the financial welfare of the union.

SEC. 51. The fiscal year shall begin on the 1st day of May and end on the 30th day of April, and at the close of each year the officers shall submit a full report of the transactions of their several offices.

SEC. 52. Any member violating any of the laws or principles of this order may be suspended or expelled, provided he has been found guilty of charges preferred against him in writing by a member in good standing, and provided further that the penalty shall be affixed by a committee of not less than three members, appointed by the president to try the case and approved by a majority vote of the union.

SEC. 53. Any member dissatisfied with the verdict may, within thirty days thereafter, appeal to the board of directors, and the secretary shall forward such appeal, with a transcript of all the proceedings in the case, to the secretary of the board.

SEC. 54. The board of mediation of each local union shall elect a chairman. The chairman of the local board of mediation shall be a member of the general board of mediation of the system or line on which they are employed. The general board of mediation shall elect a chairman and secretary. The general board of mediation shall meet on the second Tuesday of September of each year at the headquarters of the road on which they are employed, for the transaction of such business that may emanate from the local board of mediation. All complaints and adjustments of a general character shall be handled by the general board of mediation. All complaints and adjustments must be taken up first by the local union; if accepted, by a majority vote, it shall be referred to the local board of mediation for adjustment; and if failing, the case shall be submitted to the chairman of the general board of mediation, failing in which, they shall notify the president of the general union, who shall authorize the most available member of the board of directors to visit and meet with the general chairman of the board of mediation and issue such instructions as will be promulgated by the directors.

SEC. 55. General boards of mediation shall insert in all contracts made with railway corporations the proviso, that as long as there are experienced men in the market that no new or inexperienced men shall be employed.

SEC. 56. A general board of mediation shall be authorized to levy such assessments upon members employed upon the system over which they have jurisdiction as may be required to meet the legitimate expenses of the board; also to adopt such laws, rules, and regulations, not inconsistent with the constitution, as may be necessary to properly discharge their duties.

SEC. 57. Any member engaged, directly or indirectly, in the sale of intoxicating liquor shall at once sever his connection with the order; failing to apply for a card of withdrawal, the secretary shall strike his name from the roll.

SEC. 58. A local union may adopt suitable by-laws for its guidance, provided they do not conflict with the constitution.

SEC. 59. *Proceedings of local unions.*—(1) Opening; (2) reading of minutes; (3) applications for membership; (4) election of applicants; (5) communications; (6) reports of officers and committees; (7) complaints and adjustments; (8) miscellaneous; (9) new business; (10) closing.

The general union and local unions shall be governed by the rules adopted at the general convention.

A member to obtain the floor must get the recognition of the chair.

No member shall speak more than five minutes at a time, and not more than twice on the same subject, except by majority vote.

No member shall leave the room without leave of president or vice-president.

All standing or special committees shall be elected, unless otherwise ordered.

Any member may appeal from the decision of the chair.



EXHIBIT 2.—LETTER OF THE OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION TO THE GENERAL MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION, ETC.

CHICAGO, ILL., July 13, 1894.

*To the Railway Managers.*

GENTLEMEN: The existing troubles growing out of the Pullman strike having assumed continental proportions, and there being no indication of relief from the widespread business demoralization and distress incident thereto, the railway employees, through the board of directors of the American Railway Union, respectfully make the following proposition as a basis of settlement:

They agree to return to work in a body at once, provided they shall be restored to their former positions without prejudice except in cases, if any there be, where they have been convicted of crime.

This proposition, looking to an immediate settlement of the existing strike on all lines of railway, is inspired by a purpose to subserve the public good. The strike, small and comparatively unimportant in its inception, has extended in every direction until now it involves or threatens not only every public interest, but the peace, security, and prosperity of our common country. The contest has waged fiercely. It has extended far beyond the limits of interest originally involved, and has laid hold of a vast number of industries and enterprises in no wise responsible for the differences and disagreements that led to the trouble. Factory, mill, mine, and shop have been silenced. Widespread demoralization has away. The interests of multiplied thousands of innocent people are suffering. The common welfare is seriously menaced. The public peace and tranquility are in peril. Grave apprehension for the future prevails.

This being true, and the statement will not be controverted, we conceive it to be our duty as citizens and as men to make extraordinary efforts to end the existing strife and avert approaching calamities whose shadows are even now upon us.

If ended now, the contest, however serious in some of its consequences, will not have been in vain. Sacrifices have been made, but they will have their compensations. Indeed, if lessons shall be taught by experience, the troubles now so widely deplored will prove a blessing of inestimable value in the months and years to come.

The differences that led up to the present complications need not now be discussed. At this supreme juncture every consideration of duty and patriotism demands that a remedy for existing troubles be found and applied. The employees propose to do their part by meeting their employers half way. Let it be stated that they do not impose any condition of settlement except that they be returned to their former positions. They do not ask the recognition of their organization or of any organization.

Believing this proposition to be fair, reasonable, and just, it is respectfully submitted with the belief that its acceptance will result in the prompt resumption of traffic, the revival of industry, and the restoration of peace and order.

Respectfully,

EUGENE V. DEBS, *President,*  
G. W. HOWARD, *Vice-President,*  
SYLVESTER KELHER, *Secretary,*  
*American Railway Union.*

[Personal.]

CHICAGO, July 13, 1894.

DEAR SIR: A number of managers, who learned from the afternoon papers that a communication signed by Eugene V. Debs et al. had been presented to the chairman of the association by your honor, expressed themselves in the most positive terms that no communication whatever would be received from the parties whose names are attached thereto, and the chairman therefore requests me to return the said communication.

Yours truly,

JNO. M. EGAN.

Hon. JOHN P. HOPKINS, *Mayor.*

## TESTIMONY OF JAMES R. SOVEREIGN.

August 15, 1894, James R. Sovereign, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. James R. Sovereign; 40; Des Moines, Iowa; general master workman of the Knights of Labor.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State of what labor organization you are a member.—Ans. The Knights of Labor and the American Railway Union.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you hold any official position in either organization?—Ans. I am grand master workman in the Knights of Labor and simply a member of the American Railway Union.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State in narrative form, as briefly as you can, what you know of the recent difficulties which existed between the Illinois Central and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway companies and their employees, the cause of such difficulties, and the conditions surrounding them.—Ans. Concerning the differences between the Illinois Central Railroad Company and its employees I know nothing; as regards the Rock Island company and its employees I know comparatively little; I took part in a meeting of the American Railway Union in my own city at the time they decided to strike; the American Railway Union in the city of Des Moines is composed of employees of the various roads passing through that city, and among the members attending that meeting were of course a large number of Rock Island employees; the questions discussed and acted upon at that meeting related to striking on the Chicago and Great Western and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific; there was quite an elaborate discussion of personal grievances, or rather a general grievance between the employees of the Rock Island company and the company, which related largely to the radical change in the rules of the company concerning promotion and priority; the conductors said that the company was in the habit of going into what they called a cornfield for the purpose of getting extra men, in order to obtain if possible a superabundance of men to operate their railroads, and then take advantage by having a large number of employees to reduce wages at any time, and if a strike occurred had ample resources from which to draw by creating a surplus. It was charged that by reason of concerted action, or general understanding between the various railroads, if a conductor was discharged by one road he could not go to another road and get employment as a conductor; that he would have to begin at the bottom and work himself up again to the position of a conductor, and for that reason the men were compelled to submit to almost any oppressive measure that might be inflicted upon them rather than resign, knowing if they quit they would have to go down to the bottom of the ladder again and work themselves up to the position they lost, and they said they had knowledge that the managers laid awake nights scheming whereby they might concoct some method that would create a surplus of men competent to operate railways and make it impossible for a man to quit, knowing if he did he would be making a great individual sacrifice; that a locomotive engineer could not quit one road and hire out as an engineer on another; that he would have to begin firing; they decided to strike.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When was that?—Ans. Sometime about between the 1st and 15th of June, 1894; it might have been after the 15th; I could not give the exact date.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was the strike declared then?—Ans. Yes, sir; a circular was read from the officers of the American Railway Union, signed by Mr. Debs; the circular did not ask the men to strike, or suggest that they should, but it suggested that they should discuss the question of the Pullman difficulty and the general situation, and decide for themselves what position they would take in the matter; that if they decided to strike the Union would stand by them, and if they did not wish to strike it would be just the same; they would still be considered members of the union in good standing.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Can you furnish us a copy of that circular?—Ans. It is on file in the office of the union at Des Moines and can be obtained; yes, sir. (Copy of circular not furnished.)

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did the employees strike at that time for the cause you have suggested?—Ans. Yes, sir; the vote was unanimous; I did not vote myself, not being in active railroad service; allow me to say that they voted by a division; the employees of the Chicago and Great Western, when it came to the questions affecting them, only the employees of the Chicago and Great Western voted, no others being permitted to vote, and when it came to the Rock Island employees they voted individually among themselves, but in each case the votes were unanimous.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is that method of voting usual in the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir; it is in the union to which I belong.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you a delegate to the convention of the American Railway Union held in this city on the 12th of June, 1894?—Ans. No.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then you only know of the action of the convention at that time relative to the decision not to handle Pullman cars from general information?—Ans. That is all.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did the Knights of Labor take any action relative to the action of the American Railway Union at that time?—Ans. Not at that time, but subsequently they did.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What action was that?—Ans. The action of the Knights of Labor was that members should not patronize the Pullman cars, and should use what persuasive powers they possessed to prevent others from patronizing them.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was that action made public by your order at that time?—Ans. Only through the columns of our official journal, and I think the newspapers copied all matter sent to our journal.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you furnish this commission with a certified copy of that order?—Ans. I do not think I have a copy with me, but can get one from our general secretary and treasurer, at Philadelphia, and will furnish you a copy. (Copy not furnished.)

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was that the only action the Knights of Labor took relative to the strike or boycott declared by the American Railway Union against Pullman cars?—Ans. No, sir, it was not; there was contemplated a general tie-up of the industries of the country for the purpose of bringing the greatest possible public influence to bear upon an amicable settlement of the difficulties; at that time it was contemplated that a general strike would be ordered; at one time I wrote a request—I can not order a strike; I can not order anyone to strike, nor can anyone in the order; the general executive board, even, can not order anyone to strike, the same as it is in the American Railway Union; the members must strike, themselves; in fact, our efforts have been to keep people from striking rather than order them

to strike; but other labor organizations did not cooperate with us, and it was thought that unless the strike was almost universal it would not do any good.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How did the Knights of Labor come to participate in the action of the American Railway Union, by invitation or voluntary offer?—Ans. The Knights of Labor came to the American Railway Union convention assembled in this city on the 14th of June, 1894, and asked an affiliation; the union granted an argument on the question and later an executive session, and at the conclusion of the executive session a committee was appointed to draft a series of resolutions setting forth the terms on which an affiliation might be accepted by both parties; the resolution when drafted was adopted unanimously by the American Railway Union convention and accepted by the general executive board of the Knights of Labor; that brought the two bodies to affiliate in action.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the nature of that resolution?—Ans. The nature of it was to bring us so close together that we would all be for one and one of us for all, and to whip one would whip both; it was simply to form us into that close alliance in which we might class ourselves as two divisions of one great army.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are the provisions of the constitutions of your two orders similar?—Ans. No, sir; the Knights of Labor is a secret organization, having an established preamble, and the American Railway Union is open.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I had reference more particularly to the bringing of all classes of labor into one organization.—Ans. Yes, sir; the affiliation of the American Railway Union with the Knights of Labor was brought about because the union was organized on the broad basis of brotherhood, and gives the same recognition to the man on the section it does to the man in the cab, which is radically different from the old-line brotherhood.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was there any arrangement prior to the 12th of June between the American Railway Union and the Knights of Labor relative to the action which occurred here in Chicago?—Ans. No, sir.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you file with the commission a copy of the constitution of the Knights of Labor?—Ans. I have not one with me, but will see that one is forwarded to the commission (a).

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What action did the Knights of Labor take, if any, after the difficulty occurred here in Chicago on the two roads named, relative to preventing violence or destruction of property?—Ans. We had a meeting with a general committee of the American Railway Union and decided to put our men on their honor and put all our men on guard to watch every other man and see that no violence was committed by our members.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was that action taken by a resolution in writing?—Ans. I think not; I think it was simply proposed in joint session and the conference committees were notified to see to it, and the speeches made in the hall by the members after the conclusion of the meeting of the executive board were on the line of expressing to them the wish of the board that they all refrain from any overt act.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is there any permanent record of that action?—Ans. I don't know, I am sure; it was not a Knight of Labor

<sup>a</sup> Copy of constitution subsequently handed to the commission. See Exhibit 3, at end of James R. Sovereign's testimony.

board meeting; it was simply a meeting of the board of the American Railway Union, and whether their secretary kept the minutes of it or not I don't know.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does the order of Knights of Labor undertake to discipline any of its members who participate in riots or destruction of property at the time of strikes?—Ans. Only to the extent of expelling them without formality and turning them over to the civil authorities.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has it ever taken that action under such circumstances?—Ans. Yes; I think it has wherever it has found any members who have committed any overt acts, infraction of the law, or disturbance of the peace.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Had it occasion to take such action in the city of Chicago during the recent disturbances?—Ans. No, sir; in fact, I do not think there were any riots in Chicago, outside of newspaper gossip.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would not car burning and such things be considered a species of rioting?—Ans. No; not when they were burned by United States deputy marshals.

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You think that was the case here, do you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any proof of that?—Ans. Yes, sir; proof is on file in the office of Mayor Hopkins at the present time. I read it in Mayor Hopkins' office as a report of the secret police he put among the deputies himself, and the mayor told me that he saw cars tipped over, and they were not tipped over by strikers, but by colored people who lived in the vicinity of the track, and that they did it out of mischief without criminal intent.

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That information has been filed with the proper authorities?—Ans. Yes, sir; I read the information filed with the mayor by the captain of the police regarding the deputy marshals.

33 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You know nothing of your own knowledge with reference to that?—Ans. No, I did not see it with my own eyes.

34 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the practice of your order relative to interference with non-union men who undertake to fill the places of union men that have been discharged or who have vacated their places by striking?—Ans. It depends on circumstances. There are some instances where we feel justified in preventing others from taking the places of our men—that is, by all honorable methods, if possible. Those are places where the homes of the strikers are in jeopardy. For instance, we have conclusive evidence that certain coal operators own certain houses and lots in near proximity to a coal mine and these houses and lots they had sold to their employees, and when they were nearly paid for the operators aggravated their employees and exasperated them by cutting wages until they got them into a strike, and then attempted to fill their places, with the object of foreclosing on their homes and getting the property back in order to sell it to other employees who came in later, and thus constantly speculating on the necessities of their employees. In such a case we resist, with all honorable methods at our command, the taking of our places by non-union or other men.

35 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does your order consider it justifiable to prevent non-union men from working under such circumstances by actual intimidation or personal violence?—Ans. No, we do not counte-

nance violence of any kind; we confine ourselves to argument, or we might form a line at a certain place and tell a man he should not go through that line.

36 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Suppose he tried to go through?—Ans. We would clasp hands and not let him go through, but we would not hurt him.

37 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would you call that violence?—Ans. No, sir; he would simply be assaulting our arms in trying to break the chain; we do not assault anyone.

38 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You would not call that intimidation?—Ans. No, sir; I don't think it is.

39 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have no doubt given a good deal of attention to these matters and one of the duties imposed upon this commission is to ascertain if there is any way of avoiding labor difficulties. Will you give the commission the benefit of your ideas on that subject?—Ans. I do not think strikes will ever do it; I am opposed to strikes myself, but think there are circumstances which might justify a strike. I am of the opinion, while I do not think there is any such thing as compulsory arbitration, I think as soon as it becomes compulsory it forms itself into adjudication, and I think that all arbitration should be voluntary, but I think voluntary arbitration too tardy to meet the demands of justice, and I also think that the working man, especially a man in the employ of a corporation, has equity in his position; in fact, if he is employed by anyone I think he has an equity in that position, and that the employer has an equity in the property or plant and the products of the plant, and that an employee discharged by an employer should have a right to lodge a complaint in any court in the United States having original jurisdiction in cases in equity, and that he should have a right to litigate and the court a right to establish any damage that might be incurred by reason of his discharge or unjust discrimination against the man.

A working man has but one thing to sell, and on that one thing depends his life, the peace, the prosperity, and the happiness of his family, and that one thing is his labor. And if an employer hires or buys that labor of him and he locates with his family, gets his children into school and then without any just cause the employer discharges him and compels him to remove his family the employee is certainly inconvenienced; he is certainly damaged, and unless the employer can show just cause for his discharge, either because of the scarcity of work, or because of his incompetency, or some other just reason, I think in a court of equity he should have a just claim for damages against the employer. This would settle very much of the discrimination that has been perpetrated by employers against employees.

40 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would you suggest that where a man discharges an employee without notice?—Ans. Yes, sir; it is the law in many States that a tenant can not be compelled to leave without thirty days' notice; even where there is no stipulation in regard to the rent, and he pays a certain rent, and he moves out without giving notice to the landlord he is liable for the rent, and the law in the place where I live fixes the damage at one month's rent.

41 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is, the tenant has taken it for a month and the implied contract is that the rent runs a month longer and he should pay the rent?—Ans. Yes, sir.

42 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Go on, if you have any further suggestions to make in regard to an avoidance of these difficulties.—Ans. I think there will never be any real satisfaction given to the employees

of railways until we have a Government ownership and operation of railroads.

43 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has that been the doctrine of the Knights of Labor and the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir; it has been for the Knights of Labor for many years, for a quarter of a century.

44 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was this recent strike organized with any intention of educating the public along this line?—Ans. It was not organized with that intention, but it indirectly brought to the attention of the public the great necessity of Government ownership and operation of railroads, until today there are thousands of people advocating that issue who did not believe in it prior to the strike.

45 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there anything in the way of legislation you would suggest as a means of avoiding strikes and boycotts that might occur, not as an ultimate solution; but is there anything the law could do?—Ans. To avoid a strike, or settle the difficulty after the strike was on?

46 (Commissioner KERNAN). No, to prevent the strike occurring.—Ans. I do not know, I am sure; I do not think it is consistent with the principles of representative government to compel anyone to employ another, or compel anyone to work for another, except to the extent I think that either side should have costs or judgment for damages. I do not know of any power in the Government that would remedy the wrong or prevent the strike; at least, I do not think of any now. I think it is out of the power of legislation; I think that voluntary arbitration might do some good at times, but I think Government ownership of railroads would settle it.

47 (Commissioner KERNAN). That would be your chief recommendation?—Ans. Yes, sir.

48 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was your strike at Des Moines, as voted by the American Railway Union, independent of the strike that was taking place at Chicago, or, in other words, would it have occurred there if this strike had not been in operation at Chicago?—Ans. I might say that the Chicago strike had no more influence on the Des Moines strike than did the strike at Denver, or at Portland, or at Seattle, or any other place. It was a general railroad strike, and men during the time of a general strike realize it is more difficult to find men to take their places, and they say "We have a grievance we have been seeking to redress for many months; the railroad officials have spurned us and refused to treat with us, and we might as well stop work and see if we can not settle it, this being a favorable time." It is just the same as it was in the American Revolution; the colonies simply took advantage of the war with France.

49 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). To that extent the strike at Des Moines was a part of, or grew out of, the general railroad strike of the United States?—Ans. Yes, sir; it became a composite element of the great railroad strike.

50 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was that action taken after you received this circular you speak of from Mr. Debs?—Ans. No, it was in regular session, and the circular was read; I am not sure but what it was simply a telegram from Mr. Debs asking them to discuss the Pullman question.

51 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you say that the cause of your strike at Des Moines was grievances your members had themselves against the Rock Island road, or was it for the purpose of aiding this Pullman difficulty?—Ans. I wish to be understood as saying that Mr. Debs did not, nor did any of the officials of the American Railway

Union, ask our local union to go on a strike; they were not asked by the telegram or circular—I don't know which it was—to go on a strike. It was left entirely discretionary whether they go on a strike or not. They were asked to consider and discuss the question of the Pullman difficulty and see what aid, if any, they could render. If they decided to strike, the American Railway Union would stand by them to the extent of its ability; but if they did not decide to strike, they would be considered good members of the union just the same.

52 (Commissioner KERNAN). After all that was considered at your meeting, then was the strike ordered for the purpose of aiding those engaged here in the Pullman strike?—Ans. That was made rather a minor question owing to the fact that the men had grievances of their own.

53 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were those grievances before that meeting in writing?—Ans. No, sir.

54 (Commissioner KERNAN). Had those grievances been presented by the men themselves to the Rock Island officials?—Ans. I do not know, I am sure; only they said they had from time to time sought redress of those grievances and failed. I should have qualified my former statement by saying that the Rock Island employees did not strike, properly speaking, because an hour or two before the meeting, or it might have been three or four hours—I don't remember, it was a short space of time—the Rock Island company went on a strike itself, voluntarily, by tying up the road, locking up the round houses, locking up the machine shops at Valley Junction, and discharged all the men or laid them off indefinitely; it tied up its road itself. I came to Chicago on the Rock Island road, arriving at Blue Island on the 6th day of July, and they thought that would be the last train they would run. Blue Island is 16 miles from Chicago, and they put the train on the siding there and said "This train will go no further; there is a great mob ahead that will not allow the train to go in."

I noticed another train on the siding, and asked some of the passengers how long it had been standing there, and they said, twenty-six hours. That train was going west over the same track we had come in on and we had experienced no trouble or difficulty, and it had mail cars attached to it; but they held it voluntarily, for the purpose, as the employees said, to create public sentiment. I started over to the Wisconsin Central and bought another ticket to Chicago, rode a short distance on that road, and the train was stopped. The conductor said, "There is a great mob ahead that will not allow this train to go in." I then picked up my grip and started to walk into Chicago. The conductor held up his hands and said, "My, God, man, don't do that; you will not live to get to Chicago; take my advice, I know what the danger is." I told him I had started out as a cowboy on a Mexican cattle trail and I was not afraid of a few men, and I walked into Chicago and did not meet ten men on the road; there was no obstruction to the service or obstruction to the track; the fact of the matter is, the Rock Island Railroad Company went out on a strike itself and tied up its road.

55 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why did you declare the strike at Des Moines?—Ans. Because there was apparently a general strike; I did not vote on the question at all; the strike was declared because the employees had local personal grievances of their own with their respective companies.

56 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did all of those that voted in the meeting to strike belong to the Rock Island road?—Ans. No sir, but when



it came to the question affecting Rock Island employees, only Rock Island employees were permitted to vote.

57 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was the vote confined to Rock Island employees?—Ans. At that session it was confined to Rock Island employees and Chicago and Great Western employees, and they voted on those separate divisions, and members belonging to other lines, who were at the meeting, did not vote at all.

58 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was any record kept of the proceedings of that meeting?—Ans. I don't know; I think if there was any record kept it was very meager; we are not used to making very elaborate records of meetings.

59 (Commissioner KERNAN). If there was any record kept of that meeting we would like to have you send us whatever records you have.—Ans. I will not promise to do that because I will not be there, but I will write and ask if a record was kept at the meeting; there are not many records kept of meetings of that kind. We meet and resolve to do so and so; everything is done orally without record. In the first place, a motion was made, an employee of the Chicago and Great Western Railroad got up and moved that the members of the American Railway Union in the employ of the Chicago and Great Western Railroad go on a strike; the chairman asked if all were ready for the question after putting the motion, and two or three spoke briefly to the question; the motion was put, with the statement that it would be taken by a rising vote and only employees of the Great Western could vote, and when the vote was taken it was unanimous—that is, all the employees of the Great Western, probably 50, 60, or 100, stood up. The same was true respecting the Rock Island road, but it created some merriment in the hall when it became known the Rock Island boys were voting to go out several hours after the railroad had locked them out.

60 (Commissioner KERNAN). The strike of the Knights of Labor subsequently was not because of any grievance they had against their employers, was it?—Ans. No, sir, only to the extent that we had members in the railway service.

61 (Commissioner KERNAN). It was what would be called sympathetic?—Ans. To some extent.

62 (Commissioner KERNAN). To some extent, but of course where you had members in the American Railway Union that would not be sympathetic?—Ans. No, sir; our members in the railroad service.

63 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have stated that you thought the employees should have the right to go into a court of equity and recover damages for unjust discharge?—Ans. Yes, sir.

64 (Commissioner KERNAN). I suppose you recognize the fact the employee has the right if discharged without cause to recover from the employer the contract price for the contract time?—Ans. Yes, sir.

65 (Commissioner KERNAN). If a man is employed for a year and is discharged without cause at the end of six months he can recover the year's wages? Ans. Yes, if there is a contract for a year, he can.

66 (Commissioner KERNAN). What further damage can there be if the employee, where he is unjustly discharged, has a right to recover the wages for the full contract time?—Ans. The damage does not stop with the wages, because it may take the employee six months to get another job; the damage should be discretionary with the court; the employee might set up an indefinite claim for damage by being discommoded; he might say here is my particular church, here are my relatives, here is my little home that I have worked so long and hard to pay for, and the price of property is low at the present time and I

can not dispose of it, nor can I rent it; there are a thousand and one sources of damages that could be lodged in a court of equity, with every degree of reason, the same as in all other cases in equity.

67 (Commissioner KERNAN). In all cases in equity is it not true that damages are governed by the rules of law?—Ans. Yes; that is true when the damage is established by some law fixing it.

68 (Commissioner KERNAN). There are well-settled rules of law as to what damages are recoverable, are there not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

69 (Commissioner KERNAN). How are you going to draw the line as to the kind of damage that should be allowed?—Ans. I would draw no line; I would leave it discretionary with the court; the court always reserves the right to set the damage in every case; a man may make a claim for \$200,000 and a court of equity may under the evidence allow him \$20,000, or perhaps nothing.

70 (Commissioner KERNAN). If that is true, why ought not that same rule apply to every form of contract; why should a laborer be allowed to go into court and recover damages under the broad rule you suggest, and the same rule not be applied to others?—Ans. I do not object to its being applied to others.

71 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think that would throw the rule of damage into great confusion?—Ans. I do not see wherein it would.

72 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose that a laborer when discharged was compelled to remove his family to another town to secure work, and, as a result of removing his family, some of his children were taken sick and died, do you think he should have a right to recover damages from his former employers for the death of his child?—Ans. That would depend upon whether he could prove the death of his child had anything to do with his discharge or not.

73 (Commissioner KERNAN). I don't see where you are going to draw the line.—Ans. I am confining the question to where it is possible to establish a just claim; I do not believe in going out and citing circumstances so far remote from the case that it would be impossible to say whether there were any damages incurred or not.

74 (Commissioner KERNAN). The rule of law is that damages can be recovered for breach of contract?—Ans. Yes, but there is no law permitting a laboring man to litigate his rights; the employer has a right to discharge him at will, without notice, in the absence of a contract, written or parol, and it should not be done or permitted; it is inimical to the very spirit of a free government; it is in opposition to the public welfare. Our Government is built upon the broad basis that private rights and interests should be set aside for the public welfare, and the public welfare depends upon the just treatment of the working people.

75 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why can not the contract provide for what you say the court should provide; why can not a working man, in making a contract, have it provided that in case of his discharge without cause he can recover any kind of damage?—Ans. In such a case the labor employers would say, "we will not employ you if you desire such a contract," and they would hold a meeting—the railroad managers have a combination of their own—and say, "no one shall enter our service who requires us to sign a contract."

76 (Commissioner KERNAN). Your idea is that employers as a rule represent so much capital and occupy such a position that the working man can not be on an equality in making a contract and therefore can not secure justice?—Ans. What I want is a general law applied in the absence of the contract; on the Union Pacific the United States Gov-

ernment permits its employees to be robbed by a system of insurance on that road by reason of a contract they induce employees to sign; in fact, will not hire them unless they do sign it, and keep part of his wages out; a short time ago a man was killed and they induced his widow to take \$1,000, and the court decided she had no further claim to damages.

77 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You think the necessity of bread and butter, clothing and shelter puts the workingman in an inferior position, compelling him to work without securing the kind of contract he ought to have?—Ans. Yes, I think employers take advantage of his necessities; he is not independent; he is dependent.

78 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any statement to make that has not been drawn out by questions?—Ans. No, sir.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If either the Illinois Central Railroad Company or the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company have a representative present they are at liberty to cross-examine this witness.

### EXHIBIT 3.—CONSTITUTION OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR (\*).

#### PREAMBLE.

The alarming development and aggressiveness of the power of money and corporations under the present industrial and political systems will inevitably lead to the hopeless degradation of the people. It is imperative, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that unjust accumulation and this power for evil of aggregated wealth shall be prevented. This much-desired object can be accomplished only by the united efforts of those who obey the divine injunction: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Therefore we have formed the order of the Knights of Labor for the purpose of organizing, educating, and directing the power of the industrial masses.

It is not a political party; it is more, for in it are crystallized sentiments and measures for the benefit of the whole people; but it should be borne in mind, when exercising the right of suffrage, that most of the objects herein set forth can only be obtained through legislation, and that it is the duty, regardless of party, of all to assist in nominating and supporting with their votes such candidates as will support these measures. No one shall, however, be compelled to vote with the majority.

Calling upon all who believe in securing "the greatest good to the greatest number" to join and assist us, we declare to the world that our aims are:

I. To make industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness.

II. To secure to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create; sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral, and social faculties; all of the benefits, recreations, and pleasures of association; in a word, to enable them to share in the gains and honor of advancing civilization.

In order to secure these results, we demand at the hands of the law-making power of municipality, State, and nation:

III. The establishment of the referendum in the making of all laws.

IV. The establishment of bureaus of labor statistics, that we may arrive at a correct knowledge of the educational, moral, and financial condition of the laboring masses, and the establishment of free State labor bureaus.

V. The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people, and should not be subject to speculative traffic. Occupancy and use should be the only title to the possession of land. The taxes upon land should be levied upon its full value for use, exclusive of improvements, and should be sufficient to take for the community all unearned increment.

VI. The abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capitalists and laborers, and the removal of unjust technicalities, delays, and discriminations in the administration of justice.

VII. The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing, and building industries, and for indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries received through lack of necessary safeguards.

\* Only so much of the constitution of the Knights of Labor as is clearly important in connection with this investigation is herewith submitted.

VIII. The recognition, by incorporation, of orders and other associations organized by the workers to improve their condition and to protect their rights.

IX. The enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employees weekly, in lawful money, for the labor of the preceding week, and giving mechanics and laborers a first lien upon the product of their labor to the extent of their full wages.

X. The abolition of the contract system on national, State, and municipal works.

XI. The enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators.

XII. The prohibition by law of the employment of children under fifteen years of age; the compulsory attendance at school for at least ten months in the year of all children between the ages of seven and fifteen years; and the furnishing at the expense of the State of free text-books.

XIII. That a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances be levied.

XIV. To prohibit the hiring out of convict labor.

XV. The establishment of a national monetary system in which a circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue directly to the people without the intervention of banks; that all the national issue shall be full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, and that the Government shall not guarantee or recognize any private banks or create any banking corporations.

XVI. That interest-bearing bonds, bills of credit, or notes shall never be issued by the Government; but, that when need arises, the emergency shall be met by issue of legal-tender, noninterest-bearing money.

XVII. That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited.

XVIII. That, in connection with the post-office, the Government shall provide facilities for deposits of savings of the people in small sums.

XIX. That the Government shall obtain possession, under the right of eminent domain, of all telegraphs, telephones, and railroads; and that hereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers, or freight.

And while making the foregoing demands upon the State and National Governments we will endeavor to associate our own labors:

XX. To establish cooperative institutions, such as will tend to supersede the wage system, by the introduction of a cooperative industrial system.

XXI. To secure for both sexes equal rights.

XXII. To gain some of the benefits of labor-saving machinery by a gradual reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day.

XXIII. To persuade employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employees, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.

## CONSTITUTION.

### ARTICLE I.

**SECTION 1.** This body shall be known as the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, and shall be composed of representatives selected according to the constitution. The general assembly has full and final jurisdiction, and is the highest tribunal of the order of the Knights of Labor. It alone possesses the power and authority to make, amend, or repeal the fundamental and general laws and regulations of the order, and to finally decide all controversies arising in the order. It shall issue, or cause to be issued, charters to State, national trade, district, and local assemblies, travelling and transfer cards, and all supplies requiring uniformity. It shall prohibit the sale of intoxicants at entertainments given by the assemblies of this order. It may also tax the members of the order for its maintenance.

**SEC. 2.** To facilitate the work of the order there may be established State, national trade, district, and local assemblies under such regulations as may be hereinafter provided. These several subdivisions of the order shall be subject to the absolute control of the general assembly.

**SEC. 3.** In each of the States and Territories of the United States of America, as soon as ten or more local assemblies are founded therein, there may be established a State or (as the case may be) Territorial assembly. In foreign countries an assembly similar in power and purpose may be established in each province or other subdivision into which said country may be divided. Said assembly shall be known by the name of the State, Territory, province, or other division in which it is located. All reference hereinafter made, and all laws, rules, or regulations of the order applying to a State assembly shall be construed as in like manner applying to a Territorial, province, etc., assembly. The jurisdiction of a State assembly shall include all of the territory of the State not assigned to a mixed district assembly existing at the time said State assembly is organized, together with such territory as may be surrendered by any such district assembly.

SEC. 4. District assemblies may be instituted within the limits of a State assembly with such jurisdiction as said State assembly may define.

SEC. 5. Local assemblies may be founded within the limits of a district assembly with such jurisdiction as said district assembly may define. Local assemblies may be attached to a State, national trade, district, or to the general assembly. Local assemblies shall have the right to transfer from the higher body to which they are attached to another higher body for reasons satisfactory to the general executive board. This decision, to be lawful, must be arrived at by two-thirds the members present at a meeting of the local specially called for the purpose, after the local has met all lawful demands of the higher body from which it may desire to detach itself. Notice of action taken, with receipts for all indebtedness to superior body the local assembly desires to withdraw from up to date of quarter preceding application for transfer, must at once be forwarded by the local to the general secretary-treasurer, and a similar notice and copy to the higher body to which the local desires to attach itself. A trade assembly belonging to a national trade assembly may also join a State or mixed district assembly in the locality in which it is situated and under such regulations as said district assembly may enact, provided that the delegates of such local assembly shall have no vote in electing representatives of the State or of the district assembly to the general assembly and its membership shall be credited to the national trade assembly as a basis of representation.

SEC. 58. State, national trade, or district assemblies may adopt such rules and regulations in regard to strikes, lockouts, bills of wages, changes of system, introduction of new machinery or materials, and all matters that in any manner affect the interest and welfare of the trade or calling as they deem best, not in conflict with the constitution; but no strike shall be entered into or authorized until every possible effort has been made to settle the difficulty by conciliation or arbitration.

SEC. 59. Any person whose trade or calling is not organized within a radius of 25 miles, and who may desire to join a mixed local assembly, may do so, provided that thirty days' notice that his proposition is pending shall be sent to said nearest local assembly of his trade. Members transferring from a mixed local assembly to a trade local assembly shall, if required to do so by the local to which the transfer is made, pay at least the difference of such initiation fee, if any, to the trade local.

SEC. 50. A member of any local assembly shall in trade matters conform to the rules and regulations of the national trade assembly of his trade or calling, provided that such rules and regulations have been approved by the general executive board.

SEC. 61. No State, national trade, district, or local assembly attached thereto shall directly or indirectly make or enforce any law which shall require membership in another organization as a prerequisite to membership in this order. Nor shall either of the above named bodies directly or indirectly make or enforce any law which shall prevent a member of the order from working at his trade or calling.

SEC. 62. For exigencies not covered by these laws the general executive board may adopt regulations governing State, district, or national trade assemblies, which shall have the force of law until reversed by the general assembly; and all such regulations shall be reported to the general assembly for approval.

SEC. 63. Nothing in this article shall be construed as making it compulsory on any local assembly to join a national trade assembly, if such local assembly has been organized prior to the organization of such national trade assembly.

SEC. 64. Every officer elected is obliged to hold his office and perform the duties pertaining thereto until his successor is duly elected and installed. The officers of a State, district, or national trade assembly shall receive such compensation for services as the assembly may decide.

SEC. 65. Any member of a local assembly may be elected a delegate to a State, district, or national trade assembly, provided he has been a member of the order in good standing for a space of six months (if the local assembly has been founded that length of time), and a faithful attendant at the meetings of the local assembly. Each delegate shall present a credential certifying to these facts signed by the master workman and recording secretary and attested with the seal of their respective locals, blanks for which shall be furnished by the secretary of the superior body.

SEC. 66. The senior delegate is the mode or channel for official communication of secret work and instructions between the higher body and the local, and is responsible for compliance with the laws of the order by the local assembly. When but one delegate is in attendance at any session of the State, district, or national trade assembly, the said delegate is by construction the senior. The senior delegate is also a legal installing officer for the local in the absence of the past master workman. When there are two or more delegates the local shall designate which shall be the senior delegate, unless the delegates are elected by the Archeon plan, when the delegate whose term first expires is the senior delegate.

SEC. 67. Ex-delegates shall be admitted to the district assembly without vote and without voice. By permission of the district assembly they may speak on any subject.

SEC. 141. When a grievance of any kind has been submitted to a local, joint local, district, or State executive board, the decision of said board must be obeyed, subject to the penalty of suspension for insubordination.

SEC. 142. Members of local assemblies attached to the general assembly shall submit any grievance directly to their local executive board.

SEC. 143. No strike shall be declared or entered into by any member or members of any local assembly without the sanction of the executive board of the State or district assembly or local assembly under the general assembly, as the case may be; and the master workman of the State or district assembly may demand the charter and books of any local that violates this law.

SEC. 160. Should a difficulty between employers and members of a trade council arise likely to cause a strike or lockout, if the trade council is confined to the jurisdiction of one district assembly the approval of the district assembly must be obtained before action is entered upon. Should the difficulty involve members beyond the limits of one district assembly, then the approval of the State assembly (if there should be one), or of the other district involved, must be obtained; and if the difficulty involves members in more than one State, then the approval of the general assembly or general executive board must be obtained. Any strike entered upon by the members of a craft contrary to this section shall be void and have no binding force upon the members of this order.

SEC. 164. Whenever members are victimized or a lockout or strike occurs in any trade by reason of measures adopted by a trade council, and the action of the trade council shall have been approved in accordance with the provisions herein contained, the trade council authorities may call upon the district, State, or general officers for financial aid.

SEC. 206. The general executive board shall have full and complete authority to effect a settlement in any strike participated in by members of the order only when called upon by the local, district, national trade, or State assembly participating in the trouble.

SEC. 207. A local assembly engaging in a strike without the permission of the district assembly to which it is attached shall forfeit its charter.

SEC. 208. A district assembly engaging in a strike without the permission of the State or national trade assembly (if so attached) to which it is attached shall not receive assistance of any kind from said State assembly.

SEC. 209. A State, district, or other assembly, or other branch of the order working directly under the authority of the general assembly, engaging in a strike without the sanction of the general executive board, shall not receive assistance of any kind from any branch of the order outside of that engaging in said strike.

SEC. 210. No assembly of the order shall participate in any procession or parade carrying flags other than the national or State colors.

#### TESTIMONY OF GEORGE W. LOVEJOY.

August 16, 1894, George W. Lovejoy, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is George W. Lovejoy; am 39 years of age; reside at La Salle, Ill.; am an all-round railroad man; am not employed on any railroad now; was recently employed on the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific road, at La Salle, Ill., as general yard master. On the 19th day of June, 1894, the road got tired of me. I am unable to say whether I was discharged or not for they have refused to give me an answer in regard to that, but I know they will not give me any work. I held the position of yard master at La Salle one year. Prior to that I was a brakeman on the Rock Island road four months; prior to that I was a conductor for six years on the Evansville and Terre Haute road. Am a member of the American Railway Union; became a member of that union May 30, 1894; do not hold any official position in the union; am also a member of the Order of Railway Conductors; have been connected with that order since 1883.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you familiar with the causes of the recent difficulties on the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific road?—Ans. I think I am.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State as briefly as you can what you know about those difficulties, the causes which led to them, and the conditions surrounding them.—Ans. The cause of the trouble on the Rock Island road was local grievances and the Pullman trouble; the local grievance at La Salle consisted of what the members of the union considered unjust treatment of the members at that point, notably, the freezing-out process of prominent members of the American Railway Union. I was selected to represent our local union at the first convention held here in Chicago, and while here my situation was taken away from me. The members of the union at La Salle thought it was hardly just to do that and they formed a grievance committee and made a demand upon the company that they furnish an excuse for their actions. The company refused to treat with them. Mr. Dunlap, the general superintendent of the Rock Island road, refused to consider the grievance that they submitted to him and they decided they would go on a strike in defense of their members, and they had already voted to go on a strike before the Pullman boycott was put in effect on the Rock Island road.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were these local grievances presented in writing?—Ans. I think they were.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was the reply by the general superintendent in writing?—Ans. He would not consider them at all; he declined to receive them.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you got a copy of those grievances?—Ans. I have not.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you get a copy for the commission?—Ans. I expect I can. I will write to the secretary of that union, who ought to have them on file if they have been returned by the committee, and will ask him to make a certified copy of the grievances and tender to the commission. (Copy of grievances not furnished.)

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are those all the local grievances that existed at the time the union declared a strike against the Rock Island?—Ans. Yes, that is all.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). What part did your local union take in the boycott against Pullman cars?—Ans. They were ready to sustain the boycott, but they were already out and the company had refused to consider the local grievances and they just staid out, and are out yet. The strike has never been declared off at La Salle.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). The action of the general convention of the American Railway Union did not reach your section?—Ans. No, sir.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State where La Salle is, and about what the population of the place is.—Ans. La Salle is 100 miles west of Chicago, on the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway, and the population is about 15,000. La Salle and Peru join together; they are very close together, and the population of the two towns is about 35,000.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). At the time the strike was ordered by the local union at La Salle, or afterwards, was there any violence or destruction of property, or rioting?—Ans. No, sir; none whatever.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have the vacancies been filled there?—Ans. Yes, sir.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have your union men been taken back?—Ans. None of them. The Rock Island Company says they never can work on that system again—none of the men who went out on the strike June 30.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And that declaration of theirs is made on the ground that the strike was declared against them on account of the grievances you have recited?—Ans. It was made after the strike was declared; yes, sir.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And on account of the strike?—Ans. I suppose so; yes, sir.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). How general was the strike among the employees at La Salle?—Ans. Every man in the employ of the Rock Island road at La Salle joined in this movement.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). That comprised men in what different branches of employment?—Ans. Switchmen, engineers, firemen, clerks, telegraph operators, roundhouse employees, and section men.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were they all members of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). You stated that you attended a meeting of the American Railway Union at Chicago, and on your return were refused employment?—Ans. Yes, sir.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where and when was that meeting held?—Ans. At Chicago, on June 12, 1894.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). How did you manage with reference to your position during your absence?—Ans. I had an understanding with the superintendent of the road that when I desired a few days leave of absence I could take one of my foremen and put him in my place.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was that arrangement made before you came to Chicago?—Ans. About six months before.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). State what that arrangement was a little more definitely.—Ans. I wanted to lay off in April and I wrote the superintendent. He did not answer, and I wrote him again and asked him to send me transportation and to answer my note. He sent the transportation to Chicago, but did not answer the note. On my arrival here I called on him and asked him why he did not give me permission to lay off in writing. He said, "It is not necessary. When we have a man who occupies a position like you do and has our confidence it is not necessary for him to get written permission to lay off for a few days; just use your own judgment and go when you want to, and when you come back notify us you are there, and in the meantime leave one of your best men in charge." I had done that on two or three occasions, and did it on this one.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you make application to come to Chicago for the purpose of attending a meeting?—Ans. No, sir; I did not specify that purpose.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). And on your return your place was simply refused to you?—Ans. While I was here attending the convention the assistant superintendent went down to La Salle and transferred my position to the agent there.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long was that after you had been here from La Salle?—Ans. The convention opened on June 12, and on the 19th of June I was dismissed.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you given any attention to the solution of labor difficulties, especially in connection with strikes?—Ans. Yes, I have been quite a student on that subject.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What are your conclusions?—Ans. I rather think that Government control of railways would be a solution of strikes upon railways.

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You would have all the railways of the country owned by the Federal Government?—Ans. I would.



31 (Commissioner KERNAN). If you have any reasons to state in favor of that do so.—Ans. I think the employees of the roads would be better treated and better satisfied; I have heard a number of employees on railroads say that the post-office employees were pretty well treated, and they thought they could get the same kind of treatment if the Government controlled the railroads that the postal employees got.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). What are the views of those you represent and associate with as to arbitration?—Ans. We have never seen anything yet in the way of arbitration that amounts to anything.

33 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you and your association believe in the principle of arbitration?—Ans. We do, but we do not believe compulsory arbitration would be what we want; we are in favor of arbitration, but hardly in favor of compulsory arbitration.

34 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If the Government owned all the railroads in the country how could you avoid the changes which come by political changes?—Ans. In the same manner they do in the postal service, by the application of civil-service rules.

35 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You would have all the employees on Government railroads subjected to an examination?—Ans. I would.

36 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You would carry that to its logical conclusion and adopt the pension system?—Ans. I would.

37 (Commissioner KERNAN). Might there not be danger that would lead to jealousy on the part of other laborers, that they would come to regard the Government employees as a favored class?—Ans. Possibly it might, but I hardly think so; I have no jealousy for a postal employee.

38 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think there would be no more friction about it in any direction than there is with reference to the postal service?—Ans. I don't think there would.

39 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In the absence of Government control or ownership of railroads, what would you suggest as proper steps to take on the part of the State or Federal Government to avoid strikes?—Ans. To keep their hands off; not interfere at all in any way, shape, or form.

40 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Let the parties fight it out without regard to consequences?—Ans. Yes, sir.

41 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Suppose that led to breaches of the peace, destruction of property, and open warfare, what then?—Ans. I think the State authorities, the police, could take care of that.

42 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The law now requires that, you know; but suppose they fail, or have not sufficient power?—Ans. Oh, they have the power, so far as that is concerned.

43 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But that would not be keeping hands off; it would be putting hands on. Your answer was they should fight it out without regard to consequences?—Ans. That was my answer to the original question.

44 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you still wish that to stand as your answer?—Ans. Yes, sir.

45 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think we are come to a time now when all disputes ought to be settled in some other way than such a warfare as the course you suggest?—Ans. There would not be any warfare if the authorities would keep away.

46 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it your idea that the situation should be absolutely in the control of the employees?—Ans. I think we could arrange it by arbitration easy enough.

47 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose, as has occurred in some places in the last six or eight months, there was no settlement, and the

employees attacked the works of their employers, now, in such cases, should the municipal authorities step in, or would you let the fight go on to the death as you have stated?—Ans. Fight it out.

48 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What do you think would be the effect of a law which in substance should provide upon the application of a certain number of railway employees, that are members of some labor association, or not members of an association, before a strike to have the grievances submitted to arbitration and should compel the railroad company to appear and state its side of the question?—Ans. That would be manifestly fair.

49 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you think that would be objectionable to employees?—Ans. Not at all.

50 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Suppose, on the other hand, the railroad company desired to have its grievances against employees submitted to arbitration, and there should be a law which required its employees to appear and answer, would that be objectionable?—Ans. No, sir.

51 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What do you think would be the probable effect of such a law—that is, looking to an adjustment of grievances through a board of arbitration before a strike was actually declared?—Ans. That would depend considerably upon the power of this board, or the power of the law.

52 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). To what extent generally do you think railroad employees, upon a submission of questions of that kind to arbitration and a decision had, would be disposed to follow the decision of the arbitrators?—Ans. If the railroad employees could have a voice in forming the arbitration committee they would be personally willing to arbitrate.

53 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I am putting it on that hypothesis, that it is a fair board of arbitration?—Ans. Yes, sir.

54 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Don't you think if arbitration was compulsory to that extent requiring either the corporation or the employees to appear before a board of arbitration and present the grievances that it would have a good effect, even if there was no power behind that to enforce the terms of the arbitration?—Ans. Yes, I think so. Employees don't want anything but a fair deal and they have never had it.

55 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). So an arbitration with a view to consideration, or a settlement of the difficulties, before a strike you think might be just?—Ans. Yes, I do.

56 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is not one of the difficulties that labor employees suffer from, their inability to get a hearing and presentation of their grievances?—Ans. It is.

57 (Commissioner KERNAN). And if when they have grievances they could have a public investigation of them, would not that tend to avoid strikes?—Ans. It would; yes, sir.

58 (Commissioner KERNAN). Before resorting to a strike, do you think labor organizations, if they had that right, would always avail themselves of it rather than strike?—Ans. I am satisfied they would.

59 (Commissioner KERNAN). From your association with the employees of railroads and your connection with bodies of organized labor, what is the feeling now with reference to strikes generally—that is, is it in favor of them, or is there a growing feeling against striking?—Ans. It is against striking, and I am against it, too.

60 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has it come to be generally recognized that as a rule they fail to accomplish that for which they are designed?—Ans. Strikes always do some good, although they may fail to accom-

plish that which they started out to do, but there is always a benefit attached to all strikes.

61 (Commissioner KERNAN). What benefit, if any, was attached to the recent strike?—Ans. The strike we have just passed through will be a benefit to the laboring men of the country for years to come. It will demonstrate to the laboring men that they must get together; that no single organization can win, and they must get together in one body in order to accomplish their ends. They have seen the united press against them; they have seen the united clergy against them; they have seen the entire judiciary against them; they have seen the entire office holders of this country against them—the United States Government against them, and all the old-time organizations against the American Railway Union in this strike.

62 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think a large part of that opposition was only with reference to the violence and destruction of property which accompanied the strike, and that prior to anything of that kind occurring public sympathy was rather the other way?—Ans. I think that the public was poisoned by this General Managers' Association, and public sympathy turned against the strikers.

63 (Commissioner KERNAN). My question was whether the opposition you speak of was not so much against the strike itself as it was against the violence and destruction of property that grew out of it?—Ans. Yes; that is true.

64 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, then, when a strike calls together disreputable elements from outside and those elements begin destroying property is there any other way the Government can do except to put it down in the interest of every citizen?—Ans. No, sir.

65 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is not public sympathy usually with the strikers in the first place?—Ans. Yes, sir.

66 (Commissioner KERNAN). What turns that sympathy against the strikers?—Ans. Rioting, and such as that.

67 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think that labor organizations themselves ought to take more stringent methods than they do to prevent the participation of their members in anything of that kind?—Ans. I do.

68 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that would help them to keep public opinion and sympathy in their favor?—Ans. Yes, sir.

69 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know anything personally with reference to the cause of the Pullman strike?—Ans. I know all about it; I was a representative to the union and heard it all discussed and thoroughly aired.

70 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I would like to hear what you know about the cause of that strike.—Ans. I know the Pullman employees were literally starved into striking; they were very unjustly treated, starved, robbed of their just earnings, and were compelled in self-defense to strike.

71 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can not you give us the facts from which you draw those conclusions?—Ans. The facts from which I draw my conclusions are the statements of the members of the Pullman committee, who appeared before the convention of June 12 and recited their grievances.

72 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did they present a written statement of their grievances?—Ans. No; I think all the statements were oral.

73 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you a member of that convention?—Ans. Yes, sir.

74 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you on any of the committees that waited upon the Pullman company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

75 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you remember the names of the Pullman committee that appeared before that convention?—Ans. Mr. Heathcoate was chairman of that committee, but I don't remember the names of the other members.

76 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you proceed to investigate as to any of the conditions at Pullman?—Ans. No, sir.

77 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you at any time visit Pullman with any committee?—Ans. No, sir.

78 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then your conclusions you have given us are based upon the statements made at that convention by the committee of which Mr. Heathcoate was chairman?—Ans. Yes, sir.

79 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understood you to say that you were on a committee that waited upon the Pullman company; did I misunderstand you?—Ans. I was on committees, but not to investigate the Pullman strike or the condition of the Pullman strikers; I was on other committees. I understood the gentleman to ask me if I was a member of any committee.

80 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Any committee that waited upon the Pullman company to present your side of the case?—Ans. I was elected chairman of a committee to serve notice on Mr. Wickes that the convention had declared a boycott upon the Pullman cars to go into effect June 26 unless the Pullman company would consent to arbitrate, and I served the notice as such chairman, and Mr. Wickes refused to consider any proposition coming from the American Railway Union.

81 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). They were not asked to arbitrate with the union, were they? The notice was that if they agreed to arbitrate the boycott should not go into effect.—Ans. No, we did not ask him to arbitrate with the American Railway Union. The notice was this:

We have been selected as a committee to serve notice upon you that a boycott has been declared upon the Pullman cars, taking effect June 26 at 12 o'clock noon, unless you consent to arbitrate.

82 (Commissioner KERNAN). With their employees?—Ans. Yes, sir.

83 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was that notice served in writing as well as by you orally as chairman?—Ans. No, sir; but I have given the exact language I used to Mr. Wickes.

84 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Your proposition was to have the Pullman company arbitrate its difficulties with its employees?—Ans. Yes, sir.

85 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was there any demand that the employees of the Pullman company should be reinstated?—Ans. That was all that passed between Mr. Wickes and myself at that time.

86 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Simply a demand for arbitration?—Ans. That is all.

87 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you in Chicago during the difficulties following the boycott?—Ans. No, sir.

88 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you stated all you desire to now?—Ans. All, I believe.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If there is no one present who desires to cross-examine this witness he may stand aside.

(No response.)

## TESTIMONY OF SYLVESTER KELIHER.

August 16, 1894, Sylvester Keliher, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Sylvester Keliher; 31; Chicago, Ill.; am general secretary of the American Railway Union.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been such secretary?—Ans. Ever since it started, June 20, 1893. I was one of its promoters.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Prior to that were you a member of any labor organization?—Ans. I was general secretary and treasurer of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). For how long a time did you occupy that position?—Ans. I founded that organization in 1888, and retained that office until I resigned to launch in this work, but am still a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What practical experience have you had in railway matters?—Ans. I commenced railroading in 1880 as a fireman; acted in that capacity about a year, and then entered the car department of the Great Northern road and filled various positions; was carpenter for the first two years; then went into the office and remained there until I left the service to form the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). As secretary of the American Railway Union have you custody of the papers, records, and documents of the order?—Ans. Yes, sir.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Mr. Howard stated yesterday that you would be willing to file with the commission copies of certain documents which it desired. Are you ready to do so?—Ans. Yes, sir, when I know what is wanted.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The commission would like a certified copy of the records of the convention of June 12 so far as the action of the union related to the boycott under investigation; the votes that were taken upon it; also certified copies of the correspondence with the General Managers' Association and with either of the railways involved in this investigation; also certified copies of any public announcements made by the president of your order relating to the boycott or strike, whichever you call it, and if the president sent any directions to local unions relative to their action in connection with the action of 12th of June convention, we would like copies of such correspondence; also copies of communications to other labor organizations relative to that action of June 12 and their replies; and if your union, either as the result of the action of the convention or of the action of the board of directors or executive committee, submitted any propositions for arbitration through the Railway Managers' Association to the managers of either of the roads involved in this investigation, or to the Pullman company, we would like copies of those propositions; also if you have any document relating to the conference of labor leaders which was held at the Briggs House at the instance of Mr. Debs, we would like to have that document. These papers can be filed with the clerk of the commission if you have not them with you now.—Ans. I will state, in regard to that, that I did not know just what the commission wanted and it will take me a little while to look up all these matters, but I will do so and file them all at the same time—everything we have got (a).

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If you have any facts in your mind relating to the recent boycott as declared by the American Railway Union, the causes which led to it, and the conditions which surrounded it at the time it was declared, we would be glad to listen to you.—Ans. The cause of the strike, first, was the grievances of the men at Pullman; the employes of the Pullman Palace Car Company made a demand on the company for a restoration of the scale of wages paid prior to the reduction in 1893. They appointed a committee of forty-three members, I believe, to wait upon the management of the company; they did so in company with our vice-president, Mr. Howard, and asked a consideration of their grievances; they were informed that the differences or grievances they claimed to have against the company on account of tyranny on the part of foremen and men in charge of the various departments would be thoroughly investigated personally by the head officers of the company on the next day; the chairman of the committee asked Mr. Wickes and Mr. Pullman both if the members of that committee would be in any way discriminated against on account of their connection with it; he was told no, and that they would be down there the next morning to investigate this matter; there was a mass meeting called at Pullman that evening—the date was May 10, 1894, if I remember aright—and Mr. Howard and myself attended the meeting; it was a very large meeting and the sentiment of the employes was strongly in favor of a strike at that time; both of us argued against it, and told them to wait until this investigation was had; they determined not to strike at that meeting. The next day about 12 o'clock the committee waited upon us and said they were all out down there. Our advice was very strongly in favor of their remaining at work, and the whole meeting the evening before took a vote on it and decided they would remain at work until the matter was investigated, as promised by the Pullman company. After the strike had been declared on Mr. Howard went down there and rather hauled them over the coals for acting against his advice. They explained the situation; they said that the members of this committee, although Mr. Pullman had personally promised that none of them should be discriminated against, were discharged next morning. Everybody was out of work, and the Pullman works were shut down entirely until our convention was opened here, when the whole matter was laid before the convention. Statements were made by different committees from Pullman as to the condition there. In the meantime several committees had waited on the Pullman company, asking them to arbitrate. Outside influence, business men and others had also used their influence to have Pullman arbitrate. We even offered to the committee of business men that waited on us to let them use any method they had a mind to in naming the arbitration committee, so long as it was a committee of disinterested men. We did not care who they selected, but were perfectly willing to let the whole matter go before them and abide by whatever they decided in the premises.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You spoke of several committees; can you give us the names of the men composing the committees, and the dates they called on the Pullman company?—Ans. I asked the chairman of the general committee at Pullman, Mr. T. W. Heathcoate, yesterday to bring us that information, but I have not yet received it. As soon as he brings it here it will be filed with you. The committee made their statement to the convention as to the cause of the strike down there, the wages paid, etc., showing that in many instances a man after working two weeks had drawn for his two weeks' salary as

small as 8 cents and from that to a dollar, over and above their rent—quite a number of them. The convention appointed a committee of six members of the American Railway Union outside of the Pullman employees to act in conjunction with a Pullman delegation of the same number to wait upon the Pullman officials and see what could be done toward effecting a settlement. That was the first committee that waited on the Pullman officials from the convention. The chairman of that committee was W. C. Lynch and F. E. Pollans was secretary. We expect to have some of that committee present before you, but I do not know where Mr. Lynch is at present. They submitted a written report, however, to the convention, of which I have a copy, as follows:

*June 16.*—The report of the special committee appointed to call on the officers of the Pullman Palace Car Company was submitted as follows:

*To the President and Representatives of the American Railway Union in Convention Assembled:*

We, the undersigned committee appointed by your honorable body to visit the Pullman Palace Car Company and obtain an immediate settlement of the difficulties now existing in the way of grievances of our members employed by said company, beg to submit the following report:

We met Mr. Wickes, second vice-president of the Pullman Palace Car Company, and to him stated through our chairman, W. C. Lynch, that we were a committee representing the American Railway Union, now in convention, and desired him to restore the wages paid his employees prior to the reduction in 1893. In answer to this question or proposition Mr. Wickes replied that, as second vice-president of the Pullman Palace Car Company, he positively refused to entertain any proposition from the American Railway Union representing ex-employees of the Pullman Palace Car Company.

The next question asked was, "Will you arbitrate?" The answer to same was, "We have nothing to arbitrate." We then asked him where the first vice-president and president, George M. Pullman, was. He replied that they were both in New York. He was then asked if he knew when Mr. Pullman would return or when we could be granted an interview by Mr. Pullman. He replied in the negative.

Mr. Wickes was then asked if he would treat with the ex-employees, and he said "Yes, he would treat with them as individuals, but not as representatives of the American Railway Union."

W. C. LYNCH,  
S. E. HEBERLING,  
F. D. FIELD,  
R. M. SHACKELFORD,  
F. E. POLLANS,  
I. D. MAYHALL,

THOS. DOODY,  
R. W. BROWN,  
Miss JENNIE CURTIS,  
E. BLOCK,  
R. W. COOMBS,  
J. S. SHEHAN,

*Committee.*

The report was accepted by the convention and the committee discharged. Acting on the answer of Mr. Wickes that he would treat with a committee of his ex-employees, the convention instructed the Pullman delegation to select a special committee of ex-employees to wait on Mr. Wickes. The report of that committee was as follows:

The special committee having the Pullman matter in charge made the following report:

We, the undersigned committee appointed by this convention representing the strikers at Pullman, submit the following report:

We this day waited upon and were received by Vice-President Wickes, of the Pullman company, and the following questions and answers are a true report of the interview:

**Question.** We understand from the public press and from a committee that waited upon you yesterday that you would treat with the employees of the Pullman Palace Car Works?

**Answer.** Yes.

**Question.** Mr. Wickes, what are you willing to do in regard to raising the wages of the ex-employees?

**Answer.** The manager of the Pullman works is the proper person to apply to if the ex-employees wish to return to work. The manager has no authority to increase wages. The situation in regard to wages has not changed since the first committee waited upon Mr. Pullman.

Question. Mr. Wickes, are you willing to arbitrate the wage question with your ex-employees?

Answer. No, we have nothing to arbitrate.

Question. Mr. Wickes, will you consider the demand the committee makes on you in regard to raising the wages to the scale of May, 1893?

Mr. Wickes replied that we had no right to ask him that question, as he thought we stood in the same position as the man on the sidewalk.

R. W. BROWN, *Chairman*,  
F. E. POLLANS, *Secretary*,  
Miss JENNIE CURTIS,  
D. V. GLADMAN,  
R. W. COOMBS,  
J. McGUIRE,

*Committee.*

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were all the members of that committee ex-employees of the Pullman company.—Ans. Yes, sir.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the date of that interview?—Ans. June 16.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did that conclude the efforts of the union with the Pullman company?—Ans. No, sir; after that there was another committee appointed to notify the Pullman company of the action of the American Railway Union in regard to refusing to handle the Pullman cars after June 26; that was the committee Mr. Lovejoy spoke about of which he was chairman.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Since then has anything been done in any way between the union and the Pullman company?—Ans. I am not familiar with what the general committee has done; it has been in the hands of a general committee down at Pullman.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The union has taken no further action?—Ans. The local unions have full charge of the matter down there; there are several local unions of the American Railway Union at Pullman.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And it is through their affiliation with the general body that you have jurisdiction over the matter pending?—Ans. Yes, sir.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If you have anything further to say with regard to the difficulties state it in your own way?—Ans. There were a number of propositions made and efforts made by citizens and propositions submitted through the press that were made by our president and the directors; I will file copies of them; the strike was the result of our members refusing to handle the Pullman cars.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Give us a description of how that came about?—Ans. It came about by the action of the men on the different systems at different points refusing to handle the Pullman cars; when they did this they were discharged and then the local unions on the different systems took action and declared the strike on a different road.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What did the officers of the American Railway Union do, if anything, in order to induce these local unions to declare a strike?—Ans. They did not do anything.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did the officers of the union have any transactions with the management of either the Illinois Central Railroad or the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad?—Ans. Not that I know of.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Or with the General Managers' Association?—Ans. There was a proposition sent to the railway managers' association by the board of directors through Mayor Hopkins which was refused; they did not open it.



22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you a copy of that proposition?—  
Ans. No, sir; but I will furnish one.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you present at the conference at the Briggs House?—Ans. No, sir.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know anything about the origin of that conference, how and why it was called?—Ans. It was called by the trades unions of Chicago, if I remember rightly, by telegrams to the head officers of their organizations.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know the purpose of those that called that conference?—Ans. The purpose was to consider the strike of the American Railway Union on the railroads and at Pullman and see what could be done to assist us; I believe that was the intention of the call.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). What did you see, if anything, of the rioting or destruction of property in Chicago during the strike, as it is called?—Ans. I did not see any of it at all; I was not present where it occurred.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). And did not see any of the crowds that caused it or participated in it?—Ans. No, sir.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have stated that there was a conference called of the different labor leaders in the country, now what took place after that?—Ans. They decided at that conference—the question came up there whether or not the trades unions of Chicago would strike in sympathy—and they decided not to do so.

29 (Commissioner KERNAN). What were the reasons, so far as you ascertained, why they refused to do so?—Ans. I could not say, for I was not present at the conference.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). What were the reasons given as you understood it?—Ans. The only reasons that reached me were published through the daily papers.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). What, if anything, has the American Railway Union done since about this matter?—Ans. The strike has been on on all the roads throughout the country; we called a special convention here on the 2d of August to discuss the matter and the whole matter rests with the local unions on each system of railways throughout the country, and on all of the roads but two the strike has been declared off by the members located on the respective systems; the two roads on which the strike has not been declared off are the Santa Fe, I believe, and the Chicago and Eastern Illinois.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were there any local grievances on the Illinois Central?—Ans. Yes, but I don't know just what they were; one of our members was to be here today to testify as to that, who is familiar with it, named Burnes. He will be here this afternoon or in the morning. He resides in Chicago.

33 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The boycott was declared by the American Railway Union against the Pullman cars through the convention which you held at Chicago June 12?—Ans. Yes, sir.

34 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The strikes you refer to were local strikes on different systems?—Ans. Well, they were pretty general on the different systems.

35 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You spoke of the strike being declared off, what strike do you refer to?—Ans. The strike on the different railway systems.

36 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Those were strikes growing out of the action of the convention of June 12 declaring a boycott against Pullman cars?—Ans. Yes, sir.

37 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have studied the question of labor difficulties, the methods of handling them, and remedies for them, I suppose, and we would like you to give the commission the benefit of your conclusion as to what can be done either by the State or Federal Governments relative to avoiding or preventing railroad troubles?—Ans. So far as railroads are concerned I think the best method to avoid and prevent strikes on them would be to have the Government own and control them.

38 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would not that method lead to other consequences, either political or otherwise, which we might desire to avoid?—Ans. Not that I know of.

39 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In case such a remedy as you suggest could not be obtained is there any other method which you think could be resorted to to avoid strikes?—Ans. I think if some method could be adopted whereby these differences of railroad employees could be settled by arbitration, that is, by a fair board of arbitration, that it would do away with strikes entirely.

40 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What would you call a fair board of arbitration?—Ans. A board where each side had a voice in their selection, and each party concerned should be forced to abide by the decision of the board.

41 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would you make the decree of such a board obligatory and would you enforce it as you would the judgment of a court?—Ans. If it was a properly constituted board, yes.

42 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Suppose the decree was that the men should continue to work at the old wages, how would you compel them to continue at work and enforce the decree?—Ans. In all my experience in labor difficulties I have never known the employees of any concern to ask anything that was unreasonable or very much so. I have never seen them where they would not be willing to accept any fair decision, even though it might not give them all they asked.

43 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Your judgment, then, is there would be a voluntary submission to the decree?—Ans. Yes, sir.

44 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, to go a step further, suppose they did not think the decision fair and would not go to work?—Ans. Take the present strike, for instance; if it had not been for the interference of outside force I do not believe there would be such distress, and if it were not for the advantages the corporations have in bringing other forces to their assistance in times like this I do not believe there ever would be a strike.

45 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Don't you think that efforts in the way of arbitration, and compulsory to that extent, for the submission of grievances before any strike is declared, would be more efficient than arbitration after a strike was declared?—Ans. Certainly, and in that connection I would state that in nearly every strike that has come to my knowledge the men have been for weeks, months, and sometimes years striving for the adjustment of difficulties before they did finally strike.

46 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you think if there was some law that would compel employers to submit to an investigation and decision of a common board of arbitration it would have beneficial effects in preventing a strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

47 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But you would enforce a decree of that board of arbitration in the same way as a judgment of the court is enforced?—Ans. Certainly.

48 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Suppose the employer was dissatisfied and decided he would not pay wages beyond what he thought he could pay and disposed of his plant, how would you enforce such a decree against him?—Ans. Well, if the employers were to be excused from abiding by the decision of the board of arbitration the employees would have the same right, and if the law would permit that on the part of the employer it ought to permit it on the part of the employee, and in that case the board of arbitration would be practically useless.

49 (Commissioner WRIGHT). No, I ask you how you would enforce that decree, if the employer declined to pay wages he felt he could not pay?—Ans. It might be done by the same method used at the present time to force labor and those interested in these difficulties to submit to the wishes of the corporations—put them in jail, or arrest them.

50 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Suppose the employer preferred to close his works rather than submit to the decree; there is the decree, what would you do with it?—Ans. I would let him close his works if he wanted to. If after a fair investigation a board of arbitration should decide the employer was able to pay the wages asked and he refused to do so, then I would think it better if his works were closed; the better it would be for the community and let somebody who would be willing to be more fair and just in the matter do business in his place.

51 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That would not do as to railroad companies; it would hardly do to have a law permitting them to discontinue operations.—Ans. It seems to me the railroad corporations should be forced to continue their road or forfeit their charters; then let the Government take charge.

52 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How would you enforce such a decree against the employees if they decided they would not work for the wages the board of arbitration decreed were right and just?—Ans. The employees would have the privilege of leaving the service if they so desired, I suppose.

53 (Commissioner KERNAN). That would make the arbitration a failure?—Ans. No, not if they simply resigned their positions and went away.

54 (Commissioner KERNAN). They would always resign then, would they not, unless the decision was against the employers, who would be compelled to abide by it?—Ans. The decision of the board of arbitration would establish the wages that companies should pay and if the men in their employ at that time, or a portion of them, desired to leave and go elsewhere that would be their privilege; I don't believe it would be possible for a board of arbitration to compel a man to stay in a place and work if he did not want to.

55 (Commissioner KERNAN). You don't think that any man who quit work after a decree of that kind would attempt to interfere with those who undertook to work at the price fixed, do you?—Ans. No, sir.

56 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then the arbitration would not be compulsory?—Ans. Yes, sir.

57 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If it were compulsory then you could compel the men to work at the price the board decreed they should work, or punish them if they did not obey the decree?—Ans. Not to that extent, but it would be compulsory to the extent of making employers pay certain wages and it would force the men who worked for that corporation to work for the wages decided on.

58 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Whether they wanted to or not?—Ans. No, it would force whoever did work, not the old employees.

59 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is, it would be compulsory to the extent of compelling both parties to arbitrate, but not compulsory to the extent of compelling men who did not want to work for the price fixed by the arbitrators to work for that price.—Ans. Certainly not; I do not believe that would be possible under the Constitution of the United States.

60 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That would be making slaves of them?—Ans. Yes, sir.

61 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Don't you think a law might be so framed as to authorize and protect, either by injunction or otherwise, employees who are willing to accept the wages fixed by arbitration from any interference on the part of men who are unwilling to accept such wages, and in that way be protective to the employer?—Ans. I think they are accorded that right now.

62 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is, you think one man has no right to interfere with another?—Ans. Not if he wants to work.

63 (Commissioner KERNAN). This suggestion has been made to me, that there should be, as Commissioner Worthington suggests, an opportunity given for a fair hearing before some properly constituted board, and that that board should recommend an adjustment of the difficulty, then as to railroad companies and their employees, that it should be compulsory on each side to give the other thirty or sixty days' notice of their intention not to abide by the award. What would you say to that proposition?—Ans. The difficulty in all those matters is that the corporations are not forced to live up to their contract, or the law either, so far as that is concerned. They violate it at will, and as I have said the best way out of it is for the Government to own and control the railroads. I do not believe it is possible while they are controlled by a few men and private interests to avoid trouble on railroads.

64 (Commissioner KERNAN). You recognize the fact, I suppose, that it would take some time for the Government to get control of all the railroads in the United States, and we are here to find out if we can not give some relief to apply immediately. What do you think of the proposition that if either the railroad company or the employees do not desire to accept the award, that either side should be compelled to give the other thirty or sixty days' notice of that fact?—Ans. I do not care to answer that question; I do not think the thirty or sixty days' notice would have any effect.

65 (Commissioner KERNAN). On the one hand it would give an employee thirty or sixty days' time in which to look up other work, and in the meantime his pay would continue, and on the other hand it would give the railroad thirty or sixty days' time in which to get new employees, provided their old ones desired to leave and not live up to the award—why would that be unjust to either side?—Ans. It would be unjust in this. I think every man should, when he enters the employ of another, have a voice in fixing the condition of his employment, the wages to be paid, etc; if we should pass a law compelling the employees of any particular road to give sixty days' notice I think we would be doing them an injustice as well as the company.

66 (Commissioner KERNAN). You don't think any limitation on the right of men to quit when they want to would be just?—Ans. No, sir; not unless they had a voice in making the contract themselves. I would state that some of the older railroad companies have had contracts of that kind which were lived up to by both parties when they wanted to, but in many cases the corporation did not wait until the contract expired. They discharged the men anyhow, and I don't think it is possible to have

the employees bound in any such way while it is possible for the railroad managers to combine and bring to their assistance all the other forces of the Government, the State press, and everything of that kind that is at their command.

67 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the practice of the various roads, so far as you can speak of your own knowledge, relative to black-listing discharged men?—Ans. It is very universal at the present time; a very large number of cases have been brought to my knowledge in the past week where ex-employees have been informed that they could never again work on that road, or on any other road running into the city of Chicago; I think it is almost universal on the roads running into Chicago today.

68 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know that railroad companies exchange lists with each other, or that a common list of names is kept up by them?—Ans. I do know that men have applied for positions on other roads when the roads wanted men, they would take their names, and then after looking the matter up inform the men that their services were not wanted—men who were capable and competent in every respect.

69 (Commissioner KERNAN). The reason not being given, but you presume the reason to be that they were blacklisted?—Ans. There are a great number of men in Chicago here, some of whom will probably appear before the commission, that know more about it than I do.

70 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Has that state of facts so far as you know grown out of the strike now under investigation here to any extent—is it one of the effects of that strike?—Ans. That would be hard to say; probably it had something to do with it though.

71 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That practice has been in vogue for a long time, has it not?—Ans. Yes; but not as much so as since the recent strike.

72 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Your opinion is that that aggravated the blacklisting method?—Ans. It might not be that, but the railroads are in a position where they feel they are safer in doing it; they believe the men are demoralized and that there are more railroad men seeking employment than there is a demand for.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If there is no one present who desires to cross-examine this witness he may stand aside.

(No response.)

August 30, 1894, Sylvester Keliher recalled on behalf of employees.

73 (Commissioner KERNAN). With reference to the letters, telegrams, and papers you were to furnish the commission, have you furnished all that you have?—Ans. Yes, sir.

74 (Commissioner KERNAN). The reason I ask is because in the information filed in the United States court it is charged that a large number of telegrams were sent from headquarters, some under the signature of Mr. Debs, and it was as to those I wanted to know?—Ans. Those telegrams were received from the Western Union company, and Mr. Howard, in his testimony, stated we would be perfectly willing to furnish them, and I suppose you can get them from the Western Union. I have never had those telegrams; they have never been filed with me.

75 (Commissioner KERNAN). State whether the telegrams are substantially correct as stated in the information filed in the United States circuit court?—Ans. As to that I could not say, because I did not send any of them and have not seen them.

76 (Commissioner KERNAN). Would Mr. Howard know about that?—Ans. I am sure I don't know.

## EXHIBIT 4.—MOTIONS, RESOLUTIONS, AND REPORTS OF THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION, JUNE 12 TO 23, INCLUSIVE, 1894.

This is to certify that the attached is a complete record of all motions, resolutions, and reports acted upon in the convention of the American Railway Union, held in the city of Chicago from June 12 to 23, inclusive, relating to the Pullman strike.

SYLVESTER KELIHER,

*Secretary of the General Union of the American Railway Union.*

Subscribed to and sworn before me this 17th day of August, 1894.

[SEAL.]

HERBERT HAMMOND,

*Notary Public, Cook County, State of Illinois.*

CHICAGO, ILL., August 17, 1894.

The following is a complete record of all motions, resolutions, and reports acted upon at the convention of the American Railway Union held in the city of Chicago from June 12 to 23, inclusive, relating to the Pullman strike, and the action of the American Railway Union in refusing to handle Pullman cars:

*June 14.*—Moved that a special committee of five be elected by this body to investigate and report on the Pullman strike. Laid on the table.

Moved that a vote of thanks be extended to John J. Doyle in appreciation of his efforts in securing provisions and money for the Pullman strikers. Carried.

*June 15.*—Moved that the convention go into executive session in a committee of the whole to consider the Pullman strike at 11 o'clock a. m. Carried.

A committee of the Pullman strikers submitted the following report:

## STATEMENT FROM THE PULLMAN STRIKERS.

*To the Convention of the American Railway Union, assembled in Uhlrich Hall, Chicago, June 15, 1894:*

Mr. President and Brothers of the American Railway Union: We struck at Pullman because we were without hope. We joined the American Railway Union because it gave us a glimmer of hope. Twenty thousand souls, men, women, and little ones, have their eyes turned toward this convention to-day, straining eagerly through dark despondency for a glimmer of the heaven-sent message you alone can give us on this earth.

In stating to this body our grievances it is hard to tell where to begin. You all must know that the proximate cause of our strike was the discharge of two members of our grievance committee the day after George M. Pullman, himself, and Thomas H. Wickes, his second vice-president, had guaranteed them absolute immunity. The more remote causes are still imminent. Five reductions in wages, in work, and in conditions of employment swept through the shops at Pullman between May and December, 1893. The last was the most severe, amounting to nearly 30 per cent, and our rents had not fallen. We owed Pullman \$70,000 when we struck May 11. We owe him twice as much to-day. He does not evict us for two reasons: One, the force of popular sentiment and public opinion; the other because he hopes to starve us out, to break through in the back of the American Railway Union, and to deduct from our miserable wages when we are forced to return to him the last dollar we owe him for the occupancy of his houses.

Rents all over the city in every quarter of its vast extent have fallen, in some cases to one-half. Residences, compared with which ours are hovels, can be had a few miles away at the prices we have been contributing to make a millionaire a billionaire. What we pay \$15 for in Pullman is leased for \$8 in Roseland; and remember that just as no man or woman of our 4,000 toilers has ever felt the friendly pressure of George M. Pullman's hand, so no man or woman of us all has ever owned or can ever hope to own one inch of George M. Pullman's land. Why, even the very streets are his. His ground has never been platted of record, and to-day he may debar any man who has acquiring rights as his tenant from walking in his highways. And those streets; do you know what he has named them? He says after the four great inventors in methods of transportation. And do you know what their names are? Why, Fulton, Stephenson, Watt, and Pullman.

Water which Pullman buys from the city at 8 cents a thousand gallons he retails to us at 500 per cent advance and claims he is losing \$400 a month on it. Gas which sells at 75 cents per thousand feet in Hyde Park, just north of us, he sells for \$2.25. When we went to tell him our grievances he said we were all his "children."

Pullman, both the man and the town, is an ulcer on the body politic. He owns the houses, the schoolhouses, and churches of God in the town he gave his once

humble name. The revenue he derives from these, the wages he pays out with one hand—the Pullman Palace Car Company, he takes back with the other—the Pullman Land Association. He is able by this to bid under any contract car shop in this country. His competitors in business, to meet this, must reduce the wages of their men. This gives him the excuse to reduce ours to conform to the market. His business rivals must in turn scale down; so must he. And thus the merry war—the dance of skeletons bathed in human tears—goes on, and it will go on, brothers, forever, unless you, the American Railway Union, stop it; end it; crush it out.

Our town is beautiful. In all these thirteen years no word of scandal has arisen against one of our women, young or old. What city of 20,000 persons can show the like? Since our strike, the arrests, which used to average four or five a day, has dwindled down to less than one a week. We are peaceable; we are orderly, and but for the kindly beneficence of kindly-hearted people in and about Chicago we would be starving. We are not desperate to-day, because we are not hungry, and our wives and children are not begging for bread. But George M. Pullman, who ran away from the public opinion that has arisen against him, like the genii from the battle in the Arabian Nights, is not feeding us. He is patiently seated beside his millions waiting for what? To see us starve. We have grown better acquainted with the American Railway Union these convention days, and as we have heard sentiments of the noblest philanthropy fall from the lips of our general officers—your officers and ours—we have learned that there is a balm for all our troubles, and that the box containing it is in your hands to-day only awaiting opening to disseminate its sweet savor of hope.

George M. Pullman, you know, has cut our wages from 30 to 70 per cent. George M. Pullman has caused to be paid in the last year the regular quarterly dividend of 2 per cent on his stock and an extra slice of 1½ per cent, making 9½ per cent on \$30,000,000 of capital. George M. Pullman, you know, took three contracts on which he lost less than \$5,000. Because he loved us? No. Because it was cheaper to lose a little money in his freight car and his coach shops than to let his workmen go, but that petty loss, more than made up by us from money we needed to clothe our wives and little ones, was his excuse for effecting a gigantic reduction of wages in every department of his great works, of cutting men and boys and girls with equal zeal, including everyone in the repair shops of the Pullman Palace cars on which such preposterous profits have been made.

George M. Pullman will tell you, if you could go to him to-day, that he was paying better wages than any other car shops in the land. George M. Pullman might better save his breath. We have worked too often beside graduates from other establishments not to know that work for work and skill for skill, no one can compete with us at wages paid for work well done. If his wage list showed a trifle higher, our efficiency still left us heavily the loser. He does not figure on our brain and muscle. He makes his paltry computation in dollars and cents. We will make you proud of us, brothers, if you will give us the hand we need. Help us make our country better and more wholesome. Pull us out of our slough of despond. Teach arrogant grinders of the faces of the poor that there is still a God in Israel, and if need be a Jehovah—a God of battles. Do this, and on that last great day you will stand, as we hope to stand, before the great white throne "like gentlemen unafraid."

Turning to more specific grievances, and giving place aux dames local union 269, our first girl's union, is made up of young women working in the carpet department, the new linen room, the linen repair room, the glass embossing department, and the laundry. Before May, 1893, the various departments were all paid at the rate of 22½ cents an hour. The cut reduced this to 10 cents an hour, a scaling down of 68 per cent. Many girls, providing for invalid mothers or small sisters or brothers, have been able to make but 6 cents an hour. The Illinois statutes compel an eight-hour day for women. Listen to the reason given by the girls for their action.

"The working girls of the Pullman car shops, organized recently to be protected against the abuse and tyranny of forewomen whose delight it has been to make the girls' lives one of discontent, humbling and crushing them in spirit, forcing many of them to become pliant tools and debased informers of a merciless, soulless, grasping corporation, at once devoid of all sense of shame and humanity, and defying the laws and the presence of the Creator, and encroaching upon the rights of those who toil, weave, and spin. Our work is tedious and laborious, requiring skill, endurance and persistency to accomplish the severally allotted tasks. In the name of justice and eternal right we appeal to this convention to exercise its power and relieve those wrongs that gnaw at the hearts of the working girls of Pullman."

The freight car shops, whose workmen were organized as No. 143 last November, present for inspection the following table of prices, showing the strides corporate selfishness can take in successive years.

	Lot 1515.		Lot 1528.		Wickes' patent refrigerator.	
	October, 1888.	November, 1893.	October, 1888.	November, 1893.	1889.	1894.
Car carpenter .....	\$13.00	\$7.00	\$17.00	\$7.00	\$36.00	19.50
Truck builder .....	.90	.60	1.20	.70	.90	.60
Truck labor .....	.31	.09	.277	.10	.32	.10
Hanging brakes .....	1.20	.65	1.20	.65	1.20	.60
Delivery, forgings, and castings .....	1.05	.35	1.107	.41	1.31	.56
Delivery lumber .....	.88	.21	1.037	.38	1.46	.64
Framing .....	.40	.12	.40	.12	.85	.28
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>17.74</b>	<b>9.01</b>	<b>22.221</b>	<b>9.36</b>	<b>42.04</b>	<b>22.26</b>

These cuts are 49, 57½, and 47 per cent, respectively, and it should be borne in mind that the first two are before the worst reduction of all, that of December, 1893. The figures are from the official books of the company. The upholsterers of union No. 190, present a similar table for your inspection.

	1893.	1894.		1893.	1894.
<b>Tufted head rests:</b>			<b>Sofa panels—Concluded.</b>		
With springs .....	\$0.85	\$0.41	With arms .....	\$0.75	\$0.42
Without springs .....	.65	.41	Plush panels, per car .....	1.02	.79
Spring-edge backs .....	.67	.48½	Sofa rolls .....	1.40	.90
<b>Spring edge seats:</b>			Large car chairs .....	5.75	4.00
Tufted .....	1.10	.79	Detroit chairs .....	5.50	3.60
Plain .....	.90	.65	Wicker chairs:		
Aisle ends .....	.70	.47	Square .....	4.50	3.20
Wall ends .....	.65	.47	Round .....	4.50	2.90
Scroll ends .....	1.25	.70	No. 309 .....	3.00	1.75
<b>Mann boudoir seats:</b>			No. 1036 .....	1.00	.70
Tufted .....	3.00	1.71	Wicker sofa .....	10.00	5.00
Plain .....	2.75	1.51	Cutting carpets:		
<b>Mann boudoir back</b>	<b>4.00</b>	<b>2.85</b>	Dining car .....	2.00	.90
<b>Dining-car seats:</b>			Sleeping car .....	2.00	1.10
Plush .....	.37	.34	Wilton .....	2.50	1.50
Leather .....	.43½	.34	Laying carpet and oilcloth .....	1.25	.90
<b>Dining-car backs:</b>			Mattresses:		
Plush .....	.85	.54	New folding .....	.30	.20
Leather .....	.95	.54	Double .....	.25	.15
<b>Sofa seats:</b>			Smoking-room .....	.40	.22
Drawing-room .....	3.50	2.40	Old single .....	.20	.15
Smoking-room .....	3.50	2.75	Tourist .....	.23	.15
Extra long .....	4.00	2.75	Loose cushions .....	.25	.20
Round end .....	2.75	2.10	Day coaches:		
<b>Drawing-room sofa backs:</b>			Spring-edge seats .....	.79	.62
Plain .....	.60	.39	Hard-edge seats .....	.43	.35
Tufted .....	2.00	1.23	Backs .....	.30	.27
<b>Smoking-room sofa backs:</b>			Day work .....	2.75	1.90
Double .....	4.00	2.88	Do .....	2.50	1.90
Single .....	2.00	1.23	Do .....	2.25	1.80
<b>Sofa panels:</b>			Do .....	2.00	1.50
Tufted .....	.60	.42	Day work, laborers .....	1.50	1.30

This union had its president, George Fingerhute, a sober, industrious, and capable workman, discharged for joining the organization just before the strike.

Local union No. 191 is made up of different elements. The laborers in it, who have been cut from \$1.50 to \$1.30 for a 10-hour day, can not support their families, and ask the restoration of the 20 cents, which is the limit between life and starvation. The teamsters ask for \$50 a month with a 60-hour week and time and one-half for overtime. They ask the discharge of their foreman for gross abuse of his official position. The painters of No. 196 ask for the wages of 1893, time and one-half for overtime and double time for Sundays. The reductions are:

	1893.	1894.
Ornamental painters .....	\$2.75	\$2.30
Same .....	2.50	2.30
Hard-wood finishers .....	2.35	2.00
Same .....	2.30	1.75
Rubbers .....	2.20	1.50

Piecework prices have been so reduced that the men can with the utmost difficulty make their day rate. The ornamentation of a Pullman sleeper was reduced from \$40



to \$25.30; rubbing rough stuff from \$22 to \$15, and all other work in the same proportion.

It must be borne in mind that the painters in Chicago have, by their recent strike, secured for themselves 35 cents an hour for eight hours' work until June 15, and 32½ cents an hour thereafter. The men in Pullman have extraordinary skill, but are paid at the rate of 23 cents an hour, a difference today of 12 cents. In other words, the Chicago brotherhood men are getting nearly 52 per cent more than the members of the American Railway Union. If it be asked why the men do not leave Pullman it can only be answered that many of them have already and that more will follow, but they demand justice where they are.

The tin and sheet iron workers, who compose local union No. 207, were earning \$2.75, \$2.50, and \$2.25 for ten hours' work a day before December, 1893. The two former men of the most skilled were working before the strike for \$1.90, and the average workman in the last class for \$1.60.

The chairman and vice-chairman of the strike committee at Pullman are both drawn from local No. 208, which, taking in as it does all the coach builders, is the strongest union in the works. Its grievances are so varied and so many they must be left to the delegate to present to the convention.

It was in the machinists' and woodworkers' departments, organized as local No. 240, that Brothers Petersen and Hasty, the latter the secretary of the union, were discharged, both of them being members of the grievance committee. They ask the wages paid by the Chicago Forge and Bolt Company for precisely the same work. The differences are startling, the Pullman men getting since the cut, for example, only 6½ cents in a hundred for ¼-bolts, while the Chicago concern is paying 11½ cents. The reduction in this department amounts to nearly 50 per cent. The threaders, millwrights, punch handlers, drill hands, and tool makers ask for wages of 1893. These last men, who make tools, are cut in some cases to \$1.75 and from \$2.75 paid last December. In addition, the superintendent of this department is a bookkeeper merely, and has frequently admitted that he knows nothing whatever about machinery or the requirements of the work.

The steam fitters of No. 249, who have suffered several reductions, ask 27½ cents an hour for skilled mechanics and 17½ cents an hour for helpers. In Chicago first-class men are paid \$3.50 for eight hours' work and men of inferior ability \$2.75. The best workmen in Pullman, therefore, ask the same for ten hours that is given the Chicago steam fitters of the second class for eight hours.

Foundry men make up No. 251. The brass molders have been cut from 20 to 25 cents a day and the laborers and furnace men 20 cents. The brass finishers lost from 25 to 50 cents a day. The molders in the wheel shop were cut 5 cents a wheel, amounting to \$1 and \$1.20 a day, while the helpers have 50 cents a day less and the laborers 10 to 35 cents. In the last year the men in this department have only been given twenty-eight days' actual employment. The machine department men were reduced 25 cents a day. The iron foundry men who do piecework were reduced from 40 to 75 cents for ten hours' work; the day workmen 40 cents; core makers from 20 to 80 cents; men in the chipping room 20 to 75 cents, and the yard men 20 cents.

Local union 257, the blacksmiths, suffered a cut between 30 and 50 per cent. Smiths making from \$3.50 to \$4 a day were scaled down to between \$1.50 and \$2.50, and helpers suffering accordingly.

Truck and platform men, organized as No. 262, have suffered so much from the piecework system that they demand the fairer plan of day wages. Their foreman has proved himself a petty tyrant and his discharge is asked.

The cabinetmakers of No. 278 make broad charges of mismanagement. With 158 men at work, the foremen and clerks remain the same as when 400 were employed. Sub-foremen and "straw bosses," showing favoritism when they are not displaying incompetency, make life in this department as difficult as the reduction in wages.

No. 279, the wood-machine hands, are also opposed to piecework. They have suffered in some instances a cut of 40 per cent and in no case has it fallen below 33½ per cent. Some reductions are appalling. Work on parlor cars, formerly worth \$35, went down to \$5, and on day coaches from \$6 to \$1.75.

In the street-car department, No. 290, the iron machinists were cut—it is almost incredible—from 70 to 85 per cent; strippers and letterers from 40 to 70 per cent, and surface painters and finishers about 30 per cent. When complaint was made to the foreman in this shop he told the men to quit if they did not like it, and he would send over for some of his countrymen, who could do as much work as any six Americans. This is a sample of prices for the standard closed car:

	1892.	1896.	1894.
Body.....	\$41.00	\$33.50	\$25.00
Inside finish.....	39.00	27.00	22.00
Trimming.....		17.00	12.00

Hoods were cut 40 to 50 per cent; cab work 40 to 60 per cent, and wood machinists, whose foreman was so incompetent that he could not fix a price on work until it approached completion, was scaled down 70 cents a day.

The brickmakers, No. 321, submit the following comparison of wages paid in Cook County:

	Chicago.	Country.	Pullman.
Laborers .....per hour..	\$0.20½	\$0.20	\$0.13¼
Burners, 12 hours.....	2.50	2.25	2.10
Dryers.....	2.50	2.00	2.15
Car shovers .....per hour..	.31½	.22½	.17½
Belt boys.....do.....	.17½	.18	.13½
Hopper men.....do.....	.28½	.20	.15
Pug millers.....do.....	.28½	.20	.17½
Empty car shovers.....do.....	.28½	.20	.13½
Clay diggers.....do.....	.28½	.25	.20
Dust men.....do.....	.18½	.20	.17½
Dry-pan men.....do.....	.28½	.22½	.15
Setters.....per 1,000..	.20	.19	.15
Tossers.....do.....	.19	.17	.13
Walling and daubing arch.....	3.00	2.50	2.00
Loading.....per 1,000..	.32	.32	.27
Steam fitters.....per hour..	.34½	.25	.13½
Engineers.....do.....	.34½	.30	.20
Firemen.....do.....	.28½	.22	.16½

The silver platers and brass polishers are united in local union 323. They, like all the rest, have suffered several reductions and have other grievances. Natives of Holland employed in the works in various capacities are in No. 356. Owing to their imperfect comprehension of the needs of the occasion they were the last organized of the eighteen Pullman unions. They did not go out with the others for the same reason and were locked out. Some of them are machinists, some wood carvers, and some laborers. All unite in saying that since the last reduction they could make more and live better in their own country. Piecework men, skilled artists some of them, were only able to make 80 to 90 cents a day.

Now this, brother delegates, is what the Pullman system will bring us all to if this situation is not faced fairly and squarely in the American way, for Americans, by the American Railway Union. It is victory or death. And so to you we confide our cause. Do not desert us as you hope not to be deserted. Be brothers in deed as well as in name, even as we are brothers in need. Teach us anew that thrilling verse and bring unto us once more that—

Good old plan  
That those should take who have the power,  
And those should keep who can.

Every man of you, every honest heart among you, every willing hand stands ready. You know you can; will you?

FRANK E. POLLANS, No. 207,  
Chairman.  
JENNIE CURTIS, No. 269.  
WM. HAAS, No. 190.  
DAVID V. GLADMAN, No. 196.  
L. P. WATSON, No. 240.  
THOMAS J. PRICE, No. 251.  
B. E. WALTERS, No. 262.  
EUGENE BLOCK, No. 279.

THOS. DOODY, No. 321.  
R. W. COOMBS, No. 143.  
WM. COCHRANE, No. 191.  
R. W. BROWN, No. 208.  
JAMES IZATT, No. 249.  
WM. DAVIS, No. 257.  
WM. F. AVERY, No. 278.  
J. M. MAGUIRE, No. 290.  
P. M. BENDER, No. 323.

Moved that it be the voice of this delegation that the executive board of the American Railway Union declare a boycott on the Pullman palace cars.

After a general discussion of the situation the convention adjourned at 12.30 o'clock to convene again at 2 o'clock p. m. in executive session for further discussion on the Pullman strike.

*At the afternoon session.*—Moved, as an amendment, that there be a committee of six appointed by the chair, to work in conjunction with a committee of six composed of delegates from Pullman, to present the claims of the members of the American Railway Union on the Pullman Palace Car Company, and insist on an immediate settlement of the existing difficulties. Carried.

The following committee was appointed: R. M. Shackelford, S. E. Heberling, W. C. Lynch, I. D. Mayhall, S. B. Fields, and John S. Shehan.

Moved that the committee of the whole in executive session do now arise and report progress. Carried. Whereupon the regular order of business was resumed.

June 16.—The report of the special committee appointed to call on the officers of the Pullman Palace Car Company was submitted, as follows:

*To the President and Representatives of the American Railway Union in Convention Assembled:*

We, the undersigned committee appointed by your honorable body to visit the Pullman Palace Car Company and obtain an immediate settlement of the difficulties now existing in the way of grievances of our members employed by said company, beg to submit the following report:

We met Mr. Wickes, second vice-president of the Pullman Palace Car Company, and to him stated, through our chairman, W. C. Lynch, that we were a committee representing the American Railway Union now in convention, and desired him to restore the wages paid his employees prior to the reduction in 1893. In answer to this question or proposition Mr. Wickes replied that as second vice-president of the Pullman Palace Car Company, he positively refused to entertain any proposition from the American Railway Union representing ex-employees of the Pullman Palace Car Company.

The next question asked was, "Will you arbitrate?" The answer to same was, "We have nothing to arbitrate." We then asked him where the first vice-president and President George M. Pullman were. He replied that they were both in New York. He was then asked if he knew when Mr. Pullman would return, or when we could be granted an interview by Mr. Pullman. He replied in the negative.

Mr. Wickes was then asked if he would treat with the ex-employees and he said "Yes," he would treat with them as individuals, but not as representatives of the American Railway Union.

W. C. LYNCH,	THOS. DOODY,
S. E. HEBERLING,	R. W. BROWN,
F. D. FIELD,	Miss JENNIE CURTIS,
R. M. SHACKELFORD,	E. BLOCK,
F. E. POLLANS,	R. W. COOMBS,
I. D. MAYHALL,	J. S. SHEHAN,

*Committee.*

Moved that the report of the committee be received and the committee discharged. Carried.

Moved that the matter of the Pullman trouble be referred to the Pullman delegates to organize a committee to wait upon Vice-President Wickes, of the Pullman Palace Car Company, and use all means in their power to effect a settlement, and report back to this body. Carried.

The following resolution was read and referred to committee on resolutions:

*Resolved,* That inasmuch as the people of Chicago and vicinity have shown their sympathy for the Pullman strikers by their magnanimous and whole-hearted contributions toward their relief, it is the belief of the representatives assembled that a special committee of three be appointed by the chair to draft suitable resolutions expressing the approbation and thanks of this convention for the same.

The special committee having the Pullman matter in charge made the following report:

We, the undersigned committee appointed by this convention representing the strikers at Pullman, submit the following report:

We this day waited upon and were received by Vice-President Wickes, of the Pullman company, and the following questions and answers are a true report of the interview:

Question. We understand from the public press and from a committee that waited upon you yesterday that you would treat with the employees of the Pullman Palace Car Works.

Answer. Yes.

Question. Mr. Wickes, what are you willing to do in regard to raising the wages of the ex-employees?

Answer. The manager of the Pullman works is the proper person to apply to if the ex-employees wish to return to work. The manager has no authority to increase wages. The situation in regard to wages has not changed since the first committee waited upon Mr. Pullman.

Question. Mr. Wickes, are you willing to arbitrate the wage question with your ex-employees?

Answer. No; we have nothing to arbitrate.

Question. Mr. Wickes, will you consider the demand the committee makes on you in regard to raising the wages to the scale of May, 1893?

Mr. Wickes replied that we had no right to ask him that question, as he thought we stood in the same position as the man on the sidewalk.

R. W. BROWN, *Chairman*  
 F. E. POLLANS, *Secretary*,  
 Miss JENNIE CURTIS,  
 D. V. GLADMAN,  
 R. W. COOMBS,  
 J. MCGUIRE,

*Committee.*

Moved that the report of the committee be accepted. Carried.

*June 19.*—Whereas Mr. William C. Hollister, editor of the Eight Hour Herald, and others, have placed the American Railway Union under lasting obligations for their brotherly sympathy and invaluable assistance in taking up the cause of the striking employees of Pullman; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the general convention of the American Railway Union tender its sincere thanks and regards to Brother William C. Hollister and others for their kind and efficient aid. Adopted as read.

Whereas, at the inception of the trouble at Pullman, Hon. John P. Hopkins, mayor of the city of Chicago, and a former employee of Pullman, tenders his sympathy with the cause of the wronged employees of said company, and at the same time donated for their help in the struggle the substantial sum of \$1,500; and

Whereas such action on his part demonstrates that in the highest position in the gift of the greatest city on the continent he has not forgotten his regard and friendship for the downtrodden ranks from which his genius has raised him; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the American Railway Union, in convention assembled, tenders to Hon. John P. Hopkins, mayor of Chicago, its heartfelt thanks and its assurance that in his refreshing disregard of the opinion of plutocrats of the George M. Pullman pattern, when the question of right to the masses arose, that the convention, speaking for the American Railway Union, appreciates to the fullest extent his generous action, and will ever feel toward him as its friend in the hour of trouble and need. Adopted as read.

A communication from local union 341, of Fairbury, Nebr., was read, asking that President Debs, or some member of the board of directors, visit them to assist them in resisting a reduction in wages that is being coerced by the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Company.

A communication asking that Wagner palace cars be not allowed to be substituted in case a boycott was declared on the Pullman palace cars. The communication was referred to the committee on special work.

The following resolution was referred to committee on special work:

*Resolved*, That this body in convention assembled do take immediate action, by special assessment or otherwise, to relieve the Pullman employees and to no longer allow them to be the objects of charity depending upon the community at large for the bare necessities of life.

*June 20.*—The following resolution was adopted as read:

Whereas D. Kalias has, by his generous spirit and charitable acts, shown himself to be a friend and staunch supporter of our brothers at Pullman; Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we tender him a vote of thanks for the good he has done.

*June 21.*—Whereas washing has been done for the Pullman Company by Mungers laundry and it is understood that all girls employed in said laundry are members of the union; Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to wait upon the the managers of Mungers laundry and ascertain the true facts.

The resolution was adopted and the following appointed a committee: Representatives Wetz, McGuire, and O'Rourke.

Telegrams from Raton, Sacramento, and other points stating that local unions at those points were ready to commence an aggressive action against the Pullman Company was referred to before the justice.

A committee representing the Pullman strikers having asked permission to be heard, by unanimous consent Brother Heathcoate, chairman of the Pullman strikers, was given the floor. After the remarks of Brother Heathcoate, in which he set out the situation at Pullman in a precise manner, a motion was offered that a committee of five be appointed by the chair to report a suitable line of action at once. Carried.

Representatives J. D. Hill, John Casey, C. J. Dahl, S. W. Welch, and J. A. Corcoran were appointed a committee, and instructed to convene at once and report at the earliest possible time.

Moved that men duly commissioned representing this body be sent to St. Louis and Ludlow at once. Carried.

The chair announced that he would select the men as soon as he could confer with

Vice-President Howard, and send one to St. Louis and the other to Ludlow without delay.

*June 22.*—Your committee of special work, in the matter of an assessment for the benefit of the Pullman strikers, recommend that \$2,000 be donated from the general fund for immediate relief of the Pullman strikers, and that an assessment of 10 cents per week be levied on all members, to continue until otherwise ordered by board of directors.

Moved to adopt as read.

Moved as an amendment to make it 5 cents per week instead of 10.

Moved to lay the amendment on the table. Carried, and report of committee adopted as read.

*June 22.*—The convention in executive session received the following report from the special committee appointed to outline the plan of action regarding the Pullman strike:

We, your committee, report that unless the Pullman Palace Car Company does adjust the grievances before 12 o'clock Tuesday, June 26, 1894, the members of the American Railway Union shall refuse to handle Pullman cars and equipment on or after that date, unless a satisfactory adjustment is made.

We further recommend that the Pullman employees at the shops in both St. Louis and Ludlow be called out immediately; also that notice be served on the public in general through the Associated Press, such notice to set forth the contemplated action of the American Railway Union.

J. D. HILL, *Chairman*,  
C. J. DAHL, *Secretary*,  
JOHN CASEY,  
J. A. CORCORAN,  
S. W. WELCH,  
*Committee.*

Moved that a committee of three be appointed by the chair to wait upon Mr. Wickes. Carried.

Representatives George W. Lovejoy, F. E. Pollans, and C. A. Timlin, were appointed as committee to wait upon Mr. Wickes, vice-president of the Pullman Palace Car Company.

*Afternoon session.*—The special committee appointed to visit Mr. Wickes of the Pullman Palace Car Company made a verbal report, stating that they had obtained an audience with Mr. Wickes and had complied with their instructions to notify him that unless the Pullman Company should consent to an arbitration of existing difficulties by 12 o'clock, Tuesday, June 26, that the members of the American Railway Union would place a boycott on their cars. Mr. Wickes flatly refused to enter upon any negotiation, and the committee withdrew. The report of the committee was accepted and the committee discharged.

The committee on resolutions offered the following, which was adopted as read:

Whereas the people in the city of Chicago and vicinity have shown by their practical and moral support of the Pullman employees in their fight against a greedy corporation for a reasonable and fair compensation,

*Be it resolved*, That we, the American Railway Union in convention assembled, sincerely return our appreciation and thanks for their generous and hearty support of our struggling brothers in Pullman; and further,

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be given to the press.

#### TESTIMONY OF B. B. RAY.

August 16, 1894, B. B. Ray, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is B. B. Ray; age 34; am a railroad man, unemployed; at present I am residing at 321 Lincoln avenue, Chicago, Ill.; am a married man; my last employment was as assistant general yard master at Rock Island, Ill., for the Rock Island Railroad Company; I occupied that position about nine months; prior to that I was train master on the Chicago and Alton Railroad at Bloomington, Ill., for about nine months; prior to that I was a conductor on the Missouri Pacific Railroad, Kansas City division; occupied that position five years, resigning to accept the position of train master of the Chicago and Alton; prior to that time I was a passenger conductor on the Santa Fe road; was with that company about six years.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you familiar with the circumstances or conditions of the strike upon the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad?—Ans. Yes, sir; at Rock Island and Chicago.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understand you to say you were employed at Rock Island?—Ans. Yes, sir.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State how far Rock Island is from Chicago, and about its population.—Ans. It is situated on the banks of the Mississippi River, about 160 miles west of Chicago, and has a population of about 25,000.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there any adjoining city of any railroad importance?—Ans. Davenport, Iowa, is immediately across the river, and Moline is adjacent, where all the industries of that part of the State are located. The Moline and Rock Island road is operated by the Rock Island company, and is under the jurisdiction of the yard master at Rock Island.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State, in narrative form, what you know of the strike at Rock Island, its inception, its continuance, and its condition.—Ans. I was acting general yard master at the time the local union of the American Railway Union was instituted at Rock Island; I did not join the organization when the union was instituted there, but had asked and received passes from the Rock Island management to visit my parents, who lived in Kansas, and return by way of the Missouri Pacific and St. Louis and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy to my home at Rock Island. After spending about ten days visiting my parents I returned to Rock Island, and was informed by my immediate superior, the general yard master, that I was discharged. I asked what for; he said he did not know, but thought it was for affiliating with the American Railway Union. I immediately went among the yard men there—most or nearly all of them had formerly worked for me on the Chicago and Alton Railroad—and they became very much dissatisfied at my dismissal.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). At this time were you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. No, sir.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you a member of any other railroad organization?—Ans. I was and am a member of the Order of Railway Conductors.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Proceed with your statement.—Ans. The men did not understand why I was discharged and I immediately went to St. Louis to see Mr. Howard, but he was not there. I then came up to Chicago and called on Mr. Duulap, general superintendent of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific; when I went in his office, which is over on Van Buren street, he reached out his hand and shook hands with me; I asked him why I was discharged; he said, "You have a considerable amount of gall to come up here and ask that question; you have tied yourself onto these men, Debs and Howard, and are a member of the American Railway Union;" I told him he had been misinformed; that I was not at the time of my dismissal a member of the union and had nothing to do with them at all; that when the organization was started at Rock Island, it was formed exclusively of switchmen, and a man was put in as president of the local union whom we had discharged about four months prior for drunkenness, and I went to my switchmen and said, "Boys, if you are bound to start this organization, which I don't approve, I would suggest you put conservative men into the organization and distribute the offices of the union, locally, among members of the various other lines of railroading, that is, foremen, brakemen, conductors—"

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you make this statement to Mr. Dunlap?—Ans. No; I recited these facts at a mass meeting in Rock Island.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Just state what was said between you and Mr. Dunlap, unless you have already done so.—Ans. I was explaining this to you as a forerunner to what I said to Mr. Dunlap. Mr. Dunlap said he thought I was a proper man at Rock Island, but that I was not a fit man to handle men; that I was a traitor to the company. I asked him why; he said by advising and affiliating with this new organization, and said, "You can not work for this company any more, and I will discharge any conductor that carries you out of town, and will see to it that you do not get work elsewhere." I asked him if my services had not been perfectly satisfactory as a yard man; he would not answer me. I had received a personal letter from the manager of the John Deere Plow Company at Rock Island a few days before this that my services there had been more satisfactory to all the industries at Moline than anybody in ten years; I also received a similar letter from the Rock Island Lumber Company, one of the largest industries there. When I came to Chicago and asked why I had been dismissed I was simply told because I was affiliated with the American Railway Union. I was discharged while I was away visiting my parents; nothing had ever been said to me prior to that time. I had never received a scratch of the pen saying that my services were not satisfactory, and while there I had been holding the position of general yard master three-quarters of the time, owing to the fact that the general yard master was out of the city.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What is the name of the general yard master at Rock Island?—Ans. F. W. McKee.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). At the time of your interview with Mr. Dunlap were you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir; after being turned out at Rock Island I joined the union at Murphysboro on or about the 1st of June; I was discharged on the 25th day of May.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was there a strike against the Rock Island road at Rock Island?—Ans. Yes, sir; there has been about twenty-six men discharged there. At times, without giving any cause, and at other times there was cause given. Prior to bringing this new set of men we had discharged twenty-five men out of that yard, and most of the men there at the time I left were men I had brought there to work for me from the Chicago and Alton Railroad, where I had formerly been employed.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State the cause of the strike at Rock Island against that road?—Ans. One of the yard foremen there, one of the oldest men of the new men that had been employed there, resigned; he had been told they had been laying for him to discharge him, and some six or seven other men were discharged, which caused a very restless feeling among the men; in fact, they could not have taken my case up because I was not a member of the union at that time, but there was dissatisfaction, and when it was learned that switchmen on the Rock Island had been discharged as members of the American Railway Union, for refusing to handle Pullman cars, they took a vote in the local union and decided to take the same stand the members of the union did in Chicago.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And struck after that vote?—Ans. Yes, sir.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Of what class did the employees of the Rock Island road at that point consist?—Ans. They have their roundhouse there and do some local repairing there. It is also the terminus of the southwestern division, of the Iowa division, and Illinois division, and they do the switching of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many employees, all told, are there at that point?—Ans. Possibly 300 or 400, outside of the train service.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What, if anything, do you know of the strike here in Chicago?—Ans. I was a member of the convention which met here and was a member and secretary of the legislative committee that drafted the constitution and bylaws, and as I was unemployed I have been assisting what I could, in a temporary way, in the organization of local unions.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you mean the constitution and bylaws of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir.

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When were they drafted?—Ans. During the convention of June 12.

22 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had there been any written constitution before that time?—Ans. Yes, sir.

23 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were there any material changes made in the constitution at that time?—Ans. No, sir; not as to the principles of the organization; there were some minor features changed, but nothing that would have any particular bearing upon the organization.

24 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you a copy of the constitution of the American Railway Union, adopted June 5, 1893?—Ans. I have not with me.

25 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Can you furnish us a copy of that constitution?—Ans. The secretary will do so.

26 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you heard the testimony that has been detailed here with reference to the action of that convention of June 12, 1894?—Ans. Part of it; yes, sir.

27 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is your recollection of the action of that convention any different from what has been detailed here, or can you give us any fuller information than has been given by other witnesses? If so, state it.—Ans. I do not think I can give you any further information.

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are there any other facts you can state with reference generally to the causes of the strike at Rock Island or Chicago, or its condition, that you have not already stated?—Ans. I don't know of any, except possibly this matter of reference from one road to the other has had a tendency to make the men very restless, as it leaves them totally in the dark as to why they are not employed after their services have been accepted, and it don't give them any chance to explain why they were dismissed by some other company; these men will be employed say a week or ten days and then when their reference comes back they are dismissed without any cause given; I have seen that when I was acting as yard master, even before the present strike.

29 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Has there been any change in that respect since the strike?—Ans. I could not say, as I have not been officially connected with any road.

30 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there a system existing between railroads by which one railroad company refers to another for the ante-



cedents of an employee who has recently been employed, and by which the employing railroad company is governed in continuing the employment of that employee?—Ans. Yes, sir.

31 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you given much attention to this subject of difficulties between labor and capital?—Ans. Yes, sir; I have thought of it some.

32 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you any method or suggestion that in your judgment might tend to prevent strikes or outbreaks?—Ans. I think there is one matter radically wrong, and that is, when a railroad goes into the hands of a receiver the men can not understand why the former manager of the road, who failed to operate it successfully, is generally put right back by the court as a receiver. They do not understand why the managers are not removed, but instead there are generally two more men put on to help with additional salaries, and the same men kept on to operate the road who were not able to operate it successfully.

33 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is the fault found with Government operation of railroads through receivers?—Ans. Yes, sir.

34 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But I refer now to the prevention of strikes, generally; have you any suggestions relative to that matter?—Ans. I think that arbitration is about the only solution of the difficulty and I believe that if an employer discharges a man and upon investigation he can not show good cause for so doing, he should be removed by the court from his official position.

35 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What do you think should be done with employees who leave the employment of the company without good cause?—Ans. I think they should give the company at least thirty days' notice that they are going to leave their service, and if they fail to do that, they should be compelled to hunt other employment outside of railroading.

36 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you think it would be well to license railroad men as we license pilots, etc?—Ans. Yes, sir; I think a man should pass a rigid examination before being allowed to operate a train, and I think a conductor should have a license and his moral character should go a great ways.

37 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Suppose that arbitration was compulsory to the extent of requiring, before a strike, that the railroad company should be compelled to submit to arbitration all grievances and that the employees should also be compelled to submit their grievances, even if the decision of the arbitration was not compulsory, what effect do you think that would have in the prevention of strikes?—Ans. I think it would have a very good effect; I think it would stop a great many of these serious conflicts between employees and employers, and I do not recall an instance where arbitration has not in some degree adjusted the differences.

38 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I will ask you if it is or is not true that in almost every instance of complaint by employees there has been a request on their part for arbitration, unless they could be settled by themselves?—Ans. Yes, sir.

39 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you in your position at Rock Island hire and discharge men?—Ans. Yes, sir; well, I will not say particularly discharged men; when I was acting as general yard master I dismissed men, but they had the alternative of going higher; the dismissal was not final.

40 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you have any rules to observe with reference to the appointment or discharge of men because of their con-

nection with labor organizations?—Ans. Before a man could be employed upon the Rock Island road he had to submit an application, giving at least three railroad companies on which he had formerly worked, stating in what capacity he was employed and his time of service; then at the bottom of the application there had to be the names of three reliable men; then, if we needed men badly, the man was put to work and his application sent to the general office; there they took it up and wrote to the companies he had designated as reference, and it depended entirely, as a rule, upon the answers returned by these different companies as to whether the man was kept in the employment of the company; if his references were satisfactory he was kept employed; if he had not had a good record on the other lines he was told that he could not be used.

41 (Commissioner KEERNAN). You reported all men you hired and discharged, and your decision would be reviewed?—Ans. Yes, sir.

42 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Were you yourself under any instructions as to hiring or discharging men that belonged to labor organizations?—Ans. No, sir.

43 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Do you think it would be unjust to require, in case of arbitration, a thirty days' notice of discharge to be given by the railroad company, or a like notice by the employee who desired to quit?—Ans. No, sir; I think that would be very liberal.

44 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Provided they did not desire to live up to the award?—Ans. Yes, sir.

45 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How far would you carry arbitration?—Ans. So far as I am concerned, I believe the arbitration should be final.

46 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You would enforce the decree of a board of arbitration as you would the judgment of a court in an action at law?—Ans. Yes. I believe if men agreed to bind themselves by an agreement made between their friends and friends of the other party the decision should be final and carried out as strictly as law.

47 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How would you enforce the award against either party?—Ans. So far as the employees were concerned, if there was an arbitration put into effect, I would simply say to the employees that on and after such a date you must work for such a salary; you must either abide by the decision of the arbitration and accept such salary or give the company thirty days' notice in order that they may get somebody to fill your place, and then you are to keep off the company's premises and go about your business.

48 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How would you enforce the decision against the employers?—Ans. I would simply say to the employer that the board of arbitration had decided a certain salary shall be paid on and after such a date, and you will be forced to pay that sum to men who desire to work at that figure, and if you do not do it you will be subjected to a heavy fine or your charter revoked.

49 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That would apply to corporations, but how would you force it against other employers?—Ans. I think a very heavy fine would eventually bring them around all right.

50 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then you would establish the rate of pay by a decree of the court?—Ans. Yes, sir.

51 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would you establish the price at which the goods made by a concern should be sold?—Ans. No, sir.

52 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). If railway employees were licensed and could not work without having a license, and they refused to abide by a decision of a board of arbitration, then could not it be made to

work a forfeiture of the license so as to exclude them from other railroad employment?—Ans. Yes, sir; we have too many railroad men in the country today.

53 (Commissioner WRIGHT). On the other hand, would you have it work the forfeiture of the charter if a corporation did not abide by the decree of a board of arbitration?—Ans. Yes, sir.

54 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And you would have penalties of some kind applicable to either party?—Ans. Yes, sir; and have it fixed so that there would not be any crookedness on the part of either, so we would get pure law.

55 (Commissioner WRIGHT). With reference to goods manufactured, if a board of arbitration decided that an employer must pay certain wages, would not that affect the price of the goods?—Ans. That should be taken into consideration by the board of arbitration. I believe a man who invests his money in a manufacturing establishment of any kind should be permitted to make a reasonable profit, but I believe while he can not at all times control the market there can be a harmony existing between employer and employee, by which both can live for the time, and there might be instances where the employee should give in a little if it can be proven that the institution is not making any money, and I believe the employee, if approached in good faith, would at all times be willing to take a scale of wages that would enable an institution to tide over hard times. Conductors get 3 cents per mile, brakemen 2 cents, firemen  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents, engineers 4 cents. Now, if the company is making money on the road everybody is well pleased, but when business is dull and the conductors' pay gets below \$100 per month, down to \$80 or \$90, and the other employees' pay is reduced in proportion, they become dissatisfied, and if it keeps on creates discontent and from that it leads to a strike and trouble. I believe if we could get an arbitration so the decision would be in a manner fixed by law, compelling both parties to meet and adjust the differences, it would stop strikes.

56 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The interposition of an arbitration you think would have a moral force?—Ans. Yes; and I think the employees would quickly grasp the situation and gladly accept it. For instance, take the arbitration on the Great Northern road; how quickly it was grasped by the entire line and the strike settled.

57 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any other suggestions to make as to remedies which might be taken?—Ans. Yes; I think there might be a law enacted and enforced to the letter that the officials should give an employee an honorable discharge, or some sort of a discharge, when he is dismissed, stating the reasons why, and if the employee seeks to do better and goes to another railroad and seeks to enter their service the official who dismissed this man should give the facts uncolored; I think blacklisting has a bad effect upon the workingmen throughout the country; sometimes one of the best men, after working for a company twenty-five years, overlooks a train order and is discharged; I do not think a man should be ostracised from all railroad employment in the country when he has given the best part of his life to the service.

58 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any further suggestions as to what might be done by law?—Ans. I do not recall anything at present.

59 (Commissioner KERNAN). I suppose that one of the grounds on which you approve licensing is that it will protect the public against trains being operated by incompetent employees, but, on the other

hand, might not the railroad companies object to that upon the ground that it would restrict the number of men from whom they could select employees, and so place them substantially under the control of those who hold licenses?—Ans. I think not, from the simple fact that many men are employed on railroads through personal friendship; for instance, an official has a friend he wants to put in the service, and he is appointed as a conductor on a passenger train when he never broke a day in his life, ran a freight train, or had any practical experience as a conductor. I think men that are given positions in that way are incompetent.

60 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think the supply of competent men holding licenses would be sufficient to protect the railroads against arbitrary action on the part of licensees?—Ans. Yes, sir; take the Rock Island road for instance; they have in this city from twenty-five to twenty-six extra freight conductors all the time, and all of the companies are in the same condition, and I think by licensing the conductors and engineers we would get better service.

61 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any further suggestions to make?—Ans. No, sir.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If there are any representatives of the Rock Island or Illinois Central railroad companies present who wish to cross-examine Mr. Ray they can have the opportunity now.

(No response. Witness excused.)

#### TESTIMONY OF R. M. GOODWIN.

August 17, 1894, R. M. Goodwin, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. R. M. Goodwin; 30; Chicago, Ill.; one of the directors of the American Railway Union.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been a director of that union?—Ans. Since about June 22.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you represent in that union any local union? If so, what?—Ans. I was formerly president of a local union in Montana.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a railroad man?—Ans. Yes, sir.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been such and in what capacities have you served?—Ans. I commenced railroading in 1882 as a switchman, and have been a switchman, brakeman, yard master, and freight conductor.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you in Chicago at the time the American Railway Union declared a boycott against the Pullman cars?—Ans. Yes, sir.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And have you been here since then?—Ans. Yes, sir.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you familiar with the causes which led to that boycott?—Ans. Not personally.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you familiar with the difficulties which occurred in Chicago after the boycott was declared?—Ans. No, sir; not personally; only from reading the newspapers.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you on any of the committees which endeavored to secure a settlement of the difficulties?—Ans. No, sir.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know anything of the causes of the strike on the Rock Island road west of Chicago?—Ans. No, sir.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you present at a conference of labor leaders at the Briggs House?—Ans. No, sir.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are there any facts within your knowledge relative to the recent troubles that you would like to state?—Ans. No; none that I know of. I think the ground has been thoroughly covered by Mr. Howard.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any views relative to the prevention of strikes or settlement of the difficulties after they arise?—Ans. No, I can not see any solution to the problem under the present wage system.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you think of any solution under any different wage system?—Ans. Yes, under a cooperative commonwealth I think would be a solution of all labor troubles.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Explain your views on that more fully.—Ans. By the Government or the people owning all the labor-saving machinery and owning all the products of labor in common; the nationalization of railroads and coal mines, and if it is fair to nationalize railroads and coal mines it is proper that they should nationalize all industries.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then you would have the Government do all the business of the country?—Ans. Yes, the people—the people are the Government.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But they would do it through an organized form of the Government in some shape?—Ans. Yes, sir.

#### TESTIMONY OF H. F. GRISWOLD.

August 17, 1894, H. F. Griswold, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. H. F. Griswold; 28; Chicago, Ill.; am a switchman; have been an all-round railroad man from running a train down.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been a switchman?—Ans. I have been a switchman and brakesman about ten years.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you employed on any road now?—Ans. No.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you been employed on any road running into Chicago up to the last of March, 1894?—Ans. I was employed by the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. I am.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been a member of that union?—Ans. Since the latter part of May or first of June, 1894, when the Northwestern road was organized.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you sought employment on any railroad recently?—Ans. Yes, I tried on the Pennsylvania system. I took a trip East, went to Pittsburg; went into the train master's office and applied to his clerk for a position. He asked me my name and I wrote it out and handed it into him. He turned and showed me a book with my name in it and told me he would not employ me on the road at all; that he had my name on the blacklist, but he would not show it to me.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was the book printed?—Ans. Part of it

looked to be typewriting and there were marks written after the names. I did not get much chance to look at it.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The reason given to you for not employing you was that you were blacklisted?—Ans. Yes, sir; that I was a member of the American Railway Union and prominent in the recent troubles at Chicago.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you an officer in that union?—Ans. No, sir.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you take any part in any way in the recent strike or boycott at Chicago?—Ans. No, sir, except to go around and talk to the men. I took a prominent part in the organization of the Northwestern road, so that every time I go to cross the right of way I am ordered off. They will not allow me even to walk on their road.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you serve on that committee?—Ans. No, sir.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you observe here in Chicago any rioting or violence during the continuance of the strike or boycott?—Ans. No, not to amount to anything. I saw some hoodlums out by the stock yards doing a little fighting, but no railroad men that I know of.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Could you identify those men you saw there?—Ans. Yes, if they were brought before me I could.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you state to the commission the character of the men?—Ans. You can go down here on State street on the levee and you can find any amount of them; they are people that never work. They were down at the stock yards ripping and tearing cars up and had meat on their shoulders. I don't know where it came from. When I saw that going on I did not go near enough to the track to notice any further.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). How positive are you that there were not any railroad men engaged with them or leading them?—Ans. I am confident there were none.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). What day was it you observed this?—Ans. It was about dusk; I think it was the 5th or 6th of July.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). The location was where?—Ans. Over near the stock yards.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). At what other places did you see any disturbance going on?—Ans. I did not see any on any right of way, because I kept away from them.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). You were not, then, at any other places where disturbances were said to have been going on and observed them?—Ans. No, sir.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). You spoke of a clerk turning and looking at a book when you were at Pittsburg. Describe that book that the train master's clerk turned and looked at when he said you could not be employed.—Ans. It was a book that looked to be about a foot square and bound in dark-colored cloth or leather, with red tips on the corners and a red-leather back.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). How large was it?—Ans. About an inch and a half thick; it was of index.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the name of that train master's clerk?—Ans. I don't know his name; I simply walked in and asked for the train master and this clerk said I could not see him.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). When was it?—Ans. Less than a week ago.

## TESTIMONY OF JAMES B. CONNERS.

August 17, 1894, James B. Connors, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. James B. Connors; age, 36; live at Elsdon, a suburb on the Chicago and Grand Trunk road; am a switchman by occupation; I have worked in all capacities on railroads from a water boy up, including engineer and conductor.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been employed as a railroad man?—Ans. I have never done anything else. When I was about twelve years of age I first went railroading, carrying water on a gravel train.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir; am president of local union No. 225 at Elsdon.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you now employed on any railroad?—Ans. No, sir.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long since you have been?—Ans. I have not been employed on any railroad since July 29.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you sought such employment?—Ans. Yes, sir; I asked yesterday for a job and the gentleman I asked told me he could not give me a job; I asked him why; he said because I had been prominent in the late strike and served on committees; therefore I could not be employed; this was not on the road I had been employed upon; I made this application yesterday at the Union Stock Yards and Transit Company. I did not ask this gentleman directly, understand, but he told me that all men that served on committees were blacklisted and debarred from getting employment on any road; the conversation came up with regard to a telegraph operator that used to work there named Driscoll; he told me Driscoll was not working; he said, "Unfortunately he was a committeeman in this late strike and therefore he could not be employed." I said, "Am I to understand by that that all those who acted or served on committees are to be debarred from employment on all roads?" he said, "Yes, that is exactly it."

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the name of this official you spoke of?—Ans. I could not tell his name; I think it is Cahill; he is one of the foremen out at the Union Stock Yards and Transit Company.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In whose employment?—Ans. The Union Stock Yards and Transit Company.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you find out his full name and position and furnish it to the commission?—Ans. Yes, sir. In the strike here I was working for the Chicago and Grand Trunk road; I was a delegate to the convention where this thing was formulated, and as we did not handle coaches—I was working in the freight yard and never did any passenger work—therefore did not handle Pullman cars; the Chicago and Western Indiana made up all our passenger trains. I was elected president of the local union by the men, and I served, as I would do again in a similar case; I was also elected their committeeman, and I thought it just to the men to serve on that committee and did so; they told me to go down and see the superintendent and ask him what he intended to do. Now, we had not been handling coaches and were proposing to keep on at work until we were asked to handle coaches and then would refuse to handle them; we were not handling Pullman cars and were willing to do anything we were asked to do that

was right. I told Mr. Atwater, the superintendent, my business and he told me that the men would not be asked to do anything they had not done heretofore; I told him that was satisfactory, and on my leaving he said: "Now, in case there is any trouble out there you will let us know, will you?" I said, "Mr. Atwater, I am only their committeeman and can not say one thing or the other; this thing will go exactly as the men vote; if they vote to quit, they quit; if they vote to work, they work, that is all there is about it, but I do not think you will have any trouble as long as you do not insist on the men doing any work they have not done heretofore." That was all right, and I went home and reported to the men and they continued on at work; they did not take any action that night at all; they kept on at work until they were asked to do work that they had not done before.

The next day the Santa Fe people struck and there were two cars of meat at Underwood's Packing House for the Chicago and Grand Trunk; the Santa Fe people always delivered those cars to us and took care of them; we had nothing to do with them until they were delivered. After the Santa Fe men struck, and the men on the Burlington also, Mr. Atwater, Mr. Larkin, Mr. McKeen, and Mr. Corwin came down and insisted on our men going over there and taking out this boycotted freight, which the men had never been asked to do before. I happened to be there, and I told the men, "That is work you have not been in the habit of doing; it is not right you should do that work—refuse to do it;" and they did so, and Mr. Larkin and Mr. McKeen took an engineer and fireman, went over there and brought those cars out to Fourteenth street and from there, of course, our men had to take them to Elsdon, where they make up the trains, and there they asked me if they should do it; I told them yes. They were willing to quit then and there; I insisted on their waiting until that evening, and they went on about their business and I went home, and was in the house preparing to go to bed when a committee came after me and asked me to come to the hall.

When I got there the men were all waiting around; they had been over to the stock yards for a train of meat and had struck at the stock yards; they could not get in and came back; our yard master insisted on them going over there again, and they would not do it, and they held a meeting and the men there voted to strike; as to violence or anything of that kind there was none; there was not an act of violence committed by the men in the employ of the Chicago and Grand Trunk road; we even went so far when the cars were burning on the Pan Handle road that night as to hold a meeting and detail men into squads and put them out as guards to guard the company's property on the road; we went down and reported to the master mechanic and he telephoned to the general manager that we had volunteered protection and his reply was he did not care whether we did or not, but we did protect the yard that night and prevented cars from being burned; there was a hand-car load of these people from Forty-ninth and Loomis streets, and around there, came to Elsdon and we chased them back and saved the yard, I think, from being laid in ashes that night.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What other efforts have you made for employment recently?—Ans. I have not made any recently, but the Chicago and Grand Trunk people have a letter I furnished them when I went to work there seven years ago, which I got from the local freight agent of the Chicago and Northwestern road and they refused to give me that letter.



11 (Commissioner KERNAN). To whom did you apply for the letter?—  
Ans. To the agent, Mr. Larkin.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is he the custodian of the letter?—Ans.  
I don't know that he has got it; I gave it to the yard master and I  
don't know how he disposed of it; I presume he sent it to the general  
manager's office and it is on file there.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you applied to the general man-  
ager's office?—Ans. No, sir.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is probably the place where it is?—  
Ans. Yes, sir; and I will apply there.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). What kind of an agent did you apply  
to?—Ans. The freight agent.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Prior to the strike, what was the feel-  
ing among the Grand Trunk employees?—Ans. So far as the general  
superintendent, general manager, and general officers were concerned  
they were always in friendly touch with the employees, but they had  
an under boss at Elsdon and the yard master and the men were always  
at loggerheads; one of them in particular named Jordan; he would get  
so drunk he did not know anything and then go around and dictate to  
men that did know their business, which created ill feeling between  
him and the men, making it unpleasant for everybody; then when this  
agent, E. Larkin, came there, the first thing he did was to pry into the  
affairs of the men and he cut the force down to such an extent that a  
man was dogged around and chased around as though he was not  
human in order to get the work done; they even went so far when there  
was extra work to be done as to gather up the yard masters and sec-  
tion foremen, hostlers, etc., and send them out to help do the work;  
while at the same time they were having extra switchmen that had  
served at it the best part of their life, who had worked at it for six or  
eight years, going home every morning because they had nothing for  
them to do, when they could have had work there provided they put  
that work into the switching department and not had the officers do it.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). That was the practice during the past  
year or so, was it?—Ans. That has been the practice on that road for the  
last three years.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was the object of it?—Ans. To  
curtail expenses. When I spoke about it, Mr. Atwater and Mr. Roberts  
also told me those men were simply handling company's material, and  
"You know when we handle company material there is no money in it  
for the company." I said, "Suppose that a yard master or one of those  
wipers who are inexperienced—know nothing about switching, and are not  
paid for as switchmen—are ground up at any time; suppose one of those  
men gets hurt or injured in any way, who would be responsible for it?"  
Mr. Atwater said, "Oh, well, that is a matter to be settled afterwards."

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Of course the railroad company would  
be responsible if they employed inexperienced men, both to the public  
and to the other men. I suppose that is what you referred to?—Ans.  
Yes, sir. Now, in this late trouble here the majority of the men they  
have employed to take the place of the strikers here are inexperienced  
men, men that don't know anything about the business, and they have  
been getting killed and ground up right all along and running into one  
another and jeopardizing the lives of themselves and the public.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What has been the treatment of such  
men by your union?—Ans. Our union is broad in its principles; our  
union is not opposed to anybody.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). They do not interfere with others work-  
ing?—Ans. No, sir; we keep away, let them alone.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't your men sometimes violate that rule?—Ans. I have never seen it violated; I know, so far as the union I represent is concerned. We hold our meetings in a hall behind the depot, and in order to show our good faith and that we did not intend to intimidate or exercise any violence toward the new men, we moved our meeting place about four blocks away from where we were so as to get away from the railroad altogether; we did not want to be around there; we wanted them to have all the show they could have; we did not want it said we interfered with them.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What would be the feeling among switchmen if a system of licensing were established?—Ans. I think it would be a very good thing. I would be in favor of every switchman having a license, and thoroughly examined as to his competency before he received it. Any good switchman could get a license, and it would shut out a good many that are incompetent.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you observe anything as to violence in the recent strike, except what you have stated?—Ans. No, sir; I did not. I did not see any trouble in any yard with the possible exception of one day; I don't remember the day exactly, but I was coming down town on the Forty-seventh street car line and there was a lot of cars standing on a side track—Pennsylvania cars—and there was a lot of boys around there from 17 to 18 years of age down to 10 years, and while I was waiting for a street car to come I saw the cars fired; I could not distinguish who done it; I just saw a fire break out in one of the cars, and it appeared to me as though the boys had set the car on fire; I also saw another case of the kind on the Fort Wayne track at Forty-seventh street, but the fire there was extinguished immediately.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). You disapproved of any violence in connection with this strike?—Ans. Yes, sir; certainly.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think it is to your interest to do that?—Ans. Yes, sir; we have always been taught so. The president of the American Railway Union always gave us to understand we were not to commit any violence or go near the railroads at all, but to keep away. He always advocated that the best way to win a strike was to quit work and go home and stay there.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). You stated one instance where you put out guards to protect the company's property. Why is it the American Railway Union did not do that all over Chicago?—Ans. I will tell you why. The night we put the guards down there to watch the railroad company's property, the next night we were ready to perform the same duty, and our men walked down to go to work to watch the company's property, but when they got there they found two companies of the State militia there, and if they hadn't come back as soon as they could they would have been shot. That was one reason why the union did not furnish protection as they would have liked to. The militia had orders, as I have been informed, to shoot the first American Railway Union man they saw around the company's property. As soon as you are found out to be a member of the American Railway Union you were spotted and chased around the town and hoodooed away from the property as quick as possible; but I have never been on their tracks from the time the strike began until today, unless it was that night when we were watching the yards down there.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you, upon your oath, say that none of the railroad men you personally know were connected with any of the violence that has been committed, so far as you know or have heard?—Ans. Yes, sir. I have never heard of any of our men being connected with any violence. I know that watchmen came out the night

of the strike and went to our hall and voted to strike, and wanted to go out with us that night—men that were hired as watchmen around the yards. Our yard is at an out-of-the-way place, and there is no water there; and if a fire should break out it would be a great loss, probably to innocent people; and after we came out of the hall, after the strike was declared on, I selected out those watchmen and said to them, "It is not necessary for you people to strike. I would prefer that you remain at work. By going out you can do us no good, and by remaining at work you can do lots of good by protecting the company's property;" and they followed my advice.

TESTIMONY OF FRANKLIN R. MILLS.

August 17, 1894, Franklin R. Mills, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Franklin R. Mills; 51; Garrett, Ind.; locomotive engineer.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Where is Garrett, Ind.?—Ans. One hundred and fifty miles east of here, on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you now employed on any railroad?—Ans. No, sir.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long since you have been so employed?—Ans. The last train I run was on the 1st of July. I brought a passenger train in here, and my engine was disabled. I returned on the 2d day on a pass which read, "Pass Engineer Mills from Chicago to Garrett, account of company's business," and received half time for the trip, according to agreement, and reported myself by telling the clerk to put me on the extra board, my engine being in the shop, and have never been put on duty since.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you made any attempt to be employed with the same company or any other company?—Ans. After I found out I was not to be employed any more by the Baltimore and Ohio, I wrote a letter to an old friend of mine that I have known since 1865, with whom I commenced railroading, W. G. Brinson, president of the Illinois Steel Company, at Chicago, and the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad. When I commenced firing on the Toledo division of the Lake Shore road, which was then the Cleveland and Toledo road, he went to carry messages; we grew up boys and men together, and when he was promoted to be a train dispatcher I was promoted to be an engineer, and ran under him for eight or nine years, took messages from him and was very familiar with him. On account of that familiarity, after I saw I could not be employed on the Baltimore and Ohio any more, I wrote him a letter asking for employment. After waiting about seven or eight days he answered the letter stating that sixty days ago it would have been a pleasure for him to have employed me, or to have had me in his employ, but at the present time he could not with justice to his company employ me, as he knew from evidence of my connection with the late strike; I have his letter at home and can get it for you if you desire.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did he state what the reason was he refused you employment?—Ans. He said on account of the action I had taken in the strike. I was chairman of a committee of the American Railway Union at Garrett, Ind.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you take a prominent part in the strike?—Ans. I simply told the men that the American Railway Union was out, and submitted to them the question as to whether they would go out or not on a vote, and they voted unanimously to go out. After they had done so, I went to Auburn, being personally acquainted with the sheriff, and having seen some suspicious persons around Garrett, to see if I could get the sheriff to appoint some of our union men as deputy sheriffs, thinking depredations might be committed on the property of the Baltimore and Ohio Company. The sheriff said to me, "I will surely appoint citizens of De Kalb County. P. C. Sneed, your superintendent, has been here today," or sent, I will not say which, "three or four men who came from Baltimore with a request that I swear them in as deputy sheriffs, but I don't like their looks and will not do it. They are very disreputable looking people," and that called my attention to them, and during the fifteen or twenty days intervening after that before the trouble was settled I noticed them every day under the influence of liquor on the street; those were the men that the superintendent of the Chicago division of the Baltimore and Ohio wanted sworn in as deputy sheriffs to guard the property. I wanted union men sworn in to see that the property was not molested, and there was no act of depredation committed there on the part of the men, no acts of violence, interference with trains, or anything of that kind.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Since May 8, 1894. I was a delegate to the convention of June 12 from Union No. 228.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say that after you learned you were not to have further employment on the Baltimore and Ohio road you made application for employment to Mr. Brinson; how did you learn you could not get employment on the Baltimore and Ohio?—Ans. I learned it in this way: Myself, together with a great many others, the caller came to us and said, "The money the company owes you is ready for you at the freight house;" we went there and received the amount coming to us; I received my pay for running the train from Garrett to Chicago and then half rate from Chicago back for the month of July, and the certificate I signed or the check I signed said on it "Discharged;" nothing else.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was there any other reason given for your discharge?—Ans. No reason was given.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you apply to anybody on the Baltimore and Ohio for a reason?—Ans. No, sir.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been a locomotive engineer?—Ans. I commenced firing in 1865; in 1867 I commenced running an engine from Newark, Ohio, to Toledo, Ohio, on the Cleveland and Toledo road, which was afterwards consolidated, making one division of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers?—Ans. I was initiated in that brotherhood in 1868, my connection with that order has been severed since.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do the locomotive engineers look with favor upon any system of licensing after examination?—Ans. There is a part of them that do and part of them that do not; engineers who are perfectly capable of running engines and taking charge of them look with favor on a license system, on account of the good results that have been shown among steamboat engineers; but those engineers who are incompetent, who secure their places by favoritism of some of the bos-

ses, are not in favor of it, for they know an examination would throw them out of a job.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is there not some system of examination in vogue on the Baltimore and Ohio?—Ans. A system in this way: “How do you understand such and such a rule in the time card?” “I understand it so and so.” “You are wrong; you mean so and so.” “Oh, yes; that is all right.” Then, “How do you understand such and such a rule?” “I don’t know hardly.” “This is the way that is to be understood,” and they go on and explain it. Then you go up and take out your insurance policy and donate so much money out of your pay every month to the company and you are employed.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is there any examination as to color-blindness?—Ans. They have skeins of yarn, but it is not a very rigid examination.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You are sure the competent engineers would favor a system of license, are you?—Ans. I am, because I was a delegate in a convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers when the question was brought up, and it was submitted to a vote, and as near as I could judge the better class of engineers voted in favor of the license system.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was the feeling among the employees on the Baltimore and Ohio with regard to striking prior to the time they struck?—Ans. It was not very favorable.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Had there been any cuts in the wages about which they were dissatisfied?—Ans. Not lately. The most of the difficulty on the Baltimore and Ohio was favoritism, pets, and maladministration of some of the petty officers.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It was not a sympathetic strike on account of the Pullman difficulties?—Ans. It was on account of the general action that was being taken by the American Railway Union; in general, those belonging to the union went out.

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). So you would say the Pullman difficulty, in connection with favoritism on the road, were the causes of the strike on the Baltimore and Ohio?—Ans. Those were the causes; more largely the Pullman affair.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don’t you think the interests of railroads themselves will protect the public in the selection of employees fully as well as any license system, which would probably be administered by persons who had not much experience?—Ans. I do not.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). Should those boards be political boards, State boards, or what?—Ans. The same as the steamboat board. A steamboat commissioner I believe holds his position, like a supreme judge, until he dies, or at least I think so; there has been but one in Cleveland for a great while.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). You refer to national licenses?—Ans. Yes, sir. We have a system of classification, and used to have it of four different classes, but it is now only in two. When an engineer is promoted from a fireman to be an engineer he runs for six months or a year—I forget the time, but it is not less than six months, or over a year—for 10 per cent less than a first-class engineer; he is called a second-class engineer, and I have been taken and sent out on a first-class passenger train several times because the man ahead of me was a second-class engineer; I have heard master mechanics say that system would build up all the damage done by the second-class engineer over and above what would be done by the first class engineer in handling the same engine. I have heard that ground taken.

## TESTIMONY OF CHARLES NAYLOR.

August 17, 1894, Charles Naylor, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

1 (Commissioner KERNAN). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Charles Naylor; 30; fireman and extra engineer. I was a regular engineer until the reduction of business came, then was put back firing, and at the time of the strike I was firing.

2 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long have you been in railroad employ?—Ans. About fifteen years. I started as a water boy, working on a section; broke a little while; done switching, and clerked in the office prior to running an engine.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). At the time of the recent difficulties what road were you employed on?—Ans. Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). When did you become a member of it?—Ans. I believe it was about in March.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you hold any office in the union?—Ans. I was president of local union No. 198.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you attend the convention at Chicago?—Ans. Yes, sir.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). And take part in its proceedings?—Ans. Yes, sir.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). What has taken place with reference to your discharge from the railroads that you were working for, or with reference to your endeavors since the end of the difficulty to obtain new employment?—Ans. In regard to my discharge they sent my time to my house, notifying me to go down to the office and I would receive my pay.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). When was that?—Ans. About two or three weeks ago.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was anything said as to discharge when your time was given you?—Ans. I have not met any of the officials personally; I don't believe I have been on the company's tracks since I quit about the 28th of June.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you applied to other roads for employment?—Ans. I have not.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). So you know of no facts with regard to blacklisting?—Ans. I do not know of any facts, but I know I could not get a job.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, you think so?—Ans. Our superintendent has told friends of mine that they held me responsible for the strike in the engine department, and I have seen letters that they have given to members of the committee stating that they were discharged for taking part in the strike, and certainly I have seen enough to know that should I present a letter of that kind I could not get another position on any railroad until this matter has blown over.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). During the time the strike was in operation what did you observe, if anything, as to the violence which occurred?—Ans. I was not in Chicago; I was an organizer; I was down East. I went to Fort Wayne and addressed the unions there and organized them thoroughly; I then went to Pittsburg. The particular part of my mission was to organize local unions and endeavor to keep railroad men in the East from coming here to fill our places. There was no

violence being committed in Chicago when I came back, because at that time the military forces were here; I saw no violence.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there anything further you desire to state in regard to this matter?—Ans. I want to state in regard to the feeling existing among railroad employees before the strike. I was a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, held an office in that organization, and for eight or ten months previous to the strike there was a feeling among railroad men in general that I had occasion to meet that there was going to be a reduction of wages on nearly every road throughout the country; the feeling existed on our line to this extent. Some time last January the different subordinate officials called all the employees in their different departments together and read to them a letter from the general manager, stating the depression in business, and that they required each and every one of them to be economical in the use of supplies, tools, etc., because if they did not it would naturally cause a reduction of wages. After that letter was read to all the employees, so far as I know, they endeavored to economize in every way they could, but some of the petty officials went further than that; they went so far as to violate some of the agreements the employees had with the management, and in a matter of fact way they did, to a certain extent, reduce them; that is, engineers were entitled to pay for three dinner hours per week that was formerly given to them as an increase. About two or three months previous to the strike they took that away from them, and also from the foremen.

In a large number of roads there was a feeling among the employees that they were almost in a helpless condition to stand against the oppression of the petty officials, and the petty officials took advantage of that feeling and deviled the men, just as their particular temperament at the moment led them to do; there were quite a number of reductions made on different Western roads; the Pennsylvania line had a system of pay entirely different from the majority of other systems; they pay their employees on the trip basis, instead of on the mileage basis; you are paid so much per trip, and the Pennsylvania company has an advantage over all the rest of the railroads that they compete with. The Big Four pays on a mileage basis; the Grand Trunk pays on a mileage basis, etc., which gave the Pennsylvania company an advantage over them, because they could extend your trip and you got no more pay for it; they figured out how much a trip cost, what would be a fair day's pay for it, and they gave that trip to you, and in a good many ways they added to the work of the employee by reducing the force in different departments and adding the work on to the men remaining. There seemed to be a feeling on the part of the men that there was going to be a reduction of wages generally; otherwise, I believe it would have been impossible to have brought about a strike.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You think that if it had not been for this feeling, that there was going to be a reduction of wages, the difficulty at Pullman would not have precipitated the strike?—Ans. Yes; that is my impression. Now, in regard to a national arbitration board, my impression is that railroad employees would not have a great deal of confidence in the men who would be elected to hold positions on the board. For instance, if Congress were to pass a compulsory arbitration law, defining the manner in which the arbitrators should be selected, say for instance by a public vote of the people, or appointed by the President, we believe we could not have confidence in men appointed in that way. My idea would be that the arbitrators should be appointed in each particular case; for instance, we will say there is trouble on

a certain railroad, and there is a national law in regard to arbitration. I think the employees should have the right to appoint one arbitrator, the company another, and those two choose a third, and, for the time being, in that particular case those arbitrators should be clothed with judicial power, but only for that case, and after that particular case was settled the duty of the arbitrators cease. In every case, then, you would have a fresh set of arbitrators.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is the law, now, of the United States.—Ans. It is not compulsory, though.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think it ought to be compulsory and a new set of arbitrators, who may be inexperienced men who know nothing of their duties, appointed?—Ans. You understand it would be men fresh from the people; you know when men get into judicial places they get too far from the people, they do not mingle among them.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose you should have a permanent board to investigate and ascertain all the facts, and also to serve as a board of arbitration, in connection with representatives of labor on the one side and capital on the other. How would that do?—Ans. I believe that would be all right; only the laboring men at the present time have lost confidence in men elected to positions.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Your theory is that in all appointments of permanent boards the power of corporations and capital would be so great that labor would not get a fair show?—Ans. Yes.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). And therefore they want to correct that in the way you suggest, or in some other way?—Ans. Yes. And I believe that if President Cleveland had followed in the footsteps of Mr. Gladstone in the coal-miners' strike in England, we would have been able to have settled this strike without trouble; I believe if, when this strike came up and a request was made for United States troops to protect the corporations, President Cleveland had said to the railroad corporations and to the Pullman company, "There are certain rights you people have got to respect, as well as the laboring people. I request that you should arbitrate this affair;" that is all we demanded in the Pullman matter, but he insisted he had nothing to arbitrate. Now, if Mr. Pullman's position was so secure he certainly should not have been afraid to have allowed it to go to a board of arbitration, and if Mr. Cleveland had said, "It shall go to a board of arbitration, or you get no protection," I am satisfied the case would have gone to a board and been settled, because then the laboring people would have known that they had the support of the Government back of them, as well as the corporation had, and when the laboring people begin to see that the support of the United States Government is thrown almost in every emergency with the incorporated bodies, then they begin to lose confidence. If the incorporated bodies who have shown such disrespect for the interstate-commerce law in the past can trample upon the laws it almost makes the poor class of people believe they ought to be entitled to the same privilege. I believe if the United States Government had taken that view of the case and notified the railroad corporations and the Pullman company they could not have protection unless they were willing to arbitrate, the whole matter would have been settled amicably.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). Of course there is no law authorizing the President to take that position; that would have to be the result of a new statute?—Ans. I believe there is as much law to allow him to take that position as there was to allow him to send United States troops into the State of Illinois.



24 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Would not there be this difficulty with your plan of arbitration—if the employees selected one man, the railroad company another, and the two selected a third—that the man selected by the employees would be for them and the man selected by the railroad would be for it, and consequently you would have but one independent man, if he was independent, to pass on the question?—  
 Ans. As a general thing I believe the man the employees would select would be fair minded; that has been my experience acting on boards of adjustment; I used to be general chairman of the firemen's committee on the Pennsylvania line, and while I was in favor of the men as much as anybody could be, and the general manager was certainly on the side of the railroad, still I was always ready to concede a point if he would concede to us. There is always something gained by an agreement of that kind, and I do not believe but what a board of the kind I have suggested could arrive at an agreement, even if it were a compromise, like all legislation is.

#### TESTIMONY OF FRANK WELLS.

August 17, 1894, Frank Wells, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Frank Wells; 55; Chicago, Ill.; am a switchman and have been for nearly thirty years.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been a member?—Ans. Since the 29th day of June, 1894.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you now employed as a switchman?—Ans. No.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long since you have been?—Ans. Since June 29.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). On what road?—Ans. Chicago and Erie.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you in Chicago during the late strike or boycott?—Ans. Yes.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you attempted to get employment since your discharge?—Ans. Not on the Chicago and Erie, for the general yard master told me that there would not be any use, because I was one of the committeemen on the Chicago and Erie road to look after the interests of the employees during the strike.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What part did you take during that strike?—Ans. I was one of the committeemen appointed to look after the interests of the employees and for the first twelve or thirteen days of the strike, or up until the time they brought the soldiers and militia here, we had a committee of seven, appointed at the meeting every night to guard their yard for them and did guard it until they brought militia here.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was that voluntary action on your part?—Ans. Yes, sir.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you see any violence or destruction of property during the strike?—Ans. Not by one of our men.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you by anybody else?—Ans. No, only the night of the World's Fair fire. There are a great many of our tracks which lay up along Wallace street and Fifty-third and Fifty-fourth streets, and the people got on top of the cars standing there to look at

the fire, and that evening—I could not tell how it was done, but one of the switchmen told me he presumed somebody dropped a cigar in the car—one stock car burned and two or three others. The company put in a claim against the city, I believe, for \$200 damages.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). There was no rioting at the time?—Ans. No. Then, in the yard, they had seven or eight cars of produce and three cars of pears that they could not get out during the strike, and the superintendent, the trainmaster, and general yard master, finally put them in a train and sent them out of the yards.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say there was no damage or rioting there at all before the troops came?—Ans. No, sir; there was not any rioting or cars turned over in Chicago until after the United States troops came; I am positive of it; I did not make it my business to go around to such places, but so far as I know there was not; I did not see anybody do any damage and know I did not do any myself.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What part did you and your associates take in the strike?—Ans. We attended our meetings and kept away from the yard; some of us could have went to work if we had wanted to, but we did not feel inclined that way.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you mean that you did nothing else but simply abstain from work?—Ans. Simply abstained from working, and our meetings were held at the hall on Madison street, right in the rear of the police station on Halsted street, and if we had been very rough characters I don't think they would have let us congregate there.

TESTIMONY OF MARTIN J. ELLIOTT.

August 17, 1894, Martin J. Elliott, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, age, occupation, and place of residence.—Ans. Martin J. Elliott; 33; present occupation, director American Railway Union; residence, Butte City, Mont.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you ever been in the employ of any railroad company; if so, in what capacity, and for how long?—Ans. I have been in the employ of railroads for the last five years, as switchman, switch foreman, and brakeman.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Where were you living during the late strike difficulties?—Ans. I was in Chicago part of the time, and part of the time in St. Louis.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you in the employ of any railway company during that time?—Ans. During the strike I was acting as a director of the American Railway Union.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How long before the strike was it that you had been in the employ of a railroad company?—Ans. June 7, 1894, I took leave of absence to attend the American Railway Union convention.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Where were you then working and for what road?—Ans. Butte City, Mont., for the Montana Union.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State in your own way what you know, if anything, with reference to the strike here?—Ans. I was a delegate to the American Railway Union convention, which assembled here on the 12th of June, and heard at various times committees report as to the difficulty at Pullman. I could not give explicit information with regard to the reports, from the fact that I was on the committee on constitution or legislation most of the time during the convention,

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What you know, then, is at second hand from hearing it reported by committee?—Ans. Yes, sir.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know anything about men being blacklisted or discharged from employment on account of being in the American Railway Union, or taking part in the strike?—Ans. I have heard men claim that they were blacklisted, but to say I know it of my own knowledge I do not. I have heard a good many complaints from men about their going to the office and being told they could not work any more for that company, then go to another office and it would appear that their names were there before them and they could not get work there.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). So far as you are concerned, personally, you have not experienced anything of that kind?—Ans. No, sir.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there anything in connection with this strike that you know of your own knowledge that you desire to tell the commission?—Ans. I don't really know what I am expected to tell in reference to it.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there a local union at Butte City, Mont.?—Ans. Yes, sir.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did that union strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Why did they strike?—Ans. For the reason the Pullman cars were boycotted; they notified the company that they would refuse to handle Pullman cars, and if the Pullman cars were brought in there they would go on a strike.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It was not for any grievance they had then against the company in whose employ they were?—Ans. No, sir; not directly, except they notified the company they would refuse to handle Pullman cars, that they were ready at all times to handle other business of the company, but not Pullman cars, and if Pullman cars were brought in the employees would naturally have to handle them or do no other business, and the company brought in Pullman cars and the men struck.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there anything else you know in connection with the strike which you desire to state?—Ans. The same thing happened at St. Louis where I was about the 2d of July; the employees at St. Louis notified the Missouri Pacific, or Terminal Company there, that they would not handle Pullman cars; John Lally, a switchman there, refused to handle a Pullman car and he was discharged; the men took that matter up as a grievance and demanded his reinstatement; the company would not reinstate Lally, for the reason that he refused to handle Pullman cars; then the men at St. Louis went on a strike.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The cause practically was the boycott of Pullman cars?—Ans. Yes; but ostensibly for the reinstatement of Lally, the discharged switchman; a great number of those men at St. Louis were told that they could not go back into the service of the company.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Because they struck, or because they were members of the American Railway Union?—Ans. They were told plainly they would have to give up their membership in the union; some few of them did so and were taken back and reemployed.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many men went out in that way?—Ans. I should judge there were several hundred.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have had considerable experience in railroading; what would you think of the advisability of railroad conductors and engineers being licensed before they could hold their positions?—Ans. I have not given that matter any thought of any great amount; that is of licensing men before they could have the privilege of earning a livelihood; the only opinion that I would express upon it would be that I do not think it would be a proper thing to say a man should have a license before he could have the privilege of earning a livelihood.

## TESTIMONY OF FRANK T. M'DONALD.

August 18, 1894, Frank T. McDonald, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Frank T. McDonald; 31; Chicago, Ill.; locomotive engineer.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the American Railway Union and a local officer of any union?—Ans. I am; I am president of local union No. 306.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you have any experience in the conduct of affairs during the late strike or boycott in Chicago? If so, state what your experience was.—Ans. Yes, sir; I was a delegate to the quadrennial convention. I opposed the movement, but when the matter was referred to our local union I went over on the West Side and canvassed our membership to ascertain their wishes in the matter, and it was the wish of our membership that a strike should take place, and I was directed by them to vote in favor of it at the convention. I desire to say in regard to that matter that the employees of the Chicago and Great Western—which was one of the roads under my jurisdiction as president of the local union—were rather anxious to take action against the company anyway. At one time last winter that company had ordered a 10 per cent reduction, first on the shop employees; they all accepted the reduction except the boiler makers, who went on a strike and were defeated; then along sometime again during the winter a 10 per cent reduction was ordered on all employees.

The American Railway Union at that time was not very strong on that system, but the employees met as a federated body of the old organizations, and I was a member of one of them. They decided not to accept the 10 per cent reduction; that if the company enforced the order they would leave the service of the company; they so notified President Egan, and the order was countermanded. Shortly after that a committee of the brotherhood of engineers and brotherhood of firemen went to St. Paul, the headquarters of the road, and were there something like six weeks at our expense. The company kept them waiting, which seems to be part of the policy of the companies when you send a committee to a company to adjust grievances; the company is liable to dismiss the men who were on that committee from their service, and if they do not the officials will find business in New York or Boston, even sometimes in London, and keep the committee waiting several weeks before they succeed in getting an audience—all this at our expense.

After the committee had succeeded in meeting the management the old scale of wages was agreed upon that we had been working under previously. We were not asking for an increase, but it is very often the

case that the railroad companies do not keep their contracts in good faith; they will agree to pay you overtime, but I have been in the service steadily and frequently when I would arrive at the end of a division, I would be in perhaps two hours—just time enough to look over my engine, report my work, and have just time enough to eat something and get back in time to go out again on another trip; I could not go to bed; I have been in continuous service as much as sixty hours at a time. I don't think that is right, and I have often been in service as high as seventy-two hours without rest; and when a man serves that long he does not have control of his faculties; he is not a capable or competent man; I have had the experience and I know how I felt. I was running an engine on a single track against passenger trains, and I know my mind was not the same as if I had been allowed some rest. The company's rules say that whenever a man is in a position calling for rest he can have it, but if a company calls on an engineer to go out, no matter how much he needs rest, if he refuses to go he is very often suspended fifteen or thirty days, and if he persists in such refusal the company seems to consider he is not working for its interests and it finally leads up to his dismissal.

After the company signed the contract last winter at the old scale of wages our committee came back, and I, along with the rest of the men, was assessed \$10 to pay the expense of that committee. About two weeks afterwards our general superintendent, Mr. Shields, wanted our committee to go to St. Paul again. The committee notified the general superintendent that they had been at St. Paul nearly all winter, but they would go to St. Paul again and meet him if their expenses were paid at the rate of 100 miles per day; that they had now no complaint against the company; that they were satisfied; and if he wanted to meet them he could either come around and meet them somewhere or allow them for their time, but they could not go and meet him at the expense of the organization, and they did not go. Later on Mr. Shields made the remark: "When I want this committee I will teach them how to come; I know how to get them here—I will make a reduction in pay, and that will bring them." A reduction was ordered, and I know the schedule of wages was printed, but it never reached us; I know it from a gentleman who was at that time our general superintendent of motive power, W. T. Reed, who was a fair man. He was going to England on a visit, and before he resigned he went over the system to bid his employees good-bye. I had run into Dubuque, and was in bed when I received word to come to the roundhouse to see him. When I got there I asked Mr. Reed what he wanted. He said he wanted to bid me good-bye; that he had resigned, and was going to leave the country for some time. I said, "Mr. Reed, I understand there has been a reduction of wages ordered by the management." He said there was. I asked him what kind of a schedule it was. He said, "It is a little bit the worst schedule I ever saw the men called upon to sign." I had an idea that this arbitrary action of the management had something perhaps to do with his resignation—

4 (C. mmissioner WRIGHT). Did these grievances or difficulties you have now recited have anything to do with the causes of the recent strike?—Ans. Yes; that was the reason I was reciting them to you. The Great Northern strike took place just at the time the reduction was ordered, and while the Great Northern was yet on a strike it seemed the employees of the Chicago and Great Western almost by concerted action joined the American Railway Union. I was the organizer of the West Side union. We enrolled something between 2,500 and 3,000 members;

we never made any threats, but the schedule of wages which had been printed authorizing a reduction of our wages was withheld by the management. I think the success of the American Railway Union on the Great Northern was because of that, and I think the fact of the employees joining the American Railway Union on the Great Western had something to do with that schedule not being sent out. Four or five years ago the Chicago and Northwestern road locked out all of its switchmen, and a number of them found employment on the Chicago and Northern Pacific, after having been out of employment a long time. This last spring 13 of those men were dismissed from the Chicago and Northern Pacific, and they came to me with their complaint. I told them that we could not consider it unless they had good cause for complaint, and asked them what it was, and they explained it to me.

The Chicago and Northern Pacific management claimed that the Chicago and Calumet Terminal had bought the Chicago and Northern Pacific, and the Chicago and Calumet Terminal was to furnish the employees for the Chicago and Northern Pacific, and the men put in the place of these 13 switchmen who were dismissed were Calumet Terminal men. These 13 switchmen who were dismissed had been in the service of the Chicago and Northern Pacific twenty-two months and more; the men who took their places had not been in the service of the Calumet Terminal as long as these discharged switchmen had been in the service of the Chicago and Northern Pacific, and every one of these 13 men were men who had been locked out by the Chicago and Northwestern. I appointed a committee to await on the superintendent to ask for the reinstatement of those men, as it looked to me like a blacklist following the men from the Chicago and Northwestern.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When was that?—Ans. Last May. I sent this message to Mr. Knowlton:

When the Terminal bought the Chicago and Northern Pacific, would it not have been the correct thing for you to have allowed the senior employees in the service of either of the companies to take precedence over the junior men in the service of either company? It looks to me like you are following up these 13 switchmen because of their having been locked out by the Chicago and Northwestern Company. I hope you will meet our committee and do what in your judgment appears right to adjust this difference.

The 13 men were reinstated by the Chicago and Northern Pacific and the Calumet Terminal men who had been put in their places were sent back to the Calumet Terminal. I referred a while ago to the fact that one road under our jurisdiction, the Chicago and Northwestern, had locked out all of the switchmen some three, or four, or five years ago, and the employees of the Chicago and Northwestern were still smarting under the action of that company. That was the cause of the clash between two labor organizations, the Order of Railroad Trainmen, as misrepresented by Mr. Wilkinson, who thought he could best subserve the interest of his organization by having these Chicago and Northwestern switchmen, who were members of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association, thrown out of employment, and I believe he entered into a conspiracy with that company to have these switchmen, something like 700 in number, dismissed and that he would furnish men to take their places.

There was a spirit of unrest among the employees of the Chicago and Northwestern company on account of that action. Another road which came under our jurisdiction was the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy—I am speaking of the roads I represented directly. Most of the railroad men in this country owe the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy

a grudge. I remember when I was in the employ of that company as a fireman—I think it was in 1881—running out of St. Louis, that the company said they had had a dull year, that business had been dull, and asked the employees to accept a reduction until times got better. The employees accepted the reduction, but when times got better the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy did not increase the wages. Later on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy inaugurated a system of grading the men in the locomotive department—a system of classification. I am a believer in classifications, but not in the classification as practiced by the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. When they promote a man from fireman to be an engineer, for the first year he has to run at a one-third rate of wages, and there was no stipulated amount as to what that would be, it was no certain amount to the mile or to the hundred miles, but the company made out a schedule at whatever they saw fit. If I were an engineer on that road, for the first year I had to take care of the engine and keep it in good condition; had to pull just as many cars over the road; had to make as good time and was in every way and in every manner just as responsible as the engineer that received first-class wages.

I believe that when you promote a man it would be just to put him to running a yard engine at something like \$3 per day, and after he had gained experience put him on a construction train or something of that kind, paying him \$3.50 per day, and then later on, when he became competent in the opinion of the company, to put him on as a freight engineer, paying him 4 cents per mile. I don't believe in paying one freight engineer \$2.50 a day, another \$3.75, and another \$4.25, all being required to do the same work. This state of affairs existed for a long time on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. In 1885, when I was night foreman of the locomotive department at St. Joseph, Mo., we sent a committee to the management—Mr. Potter was at that time general manager—to have our grievances adjusted. This committee was composed of 28 men. Twenty-seven of those committee-men were dismissed from the service of the company. The following year we sent another committee to the management, and a part of them were dismissed.

In 1887 we sent another committee—I was a member of that committee—and a strike was ordered on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy which resulted in our defeat, and incidentally, a heavy loss to the company. This road was one over which I had jurisdiction when I went back from the convention of the American Railway Union held in Chicago on June 12. These roads I have just spoken of were roads represented in my union. I occupied the position of chairman of the board of mediation for the employees of these different roads also, and when I went to our headquarters on the West Side and asked the employees what they wished to do in regard to the Pullman strike, the employees, smarting under mistreatment from the management in the past, anxious to get a chance, as they would put it, to get even with the company, anxious to help the Pullman employees also, instructed me to go to the convention and cast the vote of my union as being in favor of a strike. I did not vote individually in that convention. Personally I opposed the strike. I opposed it on the floor of the convention, and did not change my position until I was instructed so to do by my union.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why did you oppose the strike?—Ans. There was no doubt in my mind as to the justice of it and there is no doubt yet; it was proven to us by the delegates from the Pullman employees that their strike was just. I opposed it for the reason I

did not think the American Railway Union had been organized long enough; I did not think it was yet strong enough to fight the General Managers' Association and the combined forces that would be brought against us to oppose us. I thought times were too dull; that there were too many men out of employment in the country to enter into a contest at that time. I am not in favor of strikes generally, but as long as the National Government does not give us any remedy that is the only weapon that we have. If there had never been a strike or a labor organization I am satisfied that every railway employee in the country would be working for one-half what he has been working for of late. Strikes are not generally successful, but they entail a heavy loss on the company and it is to avoid that loss that the company ever meets us at all. I opposed this strike because I didn't think the time had arrived when we could successfully make a strike; if I had had the choosing of it, I would have waited until business was heavy and the weather cold; when men of inexperience would have had less chance to fill our positions satisfactorily.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Does the majority of the members of a local union control its action?—Ans. The American Railway Union is a majority organization and a majority rules in all things.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you have any experience relative to the obstruction of mail trains, either by the action of members of your union, or by the action of members of railway boards?—Ans. Yes, sir.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what you observed of you own knowledge.—Ans. When the strike was ordered my admonition to the men in all cases was, "Not to permit a single overt act; not to resort to violence, for it would result in our defeat and be a detriment to our cause; that it would result in bringing out troops to intimidate people;" and I wanted everyone of them to conduct themselves as gentlemen, and made the remark, I would fine any man, and if I could not collect the fine I would have him suspended or expelled from the organization if I heard of anyone of our members being under the influence of liquor at any time during the contest.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where did you get your authority to threaten them?—Ans. I assumed a great deal of it.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there any provision in your local union constitution that provides any punishment can be administered by any authority?—Ans. None that I know of.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). Ought there not to be such a provision, in your judgment?—Ans. I do not doubt but what it would be wise to have such a provision made. I assumed that authority myself. It has been my experience as a presiding officer over this union and other bodies that a presiding officer who sees fit to bring any matter before the house and backs it up vigorously, if he is level headed about it, he is generally successful in carrying out any measure he may propose to adopt. I have adopted that in political and other conventions.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there not generally in labor unions leaders such as you describe, who control to a large extent the action of the men?—Ans. Generally when a man is elected to that position he has personality enough about him to bring about his election. I consider that the president of any local union ought to have considerable influence over the membership. I have never heard an officer of any local union or officer of the general union advise anything else but peace and observance of law. I don't think these acts of violence were committed by our membership.



14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What do you know about that so far as your own knowledge goes?—Ans. So far as my knowledge goes I will say I never have yet since the day the contest began stepped a foot on the company's property or in one of their offices. I have remained away from them. About the second or third day of the strike—I think it was on June 28—I will relate a case where the mail was obstructed, and not by our people. We have always advised them to pull mail trains. I admit that I advised them not to pull Pullman cars, but never to refuse to pull mail cars. On the morning of June 28 a mail train, No. 3—I was not there; this is a statement made to me by members of that crew, whose names I will give you later on—it was about 7.35 in the morning, on the Chicago and Great Western, at the Grand Central Station. Mail train No. 3 was standing in that depot ready to go out. Herentire crew, including the engineer and fireman, were there ready to take the train out. There was an excursion train backed in there. I don't know what association it was for, but it was to run over the Great Western road to St. Charles, about 30 miles away. It was a train of ten, eleven, or twelve coaches. Train No. 3 was composed of four cars—a mail car, a baggage car, and two coaches. The superintendent of the Great Western road came into the depot and told the crew on the mail train about five or ten minutes before it was due to start—there was no crew on the excursion train, and it was waiting to go out—the superintendent told the mail-train crew to go over and take out the excursion train. Then he got into some discussion or dispute with the conductor and discharged him, but the crew went over without the conductor, I think, and took the excursion train out, and the superintendent annulled the mail train. That was the case of obstructing the mail for which we were not responsible; the company was responsible for that.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What were the names of that crew?—Ans. The conductor's name was Ashman. He is now running out of Chicago, between Chicago and Dubuque. He was reinstated shortly afterwards by the general superintendent. It seemed to dawn upon the management that they had made a mistake and that the best thing they could do was to reinstate the conductor, and he is now in the employ of that company. The engineer, after he got back from that trip, went out on the strike, and when the strike was about over the company gave him employment again. His name is Frank Lindsay. I understand he is now running an engine on that road out of Dubuque, Iowa. The fireman's name I do not now remember. The brakeman's name was Ellison. I don't know where he is. I have tried for a week to find him. He came into our hall and addressed me as the chairman and made this statement to me. I then asked him to make this statement to the body, and he did so. Now, I wish to suggest that neither Conductor Ashman nor Engineer Lindsay will give testimony before this commission voluntarily. If you wish their testimony you will have to bring them before the commission by subpoena. I believe if they gave testimony before this commission without being compelled to they would lose their positions.

I want to say there are a large number of men who are not now in the employ of railroad companies who were strikers who will not give testimony before this commission if they can avoid it, believing that if they do they will be placed under the ban of the General Managers' Association, that they will be blacklisted by the different companies, and for that reason it will be difficult for you to get the entire testimony from railroad employees. Their occupation is railroading. They have spent most of their lives in learning that trade, and it would result in their discharge if they gave testimony here.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you say that on account of any threats that have been made by railroad managers, or simply as a theory of the men?—Ans. It is on both; that is a theory of the men, and I have had some experience in blacklisting.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know of any threats having been made that witnesses appearing before this commission would be blacklisted?—Ans. No, sir; I don't know of any threats to that effect.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You are speaking from general conditions?—Ans. Yes, sir.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What personal experience have you had relative to blacklisting?—Ans. On the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, in 1888. I was vice-president and secretary of the general committee of the engineers and firemen. I was chairman for all the roads in the Missouri Valley. While the strike was in progress I was the author of the "Great American Scab Circular," which was distributed throughout the United States. The circular had a picture of a collision at the top, and then these words: "When you travel take the Great American Scab Route, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, and prepare to meet your God. Close connections to the hereafter, and through tickets to all points on the Styx." Col. A. C. Dawes, who was at that time general southwestern passenger agent, but who was rather regarded by the citizens of the State as being not a passenger agent but a lobbyist for the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy company—I have heard him publicly charged by newspaper men and others as having corrupted more legislators than any other man in the State, and that seemed to be his business—he made the remark that he would pay \$100 for the name of the man who was the author of that circular. That day two men who were strikers came to me for help—wanted to get some money. I said to them, "The best way I know of for you to get money is to go to A. C. Dawes, and tell him that I am the author of that circular, and he will pay you \$100 for it." They went to Dawes and got some money; I don't know how much they got. Then W. T. Merrill, general manager, had me ejected from the Western Union telegraph office.

I received quite a number of messages, and when I did not have time to go home during the day I would often go into the Western Union office and look at the transcripts of messages that had been sent to me, which would save my going home. One evening I was in the office looking at these messages, and the Burlington company had made application before Judge Gresham, who was at that time on the bench in this district, for an injunction restraining other roads from refusing to handle Pullman cars, and Judge Gresham had denied the injunction. That evening when I went into the office and was looking over transcripts of messages for myself I accidentally run across a transcript of that message—a message from Paul Morton to Colonel Dawes, stating that Judge Gresham had denied the motion for an injunction. Of course I read that message; it was interesting to me the same as the rest of them; and W. T. Merrill and Mr. Ollis stood on the sidewalk, saw me come in, and came in and had me put out of the office.

After the strike was over I made application for a position on the Fort Scott and Gulf road. The superintendent of motive power of that road told me he would give me employment as an engineer, provided I could get a recommendation from Master Mechanic Chase, of the Burlington. In the first place I had to fill out a blank form, which is an application for employment, in which I had to state how old I was, the color of my hair, my complexion, height, weight, where my father and mother were born, when I was born, if my parents were dead,

what they died of, if I was diseased, and one thing and another like that. I put down the place where I was last employed as the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy road, and that I had left the service of that company on account of the strike. No answer came to that, and the master mechanic asked me to go to St. Joseph, see Chase, and get a recommendation from him; I went to St. Joseph, 68 miles away, and asked Mr. Chase to give me a recommendation. He told me he could not do it. I said, "I have been in the service of a railroad company ever since I was 16 years old, and have never been discharged or suspended a minute in my life; I have been in the service of the Burlington company four or five years and was never discharged nor suspended. When I left I left of my own accord. Why will not you recommend me to the Gulf company? My record while here was good; I even occupied a position here where I had authority to sign your name to messages as night foreman of this department; I have never been called into the office; never have been reprimanded while in the service of this company; why will not you recommend me?" He said, "I can not do it." I said, "Why can't you?" He said, "I can not tell you." I said, "Your recommendation will secure employment for me on the Fort Scott road." He said, "Possibly it would, but I can not help that; I can not recommend you."

I went back and told the superintendent of motive power of the Fort Scott road the circumstances; stated to him, as well as I could remember the conversation I had with Mr. Chase, and he told me he had no use for me and that it was utterly useless for me to try to find employment. I went to St. Joseph and made application for a position under the State government, and Stephen C. Watson, president of the bank, a nephew of ex-Gov. Silas Watson, was one of my indorsers, and I had other strong indorsers. Mr. Watson went to Jefferson City, saw Governor Francis, and on his return said to me, "The Governor will make out your commission about next Tuesday morning. I think you will receive the appointment as coal-oil inspector at St. Joseph." This was on Saturday. I had been indorsed by a large number of men in public and private life at St. Joseph, also by Senator Voorhees and Representative Brookshire, of Indiana, by E. V. Debs, and numbers of others.

I was at that time president of the Trades Assembly of North Missouri, and when Mr. Watson told me that, I said, "That will be satisfactory." "But," said he, "when in Kansas City I met Mr. Merrill, general manager, and Colonel Dawes, in Mr. Merrill's private car; I believe they were going to Jefferson City, and I believe they were going to protest against your appointment." I went to Superintendent Ohls and said, "This is a public position, coal oil inspector at St. Joseph, and you nor no one else has a right against my appointment, and I want to ask if the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy management are taking any steps looking to my defeat? Mr. Ohls replied, "Certainly not." Said I, "I do not like to be rough with you, but I do not believe that you are telling me the truth." He said, "That is all right, McDonald." I said, "Remember, I have been in a position in this company and I know how powerful they can be in politics; I know Mr. Dawes is the political manager for this company; I know its construction trains have been taken off the road so that thirty-five to forty men might vote in the primaries"—the Australian ballot system is not enforced in that State—"I know where word has come down from the general managers to the master mechanic, and from him to the locomotive department to myself at the time I was night foreman, instructing me how to have employees in that department vote, given in a round-about way, and

if I did not follow up those instructions I would lose my position." I further said, "Nobody realizes the power of this company in politics any more than Governor Francis, and I believe if this company protests against my appointment it will be to my detriment."

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what was done.—Ans. The governor did not appoint me; I met him later in St. Joseph and asked him why the appointment had not been made; he told me he could not appoint me. I said, "I think, Governor, the Burlington road protested against my appointment." He said, "I don't care to discuss that; the railroad commissioner will give you an appointment." The railroad commissioner did appoint me to a position, but five months afterwards the position was abolished. I had a good deal of connection with the Burlington company as registrar of State grain inspection. Later on I made application to the Chicago and Great Western for employment as engineer and failed to get it.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was any reason given why you did not get it?—Ans. I don't know why I was not employed the first time I applied, but I think it was on account of the blacklist, but afterwards, on account of strong influence, I was employed on the road. After this strike came up—the Pullman strike—I represented the employees in a discussion with the management and I want to say that I think the president of that company was very fair-minded. Mr. Shields, the general superintendent, was present, and in my remarks I referred to the system of blacklisting practised by the railroad managements, and Mr. Shields rose to reply to me; he said he remembered my face very distinctly; he remembered that I came on that road as a blacklisted man, and that there were a number of others did the same thing, but he said, "We do not pay any attention to that, we gave you employment." I asked Mr. Shields if it was not a fact that they had given me employment on account of the influence that indorsed me for the position, and that the reason that I was refused employment the first time was on account of the blacklist. Mr. Shields did not deny it.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you had any recent experience relative to blacklisting?—Ans. Not personally. We have a conductor who struck on the Chicago and Northwestern who finally got employment on the Chicago and Great Western, who made one trip, and then the superintendent told him he was dismissed because he was blacklisted.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did he give that as a reason?—Ans. Yes, sir; told him that he was blacklisted by the Chicago and Northwestern.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the name of that conductor?—Ans. I will see that you have the name of the conductor this afternoon, or Attorney R. R. Wade will give you his name.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). When was it that you run an engine sixty hours at a time without sleep—how recently were you compelled to do that?—Ans. I have not been compelled to run sixty hours continuously for the last one and a half years, because business has not been heavy enough.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have not the railroad companies recently been remedying that, so as to avoid having engineers run so many hours?—Ans. I have been in the employ of railroad companies in the locomotive department for fifteen or sixteen years, and it is just the same now, virtually, as it was when I first entered the service; they let on they are trying to remedy it, and even put it in the time card and book of rules, but it is not practised.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have stated that so far as you know none of the strikers were guilty of violence; it is charged that while the strikers themselves as a rule avoided participating in any violence they to some extent instigated it by suggesting to boys and others to turn switches, and things of that kind. Do you know anything of that?—Ans. I never heard one of our men suggest such a thing to another or to an outsider; it has never come to my knowledge, and I have made it my business to try to find out such things.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES B. ST. CLAIR.

August 18, 1894, Charles B. St. Clair, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Charles B. St. Clair; 29; Chicago, Ill.; since I was 20 years old I have been in train service as a switchman and brakeman.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you one of the strikers in the late difficulty?—Ans. I could not say that I really was. I had been out of the service of the Milwaukee company since the 11th of May, 1894; I made my last trip then and was put on the reserve list. Prior to that time I had been an extra brakeman, and since last October I had only earned about \$80 as an extra brakeman, and when they put me on the reserve list I went to the train master and asked for a leave of absence so I could go elsewhere and get work, provided I had nothing more to do for that company.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you been seeking employment recently?—Ans. Yes, sir; after the strike was declared off I went to the superintendent of the Terminal, who does the hiring of the switchmen on the Milwaukee; feeling that they had nothing against me whatever, I was not ashamed to ask them for work; he asked me my name and I told him; he asked me where I worked last, I told him under his jurisdiction on the Pacific division; he wanted to know how long since; I told him it was about two months since I had made a trip; he asked me where I had been since that time; I told him I had been working for a storage firm; he said, "under those circumstances you will have to get a clearance from the train master, Mr. Carroll;" I told him all right and I went down to get the clearance, but Mr. Carroll said he would not give it to me for the reason I was a striker and an intimidator; I told him I was neither, for the reason that if I was a striker I would have to have had a job to leave; that I had not left any job and that he could not prove that I was an intimidator; he said, "We don't need to prove you are, we are satisfied you are." When I first asked him for a clearance he said, "You can never work for this system again;" I asked him why, and then he said I was a striker and intimidator. After I saw that he was determined I should never work for that system again I said, "Suppose we compromise this and I go elsewhere and make application for a job, and refer them to you, stating that I entered the service of this company last October and left the service on the 11th of May; will you be kind enough to tell another company that I left the service of this company on the 11th of May?" he said, "No, sir; I will put you down as a striker and an intimidator."

From him I went to the division superintendent, who is directly over him, and stated the case right before the train master, and the train

master was a little bit afraid the superintendent might give in to me and he kept cutting me off in my conversation right along, until finally the superintendent said, "Well, whatever Carroll says will have to go." From there I went over to the Old Colony Building, where the general superintendent's office is, realizing that if I was put down as a striker my occupation as a switchman or brakeman would be gone, and that I must get this straightened out with the company for whom I had last worked. I could not see Mr. Collins, the superintendent, but the clerk told me to go to the man for whom I had worked during the last two months after the 11th of May, get a letter from him, present it to this train master and see if that would not do something for me. I got such a letter and presented it to Mr. Carroll; he said to me, "St. Clair, we know all about you; you are not only a striker, but you are an organizer;" I told him I was not an organizer, that I did not have the ability to organize anybody, but with that I had to leave him. I have looked elsewhere for work; I have put myself down to freight handling or anything of that kind, at \$1.25 and \$1.35 per day, where usually I could average \$75 or \$100 per month in train service; realizing that if I referred other companies to this company I could not get a position.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That stands in the way of every effort you can make, does it?—Ans. Yes. Would it be of any interest to you to know that I have been under depression before from other companies?

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If it is in connection with the present investigation you can state it.—Ans. It is. The 12th day of May, 1892, I was running to make a coupling, slipped and broke my ankle; at that time I was insured by the relief association known as the Burlington Relief Fund, which paid for injuries received \$2 per day for fifty-two weeks and such surgical attendance as was necessary, and for that insurance I had to pay \$3 per month. After I had been hurt four months they recognized I was still disabled as a switchman, but they wanted me to take a job I could walk to on crutches and sit down at and work, attending a street crossing, for about \$1.25 a day. I refused to do it for the reason that I could not take treatment, and my health was worth more to me than the money or position either, and I saw fit to continue treatment under the best physician in the city, and I ought to have had treatment that I could not get unless they paid for it according to contract. After being hurt sixteen months I was still in the same condition as at first, no better in any way. At that time there was a young doctor named Bourland took up my case and he cured me in eight months' time so I was able to report for duty. As soon as I was able to report for duty I reported to our superintendent, and he said that he would give me employment if I would release my back pension; that if I would not he would not furnish a club to break their own necks with; that is, if I was going to sue them for the back benefits they would not give me employment. I told him I considered it right and just that I should contest it and see whether or not I was entitled to benefits, and at that he gave me a letter of clearance from that company, stating the length of time I worked for them.

Prior to that time I had worked for the Great Western company as a brakeman and switchman and when I left there I had a letter stating I left there in good standing. After leaving the Burlington I went right back to the Northwestern company and hired to them as a switchman, making out an application and referring them to the Burlington for reference, and after showing up about twenty nights—I worked

nights—and worked during that time three nights, I got an order for my time. I asked the yard master why I was discharged. He said he didn't know; he said he asked why, and they told him if I wanted to know to ask the superintendent. I went to Superintendent Stewart, at the Northwestern Depot here, and asked him why I could not work for the company; he said, "Well I will tell you; I have been advised not to hire you." I said, "Would you be kind enough to give me the names of those who advised you?" He said, "No, sir; I can not talk to you." I insisted on his telling me, and he said, "I am sorry for you, but I can not talk to you." At that I left and went over to the Milwaukee road and stated to the trainmaster just what had occurred, and that I did not think that the relief association should blacklist me in this way; that I did not think it ought to keep me out of a job of railroading; he said he didn't think so either, and I went to work for that company, and when I made out the application he said he would see that it did not reach the superintendent. I was anxious to hold my position on the Milwaukee because if I went elsewhere and made out an application it was possible I would be refused, because you have to give a reference of five years on most every road and on some of them your whole experience on railroads, and now that I am out of employment again I think it will be hard for me to get back. I do not think there could be a man who has been any more loyal to the companies he has worked for than I have; I never was discharged outright anywhere; I have worked faithfully; I am not a man that drinks, and I don't know why I have not a right to work for these railroad companies.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you satisfied you can not work for any of them?—Ans. I am satisfied that if I made out an application it would be refused.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where were you during the strike?—Ans. During the strike and prior to the strike I was working for a Mr. Helms, who is in the storage business on Western avenue, and have a letter from him.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you employed there during the strike?—Ans. I was in his employment the same as I was in the railroad company's; whenever he had a day's work for me to do he would send for me, and sometimes I worked twelve and fourteen days for him, and was subject to his call all the time.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where did you live at that time?—Ans. During the strike I got set out of the house I had lived in since May, because I could not pay my rent.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where was that?—Ans. No. 179 North Oakley street.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where did you go to?—Ans. No. 206 North Oakley.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). During the time of the disturbances were you present where they occurred?—Ans. No, sir; I have not stepped my foot on the company's premises since the 11th of May until after the strike was over, except on the night the strike was inaugurated, and they caught me that night on the street and wanted me to go out. I refused, for the reason that I was employed elsewhere, and that night I went up to the transfer house. The superintendent called a meeting of the employes at the transfer house, and that was the only time I went near their property. My having a suit against the Burlington company for these benefits, I realized that if they got an opportunity they might give me trouble, and for that reason I kept away from them. I would not ride down town on one of the passenger trains. If I had occasion to come down town I came on a street car.

## TESTIMONY OF EUGENE V. DEBS.

August 20, 1894, Eugene V. Debs, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Eugene V. Debs; 38; Terre Haute, Ind.; am at present president of the American Railway Union and editor of the Locomotive Firemen's Magazine.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been president of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Ever since it was instituted, June 20, 1893.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a railroad man or understood so to be?—Ans. Yes, sir. I was actively engaged in the railroad service at the time I became a member of the railway employees' organization.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In what branch of the railway service?—Ans. I served as a painter and locomotive fireman.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long did you serve in those capacities?—Ans. About four and one-half years.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). We would like to have you state, Mr. Debs, in your own way, in narrative form the history of the present strike, so far as you know it from your own knowledge; that is to say, what led to the strike or boycott, and what was done by the American Railway Union, or its directors or members, in their official capacity. In this statement please cover the ground as fully as you can, but as briefly as possible.—Ans. In the early part of May last year I received at my home in Terre Haute, Ind., a telegram from Vice-President Howard, of the American Railway Union, who is located here, notifying me that there was a probability of a strike on the part of the Pullman employees who were members of the union. I immediately wired him, authorizing him to act as president of the union, assuming the duties of my office on account of my inability to be there, but to do all in his power to prevent a strike.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you got these telegrams, or copies of them?—Ans. There is a clerk in the office now, in the absence of Mr. Howard, looking up the telegram I sent him, and I will introduce it before this commission.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does that refer generally to the documents which you are speaking of in the course of your testimony?—Ans. Yes, sir. The American Railway Union had been involved in a strike on the Great Northern road in the latter part of April, and at a meeting of the officers of the union we concluded that many of our members might possibly be flushed with the triumph of that strike, and if we were not extremely careful we would be precipitated into other disturbances. We concluded it would be best, if it was possible, to keep out of any trouble whatever, for the time being at least, and I was particularly anxious at that time to avoid any strike if it was possible to do so. On the morning of May 11 I received a telegram from Mr. Howard informing me that the employees had struck. Shortly after that I came to the city of Chicago. I went to Pullman in person and made a personal investigation of the conditions existing there, in order to satisfy myself as to the justice or injustice of the action taken by the employees. I was obliged to go to St. Paul, and on my return I again stopped at Pullman and continued the investigation. I met the employees in person, both men and women, and I became satisfied that the conditions



under which the employees there were obliged to work fully justified them in the course they had taken.

I found that the wages and the expenses of the employees were so adjusted that every dollar the employees earned found its way back into the Pullman coffers; that they were not only not getting wages enough to live on, but that they were daily getting deeper into the debt of the Pullman company; that it was impossible for many of them to leave there at all, even if they were disposed to quit to try and better their condition. Many of them told me personally that the conditions were very objectionable to them, but there was no escape for them. Wages had been reduced, but the expenses remained the same, and no matter how offensive the conditions were they were compelled to submit to them. After I heard those statements I satisfied myself that they were true, and I made up my mind, as president of the American Railway Union, of which these employees were members, to do everything in my power that was within law and within justice to right the wrongs of those employees.

In the meantime I found that every effort was being put forth on the part of the employees, as well as the representatives of the organization, to induce the Pullman company to submit to arbitration. We had succeeded in settling the trouble on the Great Northern by arbitration. We had absolute faith in the justice of our case. We were confident that any fair and impartial board of arbitrators would decide in favor of the employees. The Pullman company, through its officers, refused positively to entertain any proposition coming from any source looking to the arbitration of the difficulties. They maintained the position that there was nothing to arbitrate. While I am on this subject of arbitration I desire to say that after the trouble broke out we then proposed that they select two representatives and that two representatives be selected by the judges of the court, and they four select the fifth representative, to decide as to whether there was anything to arbitrate.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was this after the strike of May 11?—Ans. Yes; after the strike was inaugurated. We did not claim the right to name a representative; we waived that right entirely, virtually permitting them to select three out of five representatives. We did not ask them to arbitrate, but we simply asked them to agree to have the question examined into as to whether there was anything to arbitrate. They refused that proposition.

On June 9 the delegates representing the American Railway Union, 465 local unions and about 150,000 employees, in round numbers, met in first quadrennial convention in the city of Chicago. In due course of the proceedings the matter of the Pullman trouble came up for consideration. The convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole to hear reports of committees and to take such action as in their judgment was deemed best to protect the interests of the suffering employees. And just here I would like to have the gentlemen of the board understand that all of the meetings of the American Railway Union were publicly held, with open doors, the first time in the history of American railway employees' organizations.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you include the delegate meeting, too?—Ans. Yes, all meetings, with but one exception; there was one executive session, in which there were certain financial affairs of the order discussed, that the public were not interested in, but in this session there was absolutely nothing touching the strike discussed. But all the remaining sessions were held with open doors, and representa-

tives of the newspapers of Chicago were present, and they were present when this Pullman matter was heard, considered, and acted upon. Now, very much has been said by the press and by others in regard to the conspiracy against the railroad companies and against the hauling of mails, and a conspiracy for the purpose of committing offenses against the United States. I would like to call the attention of the gentlemen of the board to the fact that every meeting, with this one exception, from first to last, and from the opening to the close of the session, was held with open doors. Now, it is not at all probable, if any conspiracy was intended, if there had been any intention on the part of the delegates or officers to commit any offense against the United States, it is not at all probable that they would have done so with wide-open doors, and with representatives of the press attendant upon the meetings. The result of the consideration of the convention was the appointment of a committee, consisting in part of Pullman employees that were delegates and in part of delegates who were not Pullman employees.

That committee was authorized to call upon Mr. Wickes, the vice-president of the company, and ask him if he would not agree to arbitrate the difficulties existing between the company and the employees. Mr. Wickes notified the committee that he would meet no kind of a committee except a committee of his own employees. We then substituted Pullman employees for the remainder of the committee, so that the committee was composed wholly of employees of the Pullman company. Before the committee left the hall, I, as president, instructed that committee not to go to the Pullman company as representing the American Railway Union or any other organization. I said, "Waive that question entirely, if the organization is objectionable; we are perfectly willing to waive that and treat with Mr. Wickes as employees of the company and in that capacity." The committee returned with the information that Mr. Wickes absolutely refused to make any concession looking toward the arbitration of the difficulty. The matter was then referred to a special committee, who were authorized to recommend to the convention such action as in their judgment was necessary to be taken. The committee went into session, and recommended that if the Pullman company refused to concede anything looking to the arbitration of this difficulty within five days, that the delegates resolve that they would refuse to haul trains to which Pullman cars were attached. Under the rules of the—

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). This was on the 12th day of June!—  
 Ans. No, sir; this was on the 21st. The convention adjourned on the 23d of June, and this was on the 21st day of June. Under the rules of the American Railway Union the majority rules in all instances and in all things. No strike can be inaugurated except by a majority of the men who are involved, nor could any strike action be taken by delegates except by the majority of the body. The delegates, by instruction from Vice-President Howard and myself, went to the bodies that they were authorized to act for, the several unions; they were authorized to communicate with the unions they represented by telegraph and report the result to the convention. Most of the delegates did so, and in every instance, so far as I know, they were authorized by their several unions, in meeting assembled, to stand by the Pullman employees even to the extent of refusing to haul Pullman cars. After the committee had reported a vote was taken, and the vote was unanimous in favor of the adoption of the report, that providing, as I have said, that after the lapse of five days if the Pullman company refused to arbitrate that the members throughout the country refuse to haul Pullman cars.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Five days from the 21st of June!—Ans. Yes, sir. That vote, as I say, was adopted unanimously with not one dissenting voice. Delegates had heard the reports of all the committees. Many of them had gone to Pullman in person, had met the employees, and satisfied themselves of the justice of the position of the employees, and they were so thoroughly imbued with the justice of the claims of the employees, and they felt it, as a sense of duty binding upon them, to stand by those employees in their struggle for their rights, so the voice was unanimous; a very remarkable proceeding in a matter of such great importance as that, involving as it did the situations of all those delegates and their constituents.

I should go back far enough to say that since railroad employees have been very severely criticised, and more especially the officers of the organization, on account of the employees having gone out on a sympathetic strike, that the employees had grievances against the railroad companies themselves, as I shall show. It has been said, stated in the press, and accepted as true by a great many people, that the railroad employees struck wholly through considerations of sympathy. That is not the fact. Last fall, or during last summer, when the railroads, many of them, were taxed to their capacity in handling World's Fair traffic, and especially at the opening of the Fair, there was a great deal of apprehension on the part of the public and on the part of the general managers lest there would be a railroad strike during the time that the World's Fair was held. We appealed to our members throughout the jurisdiction of the order not, under any circumstances, to resort to a strike during the World's Fair. We told them: "It is your duty, your patriotic duty, to bear with patience any grievances you may have until this World's Fair is over."

The gentlemen of the board will doubtless remember a great many wild rumors in the press prior to the Fair about the switchmen combining a strike at the critical time and about all the other employees combining with them for that purpose; we all united in quieting that apprehension by appealing directly to the men under no circumstances to resort to a strike. There was no strike anywhere during the World's Fair, but all worked together in harmony, in the interests of the railroad companies until the close of the Fair; and the managers, some of them at least, promised, by implication, that when the World's Fair was over they would doubtless feel justified in making increases in the wages of the employees. The files of the papers will show that the employees were led to believe that after the close of the Fair they should receive their compensation for their faithful services during the period of the Fair. In the meantime the general managers of the railroads centering at Chicago, who already had a general managers' association, equipped their organization for the purpose of protecting their mutual interests.

I should like to introduce here an article that appeared in the Chicago Herald of Friday, May 5, 1893, two months before the American Railway Union was instituted. I am sure no one will charge the Chicago Herald with being unduly partial to labor organizations, especially the American Railway Union. The report says that from this time the association, meaning the American Railway Association, "took on a new lease of life, and today there is no more air-tight railroad organization on the face of the earth. All the roads have bound themselves to act exactly as if the strike were on their own line. Requisitions for men and equipments to any amount must be honored, and a refusal of employees of other roads to do the work of the strikers will result in

their instant discharge. Meantime, outside agents will be hired to ship in new men to take the places of the strikers." If your honors please, I would like to call special attention to this point: "The officials believe it is now an impossibility for any combination of employees to more than temporarily embarrass any road;" that is not the point. The point I want to call your attention to especially is this: "The strongest part of the association agreement is the provision which will practically force sympathetic strikes," and now the American Railway Union has been condemned by the press and by the public for engaging in a sympathetic strike, and yet here we have it by the Chicago Herald, that comes as near as any paper could come to being the official organ of the General Managers' Association—here we have it that the general managers have organized in a way to compel or to "force sympathetic strikes," on the part of the employees. This organization was instituted upon this basis in April, and the American Railway Union was not instituted until two months afterwards, in June of the same year.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the date of this?—Ans. Friday, May 5, 1893.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it an editorial article?—Ans. No, sir; a reportorial article.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). Will you file it as a part of your examination?—Ans. Yes, sir. Now, shortly after the General Managers' Association was instituted upon this mutual protective basis, it became apparent to the public and more particularly to the railroad employees what their real purposes were: Instead of increasing the wages of employees, on the 1st day of September, 1893, they began systematically to reduce the wages of railroad employees throughout the country. The first reduction took effect on the Louisville and Nashville system on the 1st day of September, if my recollection serves me right—a sweeping reduction of 10 per cent. Under that reduction section men—and section men are very largely represented in the American Railway Union—were reduced to 67½ cents per day. Now the gentlemen of the commission will notice, and it is a very important matter, as I regard it, in connection with this trouble, that in this methodical reduction of the wages, no two railroads reduced wages at the same time. That, to me, is very significant. It goes to show that there was a concert of action on their part to reduce wages throughout the country, but to do it in a way not to arouse opposition of too many railroad employees at the same time.

After the Louisville and Nashville had taken the initial step, other roads followed in their order at intervals of from two to four weeks. The East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia, the Richmond and Danville, the Mobile and Ohio, the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis, in the South; and then they swung around and they took in some of the Eastern roads, including the Baltimore and Ohio, the Big Four system, the New York, New England and Hartford, and the Wabash. Then they swung around to the Northwest and they took in the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific, and the Great Northern, and they were ready to reduce the Chicago and Great Western at the time the Great Northern strike broke out. I believe testimony to that effect has already been given by one of the employees of the system.

Now, the American Railway Union viewed this reduction of wages that was gradually taking place in the country with a great deal of apprehension; it created a great deal of unrest in the ranks of the membership, and more especially after Judge Caldwell denounced the reduction as being in the nature of rapacity, and ordered the reductions that

had been made restored to the employees. In making these reductions, the general managers, as a general proposition, did not reduce the wages of the employees simultaneously. In the first place, they reduced on one road after another, gradually falling into line. In the next place, no railroad company reduced the wages of all the employees at the same time. They reduced them by departments. General Manager Dickinson, of the Union Pacific, gave testimony, under oath, in the hearing before Judge Dundy, in April last to that effect.

Now, the railroad companies, in the first instance, reduced all unorganized elements of the service, such as trackmen, who already got the lowest wages, and the common laborers, who constituted, perhaps, one-third of the service. They reduced them because they knew that they could not resist the reduction. Until the American Railway Union was organized they had no organization, and they had to submit to any injustice that was imposed upon them. That is the way the wages went down to nearly starvation point on nearly all the roads in the country. That created a temporary resentment on the part of the employees, but in the course of three or four weeks it quieted down, and then they would reduce the wages of the shop employees, and that would create a stir among those who had been first reduced, and who secretly exulted in the reduction of the wages of the others, since they had not been helped when they were reduced. Then another month was allowed to lapse, and finally the train service was reduced. The history of the matter will show that it usually takes from two to four months to make the reduction.

Now, it would seem to us, that, if retrenchment became necessary on the part of the corporations, that they should have made the reduction so as to fall in a way that all should bear their just share of it, in place of first reducing those who were already getting the lowest wages—only sufficient to make a living. But they reduce wages in that way so as not to arouse the resistance of all the employees at the same time; so as not to unify them. That is the purpose. Because they knew if they had a common grievance they would unify and resist such reduction. When the American Railway Union met in convention in Chicago, it was this condition that confronted them as well as the Pullman trouble. They found that wages of employees had been reduced on the Mobile and Ohio, the Louisville and Nashville, the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia, the Richmond and Danville, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Chicago and Eastern Illinois, the Wabash, the Union Pacific, the Monon, the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, the Big Four, and other roads.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). This convention was called, Mr. Debs, was it, to consider these points, and not specifically to consider the Pullman strike?—Ans. No, sir; it was not called for the purpose of either specifically. It was the time for the holding of the regular biennial convention of the order, as provided for in the constitution.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In other words, it was a regular meeting and not a special meeting of the convention at that time.—Ans. Yes, sir; that is right. In two instances the reductions that had been made by the railroad companies were restored, one by the power of the American Railway Union on the Great Northern on the 1st day of May, last. A reduction of wages amounting to \$146,500 a month, according to the figures of President Hill, was made there. The American Railway Union organized and combined within its organization all classes of employees, and it made a stand for the restoration of that \$146,500 a month, and the restoration was made on the 1st day of Sep-

tember through arbitration. Practically everything was conceded, and the board of arbitration itself, composed of representative business men of the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, say that our disposition was fair. We selected fourteen men, most of whom were millionaires, all of whom were business and commercial men, and we said, "We do not want a representative; we do not ask a representative of labor on the board at all; we will allow you absolutely to arbitrate this trouble." That board, composed of representative men of wealth, commercial and business men, decided absolutely in our favor, and said in addition, that the reduction was not warranted, there was no justification for it, and they restored that large amount of money to the pockets of the employees, from which the reduction had been unjustly taken.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was that a written award?—Ans. The award was in writing.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you got that here?—Ans. Yes; I will procure a copy of the findings and furnish it.

The employees on the other roads felt, in view of this fact, that their wages had also been unjustly taken from them. On the Union Pacific, where the men were reduced 10 per cent in their wages, Judge Caldwell—the gentlemen of the board will doubtless remember his scathing arraignment of the methods that were in operation there, and the policy of the managers that had made such a reduction under such circumstances. The employees on other roads felt that if upon the Union Pacific, where Judge Caldwell ordered the reductions restored, and upon the Great Northern, where the board of arbitrators agreed that the reduction had been unjustly made, if that was true upon those two systems it was equally true on other systems and lines of railway that were, at least, in as sound a financial condition, and that they made their reductions seemed taking advantage of the unfortunate condition of the times, and not because they were compelled to make them by their financial condition. This created unrest in the ranks of the American Railway Union.

The employees had, to a large extent, lost confidence in the other railway brotherhoods, who had failed, in a single instance, to successfully resist these reductions that were gradually being made all over the country, and all of the delegates, therefore, came to the meeting of the railway union with the hope and expectation that the railway union would do something to restore their wages and to protect them in their rights and wages as employees. This is the reason that they were so ripe to espouse the cause of the injured Pullman employees. This prompted their action fully as much as the grievances of the employees. While the injuries and grievances of the Pullman employees appealed to their sense of justice and to their sense of duty for redress, these further grievances of their own made the matter more binding upon them, and wrought them up to that point where they felt it a duty as binding upon them to do everything in their power to protect the Pullman employees, as well as their constituents, who had sent them to the convention. The vote, as I have said, was unanimous. There was not one dissenting voice. In this there was no purpose on the part of the delegates to interfere with traffic, but the primary purpose was, if possible, to cut off the Pullman cars so as to cut off the Pullman revenue, and thereby compel the Pullman company to arbitrate its troubles with these employees.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Mr. Debs, you have stated, I think, that your people advised against the Pullman strike which occurred on the 11th of May?—Ans. Yes, sir.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Yet you have stated that their grievances appealed to your sympathy with such force that you were bound in your brotherhood to protect the Pullman employees?—Ans. Yes, sir.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then, why did you advise against the strike which occurred on the 11th of May?—Ans. I advised against the strike, as I stated, in the earlier part of May, before I knew anything about the condition. I was at Terre Haute. Mr. Howard wired me there was a strike probable. As we had just gotten through the Great Northern strike, and as I knew about the condition at Pullman, I wired back and said, "Do everything in your power to prevent any strike from being inaugurated at this time."

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You were not at Pullman or Kensington, or in the vicinity of the Pullman works, prior to the strike, then, personally?—Ans. No, sir; I was not.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Now, inform us what the action of your union would have been at this convention, relative to a general strike, had it not been for the existence of the Pullman strike. In other words, was the policy of the union affected, in your mind, by the Pullman strike, to force an issue peremptorily or otherwise?—Ans. No, sir; I would answer your question in this way. There would have been no trouble with the railway companies had it not been for the Pullman trouble. The delegates regarded it as an inauspicious time for the inauguration of a strike for any purpose on account of the depressed condition of the country, but the grievances the delegates and their constituents had already suffered at the hands of the railway companies aggravated the condition, and wrought them up to a point to at least espouse the cause of the Pullman employees at the time the convention met.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The general strike or boycott, then, was not contemplated?—Ans. No, sir.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was a general strike or boycott brought to an issue at that time by the grievances at Pullman?—Ans. Yes; and it was this, the grievances of which they had already suffered, that ripened them or prepared them.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In other words, the strike at Pullman precipitated that?—Ans. Yes, sir.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). It would be incorrect to say that the cause of the strike was the grievances, of the various kinds, that the railroad employees had?—Ans. Yes, sir.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Now, another matter. As to the motion which was unanimously passed by your convention, as I understand it, on the 21st day of June, declaring that unless the grievances at Pullman were adjusted within five days a general boycott would be declared against roads hauling Pullman cars; was this resolution served upon anybody officially or otherwise, either in writing or verbally?—Ans. By the convention?

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). By the convention of its officers?—Ans. No, sir; it was not served on the railroad companies, but it was left with the representatives of each road to serve that notice. There was no action taken on the part of the convention peremptorily, for the reason that the American Railway Union was not regarded with favor by the railway companies. As a general proposition they had done everything to retard its growth; they had refused it recognition and refused to have any dealings with it in any way, shape, or form. It has always been customary for railroad managers, as a general proposition, to accord free transportation to the officers of the various railway

brotherhoods for the good they are supposed to do in the way of improving the condition or efficiency of the men. Such courtesies as other organizations have always received have been denied to the American Railway Union. They have even refused to answer its communications or to recognize it in any way whatsoever; and the convention felt, as I am persuaded, that any notice of this kind would simply be ignored by the railway companies.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was the notice, so far as you know, of this action of your convention served by the local unions on the Illinois Central road officials or those of the Rock Island and Pacific?—Ans. No, sir; I do not know that of my own knowledge.

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The presumption is it was served; they were directed so, were they?—Ans. The presumption is that it was; yes.

33 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether they had any knowledge of the action of the convention in any way?—Ans. The officials? Official knowledge?

34 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Official or otherwise.—Ans. I do not know of my own knowledge that they had.

35 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was there any public notice in the papers given of such action by the convention?—Ans. Yes, sir; in all of the papers.

36 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And reporters and others were present when the convention took action?—Ans. Yes; at my request as president of the union. Some of the delegates wanted to go into special or executive session. I arose in my place, and I said, "We want to have everything done in the broad, open light of day," and I asked the convention to allow the representatives of the press to remain, and they did so, and they did remain.

37 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). As a matter of fact, every road in Chicago was doubtless informed of this action through the published dailies of this city?—Ans. Yes, sir.

38 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It was published?—Ans. Yes, sir.

39 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That action was on the 21st of June?—Ans. Yes, sir.

40 (Commissioner WRIGHT). About that time the general managers of the Chicago terminal lines—that is, the General Managers' Association—adopted certain resolutions declaring that they would resist the boycott which you proposed to order on the 21st of June. Do you know when those resolutions were adopted?—Ans. Yes, sir.

41 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When?—Ans. On the 25th day of June. They were published on the 25th day of June. When they were adopted I don't know, but presumably the evening before; but they were published on the morning of the 25th day of June.

42 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Four days after your action?—Ans. Yes. I don't know whether I should state here that in connection with these resolutions it was currently reported that the managers resolved at that meeting, though it is not published, but it is currently reported that they did resolve to exterminate the American Railway Union; that they had seen from the Great Northern victory that it was a menace to the railroad companies of the country, and it was the purpose to crush the American Railway Union in its incipency. That is not published, but it was currently reported, and the information came to us from a source that seemed reliable.

43 (Commissioner WRIGHT). At the same time, in the Railway Union, had the whole matter of a general strike been postponed at this time?—Ans. Yes; had it not been for the Pullman trouble.



44 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If the union had designed so?—Ans. Please repeat that question.

45 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If the American Railway Union had had its own way in regard to its policy would a general strike have been postponed at this time?—Ans. Yes, sir; decidedly.

46 (Commissioner WRIGHT). For what reason?—Ans. For the reason, as I have stated a while ago, that the conditions were not considered auspicious on account of the depressed condition of the times, the large number of men that were out of work, etc.

47 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the strength of your union at that time—say the 21st of June?—Ans. In round numbers, about 150,000 members.

48 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you consider that the union was strong enough for a general strike?—Ans. Yes, sir; we considered that the union was strong enough to meet every expected demand.

49 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Now, Mr. Debs, I ask you these questions in the midst of your narrative for historical reasons. I do not wish to go beyond the 21st day of June until we get through with that. Will you proceed with your narrative relative to the strike and boycott; what occurred afterwards—after the 21st of June; your own observations as to riot, acts of violence, destruction of property, or anything of that kind?—Ans. I forgot to state in connection with this matter of the reduction of wages that fault has been found on account of our resisting reductions of wages, and I would like to state to the committee, as a fact, that the railroad companies have never increased wages of their own accord. I would like to have that put upon record as one of the reasons for any unrest and lack of confidence in the ranks of railway employees, for every concession the railway companies have ever made has been wrung from them by the power of organized effort. There has been such a consolidation during the last three years, as the reports show—even the last report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the advance sheets of which have just been issued, show that the railroad companies have been consolidated, have been merged, have been getting closer and closer together as far as their employees are concerned, until they are practically united under one management. It is that that inspired the formation of the American Railway Union.

In connection with this same matter I would like to state that a great deal of fault has been found on account of the action of the employees on the Santa Fe system. They have been often very harshly criticised on account of striking there, the contention being that they struck without any cause; no reduction of wages had been made on the Santa Fe system, and therefore it was grossly unjust that they should strike.

The fact is, and was, that the Santa Fe company had been in arrears to these employees from two to almost four months for their wages. I was over the system myself, and know that a great many employees were on the verge of starvation, because they were not getting their wages from the company. At one time, as the gentlemen of the commission remember, Governor Waite, of Colorado, was called upon to intercede with the Federal authorities to compel the Santa Fe receivers to make at least a partial payment of wages to prevent the employees from suffering, and they were actually on the verge of starvation. That was the condition that prevailed on the Santa Fe system at the time the strike was inaugurated. Many of the employees were actually suffering, simply because their wages were withheld by the company.

50 (Commissioner KERNAN). What do you know as to how able the company or the receivers were to pay them at that time?—Ans. Of my own knowledge I know nothing about their ability to pay their wages. I should presume, though, from current reports, if the property had been honestly managed they would have been amply able to pay their employees promptly their wages.

51 (Commissioner KERNAN). Take the situation just as it was, with the road in the hands of receivers, with the receipts, as currently reported, coming in, what was the ability of the receivers to pay?—Ans. I do not know as to that. I am not finding any fault, of course, with the receivers; I am not going to make any charge against them. I give it as my opinion, and I know only from my reading, and I am a reader of both sides of the question. I read the Railway Age and I read the daily papers and I read the current reports, and from my reading I conclude if the Santa Fe property had been honestly managed by those who have had charge of it—

52 (Commissioner KERNAN). Prior to the receivers?—Ans. Prior to the receivers, yes.

53 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, isn't it a fact that, owing to either mismanagement or misfortune, the road in the hands of the receiver claimed, on the part of the receivers, that they had not sufficient means from their revenue to pay these wages? You know that to be so?—Ans. Yes, I am aware of that fact.

54 (Commissioner KERNAN). I have heard it mentioned.—Ans. I am aware of the fact that that claim has been set up; but even if that claim as set up is true, it was not calculated, as I think, to quiet or pacify the employees, who were rendering faithful service and getting no wages.

55 (Commissioner KERNAN). The employees were not in a position to understand things?—Ans. No, sir.

56 (Commissioner KERNAN). They only knew they were not getting their wages, and that, of course, created dissatisfaction and unrest. That is the position, is it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

57 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were these arrears in wages for wages accrued before the road went into the hands of the receivers, or for operating expenses while in the hands of the receivers?—Ans. They were for wages earned both prior to and subsequent to the road's going into the hands of the receivers.

58 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It made the men sensitive?—Ans. They were dissatisfied, I think, because in the case of the Union Pacific employees Judge Caldwell had in very scathing terms condemned the management for injustice to the employees, and they felt that they came in the same category. Judge Caldwell said, "If there is any retrenchment necessary, cut off the dividends; labor must be paid before everything." At any rate, as you see, they were not in a position to know anything about the financial affairs of the company. If the books had been laid before them, of course they are not expert accountants, but they knew that they and their families were in want and that they were working daily and getting nothing for their work, and they were at this disadvantage, as I found from going over the matter, that they were required to buy their goods on credit, all over the Santa Fe system, and the dealers charged them extravagant rates, because they knew they had to wait two or three long months for their money. A man can go into a grocery store and put down a dollar and can demand prices, but if he goes in the attitude or position of a mendicant, and has got to ask two

or three or four months' time, the dealer takes advantage of that condition; and that is the condition under which the Santa Fe employees were working at the time we met here in convention. I submit that any class of employees, working under such conditions, are almost right to enter a protest on behalf of labor against the injustice of corporations, when they themselves keenly feel the wrongs as they conceive them to be, of corporate management.

59 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Take up your narrative now from the 21st of June.—Ans. Pursuant to the order of the convention, practically the order of the 150,000 employees composing the union, because it was taken by the delegates by authority of their several unions—and I would like to emphasize this point, for the reason that it has been repeatedly claimed and it has been the source of a great deal of prejudice, I think, to our cause, that the president of the union ordered the strike, that the president of the union was a self-appointed individual and ordered the strike—I would like to have that point understood, that the strike was practically ordered by the rank and file of the membership of the order; that is, the delegates acted by their express authority and instruction. I admit that when the reports came in from these committees, and from what I knew myself, that I was ready, as the president of the union, to sanction such action. I do not wish to shirk any responsibility for my act as the president of the union. I gave my hearty concurrence to the movement. I did not order it, however, nor did I have any voice in ordering it; but if I had had a voice in ordering it, I should have ordered it.

On the 26th day of June, pursuant to the order of the convention, the employees began to refuse to haul Pullman cars. The officers of the American Railway Union established temporary headquarters at Ulrich's Hall. They were very careful to instruct the men, or to advise the men, rather, in our advisory capacity, not to take this action anywhere unless it was sanctioned by the majority of employees and they felt strong enough to make it effectual. We said, it is not wise for a few men to create trouble, and not to strike unless it is sanctioned by a majority of the employees, and unless it was certain that the employees of the body will stand by you in so doing. The committees came from all yards and from all roads to confer with us. The switchmen, for instance, would send a committee to us, and we would authorize that committee to act for that yard or for that road, and that committee would then go to that yard and take charge of the affairs, serve notice upon the men, and keep them in line, and above everything we advised them to do everything in their power to maintain order and prevent violence.

All of the meetings were held in the city of Chicago, and there were a great many. All of us were addressing from two to six meetings a day, and all the meetings that were held were held with open doors. We did not hold a secret meeting during the entire trouble, not one. We held meetings in close proximity to all of these yards and all of these roads, and all of the employees and the general public were there. We did not hold a meeting but what we admonished employees under all circumstances to maintain order. We said, we want to win as becomes men; we want to win as becomes law-abiding citizens; we have got a right to quit in a body, and our right ends there; the railroad companies have the right to employ men to take our places, and their rights begin there, and we have no right to interfere. We are on record as saying that in our published documents and our public statements that were very widely circulated through the press. The records show that that was the case with all the committees that called upon us and in all the meetings that were held.

60 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where is that record that shows those instructions were given to the committee?—Ans. There is no record of that except the record that could be made by the affidavits of the committee themselves, and that could be produced.

61 (Commissioner KERNAN). You spoke of a record?—Ans. I spoke of that in a general way.

62 (Commissioner KERNAN). Those were oral instructions?—Ans. Yes, oral instructions given to the committees; yes, sir.

63 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You mean it is on record, because it is a fact which can be proven?—Ans. Yes, sir.

64 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And not because it is existing in any written record?—Ans. No, sir; it is written in this way, Mr. Chairman, when we saw there were grave apprehensions of trouble, we then deemed it our duty to do everything we could to prevent trouble, and so we had a series of documents that have been denominated as manifestoes or pronouncements, that appealed to our members throughout the country under no circumstances to countenance violence, but to keep away from the company's property altogether. In all documents we issued that were published in the newspapers, and were given to the Associated and United Press, we told all members not to countenance violence. As for myself, as president, I have been editor of the Locomotive Fireman's Magazine for the past fourteen years, and my record as a labor advocate is written there. In all of my writings I have always taken the position that there is nothing to be gained by violence. I have always written against it and always spoken against it, and I emphasize it here.

65 (Commissioner KERNAN). It is said some inflammatory telegrams were sent, either by you or by your authority; how is that?—Ans. Yes, I understand it is alleged certain telegrams were sent; but there was no telegram sent by my authority of an inflammatory character.

66 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you not heard of any that were sent by your alleged authority?—Ans. None that were inflammatory, as I understand the term.

67 (Commissioner WRIGHT). A certain "buy a gun" telegram; was that sent by you?—Ans. I can explain that if the gentlemen of the board desire an explanation.

68 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Yes, we do.—Ans. At the time the convention was held there was a young man, a delegate from Butte, Mont., by the name of L. P. Benedict. He was a typewriter and stenographer in the office of the auditor of the Montana Union Railway. He was made assistant secretary during the convention, and he was found to be so competent that he was employed as our regular stenographer and typewriter. When the trouble began there were thousands of telegrams and communications pouring in, and it was impossible for me to see them all personally, because I was at many of the mass meetings, and with committees, and going to different cities and addressing meetings, and things of that sort, so that it really was impossible for all these telegrams that were coming in to receive my personal notice. So then the work was attended to by various members of this board.

This young man Benedict answered by instruction of the board some telegrams, and in other cases, where the board was all absent, he answered the telegrams himself. Telegrams, when he had answered others of a kindred character, he would answer without instructions. This "buy a gun" telegram was sent to his superior, in whose employment he had been at Butte, Mont., who wired him to know something about the conditions. It was an expression that they had used themselves, between themselves, a playful expression, "Save your money and

buy a gun." It was telegraphed to that superior, who understood the expression, and who wrote a letter that I can produce here. This official of the Montana union writes in here and exculpates Mr. Benedict, who sent the telegram. I had no notice of it; did not know anything about it until I saw it published in the papers. It is merely a playful expression they used out in Montana.

69 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you file that letter with the commission?—Ans. Yes, sir (*a*).

70 (Commissioner WRIGHT). This particular telegram was not signed by you?—Ans. This telegram was sent over my signature, for the reason that all telegrams were sent over my signature on account of my having a half frank.

71 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But not signed by you?—Ans. No, sir; not signed by me. I never saw the telegram and never knew it was sent until I saw it published in the Chicago papers, until after the indictment was found.

72 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you a file of your telegrams sent and received?—Yes, sir.

73 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you ready to produce those before the commission?—Ans. Yes, sir. I would be glad to produce them and have them examined by the commission.

74 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Now go on with your narrative.—Ans. The employees, obedient to the order of the convention, at once, on the 26th, refused to haul Pullman cars. The switchmen, in the first place, refused to attach a Pullman car to a train, and that is where the trouble began, and then when a switchman would be discharged for that they would all simultaneously quit, as they had agreed to do. One department after another was involved, until the Illinois Central was practically paralyzed, and the Rock Island and other roads in their turn. Up to the 1st day of July, or after the strike had been in progress five days, the railway managers, as we believe, were completely defeated. Their immediate resources were exhausted, their properties were paralyzed, and they were unable to operate their trains. Our men were intact at every point, firm, quiet, yet determined, and no sign of violence or disorder anywhere. That was the condition on the 30th day of June and the 1st day of July.

75 (Commissioner KERNAN). The five-day notice expired when?—Ans. The five-day notice expired on the 26th day of June. Notice was issued on the 21st day of June. It is at this point that the intervention of the courts was sought. Now, if you gentlemen would like to have my opinion as to the cause that resulted in our defeat I will be glad to make that statement, but it is merely my opinion.

76 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It is the facts we are after, and then your conclusions by and by.—Ans. Very well. On the 2d day of July I was served with a very sweeping injunction that restrained me, as president of the union, from sending out any telegram or any letter or issuing any order that would have the effect of inducing or persuading men to withdraw from the service of the company, or that would in any manner whatsoever, according to the language of the injunction, interfere with the operation.

77 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Will you attach a copy of the injunction to your testimony?—Ans. It is in the hands of my attorney, and I will secure a copy of it and introduce it as part of the testimony (*b*).

*a* For copy of letter referred to see testimony of Mr. Debs, recalled, page 175.

*b* Copy of injunction subsequently handed to the commission. See Exhibit 5, at end of Eugene V. Debs' testimony.

That injunction was served simultaneously, or practically so, by all of the courts embracing or having jurisdiction in the territory in which the trouble existed. From Michigan to California there seemed to be concerted action on the part of the courts in restraining us from exercising any of the functions of our offices. That resulted practically in the demoralization of our ranks. Not only this, but we were organized in a way that this was the center, of course, of operations. It is understood that a strike is war; not necessarily a war of blood and bullets, but a war in the sense that it is a conflict between two contending interests or classes of interests. There is more or less strategy resorted to in war, and this was the center in our operations. Orders were issued from here, questions were answered, and our men were kept in line from here.

At the time I was served with this injunction all of the officers at all of the points at the headquarters or terminals of all of these roads were served with a similar injunction restraining them all from sending any telegrams or from discharging the functions attached to their several offices. Following the issuance of that injunction a few days, I have forgotten the exact date, a special grand jury was convened for the purpose of examining into my conduct as president of the American Railway Union in connection with this trouble. The grand jury was in session very briefly, but found a bill upon an information that was filed, and I was ordered to be arrested. A warrant was issued and placed in the hands of a United States marshal for that purpose. On the 7th day of July, if I am not mistaken, I was arrested and brought before the court, and my bond was fixed, with my three official associates, Mr. Howard, vice-president; Mr. Rodgers, auditor of the Times, and Mr. Kelihier, our secretary, we were simultaneously arrested and we were placed under a joint bond of \$10,000. Very shortly after this there was an attachment issued for an alleged contempt of court, upon information that I had, as president, violated the injunction issued by Judges Wood and Grosscup.

78 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is, the injunction served on you on the 2d day of July?—Ans. Yes. As soon as the employees found that we were arrested and taken from the scene of action, they became demoralized, and that ended the strike. It was not the soldiers that ended the strike; it was not the old brotherhoods that ended the strike; it was simply the United States courts that ended the strike. Our men were in a position that never would have been shaken under any circumstances if we had been permitted to remain upon the field, remain among them; but once that we were taken from the scene of action and restrained from sending telegrams or issuing the orders necessary, or answering questions; when the minions of the corporations would be put to work at such a place, for instance, as Nickerson, Kans., where they would go and say to the men that the men at Newton had gone back to work, and Nickerson would wire me to ask if that were true; no answer would come to the message, because I was under arrest, and we were all under arrest. The headquarters were demoralized and abandoned, and we could not answer any telegrams or questions that would come in. Our headquarters were temporarily demoralized and abandoned, and we could not answer any messages. The men went back to work, and the ranks were broken, and the strike was broken up by the Federal courts of the United States, and not by the Army, and not by any other power, but simply and solely by the action of the United States courts in restraining us from discharging our duties

as officers and representatives of the employees. At the time that I was arrested certain officers of the law, acting under authority—

79 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was that date?—Ans. On the 7th of July, as I remember it, representatives of certain officers of the law, acting under the authority of the Federal officials, raided our headquarters and seized our books and papers and my private unopened correspondence. The clerks remonstrated with the authorities, but they listened to nothing, but insisted upon bundling up everything there was about the office and taking it away out of the place to the office of the Federal prosecutor. I want to say, in justice to the court, to Judge Grosscup, that the next morning he sent for me and explained that this action had been taken without authority; and he ordered the papers restored—my personal papers.

80 (Commissioner KERNAN). What officers did it?—Ans. I understand officers acting under the instructions and by the authority of the then prosecuting attorney, Mr. Milchrist, and the postal authorities.

81 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was your private correspondence opened before it was returned to you?—Ans. No, sir, it was not. I presume, and I am willing to believe, that all of my correspondence was returned. I do not know how many letters were taken, because they were there just as they were delivered by the carrier, but quite an accumulation because I had not been able to get to the office for some time, and they were bundled up and taken away. I am willing to believe they were all returned unopened. I do not believe they were tampered with, but I introduce this statement to show the extent to which the authorities would go to defeat this strike.

82 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When you say strike you mean boycott in this case?—Ans. Well, I do not exactly like the term "boycott." It is a term I do not often use. There is a deep-seated hostility in this country to the term "boycott."

83 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I mean the action taken on the 21st of June. It was that you refer to when you say a strike?—Ans. Yes, sir. On the 2d day of July, the day upon which the injunctions were served upon me, as I remember, I am not positive about that date, General Miles came to Chicago in charge of the Federal troops or regular soldiers. It was stated in the press of the city of Chicago on the second day after General Miles's arrival, and especially those papers that were defending the corporations, so I assume the reports were correct, that upon General Miles's arrival in the city of Chicago he repaired to the headquarters of the General Managers' Association. He was in consultation with the general managers, and the next day he was quoted as saying in the press that "he had broken the backbone of the strike." So far as I know, General Miles has never denied either statement.

Now, it seems to me, if I am permitted to make an observation, that General Miles was vulgarly out of place when he made such a statement. In the first place, it was highly improper for him, as an officer of the Federal Government, to go to the general managers, who were a party to this controversy. It would have been just as proper for him, in my judgment, to have visited the headquarters of the American Railway Union and gone into confidential consultation with the officers of that organization as it was for him to go to the general managers' headquarters and meet in private confidential consultation with them. On the next day it was reported in an interview that was widely published in the Chicago newspapers defending the corporation that he had said "he had broken the backbone of the strike." It was believed his mission here was to preserve and maintain order, and not to take

an active part in the strike, nor to defeat the strike, any more than he was to come here to defeat the railroad corporations. But the fact is, he was in active alliance with the general managers, not only to maintain order, but to suppress the strike. That was his real mission in Chicago.

84 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You state this from reading the newspapers and not of your own knowledge?—Ans. Upon statements made or alleged to have been made by himself, as reported in organs that were defending the corporations at the time. It can be proven that a switchman was put to work at the point of a bayonet, and that a fireman was compelled to perform his duties.

85 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By whom?—Ans. By the men.

86 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I mean by whom was the man compelled to work?—Ans. By the Federal soldiers.

87 (Commissioner WRIGHT). By whom can it be proven?—By the men who were put to work.

88 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know the names of these men?—Ans. I can secure them, I think. I have just arrived here this morning.

89 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you produce the names, and give them to the clerk of the commission?—Ans. Yes. I shall try at the adjournment hour to secure their names. At this time we realized that we were not only confronted by the railway managers, but it had resolved itself into a conflict in which the organized forces of society and all the powers of the municipal, State, and Federal governments were arrayed against us. We then said we did not start out to antagonize the Government nor to make a war against the Government, but simply started out in an issue with the railroad corporations, and now that this was assuming such alarming conditions, such grave proportions, and innocent people were suffering, we said, We will declare this strike off upon the simple condition that the railway managers put our men back to work. That was about the 6th day of July, if I am not mistaken, at the time the strike was at its very worst—at its zenith.

90 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was that notice served on the managers?—Ans. We held a meeting of the board and said, We will declare this strike off, in consideration of the fact that it has assumed such threatening phases; that for the public good, if for no other consideration, we will declare this strike off. The board was unanimous in its conclusion, and a document was prepared, which said substantially this, that we had been appealed to by the citizens, by letter, and by telegram, from every conceivable source; from the West, where fruits and other perishable freights were spoiling, and from men whose private interests were suffering, who were in no way involved in the original controversy, and the pressure became so great that we said, It is our duty to declare the strike off.

91 (Commissioner KERNAN). How did you get authority to declare the strike off?—Ans. I will explain that. When the board met we were daily in consultation with the committees representing the various roads centering in the city of Chicago, which was really the strike center. Every day the committees came to receive their instructions and to make their reports. When we became satisfied that things were assuming too serious a phase, and that a point had been reached when, in the interest of peace and to prevent riot and trouble, we must declare the strike off, we advised with those committees. We gave it out as our opinion to the men, through the committees, that the strike had better be declared off, if we could do so honorably. The men agreed, without



a dissenting voice that I heard, from every source and from every road, that they were willing to declare the strike off, if they were allowed simply to go back to work. It was in the crisis when everything was at stake, where possibly it might have eventuated in a revolution. We said, "We feel satisfied, from the authority we have already received from all the men we can possibly reach, and from all the roads, we feel justified, in view of this crisis, in making this proposition and speaking for the rest who can not, possibly be reached—who are too remote to be reached." It was a time for action, as we believed, and prompt action at that.

We then prepared a document, in which we proposed that we would declare the strike off on condition that they would take back the employees. We said, We do not ask you to recognize our organization; we do not ask you to recognize us; we simply say that this matter has become so serious that we ought to be patriotic enough to declare it off, and we are willing to meet you half way, by declaring it off, by advising our men to go back to work, at once, if you will simply take them back. We tried to get Mr. Gompers and a committee representing the American Federation of Labor and affiliated trades to present that document to the general managers. Mr. Gompers and his associates, representing their affiliated orders, had been called here, and were holding a meeting at the Briggs House. Mr. Howard, the vice-president, and I attended the meeting, and laid the entire matter before them, upon which they went into session. They agreed to present the document, but they desired that in presenting this document, I, as president, should accompany them to the general managers, which I did not feel inclined to do, because I knew I was very offensive to the general managers, and that no good could possibly come from any action in which I would have a part. I did not decline to do so because I hesitated on account of any reception that might be accorded me, but on account of the matter of expediency purely. We then went and called upon Mayor Hopkins.

92 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You had not completed that statement. What did Gompers do?—Ans. I did not accept their proposition to present this statement. They agreed to do it in consideration of my going with them, as president, but we did not see fit to accept that condition. So we declined the proposition, but we considered it best to go to Mr. Hopkins, who was then the chief magistrate of the city and in a neutral position, where he could with propriety serve in that capacity. We called upon Mr. Hopkins, and he said he would very willingly deliver that proposition to the managers. Mayor Hopkins called upon Alderman McGillen, who had been active as an alderman in introducing a resolution looking to the arbitration of the Pullman difficulties, and in giving other valuable aid to the cause. We invited Alderman McGillen, and they two presented this proposition, and met at the headquarters of the general managers to present it. It was currently reported that the general managers received an intimation that such a proposition would be made. The fact of this proposition being contemplated had been published in the press. It was reported that the general managers had received information that it was to be delivered, and they hastily withdrew. This I do not know of my own knowledge, but I give it to you as it was currently reported.

This I have from Mayor Hopkins himself. Mayor Hopkins and Alderman McGillen called, and met Mr. St. John and afterwards Mr. Egan, chairman of the General Managers' Association. They declared that they would accept no proposition whatever signed by Mr. Debs

or his associates; that they did not recognize them, and would have nothing whatever to do with them. Mr. Hopkins then said, You can not afford, in such a critical time as this, to ignore as fair a proposition as this. The time has come when this trouble has got to be settled in one way or another. These men make an absolutely fair proposition. They are willing to go back to work, to resume the traffic, and end all this trouble, if you will simply put them back to work. Then Mr. Egan said, "Why, we are getting along all right, and we will operate our roads without these men." His honor, Mayor Hopkins, said, "If that is the case, I will withdraw the soldiers, if you are operating your roads." To which Mr. Egan at once protested, and said, "Oh, no, we have got to have the soldiers." Then Mr. Hopkins said, "You have got to do something." Then Mr. Egan said, "We will call a meeting of the board of managers and see what they will do, but we do not believe they will do anything." The result of their action was that they sent the document back, not with any answer, but simply saying they would not accept any proposition coming from that source. So the document was practically returned unopened.

93 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did Mayor Hopkins report to you all you have now stated, on his return?—Ans. Yes. All of this was reported to Mr. Howard and myself and Mr. Sovereign, grand master workman of the Knights of Labor, who happened to be here at that time. The document came back to us with the announcement that the officials absolutely would do nothing looking to a settlement of this trouble; not only that they would not reinstate the men, but they would not consider the proposition. They would consider no proposition, and this confirmed the belief I had which was warranted by what had already occurred, that the general managers did not want to settle this trouble, but wanted to exterminate the American Railway Union, in accordance with the resolution they had adopted at their private meeting, as was currently reported at the time. They wanted no kind of a treaty. They wanted to accept no kind of a proposition or any negotiations looking to a settlement of the troubles. They wanted to crush and annihilate the American Railway Union at whatever cost to the public.

94 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You say that from general information?—Ans. Yes.

95 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Not from any statements made by the Railway Managers' Association to you?—Ans. No, sir; we have tried to get documentary evidence verifying this conclusion, but we have not succeeded. Our telegrams were all public property. They were all produced in the courts, published in all the papers. Every telegram we sent that was of any consequence was given to the public, but we have not been able to get a single telegram that passed between the general managers and Attorney-General Olney. If we could get these telegrams there would not be any question about our being able to produce some testimony that would verify the other testimony here—that which is not already substantiated by proof.

96 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I think you stated the date when this communication was sent to the General Managers' Association, and when the reply was received; if not, will you please state it now?—Ans. The communication or proposition was delivered about 11.30 in the morning, and we received the answer about 4 that afternoon on the same day; I think that was the 7th day of July.

97 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you file a certified copy of that communication or proposition, unless your secretary has already done so?—Ans. It has already been filed by the secretary.

98 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was the reply in writing?—Ans. No, sir; they would not make any reply in writing. They sent a messenger to Mayor Hopkins and informed him that these men they would have absolutely nothing to do with; but, on account of his being the mayor, and on account of his being able to afford them certain protection that they were very seriously in need of, out of courtesy to him they would deign to tell him that they would have nothing to do with the proposition; but if it had not been for that they would have ignored him as well as the committee.

Now, I would like to make this point just here if it would be in order. I see by the printed account of testimony taken here that the question was asked by this board if there was any punishment provided by our laws or rules for men who engaged in violence. Would it be proper for me to explain that?

99 (Commissioner WRIGHT). We would be very glad to have you state what you know in that regard.—Ans. I have here a copy of the constitution of the American Railway Union in effect at the time the strike was in progress.

100 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has this been filed with the commission?—Ans. Yes. I would like to read, beginning at the top of page 11, from the "declaration of principles" of the American Railway Union:

Corporations will not be permitted to treat the organization better than the organization will treat them. First. The protection of members in all matters relating to wages and their rights as employees is the principal purpose of the organization. Railway employees are entitled to a voice in fixing wages and in determining the conditions of employment.

Fair wages and proper treatment must be the return for efficient service faithfully performed.

Such a policy insures harmonious relations and satisfactory results. The order, while pledged to conservative methods, will protect the humblest of its members in every right he can justly claim; but while the rights of members will be sacredly guarded, no intemperate demand or unreasonable proposition will be entertained.

Corporations will not be permitted to treat the organization better than the organization will treat them. A high sense of honor must be the animating spirit, and even-handed justice the end sought to be obtained.

Thoroughly organized in every department, with a due regard for the right wherever found, it is confidently believed that all differences may be satisfactorily adjusted, that harmonious relations may be established and maintained; that the service may be incalculably improved, and that the necessity for strike and lockout, boycott and blacklist, alike disastrous to employer and employee, and a perpetual menace to the welfare of the public, will forever disappear.

That is from the "declaration of principles" of the American Railway Union.

In connection with that I will read section 45 of the constitution then in force, found on page 29, which provides that—

Any member violating any of the laws or principles of this order may be suspended or expelled, provided he has been found guilty of charges preferred against him, in writing, by a member in good standing, and provided further that the penalty shall be fixed by a committee of not less than three members, appointed by the president to try the case and approved by a majority vote of the union.

In this "declaration of principles" we pledge ourselves to conservative methods, harmonious relations as against violence and disorder. And then we provide a law under which local unions may expel any member who transgresses that rule or violates any of the principles of the organization.

101 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you ever had occasion to enforce that rule?—Ans. I do not know as to that, as we do not keep all records of the local unions; they are kept by the local unions themselves. But in our public documents, you will notice, we advise the men everywhere

to enforce the law in regard to disorder, themselves to become the informants, and not only expel the offenders from the union, but have them punished by the civil law as well.

102 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there any specific rule in its constitution or in the constitution of the different unions providing that a man shall be expelled who participates in any violence?—Ans. That would probably be found in the bylaws of the local unions themselves. There is no specific provision in the general constitution. The general constitution does not regulate the conduct of the members; that is done by local enactment.

103 (Commissioner KERNAN). What you have stated is an inference from the constitution requiring them to follow lawful methods. My question was direct as to whether there was any specific provision either in the bylaws or constitution by which a member should be expelled by the order for participating in any violence?—Ans. No, sir; in the general constitution there is not.

104 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think that ought to be a provision?—Ans. Yes; I am willing to admit that should be.

105 (Commissioner KERNAN). Knowing the liability of your members, or some of them, to lose their self-control in these times of excitement, and to be more or less concerned with some violence, do you not consider that there ought to be on the part of the union itself, some system of detecting violence, and of watching for it on the part of members?—Ans. Yes, sir.

106 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, is there anything of that kind that has been in practical operation in the union or in any of the local unions so far as you know?—Ans. No, sir; for two reasons I think—well, one main reason is that we are a new organization, a mere infant, and we have to learn this by experience.

107 (Commissioner KERNAN). The necessity for some provision, such as I have suggested, has been largely suggested by the recent occurrences in Chicago, has it not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

108 (Commissioner KERNAN). And at the time of the formation of the union it had not been demonstrated that there was such necessity as now exists for some such measures?—Ans. Yes, sir. Let me further say that, at the time this constitution was drawn, we had no actual experience such as we have had during the late trouble; and as a matter of course we could not incorporate a law covering every possible offense, such as for murder, or the 10,000 other crimes against society. We could not make a specific law and enactment for each case, so we did it in this general way, by saying that if any member violated any of the laws or principles of the order, if any man conducted himself in a way unbecoming an American citizen or employee, he shall be expelled from the organization. As a matter of course we depended upon amending the constitution from time to time as might be suggested by experience and the demonstrated necessity for it.

109 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Your policy was to enact a broad, organic law to start with?—Ans. Yes, sir; I am satisfied if we had had such experience before this trouble occurred as we have had since a specific provision would have been made in regard to violence, although I must admit, in connection with this statement, that so far as the members of the American Railway Union are concerned there was no necessity for it, because our members did not participate in any riot, disorder, or trouble. They uniformly conducted themselves like men.

110 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is the extent of your observation?—Ans. Yes, sir.

111 (Commissioner KERNAN). You would hardly tell us that you saw all of them at all times, so you could scarcely testify to that?—Ans. No, sir; but it seems to me it is proved positively, for of all the men that have been arrested and tried there are none members of the American Railway Union; that is, none against whom there are well-defined charges of riot and disorder. They have been arrested for various alleged offenses, but not one ever committed or instigated any act of violence.

112 (Commissioner KERNAN). What, if anything, did you do to ascertain whether your men were concerned in violence, and have them report it to you?—Ans. We did that through our committees; our committees called at headquarters every morning, and the advice was renewed for them to guard the company's property, if they went near it at all, and to apprehend anyone that might be caught destroying property. That instruction was given again and again to the several committees that called at headquarters. We knew that if there was trouble, if there was disorder and riot, we would lose, because we knew enough by experience in the past that we had everything to lose by riot and nothing to gain. We said the man who incites riot, or who engages in disorder is our enemy, and we have got to be the first to apprehend and bring him to justice; so we called upon our men and advised them, urged them to do everything in their power to maintain order, because we felt and knew if there was perfect order there would be no pretext upon which they could call out the soldiers, or appeal for the intervention of the court, and we would win without a question of a doubt; that it was only by disorder that we could possibly lose, and that disorder was not a part of the policy of the American Railway Union any more than if there was a Fourth of July celebration here tomorrow and some drunken riot should occur and somebody got killed, no more than that would be a reflection upon the patriotic participants in that celebration.

The American Railway Union stands by its suffering members, as every fair-minded man will admit is commendable. They knew that public sympathy was with them up to that point, and they knew how likely it was that something might be done by the rabble to destroy that sympathy. I admit that on account of the natural excitement that prevailed there was turbulence and disorder, and perhaps riots, although never to the extent that was represented by the press. No one sought harder or with more persistency to curb it and stop it than did the officers of the American Railway Union. I state that as a positive fact, susceptible of overwhelming proof.

113 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did the officers of the American Railway Union protest against the employment of military forces to prevent rioting and violence?—Ans. They protested against the introduction of Federal troops before the local and state authorities had been appealed to. Mayor Hopkins himself admitted, and it is a matter of record, that there was nothing here warranting the introduction of Federal troops. It was that that aroused, aggravated, and angered the men and caused the trouble that subsequently ensued.

114 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But you did not protest against the employment of local troops?—Ans. No, sir; not in the least.

115 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In that connection, Mr. Debs, I would like to ask you whether, so far as you know, the first acts of violence or destruction of property occurred before or after Federal troops were brought here?—Ans. My best recollection is they occurred after the Federal troops were brought here. The real serious trouble

that occurred, occurred afterwards. There might have been some minor disturbances before, but nothing that would not have occurred in the ordinary course of affairs.

116 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How long after the Federal troops were brought here was it before the State troops were ordered?—Ans. I am not certain, but very shortly after the Federal troops were brought here the State troops were ordered out. The police force had already been enlarged. I do not know whether it would be proper to say it, because the police will say it for themselves, but they reported to me in person, a great many of them, that the men were perfectly law abiding, that they had not the slightest trouble with them.

117 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What action did your union take during the trouble here concerning the employment of men not members of your union?—Ans. We treated them as if they were members, in so far as we were able to control them; assured them we would give them the same degree of protection that we gave our own members in the event of our succeeding, and what we expected to do if we succeeded was simply to restore the men to their positions. We assured these non-union members that we would protect them, so far as restoring them to situations, the same as we did our own members. But, of course, we had no control over them. We could not expel them or punish them.

118 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you attempt to intimidate them to prevent them from working?—Ans. No, sir.

119 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is that the policy of your union to do so?—Ans. No, sir; never.

120 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is it the policy of the union to avoid that?—Ans. Yes; it is the express policy of the union, as has been expressly stated in one document I issued, a copy of which has been filed with the board, in which I declared, as president of the union, that it was the policy of the organization that there should be no intimidation. That our men had a right to quit, and there their right absolutely ceased. The other men had a right to take their places, and they had no right to interfere, and if they did they must expect to be punished, both by the union and the civil authority.

121 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Mr. Debs, has the action of the 21st of June ever been officially annulled?—Ans. Yes, sir.

122 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When?—Ans. A convention of delegates was called on the 2d of August, representing unions in the strike territory. The purpose of that meeting was to have the delegates thoroughly understand the situation. There was no longer any confidence in telegraphic reports, or even in letters, because it is alleged that a great many letters that were written—whether the charge was properly made or not, I do not know—but it was the belief among many of our members, and it was declared by them, they had written letters that never reached their destination; that they could not rely upon the telegraph. We knew all our telegrams were given to the authorities and general managers, and so the convention was called for the 2d of August, and that was in session two days. We heard reports from each delegation in regard to the trouble in his section, and then it was decided inasmuch as the strike had been inaugurated by a vote of delegates, predicated upon the vote of the members themselves, that the strike could only be declared off in the same way. It was then agreed that each system should be authorized to declare the strike off by a majority vote of that system. We then adjourned and the delegates returned to their respective homes and held a meeting.

In almost all places except certain points on the Santa Fe system the strike has been declared off, annulling this action of the 21st day of June.

123 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the policy of your union relative to the older brotherhoods and your relations to them?—Ans. The relations are not, from an official standpoint, friendly, unfortunately. I have been and am now connected with one of the old organizations, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, which I joined the 27th of February, 1875. I became grand secretary of that organization and editor of their magazine on the 18th day of July, 1880, and I still edit their magazine. In the fourteen years I have served in that organization I never had a candidate nominated against me, or a vote cast against me. In September, 1892, I was unanimously reelected and I resigned; but by the unanimous voice of the delegates they refused to accept my resignation. I then got up in my place and stated I was no longer in harmony with their methods, with their purposes.

124 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you state why?—Ans. I said the railroad companies, and in order to show I was not animated by any selfish consideration, the convention offered me, by a unanimous vote, the right to fix my own salary. They voted me, by the unanimous voice of the delegates, \$2,000 to go to Europe on a vacation, and that is lying in the treasury yet, as I have never touched it and never intend to. They offered me anything within their gift to remain a member of their organization, and I said I could not consistently remain an officer of that organization, for the reason I was not in harmony with their methods and purposes, under the existing conditions, and those conditions were that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen embrace both engineers and firemen. That organization has a membership of about 26,000 members, and there are about 12,000 engineers in that number. A man joins the organization as a fireman; in the course of time he becomes an engineer. By his association among the firemen he feels a natural friendliness for his early associations. Some others, promptly upon becoming engineers, join the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and so there is a spirit of rivalry between those two organizations, on account of the engineers being divided, part of the order being locomotive firemen and part of them locomotive engineers. That has resulted to the detriment of those two organizations on a number of roads I could cite, where the firemen demanded a certain schedule and the engineers insisted they did not want that, and it would reach a point where they would threaten to take each other's places.

I knew we could never develop any strength or power with such a condition of affairs as that, and I saw no hopes for a better condition. The same condition precisely exists between the Order of Railway Conductors and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. The trainmen do everything they can to retain conductors in their own ranks and keep them from going into the conductors' organization, and that results in friction between the Order of Railway Conductors and Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; that same friction existed between the Brotherhood of Trainmen and the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association. On the Chicago and Northwestern road in May, 1892, the Brotherhood of Trainmen, through their officials, went into partnership, so to speak, with the officials of the Northwestern road, and they discharged every switchman, about 400 in number, from their service so as to destroy the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen filled their places. That work was going on all over the country. The members of one organization conspiring against the members of another organization, simply because of their being members of rival organizations.

Conditions were becoming worse every day. I was the first to speak in favor of the project of federation. Immediately after the Burlington strike, in 1880, I said, "We have been defeated because we are not strong enough; I have always believed we ought to unify the entire service; we are without the power the officials exhibit; when we so unify we can strike," and we succeeded in organizing such a federation, composed of representatives of these various organizations, with the exception of the engineers and the Order of Railway Conductors, when the trainmen conspired with the Northwestern officials to displace the switchmen because they belonged to a rival organization. I then at once took my stand with the switchmen and it resulted in disrupting the federation. At the next associated convention held at Cincinnati, I stated my reasons for refusing to remain in the locomotive brotherhood. I said, "It is not a question of salary, but a question of conviction;" I am in this position; this class organization is simply perpetuating what I conceive to be a mistake, as Professor Ely said the other day, the strict trade organizations have served their purpose, the conditions have changed; there used to be hundreds of small railroads in operation, but they have been merged with and absorbed by the great corporations; there has been a consolidation of the interests of corporation, whereas the employees, on the other hand, have been dividing their forces in rival organizations.

I said, "I want to entirely give up my official connection with this organization in order that I may be in a position to do what little I can towards unifying all the railroad employees and harmonizing them for their mutual good. I have no feeling against the railway brotherhoods; I have no cause to have any; I founded the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen, now the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; organized the first union, paid its first expenses, and did much toward making it a national organization; I did very much to make the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association a national organization, as the records will show; I have no personal feeling against these different organizations, but simply believe they have served their purposes and are no longer adapted to the conditions now existing. While the railroad corporations have been consolidating their interests, getting closer together, we have been getting further and further apart and have been so busily engaged in making war upon each other that we have lost sight of the real purpose of consolidation, and we will all in time become victims of the corporation; they can reduce wages or take any advantage they desire and we have to submit." It was because I could not get consolidated action—

125 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Your policy, then, is to consolidate, absorb, all railroad interests so far as employees are concerned?—Ans. Not to consolidate, the purpose is unification; we declare that we do not insist it shall come through the American Railway Union; we declare we are willing to resign our official positions at once.

126 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is, you will abandon your association for the sake of a unified one that will comprehend them all?—Ans. Yes; we will resign our positions. The railroad employees in this country are ready to unify now and work together, instead of being used to work against each other, but the hostility of the leaders of these various organizations makes unification impossible. Now, we have said, and say now, we will resign our official positions at once, sever forever our relations with labor organizations if other leaders will do the same, and let these employees come together and select their own leaders.

127 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you taken the initiative steps toward such an organization yourself?—Ans. Within the next three



days we are going to make a proposition positive, absolute, and official to them direct.

128 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I will ask you if the idea of a unification of all railway employees, or the strength of the position of the American Railway Union, as helping a unification of all these different organizations, had anything to do with this strike? Was it one of the motives of the strike?—Ans. No, sir; it was not.

129 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I have heard it so charged.—Ans. No, sir; it was not.

130 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Come back to the conference at the Briggs House and relate briefly how that originated, at whose instigation, etc.?—Ans. During the progress of the strike we were in receipt almost daily of assurances, written and oral, from the members of other trades organizations that they were in hearty sympathy with the American Railway Union in its struggles. Several of them, notably Thomas I. Kidd, general secretary of the Machine Woodworkers, proposed that they call a meeting of the representatives of the various trades unions for the purpose of devising ways and means to aid us in our struggles.

This meeting was not called at our suggestion or at our solicitation, but was a voluntary act on the part of sympathizing trades unionist representatives. A preliminary meeting was held and the matter of coming to the aid of the American Railway Union was discussed, and then it was agreed to set a meeting for the following Sunday—the date of this meeting I have forgotten, but it was on the day President Cleveland issued his first proclamation—and to invite the representatives of all other organizations to attend that meeting to see what could be done. The officials of the American Railway Union attended that meeting by invitation, but took no part in the meeting except to give their views. I was called upon as the president of the railway union by the meeting to state my views as to what should be done. I said, in substance: "Gentlemen, it would be presumptuous for me to offer this body any advice; you are all representative labor men; you have all had experience in such troubles as this; you understand your relations to the American Railway Union; you understand your duty, if you have a duty to yourself, to your constituents, and the cause you represent; do what you believe to be your duty. I have no advice to offer." The tenor of the remarks made by my colleagues was the same. We neither encouraged nor discouraged them from taking part in the trouble.

Previous to this, however, I had conceived the idea of inviting to a conference all of the officials of all the labor organizations in the country. I invited the chief officers of each of the railway brotherhoods, Mr. Arthur of the engineers, Mr. Sargent of the firemen, Mr. Wilkinson of the trainmen, Mr. Barrett of the switchmen, Mr. Powell of the telegraphers, Mr. Clark of the conductors, Mr. Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Sovereign of the Knights of Labor, and others. All of them believed that it would be well to have a conference of labor representatives. The invitation was ignored by all of the railway brotherhoods, except in the case of Mr. Sargent, who sent as his representative the grand secretary and treasurer and the vice grand master. Mr. Sovereign, of the Knights of Labor, came of his own accord. Mr. Clark, of the conductors' organization, said he had business in Chicago and would probably be here; if so, he would call, but he never called. Mr. Arthur, Mr. Wilkinson, and the rest ignored the request to meet in conference. Mr. Gompers wired, in substance, that he was with us in sympathy, but he could not possibly come to

Chicago at that time. At the meeting held on Sunday evening, which was composed very largely of representatives of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of which Mr. Gompers was the head, the representatives passed a resolution not only inviting Mr. Gompers to come to the city of Chicago, but insisting upon his coming—those who were members of his own organization.

Mr. Gompers answered he would come as requested, and he came, together with all the chief officers of all the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Gompers called on me in person the afternoon that he arrived, and invited Mr. Howard, our vice-president, and myself to appear before their meeting that evening. We attended that meeting and found, I think, twenty-eight representatives there of the various trades unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, some not affiliated with that organization. Upon our entering the hall I was introduced by Mr. Gompers and asked to make a statement to the meeting of all the causes that led up to this strike, and I did so as briefly as I could. At the close of my statement a number of questions were asked by Mr. Gompers and others, which I answered; and at the close of the examination Mr. Howard and myself withdrew from the conference, they remaining in session in secret conference, as I am informed, until the next morning. What took place at that conference I do not know of my own knowledge. I only know from what Mr. Gompers said to me in a personal interview the next day. Does the commission wish to hear that?

Commissioner WRIGHT. Not now.

WITNESS. Is there anything in connection with the Briggs House meeting the commission would like to know?

Commissioner WRIGHT. You stated the result of it in the early part of your testimony.

WITNESS. Yes; in my statement to the commission I said that I had stated at the Sunday evening meeting of the affiliated trades that we had no request to make or any advice to offer; that we had simply come there as fellow unionists engaged in a common cause.

131 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what Mr. Gompers told you if you desire.—Ans. I was going to make this statement. I had said to the conference, "We have no request to make or advice to offer; do what you believe you should do under the circumstances." Then Mr. Gompers asked me what I would do if I were in his place. I said, "Now, understand, I am speaking for no one but myself, but I would make an injury to one in the cause of labor the concern of all. My theory has always been and is now that labor ought to stand by labor, and if I were you, in your place and you in mine, I would muster all the forces of labor in a peaceable effort to secure a satisfactory adjustment of our grievances, even if we had to involve all the industrial industries of the country."

The next day Mr. Gompers called on me in person, accompanied by P. J. McGuire, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, and we had a personal interview lasting thirty or thirty-five minutes, and Mr. Gompers said the conference was thoroughly in accord with us; that there was no opposition whatever, except on the part of two representatives of the old brotherhoods who were there, and so far as I was concerned they spoke of me in the highest terms, but they were opposed to the American Railway Union, believing it was designed to absorb their organization, but that the conference was wholly in sympathy with the American Railway Union, believing it was right in its struggles, but had reached the conclusion, after long and serious delib-

erations, that it was not advisable at this time to take an active part in the trouble, informing me, however, they had voted \$500 as a contribution to our legal-defense fund, and were going to open subscriptions and receive money to provide a legal defense for us; that each and every member felt we were right in this contest; that we ought to be supported; that we ought to win, but did not believe that it was advisable for them to involve themselves in the trouble at that time. Mr. Gompers' assurances to me were in the highest degree assuring so far as our methods, our policy, our purposes, and our attitude were concerned, and he assured us the full measure of sympathy and support that his organization could give.

132 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has the American Railway Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor?—Ans. No, sir.

133 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But the other older brotherhoods have, have they not?—Ans. No, sir; none of them are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, nor did they meet in this convention with them, except they saw an opportunity to stab the American Railway Union. They are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, nor can they be under their present rules.

134 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Can the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir; the American Railway Union is free to act upon a majority of its members in any way that may seem proper.

135 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has the American Railway Union any alliance with the Knights of Labor for offensive or defensive purposes?—Ans. Yes, sir; an alliance which may, perhaps, be properly defined as a nominal rather than as a definite, positive, absolute alliance.

136 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I have more particular reference to the late trouble.—Ans. Let me say that when our convention met in June, Mr. Sovereign, general master workman of Knights of Labor, met with us by invitation; he had just left the meeting of the executive board of the Knights of Labor, who had charge of the affairs of that organization, and they had passed a resolution expressing a desire for a closer affiliation with the American Railway Union; that document was accepted by the American Railway Union and by unanimous vote it was agreed by the delegates that we affiliate in all things with the Knights where mutual union became necessary.

137 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The overture came from the Knights of Labor?—Ans. Yes, sir.

138 (Commissioner WRIGHT). As I understand it, the American Railway Union and Knights of Labor have for their fundamental principle a like basis?—Ans. Yes.

139 (Commissioner WRIGHT). As against what we understand as a trades union?—Ans. Yes, sir.

140 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any further statements to make with reference to the narrative of events occurring here in Chicago during the recent troubles; I ask that before going on to another subject?—Ans. Yes, sir; I would like to say something with reference to the treatment of this matter by the press. I want to say that from the very beginning of this trouble the American Railway Union in its purposes and all its acts has been very grossly misrepresented by some of the leading newspapers of the city of Chicago. Interviews were printed which were not had at all. I want to relate one instance that came under my personal observation which was published here at the time, but may not have been noticed, to show to what extent we were made the victims of a capitalistic press. I think it is a matter the people ought to understand. We have had no way of contra-

dicting falsehoods that have been told about us in the way of counteracting the vicious impression created by false reports.

At the time of the Briggs House meeting a reporter on the Chicago Tribune named Legwig came to me, in the presence of two witnesses, and said, "I have just been discharged." I said, "What for?" He said, "They had me before the grand jury and wanted me to swear to an interview I had with you, and because I would not commit perjury they discharged me." He then showed me an interview—I had had an interview with him, but it was so perverted and distorted in the paper that I did not recognize it as the same interview. He and several other reporters came to me in confidence, and two other members in confidence, and asked us not to have any feeling against them, because after the copy passed from their hands it went into the hopper and came out in a way that made us say things that never were said, and which they were not at all responsible for. We were made to say the most ridiculous and vicious things imaginable that went through the Associated Press, and then the press of the country generally made editorial attacks upon us predicated upon those alleged interviews. The press of Chicago had hired falsifiers, and I can prove it, men to manufacture reports calculated to bring us into bad repute in this community and throughout the country.

141 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was this confined to papers representing the side of the railroad, or to both sides of the controversy?—Ans. I think in the main they were inclined to papers representing the railroads. There were other papers that were fair, such papers as the Chicago News and the Chicago Record; they did not favor either side, they were absolutely impartial, they told the truth. Interviews we had with reporters on those papers were correctly reported. The Chicago Dispatch, the Chicago Mail, the Chicago Times, espoused the cause of the strikers and took our side of the case. I am speaking of such papers as the Herald, Inter-Ocean, Tribune, Journal, and Post. Now, for instance, when I left here to go home it was reported and it went over the Associated Press wires, and I found over 300 letters at my home in Terre Haute in regard to it, that I left here in a Pullman car and waved my adieus from a Pullman car. Then all the press in the country said, "When will you fellows stop following that humbug who appeals to the public not to patronize Pullman cars and then rides away in one himself." Now I did not do that. I have not set foot on a Pullman car since the 11th day of May, 1894. The press all over the country published that I was riding about in Pullman cars. What was the purpose? It was to arouse the prejudice of the public against me because I happened to stand for labor, to destroy the confidence of labor in me, to set me up as a huge fraud and humbug. Then they published that when the train that I was in arrived at Danville an angry railroad striker accused me of being responsible for the loss of his job and struck me. There was not a word of truth in that statement. These are two instances of thousands of statements published all over this country, for no other reason except to prejudice the minds of the public against the officers of the American Railway Union.

142 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Can you name the dates of the papers containing interviews with you falsely reported?—Ans. I can go to the files and find many interviews in which I am grossly misquoted. I want to say there is an editorial—which I can easily find by reference to the files of the Chicago Inter-Ocean—a column in length, or about that, in relation to my connection with the strike on the Great Northern road, and I can prove to you by testimony that there is not one

word of truth in that editorial, but that it is the most vicious and malignant attack that can possibly be conceived of. It starts out with a proposition that I ordered the strike on the Great Northern road, when I was not within 600 miles of there, and knew nothing at all about it, and follows it up by saying I refused to arbitrate, when, in fact, we settled by arbitration. It consisted of vicious falsehoods, written for no other purpose than to arouse the people of Chicago to a belief that we were outlaws, anarchists, humbugs, and frauds, and the whole populace ought to arise against us.

143 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is your theory of the basis of the editorial?—Ans. I can not attach any other purpose to such an editorial as that, that belies all history, that stands as a lying contradiction to every fact. I can go over the files and make affidavit to numerous interviews about me that are unqualifiedly false, and the same is true of all my colleagues. Nobody knows it is true better than the newspapers themselves, and the vicious press is largely responsible for all this trouble and uproar, and if there had been a revolution in Chicago it would have been chargeable more directly to the press of Chicago than any other force. Mayor Hopkins said that when Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, came here his first exclamation was, "I am amazed; from the reports which come out of here I expected to see half of Chicago in flames and the other half in possession of a mad mob."

144 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you hear this said?—Ans. Mayor Hopkins told me this in person. I think it due to the people to know that the press of Chicago persistently misrepresented the facts, perverted the testimony, and put us in an attitude to invite and receive not only the rebuke and criticism but the condemnation of a large number of excellent fair people who were misled by such reports. They persisted in the statement that we were lawbreakers and advocated violence. Everything we said was distorted, and we were made to say exactly the opposite of what we intended to say, and then repeatedly they intimidated we ought to be mobbed, and that we were not mobbed and lawlessly put to death is not the fault of the Chicago press. They, on more than one occasion, charged that I created more trouble than my rascally neck was worth, and intimating that somebody ought to break it. Over and over again they charged me with being "Debs, the murderer." Methods that would disgrace the Police Gazette were resorted to by what is recognized as the reputable press of the city of Chicago, and in this connection I stand prepared to prove every statement I make. It was done solely for the purpose of manufacturing a sentiment against this strike and against the men connected with it. I am impressed with the conviction that if the people of America had understood the truth, if the press had given them the truth and the facts, the people of this country would have been overwhelmingly with us from beginning to end. I feel that this statement should be made in justice to the American Railway Union.

145 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You are reported to have said in a speech at Terre Haute something about the inhuman cruelties at Pullman; did you use those words? If so, what did you mean by them?—Ans. No, sir; I did not. I should think that would be rather a contradiction, a cruelty is hardly human; I never used that expression; I spoke of the cruelty but said nothing about inhuman cruelty. I spoke about the cruelty with which the employees at Pullman were treated, and I regarded it as cruel to have Miss Jennie Curtis—I had the testimony from her own lips—after her father had worked fifteen years for the Pullman company and died in debt to the company, that scarcely was he

buried when she received a letter notifying her that if she continued in the service of the Pullman company she would have to obligate herself to pay the arrearages due from her father at his death. I regard that as cruel without a redeeming feature.

146 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). One other question bearing on the incident of the strike, if I comprehend your statement as to the extent of the strike. It was only to the nonhandling of Pullman cars?—Ans. Yes, sir.

147 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Suppose that on one of the roads that were using Pullman cars a train was made up that did not have a Pullman car on it, did it extend to not working on that train?—Ans. No, sir; the trouble did not extend to that, but a little statement is necessary on that point. Where they were not hauling Pullman cars it was not intended to inaugurate the strike. There was a definite understanding on that point, but at cities, for instance, like St. Louis, Indianapolis, and other large points, the switching is done by associations; the switching facilities are so arranged that they form a kind of a combination and their relations are so intimately interwoven that when you involve one company you necessarily involve all the rest. At Indianapolis the switchmen struck, including those upon roads where Pullman cars were not handled, but they were involved because they worked in the same yard, used the same track, and it was almost impossible to avoid it; then when it came to putting new men in the switchmen's places the men said they would not work, which involved other roads where Pullman cars were not hauled. One notable instance of that was the Big Four system, where no cars were involved. I do not believe that road would have been involved in the strike at all if it had not been for the fact they had reduced the wages of their employees 10 per cent and there was universal dissatisfaction on that system on that account. There was no intention of involving any company that did not haul Pullman cars.

148 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). For interference with any train that did not have Pullman cars attached?—Ans. Yes; that is right. We shall prove on our hearing in court that we agreed to haul mails upon certain roads, agreed to supply men to haul the mails, but that the company refused their services unless the Pullman cars were attached. There are many cases where the railroad companies absolutely refused to haul the mails and were responsible for the delay of the mails because they had formed an alliance with the Pullman company and would not haul the mails or anything else unless the Pullman cars were attached. They alleged they had a contract with the Pullman company that made it obligatory upon them to haul those cars, but they published everything else and never published those contracts.

149 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It has been said in evidence that the General Managers' Association was responsible for the strike or boycott ordered June 21, instead of the American Railway Union. What are your views upon that point?—Ans. I would not like to go so far as to confirm that statement; that is not my view of it. My view of it is this, the American Railway Union declared the strike and is responsible for it to the extent of declaring a strike, but it was done under provocation which ought to militate against any responsibility that might attach to them for doing so. The situation was aggravated by the reductions that had taken place.

150 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I am not referring to that; you have testified to that; but because the General Managers' Association did not comply with or obey the action of your convention of the 21st of June,

they thereby became responsible for the boycott or strike, you think?—  
 Ans. No, I would not take that view of it; I do not think that I ought to say that. They were given five days' time to cut off the Pullman cars and if they did not do so we would refuse to handle the trains; that was really a declaration of a purpose to cut off cars. They took the position that their trains had to run intact, or not at all. That was practically their position; so I don't believe that view of charging them with being responsible for it would be right, except in a pacific way, but not in a direct, positive way.

151 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The union has made no declaration on that point?—Ans. No, sir.

152 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then, whatever you say is your individual view?—Ans. The union has not made any declaration on that point. I have taken this view: We organized for the purpose of resisting the reduction of wages; that was a primary purpose of all these organizations; for the purpose of maintaining wages; that is the central, pivotal purpose of all of them, they would not hold together were it not for that. The General Managers' Association was instituted for the declared purpose of cooperating together in reducing wages. Now, then, we take the view that if they have a right to combine to reduce wages we have a right to combine to resist the reduction. If a strike ensues and the mail is stopped in violation of the laws of the country that they are as much responsible as we are. If they make a reduction that results in a strike they are at least as culpable as are the employees who strike to resist the reduction. Are there any questions you would like to ask me? I don't know of anything more in connection with the trouble unless there is information of a special character you desire. I was asked to state the causes as briefly as I could that led up to the strike and the more salient features of the strike. I think I have done that.

153 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You believe generally in the enforcement of law?—Ans. Yes, sir.

154 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And in the enforcement of proper authority supported by sufficient force to make the law operative?—Ans. Yes, sir.

155 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It is no part of the object of the American Railway Union in any way to unlawfully resist the authorities, either State, municipal, or Federal?—Ans. No, sir.

156 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have given considerable thought to this labor question and the best means of preventing strikes or settling difficulties?—Ans. Yes, sir.

157 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State in a general way what you think is the best to be done in order to avoid strikes and settle the differences that occur between employees and employers, especially where quasi-public corporations are employers.—Ans. Well, there are two ways. One way, of course, of averting a strike is by submitting, by adopting the policy of the old railway brotherhoods that are now existing. Their policy is a submissive one and has been for some time. Nowadays, under their régime, when a railroad manager reduces wages—for instance, he proposes a 20 per cent reduction when he only intends a 10 per cent reduction, and then compromises on a 10 per cent reduction—and submitting in that way averts the strike.

As long as the brotherhood or organizations are nonresisting—that is to say, as long as they submit to whatever may be imposed upon them in the way of reduction—as a matter of course, there will be no strike, but the tendency of wages will be down constantly. That is

the mystery of all these organizations. They have gradually succeeded in getting certain schedules under conditions, however, that no longer exist, but whatever they secured in the line of concessions was secured by the power of organized effort. There have been some strikes which have always and everywhere been disastrous to the organizations that participated in them. They have lost thousands of members; men have lost their places, and they have been taxed millions of dollars to keep up strike machinery that never did protect the members. It was this that brought us to the conclusion that if we could unify all the railroad men of the country, or practically do it, we would represent a power that, prudently directed, would be a means of averting strikes. We said, even if the railroad companies could defeat us it would be such an expense and such a disastrous undertaking for them that if we were organized upon that basis they would agree to settle troubles amicably rather than allow us to go on a strike. That was the hope. If that had not been the hope and belief of the founders of the American Railway Union that institution would never have been born. We find under the present condition that even if we should be able to unify all of the railroad men of the country it would be impossible to win a strike, because, in the first place, all of the organized orders of society are against the strike.

All of the powers of government are against a strike. For instance, as long as a strike does not inconvenience anybody and bears no indications of succeeding no one cares anything about it, and as a general proposition they just dwindle out to nothing, and except the men who lose their places nobody knows or cares anything about it; but when a strike causes public inconvenience—and a railroad strike inevitably does that—as soon as a strike reaches that point where it gives evidence of being successful other forces are brought into operation that are, and properly so, impregnable. Since the trouble on the Ann Arbor road—that was the starting point—where Judge Ricks and Judge Taft rendered the first decision in this new field of jurisprudence, from that time until this, whenever there has been a strike, as soon as the point is reached where inconvenience is being caused then the courts are appealed to and injunctions are served that practically paralyze the organization. Under the existing conditions, if all the railroad men in the country were organized within one brotherhood and acted together it would be impossible for them to succeed.

158 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you believe it to be justifiable for a great labor organization or any other organization to discommode the public for the sake of carrying a specific point?—Ans. Yes, sir; I believe, with Admiral Porter, that a pin is worth fighting for if a principle is involved.

159 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You mean that it is justifiable to discommode the traffic of the general public for a local issue?—Ans. I should say, Mr. Chairman, that depends upon the local issue—well, that depends upon circumstances. In the case we are now discussing there is a local issue and a national issue—a joint issue—and the wages, comforts, homes, and firesides of thousands of men are involved, which makes it a very decided issue, of far-reaching effect and consequences. As a general proposition, I am opposed to these strikes and always have been, and in twenty years of writing I can show I always tried to devise some way and means of overcoming a strike—never have been in favor of a strike; but there are times when a strike, in my judgment, is justifiable, no matter what the consequences may be. I believe a strike justifiable when necessary to resist degrading or enslaving conditions, no



matter who is involved or what the consequences may be. It seems to me if it were not for that resistance to degrading conditions, the tendency of our whole civilization would be downward; after awhile we would reach the point where there would be no resistance, and slavery would ensue.

160 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is your conclusion as to the best way of avoiding strikes, either by legislation or otherwise?—Ans. I was going to make this point first. If railroad corporations and other corporations and employers of labor generally had treated their employees fairly and justly I doubt if there would today be a labor organization in existence. I think the conclusion is inevitable that every labor organization is traceable to the injustice, the oppression, the tyranny of the employing classes. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was founded in 1863, on the Michigan Central road, because of the imposition practiced on the engineers. They were not even allowed to meet. They met in secret, a few of them, and drew the curtain, because if it had been known they met for any such purpose they would have been discharged; they were working for small wages; they had no right to voice a complaint. They were treated as so many serfs, I might say. I had a statement directly from the lips of W. D. Robison, the founder of that organization. The brotherhood of engineers was born on account of the tyranny of the Michigan Central road, and the same, I think, is true of all other organizations. Now, then, here are the organizations, combining for the purpose of resisting certain treatment, certain reductions. Here are the railroad corporations that propose to maintain a certain discipline or certain rules and methods, and, in my judgment, it will be absolutely impossible with the aid of any legislation to reconcile railroad employers and railroad employees in a way to prevent strikes. It will not be possible as long as our human nature is as it is.

On the one hand you find the managers, who are themselves but employees, and who are there to carry out the orders of the powers above them. When an order comes to reduce wages they are not consulted, I apprehend, but they receive the order and execute it. I am satisfied there are many general managers who very reluctantly enforce reductions, who are men and feel that kindly feeling for their employees, yet they are compelled to execute an order that arouses opposition of the service. I admit there are times when reductions are justifiable; but there have been so many reductions made that are not that the railroad employees have become suspicious; they lack confidence, and when a reduction is made they have a doubt in their minds whether a reduction is right, or whether they should accept it.

Just before this trouble I had a conversation with the president of one of the roads, and he said to me: "Now is the time when you can make yourself, in the estimation of the railroad employers, and the railroad employees as well." I said, "In what way?" He said, "You have a certain influence with railroad employees; I advise you to go before them and advise them to voluntarily take a reduction; in fact, to ask for it in view of the hard times. Advise them to come to the front of their own accord; then you put the company under obligation to restore those reduced wages as soon as business revives." I said, "That is a very nice proposition. Only a few months ago your road was doing an overwhelming business, and within my own knowledge your road has been making a great deal of money. Did it ever occur to you in your prosperous times to go to your employees and say: 'Here, men, we are making a good deal of money; we believe you ought to

share our prosperity with us and we are going to increase your wages on and after the 1st of June 5 per cent.' Did you ever do that? Do you know of any manager that ever did that?" He said he could not recall any case of that kind. I said, "Neither can I." I said, "In your prosperous times it never occurred to you to voluntarily give to your employees what they were entitled to, and you have no right to expect that they will voluntarily come to you and ask to have their wages reduced. If you had set an example in that way and inspired their confidence and a necessary reduction was made they would bear it like men, because you had treated them fairly when prosperous. But the railroad companies never did that; they only make concessions when compelled to, and that is a fact that is easily proved."

All of the old brotherhoods have their schedules to show it required weeks of pleading and protests, and the expenditure of thousands of dollars, to secure the schedule they now have. There is not that mutual confidence between the railroad managers and railroad employees there should be to insure harmonious relations. The conditions since the great strike, if possible, are worse than they were before. The usual persecution will now be visited upon those who participated in the strike. They will be told there is no employment for them; they will apply for work elsewhere and will be told there is no work for them. That, of course, is not calculated to produce pleasant feelings on the part of the employee. If the present conditions continue it is only a question of time until there will be other strikes. There are some people, and many good people, who felicitate themselves upon the fact that this strike has been suppressed and general quiet has been restored, but they are very much mistaken; they have simply screwed down the safety valve; the men have submitted because they were compelled to, but they are no more satisfied than they were at the time the strike was inaugurated. A good many of them are out of work and will find it very hard, I have no doubt, to find other employment. But they will pay all the penalty by enforced idleness; they will find work after awhile; some of them under other names will get back to work again, but they will not be content by any means.

In the meantime the managers will do everything they can to squelch the American Railway Union, but it will be impossible; they might as well try to stop Niagara with a feather as to crush the spirit of organization in this country. It can not be done. It may not come up in the form of the American Railway Union, but this spirit of resistance to wrong is there, it is growing stronger constantly, and it finds its outlet in labor disturbances, in strikes of various kinds. Even if the men know in advance that they are going to meet with defeat they are so impressed with a sense of wrong under which they are suffering that they strike and take the penalty. You ask what I would do, or what my ideas are about what should be done to avert strikes. To avert railroad strikes I would propose this: "That Government ownership of railroads is decidedly better for the people than railroad ownership of Government. [Applause]. I have reached that point in my investigation of these questions and I believe it is only a question of time when the people must, in their own interest, own the railroads of the country. I believe that if the people owned and operated the railroads in the interest of the people instead of for private gain and profit, that the service would be greatly improved, the condition of the men infinitely better, and another strike would never come. I do not believe it is possible to avert railroad strikes any other way."

161 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you think there could be Government supervision of railroads without Government ownership that would accomplish the same result?—Ans. I fear not.

162 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Don't you think that if arbitration in the form of conciliation before a strike occurred was compulsory that, in a great many instances, strikes would be averted?—Ans. No, sir.

163 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you think if an arbitration had been had with the Pullman company, for instance, and a certain decision arrived at, that the Pullman employees would have been disposed to accept it, or, in other words, not have struck after a fair arbitration?—Ans. Yes, sir; I believe that.

164 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Could not there be legislation that would have compelled the Pullman company to arbitrate and would not such an arbitration have averted that strike?—Ans. In answer to that proposition let me say, I do not believe any good could possibly come from compulsory arbitration; that seems to me to be a contradiction of terms; arbitration to have the desired effect should be mutual and voluntary. If a railroad company is compelled by law to submit to arbitration it is safe to say that a verdict or result, whatever it may be, and more especially if it is adverse to the railroad company, will not be very agreeable to them, and they will not feel any kinder toward their employee. My idea is to secure harmonious relations, there must be kindness and mutual confidence as a basis. In compulsory arbitration that is the relation that will bind an employer and employee together; force them to maintain that relation and it will not be either pleasant or satisfactory. I really think on the whole the condition of the employee would become worse instead of better, and I believe more harm than good would come out of compulsory arbitration.

165 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You think, then, that compulsory attempts at conciliation would have bad results rather than good?—Ans. In certain cases. In such an enterprise as the Pullman company I believe compulsory arbitration, and it might be a State arbitration, would be very efficacious. There is always more or less trouble in finding a board satisfactory to both sides. Where two men are appointed, one upon each side, and they select a third, the final decision is generally given by one man, no matter how many witnesses you have on each side. I believe a court might be established, for instance, a State court, with such power and functions as are necessary, the same as any other State court is instituted, before which parties might be summoned to appear, complaints lodged, and testimony taken in the presence of a jury. Establish the court the same as our other courts of law are established and maintained for the purpose of meting out justice to litigants. It seems to me where there is trouble of a local character between an employer and employees in a factory or mill a State court established of that kind that would necessarily have the confidence of the people, would be a proper tribunal to try such differences before; that would be compulsory arbitration, as I view it; but in matters relating to transportation, to interstate commerce, I doubt if even a court could be established that would maintain harmonious relations between railroad corporations and their thousands of employees scattered all over the country.

166 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Your reason for thinking compulsory arbitration with reference to interstate roads would not be successful is because it might tend to interrupt harmonious relations between the employer and employee?—Ans. Yes, sir.

167 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Those are interrupted always, are they not, prior to a strike?—Ans. Yes; but I don't believe present conditions would be much improved by any system of compulsory arbitration. Where there is simply local difficulty you can see it before you, and it is not difficult to reach the right and wrong of a proposition in a case of that kind; but where you have railroad interests scattered out over thousands of miles of territory, subject to totally different conditions, different surroundings, and all that, it is impossible to enforce any kind of a decree or finding, it seems to me, that would be satisfactory. Then, again, I do not see how it would be possible to compel employees to abide by a verdict without striking down their constitutional rights.

168 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That brings me to a point I want to ask you about. What do you think about the propriety of a national law requiring certain grades of employees, say conductors, engineers, and brakemen, perhaps, to be licensed as engineers and pilots are on our rivers?—Ans. On the whole, I think it would be a good idea if a system of licensing could be established under which favoritism would be impossible. That is the danger of it; the men would have to pass examinations before certain boards, and there is a possibility of its being partial to certain men and impartial in other cases, but bar the doors against all men who might be objectionable to the company.

169 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In all human proceedings you recognize you can not eliminate this agency that men are partial and impartial. We have to work with men as they are.—Ans. I concede the correctness of the principle. I believe the principle of licensing men in the railroad service is right; the objection I make is merely in the nature of the administration of it.

170 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). If there was a system of licensing of that kind and then there was this legislation in order to secure or attempt to secure conciliation, would not that system of licensing be very valuable in enforcing the decision of a board as against employees?—Ans. No, sir; I am afraid not.

171 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I do not mean in the direction of compelling them to work if they do not wish to, but in other directions.—Ans. I see the point. I don't believe so. If the law were to be impartially enforced and the people were confident it would be I believe the solution would lie in proper legislation; but we have an interstate commerce law that was designed ostensibly to prohibit railroad corporations from pooling and combining for the purpose of discrimination, and there is not an interstate railroad in the United States that has not repeatedly violated that law in every essential provision. The secretary of the Santa Fe reorganization committee made the statement a few days ago in relation to the Santa Fe road, and in extenuation said that all the roads in the country were doing the same thing.

172 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know of any law that is not violated?—Ans. No, sir; I do not.

173 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then how can any provision of law be made binding?—Ans. I am objecting to cases where violation is the rule instead of the exception, and that is the case with the interstate commerce law.

174 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is not that on account of some deficiency of the law?—Ans. Possibly so; but it is not deficient in its provisions, so far as its provisions are concerned.

175 (Commissioner KERNAN). The interstate commerce law was designed, was it not, to remedy the wrongs of shippers?—Ans. Yes, sir.

176 (Commissioner KERNAN). Before its enactment the complaint was that shippers were in the same position labor is now, to wit, that they had no appeal against injustice except to those who were interested in the question on the opposite side?—Ans. Yes, sir.

177 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the design of the law was to afford a tribunal which would permit the presentation of a question and render an impartial decision?—Ans. Yes, sir.

178 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you not aware of the fact that since the interstate commerce law went into effect that the complaints on the part of shippers such as used to continually disturb the community have substantially ceased?—Ans. They have ceased because they have not been aware of these violations of the law; they will not cease on the Santa Fe system.

179 (Commissioner KERNAN). If violation of the law is the general rule instead of the exception, how is it possible that all shippers are not aware of it sufficiently to make complaint?—Ans. In the case of the Santa Fe system, according to Expert Little's report, rebates to the amount of \$7,000,000, \$2,000,000 of which could not be placed, were made to a large favored class of shippers as against the smaller patrons of the road, a discrimination in direct violation of the interstate commerce law. That has been going on steadily for the last three or four years, but by a false set of bookkeeping that has sent many a man to the penitentiary they have made the public believe they were living up to the law, and hence the shippers have not complained, because they had no knowledge of the fact they were being discriminated against.

180 (Commissioner KERNAN). Mr. Little's statement does not afford us very much light does it, unless it be accompanied by a statement of what the rebates were during a similar period before the interstate commerce law went into effect? Suppose that during a similar period that class of rebates had been twenty or thirty times as great, would not that show the interstate commerce law had to some extent remedied the difficulty?—Ans. That ought not to be any excuse; if, for instance, there was a law enacted today making stealing a crime and I stole \$20 before the law went into effect and I only stole \$2 or \$3 afterwards, now, I have violated the principle of the law and am as guilty as though I had taken a larger amount.

181 (Commissioner KERNAN). Still, it would show the law against stealing had had some effect in diminishing the amount stolen, but had not cured the evil. You are looking after a cure?—Ans. Yes sir.

182 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think it is rather impracticable for us to look for a complete cure of these things at once? Have we not to abolish the evil step by step instead of at once?—Ans. Yes, sir; I agree with you perfectly. If the Government would be as lenient with the employees in their first offense, and do that step by step, I should have no fault to find.

183 (Commissioner KERNAN). With reference to that your position, I infer, would be you think there is too much severity on the part of the law against those who were engaged in this so-called strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

184 (Commissioner KERNAN). Doesn't the constitution of labor organizations and the necessities of the situation require that violence and destruction be suppressed by the public authorities?—Ans. Yes, sir.

185 (Commissioner KERNAN). And to the extent the public authorities interfere for that purpose, nobody can fairly object?—Ans. No, sir; not in the least.

186 (Commissioner KERNAN). I will ask you if really the great difficulty you, as a representative of labor, have experienced is not this, that when there were grievances which your constituents considered were well founded and desired to present to railroad managers that you have not found them accessible; that you have not been able to get a hearing; that you have been repulsed, and that has aggravated the situation; and that upon many of these occasions if you could have had a fair hearing before some public body, where all the facts would have been developed and both sides presented, the trouble would have been averted?—Ans. Yes, sir.

187 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not worth while to try something of that kind rather than instantly to take this extreme step of Government ownership and approach that through the medium I suggest?—Ans. I think that would be a temporary expedient; it would, perhaps, result in some good. I have had very serious doubt about it. I admit I favor the principle very much, but the more I have studied it the more I have concluded it is impracticable; that after all it will be a failure in its operation.

188 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you know that during a great many years the railroad commission of Massachusetts was without any power to enforce decisions against railroads, but that no decision was ever appealed from or refused obedience to by the railroads in that State after the court had made its recommendations?—Ans. Yes, sir; I know something about the workings of that board.

189 (Commissioner KERNAN). It did operate in that way for a time, did it not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

190 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't that seem to point to us that perhaps by some effort in that direction, just what it may be we do not know, we may at least alleviate the present disturbed condition as to labor and capital?—Ans. If that can be done I am in favor of it. But if the laws we already have on the subject are enforced without merit against the employees and are ignored with reference to their application to the companies, what right have we to expect that the same discrimination will not be carried into this matter of arbitration or any other law that may be enacted hereafter? If there was a disposition on the part of the authorities to impartially enforce the law against all violators of the law—that is a proposition to which I subscribe. I think men ought to be punished that violate law, whether rich or poor, capitalist or tramp. If that were true in the administration of our law I would look for some relief, at least.

191 (Commissioner KERNAN). Would not you get this relief in the measure we suggest? You have stated that the position of your organization in this strike was persistently misrepresented by the press, or some portion of it, which led all through the United States to the formation of public opinion against you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

192 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any doubt that if public opinion had been directly informed as to the entire situation the strike would probably have been averted and that you would have succeeded in your just demands?—Ans. I believe that is true.

193 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think that if before a strike was inaugurated there was a law requiring a tribunal to sit as this one is now doing, and investigate all the facts and hear all the parties that that would be a very efficient means of enlisting public opinion and enlisting its sympathies upon the side of right?—Ans. Yes, sir; but everything depends upon the board. If it were this board I would unhesitatingly say yes.

194 (Commissioner KERNAN). After giving the answers you have, why is it you take the position that nothing can be done as a relief worth trying, except Government ownership of railroads?—Ans. I believe that is the logical conclusion. My idea is to make a reform positive and complete at once; in place of travelling along slowly inch by inch to reach the same destination.

195 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not a very seriously debated question whether Government ownership of railroads is in the end beneficial to the companies that have it?—Ans. I confess it is a very serious question. There is no doubt in my mind, though I do not claim, of course, to have fathomed it in all its details and effects.

196 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assuming that the fact is that Government ownership of railroads results in poor service and higher rates than ownership by individuals or private corporations, what effect would that have upon your views?—Ans. It does not have that effect where it has been tried.

197 (Commissioner KERNAN). But assuming it does, that an examination of the history of the question shows that result, how would that affect your judgment?—Ans. I should not favor it if the conditions were to be worse than they are now. I only favor it on condition it might be reasonably demonstrated that the conditions were to be decidedly improved.

198 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think it ought not to be adopted unless it would not only benefit labor, but also give the public better service and at more reasonable rates?—Ans. Yes, sir. I believe that is the only way discrimination will ever be abolished.

199 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you not see that the acquirement of railroads by the Government would involve very great friction, and unless it was actual confiscation upon terms laid down by the Government, would require a long time to adjust?—Ans. Yes, sir.

200 (Commissioner KERNAN). In the interim, therefore, what are your views as to how we had better meet the situation and attempt to assuage the present condition?—Ans. Leaving aside the question of ultimate Government ownership?

201 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes; as one that is, under the circumstances, so far remote and difficult to bring about that it will take some time, at least, to deal with that question. Without that remedy, what would be your views in that aspect of it?—Ans. My views are, that if the administrative department of the Government were right, there would be no further legislation required than that we already have to prevent such outbreaks as we have had here. It is the perfect confidence with which the railroads depend upon the powers of society and of the Government to come to their rescue that prompts them to trample under foot the rights of their employees with impunity and do many other things which, if they were left to fight their own battles, they would not do. But they know when they are in conflict with their employees they can with perfect confidence rely upon the strong arm of the State government and National Government to come to their rescue, and this is what inspires them to do many things that result in trouble which they would not. We, as the American Railway Union, have always said at every step we have taken that we wanted the public to know what we were doing. We have not a secret connected with our organization. We do not hold a secret meeting; we have not a grip, sign, or password, for the reason we have said such mysteries destroyed the confidence of the people in our work, and

we want to do everything and let the whole world know we will not do anything that is wrong or that we are ashamed of.

We have always said we were in favor of arbitrating every difficulty. Every proposal we have made in that direction has been rejected with scorn. We have nothing to look forward to to defend us in times of trouble. We have only got a number, and a limited number, of poorly paid men in our organization, and when their income ceases they are starving. We have no power of the Government behind us. We have no recognized influence in society on our side. We have absolutely nothing but the men who begin to starve when they quit work. On the other side the corporations are in perfect alliance; they have all of the things that money can command, and that means a subsidized press, that they are able to control the newspapers, and means a false or vitiated public opinion. The clergy almost steadily united in thundering their denunciations; then the courts, then the State militia, then the Federal troops; everything and all things on the side of corporations. When the authorities are called upon to intercede in troubles of this kind do they ever ask labor a question? Never. They always go to where capital sits in council and there receive their orders as I view it—do what they command shall be done.

We have had a great many conflicts in this country between capital and labor. We know by experience and by the truth of history that in a great many of those conflicts the workingmen were right. We know that their wages were unjustly reduced and their rights trampled down. When and where did the militia ever come out and take its stand on the side of labor, to prevent the workingmen's being robbed and degraded? Never. Whenever and wherever they have been called out it was always to take their place on the side of the capitalist. They have gone into partnership with the oppressors of labor to crush labor. If there was a perfect sense of duty and justice prevailing at the proper places they would not have to exercise their powers as they now do, always with the one purpose of crushing the workingmen. They could enforce the demands of justice without any additional legislation on the subject, in my opinion; but the moneyed power, it seems to me, is potential enough to control all this machinery, and will be able to do it with the additional legislation that you propose, in my opinion.

202 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Would it not be able to do it to a still greater extent if the Government owned the railroads, because it would have more employees under the Government to be reached politically?—Ans. Not to the same extent, in my opinion, for the reason if the Government owned the railroads the people would have a citizen interest in those railroads.

203 (Commissioner KERNAN). How about the poor man that was laboring in some outside employment or unable to get any labor at all; would he not necessarily grow to regard the railroad employees as members of a favored class?—Ans. That carries me several steps further. He also is a victim of a wage system which I believe in abolishing entirely.

204 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you believe there is no solution of any of these troubles under the present industrial system?—Ans. No, sir; that is my candid conviction.

205 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then Government ownership of railroads is only an expedient; it is not a final solution after all?—Ans. It would be a final solution so far as the railroads are concerned, but not of other matters.



206 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then would Government ownership of all trades and property follow as a solution of the other?—Ans. I believe in a cooperative commonwealth as a substitute for the wage system.

207 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Another name for State socialism?—Ans. No, sir; I do not call myself a socialist. There is a wide difference in the interpretation or definition of the term. I believe in a cooperative commonwealth upon the principles laid down by Laurence Gronlund. You may have read his works. I believe that is the rational solution of the whole question. We recognize the main features of State socialism. I can say in relation to the wage system that in my judgment—I am studying this question and I want much more light than I have got; I am in need of much more, and speak for nobody but myself—but I am impressed with the conviction that the social and industrial conditions will grow worse instead of better, so long as the wage system remains in vogue. If a man is obliged to depend upon another man as to whether he shall work or not he is a slave.

Now, with the introduction of labor-saving machinery—and that is a misnomer, in my judgment, of labor displacing machinery—and unrestricted foreign immigration, we now have the spectacle of ten wage workers who have families depending upon their support competing for the same job of work. There are not jobs enough to go around, and the result is a great many men out of work. They are bidding against each other—as a matter of course we all believe, as we say we do, in the freedom of contracts, and during this late trouble all of the papers, or the principal papers, in the country, said, “We have to maintain that principle if we have to do it with shot and shell, Army and Navy—that a man can work for anybody he chooses to work for and for any figure that may be agreeable between them.” I deny any such proposition as that—

208 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Just there, do you mean to say that nine men out of every ten are out of employment?—Ans. No, sir; not on the whole. I meant to say that was the case in many parts of the country.

209 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I understood you to say that ten men were bidding against each other for one job, which but one could get.—Ans. I meant to apply that locally. I was out in Colorado and saw that condition there. I did not mean that that is the condition in the whole country. Professor Ely says that we have 3,000,000 able-bodied paupers in this country, and I regard him as good authority on that subject. We have men bidding and compelled to bid by their necessities, having families dependent upon them, and they have to work and they bid against each other, and the man who bids the least gets the work, and the others are out of work. Now, I have said, I deny men have a right to do that; no matter what may be said about the freedom of contract under our Constitution, no man has a right to sell himself into slavery; no man has a right to do that; and yet that is what it amounts to if a man agrees to work at unliving wages, and that is precisely what they do—what the wage system compels them to do.

I am not opposed to immigration; on the contrary, I think under proper restrictions there is room for millions of people to come to this country to be good citizens, but that undesirable element of immigration of which this country has been made the dumping ground, brought here at the behest of corporations in the State of Pennsylvania, for instance. As an example, a few years ago in the State of Pennsylvania miners were getting from \$4 to \$6 per day and were enabled to live as becomes American citizens. Then the operators combined, sent their

agent to Europe and imported the most vicious element of European countries, men who are working to-day at from 40 to 65 cents per day; men who did not live in huts or in hovels, but in holes in the ground, like animals, displacing the miners who lived as becomes American citizens, and educated their children so they might be in a condition of intelligence to perpetuate free institutions. And then a great many people wonder where the Coxe army comes from. Now, with all this element that comes in here to compete against our own labor, displacing as they have done a vast number of workmen, together with the improved machinery that has done away with the services of thousands of men, competition is bound, in my judgment, inevitably to degenerate into perfect slavery, if it does not already exist.

210 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then, I understand, you favor some restriction of immigration, so as to prevent an undesirable element from coming in and competing in the way you suggest?—Ans. Yes, sir.

211 (Commissioner KERNAN). Isn't it the result of your reading that concentrated power made sufficiently strong to control the situation is always oppressive to the weaker party?—Ans. Yes, sir; that is true.

212 (Commissioner KERNAN). You said that Mr. Gompers reported to you and asked your judgment as to what all of the workmen of the country represented by the trade unions ought to do, and you said, substantially, "If you had the power that you would have them all go out on this strike." Assuming that had been carried out, would it not have combined the entire labor interests in this country in the strike, and have stopped all business?—Ans. I did not mean it in the sense in which you understand it.

213 (Commissioner KERNAN). I want to be corrected if I am wrong.—Ans. I meant to say that if I could control the conditions I would have all workmen stand together, but that would not have involved all of them; there were thousands of railroad men that remained with the different companies and did not go out. Before I would have thought it necessary to involve them all we were entitled first to the united support of all the railroad men in the country, but a number of representatives of local unions came to me and asked me what to do. I told them to remain at work. I never advised in a single instance that they go out, and I could bring the men here to testify to the truth of that statement. I said in every instance, "There is no use of you sacrificing yourselves and not help us." I meant by that that every man in the railroad service, primarily—that is, that labor should be as loyal to labor as capital is to capital. When you attack a railroad corporation you find them all against you all over the country; they believe in sympathetic strikes. They all secretly in every way in their power help the company in trouble; the very thing I want labor to do. Not only do the corporations control newspapers—how quickly the newspapers came to the rescue of these railroad companies—we had no trouble with the Chicago Herald; there was no strike in its office, yet it fought us as fiercely as if it had been a railroad corporation—not only that, but all other influence capital commands instinctively rushed to the rescue. Capital is very sensitive; touch it at one point and you attack the whole combination.

214 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not your position that not only railroad employees, but all employees who work for hire, ought in a strike of the kind we have just passed through stand and support the striking organizations?—Ans. Yes, sir; I will give you my reason for that—

215 (Commissioner KERNAN). I want to ask one question that is in

my mind. If a condition existed in the country like that, would it not be exceedingly dangerous to the peace and welfare of the country?—**Ans.** I do not believe it would be as dangerous as it is now, for the reason if labor was as thoroughly organized as we contemplate the men who control capital would be more considerate of the rights of labor.

216 (Commissioner KERNAN). Look at the question from your standpoint and see what the result would be if carried out in that direction; would not the result be that the men must reach the conclusion that we must try to devise some way of at least providing temporary expedients and remedies rather than permit things to go to such an extreme?—**Ans.** I don't know; that depends upon circumstances some. I think where there is an ill it is well in place of applying expedients let it do its worst, and out of that will come a better condition. It seems to me if we were so thoroughly organized we could very promptly stop the whole machinery. It would stop on the very spot by abolishing the wage system, and that is what I desire.

217 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not quite likely that the human nature of such an organization would lead it to become tyrannical and as unjust as those resisting it?—**Ans.** Yes; I believe human nature is about alike on each side.

218 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is an objection, then, in the direction which you suggest?—**Ans.** I think not, for the reason that impelled us to organize the American Railway Union. I believe a little power is dangerous. I believe that organized labor is much more tyrannical, much more dangerous to society and to itself with a little power than if it had more power. For instance, take one hundred switchmen—I only refer to the switchmen to illustrate the point, because all railroad men are practically alike—and organize ten or twelve of them, and you will have a strike in fifteen minutes. They want to demonstrate their power, and the probabilities are that the company will do something to provoke them to strike, or encourage them at least; but suppose all of those switchmen are organized, suppose the great body of railroad men were organized, and more prudent counsel will prevail; the organization will be more conservative, and the chances for strike largely reduced.

219 (Commissioner KERNAN). Instead of permitting this unification to go forward in the present way, what would you say in regard to having it done in the same way unification of capital is permitted—by incorporate charters, where legal restrictions could be asserted for the protection of the members?—**Ans.** There would be this difficulty: Railroad companies are managed by a board of directors. The board can meet in a small room and transact their business expeditiously; they can do as they please, and there is more or less business of a private character connected with all large enterprises. Nine men on a board of directors may control thousands of miles of roads and thousands of employees. There are no police to interfere with them, nobody disturbs them; they meet in secret and do their work, transact their agreements. On the other hand, the interests of labor are not committed to the hands of three or four men; thousands of them who have not had the early advantage of an education, who are ignorant and suspicious, some of whom are vicious, and they are more difficult to control; everything they do has to be done in public. If they hold meetings to prepare to strike, instantly the police stand ready to pounce down on them and disperse them. It is a force that can not be controlled. The force of capital is controlled by educated, trained men,

experienced men; they handle interests of a much greater magnitude, and in that way can do it much more effectually and expeditiously.

220 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why could not all the provisions that you refer to be preserved in a charter and sufficient elasticity be given to it to preserve the features you now have and get provisions added by which the organization would be recognized as a legal body and act as such?—Ans. I don't know but that would be a good idea. But the trouble is to get the railroad men to harmonize. They are in rival organizations now; that is the misfortune of it, and what one favors the other blindly opposes.

221 (Commissioner KERNAN). Looking at it fairly, is it not true that after all, in the present condition of labor, its disadvantages you speak of are caused not only by the antagonism of corporations and capital, but also by the inability it has heretofore displayed to organize itself and unite upon wise and temperate lines?—Ans. Yes, sir; I admit that.

222 (Commissioner KERNAN). It is not fair to charge all of the troubles to the Government and to the corporations and to the opposing influences, is it? Ought we not rather to seek some way by which they could be united so as fairly to represent and protect their rights?—Ans. I do not wish to be understood as placing all of the responsibility upon the authorities or upon the capitalists. I am willing to admit that there is something in the point you make, about the inability of labor to organize for any given purpose; but it seems to me that that very condition that makes it impossible for them to organize on account of ignorance, or on any other account that you please to assign, is brought about by the opposing forces.

223 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, they foment the strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

224 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you not think that some public body, such as Commissioner Worthington suggested, to hear these grievances and recommend a remedy would tend to remedy that defect?—Ans. Yes, sir; I am willing to admit that. When we had this trouble at St. Paul that was the only railroad strike in the history of America that was won by a railroad organization. There never was before that time and never has been since that time a strike won by a railroad organization.

225 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I receive the impression from the statement you made that if labor was unified as we have been speaking of it here this afternoon, it would be followed by the abolition of the wage system, in your judgment. Did you intend to be understood in that way?—Ans. I do not know that I intended to be understood just that way. I meant, in the first place, that these troubles could be reduced, as it seems to me, to a minimum, if the forces are unified; and then it was suggested that there would be something popping all the time if we were to go to each other's rescue. Then I said if it brought on a condition under which we were to be continually in turmoil that would result in the abolishment of the wage system.

226 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The state of turmoil in consequence of labor would abolish the wage system, not the unification of labor.—Ans. That is what I meant to say. If labor were thoroughly unified and able to secure what it believes to be its due it might be well enough satisfied with the wage system, but I do not believe that is possible with our present human nature.

227 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In another answer which you made I drew this impression: A small amount of power is dangerous to labor unions. Do you mean to say that with sufficient power or with a large

amount of power growing out of unification, labor organizations representing that power would by it command the respect of the other side of the controversy?—Ans. Yes, sir.

228 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And thus lead to proper treatment?—Ans. Yes, sir.

229 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is what you wish to be understood as your view?—Ans. Yes, sir. That is one of the important advantages of a thorough organization. Management, for instance, that is confronted with an organization representing practically all of its employees will treat more considerately a complaint than if confronted by a mere fragment.

230 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In another answer you spoke of militia being called out always to protect the employer as against the striking employee, or words to that effect. Is it not a fact that the militia is always called out to protect property, whether it belongs to the employer or to the employee, and not to take sides with either party?—Ans. I should not think that were the fact, after General Miles' statement that he had broken the backbone of the strike.

231 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is an individual matter. I refer to the calling out of the militia?—Ans. Let me recite this as a statement of fact: In 1892, if I remember rightly, the State of New York passed a law that provided that ten hours should constitute a day's work. That had been passed for some time, and the switchmen who were working at Buffalo were compelled to work from twelve to fourteen hours a day, notwithstanding the legislature of New York had passed a law providing that ten hours should constitute a day's work. The switchmen appointed committees, who called on the officials of the several roads centering at Buffalo—the New York Central, the Erie, the Lehigh Valley, and the rest of them. Those officials would not treat with the committee at all, and as a last resort the switchmen, about 600 in number, struck. Mr. Theodore Voorhees, then superintendent and latterly general manager of the Lehigh Valley, wrote a paper on that strike, which appeared in the North American Review of August, I believe, of that year, in which he practically admitted that the railroad corporations had combined for the purpose of disregarding that ten-hour law.

When the switchmen struck they paralyzed all of the roads centering at Buffalo. There was no riot, no disorder, and no trouble, but the roads could not get men to handle the work. There were some cars on the hospital track—old and disabled cars—and they were set on fire. That looked very suspicious, to say the least, and it was currently reported at that time, and I believe it to be the fact, that those cars were fired by the emissaries of the corporations, because what interest could the switchmen possibly have had in firing those decrepit, disabled cars? The very instant those cars were fired the mayor of Buffalo called on the governor of New York and says, "Buffalo is in flames." Six thousand soldiers promptly responded, and there was no cause for them—not the slightest—but 6,000 soldiers responded, the courts responded, and those 600 switchmen were squelched. The 600 switchmen were asking for nothing except that the corporations live up to the law passed by the legislature. Yet they were suppressed by the soldiers. The soldiers were used to suppress switchmen who were simply contending for the enforcement of law. The soldiers came out and stood by the corporations, which were violating the law, and crushed the switchmen, who were contending for the enforcement of the law.

232 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then your idea is, and you wish to be so understood, do you, that the militia is called out in such emergencies on the pretense of protecting property, when the real issue is the protection of non-union men or others who are employed to take the place of strikers?—Ans. Yes, sir; and that was true in this very strike, where the managers claimed that they had plenty of men to operate their roads, but they had to have protection. They did not have to have protection against the strikers. We shall show at the right time that we even offered men to handle their mail trains, but they did not want their mail trains to run.

233 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is, in the trials to come?—Ans. Yes, sir.

234 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What has been the effect of the recent troubles on the membership of the American Railway Union?—Ans. I believe the American Railway Union is stronger to-day, numerically and in every other way, than it ever was since its organization. We are adding to our membership every day.

235 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is it not a fact that the men constituting the volunteer militia as a general thing are workingmen—wage earners?—Ans. Yes; very many of them.

236 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there anything further you desire to state?—Ans. I believe nothing now.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If there are any representatives present of the Rock Island or Illinois Central Railroad companies who desire to cross-examine Mr. Debs they have the opportunity now.

(No response. Witness excused.)

August 25, 1894, Eugene V. Debs, recalled, testified as follows:

237 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In your testimony the other day you referred to a letter from Montana which you stated you would get, if possible, and furnish to the commission; have you secured that letter?—Ans. Yes, sir; I have the letter with me.

238 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you please read it?—Ans. I was in error in saying it was an official; it was a fellow clerk.

SOUTH BEND, July 19, 1894.

EUGENE V. DEBS, Esq., Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR SIR: I see by the paper that one of the messages for the sending of which you are indicted is the one sent me which contained the words, "Save your money and buy a gun." I desire to say your present stenographer, L. P. Benedict, was a fellow clerk with me here for the past two or three years, and that phrase as above quoted was a byword in the office for some time, and when the telegram was received I understood from the phrase nothing more than was suggested by the use of the same language in the office here. I certainly understood by that sentence and the one following that the telegram was sent by my friend, Mr. Benedict. The fact that the expression, "Save your money and buy a gun," was a byword can be substantiated by every clerk in the office.

Yours, very truly,

J. H. CALDERHEAD.

239 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you consider it justifiable for organized labor to paralyze in any degree the commerce and business of the country, that the grievances which affect a few only may be redressed?—Ans. It would depend largely upon the nature and the extent of the grievances. I do not believe if it is purely a local trouble that it would be justifiable to paralyze the general interests of the country in order to reach or remedy a local trouble.

240 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would you consider it justifiable for railroads in combination to paralyze in any degree the commerce and industry of the country, to resist what they considered an unjust

demand upon some one road?—Ans. Yes, sir. They can operate in that way through their organization, and unless they were obligated to support each other during times of trouble their organization would practically fail to serve the purpose for which it was designed—that of mutual protection.

241 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I omitted to ask you the other day what you know, of your own knowledge, concerning the practice of blacklisting on railroads, and especially on the two roads involved in this investigation?—Ans. Of my own knowledge, I know nothing. I only know what I hear by getting reports.

242 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It is so generally understood among the men on different railroads that a blacklist exists on each?—Ans. Yes, sir; in this way. I am told by the ex-employees that when they apply for employment they are asked what road they were formerly connected with, and then they are obliged to present a letter of recommendation, and in every case where they were engaged in the strike the letter specifies, if it is granted at all, "Dismissed on account of strike," and that bars the door on employment. It is generally understood if a man has been connected with this trouble he is not to be employed on any other road. I have that statement from the employees.

243 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Going back to the question of arbitration, I want to read to you what a very warm friend of railroad labor has suggested as an amendment to the present law of the United States providing for boards of arbitration to be selected, one by each party and the third by the two already selected, known as the "O'Neil act:"

That before such arbitrators proceed to act each party to the arbitration shall file with the arbitrators a bond in an amount and with securities approved by the arbitrators, payable to the other party and conditioned to abide by the result of the award: *Provided further*, That the place of any employee or employees in such arbitration may be assumed by the national trades union, or other incorporated society, if any, of which said employee may be a member, and the bond referred to may be given by or to such national trades union or other incorporated society, and refusal to arbitrate as provided in the act shall subject the party refusing to a penalty to be decided.

What would you say to a provision of that kind relative to a national board of arbitration?—Ans. I am opposed to the principle or the theory, rather, of compulsory arbitration.

244 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is, not compulsory except so far as making a penalty for non performance?—Ans. Yes, sir; that measure provides, as I understand it, for giving the organization a legal status.

245 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Yes; it must be incorporated.—Ans. Then holds it by a bond; that is, it commits itself, or binds itself, with such sureties, and who would decide them?

246 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That would have to be a matter of agreement.—Ans. Yes. Would not there be some difficulty about the organization or employees filing a bond binding them to certain conditions? It seems to me that would be a difficult thing to do.

247 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The chief suggestion here is that a bond be filed providing for certain forfeitures in case a party does not submit to arbitration, not relative to the decree of the court.—Ans. The question arises, how would the average organization, or employee, rather, proceed to file this bond? I should think they would find that a rather difficult thing to do.

248 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is what I want to get from you, an opinion as to this provision.—Ans. Of course they could not supply

a bond from their own members, for the bond doubtless would be in a pretty large amount.

249 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It would only be a matter of assessment; I suppose cash would furnish the bond.—Ans. It would practically make it compulsory arbitration.

250 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That would be your idea of this suggestion?—Ans. Yes; I think that is what it would amount to; I think this clause providing for a bond binding the organization or company as well involves that principle of compulsory arbitration.

251 (Commissioner WRIGHT). This telegram has been put into the hands of the commission. Chicago, Ill., July 4, I think is the date.

U. J. MURPHY, *Secretary*:

You are hereby requested to assist us in the present strike by having all employees withdrawn from the service, elect good committees, and wire the name of chairman for each road. Be particular to state what road he represents. Commit no violence. All employees of all roads will stand together. None will return until all return. We are gaining ground rapidly. Pledge full protection to all, whether members or not.

E. V. DEBS.

Is that one of your own telegrams, or one of those to which you referred in your former testimony?—Ans. It is very likely this telegram went out over my name. I have no recollection of this particular telegram. There were thousands of them went out, a good many that I never saw, because there was so much telegraphing necessary that I could not supervise it or attend to it personally. A great many telegrams were sent by other officers of the board of directors. It is very likely that telegram was sent from here over my name, but I do not identify that particular telegram.

252 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). If I understand your answer to Commissioner Wright your objections to what is termed compulsory arbitration, so far as the organization is concerned, is as to the difficulty of securing a bond?—Ans. I think that would be the main difficulty in that proposition. I don't know how an average body of men would proceed to file a bond.

253 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Suppose that instead of a bond, or leaving it to the option of the organization that insisted on a bond, a sum of money to be indicated by the court should be deposited. Is it not true that almost any one of these labor organizations could deposit a reasonable amount of money, say \$500 or \$1,000?—Ans. Yes; I think that might be done, but there are a number of organizations in the field, unfortunately, and some of them are in conflict with each other, and I doubt whether proposing this would not aggravate the trouble, as there are now two or three organizations that claim jurisdiction over the same classes of men. For instance, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen has a large number of engineers in its ranks; the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen has a large number of conductors as well as brakemen, while there is a separate organization of conductors. Now, the question would arise under this proposition. What organization would be entitled to serve, or would properly have jurisdiction. If they all bound themselves by a forfeiture, as you suggest, I think they might deposit a sum of money without difficulty, but it seems to me it would give rise to other and more serious complications than now exist.

254 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But would it not have this good influence; if Congress should pass such laws as would secure to railroad men through the courts, by means of a board of arbitration, a public hearing of their grievances, and then, as you say, that should be



interfered with or made comparatively useless on account of the dissensions among railroad employees themselves—would not the very fact that a remedy was provided and it was defeated by dissensions have a good effect on wage earners in their own ranks?—Ans. I think it would have a quieting or harmonious effect.

255 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). My opinion is it would show that the representatives of the Government were endeavoring to do something to relieve the trouble they complain of with the corporations?—Ans. Yes; I think it would have that effect, that an effort at least was being made to provide remedies by law for the grievances of which they complain.

256 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What knowledge have you, if any, of any labor troubles on the Rock Island road with labor organizations prior to the late strike?—Ans. I have a personal recollection of a strike of the railroad telegraphers on the Rock Island road, and I have here their official journal, and on page 555 there is a statement of the strike:

THE GREAT ROCK ISLAND STRIKE.

The order refused recognition. Systematic oppression on the part of the railway officials. Despotism and underhanded work leads to retaliation. Must be a fight to the finish. Every railway employee in North America interested in this great struggle for liberty and justice.

257 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When was that?—Ans. In December, 1892. Mr. St. John issued a report at the close of the strike in which he set up his side of the controversy. I have that statement at home. I didn't think about this matter coming up or I would have brought it with me.

258 (Commissioner WRIGHT). We do not care to go into the details. Have you anything else to say about which we have not asked you?—Ans. I believe Mr. St. John said in his testimony that there were only 200 members of the American Railway Union on the Rock Island system at the time the strike was inaugurated. It seems to me that statement contradicts itself, because the Rock Island was completely tied up from end to end, as everybody knows, and that certainly would not have been possible if there was only 200 members on the system. The organization had a much larger membership than 200 on that system or it would not have been possible for them to have influenced the employees to the extent they did of tying up the entire system.

259 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you prepared to say what the membership was on that system?—Ans. No; I have no means of knowing even approximately what the membership was, but it stands to reason it must have been over 200. We had a number of unions on the system. I know I organized one at Trenton with 95 members; so we had a much larger membership than St. John is willing to admit, but I could not state how large it was on that road.

## EXHIBIT 5.

UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT, DISTRICT OF INDIANA.

The President of the United States of America to Eugene V. Debs, George Howard, Charles C. Clark, J. W. Mann, Denis J. Wren, W. Carroll, Judson Lamphier, T. S. Griffith, J. R. Church, Orey W. Fishback, A. C. McKelvey, C. C. Arnold, Peter Hughes, J. M. Jackson, L. R. Kirkpatrick, R. A. Robuck, Albert Rachwitz, W. P. Shackle, R. W. Underhill, W. H. Whitaker, J. H. Walters, W. H. Lesorr, Charles T. Fate, Leo S. Harding, L. N. Mellon, D. Mitchell, John Buck, ——— Moriarty, L. F. Hawkins, H. B. Shaler, R. W. Sproston, W. H. Hamilton, J. K. Smith, F. P. Baily, H. Pence, Charles W. Shaw, William Mack, Joseph Mullinix, Harry Webber, D. J. Mett, Elmer Stoddard, W. C. Middaugh, T. H. Middaugh, Joseph Tobler, William Myers, William Ostermeyer, A. Wilkerson, William Young, J. T. Brennan, J. L. Vancamp, and the American Railway Union. And all other persons combining and conspiring with them, and to all other persons whomsoever:

You are hereby restrained, commanded, and enjoined absolutely to desist and refrain from in any way or manner interfering with, hindering, obstructing, or stopping any of the business of any of the following-named railroads:

The Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway,  
 The Pennsylvania Company,  
 The Terre Haute and Indianapolis Railway,  
 The Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway,  
 The Lake Erie and Western Railway,  
 The Louisville, New Albany and Chicago Railway,  
 The Cincinnati, Hamilton and Indianapolis Railway,  
 The Evansville and Terre Haute Railway,  
 The Terre Haute and Logansport Railway,  
 The Wabash Railway,  
 The Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway,  
 The Michigan Central Railway,  
 The Chicago and Erie Railway,  
 The Baltimore and Ohio Southwestern Railway,  
 The Indianapolis Union Railway,  
 The Belt Railroad and Stock Yards Company,  
 The Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad,  
 The New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad,  
 The Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad,  
 The Indianapolis, Decatur and Western Railway,  
 The Baltimore and Ohio and Chicago Railway,  
 The Chicago and Grand Trunk Railway,  
 The Louisville and Nashville Railroad,

As common carriers of passengers and freight between or among any States of the United States, and from in any way interfering with, hindering, obstructing, or stopping any mail trains, express trains, whether freight or passenger, engaged in interstate commerce, or carrying passengers or freight between or among the States; and from in any manner interfering with, hindering, or stopping any trains carrying the mail, and from in any manner interfering with, hindering, obstructing, or stopping any engines, cars, or rolling stock of any of said companies engaged in interstate commerce, or in connection with the carriage of passengers or freight between or among the States; and from in any manner interfering with, injuring, or destroying any of the property of any of said railroads engaged in or for the purposes of, or in connection with, interstate commerce, or the carriage of the mails of the United States or the transportation of passengers or freight between or among the States; and from entering upon the grounds or premises of any of said railroads for the purpose of interfering with, hindering, obstructing, or stopping any of said mail trains, passenger or freight trains engaged in interstate commerce, or in the transportation of passengers or freight between or among the States; or for the purpose of interfering with, injuring, or destroying any of said property so engaged in or used in connection with interstate commerce, or the transportation of passengers or property between or among the States; and from injuring or destroying any part of the tracks, roadbed or road, or permanent structures of said railroads; and from injuring, destroying, or in any way interfering with any of the signals or switches of any of said railroads; and from displacing or extinguishing any of the signals of any of said railroads, and from spiking, locking, or in any manner fastening any of the switches of any of said railroads, and from uncoupling or in any way hampering or obstructing the control by any of said railroads of any of the cars, engines, or parts of trains of any of said railroads engaged in interstate commerce or in the transportation of passengers or freight between or among the

States, or engaged in carrying any of the mails of the United States; and from compelling or inducing, or attempting to compel or induce, by threats, intimidation, persuasion, force, or violence, any of the employees of any of said railroads to refuse or fail to perform any of their duties as employees of any of said railroads in connection with the interstate business or commerce of such railroads, or the carriage of the United States mail by such railroads, or the transportation of passengers or property between or among the States; and from compelling or inducing, or attempting to compel or induce, by threats, intimidation, force, or violence, any of the employees of said railroads who are employed by such railroads and engaged in its service in the conduct of interstate business, or in the operation of any of its trains carrying the mail of the United States, or doing interstate business, or the transportation of passengers and freight between and among the States, to leave the service of such railroads, and from preventing any persons whatever, by threats, intimidation, force, or violence from entering the service of any of said railroads and doing the work thereof, in the carrying of the mails of the United States or the transportation of passengers and freight between or among the States; and from doing any act whatever in furtherance of any conspiracy or combination to restrain either of said railroad companies in the free and unhindered control and handling of interstate commerce over the lines of said railroads, and of transportation of persons and freight between and among the States; and from ordering, directing, aiding, assisting, or abetting, in any manner whatever, any person or persons to commit any or either of the acts aforesaid.

And Eugene V. Debs and all other persons are hereby enjoined and restrained from sending out any letters, messages, or communications directing, inciting, encouraging, or instructing any persons whatsoever to interfere with the business or affairs, directly or indirectly, of any of the railway companies hereinabove named, or from persuading any of the employees of said railway companies while in the employment of their respective companies to fail or refuse to perform the duties of their employment.

And it is further ordered, that the aforesaid injunction and writ of injunction shall be in force and binding upon such of said defendants as are named in said bill from and after the service upon them severally of said writ by delivering to them severally a copy of said writ, or by reading the same to them, and the service upon them respectively of the writ of subpoena herein, and shall be binding upon said defendants whose names are alleged to be unknown, from and after the service of such writ upon them respectively, by the reading of the same to them, or by the publication thereof by posting or printing, and after service of subpoena on any of said defendants herein named shall be binding upon said defendants and upon all other persons whatsoever who are not named herein from and after the time when they shall severally have knowledge of the entry of such order and the existence of said injunction.

Witness Honorable Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the seal of the circuit court of the United States for the district of Indiana, this 3d day of July, A. D. 1894, and the one hundred and eighteenth year of the Independence of the United States of America.

[L. s.]

NOBLE C. BUTLER, *Clerk.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
*District of Indiana, ss:*

I, Noble C. Butler, clerk of the circuit court of the United States within and for the district aforesaid, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a full and true copy of the writ of injunction in the cause of the United States against Eugene V. Debs and others, issued by order of said court, on the 3d day of July, 1894.

Witness my hand and the seal of said court, at Indianapolis, in said district, this 5th day of July, 1894.

[SEAL.]

NOBLE C. BUTLER, *Clerk.*

[A hearing in this matter is appointed by the court for the 18th day of July, A. D. 1894, at 10 o'clock a. m., at the city of Indianapolis.]

#### TESTIMONY OF P. H. MORRISSY.

August 20, 1894, P. H. Morrissy, being first duly sworn, testifies as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. P. H. Morrissy; Galesburg, Ill.; am first vice grand master of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; have held that position about five years.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a practical railroad man?—Ans. I am.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What positions have you held in the railroad service?—Ans. Freight and passenger brakeman; freight conductor.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been engaged in railroad work?—Ans. I served between seven and eight years.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the numerical strength of the body of which you are an officer?—Ans. Up to the time of the late strike the membership of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen in the United States and Canada was about 29,000.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. I am not.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you attend the conference at the Briggs House, Chicago?—Ans. I did.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State briefly what took place there so far as your own knowledge is concerned.—Ans. The president of the American Railway Union came before the conference by invitation and made a very calm and deliberate statement of the situation at Pullman, the causes leading up to the strike of the Pullman employees, and the further developments which resulted in a general strike.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If you care to state what the action of your own body or its representatives was at that time, do so, and whether you were asked to take action in calling out your own men?—Ans. I was directed by the chief officer of the brotherhood, Mr. Wilkinson, to attend that conference, and did so. It was further understood that any organization that might respond to the call would not be bound by any action of the conference unless the executive officers chose to give such permission as was needed. With that understanding I attended the conference and participated in its deliberations.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). At whose invitation did you attend the conference?—Ans. Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State briefly the result of the conference?—Ans. The result of the conference was they refused to indorse or recommend a general strike of workmen and issued a manifesto in connection with it that has already been testified about.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What are the relations of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the American Railway Union?—Ans. They are not very friendly as organizations.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the ground of that unfriendliness?—Ans. Well, to be brief, I will say this, the American Railway Union came into existence with the declaration that the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and kindred organizations were weak, ineffective, and, in a word, they were playing nothing short of a confidence game on the men they assumed to represent. That is substantially the declaration of the American Railway Union as viewed by the members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen has for a long time been representing certain classes of men in the train service, and presume to say they have done it as effectively as could be done under trades union principles or as a labor organization. The American Railway Union comes into the field saying we are weak, and by ridicule of its methods and of every earnest, honest method on the part of the organization to achieve good for the men they represent, when we failed it was a subject of ridicule by the

lecturers of the American Railway Union. That naturally produced bitterness.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What are the relations of your order to the other railroad orders, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, etc?—Ans. The organization I represent enjoys friendly relations with all of the other organizations in the railway service, with the exception of the American Railway Union.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does your organization believe that a union of all railroad men, the unification in fact of railroad men, is a possible or desirable thing to accomplish? Does your organization advocate it?—Ans. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen believes in the extension of the principles of union among railroad men and a closer bond of feeling and unity between them. But it disagrees with the American Railway Union as to the plan of organization, and as to the methods employed to bring about the results desired.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does it adhere to the trades union idea as against that on which the American Railway Union organized?—Ans. Yes, sir.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do I understand you to say you do not favor a union of all railroad employees in one organization?—Ans. My idea relative to the organization of railroad men is on a trades union principle. Although our organization in itself is founded on that principle it does not strictly adhere to it. I believe personally in a separate and distinct organization of railroad men according to their separate grades or occupations, and at the same time having a line of understanding for common advancement and protection, like the Federation of Labor; each occupation kept by itself and all federated for general benefit.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But not so federated as necessarily to act together?—Ans. Not necessarily so.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). So one branch might act at one time and another oppose it if it saw fit?—Ans. I don't know that I would put it that way. The relation of the men in the transportation department of a railway is peculiar, and if there is a federation of all classes of men, those in the shop, on the platform and elsewhere, the man who runs the train, pulls the throttle, throws the switch, sets the brake, who is the first man that will have to make the fight; who is the first man that will be called upon absolutely, and who is the first one whose place will be filled. It has been so held that the operation of a railroad is in such peculiar relations to the needs of the public, and the decisions of court have been such that to make it possible for a man who runs a train under those circumstances to strike at any grievance, real or imaginary, on the part of the laborer far removed or in other departments of the service, that it will be injurious to him. That is the principal objection I see on the part of these organizations forming an alliance with all of the other classes of the service so long as the present laws or decisions hold relative to men entering into a general strike and stopping the transportation of business on interstate railways.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). It has been testified here that these organizations under grades or occupations have been used by railroad companies in cases of difficulty to beat each other—that is, that the railroad companies in case of a strike by the switchmen have that work done by the trainmen, and thus use one class of employees to take the place of others on a strike, taking advantage of the fact that they belong to different organizations. What do you say about that?—Ans. If there has been any action of that kind it has been voluntary

on the part of the individual members. I speak for the organization I represent. The instructions to the members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen during the Pullman strike and boycott, and the strike on the railways incidental to it or that resulted from it, were substantially this: That it was not sanctioned by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen as an organization; that our members would be expected to perform their regular duties and no others, that is to say, they were not expected to leave their trains as conductors or brakemen and go into the yard to switch where the switchmen had struck out of sympathy or otherwise.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have stated that at the conference it was determined to advise your organization to refuse to unite in the strike; was that refusal based upon a disapproval of the merits of the Pullman and railroad strike, or was it based upon policy?—Ans. Everybody present there conceded the merits of the original strike at Pullman; there was no question about that in the minds of anyone, but it was a matter of doubt as to the policy that produced the strike resulting from it.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, did it take the position that the railroad employees were not justified in striking sympathetically?—Ans. They did.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). The organizations that passed upon those questions disapproved of sympathetic strikes?—Ans. They did on that occasion at least.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does your organization disapprove of sympathetic strikes?—Ans. Our organization disapproves of any strike that does not come within the scope of its rules; they have a certain procedure that must be gone through with, and unless that has been observed they are not supposed to engage in any railroad strike whatever.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). It is opposed to strikes unless to remedy grievances of members of the organization?—Ans. Yes, sir; and that after the procedure laid down for their government has been properly observed.

26 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). So your organization would not under any circumstances strike to assist the members of another organization unless the members of your organization actually had grievances?—Ans. Yes, sir; and that was sanctioned by the chief executive as required.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has your organization any rules relative to the discipline of men who join in a riot or engage in the destruction of property when a strike is on?—Ans. Our order has a rule providing for the expulsion from the organization of any member inciting a strike, or engaging in what we term an illegal or unauthorized strike on the part of the organization. We have nothing in our rules relative to punishing any member who indulges or engages in riot or lawlessness. The organization don't think it necessary. They would not support any members found engaging in such practices.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What has been your experience relative to the blacklisting of members of your order when strikes have occurred under your jurisdiction, if you have ever had any strikes?—Ans. It is charged generally by the men that there is a secret method of blacklisting on the part of the railway companies of those men who have been in any way engaged in strikes, or what they term agitators—leaders in railroad strikes.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know anything about that of

your own knowledge?—Ans. I do not; but it is a general charge made by the men and believed by them.

30 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there any hostility on the part of railroad companies, so far as you know, to your organization?—Ans. That is a peculiar question for me to answer, and I don't think I could do it justice without going into a long explanation, which I do not care to go into. I will say as a general rule in this part of the country there is no apparent hostility on the part of the railway companies to the organization I represent.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any views on the subject of a remedy for strikes which you desire to state?—Ans. I will give you my views very briefly. I believe that under present conditions and in view of recent decisions of the court that from the standpoint of the men governmental control of the railways would be beneficial to them. I do not believe compulsory arbitration is possible, but have always been a firm believer in voluntary arbitration, and have put it into practice in certain instances with much success and much satisfaction to the men and the other contending party. I believe that when the leaders of the different organizations quit dickering, when there is less selfishness and pride among them, when they stop organizing dual organizations representing the same class or trade which has always resulted in defeat and humiliation for the men, I believe there will be more confidence among the workmen themselves in the ability of their trades unions, and I believe they will expand and become more influential, but under the present conditions as long as railroads are considered private property there is to me no apparent remedy outside of a stronger, firmer, and more businesslike organization among the men.

32 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That only means that they would be enabled under such an organization to sustain a strike with greater prospects of success than before?—Ans. It means this: I am a believer in voluntary arbitration. I believe in a strike as a last resort after every other means has failed, but I believe that if the men were strong enough to force a concession for voluntary arbitration on the part of the managers that there would be better results, better feeling, and there will not be any strikes.

33 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you not regard the ownership of railroads by the Government as practically impossible, at least in this generation, or for a great many years?—Ans. I must confess that I have always opposed it, as well as anything else that is socialistic, but the claim is made by the public and by the managers that their relations are so peculiar to the public, that the demand for safe and prompt operation of trains is such a public necessity that the employees are practically without protection under private ownership, and from the standpoint of the men, and under present conditions, they think governmental control of railroads would be very beneficial to them.

34 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, the men have ordinarily to continue to work for the public benefit, no matter what their private grievances are, whether right or wrong?—Ans. Yes, sir:

35 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Does not that largely grow out of the lack of confidence by the men in the decisions of the court, and especially in recent decisions of the court, practicing an extension of equity power in the shape of injunctions?—Ans. That has contributed largely to it. I will say this, so far as the advocacy of Government control of railroads is concerned, that since the idea was first pro-

posed (and I think it was proposed by the Knights of Labor) the railroad men themselves have been the last to take it up.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If no one present desires to cross-examine the witness Morrissy he may stand aside.

(Witness excused.)

August 20, 1894, P. H. Morrissy, recalled, testified as follows:

36 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I will ask you what the attitude of your order is toward the question of licensing railroad employees by the Government?—Ans. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen have always opposed the licensing of employees.

37 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Why?—Ans. To give you its reasons I would probably have to give you my own personal reasons. In the first place, I consider the interference of the Government is unnecessary in saying what employees should fill such a position in any private occupation; it is not right for the Government to interfere and say what shall be the qualification of any employee in any private occupation.

38 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is that a good reason where the public are concerned, as they are in railroad operations?—Ans. If the public were concerned I should think the public would have to do then with the railroad managers who might employ an incompetent man.

39 (Commissioner KERNAN). The same reason would apply against licensing pilots and engineers on steamboats, would it not?—Ans. I know nothing of the requirements there—the relations of private ownership of steamboats and vessels to the Government.

40 (Commissioner KERNAN). No, I mean those that are not owned by the Government; their officers are licensed in the same way that they are on vessels owned by the Government?—Ans. I understand they are, but I have never inquired into the reasons why they are; I presume it is for the safety of the public generally.

#### TESTIMONY OF EDGAR E. CLARK.

August 20, 1894, Edgar E. Clark, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Edgar E. Clark, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; am grand chief conductor of the Order of Railway Conductors; have held that position between four and five years.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What experience in railroading have you had?—Ans. About fifteen years in active service as brakeman, fireman, and conductor.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you now working for any railroad company?—Ans. No, sir.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you present in Chicago on the 12th of July at this conference of labor men?—Ans. I did not attend it.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know anything about its deliberations?—Ans. Nothing except from correspondence; I know nothing in detail about it; I was invited to attend and declined.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know anything about the causes of this recent strike?—Ans. No; except as I get them from the newspapers.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did the order of which you are grand chief take any part in that strike officially?—Ans. None what-



ever. Mr. Debs wired me at the time the boycott was ordered, saying a boycott had been ordered and soliciting our support and aid. It was entirely impossible under the laws that govern our organization to aid him, and I replied I had neither authority nor inclination to comply with his request.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was the date of that dispatch?—Ans. I could not say exactly, but it was in the latter part of June.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you a copy of this dispatch?—Ans. Not here; I have the original at my office in Iowa.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there any hostility existing between your order and the American Railway Union?—Ans. Well, yes; as organizations there is.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Does that hostility exist in consequence of the different methods of conducting the business of the two bodies, or does it exist because the American Railway Union is another organization that has come into the railroad field?—Ans. It is founded in the fact that we believe in an entirely different method and in entirely different principles than is advocated by them.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you believe in what is known as trades-union methods?—Ans. Yes, sir.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You do not believe it would be advantageous to the interest of railroad men to have them all combined in one organization?—Ans. I do not.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You think it would be more advantageous to have them united in the different grades of their avocations?—Ans. I believe that the majority of the men engaged in any one trade or calling should have a right to fix the conditions under which the men in that trade should work. I think they should have that right uninfluenced by or without any dictation from any other organization or any other class of employees.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did that feeling of hostility have anything to do in inducing your organization, or you acting as its president, to decline Mr. Debs' request?—Ans. No, sir.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Does your organization believe in what is known generally as sympathetic strikes?—Ans. No, sir; our organization provides certain clear, defined, thoroughly understood rules and regulations under which a strike in the name of the organization may be inaugurated.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What do you think of the advisability of a law that would compel either party, employees or employers, as the case might be, of quasi-public corporations, to submit their differences to a properly constituted board before a strike should occur, to see whether they could be adjusted or not, with a view of avoiding a strike; that is, compelling them to submit the issue to such a board without compelling them to observe the decision of the board if it should render one?—Ans. I think that would have the effect of preventing a great many conflicts that have occurred and that possibly will occur in the future, and if I could see any way by which the finding of an impartial board could be enforced without infringing on the constitutional rights of the parties at difference, I should favor that method of settlement.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What do you think about the advisability of the General Government licensing certain classes of railroad employees as engineers, as pilots on steamboats are licensed?—Ans. Personally I favor it, but whether a majority of the men interested

would do so or not is something of a question. Our organization at one time took that matter up and with practical unanimity indorsed it, and made a considerable effort at Washington trying to get such a law passed, but without success. The bill never got out of the committee.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know what killed it there; whether railroad influence or the indifference of the committee?—

Ans. I was not an officer of the organization at that time, and could not speak with certainty.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). How is a strike ordered in your organization?—Ans. Every effort to amicably adjust the differences is first made by a committee of the employees of the company. If they fail, they invoke the aid of the executive of the organization, and he exhausts all means to effect a satisfactory settlement; if he fails, the question of a strike is submitted to the membership on that system of railroads; if two-thirds of the members vote in favor of a strike, a strike may be ordered by a committee representing the men and the executive of the organization; if less than two-thirds of the men personally interested vote not in favor of a strike, none can be ordered.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know whether that is the rule or not in the organization of which Mr. Morrissy is an officer? Ans. Yes, sir; the practice is practically identical.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is that substantially so in the other organizations, such as switchmen, locomotive engineers, etc.?—Ans. It is true of the engineers, firemen, switchmen, trainmen, and conductors.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that is generally true of the trades union organizations, is it not?—Ans. My understanding is that it is; but I can speak of these other organizations because we have a plan of federation on which we affiliate, and the same laws apply to all.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). I think you said you declined to attend this meeting at the Briggs House because you had neither authority nor inclination; you meant you had no authority to order any strike?—Ans. I had no authority to order a strike until two-thirds of the order voted in favor of it.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). You meant, then, you were without such authority at the time?—Ans. You misunderstood me. That statement wherein I said I had neither authority nor inclination was in response to Mr. Debs' telegram for aid. I did not attend the meeting, because I supposed it was called for the purpose of discussing the question of a general sympathetic strike, and I had other business demanding my attention. I wrote Mr. Gompers that I did not approve of such an idea, and my presence would not be of any use so far as my inclination was concerned.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). When you said you had no inclination, did you mean you did not believe there was merit in the Pullman strike; did you base it on that?—Ans. I did not base it on that at all.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). What you meant was you did not approve of a sympathetic strike whatever the condition was at Pullman?—Ans. I did not think that whatever the conditions at Pullman were that it was right to precipitate a strike on all the railroad companies who had no more to do with Pullman than they had with any other business house or firm with whom they might contract.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If no one desires to cross-examine the witness he may be excused.

(Witness excused.)

## TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL GOMPERS.

August 25, 1894, Samuel Gompers, after being first duly affirmed, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your full name and what your position is at present.—Ans. My name is Samuel Gompers; I am president of the American Federation of Labor.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been president of that organization?—Ans. Twelve years.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Ever since its organization?—Ans. With the exception of two terms, when I was its first vice-president and then ceased to be a member of the legislative committee, and in 1884 I was reelected and have been reelected every year since.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). So that practically you have been connected with the American Federation of Labor since its inception?—Ans. Yes, sir; in Pittsburg in 1881.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How many members does that federation count as affiliated with it?—Ans. Approximately, between 525,000 and 550,000.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It comprehends, as I understand, various trade unions without regard to the business in which they are engaged—the members?—Ans. Yes, sir.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The American Federation of Labor being practically what its name signifies, a federation for the purpose of mutual consultation and benefit?—Ans. Yes, sir; mutual assistance, both offensive and defensive, for legislative as well as economic purposes—for political as well as economic purposes.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does the board have power to declare strikes or take any action with reference to any special union affiliated with the federation?—Ans. It has no power to order strikes; it has power to approve of them so far as financial assistance is concerned when that is applied for, and the affiliated unions are required to contribute towards the financial support of a union whose membership may be engaged in a trade dispute.

Apart from the national and international trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor there are a vast number of local unions of which there is no national or international union in existence in that craft or trade or calling, and, hence, they are directly affiliated with the Federation as local unions, something after the fashion, if I may be permitted to use the illustration, of the States being federated together in the United States and the Territorial governments, or the Territories, being under the direct jurisdiction of the General Government of the United States.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Each union having its own autonomy?—Ans. Yes, sir.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are any of the railroad brotherhoods affiliated with the Federation of Labor?—Ans. Street railroads, not steam railroads.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Not steam railroads?—Ans. No, sir.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). There was a conference held in this city at the Briggs House in July last relative to the strike ordered by the American Railway Union and the boycott accompanying it. If you have no objections the commission would like to know the reason for your action as a member of that conference and the general reasons which actuated or induced that action on your part.—Ans. No, I have no objections.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You can state whatever you wish to in your own way.—Ans. Of course I was made aware of the existence of the strike of the American Railway Union and its boycott of the Pullman cars—in various ways I was made aware of this. Some of our organizations throughout the country had been in telegraphic communication with me and desirous of ascertaining the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward this strike and boycott.

On Sunday afternoon and evening, July 8, a conference was held in this city in which a very large number of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor participated. Among the number were several of the officers of national or international unions which were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. On Monday morning I received a telegram signed by the chairman and secretary of that conference advising me of the action thereof and conveying a resolution passed by it insisting that it became my duty to be in Chicago at the earliest possible moment; that the interests of the organization, as well as of labor generally, demanded that I should heed the request contained in the resolution. I consulted with a few of the members of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor in reference to the matter, and we concluded that I should send telegrams first to the other members of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor to meet me in Chicago at the earliest possible moment, which was the morning of July 12, and, at the same time I sent telegrams to fifteen or twenty of the executive officers of national and international unions to meet in the conference with the executive council of the federation to view the situation and to decide as to the best course to pursue under the circumstances. That conference was held in the Briggs House July 12. Shall I give the names of the gentlemen who were present?

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Yes, sir.—Ans. Our official account, which is the correct account, gives these names: Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor; P. J. McGuire, first vice-president, and, by the way, general secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; C. L. Drummond, second vice-president; James Brettell, third vice-president; William H. Marden, fourth vice-president, and treasurer of the Lasters' Protective Union; John B. Lennon, treasurer, and general secretary of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America; Chris. Evans, secretary. (These are the members of the executive council.) George W. Perkins, president of the Cigarmakers' International Union; Thomas I. Kidd, secretary of Machine Woodworkers' International Union; J. W. Kenney, president of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America; Thomas J. Elderkin, secretary of the Seamen's International Union; George L. Horn, secretary of the Bakers' and Confectioners' International Union of America; E. Kurzenkabe, secretary of the Brewers' National Union; C. F. Bechtel, assistant secretary of the same organization; Patrick McBryde, secretary of the United Mine Workers of America; Michael Carroll, representing the International Typographical Union by credential of the executive officer of that organization; Owen Miller, president of the National League of Musicians; C. Bauntian and H. Dopheide, Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union; C. L. White, National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America; M. M. Garland, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of America; F. Kurtzer, of the National Furniture Workers' Union; P. H. Morrissy, first vice grand master of Brother-

hood of Railroad Trainmen; F. W. Arnold, grand secretary and treasurer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.

In the interim between the conference held on the evening of July 8 and the meeting of our executive council and conference, a number of local unions in the city of Chicago had gone out on a strike in sympathy with the American Railway Union strike and boycott. From St. Louis and various places throughout Missouri, Ohio, and Colorado, I was in receipt of telegrams that they had resolved to await the word that the American Federation of Labor conference would give as to determining their action. Upon the assembling of the conference one of the local unions of Chicago appointed a delegation or committee to present the position that they were then placed in and to urge upon the conference to take such action as would either order a general strike or to recommend one. The committee was heard and a number of questions were put to the committee, each tending to throw some light upon the situation. A general discussion took place as to what should or could be done and what the attitude of the trades unions represented by the American Federation of Labor should be. And since the General Government had been brought in to the side of the railroads to throw its influence upon the side of those who had the money power, we determined that it became the duty of the President of the United States to use some of his influence for an amicable adjustment of the differences existing in this great struggle.

We thought that if the present prime minister of England had been delegated by the then prime minister, Mr. Gladstone, to use the influence and power of the Government of Great Britain to end the great coal strike of that country, it would not be a loss of dignity for the President of the United States to do something toward relieving the unhappy situation existing in this country at that time. For that reason it was decided to send a dispatch to the President, of which the following is a copy. If you desire to know the full proceedings I have no hesitation in giving it all, and if you desire to hear this read I will read it.

Commissioner WRIGHT. Our chief point was to get at the reasons for the final action of the conference, and you can state it in your own way.

WITNESS. I want to show exactly what lead to our action fully and completely.

Commissioner WRIGHT. That is perfectly proper.

WITNESS. I will read the telegram; it is as follows:

CHICAGO, July 12, 1894.

*To the President of the United States, Washington, D. C.:*

The gravity of the industrial situation of the country demands extraordinary and exceptional action of a conciliatory character at the hands of all men. Recognizing this fact the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and the undersigned executive officers of national and international trades unions and brotherhoods of railroad organizations of America are in conference in this city. We ask you, in the name of the working people and the entire citizenship of our country, to lend your influence and give us your aid so that the present industrial crisis may be brought to an end, alike to the advantage of the people of our country and the institutions under which we live. We therefore ask you to come to Chicago and meet this conference, or if the state of public business does not warrant such a course that you will deputize some one as your representative.

Signed by the names of the parties that I read to you before. To that telegram the President did not deign to send an answer or acknowledgment.

We resolved to invite Mr. Eugene V. Debs, president of the American Railway Union, to come before our conference at a time mutually

agreeable and make a statement of the situation of the strike, and also to ask him, or to have him tell us what, in his judgment, would be the most advisable course for us to pursue, or rather how we could be of any assistance to him and to the strike. It was agreed that 8 o'clock in the evening would be satisfactory to both parties. The intervening time was spent in a general discussion as to the powers of the conference, the various participants to the conference, and what could be done in order to help bring this strike to a settlement, if it could be brought to a settlement, or in how far and in what way we could aid the strike or boycott if we could aid it at all.

About 5 o'clock the conference took an adjournment, and at 8 o'clock reassembled. At that time Mr. Debs was escorted into the room and made an address, calm, dispassionate, stating, as he then saw, the situation, giving a history as to the causes which led up to the Pullman strike or the strike of the Pullman employees, and the strike of the American Railway Union in sympathy with the Pullman strikers. A number of questions were asked Mr. Debs, and answers were given to them by him. He then asked that the chairman, your humble servant, might present the document to the Railroad Managers' Association—the one which was subsequently published and which I believe is now in evidence here. After the discussion ensuing upon both the proposition and the condition of the strike it then got along to near 12 o'clock, and Mr. Debs asked to be excused, since it was necessary for him to get home, I believe, to meet some other men and get some rest in order to perform the duties that were assigned to him by the organization. It was the understanding that I would telephone to Mr. Debs as to the action of the conference, and that I would do so before retiring. When I say "the action of the conference," I mean that in so far as authorizing its chairman to present the document to the managers' association.

The conference continued the discussion of the statement of Mr. Debs and the proposition of the American Railway Union until about half past 1 o'clock in the morning of the 13th and then adjourned. I went to the telephone at the Briggs House and called up the Revere House, at which place Mr. Debs was stopping, and I was told by the clerk that Mr. Debs had retired and could not be disturbed, and hence I could not communicate with him as to the action of the conference and council, which was to this effect: That the president (Mr. Gompers) or any other one or more members of the conference would accompany Mr. Debs and any other number of citizens that Mr. Debs might choose, to present the document to the managers' association. The adjournment at 1.30 o'clock was had until 9.30 of the same morning.

In view of the statements made and in view of the proposition submitted by Mr. Debs, the executive council and the members participating in the conference believed it would be most unwise, as well as inexpedient, as well as detrimental to the interests of labor, to recommend a general strike in sympathy with the American Railway Union or the Pullman strikers.

It must be borne in mind that the executive council had not the power to order a strike of any one man or woman in the entire country, and any attempt to order a strike would have been a usurpation of power for which we would have been compelled to answer to our own constituents. Then again, the conference regarded the proposition made by the American Railway Union as a declaration that this strike had been lost, and that a recommendation on the part of the conference to the workingmen—to the organized labor of America to strike was then out of the question, since the men who were engaged in the strike were

asking to be permitted to return to work—of course, in a body, and that the question of the Pullman strike or the Pullman boycott was to be abandoned entirely. The conference having these facts in view prepared a statement. I don't know whether it has been read here, but I think it will be well for the commission to hear it. It reads as follows:

CHICAGO, July 13, 1894.

The great industrial upheaval now agitating the country has been carefully, calmly, and fully considered in a conference of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and the executive officers and representatives of the national and international unions and brotherhoods of railway men, called to meet in the city of Chicago, on the 12th day of July, 1894. In the light of all the evidence obtainable, and in view of the peculiar complications now enveloping the situation, we are forced to the conclusion that the best interests of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor demand that they refrain from participating in any general or local strike which may be proposed in connection with the present railroad troubles.

In making this declaration, we do not wish it understood that we are in any way antagonistic to labor organizations now struggling for right or justice, but rather to the fact that the present contest has become surrounded and beset with complications so grave in their nature that we can not consistently advise a course which would but add to the general confusion.

The public press, ever alive to the interests of corporate wealth, have, with few exceptions, so maliciously misrepresented matters that in the public mind the working classes are now arrayed in open hostility to Federal authority. This is a position we do not wish to be placed in, nor will we occupy without a protest.

We claim to be as patriotic and law abiding as any other class of citizens, a claim substantiated by our actions in times of public need and public peril.

By misrepresentation and duplicity, certain corporations assume that they stand for law and order, and that those opposing them represent lawlessness and anarchy. We protest against this assumption, as we protest against the inference that because a certain individual or a certain class enjoy a monopoly in particular lines of trade or commerce, that it necessarily follows that they are entitled to a monopoly in loyalty and good citizenship.

The trade-union movement is one of reason, one of deliberation, and depending entirely upon the voluntary and sovereign action of its members. It is democratic in principle and action, conservative in its demands, and consistent in its efforts to secure them.

Industrial contests can not be entered into at the behest of any individual officer of this conference, regardless of the position he may occupy in our organizations. Strikes in our affiliated organizations are entered into only as a last resort, and after all peaceful adjustment of grievances have failed, and then only after the members have by their own votes (usually requiring a two-thirds and often a three-fourths vote) so decided.

The trade-union movement has its origin in economic and social injustice, and has its history, its struggles, and its tendency well defined. It stands as the protector of those who see the wrongs and injustice resultant of our present industrial system, and who by organization manifest their purpose of becoming larger sharers in the product of their labor, and who by their efforts contribute toward securing the unity and solidarity of labor's forces; so that in the ever-present contest of the wealth producers to conquer their rights from the wealth absorbers, we may by our intelligence and persistency, the earnestness of our purpose, the nobility of our cause, work out through evolutionary methods the final emancipation of labor.

While we may not have the power to order a strike of the working people of our country, we are fully aware that a recommendation from this conference to them to lay down their tools of labor would largely influence the members of our affiliated organizations; and appreciating the responsibility resting upon us and the duty we owe to all, we declare it to be the sense of this conference that a general strike at this time is inexpedient, unwise, and contrary to the best interests of the working people. We further recommend that all connected with the American Federation of Labor now out on sympathetic strike should return to work, and those who contemplate going out on sympathetic strike are advised to remain at their usual vocations.

In this strike of the American Railway Union we recognize an impulsive vigorous protest against the gathering, growing forces of plutocratic power and corporation rule. In the sympathetic movement of that order to help the Pullman employees, they have demonstrated the hollow shams of Pullman's pharisaical paradise. Mr. Pullman in his persistent repulses of arbitration and in his heartless autocratic treatment of his employees has proven himself a public enemy.

The heart of labor everywhere throbs responsive to the manly purposes and sturdy struggle of the American Railway Union in their heroic endeavor to redress the

wrongs of the Pullman employees. In this position they effectually reiterate the fundamental trade-union principle that working people, regardless of sex, creeds, color, nationality, politics, or occupation, should have one and the same interests in one common cause for their own industrial and political advancement.

By this railway strike the people are once more reminded of the immense forces held at the call of corporate capital for the subjugation of labor. For years the railroad interests have shown the lawless example of defiance to injunctions and have set aside laws to control them. They have displayed the utmost contempt for the interstate-commerce law, have avoided its penalties, and sneered at its impotency to prevent pooling discriminations and other impositions on the public. In this disregard of law these corporations have given the greatest impetus to anarchy and lawlessness. Still they did not hesitate, when confronted by outraged labor, to invoke the powers of the State. The Federal Government, backed by United States marshals, injunctions of courts, proclamations by the President, and sustained by the bayonets of soldiers and all the civil and military machinery of the law, have rallied on the summons of the corporations.

Against this array of armed force and brutal moneyed aristocracy would it not be worse than folly to call men out on a general or local strike in these days of stagnant trade and commercial depression? No; better let us organize more generally, combine more closely, unite our forces, educate and prepare ourselves to protect our interests, and that we may go to the ballot box and cast our votes as American freemen united and determined to redeem this country from its present political and industrial misrule, to take it from the hands of the plutocratic wreckers and place it in the hands of the common people.

That was the statement. With the adoption of that report, an expression of good will and a resolution recommending to the executive council proper the appropriation of \$1,000 toward a defense fund for Mr. Debs, the conference adjourned.

The executive council meeting proper was taken up and the positions reiterated simply by formal resolution, and a sum of money (\$500) appropriated from the funds for the legal defense of Mr. Debs, and the authorizing of the issuance of an appeal to organized labor throughout the country to contribute toward that fund.

I think I have now given you fairly and truly the business of the conference. There may be some details that I have omitted which possibly by questioning could be elicited.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Under what circumstances could the American Federation of Labor have a general strike?—Ans. It would be very difficult indeed except possibly by—such as was contemplated in its early days, in 1886. At a convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1884, it was resolved that a movement should be inaugurated on May 1, 1886, for the establishment of the eight-hour workday in all trades and industries throughout the country.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That was the Baltimore convention?—Ans. No; it was the Washington convention, and thereafterwards reiterated in 1885 in Chicago; and at that time the organizations had previously resolved upon it, both in their local and national meetings and conventions, and at such time as the American Federation of Labor might designate. Before leaving that I will say that there were a number of national unions that secured the adoption of the eight-hour workday rule and have maintained it since May 1, 1886, and a very large number of local organizations have secured the eight-hour workday; while, on the other hand, I think it is safe to say that nearly the entire workmen and women of America have secured a substantial reduction in the hours of their labor since then.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That would be the point, generally, on which the American Federation of Labor could act—the hours of labor?—Ans. Not necessarily, but on anything that would be a matter of discussion and matter of vote by the members of their various local organizations, and which would have to find expression at the conven-



tions of the national or international unions of those respective trades, and then again in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

I should say that in 1888, at the St. Louis convention, it was again decided to set a date when the unfinished portion of the establishment of the eight-hour workday should be attempted to be enforced, or, in other words, in those trades in which it was not achieved. At the subsequent convention it was decided that a general strike for the enforcement of the eight-hour workday would not be wise, and leaving it to the executive council to select any one national or international union, from among those which applied to be selected, to make the battle for the eight-hour workday. There were at that time the miners, the printers, and the brotherhood of carpenters and joiners, which made application to be selected. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was selected as the organization to make the battle for the eight-hour working-day throughout the country, and to receive the financial support of the other organizations affiliated with the federation. That was done on May 1, 1891, and in, I believe, 53 cities they established the eight-hour workday, and in between 200 and 300 they established the nine-hour workday, as the result of that movement.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The federation, then, has never had a general strike?—Ans. It has never had a general strike except the one which was contemplated May 1, 1886, but which unfortunately was terminated by the throwing of the bomb at the Hay Market, in the city of Chicago, and which of course killed our eight-hour movement.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Had the executive board of the American Federation of Labor called a strike even in its advisory capacity here in Chicago, would its members have responded to that call by coming out?—Ans. Generally, yes, sir, I believe they would.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you think it justifiable for any labor organization or association of organizations to paralyze, to any degree, the commercial industry of the country in order to settle a grievance which any part of that organization or association of organizations may have?—Ans. I believe that labor has the right—the natural as well as inherent right—to endeavor to improve its condition. The workers—the producers of the wealth of the world—have a right to a larger share of the product of their labor, and they are fast beginning to learn that that is their right, and they are going to have it. If industry or commerce is incidentally injured it is not their fault; the better course and the most reasonable course would be for the employers to grant the reasonable requests that labor usually makes, and thus avert the disaster to commerce or industry that you have mentioned.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Your view, then, is that the labor question crystallized, and the strike as a part of it, tend to improve the condition of the employees?—Ans. Yes, sir.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would a combination of railroad companies be justified in paralyzing commerce and industry, incidental to its efforts to avoid or to avert the trouble, or in its rejection of a demand, however reasonable?—Ans. The question of justification is one of conception. What would be justification in any case today might not be so a year hence; what is today was not a decade ago. From my standpoint I should say "No." I presume that the railroad companies from their standpoint would say "No," from the explanation I have given before.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). To the previous question?—Ans. To

the previous question. It is a matter of interests as much and more than a matter of sentiment.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is it the policy of the American Federation of Labor to welcome the creation of new organizations wherever possible?—Ans. Yes, sir.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). So that the action of the conference had nothing to do with the policy of your order in its relation to the American Railway Union?—Ans. None whatever, sir. As a matter of fact, all these steam railway organizations were asked through their executives to be represented at our conference, although none of them were affiliated; but I might say, if I may be permitted, that one of the reasons we had in mind in asking the representatives of these organizations to meet in conference with us was this, that if we decided to recommend to organized labor that a strike should be entered into, at least those men who were clothed with responsibility as well as authority might be consulted, and that they would know what action they could or could not take.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have given the labor question, in its various ramifications, a great deal of attention for a good many years. Have you arrived at any conclusion relative to methods which can be adopted, either by the State or Federal Government, looking to the avoidance of strikes and boycotts, and, if so, what are your conclusions?—Ans. So long as the present industrial and commercial system will last, so long will strikes continue. They may be diminished in number or intensity of feeling and bitterness, but, I repeat, so long as the present industrial and commercial system will last, so long will we have industrial disputes and disturbances.

I do not join this general hue and cry against strikes. I believe in diminishing the number as much as possible, and I have worked and contributed, I think, as much as any other one living man to the diminution in the number of strikes; but in the denunciation of strikes I will not join. I regard the strikes as the sign that the people are not yet willing to surrender every spark of their manhood and their honor and their independence. It is the protest of the worker against unjust conditions; and the strike has commanded the attention of the employing class, the capitalist class, and the thinkers throughout the world to the problem of labor, who would otherwise not have given the laborer a second's consideration, except as to the amount of labor that he can produce. No man would think of trying to invent some machine by which the thunderstorms could be abolished or entirely eliminated from our existence. The thunderstorm is the result of noxious gases or different gases in the atmosphere that come together and crush, and they simply purify the atmosphere, and make us feel reinvigorated and with renewed hope.

A strike is the movement of one of the forces in the industrial life and the commercial life, and gives evidence that we shall not go down further in the social and economic scale, and it is a warning that labor has more rights than it now enjoys, and a determination that it is going to secure them, if not today, some other day.

Strikes are not the failures that they are usually written down to be. Speaking of the strikes gained, the various bureaus of labor statistics, both of the General Government and the various State governments, demonstrate that a vast majority of them are gained. I am not familiar with all the reports, since I am too much of a busy man to more than get that data which has been gone over by those who have gone over them before me, and I get their result, yet the reports of the bureau

of labor statistics of the State of New York show that more than two-thirds of the strikes undertaken are victories for the workers, and that they involved the largest number of employees; that they are not, as a rule, against reduction of wages, but for an increase of wages or for a diminution of the hours of labor, or for improved conditions. Some four years ago I sent out a blank to our affiliated organizations, and obtained from them reports of the strikes they had had within a year, officially recognized, and the costs and results, how many involved, etc. There were more than 80 per cent of them victories, about 4 per cent compromised, and about 16 per cent which were lost.

Now, apart from the question of strikes which are won, strikes which are lost—that is, which do not succeed in obtaining the conditions which the workers started out to achieve—it is true that a strike has been lost, but there are few if any instances where some advantage has not been gained. First, the immediate advantage, the warning to the employing class generally that the workmen will not go down further, and that any attempt to force them down will be very expensive if nothing else—very expensive, and that it would be dearer to them, even if they succeeded in enforcing a reduction, than to concede the wages or hours then paid or allowed. It can scarcely be accepted to be or to mean a diminution of production either. There are few workmen in the entire country who do not lose from one week to three months of employment throughout the year, and I refer to those who are employed; and it is variously estimated that from one to three million wage workers in the United States who are or who have been out of employment in the last year, and, if I remember right, the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in 1886, stated that there were then nearly a million wage workers unemployed, so that the million of unemployed workers was not the result of the commercial and financial crisis of 1893, but is now the normal condition in the United States.

I have thought this matter of strikes over very carefully, and there is another conclusion that I have come to, and that I have not seen dealt with largely or at all, and that is, whether defeated strikes do not, even in those, raise the economic condition of the people. Let me give an illustration of what I refer to. Say a railroad company whose employees are on a strike, and we will further say, against a reduction of wages. In the course of the industrial dispute the corporation gets other workers to take the place of their former employees. As a rule those from whom these new employees were recruited have been much lower in the economic scale than the position that they are about to occupy—in other words, economically they are raised—and I think that is undisputed, otherwise men would not change as a rule from equal employments to take the place of their brothers who were on a strike—engaged in a trade dispute; hence, it is true that they come from a lower strata to take the place of their striking brothers. Now, as to those who go on the strike, would they change places relatively to those who have been recruited? My experience and my inquiries demonstrate that that is not so, that a few may suffer and suffer quite a time, but that as a whole they do not go down in the social scale. I refer to employees who went on strikes; there are a few who suffered, but the whole number, as a class, have either remained where they were before the strike or are pushed higher in the social and economic scale. And thus, though the defeated strike loses the immediate object of the men who went out on the strike, yet on the whole it has benefited the whole people socially and economically. That is the result of my observation and inquiry.

I think I have already spoken of the influence on the public mind of strikes. The fact that this honorable commission was appointed to investigate the strike of the American Railway Union is an evidence of the beneficial results of the strike, although I think it was a little late in the season to have appointed the commission. The commission, if appointed during the strike, might have brought the managers' association and the officers of the American Railway Union together, and the refusal of the managers' association to meet or to speak with or discuss with the officers of the railway union the questions might have been prevented and an amicable adjustment might have been arrived at had the commission been appointed during the time of the strike; and I believe the law contemplates that the commission shall be appointed during the pendency of the trouble and with the view of endeavoring to amicably adjust the differences. It seems to me like the appointment of a coroner to hold an inquest rather than the appointment of a commission to adjudicate or endeavor to amicably adjust the differences. And that is, as I understand, the purpose of the law and the intent of the law.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You believe in the principle underlying the O'Neil bill?—A. I believe in voluntary arbitration.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Wherever that can be secured you believe that is the proper thing to endeavor to gain, do you?—Ans. Yes, sir; when two men, as well as aggregations of men, have differences and they can not agree and they are such that they can submit and they do agree to submit to arbitration, they should have the opportunity.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What in your observation has been the effect of strikes, either successful or non-successful as you may choose to call them, on the membership of labor unions? Have they increased the membership as a rule?—Ans. I find that the organizations which are formed, usually in their early history they have great strikes or more strikes—I should put it this way: Unorganized workmen have an exaggerated idea of the power of the employing class and a belief of their own utter incompetency to do anything to improve their condition. On the other hand, as soon as workmen organize, for the first few weeks or months they underestimate the power of capital or capitalists and corporations and overestimate their own power; hence you will find that newer organizations usually rush in where older organizations would not dare to tread.

Strikes have various effects. On an old organization usually it has the effect of making the members more determined to remain true to it than ever. To new organizations, or rather to organizations newly formed, a failure usually has the effect of the men denouncing the organization, when, as a matter of fact, it is due to their own negligence in the failure to form unions years before, or is due to their ill preparation, their poorly organized condition. It is the difference between veterans and raw recruits.

30 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). There are two or three questions that you were discussing before this last matter that I would like to ask you about. You stated the number of members of the American Federation of Labor. Does that include railway employees?—Ans. No, sir.

31 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you any unions of railroad employees, as such?—Ans. Not as steam railroad employees.

32 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). If they became members of the American Federation of Labor it would be through joining some

branch, such as woodworkers' branch, or the metal-workers' branch, would it?—Ans. No, sir.

33 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Or would they be eligible to join those unions?—Ans. No, sir; they would only be—as, for instance, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, etc. If they decided at their next convention to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor they would so notify my office and receive a certificate of affiliation and be represented at our annual convention, participate in our conferences, partake of the mutual advantages which our federation gives and receives.

34 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). They would have all the advantages and all the powers, as I understand you, of membership by affiliation with your federation in the way you have suggested?—Ans. Yes, sir. I would say, in connection with this, that within this past week or two I have been in correspondence with the officers of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and, judging from the tenor of their letters, I should say that the day of the affiliation of that organization, and I hope of the others in the steam railway service, is not far distant.

35 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You would think that likely to be beneficial to the interest of all concerned—all employees of these different orders, would you?—Ans. Yes, sir; I think it would be to the interests of all. Our organization is conducted upon the principle that each trade is best qualified to decide for itself its trade regulations, its relations with its employers—or the employers of its members—to decide these questions for itself without the let or hindrance of the other organizations. Of course, we believe that as industry becomes developed and as labor becomes divided and subdivided, instead of having the different branches which have practically been wiped out by the development of machinery and the application of new tools, that there must necessarily be industrial divisions that will logically follow; they can not be peremptorily created; they must result from organizations existing rather than, I think, others to take their places—a matter of evolution, if you please, evolving from them—growing from them.

36 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understood you to say that neither you as president nor the executive committee or executive council (by whichever name you call it) has authority to declare a general strike. That is correct, is it?—Ans. That is correct.

37 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And has no authority to declare a strike of any particular body of workers?—Ans. It has no such power.

38 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Has it any power to prohibit strikes?—Ans. It has not, except when any affiliated body engaged in an industrial dispute desires having the assistance, financial or moral, of the American Federation of Labor, it is within our power to give it our approval or disapproval; and while it is not an order to strike or an order not to strike, it is fair to presume that an approval carries with it considerable prestige for victory, and, on the other hand, a disapproval would mean that the organization would find it to its advantage not to enter into the strike.

39 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But that would be in the shape of moral influence, rather than a direct power on its part?—Ans. The system is governed more by moral influences than by force.

40 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). For instance, if during the last strike the carpenters and joiners' unions of Chicago had declared to strike, they would have violated no principle in the constitution or

bylaws of your order?—Ans. They would not have violated the constitution and bylaws of the American Federation of Labor as such, but they would have violated the constitution of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, which is affiliated with the federation and is a part of us.

41 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But you would have had nothing to do with the violation?—Ans. Not as president of the American Federation of Labor. For instance, the cigar makers local unions of the city of Chicago went out in sympathetic strike, and that was, if not in violation of the constitution of the Cigar Makers' International Union, yet not in accordance with it. While, in any other strike approved by the authorities of that organization, the members would be entitled to receive a strike benefit of, say, \$5 per week, for that strike they would not be entitled to receive one cent.

42 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That benefit they would receive from the Cigar Makers' International Union and not from the American Federation of Labor?—Ans. The Cigar Makers' International Union is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

43 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But where would the \$5 per week come from?—Ans. From the funds of the Cigar Makers' International Union.

44 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But not from the funds of the Federation of Labor?—Ans. No, sir. They were on a sympathetic strike when the conference of which I spoke came to Chicago, and when we declared that it would be unwise and inexpedient to go on a strike and that we recommended members of the organizations affiliated with the Federation of Labor who were then out on sympathetic strike to return to their usual avocations, the cigar makers, the carpenters, and a number of other organizations that I can not just think of, all returned to work. The building trades council of this city had decided to take affirmative action—that is, to strike out of sympathy with the American Railway Union, and deferred their action until after the conference decided what to do with the matter, and when they learned the decision arrived at by the conference they concluded not to strike.

45 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). As you understand the situation, then, the probabilities are, are they not, that if that conference or council had advised a general strike of the American Federation of Labor these different organizations you have now spoken of would have gone into the local strike and been followed by many others?—Ans. I have reason to believe that is so.

46 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And that that strike would not only have existed in the city of Chicago, but would have spread to a greater or less extent over the whole country?—Ans. I think so, to a greater or less extent; yes, sir.

47 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understood you to say that you thought strikes would continue as long as the present industrial and commercial system continued. Did I understand you correctly as to that?—Ans. Yes, sir.

48 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What do you mean by the present industrial system? For instance, the system of capital going into the market and purchasing labor as cheaply as it can?—Ans. I think that that rightly—and selling in the dearest market, which apparently carries with it the seal of righteousness.

49 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is practically the condition now, is it not?—Ans. Yes, sir; that is the condition. It is immaterial whether delicate women or innocent children are brought into

play in competition with willing, earnest men, or whether the lives of children are thrown into the balance, so that wages shall go down and the condition of the laborer become deteriorated.

50 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). While you expressed no opinion upon this point, I infer, perhaps incorrectly, from your general statements, that you do not think this is a good system?—Ans. I think it is the best we have had, but I do not think it is the best we will have.

51 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is what I want to get at. What do you think is a better system?—Ans. That is a matter for theoreticians and speculative thought. I think that scarcely any that could be evolved out of the human mind could be much worse than that which we now have. I do not think the human family will tolerate anything worse than we have. We have grown away from things that have been worse. The question whether the Government employment of all labor—in plainer words, state socialism, is something for the future to decide, something which the future will determine, and which no man today can say. I imagine that more than likely it will be necessary for our people to go through that phase—more than likely that we will have to go through that phase whether we like it or not.

52 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The phase of state socialism?—Ans. At least a portion of it, if not entirely. I do believe, however, that the Government ownership of the railroads and of all means of transportation and communication and all other productive forces which are in those monopolies should be taken hold of by the Government. I have heard a good many objections to the Government ownership of railroads, but, as has been tersely said to you, the question was whether the Government should own the railroads or the railroads own the Government. The Government of the United States practically operates a vast number of the railroads, but simply waits until they have been bankrupted and in the hands of a receiver, and then conducts them. If the Government can conduct a bankrupt railroad why should it not be in a position to conduct a railroad which has not yet been bankrupted?

53 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). If you are right in thinking the present system of the employment of labor is about as bad as we can have—Ans. I should say “will have.”

54 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You desire to change that to “will have?”—Ans. Yes, sir.

55 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, that is quite an important change. You think if there is any evolution it will be for the better?—Ans. I don't think the whole world is a vast failure. I think that the struggles of our forefathers both upon the economic, social, and political fields have brought us advantages. The fact that this honorable commission is meeting now for the purpose of investigating an industrial struggle is one of the very best evidences of the progress we have made.

56 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you ever considered the effect of the general education of employees upon this question of labor and capital?—Ans. Yes, sir; I think that labor organization has first compelled the introduction of what is now known as compulsory education and gave the first intimation of the necessity of it; and when that was established, it was the labor organizations which secured the release of the children from the factory and the mill and the mine, so that they could go to school, and the education thus given has certainly been to the advantage of the workers. In other words, the more we get—it will be plainly understood—the more the wage worker gets the more

he will want. We are just like other people. You will find the man who earns a dollar a day, that the extent of his aspirations for something better will be about 5 or 10 cents a day; the man who earns \$3 a day will not be satisfied with an increase of wages of 10 cents a day—he would not bother himself about it—he wants at least 25 or 50 cents a day as an increase; a man whose income is \$5,000 per year does not want 25 or 50 cents a day as an increase, he wants a thousand or two thousand dollars a year of increase; a man who owns half a million dollars wants a million, and a man who owns fifty millions wants the earth.

57 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You think, then, that if men and women are educated to where they meet together to compare their views, that they will protest against any system that compels them to sell their labor in order to earn a bare subsistence?—Ans. Most decidedly.

58 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you anything more that you desire to say?—Ans. Yes, sir; there are a few things I would like to say. I have not attempted to clearly think out in logical sequence a few thoughts that I wanted to express, but I have made a note or two, while riding along on the railroad, which I would like to speak of.

59 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You may proceed, and if we should think it was entirely outside of the scope of our investigation, we will say so.—Ans. If you think it does not come under the scope of your investigation, of course you can apply the editorial blue pencil.

In the matter of compulsory arbitration, I think that the very terms in themselves present the antithesis of each other—they are neither logical nor rational. Compulsory arbitration implies compulsory organization of the workers, for without organization of the workers compulsory arbitration is absolutely impossible. A compulsory organization would be as obnoxious as was the feudal system. The question of compulsory arbitration would be, what would be considered fair wages. In England the strike of the miners set a principle—settled a principle in the mining industry of Great Britain. and that was, that the first consideration in the cost of production was living wages; that there was a “life line” below which point wages dare not fall, no matter at what price coal was sold. Without that strike of the miners of England that principle would not have been recognized nor established. Now, in the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, in the trades and branches covered by that organization, they have a minimum line—in other words, a life line; there is a sliding scale, but below a certain point—that is, the life line, that they consider wages should not go, no matter at how low a price iron and steel may be sold; in other words, that the first lien on the product is a living wage; that is established fairly in the iron and steel trade; it is not so in very many other trades throughout the United States.

Where would the line of a living wage be drawn by compulsory arbitrators? A living wage is that which the working people establish for themselves; among the men in the iron and steel trade it may be \$3 per day, among the miners it may be \$1.25 per day. Who is going to establish for the \$4 per day bricklayer the life line? If he has just come away from considering the question of a living wage for a hod carrier or a coal miner, it is more than likely, yes, it is reasonable to suppose, that the mind of the arbitrator would be influenced from having come in contact with the mine worker who received \$1.25 per day, and he would consider that the strike of the bricklayer against a reduction of 50 cents per day from \$4 would not be so great a hardship to



the bricklayer, when, as a matter of fact, it would be striking below the living wage of the bricklayer.

In the matter of arbitration, further: Arbitration is a matter of compromise as a rule; it is not usually an award of one to the other, or of one party as against another; it is usually a compromise sought to endeavor to mollify both sides. The employing class are usually more alert—necessarily so; if they have not the brains themselves they buy them; continually on the alert, continually thinking, more watchful of events—those present and those coming; and if compulsory arbitration were in vogue it would be a question then as to who would be most alert, the workers or the employers, to make a movement, the workers for an increase, the employers for a decrease or a reduction in wages. Whoever would get there first would get their complaint considered, and the arbitrators, prompted by the spirit of compromise, I don't think the workers would get much the best of it. And another consideration: Compulsory arbitration would place the workmen in a status, a status from which we have been continually departing and to which we will not go back.

During the feudal system the worker was a part of the land upon which he worked and was sold with the land the same as the cattle, the same as the agricultural implements and tools. Today the worker may live; he has the privilege of living; he has the right to leave the domain and seek another employer whom he can find to contract for his labor; we have the right to combine. The workers combined when it was illegal for them to combine, when the simple fact of holding a meeting for the consideration of the questions of their conditions of employment was a crime against the State, but they held their meetings and buried their records; some of them were sent to prison and some were executed simply for that, but the organizations survived and are now usually recognized.

Now, in regard to the question of injunctions issued by the courts, I want to say, first, that the interstate-commerce law was the result of an agitation of farmers and shippers, and the entire reform elements, if you please, took hold of the cry and agitated the question and presented it in some tangible shape to Congress, and it was enacted by Congress. No thought was ever had at that time that that law was to be made, or was at all to apply to labor engaged in a dispute with corporations or employers—no one even hinted it.

I am informed upon very good authority that Senator Morgan, of Alabama, proposed an amendment to the law when it was before the Senate—it was a bill then—making it apply to organizations of labor; in other words, if that amendment had been adopted the injunctions issued by Judge Ricks, by Judge Taft, by Judge Williams, by Judge Woods, and by Judge Grosscup would have been based upon the law as it was understood and as it was proposed and adopted; but the amendment of Senator Morgan was defeated, plainly defeated, thus showing that the intention of Congress was that this law should not apply to the organizations of labor engaged in any trade dispute or conflict or industrial dispute with their employers, and that in granting the injunctions, so far as it applies to the interstate-commerce laws, the court is doing what the courts have too frequently done in matters when the workers have been involved, and that is, the court made law—law which does not exist, but decisions which have taken the place of law, or the absence of law, upon the subjects.

Then, again, so far as the postal laws are concerned, and that is an important consideration in reference to this matter: In his last report

Postmaster-General Bissell recommended—and the President transmitted that report to Congress—recommended to Congress that a train in which there was but one pouch of mail matter should be construed to be a mail train, thus recognizing that there was no law upon the statute books designating such trains with a pouch of mail, or some mail upon it, as regular mail trains and coming under the provisions of the postal laws; yet we find injunctions based upon the assumption, and executive action upon the assumption, that these trains are regular mail trains, regardless of whether there would be one pouch or a whole mail train.

Another consideration, and that is that the trouble with us is this: More than one hundred years ago a number of the ablest and best men that the world has produced met in convention and adopted a Constitution. In the States constitutions were adopted subsequently. And at that time men knew scarcely anything of the existence of the power of steam; they knew nothing at all of electricity; they had no suspicion even in the days of Adam Smith of the steam engine and the electric motor or the telegraph, the telephone, the application of steam and electricity to industry; and yet, the laws that had been made in the period that I have mentioned are sought to be applied to modern industry and modern commerce. The fact is that there is too much rigidity—if I may so say—in the law; it is not pliable, it does not possess either elasticity enough or does not permit of the adoption of such laws as the changed industrial and commercial conditions make absolutely necessary. When labor goes to the various legislatures or goes to Congress and asks for remedial or beneficial legislation, the answer is that it is unconstitutional. The fact that it is beneficial or necessary is not denied, but it is said that it is unconstitutional.

I submit that industry and commerce can not go back to conform to old thoughts, old theories, and old crusty customs of law, but that the law, sooner, must be changed to conform to the changed industrial and commercial conditions. It was revolution that saved France, it was reform that saved England, it is a question what will save America. The trade unions stand for the reform of these conditions, and we hope by the evolutionary process to secure those changes for which we struggle and have struggled and will continue to struggle; and the very fact that our efforts are thwarted time and again instead of being met in a conciliatory spirit is what often dispels the hope of the trade unions to find a peaceable solution for this great problem.

The Buffalo switchmen—you will observe that I have scarcely kept in one line of thought—for instance, after the bill had been vetoed twice, I think, the ten-hour law for railroad employees in the State of New York was finally enacted—secured, and yet, the strike of the switchmen of 1892, in Buffalo, was for the enforcement of the ten-hour law of that State. The tenement-house law, or the law prohibiting the sweating dens and the law prohibiting the manufacturing of cigars in tenement houses, had to run the gauntlet of legislatures and governors, and finally after its enactment once and a second time, changed in the second instance to meet the views of the court of appeals, both of them were declared unconstitutional. It was declared unconstitutional for the legislature of the State of New York to regulate the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses and sweating dens.

The Pennsylvania supreme court or court of appeals (I am not familiar with the proper designation of the court) declared the law passed by the Pennsylvania legislature compelling employers and corporations to pay their help in the lawful money of the United States and not in truck

unconstitutional. The law of Ohio, or Pennsylvania, passed within a year, providing for the semi-monthly pay of employees, was declared unconstitutional. A bill in the interests of labor (I don't know the name of it now) was declared unconstitutional in the State of Massachusetts about six months or a year ago—that State most advanced in the interests of labor and the recognition of the principle of its right. In Illinois a year and a half ago, I think, the legislature passed a law declaring it illegal or prohibiting the employment of women and children more than eight hours a day. The question is now before the courts as to its constitutionality, and the daily press, as a rule, with a few honorable exceptions, are urging that it be declared unconstitutional—and so forth and so on. The number of laws that we can not secure the enactment of under the plea of the legislators and Congressmen that it would be unconstitutional is marvelous, and the few laws that we do secure after years and years of agitation are declared unconstitutional; and it, as I say, simply makes men who usually look upon the bright side—makes them look almost as if it was very doubtful—become pessimistic.

60 (Commissioner WRIGHT). For such reasons as you have just stated, or such actions as you have just stated, do you think that any attempt at arbitration might be futile? Is that the idea that you wish to convey?—Ans. I think that compulsory arbitration would be futile and it would not be a step forward, and without trying to designate it by any harsh term, I think that would cover the ground. There has been nothing but one continual conflict with the departments of the United States Government to have them enforce the eight-hour law passed in 1868.

61 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It is finally recognized, is it not, as being enforced?—Ans. No, sir; it is not enforced except in a few places. Two years ago Congress adopted an amendment to the eight-hour law which made it apply to all material furnished in the construction of buildings; that amendment is a dead letter. Not so with the interests of the bondholders and bankers.

A number of men speaking of labor organizations—and Judge Grosscup, too, recently, spoke of being in favor of labor organizations within lawful limits, and which would not prove a menace to the lawful institutions of the country; and I want to say that he has written me a letter in reference to that subject, and that I have answered him, I hope to his conversion, if not to his satisfaction. Some of the men—and I believe our friend Judge Grosscup is among them—who have no objection to the organizations of labor provided they would discuss, probably, the origin of man or the distance of the sun or moon from the earth, but the question of their relations to their employers, the fact that there are millions of men unemployed who are willing to work, I don't think the Judge would—

Commissioner WRIGHT. What the opinions of different persons might be is rather outside of our investigation.

WITNESS. I want to say this, if permitted, that an organization of labor that would resolve never to strike would be simply placing itself in the hands of the employer for him to do all the striking in the shape of reductions of wages; it would be like a regiment of soldiers that resolved immediately upon the breaking out of any war to disband.

In the industrial field, when to all appearance there is not a ripple disturbing the relationship between the workers and their employers, in other words, when there is not some gigantic strike taking place, the casual observer always regards that the labor movement is stag-

nant. In fact, the average man seems to think that there is a labor movement only when a great struggle is inaugurated or in progress, and that the entire labor movement consists in nothing more nor less than strikes.

As a matter of fact, the strike is but one of the incidents, and, in truth, one of the infrequent incidents of the labor movement. Few of the people, even among observers, appreciate the fact that the labor movement is one unceasing, never-ending struggle from the beginning of one year until its end, and then a continuous repetition.

The number of strikes that have been averted by the trade unions can never be correctly recorded. The efforts to reduce wages and increase the working hours successfully checked will be but half written; the concessions gained in the matters of wages, hours of labor, conditions of employment and legislation, but grudgingly acknowledged and frequently unappreciated. As a matter of fact, the greatest victories of the labor movement are those which are achieved though unheralded and unknown to the general public. They are obtained by the unions in conference with employers or their representatives in their offices; and in many cases a condition of settlement being the fact that the victory should not be proclaimed to the world.

The trades-union movement is in the industrial field what the pioneers are to progress in their onward march. It plods along encountering whatever disasters may come and bearing the sacrifices that are to be made. Sometimes defeated, more often victorious in forging ahead without ostentation, without flaunting their successes into the faces of the world and without braggadocio; making few if any protestations of faith, but carrying on the brunt of battle for the down trodden and heavy laden, without pronouncements of cosmopolitanism the trades-union movement extends the hand of fraternity and establishes the bond of sympathy and unity. It overcomes national, race, color, and sex prejudices as the opportunities for the manifestation and exercise of these principles arise.

The trades-union movement exhibits the highest type of manhood and self-sacrifice in order to secure the achievement of a right or the establishment of a principle. It delves down into the deepest abysses of misery and despair and helps to bring up the young and innocent, the weak and the unfortunate, that they may be saved from the horrible consequences of our industrial disorder. It teaches to the learned and unlearned the power of organization; it brings forth the noblest qualities in the mind of man. It inculcates the duty that man owes to man, and instills a nobility of feeling and sentiment toward the oppressed everywhere, and inspires the workers with the hope and the aspiration to struggle for the dawn of a brighter and better day.

The trades-union movement is ever pressing onward and upward, and the workers are massed together in the unions of their trades. The progress made may not be as accelerated as we may wish, but it is advancing and moving forward in exactly the same ratio that the intelligence of our fellow-workers will admit, and though the day may be somewhat distant we are surely nearing it, when the humanizing influences of the trades-union movement shall be fully recognized and form the ethics of industry, society, and the state.

## TESTIMONY OF JOHN T. NORTON.

August 29, 1894, John T. Norton, called by employees in rebuttal, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. John T. Norton; South Chicago; am a locomotive engineer, but am not employed on any road at present.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long since you have not been employed?—Ans. Since the commencement of this strike.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What road were you employed on?—Ans. Illinois Central.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you made any efforts to secure employment since the strike?—Ans. I have.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). On what road, and state briefly the circumstances?—Ans. After the strike was over I went and struck a job on the Calumet and Bine Island; they have to run over the Rock Island track in order to get out of South Chicago, and I was sent over to the master mechanic to be examined on the time card. I went over and was examined on the rules and given a letter from there to the superintendent, stating I had passed a very satisfactory examination, which entitled me to run on their track as a locomotive engineer. I then went down town here to see a doctor to have my eyesight and hearing examined, as well as for color blindness, and passed a first-class examination there.

I went out home and reported for duty and made a trip to Hoopston. I came in last Saturday a week ago, and on arrival was informed by my master mechanic that the Rock Island system had barred me off their track. I came down town to see a lawyer and was advised to go and see why I was barred off the track. I took a witness with me; went to Mr. Dunlap's office; introduced myself as being Mr. Norton and asked him if he was Mr. Dunlap. He said he was. I said, "I learn I am barred off your tracks." He said, "Yes, I was." I told him, "I supposed from the examination I had passed through there that I was qualified to run." He said I was. I asked him why he had barred me off their tracks. He said because I belonged to the American Railway Union. I said, "Is that the only thing you have against me?" He said, "Yes, that is the only thing." I told him if there was anything else I wanted to know it; that I didn't think I had worked for a company in my life that I could not get a clearance from. He would not say who informed him; he just said I belonged to that association, and that was all he had against me.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the name of the man who accompanied you and heard this conversation?—Ans. His name is Frazier.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is his full name and address?—Ans. I don't know; he lives in South Chicago.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you find him and send us his full name?—Ans. Yes, sir; I will do so.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If you will produce him here we will examine him.—Ans. Yes.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does this cover the whole of that transaction?—Ans. Yes, sir; so far as I know. The reason I make this statement is because Mr. St. John says they have no blacklist on their system, and I want to show they have one.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is this transaction you speak of evidence of blacklisting?—Ans. I should think so.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you have any blacklist shown

you?—Ans. No, sir; but the fact I was barred off their track after passing a satisfactory examination and having a letter from the superintendent stating I was qualified to run there, I don't know of any reason why I should be barred off their tracks.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). As I understand you, you were employed by another road?—Ans. Yes, sir.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And had to run over part of the Rock Island tracks?—Ans. Yes, sir.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And they refused to allow you to run over their tracks?—Ans. Yes; after I got a letter from their assistant superintendent stating I was qualified to run there I was barred off their tracks by Mr. Dunlap, the general superintendent, who testified here a while ago that he didn't know Norton.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. I was.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you guilty of any violence?—Ans. No, sir; none whatever.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where were you during the time of the difficulty?—Ans. I was down at the committee rooms.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you an officer of the American Railway Union?—Ans. I was president of local union No. 193, and was one of the committeemen that had charge of the Illinois Central during the strike.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). You say you presented a letter, I believe, when you sought employment; when was that letter written?—Ans. After I was examined on the time-card rules—it was last Wednesday a week ago.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Of what road was he assistant superintendent?—Ans. Of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific; his name is Mr. Comlin.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is he still in that position?—Ans. I think so.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where is that letter?—Ans. I suppose in the possession of the superintendent of the Calumet; I had to turn that into them to show I was qualified to run there.

At the close of Norton's evidence Commissioner Wright said:

I will state to the people assembled that we have now heard all the witnesses on either side of this controversy who have been suggested to us and have appeared in answer to any invitation through the commission, with the exception of several people who are out of town and have informed us they could not appear. Are there any other parties who desire to be heard on either side of the controversy we are now investigating? (No response.)

If there are any witnesses who desire to be heard in rebuttal, we will be ready to hear them tomorrow morning, August 30, 1894, at 10 o'clock.

#### TESTIMONY OF W. F. GUYON.

August 30, 1894, W. F. Guyon, called for employees in rebuttal, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and business.—Ans. My name is W. F. Guyon; I am a newspaper man, but am not at present engaged upon any paper. During the strike I was a reporter for the United Press; I am just doing space work at present on the different papers.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). As a reporter on the United Press during the strike did you see any riots or violence or destruction of property which occurred, if any?—Ans. I was at Blue Island, and I went with the First Regiment to Burnside, Pullman, and Kensington.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What did you see at Burnside?—Ans. We went to Burnside and got there about dark. I don't remember the date, but it was the day the First Regiment went down there—that evening. I was assigned to that and went with the First Regiment, first to Fordham yards, then to Burnside, and during the night we were at Kensington, Pullman, all over that district where the cars were being burned, and the supposed riots that we were sent there for.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you see any destruction of property?—Ans. Yes, sir; when we got there there were about 100 cars burning on the side track at the Burnside shops, just below Burnside; there were no fires set after that in that string in those yards, but the troops had been distributed from Fordham to Kensington, and at Grand Crossing also. After we had reached Burnside and Colonel Turner had established his headquarters, there were details sent out along the road at different points where there were demonstrations made and fires started. The only one of any importance, I believe, was the culvert just south of Grand Crossing; they had set fire to that, but by the time we got there the firemen were there and were putting it out.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you see the fire set?—Ans. No, sir; I went out among the men over across the way after we got there and talked to them.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the character of the crowd around at that time?—Ans. I made a diligent search among those men there and I only found three railroad men that I could pick as railroad men.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you acquainted with them in such a way as to enable you to select them?—Ans. Yes, sir; I recognized three railroad men and they were at least three blocks away at that time; there was no one around the fire when we got there.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were these three men committing any acts of violence when you saw them?—Ans. No, sir; they were advising the men—there was quite a number of men there; they seemed to be outsiders—they were hoodlums, I guess, and these railroad men were asking for assistance in getting them away from there—one of them was, and that is what called my attention to him as a railroad man; he was an employee; I believe he was still working at that time, or was working during the daytime. I went to him and asked him if he was a member of the American Railway Union; he said no, but that his two friends were; I asked him why he was trying to disperse the crowd, instead of letting the officers do it. He said, "Well, there are men here doing this damage, and we have had instructions from headquarters"—I suppose he meant the officials of the American Railway Union—"to get these men away from here if we can, and if we can't, to turn their names in and have them arrested." I said, "How did you get such instructions if you are an employee?" He said they were given to his friends, and he expected to join the union the next day. He said he thought he knew who set fire to that, and I asked him to tell me who it was, and he told me he was not in the habit of talking to reporters and he didn't think it was any of my business. I went to the two men—one of them I had known previously; his name was Maloney; and I asked him if he knew who set fire to them, and he said a man named Siebert or Seibert, he heard, had set fire to the culvert, but there was

no one around at the time, and the only thing they based it on was that they saw him going across the tracks, going in that direction, and the fire occurred right afterwards. These men had no can there for oil or anything.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What do you know, if anything, of the officers of the American Railway Union endeavoring to apprehend instigators or rioters? Did anything of that kind come to your knowledge?—Ans. Yes, sir. During the time of this trouble and after I returned from Blue Island and Burnside I was assigned to the headquarters of the American Railway Union. Up there I told—I believe it was Mr. Howard and Mr. Debs—about this circumstance down there, which had impressed me favorably; I gave it to them as something they could probably use, that their men, and employees also, were attempting to stop this rioting, and I don't know whether it was Mr. Howard or Mr. Debs asked me at that time if I could assist them in apprehending any of these men, and I was asked several times afterwards, and I told them I was not in the detective business and that it was not any of my affair.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You are somewhat familiar, by being assigned to the headquarters of the American Railway Union, with their organization, are you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What do you know of it, in a general way?—Ans. When I first began with the American Railway Union I was doing space work, principally for the Times; it was during their organization of local unions here, and I attended quite a number of organization meetings. I could not locate all of them, but I believe one of the first was at Aldine Hall, of the Illinois Central men; they organized there, for it was during the Great Northern strike. As I understood it, the object of that meeting at that time was to effect an organization generally of railway employees all over the country. The arguments used at that time were chiefly based upon the standing of old brotherhoods, and that a general organization of the American Railway Union, as planned, would do away with strikes altogether when it was perfected; that argument, I believe, was the most potent one in bringing the men into line at that time. I believe Mr. Howard and other officers made speeches at these meetings, and the invariable rule seemed to be to talk against strikes, although the strike on the Great Northern was going on at that time. They argued against strikes, and specifically set forth that the American Railway Union was not organized for striking purposes, and they pointed out that one of the safeguards of that was that the power of striking was left entirely with the local unions, that no officers or officials of any character in the order could order a strike, and they explained the Great Northern strike by saying that that was done through local unions, and that if anything of that character came up in the future it would be done by local unions.

Their other argument in the organizations was that the standing of the old brotherhoods had become such through deficits in the treasuries, etc., that they were practically of no benefit to the railroad men; but, at the same time, the feeling seemed to be to stand by the brotherhoods to a certain extent, and the men were brought into the American Railway Union with the understanding that it did not tend to sever their connection with the brotherhoods nor in any way act to the detriment of those organizations, that they were permitted to retain their membership in the old brotherhoods, and that whatever success or future the American Railway Union would have would in no way inter-



fere with the brotherhood organizations. Under that promise or statement the brotherhood men went into the order frequently, I believe.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What do you know of your own knowledge about the system called "blacklisting" on railroads; have you had any experience with reference to it?—Ans. I have to this extent, that I have been for the last seven or eight years connected with railroads in a newspaper capacity—that is, engaged in newspaper work on strikes, and after that as a railroad editor during the time the strikes were not on. As I understand it, and as I believe I know, a great many of the larger roads do not have what was originally a blacklist; some of the smaller roads still retain the old plan of listing a man's name and circulating it among certain roads, but that has fallen into disuse. The system of hiring men today is for a man to present his clearance papers from another road and have his name referred back to the road that he worked for last, and if he has been known as a striker, or for incapacity or drunkenness, or any other cause of that kind, the report is made; the records are kept in each office, and the report is made to the officer to whom he applied, and if not satisfactory he is refused. I don't think there is a regulation blacklist today. I think that rule is more strictly enforced, and they have taken advantage of that system.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you told the commission everything you wish to relative to the Blue Island and Burnside troubles?—Ans. Well, we were down at Blue Island the day they sent the special train down—two of us were assigned to that, the day after they ditched the locomotive there and the day they read the injunctions. There were two of us assigned to that—one man stayed more with the officers around through the crowd, while I went among the railroad men that were assembled there. I had very slight acquaintance with the railroad men there—I knew only a few of them—but after an hour or so I got pretty well acquainted with all that were around there during that time; they were getting out the passenger cars that were ditched by the man who ran the engine—the main track was blocked by—I believe it was the master mechanic; he lost control of his engine and ran the cars up into a siding that they did not clear and tipped one coach over onto the main track. While they were pulling them out a great crowd gathered around there and there were some noisy demonstrations, but the main body of the railroad men, the strikers, were down at another crossing—I don't know the name of the street now, but anyhow I was with them down there most of the time.

The mob started from among the brickmakers, and the saloon over there—started over to overturn a freight car, after they had cleared that track, and stop a train which brought the deputies and us newspaper men down there, and the railroad men assembled there surrounded those people. I got over where I was not known and was yanked out of the crowd as one of the brickmakers or something, I don't know, but the men who composed that crowd of strikers, members of the American Railway Union, who were down there, made a rush against these men who attempted to turn the car over and stopped them the first time, stating that there were no Pullman cars on that train, that it was a mail train, and to let it go through. The leader of these men who stopped this demonstration was a fireman—I don't remember his name now, but he and a minister of the church he belonged to came up through the yards and the two of them walking along the tracks requested all the men who had white ribbon on to get over to one side and let the train go by. Just then about half a dozen men from across

the country some place—some of them were evidently railroad men from their appearance—came along and, as the train pulled out, rushed up to uncouple it; and these men who were standing at the crossing followed them up there and pushed them back and stated that there were no Pullman cars on that train and to let it go through, which they did, but in going by the crossing the leader of these four or five men slipped up behind the rear coach and turned on the air and stopped the train. I believe they stopped it twice there, and then this man that did that went over into a saloon afterwards, and I followed him over.

I asked him why he turned on that air when the train did not have Pullman coaches on. He told me it was none of my business. I told him that I was a railroad man interested in this work, and asked him if he was; he said, yes; I asked him what he did; he said he was a fireman; I asked him for what road, and he told me on the Western Indiana Belt, I believe, or Western Indiana road; I asked him how long he had fired, and he told me I was getting too curious about him and wanted to know my business; I showed him my star and explained that we were impartial in this matter, and that I was not intending to use him, only I was seeking information as to how far the railroad men were concerned in this, and the brickmakers and the hoodlums. He repeated his statement that he was a railroad fireman, and I began to question him as to certain of his duties, and he finally admitted that he had not done any firing; that he had come over to help the boys out. He had a B. L. F. pin, which was a fireman's pin, and I asked him where he got that, and he said he had joined that order—he said he had fired once. I asked him if he had not just admitted that he was not a fireman, and he said, "Well, that don't concern you." I asked him if he knew the grip of the brotherhood, and I don't know whether it was the grip of the brotherhood or not, but he gave me some sort of a grip that I am pretty certain was not anything of the kind. So I went out and told the men about him, and when he came out of the saloon they got hold of him and took him up town; said they were going to have him arrested.

There were railroad men there that came from other points that were inclined to violent demonstration and would certainly have done something if these cooler heads had not prevented them.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What do you know about trains going out that usually had Pullman cars attached to them?—Ans. In one instance in making the rounds of the depots where they permitted trains to go out after cutting out the Pullman cars—that was at the Grand Central depot, the Chicago Great Western—I asked Mr. Kelley, the superintendent, how it came that his men had gone back to work. He stated that he had cut off the Pullman cars and there would be no strike there. I asked him then about a Pullman contract, and he said, "We have no contract," and he said, "I propose to run my trains through and if I can't get them through with Pullmans, I will get them through without." His switchmen were out at the time, but his trainmen were standing by him, and as long as he—he only ran that one train out. The next day he put the Pullmans back on again, and they did not let the trains go out then until after they got a force there and got extra men. On the other roads, where they had the Pullman cars chained up, they let them go out, but on one of the roads at the Dearborn Street station—I believe it was the Chicago and Eastern Illinois—they had the Pullmans chained and they could not get anybody to take the

train out, and they cut off the Pullmans and the train went out then; they had a volunteer crew to take it out.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you observe whether the railroad companies put Pullman cars on unusual trains or not?—Ans. I was not sufficiently familiar with their service to know whether that was true or not.

On the convening of the commission at 10 a. m. on the 22d day of August, 1894, Commissioner Wright made the following public announcement:

I will say to the people assembled that we have now heard all the witnesses, with two or three exceptions, that have been suggested to us by the American Railway Union whom the commission has notified to appear. Some of the witnesses who have been heard have been notified by the commission of its own motion; others have been suggested by the American Railway Union and its friends. There are several witnesses on the side of the employees that have not yet been heard because they have not been able to reach Chicago, but they will be heard as soon as they arrive. The commission will now proceed to hear the side of the employer, and in doing so will take the same course it did with the employees. The Pullman Company and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, and the Illinois Central Railroad Company will suggest their own witnesses, from whom we will make selections and notify them to appear before the commission. These witnesses will be subject to cross-examination on the part of the employees if they desire so to do.

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### TESTIMONY ON THE PART OF THE CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.

This also includes testimony on the part of the General Managers' Association.

#### TESTIMONY OF EVERETT ST. JOHN.

August 23, 24, 1894, Everett St. John, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name.—Ans. Everett St. John.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You are the general manager of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been the general manager of that road?—Ans. Since September, 1887—seven years.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the mileage of that road, and what leased property does it comprehend?—Ans. The total mileage operated is 3,570 miles, including its leased lines of 352.66 miles. The total mileage just given includes also the mileage or trackage rights of trains operated over other roads, amounting to 337 miles—tracks over which we have trackage rights.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What are the names of the roads you lease?—Ans. The track from Bureau to Peoria, Ill., known as the Peoria and Bureau Valley Railway; the track from Keokuk to Des Moines, Iowa, known as the Keokuk and Des Moines; the track from Des Moines to Fort Dodge, Iowa, known as the Des Moines and Fort Dodge.

The roads over which we have trackage are the Hannibal and St. Joe, 54 miles; over the Union Pacific from Council Bluffs to South Omaha, and from Kansas City to North Topeka; over the Limon Railroad to Denver, Colo., and over the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad to Pueblo, Colo., making the total mileage of the roads over which we have trackage rights 337.47 miles.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the total number of employees on the Rock Island road?—Ans. The average number of employees for the past year ending March 31, was 12,117.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State in your own way and in narrative form all facts within your own knowledge relating to the late strike or boycott on your road, what attempts were made to have the road operated, and all information which has come to your knowledge relative to that affair?—Ans. To relate all events which have occurred during this period of trouble and excitement would hardly be within the scope of any one person; the events as culled and narrated for future use would cover probably 2,000 pages. I have anticipated that this information would be desired and so far as our own road is concerned have went to some trouble in briefing the events as they occurred from day to day, and this I will be glad to read to you. I would not say that it includes all by any means, but the vital points and matters which occurred from day to day are related in the statement. I think I ought to say in connection with this matter that a wrong impression seems to have prevailed, just how that impression got out I am unable to say, that this was a strike against the Illinois Central and Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific railways; it was nothing of the kind. No trouble occurred upon the Rock Island road until two days after trouble had occurred on other lines than those mentioned in this controversy. Our first trouble occurred upon June 29.

Witness commenced to read from his brief as part of his testimony, as follows:

At an open meeting, composed partly of employees of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, but largely of persons engaged in other occupations, held at Commercial Hall, Blue Island, on the night of June 29, the strike was ordered. It is known that not over one-third of the persons in this meeting were employees of the Rock Island company, the remaining two-thirds being composed of striking employees from other roads and people engaged in other occupations in no wise connected with railroad work. This meeting was addressed by Messrs. Debs and Howard and other officials of the American Railway Union. Organizers had been at work among the men for some days previous to this meeting, trying to induce them to strike, but without success. At this meeting, motion was made to strike at 7 o'clock the following morning, which was carried by a large majority, all persons in the hall being allowed to vote, irrespective of whether they were railway employees or not.

Previous to this meeting, on the morning of June 29, at 2 a. m., Rock Island switch engine 671, going to Union Stock Yards with a train of stock, was stopped at Union Stock Yards Company's tracks by switch tenders and gate keepers leaving their posts.

On the same date, suburban train No. 124 was stopped about 1.25 p. m. at Sixteenth street crossing by a mob. Conductor in charge was assaulted while attempting to flag his train over the crossing, flagmen having left their posts. Police being called upon, cleared the tracks and there was no further interference at this point on that date, although employees were threatened by mobs congregating near tracks.

In the evening, about 9 p. m., switchmen in Blue Island notified train dispatcher that they were going in a body to attend American Railway Union meeting, and it was doubtful whether any more trains would be gotten out that night. They returned however, after the meeting, and went to work and worked until the time fixed for the strike, 7 o'clock the following morning. No official notice was given to any officer of the Rock Island company of the intention to strike, nor were they notified that they must discontinue hauling Pullman cars.

Witness resumes orally as follows:

In connection with that meeting on that day at Blue Island I want to read you a list of the names of people who were present at that

meeting there and voted, together with their occupations, that the Rock Island employees should strike on that night. Of course there were many others present.

Witness reads the following list:

D. Braham, cigar maker, Blue Island; Deegan, plumber; Sterling, plumber; Owen O'Keefe, bar tender; Fred. Baumbach, tailor; Emiel Polsen, saloon keeper; J. Ripert, milkman; J. Clancy, barber; George Davis, tailor; Otto Marling, tailor; James Simmons, tailor; Alex. Axelton, tailor; Lusson, grocer; Joe Evens, ex clerk; J. H. Caddy, ex switchman; Chris Olson, brickmaker; Vic. Johnson, brickmaker; M. Kubutski, clothier; Charles Ward, brickmaker; Ed. Ward, brickmaker; John MacGovern, brickmaker; Charles Heck, clerk in city; John Swanson, brickmaker.

And proceeds as follows:

Fully two-thirds of those present at that meeting who voted that the Rock Island employees should strike at 7 o'clock next morning were men who had no connection with railroad work, or were not employed in any capacity by railroads in the city. There were also other parties at that meeting who state positively that there were between 350 and 400 people in the hall and that think probably not one-third of them were railroad employees, namely, W. D. Fuller, agent at Blue Island; Conroy, switchman, and others.

Witness resumes reading his brief:

*June 30.*—At 7 o'clock a. m. all switching crews and a number of switch tenders, yard clerks, flagmen, tower men, and roundhouse men left their work or failed to report for duty.

At 7 a. m. suburban train No. 110 was prevented from leaving Blue Island by a crowd of strikers and sympathizers, who threatened conductor. They also threw a switch in advance of train and spiked it to side track. Train succeeded in getting out about 7.20.

At 7.03 train No. 4 (Omaha and Chicago mail) was delayed at Englewood by tower man setting switches for Lake Shore track, locking up tower house and leaving.

Suburban train No. 112, due to leave Blue Island at 7.20 a. m., was prevented from getting out by mob, engineer being frightened into leaving his post. It being impossible to run this train, it was annulled.

Suburban train No. 111 was started out of Chicago about 11.15 a. m. This was the last suburban train run during the day.

Suburban trains Nos. 113, 115, 117, 119, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 114, 116, 118, 122, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 136, and 138 were annulled, it being found impossible to get these trains into or out of Blue Island.

Train No. 19 (Kansas City and St. Paul train) was started from Chicago at 5.30 p. m., not being able to get engine and crew before that time on account of mob at Forty-seventh street throwing switches and preventing engines from getting from shops to depot. This train was derailed at Blue Island by striking switchman throwing switch under forward truck of engine, completely blocking both main line tracks. Suburban tracks at Blue Island were already obstructed by two suburban trains of the morning which had been brought out on main track for the purpose of starting them. Strikers would not allow them to be moved. Tracks were further obstructed by strikers pushing coaches out on these tracks and blocking cross-overs by pushing them so that trucks occupied different tracks. This effectually prevented any trains from passing Blue Island.

Train No. 11 (Fort Worth and Denver express), which left Chicago at 6 o'clock p. m., was stopped at Blue Island on account of No. 19 being off track ahead, and by strikers cutting off engine and fireman leaving his post.

No. 121 (Joliet local) left Chicago at 6.10 p. m., and was stopped at Blue Island on account of all tracks being blocked. An effort was made to clear the tracks to get these trains out, but was unsuccessful on account of the interference of mob, who stoned the engineer and dragged the fireman from his engine. Matters were further complicated by city authorities at Blue Island who were in sympathy with the mob, and arrested road master while making an attempt to clear the tracks.

No. 9 (Peru accommodation) left Chicago at 6.20 p. m., but was stopped at Englewood when it was found that it would be impossible for her to pass Blue Island.

No. 22 (Des Moines and Chicago accommodation) was stopped at Blue Island on account of all tracks being blocked. During the day numerous attempts were made to clear tracks and run suburban trains, but every attempt was frustrated by the strikers and their sympathizers who interfered with such men as desired to work.

About 1 p. m. a mob of strikers invaded shops at Fifty-first street and compelled all employees in shops to leave their work, saying it was a "fight between labor and

capital, and they must come out." A number of men returned to work after mob left. Another attempt, however, was made later to get those remaining to quit work, and as it was found that men could not work without interference and danger, shops were shut down temporarily until danger was over.

No attempt was made to start trains 5 and 3 of that day.

No freight trains were run out of Blue Island and no switch engine or transfer moved to any part of our yards on this date after 7 a. m. All incoming freights were annulled with the exception of four which arrived before tracks were blocked, as the blockade at Blue Island would prevent them from reaching the yards. Stock en route for Chicago and meat and perishable freight for Chicago, and connections via Chicago was set out at suitable points to be taken care of, when it was found that it could not be handled in Chicago.

*July 1.*—No freight handled into or out of Chicago or Blue Island and no suburban trains run. All through passenger trains from the West, Nos. 4 (Omaha mail), 6 (Denver limited), 12 (Fort Worth and Denver express), 2 (Omaha passenger), 20 (St. Paul and Kansas City), and 22 (Des Moines and Chicago local) were stopped at Joliet. No attempt was made to get trains out of Chicago as the situation at Blue Island precluded any hope of getting by that point, the force of deputy marshals and sheriffs on duty not being sufficient to cope with the mob. No. 120 (Joliet local) was not started from Joliet from the fact that the crew and train for this run were held at Blue Island and could not get there to return.

*July 2.*—United States Marshal Arnold, with about 125 men, left Chicago about 7 a. m., taking cable car to Fifty-first street and from there an engine with two cabooses and went to Blue Island to protect the men in clearing tracks. Reached Blue Island about 9.30, and attempt was at once made to clear east-bound suburban track. The mob resisted every attempt to do this, in which they were aided by police of Blue Island. In order to reach the cars obstructing the track it was necessary to cross Vermont street. The mob stopped a team on track to prevent the passage of engine, and when driver drove out of the way his team was seized and again turned on to the crossing. They threw themselves in front of the coach, which was in advance of engine, and by every means in their power tried to prevent engine backing up. Blue Island police stood with their watches in their hands ready to arrest the crew of engine as soon as the five minutes allowed by ordinance, during which a crossing may be blocked, was exceeded. Attempt was also made by the police to arrest United States Marshal Arnold, which was resisted by him. After a riot, in which pistols were drawn, and Deputy United States Marshal John A. Logan was stabbed by one of the rioters, the mob was driven back and two coaches were taken off of the main track. Track was still obstructed, however, by other cars. After this it was not thought advisable to make another attempt until more force was provided. Marshal Arnold called on District Attorney Milchrist for United States troops to assist him in protecting trains, and Deputy Sheriff Leibrandt also made request for State troops.

United States Marshal Arnold, with a portion of his deputies, rendered efficient service in this riot. It was found later, however, that twenty-seven of his men were striking switchmen, who had succeeded in getting themselves sworn in as deputy marshals, it is said, by instructions from the president of the American Railway Union. Deputy Sheriff Leibrandt, who was present with about twenty-five deputies, also did good service.

No. 1 (Omaha mail) was started from Chicago about 2 p. m., with Deputy Marshal E. W. Allen on board for the purpose of serving strikers with notice of injunction obtained from the United States court on that day, prohibiting them from interfering with the running of mail trains or freight trains engaged in interstate traffic. This notice was read to mob at Blue Island by Marshal Arnold from door of mail car No. 1 and again by Deputy United States Marshal E. W. Allen from the platform of coach on west-bound suburban track west of Vermont street. The mob hooted at the injunction, but signified their willingness to let the mails go. After the injunction was read, another attempt was made to clear east-bound suburban track so as to pass train No. 1, which was successful, although there was some slight interference and considerable jeering by the mob. After track was cleared and this train had passed, it was again obstructed by mob turning over two box cars and pushing two others out on main track, derailing one of them at a switch. No. 1 was delayed at Blue Island two hours and thirty-two minutes.

No freight trains were run either into or out of Chicago and Blue Island or any switching done in Chicago yards on this date.

No passenger trains, except No. 1, either suburban or main line, were run into or out of Chicago or Blue Island.

*July 3.*—No attempt was made to move trains, as it was the opinion of the United States marshal, as well as Deputy Sheriff Leibrandt, who were in charge, that it was useless to make such attempt without the protection of troops, and, as troops had been ordered, it was thought best to await their arrival. Some progress, however, was made at Blue Island in removing obstructions from suburban line.

On this date tracks between Blue Island and Chicago were obstructed at various points by cars being turned over and derailed.

About 1 p. m. a party of strikers invaded roundhouse at Blue Island, in the absence of deputy sheriffs who had been on duty at this point, and badly beat two new firemen who had been employed since the strike, and also threatened Master Mechanic Fitzgibbon and other employees who were on duty in roundhouse at the time. The men engaged in this riot were all striking employees of the company.

*July 4.*—About 4.30 a. m. a fire was discovered in some box cars on our tracks at West Pullman. Nothing could be done to put out the fire, and the woodwork of eight box cars was entirely destroyed. Evidence obtained later shows that this was the work of strikers.

Major Bailey with four companies of the Fifteenth United States Infantry left Chicago about 4.35 a. m., arriving at Blue Island at 5.25 a. m.

About 8 o'clock, under the protection of the United States troops, work was commenced toward removing obstructions from the main line and suburban tracks at Blue Island. These obstructions consisted of engine 940 and sleeper Auvergne; of train No. 19, of June 30, and four box cars on suburban line, that were turned over on the night of the 2d; also dead engines and passenger equipment that had accumulated on these tracks on account of being unable to get by obstructions and into yard. Two box cars which had been turned over on the night of the 3d at Morgan Park, to prevent the passage of troop trains, were also removed.

Engine 579, sent from Blue Island to Fifty-first street to clear obstructions and get wrecking outfit, to be used in clearing tracks, found caboose off track at Fifty-second street on track leading to yard. After clearing the track and coupling on to wrecking train, they were prevented from returning by mob turning over box car on track in front of them. This was done in the presence of a sergeant of police and eight or ten policemen, who made no attempt to prevent this being done or to arrest parties. Engine 579 was accompanied by an escort, consisting of a lieutenant and four privates of Company C, of the Fifteenth United States Infantry, and ten deputy United States marshals. Mob also derailed a caboose and one coach ahead of engine to prevent their returning with wrecking train, and it was only the presence of the United States soldiers and marshals that saved crew from violence.

Engine 941 started from Blue Island about 11 a. m. with six passenger cars to come to Chicago in order to get this equipment to the city to make up outgoing trains. Was stopped at Forty-seventh street by a mob, and engineer and fireman were induced to leave their engine. Train, however, was taken into depot later in the day by a crew and escort of marshals sent for that purpose. During the entire day tracks between Fifty-third and Twenty-second streets were occupied by mobs who threw switches, derailed cars, threatened employees, and in other ways interfered with the movements of the trains.

Deputy marshals made numerous arrests during the day at Blue Island, under the protection of the military, of persons who participated in the riot of July 2. Strikers and their sympathizers to the number of 2,000 or more congregated near the tracks and threatened every one who tried to work. Two of the deputy United States marshals were assaulted in the presence of the troops by members of the mob who were seized and placed under arrest.

It was with the greatest difficulty that provisions could be obtained at Blue Island for employees and deputy marshals and sheriffs; in numerous instances citizens of Blue Island refusing to sell supplies for their use or for the use of the military. Major Bailey, in command of troops, was refused when he attempted to purchase a tin wash basin for his own use by the wife of the proprietor of the store. The proprietor himself later sold Major Bailey the basin desired.

No regular passenger trains or freight trains were moved between Blue Island and Chicago on this date. Nos. 11 (Fort Worth and Denver express), 5 (Denver limited), and 3 (Omaha passenger) were made up at Blue Island and dispatched west, using suburban track for this purpose, main line tracks not being clear until the morning of the 5th, the work of clearing tracks being attended with the greatest difficulty on account of the interference of strikers and the difficulty in getting men to work on account of intimidation. No freights were run into or out of Blue Island west.

*July 5.*—Completed work of clearing tracks at Blue Island. An attempt was made to get trains 6 (Denver limited) and 12 (Fort Worth and Denver express) through to Chicago, engine 937 preceding them from Blue Island with three coaches and a baggage car occupied by two companies of the Fifteenth United States Infantry, commanded by Captain Conrad. No obstructions were found except switches which had been spiked on account of tower men having left or been driven from their posts, until Fifty-first street was reached, where a box car was found derailed. A large crowd congregated on track in advance of train at this point. Captain Conrad immediately deployed his men and drove the crowd from the tracks, when obstructions were removed and train proceeded with soldiers on foot in advance to Forty-seventh street. As orders at this time did not allow troops to proceed further, they returned to Fifty-first street. Trains 6 and 12 attempted to get through without any

escort about twenty-five United States marshals who were in charge of some prisoners, but at Fortieth street were stopped by a mob, which it was decided not safe to attempt to run through. Trains were then backed down to Fifty-first street and the troops again placed in advance. Between Fifty-first and Twenty-second streets some ten or eleven box cars had been overturned by the mob, which had increased by this time to enormous proportions. I think it safe to say that not much short of 50,000 people were on the tracks and in vicinity of tracks between Fifty-first and Twenty-second streets. The train employees as well as the troops and deputies were threatened and jeered at from every building adjacent to the tracks. Captain Conrad with his command cleared the tracks in front, while deputy marshals protected trains on the flank and in rear. He also left a portion of his command as guards at the different street crossings.

Up to this time the police seemed to be powerless, or at least made no attempts to disperse the mob or to keep them from congregating on tracks. Mayor Hopkins, who came from Van Buren street depot on a special engine, met trains and escort near Thirty-fifth street, and by this time, realizing the danger, gave such instructions to the police as had the effect of stimulating them to greater efforts to disperse the mob. In this, however, they were only partially successful, only being able to keep them back at crossings from track. Trains reached Van Buren street depot at 7.15 p. m. During the passage of the trains from Fifty-first street to Twenty-second street they were frequently stoned and a number of employees were injured.

Train No. 2 (Omaha mail) was stopped at Blue Island, as it was deemed unsafe to attempt to get it through after dark and no escort could be spared for them before dark, as the troops as well as marshals were engaged in getting the two trains above mentioned through and guarding property. Track was also obstructed after the passage of these trains by cars being overturned.

Ten box cars, two switch shanties, and two car repairers' shanties were burned that night in Forty-fourth street yard, and eleven fires were started in cars on our tracks between Forty-seventh and Fifty-first streets, and employees who put out fires were fired upon by parties on east side of track near Forty-ninth street. Attempts were made about 10 p. m. to burn two sleepers in Fifty-first street yard by placing waste saturated with oil in crevices around vestibule and setting it on fire. Also, fourteen cars were burned at South Englewood and several fires in Lake Shore yards near Forty-fourth street, which adjoin our tracks.

Nos. 1 (Omaha mail) and 11 (Denver and Fort Worth express) were made up on this date and started west from Blue Island.

No freight trains were run into or out of Blue Island and no transfers made or switching done in Chicago yards.

On this night the Administration Building, Terminal Station, and other buildings at the World's Fair grounds burned. Also fires in Pan Handle yards.

July 6.—Wrecking train under protection of deputy marshals and police removed cars that had been overturned on tracks the night before.

Trains 1 (Omaha mail) and 11 (Fort Worth and Denver express) were started from Chicago with heavy escort of United States marshals, who accompanied them as far as Bureau. No suburban trains were run, as no train could be moved between Blue Island and Chicago without a heavy escort. Neither could engines be moved between roundhouse and depot unless escorted by soldiers or deputy marshals.

Trains 6 (Denver limited), 12 (Denver and Fort Worth express), and 2 (Omaha mail) arrived on this date, the two latter being consolidated at Blue Island.

No freight trains were run into or out of Blue Island on this date, nor any freight switching done in any of the Chicago yards, except at Burr Oak, where, under the protection of the military, cars containing perishable freight were switched to ice-house, so that cars could be iced. No movement of any kind could be made except under the protection of United States troops or United States marshals, and it was necessary during the entire day and night to have guards to protect cars, engines, and buildings from destruction by fire.

On this date threats were made by mob that they would burn everything in Chicago that would burn. At night seven cars were burned in Burr Oak yard, notwithstanding the precautions that were taken to prevent fires. The fire department at Blue Island was called out, but, finding the fire was in railroad property, they returned to their quarters without attempting to put out the fire. One car was overturned on this date at South Chicago, blocking east-bound track of the South Chicago Branch, resulting in delay to Baltimore and Ohio east-bound mail train, which was compelled to use left hand track. Attempt was made this night to burn lumber yards and shop buildings on Wentworth avenue, between Forty-seventh and Fifty-first streets, by mob throwing fire balls from Wentworth avenue. Fire department was called out and extinguished fires. Buildings, yards, and cars were guarded by officials and employees of general offices.

July 7.—Trains Nos. 1 (Omaha mail) and 11 (Denver and Fort Worth express) were run west bound, and east-bound Nos. 2 (Omaha mail) and 12 (Denver and Fort



Worth express), being guarded by heavy force of United States marshals between Chicago and Bureau.

No freight trains or suburban trains were run into or out of Blue Island or Chicago on this date.

Employees who desired to go to work were prevented from reaching the yard by strikers. New men who desired employment were waylaid on the streets and badly beaten. Attempts were made at different times to move trains, but were abandoned when it was found that it was impossible to get men to work on account of their fear of personal violence, and it was not thought best to subject men to the treatment they would likely receive at the hands of the mob were they to attempt to go out on their trains.

*July 8.*—Trains Nos. 1 (Omaha mail), 11 (Denver and Fort Worth express), 3 (Omaha passenger), 4 (Omaha mail), 12 (Denver and Fort Worth express), and 2 (Omaha mail) were run. Nos. 11 and 3, however, were stopped at Ottawa on account of both tracks being blocked at Spring Valley by striking miners placing obstructions on tracks and tearing up rails. Obstructions consisted of rocks, ties, and derailed cars. Trains did not get through until the next forenoon. This riot was incited by striking switchmen at La Salle, aided by Mr. Lovejoy, former yardmaster at that place.

No freights or suburban trains were handled on this date between Blue Island and Chicago for the reasons given on previous day.

*July 9.*—Strikers comparatively quiet. Passenger trains Nos. 1 (Omaha mail), 11 (Denver and Fort Worth express), and 3 (Omaha passenger) were started from Chicago; Nos. 12 (Denver and Fort Worth express) and 2 (Omaha mail) arrived.

Started 5 freight trains west bound from Blue Island; also moved 90 cars of freight from Taylor street freight house to Blue Island; also 70 empties and 20 loads from South Englewood to Blue Island, which were dispatched in above freight trains. All movements between Blue Island and Chicago were made under protection of United States deputy marshals and sheriffs, troops being used for guarding property at most exposed points.

No suburban trains were run.

Strikers at Spring Valley were still threatening. Nos. 2 and 12 were held at Bureau six hours and thirty minutes and three hours and ten minutes, respectively, on account of mob at Spring Valley. One company of State troops arrived at Spring Valley from Rock Island at 5.25 a. m., but was afraid to remain there on account of the numbers of rioters and threats made by the mob and returned to Bureau, but returned to Spring Valley shortly after 8 o'clock.

Extra west, engine 573, had 17 cars derailed 300 feet west of tunnel east of La Salle about midnight, caused by spikes being drawn by parties unknown, allowing track to spread.

*July 10.*—Passenger trains into Chicago: Nos. 4 (Omaha mail), 12 (Denver and Fort Worth express), 120 (Joliet local), and 2 (Omaha mail). Out of Chicago: Nos. 1 (Omaha mail), 121 (Joliet local), 9 (Peru accommodation), 11 (Denver and Fort Worth express), and 3 (Omaha passenger). Two suburban trains run each between Chicago and Blue Island.

Seven freight trains run out of Blue Island and two in. Two switch engines at work in Burr Oak yard and one at Sixteenth street yard.

Nothing serious occurred in Chicago yard, but two links were found in different frogs in La Salle yard, evidently placed there with the intention of derailing trains. All movements have had to be made under the protection of United States marshals and police. Air hose on passenger trains standing in Blue Island yards were found to have been cut in such manner as to necessitate their removal and substitution of new hose. Special train containing detachment of United States troops and deputy marshals was stoned by striking miners near Spring Valley. Soldiers responded by firing into the mob, killing one and so badly injuring another that he died shortly afterwards.

*July 11.*—West from Chicago: Passenger trains Nos. 1 (Omaha mail), 19 (Kansas City and St. Paul passenger), 121 (Joliet local), 9 (Peru accommodation), 11 (Denver and Fort Worth express), 5 (Denver limited), and 3 (Omaha passenger). Into Chicago: Nos. 4 (Omaha mail), 12 (Denver and Fort Worth express), 10 (Peru accommodation), 120 (Joliet local), and 2 (Omaha mail). Four suburban trains each way between Blue Island and Chicago.

Two freight trains out of Blue Island and four in. Four switch engines at work in Chicago and Burr Oak yards. All movements between Chicago and Blue Island made under protection of police and deputy marshals, troops being stationed at all crossings and exposed points. No. 19 was stoned between Moline and Rock Island, windows in chair car and one coach being broken.

Baltimore and Ohio mail and passenger train struck dynamite bomb on South Chicago Branch, between Stony Island avenue and Commercial avenue, which exploded, tearing up one rail and damaging pilot of engine.

*July 12.*—All through passenger trains run except Nos. 21 (fast mail), 6 (Denver

limited), and 22 (Des Moines local). Nine suburban trains each way between Blue Island and Chicago. Freights east into Blue Island, 12; west from Blue Island, 5. Delivered 71 cars of stock to Stock Yards. At noon 80 of the old switchmen reported for duty.

Freight operations in yards generally resumed, although guards were still on passenger trains. Soldiers and police guarded all crossings and exposed points.

July 13.—All through passenger trains run, except No. 6 (Denver limited), from the west. Freight and suburban service generally resumed. Extra east, engine 590 and 5 cars, was derailed at La Salle about 7.15 p. m., on account of switch being misplaced, evidently by strikers or their friends, blocking both main tracks. Track was not cleared until 11 p. m.

At 7 a. m. all the old switchmen who had resumed work, with the exception of 19, again left their engines, and new men were employed in their places.

On several days of the strike the mob seemed to alternate between the different yards on the south side of the city, concentrating at one time at one point, and when driven away by the military or marshals showing up again unexpectedly at some other point. On July 2 and 3 the rioters were present in great force at Blue Island, while on the 4th and 5th some of the same men, at least, were known to have been in the vicinity of Fifty-first and Forty-seventh streets. The manner in which they were moved from one yard to another would seem to indicate that they were acting under recognized leaders, these movements showing strategy almost military in their execution.

*Men engaged in strike.*

Class.	Struck.	Rein-stated.
Conductors .....	9	3
Brakemen .....	84	8
Engineers .....	21	0
Firemen .....	48	0
Yard masters .....	14	11
Switchmen .....	183	48
Yard clerks .....	7	0
Operators .....	4	0
Station clerks .....	8	0
Depot laborers .....	10	0
Switch tenders and tower men .....	19	2
Machinists .....	11	0
Machinists' helpers .....	5	0
Machinists' apprentices .....	4	0
Boiler makers .....	9	0
Boiler makers' helpers .....	12	0
Boiler makers' apprentice .....	1	0
Blacksmiths' helpers .....	10	0
Hostlers .....	2	0
Hostlers' helpers .....	3	0
Painters .....	13	0
Painters' helpers .....	2	0
Carpenters .....	16	1
Car repairers .....	15	0
Car inspectors .....	10	0
Car oilers .....	2	0
Car washers .....	9	1
Stationary firemen .....	2	0
Watchmen .....	2	0
Foreman steam fitter .....	1	0
Silver platers .....	2	0
Air-brake man .....	1	0
Upholsterer .....	1	0
Laborers, machinery department .....	15	0
Rivet heater .....	1	0
Flue setters .....	3	0
Pipe fitter .....	1	0
Drillers .....	3	0
Wipers .....	7	0
Coal heavers .....	2	0
Sweeper .....	1	0
Buffer .....	1	0
Engine-tank cleaner .....	1	0
Boiler washer .....	1	0
Track foremen .....	7	0
Section laborers .....	6	0
Pumper .....	1	0
Electric-light men .....	2	0
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>a 522</b>	<b>74</b>

a The sum of the above figures is 542, instead of 522. The table has been printed, however, as submitted by Mr. St. John.

The above does not include men who were unable to work although they desired to do so, but only actual strikers.

The total number of men engaged in the strike, so far as the Rock Island road was concerned, was 522.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is, Rock Island employees?—  
Ans. Yes, sir; and the other men who went out went out through fear; there was only that number of active strikers. The number of strikers who have been reinstated is 74.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Seventy-four out of the entire number?—  
Ans. No, sir; out of the 522.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many of the entire number? Can you give us that?—Ans. The entire number of employees of the road who went out?

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes, sir; how many have you reemployed?—Ans. I could not give you that to-day.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you give us an estimate?—Ans. The number of laborers affected by the strike and who were obliged to discontinue work on account of it might possibly reach 4,500, and possibly 5,000.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Of that number about how many have been reemployed?—Ans. That I could not state; all have been reemployed against whom there were no charges.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). You can furnish us at a later date with about the number, can you not?—Ans. I think so, and will try to do it.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In your statement just read you state that in some of the riots the mob was largely composed of strikers.—  
Ans. Yes, sir.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). On what evidence do you make that statement?—Ans. On the statement of some of the parties who were present.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Reports made to your company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Reports in writing?—Ans. Not in all cases.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But you have reports in writing in some cases?—Ans. I think so.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Can copies of those reports be filed with the commission?—Ans. I think so. These statements of facts, you will understand, are compiled in our operating department, and the record of the strike is kept there. My impression is that those could be obtained; I do not know but what they might have to be retained here.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Well, you could give us copies of them?—Ans. Yes, sir.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Relative to the meeting at Blue Island, where you state so many men voted to have the Rock Island employees strike, were those persons that were in other occupations than railroad members of the American Railway Union?—Ans. They were.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). So far as the Rock Island road is concerned, has there been any reduction of wages during the last year or two?—Ans. No, sir; the effort of the Rock Island road heretofore has been, when it was necessary, to reduce force, not wages.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has it increased wages during the last two or three years?—Ans. I think not. Well, during that time possibly it has; I think it has.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But not recently?—Ans. Not recently; the conditions, of course, would not permit it during the past two years.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has it ever increased wages of its own motion?—Ans. I think it has in some cases; not generally.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Can you call to mind any specific case or date when the road has increased wages voluntarily?—Ans. No, sir; I can not.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That could be ascertained from the records of your road, could it not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And if that record can be given you will furnish it?—Ans. I will make a note of that question and try to find it if that is the case. Of course, you understand that so far as operating forces are concerned they largely belong to members of different organizations, and if they have grievances they present them to the company and they are heard, so that very largely, I think, with our force those grievances are presented, and if in their judgment their wages are too low, or the rules are too burdensome, the matter is presented through their committees and is discussed to a conclusion.

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You always hear a committee from an organization when they have grievances to present?—Ans. Yes, sir.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When you have voluntarily increased wages at any time, has the increase been general or only with certain classes of employees?—Ans. I am not certain that that has been done, but if it has been done it related to persons and not generally. As I say, the general mass of the employees are in these organizations to present their grievances if they have any.

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What were the facts so far as your road is concerned relative to any attempt at settlement of this late strike or boycott?—Ans. We had nothing to settle; we have had no demands made upon us by anyone. We were not advised our men were going to strike. We have never been able to find a single case where a man has told us he had a single grievance against the Rock Island company in this matter.

33 (Commissioner WRIGHT). So far as your road was concerned, it was purely a sympathetic strike, the causes existing somewhere else?—Ans. Entirely so.

34 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What has been the habit of the Rock Island road relative to blacklisting, so called?—Ans. We hear a good deal about blacklisting, and I have heard within the past few days more about it than I ever heard before. We have a time-table rule, which I think is in force also upon other roads, so far as their employees are concerned, which reads as follows:

29. An employee who has been discharged for cause from any department must not be employed in any other department without consent first obtained from the head of the department from which he was discharged, "or by order of the general superintendent." No employee will be allowed to engage in any trade, directly or indirectly, for himself or as an agent for others, without special permission from the general superintendent.

If a man is dismissed he calls for his papers and is given a form blank on which the dismissal is given and the cause of his dismissal is stated. A copy of that information is furnished to each Rock Island division superintendent, so if a man is discharged today on the Chicago division and he appears day after tomorrow on the Colorado division, if he is an unknown man the superintendent will know from this dismissal blank the cause of his discharge in another division. Beyond that we have no blacklist. We furnish no other railroad any information in regard to any man unless the man goes to another road. He is then naturally asked where he worked last. He answers "For the

Rock Island company." Then he is probably asked, "Why did you leave that company." Possibly he don't care to show his clearance papers, and in that case sometimes we will be asked for information and we always reply.

35 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is it a general rule with the roads to ask such questions of an applicant?—Ans. I hardly think so, generally; but it is often the case. There is no concerted action about it at all, nor understanding in regard to it; at least I have never heard of anything of the kind.

36 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are the rules you just read printed rules of the company, furnished each employee?—Ans. Yes, sir; they are printed on all working time-tables of the company.

37 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When a discharge is made do you of your own motion, or upon the application of the discharged man, furnish him a written discharge with the cause stated thereon?—Ans. It is a printed form blank giving his name, age, and the position which he occupied, a statement in detail, and it is furnished to him upon application.

38 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does it state the cause of his discharge?—Ans. Yes, sir.

39 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the general relation of the employees of the Rock Island road to the officials of that corporation?—Ans. I think there is no road in the country where the relations are so close as between the employees and officials of the Rock Island. I have every reason to believe that, and I certainly know of no reason why that condition should not exist. They have ever been treated with the greatest consideration, sometimes perhaps it has been thought too great consideration has been given to some matters that have been brought to the attention of the company. The door of the officials is always open; there is no man who can not reach either the president or general manager upon announcement.

40 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has there ever been a strike upon the Rock Island prior to this one of which we are now speaking?—Ans. There has been, so far as switchmen are concerned.

41 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When was that?—Ans. I would not like to state that positively—it was of short duration. I think there have been two, so far as the switchmen in the Chicago yards are concerned, one of them possibly sympathetic with a strike on other lines, and the other one through a misunderstanding. I remember one instance. Coming to my office one morning I found twenty-five or thirty switchmen in the entrance of the depot, and as I entered the chairman of their committee came to me and said they had struck at 12 o'clock that night. I said, "What is the cause of the trouble?" He said, "Because the yardmaster did not reinstate a man who had been discharged for drunkenness." I said, "Go back to your work, send a committee of three, and if you have any evidence in regard to that matter we will listen to you." They went back to work, the strike ended, the hearing commenced the following Monday, and the final conclusion, which was accepted by the men, was that they had no grievance. Sometimes these things are done in haste, and really the matter is hardly worth mentioning.

42 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has there been any general strike on the Rock Island at any time?—Ans. I think not; I don't remember.

43 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were these small strikes to which you have just referred of recent date or more remote?—Ans. Within the past three or four years.

44 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does the Rock Island road have a contract with the Pullman Palace Car Company relative to the hauling of its cars?—Ans. It does.

45 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the nature of that contract?—Ans. I have no objection at all to leaving the contract with the members of the commission and permit them to look over it, but not to make it part of the record. The contract is a private one, and covers a period of fifteen years. We naturally would not like to see it in print tomorrow morning, perhaps, but so far as the commission is concerned, if they desire to look at it, it will afford us a great deal of pleasure to turn it over to them. I brought it with me this morning, thinking you might desire to see it. The details of that contract I could hardly give you verbally, it is a long document. In the main I might say that the Rock Island owns a one-half interest in all Pullman cars operated over its lines and which form a part of its equipment. I don't know that any member of the commission knows it, but in years past the Rock Island used and operated its own sleepers; it did that for many years. It found it desirable to release itself from that operation, and it made a contract with Mr. Pullman by which he bought out one-half interest, we retaining the other in order that we might perhaps better control the cars that were in operation on our line. One-half of the expense is borne by the company, one-half of the cars are owned by the company, and one-half of the receipts, less the expenses, are turned over to the company.

46 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you, under your contract with the Pullman company, obligated to haul its cars on your line?—Ans. We are.

47 (Commissioner WRIGHT). On what class of trains?—Ans. On all trains the company desires to operate sleepers upon. They must be the Pullman cars.

48 (Commissioner KERNAN). To the extent you require sleepers you are obliged to use Pullman cars?—Ans. Yes, sir.

49 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you have to pay mileage rates for those cars, whether you use them or not?—Ans. Not for cars that belong to the equipment, and in which we are part owners, but for extra cars. In times of emergency, when we call for additional cars, then we have to pay mileage.

50 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you at liberty to leave the Pullman cars off of any class of trains you desire?—Ans. We are. We are not required to operate any of the Pullman cars upon trains where the cars are not required. It is entirely at the option of the company.

51 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But you are not allowed to use other sleeping cars under your contract?—Ans. Not without the consent of both parties. We often find it necessary and convenient to haul the car of some other company, but in that case both parties are notified.

52 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the date of your last contract with the Pullman company?—Ans. The contract was made on December 5, 1879, and will expire January 1, 1895.

53 (Commissioner WRIGHT). A contract for fifteen years?—Ans. Yes, sir.

54 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were the rates to be charged for passengers fixed in that contract at that time, as between you and the Pullman company?—Ans. They were to be made as low as were made by any other company. There was no schedule rate.

55 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have they been changed at all since then?—Ans. No; not at all.

56 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there any provision in that contract excusing the Rock Island company from its fulfillment in case of strikes or interruptions to travel on the road?—Ans. Nothing at all. The company must operate those cars.

57 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What has been the general loss of the Rock Island company resulting from the recent strike, including the destruction of property?—Ans. That would be a very difficult matter to tell. That information will probably not be obtainable for a month to come. We are getting at those facts as rapidly as possible, but there is very much detail to it, and it takes time. My impression is that the Rock Island company has lost, as a result of this strike, between \$800,000 and \$1,000,000, including destruction of property and loss of business.

58 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is the company in full operating condition today?—Ans. It is.

59 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have detailed acts of lawlessness and violence in the State of Illinois. I will ask you if there were any acts of violence or destruction of property belonging to the Rock Island road outside of the State of Illinois?—Ans. Very little west of the Missouri River, where we have even a larger mileage than we have east of it. Other lines, like the Rio Grande, Colorado Midland, and Santa Fe, at points where we cross them, had some trouble, and at terminals where we were in connection with them there was a great deal of trouble. We participated in that trouble to a certain extent, but not sufficiently to hardly mention it here. In comparison to what the company suffered in Illinois it was slight.

60 (Commissioner KERNAN). By whom are the repairs on the Pullman coaches you use to be made?—Ans. In our case as it may be agreed—sometimes by the Pullman company, sometimes by our own company.

61 (Commissioner KERNAN). The contract does not specifically provide how it is to be done?—Ans. It provides it can be done by either company, as the necessity of the case may require. Under ordinary circumstances our cars would be shopped at Pullman for repairs, but it might occur, as it has at times, that the shops there were so crowded that they could not get the work out within the time it might be required by the Rock Island company. In that event, if they so stated, the Rock Island company repaired the cars themselves, and billed against them, but usually it is understood, and the contract would provide so specifically, that the Pullman company shall do the repairing.

62 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are the rates at which they were to be done in the contract?—Ans. No, sir. Of course, it could only be at the prevailing rate.

63 (Commissioner KERNAN). At whatever the work is worth?—Ans. Yes, sir; and would have to be done as cheaply as we could do it ourselves, or practically so.

64 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, at the going rates?—Ans. Yes, sir.

65 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where you make those repairs in the exceptional instances you have stated, are they made at the rate provided for in the contract, or do you make them at cost?—Ans. At the cost, and charge them at cost; or my impression is it is done at cost, with 10 per cent added for service.

66 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In case of the loss of a Pullman car by wreck or otherwise, belonging entirely to the Pullman company, one in which your company is not interested, as you have stated, who bears the loss?—Ans. If the loss occurs upon our lines my impression

is the loss would be ours entirely. If it is an association car it would be borne by each.

67 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Exactly; but I am speaking of cars owned entirely by the Pullman company, and run by you under your contract?—Ans. Yes.

68 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does the commission understand that the cars you haul for the Pullman company are owned entirely by that company?—Ans. The association cars, as I said, are owned jointly between the two. All other cars are owned by the Pullman company.

69 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How large a proportion of the cars that you use are association cars?—Ans. At the close of our fiscal year, March 31, 1894, we had forty-seven association cars. Under ordinary circumstances, in the present condition of business, that number is ample to meet all our requirements, except in extraordinary cases, like conventions or large bodies moving. The association cars are all we require, and even they give us at present a surplus.

70 (Commissioner KERNAN). It was designed that association cars should provide you with sufficient number for your road in ordinary times?—Ans. Yes, sir.

71 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the provision in the contract with reference to these association cars at the expiration of the fifteen years? Does the contract provide for a renewal?—Ans. The contract provides it may be terminated. I have no objection to reading the article in regard to that:

Section 3, Article I. The said railway, in consideration of the said covenants and agreements, does hereby convey, release and demise, to the said Pullman company the remaining undivided one-half of each of said cars for a term commencing on the 1st day of January, 1880, and continuing until the termination of the contract set out in the third article hereof, either by the election of one of the parties, or by the expiration of the time during which the said contract shall remain in force as herein provided.

72 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does the Rock Island company pay its proportion of the expense of running those association cars—the palace car conductors and the porters?—Ans. It bears its proportion of expense of maintenance.

73 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And it receives its share of the receipts. What is the average pay of the Pullman palace car conductors?—Ans. I don't believe I could tell that. That is a matter left entirely with the Pullman company.

74 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What, in your opinion, was the effect of the World's Fair on the business of your road since that time? What I refer to is, did you increase your equipment for the purposes of the Fair, and if so, have you idle equipment today as a result?—Ans. The equipment had to be necessarily increased in every direction, passenger cars, sleeping cars, baggage cars—everything that enters into an express train; and a considerable portion of that equipment is now idle.

75 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And there has been consequently a cessation of car building on your road?—Ans. There has. I think that would be a correct statement so far as all of the lines are concerned.

76 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It has been said here that the employees of railroads were subjected to extra and arduous labors during the continuance of the Fair at the old rates of pay, with an understanding that at the proper time their pay should be increased. What have you to say relative to any such understanding?—Ans. There was no such understanding as that, so far as the Rock Island company is concerned.

77 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were your employees obliged to work



extra hard during that time?—Ans. There might have been cases where that was the case, but not generally so.

78 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You increased your force, did you, during those months?—Ans. Yes; with the increase of trains the force, of course, had to be increased. While the passenger receipts during the time of the Exposition and during the year ending March 31, 1894, show a considerable increase, very much was lost in freight business, which could not be handled or cared for or which was not presented for transportation; for instance, take the year ending March 31, 1894, which includes the World's Fair business; our passenger earnings increased in consequence of the World's Fair \$695,422.10, being 11.9 per cent increase over the previous year. During the same time our freight earnings decreased \$449,217.61, or 3.38 per cent decrease, showing as between the two only a net increase of about \$200,000, and that \$200,000 of itself would not have paid for the additional expense that the company had to go to, to provide for the passenger traffic and take care of it while the Fair was in operation.

79 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the per cent of increase in your expenses during that year?—Ans. The percentage of operating expenses—the items charged up to operating expenses—to the earnings in 1894 were a little less than the year before.

80 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does that include the increase in transportation facilities, cars, etc.? Were they charged to transportation that year?—Ans. No, sir; not entirely so. I could not give you the facts in regard to that at present.

81 (Commissioner KERNAN). I mean new cars and things of that kind; were they charged to operating expenses?—Ans. I am not sure as to those items whether they were or not.

82 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you furnish us a statement showing the net increase of receipts during your last fiscal year, and the net per cent of increase in operating expenses during the same time for the year previous?—Ans. The percentage of operating expenses to earnings in the year ending March 31, 1894, was 71.14 per cent; the percentage of operating expenses to earnings for the year ending March 31, 1893, was 71.93 per cent.

83 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't your annual report to the stockholders show these facts?—Ans. Yes, sir; and I will furnish you a copy of our fourteenth annual report.

84 (Commissioner KERNAN). Would not that report also show the number of additional passengers carried in 1894 over the year previous?—Ans. Yes, sir.

85 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the percentage of increase?—Ans. Yes, sir.

86 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). There has been some testimony given—I don't know that it was with reference to your road—as to the number of hours of continuous labor required of engineers. Have you any rule upon that subject in operation upon your road?—Ans. No; there is no rule beyond a rule that applies to all. I am sure that no complaint could be made against the Rock Island road on that point; I think it must be some other line that you have in mind, or that statement was made concerning some other road. We have this rule in reference to that: "No fireman," and that means engineer or conductor or any other employee, "shall be required to continue on duty when he really needs rest; but in extreme cases the firemen on their part will tender every means in their power to assist the company."

87 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). As a matter of fact the interests

of the company, unless the case is urgent or exceptional, would not allow the employment of these men over the period when they were exhausted?—Ans. It would not be done; it would not be safe or right to do it. There might be cases where an engineer might put in twelve or fourteen hours, or even longer than that if a wreck occurred; but under ordinary circumstances he would not reach anything like that number of hours, and if he himself stated that he needed rest and wanted it, it would be so arranged that he should have it.

88 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are engineers paid on your road by mileage or by the month?—Ans. By mileage.

89 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Has your company any different relations to the different railroad organizations of conductors, engineers, switchmen, etc., than what it has with the members of the American Railway Union?—Ans. We have contract arrangements with all of the regularly organized bodies of labor. We have none with the American Railway Union.

90 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is your company hostile to the organization of railroad labor other than the American Railway Union?—Ans. I think the rule generally is, with most of the railroads, that where an organization can show it has 50 per cent or more of the membership of its employees in that organization that it does not decline to treat with them after a conference with the employees themselves has proved futile. We decline to treat with any organization until a conference is first held with our own employees having a grievance. If that conference proves futile and they desire to bring in someone to state the case in a manner they think perhaps they are not able to do themselves, we listen to it.

91 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Would your company make any difference in treating with members of the American Railway Union than in treating with members of other railway organizations?—Ans. Not under those circumstances. As I understand it, and I may be wrong, the American Railway Union is an effort to combine within its own order all employees of all branches of organized labor upon the various railroads as they have previously existed, and I think there is no necessity for an organization of that kind. We have always gotten along comfortably well—in fact, in a very satisfactory manner—with the old orders as they exist.

92 (Commissioner KERNAN). Up to this time the railroads have declined to recognize the American Railway Union as entitled to represent the employees in these grievances; have they not?—Ans. I can only speak for the Rock Island company in that connection; the other roads will have to speak for themselves. Up to the time of the boycott, so called, less than 500 men upon the Rock Island road in its entirety were members of the American Railway Union.

93 (Commissioner KERNAN). And for that reason the company declined to treat with the union with reference to any questions?—Ans. We never had any application from them.

94 (Commissioner KERNAN). There was suggestion made by one of the witnesses that a written statement of grievances was presented to Superintendent Dunlap and he refused to receive it?—Ans. I have Mr. Dunlap's statement in reference to that, signed by himself, and that statement is absolutely false. I noticed the statement as published in the papers, and called Mr. Dunlap's attention to it and asked him if it was correct, and he denied it.

95 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did your company select any persons to act as deputy United States marshals during the difficulties?—

Ans. We were asked to furnish men to do that; in fact, there were days when it was impossible to get a sufficient number of men to meet the requirement.

96 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By whom were you asked?—

Ans. By the marshal for this district; we were asking him continuously for additional protection and he was unable to go out and pick up men.

97 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many deputy marshals were furnished by your company?—Ans. I could not state that absolutely, but I would imagine perhaps 500.

98 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By whom were they selected?—

Ans. There was no general selection. Our offices were closed and we took our clerks and sent them to the United States marshal's office to be sworn in and sent out to protect our own interests.

99 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were all the deputy marshals selected by your company employees of the company?—Ans. No; I think not.

100 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About what proportion were employees, if you are able to state?—Ans. Without being able to state that definitely, I should think that one-half of them were.

101 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By whom was the other half selected?—Ans. Anyone we could find who we felt was trustworthy.

102 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who exercised that discretion in saying whether they were trustworthy or not?—Ans. Probably every man that was at liberty that could do so went out to find men; we might find them down town or we might find them elsewhere.

103 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is, you or any other officer of the company would call upon anyone you could find that would serve?—Ans. Or any of the employees that we had confidence in that knew the men; sometimes old soldiers here who belonged to the Grand Army posts would offer their services, and while we might not know them personally we gladly took them and had them sworn in.

104 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You accepted them on account of their character generally?—Ans. Yes, sir.

105 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were any instructions given to any of your men who selected these deputy marshals as to any care they should exercise or inquiries they should make with reference to the persons they selected as deputy marshals?—Ans. Nothing of a special nature. Of course they exercised all of the care they could in a time of such excitement and haste; perhaps the appearance of a man would indicate whether he was a man that could be trusted and would perform his duty; that was all that was required of any of them.

106 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was any general supervision exercised over the deputy marshals selected by your company by any officer of your company?—Ans. I think not.

107 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were any reports made, as to these deputy marshals, as to their conduct or what they did to the company?—Ans. No reports were made directly to the company; reports were made directly to the marshal, as I understand it.

108 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether any reports were made to anyone by these deputy marshals as to what they did?—Ans. No; I do not.

109 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). There was no one, as I understand you, belonging to your company that had any particular control over the deputy marshals selected by it?—Ans. Not the slightest.

110 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In that respect they acted and were considered by the railroad company just as any other deputy

marshals would have been who were selected by the marshals?—Ans. Entirely so.

111 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were they acting as employees of the railroad company at that time? I mean, were they to be paid by the railroad company?—Ans. I supposed the Government was to pay them; they were asking for assistance.

112 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You do not understand, then, that the Rock Island company was to pay for any of these deputy marshals?—Ans. No, sir.

113 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Has it in fact paid for the services of any of these deputy marshals?—Ans. I think not, but I don't know absolutely as to that, and would not say definitely.

114 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then the facts as you understand them are, that these deputy marshals were selected by officers of the company, but acted strictly as deputy marshals under the United States marshal and are to be paid by the United States Government?—Ans. That is as I understand it.

115 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). No control was exercised over them by officers of the company?—Ans. None at all.

116 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know, from any reports or otherwise, as to the general conduct of these deputy marshals that were selected by your company?—Ans. I have heard no complaints with regard to them.

117 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Neither as to any acts committed by them, nor as to their habits of temperance or intemperance while serving as deputy marshals?—Ans. No, sir.

118 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were the deputy marshals to some extent clerks and employees of the railroad company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

119 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did they continue, while acting as deputies, to discharge their duties as railroad employees?—Ans. No; they did not.

120 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did the deputy marshals, to any extent, assist in the operation of trains?—Ans. No, I think not; their particular duty was the protection of property.

121 (Commissioner KERNAN). But did they participate in operating trains, or attempting to operate them, as brakemen, conductors, and such positions?—Ans. I think not.

122 (Commissioner KERNAN). How positive are you about that; some of the evidence here suggests to the contrary, and that is why I ask you about it?—Ans. I think that is not the case.

123 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were these railroad employees who acted as deputy marshals still borne on your pay roll?—Ans. They were taken from the pay rolls entirely; when we closed our offices we discharged the force.

124 (Commissioner KERNAN). This statement showing interruptions, delays, and other facts which you have read in evidence, you do not claim, I understand, to be based upon your personal observation?—Ans. No, sir; but the facts stated there can be attested; the evidence is in the possession of the company.

125 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is the statement made up from the reports presented to the company through the different agencies employed to ascertain the facts?—Ans. Yes, sir.

126 (Commissioner KERNAN). And it is a statement which the company has in its possession, evidence to sustain the averments of those who made the reports?—Ans. Yes, sir.

127 (Commissioner KERNAN). And do they design to call those wit-

nesses before the commission?—Ans. Not at this time; they can be called if the commission desires, but there may be 500 men interested in the details of this matter.

128 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you think the number would be as great as 500 of those who could substantiate the fact?—Ans. I think perhaps that might be reduced to a half dozen who would have knowledge of the general facts that are stated in that statement, but they would have their knowledge through others. For instance, our yard master, yard switchmen, our engineers, our conductors, and our brakemen would have knowledge of some of the facts stated in there. The general superintendent is in possession of those details.

129 (Commissioner KERNAN). I suppose you have a number of witnesses, probably, as to each of the facts stated here, and you think that a half dozen would be able to substantially substantiate the facts as to violence, destruction of property, and interruption of trains?—Ans. I would not like to say in regard to that. I could not tell how many that number might be; it might be 100.

130 (Commissioner KERNAN). But so far as the commission desires, you are willing to produce the witnesses?—Ans. Yes, sir.

131 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you yourself at any time witness any of the train interruptions, obstructions, and fire-setting and mob rule mentioned in this statement?—Ans. No, sir; the reports, you will understand, are made to the operating department, and by the operating department distributed to all heads of departments.

132 (Commissioner KERNAN). I understand you to say that your employees number about 12,000, that of those about 4,500 struck, and of those, 500 were charged by you with participating in violence and destruction?—Ans. The first number you mention is the number that was probably laid off from work on account of fear and otherwise, but the company had 522, I think—I do not remember the exact number—it knew to be strikers who were active.

133 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you mean active in the sense of being charged with participation in the disturbances?—Ans. Yes, sir.

134 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you include in that number those who were prominent as leaders, but against whom there was no proof of participation?—Ans. I think there were no leaders but what there was proof of participation.

135 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you included in the 500 participants in disturbances all those who were charged by your sources of information as having done so?—Ans. With having been disturbers, yes, sir. The last page of that statement gives the exact number, and shows the occupation of the men.

136 (Commissioner KERNAN). What I want to get at is, whether the number 522 covers all your employees against whom charges of participation in disturbances and destruction of property were made?—Ans. That covers it; yes, sir.

137 (Commissioner KERNAN). I assume that on receiving those charges no trial or investigation was had as to their truth—there has been no time for that as yet?—Ans. Not at all.

138 (Commissioner KERNAN). What means have you employed to ascertain the names of the 522 and the extent to which they did participate in disturbances?—Ans. Various means. Sometimes it was by men who were sent to look after those matters and make personal observation of what was going on; but probably in the majority of cases our own employees who remained loyal to the company took notes and reported.

139 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you employ any special force of detectives for that purpose?—Ans. Yes, sir.

140 (Commissioner KERNAN). About how many did you employ for that purpose?—Ans. I could not tell; I do not know that there were more than 6, but there might have been 20, and there might have been more.

141 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was the reason for the reinstatement of the 74 employees out of the 522?—Ans. That I could not give you. It is possible that the charges against them were of such a nature that the company thought it best to forgive them.

142 (Commissioner KERNAN). It is possible that it was concluded on the whole that they were not so active as to warrant a refusal to reemploy them?—Ans. That is right. If you will notice that statement you will see that the larger number of reinstatements were switchmen. The switchmen were given until a certain day until which time all of them could return to work if they so chose, and at a meeting which was held at which they determined the course they should pursue 80 of the men attending that meeting returned to work the next morning at 7 o'clock, but on the following night another meeting was held, and they all went out again except 19. The 19 that remained at work were originally, perhaps, strikers, but they were given until a certain day to report for duty, and they reported and went to work.

143 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you tell me how many of the remaining 475 have applied to the company for reemployment?—Ans. I could not tell that, but I have no doubt that the entire 475 have done so.

144 (Commissioner KERNAN). And what has been done with those applications?—Ans. Declined. I say declined in a general sense. I take it there is no question about that.

145 (Commissioner KERNAN). What reason has been given for that?—Ans. Their activity in matters which were against the interest of the company.

146 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has any condition been attached to the reemployment of the 74, with reference to the American Railway Union?—Ans. No, I think not. I think in the case of the reinstatement of every man there he was given a certain time in which to report and resume work; if he did not report in that time, it was understood his term of service was over.

147 (Commissioner KERNAN). But as to those 74 and the 4,000 others who I suppose have more or less returned, the company, I understand, has not made any conditions as to the American Railway Union?—Ans. Not at all. I want to say in regard to the other 4,000—for I think probably it ought to be understood—the business of all railroad companies has largely decreased, the earnings have decreased, and it has made it advisable to decrease force; we can not, of course, employ men unless we can earn money to pay them, and as a result of this decrease, and the conditions which surround the various lines running especially throughout the West, where the crops are largely injured, where the percentage perhaps of tonnage, which railroads may expect to carry during the next year, will not average over 30 or 40 per cent where it averaged 100 per cent last year, has made it necessary to reduce force everywhere; so there are a great many of those men we have not been able to take back, and we are not liable to on account of the depression of business.

148 (Commissioner KERNAN). I mean to the extent you have reemployed them?—Ans. Yes, sir. The commission will recollect there were

a few questions asked me this morning which I hesitated upon and which, as you understood, I took to the office with me this noon to determine. The question was asked as to the number reemployed of all those who struck and stopped work, it is impossible for us to give that number. You have now the number of those that struck and the number of those that have been reemployed of the strikers, but to give the number of those we have been able to take back, or who are still out on account of the depression of business is something I can't get at at this time. The question was asked in relation to the mob which in the documents you have were in some cases said to be composed of striking employees. I was asked how we knew that and whether we had the facts in writing, or whether it was verbal. We have one statement in writing in regard to that matter and our master mechanic, Mr. J. W. Fitzgibbons, will give you additional facts in regard to it.

149 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the statement in writing you have?—Ans. It is a statement I did not expect to read to the commission at this time; it is a statement of a member of the American Railway Union.

150 (Commissioner KERNAN). Give us the name of the party and we will summons him as a witness unless it is an official report from one of your own officers.—Ans. This statement includes the names of strikers at one of the meetings. If you desire to have this man subpoenaed I can find him for you. His name is William R. Mooney. We have no objections at all. This statement, however, unless it is absolutely called for I prefer not to read.

151 (Commissioner KERNAN). We would rather have the man himself.—Ans. The question was asked if the company ever advanced the salaries of its men without request. My answer was I thought it had done so in some cases. You will realize, however, and so would every man, that that is unusual in business. I further stated that most of our labor was under organization, and if they had any grievances against the company they usually presented them through a grievance committee, and did it concern wages or rules they were listened to and a decision arrived at. We have had no trouble whatever in satisfying organized labor of our desire to deal with them fairly and squarely so far as the old organizations are concerned.

152 (Commissioner KERNAN). You leave the protection of the laborer, so far as you think he ought to have it, to the organization?—Ans. Yes, sir.

153 (Commissioner KERNAN). And do not interfere to their belonging to organizations?—Ans. No, sir. I want to say, though, in connection with the question asked as to whether the company has at any time voluntarily increased wages to any of its men. So far as possible, and where the ability of our men will permit, it has been the custom of the company to promote from its own ranks rather than to go outside for labor. It is a fact, which can easily be certified to by very many men, that they have received promotion from small stations to larger ones and by that promotion they have had increased compensation to their great gratification. We have increased the pay of certain yard masters voluntarily and without their request where we have found that the work perhaps was similar to other yard masters working in other yards where the pay was slightly higher. We have increased the pay of some of our telegraph operators at points where from time to time business has been increased, without their knowledge until they receive the evidence of it by the pay roll. We have increased in some cases the

pay of our train dispatchers at certain points where the business at such points was constantly increasing, without being requested so to do.

I intended to have brought to you the annual report of the company called for, but in my haste I forgot it, but I want to say in regard to the question that was asked in connection with equipment. The new equipment, which was bought during the World's Fair year and which was needed to take the place of old equipment, fill in old numbers for instance, was largely charged to new equipment. Consequently it did not enter into the item of operating expenses, but was outside of that entirely, so that, while the increase in the business of the company shows on the face of it about fifty-one one hundredths of 1 per cent during the fiscal year ending March 31, 1894—I mean of the operating expenses over the receipts—there is still this charge for new equipment in other accounts which, if it had all been charged up to operating expenses, there is no question but what the percentage of operating expenses to earnings would have shown a decrease. You will remember as it was the passenger earnings show something over \$600,000 of an increase, while the freight earnings show something over \$400,000 of a decrease, making a total increase of something like \$200,000, which did not in any way compensate the company for the expense it went to in making arrangements to handle that business. Still one other thing I was not quite sure of this morning and answered indefinitely, was the question as to whether the railroad employees who acted as deputy marshals were borne upon the company's pay roll. They were.

We did not ask the Government to pay those marshals of which our clerks formed part; they were sworn in by the United States marshal at our request to protect our property and the Government has not been, and will not be asked, to pay for it. In fact, the men have already received their pay from the company. The question was also asked as to whether any of these United States deputy marshals performed services upon trains that were moved during that time. It was a fact that very many of our engineers and firemen, for the better protection of themselves and the interests of the company, were requested to be sworn in as marshals, and they were; so that in many cases the engineers and firemen upon trains who were constantly in imminent danger had this added protection.

154 (Commissioner KERNAN). And wore the star of a United States marshal?—Ans. Wore the star of a United States marshal. I think in one or two cases I stated different this morning, because I was not conversant with the full details.

155 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are some of those employees now serving as United States deputy marshals?—Ans. I think not. That is my impression.

156 (Commissioner KERNAN). You stated no official notice was given to any officers of the Rock Island Company of the intention to strike?—Ans. That is correct.

157 (Commissioner KERNAN). I assume that the action of the American Railway Union on June 21, by which they determined to strike unless the Pullman cars ceased to be operated within five days came to you through the public press?—Ans. We had no other notice except what we read in the papers, and that was not certified to.

158 (Commissioner KERNAN). It was not sent to you directly by the American Railway Union?—Ans. Not at all.

159 (Commissioner KERNAN). In this statement you have read you speak of the disturbances that occurred; the interruptions that happened to your business, the blocking of switches and burning of cars,



as being the work of the strikers. I assume by that you do not intend to confine it to those who were actually strikers and railroad employees, do you?—Ans. Not railroad employees.

160 (Commissioner KERNAN). You mean by that, I presume, to take in all of the people who participated in that kind of disturbances?—Ans. Yes, sir.

161 (Commissioner KERNAN). And I presume you are not able to distinguish between just who were railroad men and who were not?—Ans. In very many cases we were and have the facts.

162 (Commissioner KERNAN). As to the 475 there, you have the facts?—Ans. Yes, sir.

163 (Commissioner KERNAN). But beyond that I presume you are not able to state how far these crowds were composed of or instigated by railroad employees?—Ans. No, sir. I had no question in my own mind. I see it has been stated here by witnesses that the members belonging to the American Railway Union on a certain date was 150,000. I have no question but what that 150,000 was composed of 120,000 who belonged to no railroad interests at all.

163½ (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, who were not connected with railroads or not railroad employees?—Ans. Yes.

164 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many of your employees belonged to that union?—Ans. At the time this trouble commenced I think the number who belonged to the American Railway Union on the entire system of the Rock Island road would not have exceeded 200. Of course after the trouble commenced the work of emissaries increased that number.

165 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then ultimately did it reach the number of 4,500 do you think?—Ans. I could not tell you.

166 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is your impression about that?—Ans. I think very many acted in concert with it who were not members of it.

167 (Commissioner WRIGHT). On what do you base your opinion that 120,000 of the members were not in railroad employment?—Ans. I base that opinion on the facts we are able to obtain so far as our own lines are concerned. Then taking the twenty-threelines centering in Chicago and the number belonging to them. Of course, that is my opinion only, but I think that number would overstate it. A statement was made and published, but I have not it with me. I wish I had. That gave the railway union's estimate of the number of railway employees in the different branches of the service on the Rock Island that belonged to that order, and it was so largely in excess of the facts as to be perfectly ridiculous.

168 (Commissioner KERNAN). The statement of the witness here was, as I remember it, that at the time he testified the membership of the union was 150,000. If upon your road as many as 4,000 ultimately became connected with it, and that proportion was carried through the other roads, would it not reach 150,000?—Ans. You must not understand that there were 4,000 on our road connected with it, but 4,000 who retired from labor.

169 (Commissioner KERNAN). I understood you to say that ultimately a large proportion of those 4,000 became connected with the union?—Ans. That is possible; the real number we know nothing about.

170 (Commissioner KERNAN). Take the membership at the conclusion of the strike, and assuming that 4,000, or anything like that number, of your employees belonged, would not that increase carry it up to 150,000 quite easily?—Ans. I think not. I think the decrease in mem-

bership since the strike closed has been something alarming, according to their own statements.

171 (Commissioner KERNAN). With reference to the cars that were destroyed upon your road, were they insured?—Ans. I am very positive they were not. It has not been the custom of the company to insure its property east of the river. It has been the custom to do so west.

172 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it a fair inference from your reports received that a large amount of this damage and destruction and rioting was done by the disreputable elements that gathered at the scenes of the excitement during the strike, composed of boys, women, and hoodlums?—Ans. They were there; but my impression is, and I think we shall be able to determine that fact later, that this work was done by strikers.

173 (Commissioner KERNAN). We have called quite a number of newspaper reporters who were at the scene of these different occurrences, who have given testimony to that effect, and I wanted to find out whether that agreed with your reports upon the subject.—Ans. We have no question but what the real damage done to these lines was done by those interested, and those interested would be strikers.

174 (Commissioner KERNAN). The deputy United States marshals that were paid by your road, under whose immediate direction and control were they?—Ans. In some cases they were under the officials selected for that purpose by the company, and their particular duties were to protect the company's property; they had nothing else to do.

175 (Commissioner KERNAN). What I wanted to know was whether there was any representative of the Government in control of them directly, or whether they were under the control of the railroad during the performance of their duty?—Ans. The clerks in our general office who formed that body of men, and who were sworn in to protect the company's property, were generally stationed at the shops, at certain of the depots, and in the yards where cars were distributed, to protect them from fire so far as possible.

176 (Commissioner KERNAN). And I assume they acted under the direction of officials of the company, selected for the purpose of looking after that matter?—Ans. Largely so.

177 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did they have the same power that other deputy United States marshals had?—Ans. I think so; if they had been called upon by the United States marshal, or any of his deputies, to perform any other work they would have done it. I have a statement from our superintendent in regard to a question that arose this morning. The same answer was given in the detailed proceedings of the day, and probably was not noticed as it was read:

Replying to your inquiry of this date, I beg to say I was not notified by our employees of their intention to strike prior to 7 o'clock a. m. of June 30, nor was I notified to discontinue hauling Pullman cars, nor was any such notice or request made upon any official of my department, so far as known to me.

178 (Commissioner KERNAN). I think it is not claimed any notice was given, except the notice in the public press. It has been said here there is a published list exchanged among the railroad companies of those that are discharged.—Ans. There is no such list, so far as the Rock Island is concerned, and I don't know that there is so far as any road is concerned.

179 (Commissioner KERNAN). There is no printed book to which reference is had when an application for employment is made, so far as your knowledge goes?—Ans. I stated this morning that if we dis-

charge a man on one division the superintendents of other divisions are notified.

180 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes; but I mean a list that is exchanged between railroads.—Ans. We have nothing of the kind.

181 (Commissioner KERNAN). But in case another road refers to you then the cause of discharge is stated to the inquiring road the same as it is set forth in the clearance papers given to the man upon his discharge?—Ans. Yes, sir.

182 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is the extent to which you undertake to prevent the employment of a discharged employee upon other roads—simply give the true reason of his discharge?—Ans. Yes, sir; that is right.

183 (Commissioner KERNAN). According to the facts as you have stated them, I understand that your railroad acquired title in some way to the Pullman cars in the contract by some purchase clause?—Ans. Before this contract was made with the Pullman company to operate the cars, the Rock Island company owned all its sleeping cars; it was an independent organization; the Rock Island owned the equipment belonging to the road. They found that for reasons it was advisable that those cars should be operated outside of the company and they entered into a contract with the Pullman company.

184 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were the old cars Pullman cars?—Ans. No, sir; they were Rock Island cars; it used to be called the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Sleeping Car Line. The Pullman company offered to buy a 50 per cent interest in them, which they did, assuming 50 per cent of the expenses; and any new cars that are built are of the Pullman type and pattern, for which the Rock Island company pays 50 per cent.

185 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there some arrangement by which the Rock Island shall become the owner of the cars entirely at the end of the term?—Ans. Not at all.

186 (Commissioner KERNAN). They will stand, each owning one-half?—Ans. Yes, sir; if no new contract is made when the old one expires the value of the cars will be arbitrated.

187 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there any provision about renewal, etc.?—Ans. Yes, sir.

188 (Commissioner KERNAN). You are connected with the General Managers' Association, are you not?—Ans. Yes, sir. If you will permit me, there is a little matter I would like to bring up before we reach that. Mr. Lovejoy, a witness here, made some statements that I desire to call attention to. He states in his testimony as published:

I am familiar with the history of the strike on the Rock Island road and the causes which led up to it. Besides the order passed by the convention to refuse to handle Pullman cars, the men at La Salle had a special grievance. That grievance consisted in the unjust treatment of the members of the American Railway Union, which had a local lodge at that point. I, for one, was dismissed without any cause being assigned. Complaint was made to Superintendent Dunlap and an explanation asked as to why the men were discharged. He refused to consider the grievance submitted to him and the men resolved to strike.

That statement is absolutely false. The real facts in the case in regard to that man's dismissal are as follows: George W. Lovejoy was not dismissed for attending the American Railway Union convention. His discharge was due to the reduction of force on account of light business; it was thought possible to get along at La Salle without a yard master, doing the work with the yard foreman. When this change was ordered Superintendent Nichols, who gave the order, was not aware that Lovejoy was attending the American Railway Union

convention. The business at the La Salle yard was handled without a yard master until after the strike was over, when, on account of the accumulation of cars and the condition of the yard, it was thought best to again place a yard master at that point. A committee of switchmen called on Superintendent Nichols at Blue Island and later on the general superintendent, Mr. Dunlap, to learn whether or not Lovejoy's dismissal was due to his connection with the American Railway Union, and were plainly told it was not. They also asked if he was eligible to reappointment with the Rock Island company, and were informed he was. They further asked if he would again be reinstated as yard master at La Salle, and were told that question could not be answered at that time; so far as then known he was eligible to that position, but as it was not known when a yard master would again be employed at La Salle no definite promise could be made. Of course his actions since that time preclude his employment.

189 (Commissioner KEENAN). What action do you refer to?—Ans. His action as an agitator in connection with this labor organization.

190 (Commissioner KEENAN). Is he one of the men that was charged with being connected with violence against whom you have evidence?—Ans. I think he is.

191 (Commissioner KERNAN). How positive are you as to that?—Ans. I think his name is mentioned in the statement read this morning. I want to state one thing in connection with the testimony of B. B. Ray, as published:

B. B. Ray, late assistant yard master on the Rock Island road at the city of Rock Island, was the next witness. Mr. Ray told how he had lost his position on account of his attitude toward the American Railway Union. He said when efforts were first being made to organize the men at Rock Island into the American Railway Union he took a neutral position in the matter, but the officials of the company seemed to take the ground that he should have done something to suppress it altogether—

192 (Commissioner KERNAN). To prevent men from joining the union, I took it?—Ans. That is the way you understood it.

That, he claimed, would have been entirely out of his power if he had wished to go counter to the wishes of the men in the matter. A month before the convention he went to Kansas, and when he came back he found another man in his place. He came to Chicago and called on Superintendent Dunlap, and asked him the reason for his discharge, when Mr. Dunlap told him frankly it was because of his friendliness toward the American Railway Union. Mr. Ray then went on to tell of the system the railroads all pursue in blacklisting employees who have incurred the displeasure of their superior officers.

B. B. Ray was discharged by order of the superintendent of the Illinois division for incompetency, it being clearly shown by his work that he was not competent to perform the duties for which he was employed. He was in constant trouble with the men working under him and treated them in the most harsh manner. Since he left the service I have been shown what he was pleased to call his "Con book," in which he kept a record of the men dismissed for cause, and a glance at the contents of that book will show conclusively to any unprejudiced mind that Mr. Ray is not competent to fill that or any other position where he is in the control of men.

193 (Commissioner KERNAN). Whose statement is that you have?—Ans. I will father this statement, although it comes from the general superintendent's office. I have the book here in Mr. Ray's own handwriting; it has been sent to us since he left the service of the company. A few references to this book will show that, so far as boycott is concerned, Ray is up in that matter. Under date of October 31 this book

says—and, by the way, this is the only book I ever knew of kept in this way by a railroad man regarding employees, and you will also understand these men were men hired by Ray, they were not men sent to him by the company, he was yard master and employed his own force. Under date of October 31 he said :

W. Russell, Oct. 15, time check given Oct. 31; A. G. Morse, discharged Oct. 30th for fighting; Steve Conden, discharged Oct. 30th for fighting; F. Meenan, night caller, discharged Oct. 30th for lying; J. Nichols, night sealer, discharged for lying, Oct. 30th; J. Nichols, reinstated Nov. 2nd for good record in past; Russell Hampden, discharged Oct. 31st for fighting (day sealer); John DeVine, discharged Oct. 31 for fighting (yard clerk); Dan Sullivan, resigned Oct. 31 to stop the road; M. Walsh and C. Shields, resigned Nov. 1st at 6 p. m. to go to Chi.; these two fellows are state men.

I am not up in the dictionary of these terms, and don't know what "state men" means.

F. B. Blair, resigned Nov. 3, 1893; "cigarette fiend;" just fair; too much *Texas*. L. E. Rigsby; resigned Nov. 10th; newly married man, and could not stay away from his wife; a very good man. Nov. 11th, D. Fry was discharged for allowing 7 cars of meat to lay in this yard 7 hours. Nov. 11th, G. F. Brownson resigned  $\frac{3}{8}$  work too heavy; no complaints; requested pass R. I. to Ks. City; got it. Nov. 15, H. Giesenhagen, switchtender, discharged for not knowing his business; perfect *damn fool*. Nov. 15, Wm. Bushen, commonly called "Red," discharged for sleeping on duty; contemptible, lying, and awful extravagant. Wm. Burns, Nov. 24, application refused. Nov. 25, Jas. Sutherland resigned to save can; low-down, contemptible cur; "cigarette fiend." Nov. 25, D. O'Conner; same boat; sneak; can't look you straight in the face. Nov. 25, A. Shields; large can, full of rockets; "ders tree of us, bird upside down." Nov. 30th, C. W. Walker; big mouth, small head; from "Cincin.;" have put bunch waste on his tail; loaded it with kerosene; put large torpedo under him and headed him for Ohio River. Nov. 30th, E. J. Brady; knows enough, but pure damned orneryness; cut his suspender for being too "foxy;" weather cool; not the least bit excited; have ordered more can for the 16th, etc.

This book is full of statements of that kind, and you will notice that the days the dismissals occurred were every day and that the men that he employed at that time indicate, if it indicates anything, his utter inability to discharge the service of the company in an acceptable manner, for the reason, if his statements are correct, he did not employ men of a character that the company would like to have in its service or would permit in its service knowingly. So this is Ray's blacklist, and the only blacklist I know of.

194 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How much force did he have under him?—Ans. Possibly twenty to thirty men, sometimes more and sometimes less, according to the volume of business there was there to be handled.

195 (Commissioner KERNAN). This book runs through how many months, about?—Ans. I have not noticed.

196 (Commissioner KERNAN). I see entries in it of March 31, 1894, and March 18; so it run through the fall of 1893, October, November, December?—Ans. Yes, sir.

197 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was it his duty to keep a book of that character?—Ans. Not at all.

198 (Commissioner KERNAN). The book is headed, I see, "Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific seal record."—Ans. Yes, sir; but he used it for another purpose.

199 (Commissioner KERNAN). It is a book in which he should keep track of cars, conductors, and the seals or locks?—Ans. That is right.

200 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was it his business to keep a record of his discharges anywhere?—Ans. Not at all.

201 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was it his duty to report his discharges and reasons for them?—Ans. Not at all; he was the yard master in charge.

202 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was there any supervision over his power to hire and discharge in that way? Suppose he discharged a man, was there any supervision over that?—Ans. No; his discharge was final.

203 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose he discharged a man wrongfully, what remedy had the discharged employee?—Ans. If he made complaint to the superintendent the superintendent would unquestionably investigate it.

204 (Commissioner KERNAN). But it would not be the duty of Ray in making a discharge to report it to the superintendent with his reasons?—Ans. Not at all.

205 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is not that usual upon railroads?—Ans. No, sir; not in cases of this kind; in the case of a yard master where the force is limited, small, it is assumed that he has the ability to take care of that yard.

206 (Commissioner KERNAN). In order to protect men against a man of that character, does it not seem that he ought to be required to report all discharges and reasons for them, so there might be justice done to the men?—Ans. That is possible, but it is only when we learn of cases of this kind that these needs are remedied.

207 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think the fact that a man kept such a record as this of discharges for such reasons indicates the system is not perfect on such a road as to doing justice to the men?—Ans. I said he made no report of his discharges.

208 (Commissioner KERNAN). Whether it was his duty to or not is what I want to know?—Ans. I think not; I think he was absolutely in charge of the men.

209 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is not that one of the places where injustice might be done to men and they really be without practical remedy?—Ans. If any of the men, after having been unjustly dealt with, had reported that fact, then Ray would have been communicated with instantly.

210 (Commissioner KERNAN). Would not the fact that so many discharges were made as were made in this case, and Ray was not under any obligations to report the reasons, would not that rather tend to invest him with arbitrary authority, which might be used to the great injustice of the men?—Ans. Yes, sir; that might be possible, but at all times it could be investigated if the discharged man reported it; but if they go off without any remarks, or don't care to have it investigated further, of course, that is the end of it.

211 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not true that the maintenance of discipline requires that a man in that position shall be invested with pretty much absolute authority about discharging?—Ans. It does. We gain our information and base our conclusion as to the competency of the man by the way he handles the business turned over to him for disposal.

212 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assuming that Ray was a man in good standing with the superintendent, and that these discharged men had lodged complaint with the superintendent, would the investigation extend beyond communicating with the foreman and asking him about it, as a rule?—Ans. If the men discharged felt that they had a grievance and went to the superintendent with it, and the superintendent failed to act upon it, they could go then to the general superintendent and from the general superintendent they could come to me; an employee is always sure of an investigation.

213 (Commissioner KERNAN). Would it not be rather impracticable

for a man to go through that number of different officials?—Ans. It is a very common practice.

214 (Commissioner KERNAN). I assume so, but is it not rather a remote remedy for a man discharged a thousand miles from Chicago?—Ans. This was only about 182 miles.

215 (Commissioner KERNAN). But a man might be a thousand miles away under the same circumstances?—Ans. No, I think not. If a man feels he has a real grievance and has lost his position through injustice there is always a way for him to determine.

216 (Commissioner KERNAN). When a complaint is made of that character against a foreman is there any rule which requires the assistant superintendent to investigate it and which prescribes any method of investigation?—Ans. Yes, sir.

217 (Commissioner KERNAN). Give us that, if you please.—Ans. This same rule applies to all organized labor, and while it reads here "foreman," it applies to any other man in any other capacity:

No foreman shall be dismissed or suspended from the service of the company without just cause. In case a foreman believes his discharge or suspension to have been unjust he shall make a written statement of the facts in the premises and submit it to his master mechanic, and at the same time designate another foreman in the employ of the company at the time on the same division, and the master mechanic, together with the foreman last referred to, shall, in conjunction with the superintendent, or another superior officer, investigate the case in question, and when at all practicable, such investigation shall be made within five days from the date of the receipt of the communication from the foreman, and in case the aforesaid discharge or suspension shall be decided to have been unjust, he shall be reinstated and paid half time for all time lost on said account. A right of appeal in such cases from local to general officers is also conceded, but on all occasions no attention will be paid to grievances unless presented in writing within 60 days from the date of their occurrence.

218 (Commissioner KERNAN). Under that rule it would have been the duty of any of these gentlemen discharged to have presented, in writing, his grievance to Ray?—Ans. Yes, sir.

219 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then Ray would have been obliged to have taken the other necessary steps?—Ans. If the man thought he failed to get justice there he could go to the division superintendent next in rank, etc.

220 (Commissioner KERNAN). I assume it is necessary the grievance should be presented, in the first instance, to the man who made the discharge.—Ans. Yes, sir.

221 (Commissioner KERNAN). That may result in the charges never going any further.—Ans. It can not do that, for the simple notification of the man, in writing, to the next higher officer that he has filed with such lower official such a writing, or believes he has been wronged, and that official declines to take any notice of it, the next man in rank would hear him. I have one more letter from Mr. Ray to contradict the statement he has made here, and to show why, if he had not been discharged for incompetency, he ought to be discharged anyway. This letter is addressed to George W. Carter, of Rock Island, Ill., a gentleman whom I would like to have appear before this commission and tell what he knows.

CHICAGO, ILLS., June 23th.

DEAR GEO.: They are after the C. R. I. & P. and they will put them on the "hip." Keep your record clear. They have got the C. & A. tied up, and "Billy Gray" is "non est." Ask Mr. McKee what he thinks of the A. R. U. now? And tell Henderson that he will send a different message for F. M. C. before 48 hours goes over his head. We shall ask for the removal of the "she scab opr." [a lady operator at one of our stations], and you tell her I said so. We have put the committee on to her, and I believe that such potatoes as her will have to go. You will hear something drop soon. Debs & Howard are at Blue Island to-night.

Yours,

BEECH.

I simply produce this letter in testimony before you to show the conditions are as stated in it, and as shown by this book I have read from.

222 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there anything further you desire to state in connection with the Rock Island matters now?—Ans. I believe not.

223 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now with reference to the General Managers' Association, what position do you occupy in that?—Ans. I am chairman of the General Managers' Association.

224 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long have you occupied that position?—Ans. This is the third year.

225 (Commissioner KERNAN). Before I go further on that let me ask you whether any investigation was ever made, so far as you know, by the assistant superintendent of the discharges mentioned in that book kept by Ray?—Ans. No, sir; this book came into our possession entirely accidentally sometime within the past month. It was forwarded to us by whoever found it.

226 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assuming that a discharged man can do all you say in regard to presenting his grievances to the different officials, would it not practically be impossible for any of those men discharged by Ray to get their places back while Ray was in control of the yards? Would not he be in a position to prevent their getting back?—Ans. Yes, sir.

227 (Commissioner KERNAN). And as long as he continued there more or less injustice would be done, not as the result of the intention of the company, but as a result of his arbitrary actions?—Ans. Yes, sir; necessarily so. Shall I proceed?

228 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes, sir.—Ans. The General Managers' Association so far as I know anything about it was first started on April 20, 1886. Mr. H. B. Stone, of the Burlington company, acted as chairman. From May 3, 1886, to September 10, 1889, its meetings were presided over by E. T. Jeffery, now president of the Denver and Rio Grande, as chairman. From September 10, 1889, to January 20, 1892, the association was inactive and held no meetings; it was reorganized January 22, 1892, and has held regular and special meetings as provided for in its bylaws and its chairman from that time to date has been Mr. St. John.

229 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it a corporation?—Ans. No, sir; it is not.

230 (Commissioner KERNAN). A voluntary association?—Ans. Yes, sir, entirely.

231 (Commissioner KERNAN). And an agreement is signed by the roads who unite in it?—Ans. There is no definite agreement in connection with the association between any of the lines; they simply express their desire to become members of it.

232 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has it a constitution and bylaws?—Ans. Yes, sir.

233 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you give the commission a copy?—Ans. Yes, sir.

234 (Commissioner KERNAN). What are the objects of the association?—Ans. The object as stated in its bylaws, Article II of the constitution is:

The object of this association shall be the consideration of problems of management, arising from the operation of railroads terminating or centering in Chicago.

ARTICLE III. The general manager, assistant general manager, or general superintendent of any railroad operating in Chicago may be admitted to membership upon application to the chairman of this association. The membership of this association shall be confined to the roads having terminals at Chicago.



I want to call particular attention to that, because in the testimony that has been given here in the past few days a good deal has been said about different lines that have no connection with it whatever.

235 (Commissioner KERNAN). What lines belonged to it in June last and during the recent difficulties?—Ans. The line members of the association, and that does not include all of their territory; their membership is sometimes limited by the territory they desire to put in, for instance, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe road puts in its line, my impression is, from La Junta to Chicago; the line west of that is a California and Arizona line and too far away to have any dealings with us. The members of the association are: Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe; Baltimore and Ohio; Calumet and Blue Island; Chicago and Alton; Chicago and Erie; Chicago and Eastern Illinois; Chicago and Western Indiana; Chicago and Grand Trunk; Chicago and Northwestern; Chicago, Burlington and Quincy; Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul; Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific; Chicago Great Western Railway; Chicago and Northern Pacific; Illinois Central; Louisville, New Albany and Chicago; Lake Shore and Michigan Southern; Michigan Central; New York, Chicago and St. Louis; Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis; Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago; Union Stock Yards and Transit Company; Wisconsin Central Line; Wabash Railroad—24 lines.

236 (Commissioner KERNAN). I see these bylaws were amended in 1893; what was the nature of the amendment?—Ans. The association had applications from lines outside of Chicago to become members of it, and it was their desire to limit the membership to the lines terminating here, and that was not expressly stated in the former bylaws and the bylaws were amended to that extent, limiting the membership to lines terminal in Chicago.

237 (Commissioner KERNAN). The object of the association is stated to "be the consideration of problems of management, arising from the operation of railroads terminating or centering in Chicago."—Ans. Yes, sir. If you will permit me I want to say it is a new thought with any member of the General Managers' Association that it exists simply for putting into effect schedules of wages in which employees are interested and for that alone.

238 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has that been any part of its business?—Ans. The idea seems to prevail on the part of a certain labor organization that it has no existence for any other purpose; but that is one of the most remote things that it has had to deal with, and during its entire organization I think the question has never arisen but three or four times, and then only when the necessities of the situation required it. That you may have some little knowledge of what the association is organized for and what it deals with and to show you that the statements that have been made are entirely erroneous I will recite some of the subjects dealt with last year. One of them, and which consumed considerable time—by the way it must be understood the regular meetings of this association are only held once in sixty days, special meetings are called on emergency or when anything special is to be reported upon, but in very great emergency, such as the difficulties we have just passed through, the association would be in session constantly.

The subjects of last year were as follows: "Agencies at the Union Stock Yards;" there is no labor problem there. It discussed the agency at the World's Fair and the manner of handling the goods at that point. It discussed the American rules on diversion of cars, and adopted rules

for diversion of cars; adopted train rules and such things as that, and those questions are often presented at the meetings and discussed by this association. "Asiatic cholera" and resolutions in regard to the protection of our cities against such an invasion as that; "Association of Western railways and recognition in regard to car mileage;" "Car service in the Union Stock Yards;" "Chicago and Calumet Terminal at the World's Exposition;" "Chicago Car Service Association" has been a matter that has received very great consideration and almost continuous from the institution of that car service. It was an agreement entered into by which a per diem is charged for delays to cars after a certain time in order to have shippers unload cars promptly, in order that they may go back to be reloaded and not stand on the track from a week to three months, as previous to the organization of this association was sometimes the case. "Delays of cars on connecting lines;" "Joint scales at the Stock Yards and the best way of weighing live stock;" the question of "Closing freight houses, and the hours at which they should close during the World's Fair period;" "Freight transportation of coal for the poor;" "Depots at Union Stock Yards;" "Detouring trains; diversion of freight cars;" "Engine houses at Union Stock Yards;" "Closing hour of freight houses;" "Freight on team track;" "Movement within the Union Stock Yards and the cost of the same;" "Length of steel rails." (We had a committee of several engineers out on that question for some six months.) "Loading and unloading car-load freight;" "Loading and unloading team-track freight;" "Local freight depot at the Union Stock Yards;" "Mileage on cars;" "Parmelee's Transfer;" "Annual passes;" "Conference with packers;" "Per diem charge for cars;" "Demand for policemen to protect crossings;" "Railway Brotherhood Hospital Association;" "Receipting for freight from connecting lines;" "Packing companies' claims upon the railroads;" "Switching at Union Stock Yards, Traffic Association, reduction of expenses," etc.; "Team-track freight;" "Warehousing freight;" "Weights of live stock;" "World's Fair terminal charges."

239 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not fair to say that the object of the association is to deal with any question concerning transportation centering at Chicago in which they have a common interest?—Ans. Yes, sir.

240 (Commissioner KERNAN). And to some extent fixing rates for service, use of cars, etc., in Chicago?—Ans. Giving rates for freight and rates for switching?

241 (Commissioner KERNAN). I say for service in and about Chicago?—Ans. Yes, sir.

242 (Commissioner KERNAN). You spoke of having considered schedules of wages three or four times. Can you recall those occasions and state what there were of them?—Ans. Yes, sir.

243 (Commissioner KERNAN). Give us what you know of those matters.—Ans. There have been demands made upon the various companies by organized labor at times which could not be conceded, in the judgment of any one road, and which have been the subjects of consultation at meetings of this association.

244 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were those demands presented to the road by the organizations of the road?—Ans. They were presented to the roads by committees of the roads through the union they belonged to.

245 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have any claims of that character on the part of the American Railway Union been presented and considered?—Ans. No, sir; never.

246 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, give those instances, what action was taken, or what there was of it.—Ans. I ought to preface this by a statement that the lines in Chicago, I think all of them, have a rate of pay for switchmen which is known as the "Chicago scale." It is a little higher than it is at any point in the East, at least that is my understanding. I know it is higher than at very many points in the East, and it was brought about as the result of a conference which was had some years ago at a time when the companies felt the request was excessive, but yet acceded to it.

247 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did that extend to all switchmen of the different lines?—Ans. Yes, sir.

248 (Commissioner KERNAN). Whether in Chicago or not?—Ans. No, sir; the Chicago scale applies to Chicago only.

249 (Commissioner KERNAN). And not to lines outside of Chicago?—Ans. No, sir. On March 6, 1893, the managing officers of all the lines, through the grievance committee of their particular line, had presented to them a demand that that rate of pay which I term the "Chicago scale" should be changed and increased, and this is the circular that was delivered to all alike:

CHICAGO, March 6, 1893.

*To the General Yard Master and Managing Officers,  
Operating Department—— Railroad.*

DEAR SIRS: We, the switchmen employed by your corporation, in and around Chicago, respectfully present for your consideration the following:

1. The rate of pay for switchmen to be as follows: Day foremen, 32 cents per hour; day helpers, 30 cents per hour; night foreman, 34 cents per hour; night helpers, 32 cents per hour.

2. That ten hours' work be guaranteed each crew, day or night.

Awaiting an early reply, we remain,

Yours, respectfully,

COMMITTEE.

In each case the committee's names were attached to that. In the application to the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad it differed a little in this respect, namely:

3. Transfer crews to have cabooses inclosed in stormy weather.

4. That the noon hour remain as at present.

In the application to the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad there was added:

That day crews shall commence work not earlier than 6 or later than 7 a. m. Night crews shall commence work not earlier than 6 p. m. or later than 7 p. m. That all crews shall have one hour for dinner, between the hours of 11 a. m. and 1 p. m. and 1 p. m. and 1 a. m. When it becomes necessary to work any portion of said hour switchmen shall receive extra pay for said hour as overtime, as per schedule.

I will not go through with all of this. Each line terminal in Chicago received this notice, and the association, which happened to meet about that time, appointed a committee to investigate the justice of the demand. The report of that committee was adverse to granting the request for the reason that at that time it was felt by all of the lines that the pay already given was even larger than perhaps it should be, taking into consideration what was paid at other points East where the business was equally as great, and the further fact that the earnings of the companies at that time were decreasing.

250 (Commissioner KERNAN). After the association took action upon that question did that have an effect upon each of the lines of regulating the switchmen's wages to any extent outside of Chicago?—Ans. Not at all, although they were placed where previous demands had been made at other large points in the West where it was conceded the Chicago scale of wages applied.

251 (Commissioner KERNAN). Take your road, for instance; after that meeting had determined that question did not your line take that decision as a basis of wages for the entire system?—Ans. No, sir.

252 (Commissioner KERNAN). How would it be as to any substantial part of it?—Ans. Only at points where the work, you might say, was excessive, or where the men's time was occupied fully as much as here.

253 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where the conditions were like those in Chicago?—Ans. Yes, sir.

254 (Commissioner KERNAN). There you used it as a basis?—Ans. Yes, sir.

255 (Commissioner KERNAN). So it was generally with the lines?—Ans. Yes, sir. The result of this declination on the part of the various companies directly to their own committees was a threat on the part of some that a strike would occur, and in times of trouble of that kind, or anticipated trouble, it would be the most natural thing in the world for the association, or any line member of it, to arrange to protect the interests of the company he represented. He could not do otherwise. Arrangements were made by which agencies were established and men employed to come to Chicago in case of necessity.

256 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were those agencies established by the managers' association?—Ans. Yes, sir.

257 (Commissioner KERNAN). And they were designed for the purpose of protecting any line in the association?—Ans. That was a member of it.

258 (Commissioner KERNAN). Against anything they deemed to be an attempt to enforce an unjust demand?—Ans. Yes, sir.

259 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was that the first occasion the managers ever took action in that direction?—Ans. That was the first occasion it took action during any period I was chairman of it.

260 (Commissioner KERNAN). Before that, had there not been matters in which it had taken action to some extent?—Ans. I think there had been matters discussed in that line, but those old proceedings I do not know anything about. I only answer for the time after the reorganization took effect.

261 (Commissioner KERNAN). How was the expense of those agencies paid?—Ans. An assessment went out against the different roads to meet the emergency.

262 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was that based on mileage?—Ans. In this case it was based on the number of switchmen each road employed.

263 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was done with the men employed?—Ans. They were held in readiness to come to Chicago in case of a telegram to that effect from the chairman.

264 (Commissioner KERNAN). But not under pay?—Ans. Not under pay. Well, this matter as I stated went on; the indications for a strike were good, and it was felt that we might need additional men. I think at that time we brought 100 from Philadelphia, imported them here at the expense of the association apportioned in the way I have stated. We had at other points over 2,000 wanting to come, but that was an expense we did not want to go to unless it was made necessary. On March 13, after numerous meetings had been held, the grand master of the switchmen's organization called upon me and we discussed the matter, and I am satisfied that so far as he personally was concerned his idea was that it was an inopportune time for a strike; that he did not want it—at least he assured me to that effect—and he stated what he was willing to do. I asked him to communicate with me in writing. I stated to him that some of the lines in the association would be a little doubtful about a verbal statement from past experience and we would

like to know by letter what he proposed; that we could not entertain anything else. So on March 13 I received this letter, which was headed with the names of the officers of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association:

[Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association of North America. Office of the Grand Lodge, Rooms 77 and 78 Commerce Building. Officers: John E. Wilson, grand master; John Downey, first vice grand master; Miles W. Barrett, second vice grand master; William A. Simarott, grand secretary and treasurer; Frank Sweeney, editor and manager Journal; E. P. Murdock, grand medical examiner.]

CHICAGO, March 13, 1893.

Mr. E. ST. JOHN,  
Chairman General Managers' Association.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the switchmen representing all the railroads in Chicago, held Sunday, March 12, it was decided to accept the answer given by the general managers to the request for an increase of pay, presented March 6 by the switchmen. No further action will be taken in the matter by this association without notice being given to all parties concerned.

Yours, very respectfully,

J. E. WILSON,  
Grand Master.  
WM. A. SIMSROTT,  
Grand Secretary and Treasurer.

(Signed under the seal of the lodge).

That letter was presented to the meeting and the matter of making reply to the above communication from the officials of the switchmen's association was discussed, and on motion the chairman was requested to make such reply, which he then prepared in the following form, which met the approval of the association:

GENERAL MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION OF CHICAGO,  
March 16, 1893.

J. E. WILSON,  
Grand Master of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid  
Association of North America, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned, chairman of the General Managers' Association, has been instructed on behalf of the association to acknowledge the receipt of your courteous letter of March 13, announcing the action of your association taken on Sunday, March 12, and the statement upon your part that no further action than that taken will be had in the matter without sufficient notice being given to all parties interested. The association approves the course taken by your body, and desires to deal fairly with all employees, and believes that our switchmen are receiving due consideration.

Yours, truly,

E. ST. JOHN, Chairman.

That closed that incident.

265 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have been reading from the printed proceedings of the General Managers' Association?—Ans. Yes, sir.

266 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Can you furnish the commission, not as evidence, but for reference, a copy of those proceedings?—Ans. I can not. There are only a sufficient number of these printed to furnish one to each road belonging to the association. There is nothing in it but what the commission may see if they desire, but I will have to have it returned.

267 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is all we want. Give us the next difficulty?—Ans. The association has dealt at different times with various applications for increase in compensation. In some cases the recommendation of the committee appointed by the association has been favorable, and an advance has been allowed. In many other cases the conditions of business and the earnings of the roads made that absolutely impossible, and a comparison with the wages paid by other lines seemed to make it inadvisable.

268 (Commissioner KERNAN). That reminds me. Has the association prepared for its use and examination of these questions a schedule of

wages with reference to the different occupations?—Ans. It has; but in answer to that question I want to say right here that, from the testimony taken, which I have read during the past week, it would seem as though the impression was in the minds of those testifying that the schedules about which they talked so much are something new, and were only prepared for the purpose of reducing somebody's pay. I have here a schedule prepared by a labor organization, which includes the minimum compensation allowed on all of the different branches of service within the various brotherhoods.

269 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you furnish us with a copy of that?—Ans. This is the only copy I have; it was sent to me through the kindness of one of the chiefs; he evidently thought it was not unsafe in my hands. This schedule in the expense of its make-up and information it contains is very much more expensive than anything the General Managers' Association has heretofore felt they could afford.

270 (Commissioner KERNAN). What have they felt they could afford in that line?—Ans. I want to say first, the first schedule of wages that was applied covering the different branches of service of railroad terminals in Chicago was applied in August, 1886. It was simply applied the same as the last one has been applied to determine in our own minds where we were exceeding our neighbors in wages, and where they were exceeding us. It has been my experience, and probably that of every other manager, that every committee I have met, undoubtedly within the past 8 years at least, has presented this fact: That some other line in competition with us had a little different rule, or was paying a little more money in a particular case than the Rock Island company, and they wanted it adjusted, or the committee would go to the Northern, the Burlington, or some of the other lines and say, "The Rock Island is doing a little better by us than you are, and we feel we are entitled here to as much as they get there, the service being practically the same, and we want our wages advanced."

It was a statement that no road could get away from where differences of that kind existed. What was the most natural thing that the association should do? Appoint a committee, examine into the matter of pay of all classes—and the examination did not cover engineers, firemen, brakemen, and switchmen only; it covered section men, clerks, baggagemen, and everything—to determine where these differences were. There is no man who will say that since the application of this last schedule, which was completed in November, 1893, that the Rock Island road has ever reduced its pay one cent in any case.

271 (Commissioner KERNAN). Between 1886 and 1893, was that schedule the subject of revision?—Ans. No; as changes were made lines here and there were notified, probably not in all cases, but in the majority of cases, and where we were not notified we were sure to hear of it from committees.

272 (Commissioner KERNAN). Another question as to that schedule before you go on; was that schedule made up originally showing the wages paid by each line to each class of employees throughout its system?—Ans. Yes, sir.

273 (Commissioner KERNAN). And since then the effort has been fairly to equalize the rate so that each line at least should be advised as to what the rates were on the other lines in the association?—Ans. It was found in the compilation of these wages that there were in some cases wide differences; that Southern lines, perhaps, were not paying as much as Western lines; that there was a difference between Eastern lines and Southern lines. This schedule is made up in three divisions—Eastern, Southern, and Western.

274 (Commissioner KERNAN). As a result of that examination and interchange of knowledge, has a reduction taken place?—Ans. On some of the lines; yes, sir.

275 (Commissioner KERNAN). To the average basis or a lower basis?—Ans. I could not give you definite information in regard to that. The action of any one line is its own action. I think there have been two or three lines where they found they were paying in excess of what an average would be; that has made a reduction.

276 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the tendency of the dissemination of that knowledge has been to average the pay on all the lines?—Ans. Yes, we know what that average would be; we have that information. I don't want the commission or anyone else to think that no changes in pay were contemplated on account of this schedule, but from the condition of affairs throughout the country and the earnings of the roads it will be necessary within probably a very short time to consider that matter very seriously. A road can not pay what it don't earn.

277 (Commissioner KERNAN). It has been said here that since the close of the World's Fair a reduction of pay of the different classes of men in the employ of the roads in the association has been made by taking one road and reducing the pay, then another road will reduce the pay, and thus finally get around so the reduction will be general throughout all the lines forming the association?—Ans. That statement is imaginary on the part of the persons making it; there is no scheme of that kind.

278 (Commissioner KERNAN). The association has not been advised that in pursuance of any plan of that kind reductions here and there are to be made?—Ans. The association has taken no action on this scale of rates whatever; it simply received it and discharged the committee.

279 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did it comprehend all the different roads in the country?—Ans. No, sir; no lines except those terminals in Chicago, and members of the association. The Mobile and Ohio, the Southern Pacific, the Northern Pacific, and other lines I have read in the testimony here were said to be members of the General Managers' Association. Those roads have nothing whatever to do with it; they are not members and we know nothing about them at all.

280 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is not the mileage represented in the General Managers' Association so great that its action in establishing an average rate would probably have great weight on lines outside in competition with members of the association?—Ans. Undoubtedly; and yet the amount that is paid by lines in the association today is in many cases very much larger than that paid by lines east of Buffalo or Pittsburg.

The question of pay is a very serious one. I don't want anyone to suppose for a moment by the mention of these schedules of wages, which has not materially affected any labor, except perhaps on one or two roads at the present time, that it will not in time to come affect them. It may. The probabilities are it will. If the impression prevails that the financial condition and earnings of railroad companies is equal to what it was two or three years ago they have only to consult facts to change that opinion. I do not like to state publicly here the earnings of the Rock Island road, or its increase or decrease, and would not do it except to make this point, that something, unless things change materially and speedily, must be done. Within the past three months the earnings of the Rock Island road have decreased \$800,000.

The earnings of many of the other lines, some of the lines I know of, have decreased half a million dollars in a month.

281 (Commissioner KERNAN). I understand on the Rock Island there has been no reduction since the Fair?—Ans. We have reduced force and in some cases reduced hours at our shops. For instance, previous to the strike we were working five, six, and eight hours—forty hours a week instead of sixty, which was the case a year ago.

282 (Commissioner KERNAN). You spoke of the last revision of wages in the wage scale; when was that made?—Ans. It was placed in the hands of the members in November, 1893.

283 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are those the wages practically in force on the association lines today?—Ans. Yes, sir.

284 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now you may state any further instances of application such as you mention for increase in wages and the action taken upon them.—Ans. Simply to show the commission that the committees of this association endeavor at all times to get at right conclusions and do justice by the men, where the conditions warrant it, I will cite this case. An application was made by the general baggage agents of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern road on March 22, 1893, asking that the pay of their baggagemen be increased from \$83.33 to \$100 per month. The application was as follows:

We, the undersigned, general baggage agents of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific and Lake Shore and Michigan Southern railways, respectfully request that the salary of our baggage agent in Chicago be raised from \$83.33 to \$100 per month, his assistant's salaries to be raised from \$70 to \$80 per month, his four checkmen's salaries to be raised from \$50 to \$60 per month, the two deliverymen's salaries to be raised from \$50 to \$55 per month; the porters to receive same salary as now—\$45 per month. A copy of this application for increase of salaries has been furnished Mr. P. S. Blodgett, assistant general superintendent, Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway.

Yours, respectfully,

J. D. MARSTON.  
JOHN L. FREEMAN.

The matter was referred to a committee and the report of the committee was as follows:

Your committee has taken into careful consideration the schedule of wages paid at all passenger stations within the city of Chicago, and will recommend, on said application, that the following action be taken: First, that the salary of the baggage master be increased from \$83.33 to a monthly rate not exceeding \$100, in the option of the companies interested; second, that there shall be no increase in the compensation of the assistant baggage master; third, that there shall be no increase of the compensation of checkmen; fourth, that there shall be no increase in the compensation of the deliverymen. Your committee finds that these men are now being paid a fair rate, as compared with the compensation of others performing similar duties at other Chicago stations.

285 (Commissioner KERNAN). That was an application by the general baggage agents of the Lake Shore and Michigan road?—Ans. Yes, sir.

286 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why was not that application disposed of by the Lake Shore road instead of by the General Managers' Association?—Ans. In order that it might receive the attention due to the application, and so the pay of other roads could be determined, and see if we were underpaying the men. There has been quite a number of cases where the prayer of the petition has been granted by this committee, and quite a number of cases where it has been declined, but only after the most careful investigation.

287 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It has been said here that your association exists primarily for and under a pledge to assist each road in case of trouble occurring upon it?—Ans. That is not the primary cause of the organization.



288 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does such a pledge or agreement exist?—Ans. There is no pledge or agreement in regard to that matter.

289 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does it practically follow as one of the incidents of the organization?—Ans. That is all, it follows simply as an incident.

290 (Commissioner WRIGHT). On what date was the resolution of your association passed, relating to the boycott that was ordered?—Ans. I will give you a little account of that. On June 22, 1894, after having read in the press that a boycott was to be established upon all of the lines operating Pullman cars, I sent out this call:

CHICAGO, June 22, 1894.

DEAR SIRS: An emergency meeting of the General Managers' Association is hereby called for Monday, June 25, at 2 p.m., at the Rookery Building, Chicago.

E. ST. JOHN, *Chairman.*

The meeting assembled; every line was represented. The statement was made by the chair that the meeting had been called to consider the statement which had been published that at 12 o'clock on the following day a boycott on the various lines would be declared by the American Railway Union, and the meeting is now open for a discussion and such action as may be deemed necessary. The matter was freely discussed, and upon motion duly seconded. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Whereas we learn through the public press that the American Railway Union will declare a boycott on all Pullman palace cars; and

Whereas said boycott is in relation to matters over which we have no control and in which we have no interest whatever; and

Whereas it is stated that the object and intent of the said boycott is to discommode the traveling public and embarrass the railroads, in the belief that the public and the railroads affected will influence the settlement of the question as the American Railway Union desires; and

Whereas it is necessary that these companies determine for themselves what cars they shall or shall not handle; and

Whereas it is important that the travelling public should understand the position of the railroads in this matter: Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this meeting that the said proposed boycott, being confessedly not in the interest of any employees of said railroad companies, or on account of any grievance between said railroad companies and said employees, is unjustifiable and unwarranted.

2. That the employees of said railway companies can not, nor can any of them with propriety embarrass said companies nor discommode the traveling public, because of their sympathy with the supposed wrongs of employees engaged in a wholly different class of labor.

3. That we hereby declare it to be the lawful right and duty of said railway companies to protest against said proposed boycott; to resist the same in the interest of their existing contracts, and for the benefit of the traveling public, and that we will act unitedly to that end.

The resolution was adopted on June 25, 1894.

291 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Had the association of which you were chairman received any official notice of that boycott?—Ans. None whatever.

292 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It has been said that when General Miles came to the city to take charge of the United States forces he repaired at once to the headquarters of the General Managers' Association?—Ans. That statement is positively absurd. I don't think General Miles knows where the association rooms are. He never was present at any meeting. I was present at all the meetings held. General Miles was often appealed to for assistance at points where there was trouble, but personally I never saw him during the whole time; he never was present at any meeting of the association.

293 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What relation to the managers' association does Mr. Egan hold?—Ans. Mr. Egan was brought to Chicago from St. Paul, or requested to come to Chicago to take charge of the details of the matter in hand for the association as its manager, representing the committee.

294 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many meetings were held during the time of the strike?—Ans. Twenty-one.

295 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you a record of the minutes of those meetings?—Ans. This is the record before me, which I can loan to you.

296 (Commissioner KERNAN). We would like a copy of it if you could furnish it to us.—Ans. I don't know as I could give you a copy to keep, but will loan you one. At a meeting of the association held on June 27, the following resolution was adopted:

*Resolved*, That Mr. Egan be selected as the choice of the association as the representative of its committees, and that the committees be left with discretionary power to make arrangements with Mr. Egan upon such terms as they may be able to.

You understand, of course, that Mr. Egan for a long time was general manager of the Chicago Great Western Railway, at that time a member of the association. He was a man in whom the association had perfect confidence, and it was necessary to have someone there all the time, night and day.

297 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Mr. Egan's services were secured to take charge of the details of the strike?—Ans. Yes, sir; and after the strike ended Mr. Egan returned home, being a resident of St. Paul.

298 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Whatever committees were sent to the association with reference to an adjustment, or closing up of the strike or boycott, were attended to by Mr. Egan?—Ans. Any work the association needed to accomplish, or desired to place in Mr. Egan's hands, he executed.

299 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And who received committees, if any one did, from the employees, and took charge of the correspondence?—Ans. Mr. Egan, I suppose, although he is more familiar about that; he would not necessarily receive committees, but the detail work during the strike was in his hands.

300 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you anything to say of your own knowledge relative to those matters?—Ans. The chairman was chairman of all the meetings that were held during the trouble, and the action of each meeting was communicated to Mr. Egan, if there was action that made it necessary for him to execute. The association through its employment committee, of which I was also chairman, established agencies throughout the East, and upon order it directed the movement of men to come to Chicago.

301 (Commissioner KERNAN). And assigned to places on the different roads?—Ans. Application from the various roads for such assistance as they needed was made directly upon Mr. Egan and he assigned them to the lines needing them. During the trouble and up to this time there has been something like 2,500 men assigned to the different lines—2,600, I think, of whom 2,500 probably are in positions.

302 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the applications for the appointment of deputy marshals, was that done through the association?—Ans. That was done through the association; wherever protection was needed Mr. Egan was communicated with and he communicated with the mayor, chief of police, sheriff, or any officer that was necessary to communicate with in order to obtain the assistance required. #

303 (Commissioner KERNAN). And during the period of the strike the matters of each road connected with and affected by the strike were looked after through the association rather than through the separate managements of the roads?—Ans. In some cases the line also looked for employees itself. In fact they had employees of their own at other localities whom they brought here, though there never was a time during the entire period of the strike when more men than were needed were not obtainable. During the last days of the strike I think I would not overestimate it if I should say 50,000 men could have been brought here in forty-eight hours on order.

304 (Commissioner KERNAN). During the period of the strike in any emergency were men transferred from one road to the other through the agency of the association?—Ans. Not at all.

305 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can we have a copy of that schedule of wages you speak of?—Ans. That schedule is composed, I think, of seven books. I don't think you would want it. There is one set for each line and one set the property of the association; if you would like to look at it we would be glad to bring it over to you.

306 (Commissioner KERNAN). What further did the association do to aid the lines composing it during the strike further than you have stated?—Ans. I don't know that I could relate anything further. The objects of the meetings from day to day were to get reports from the different lines as to the occurrences of the past twenty-four hours. That was a matter of each day's record of the association, which shows the condition of the lines and what had occurred.

307 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was it part of the business of the association to ascertain the extent of interference, violence, and destruction of property, and keep a record of that for the benefit of the lines in the association?—Ans. Yes, sir.

308 (Commissioner KERNAN). And did it for that purpose employ detectives?—Ans. Yes, sir.

309 (Commissioner KERNAN). To about what extent?—Ans. Perhaps twenty or thirty.

310 (Commissioner KERNAN). There is an expression in the resolutions I have here that the roads were not interested in the Pullman difficulties. How could that be quite true as to your line, inasmuch as you had a half interest in the cars and divided with the Pullman company the receipts? What was the meaning of that expression in there?—Ans. I think that had no more application, so far as the Rock Island road was concerned, than if the cars had been shopped in St. Louis. It had no cars at the Pullman car works at that time nor for some time previously.

311 (Commissioner KERNAN). "Said boycott is in relation to matters over which we have no control, and in which we have no interest whatever." How could it be said that you had no interest whatever in the Pullman boycott when your company and the Pullman company were operating cars on a basis of a division of profits?—Ans. We had no control whatever over those men and have no voice in the employment of them or wages that they receive. That is part of the contract.

312 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, you mean you had no interest in the controversy at Pullman over which you could exercise any control?—Ans. Not the slightest.

313 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were any assurances of support, or was any support given to the Pullman company as such?—Ans. Not at all; we were never asked for anything of that kind and we could not have given it if we had been asked for it.

314 (Commissioner KERNAN). As a matter of fact you did not give to the Pullman company directly any assistance in its contest with its employees?—Ans. Not the slightest; that was a matter between themselves.

315 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you in any way advise either for or against arbitration of the Pullman difficulties as an association or as members of it?—Ans. No, sir.

316 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you consulted in regard to that by the Pullman company in any way?—Ans. Not at all.

317 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you took no part in that matter one way or the other?—Ans. None whatever.

318 (Commissioner WRIGHT). From your experience in railroad matters generally, have you formed any idea as to what can be done in the way of legislation, or otherwise, to avoid strikes and boycotts?—Ans. Anticipating that question, as similar questions have been asked of the witnesses who have preceded me, I have prepared an answer to that question, which I will read, as follows:

At this time I am unable to offer any suggestions that could by any possibility be considered, even by myself, as in any way likely to solve the problem suggested by your question. I have given the matter very much thought, and as often as it seemed that I was approaching a possible panacea for all labor troubles, my fondest hopes have been scattered by reading arguments against the very views I had evidently hastily formed, promulgated in paper or magazine by some eminent scholar, political economist, or noted writer.

The Government control of railroads would seem to me to involve possibilities that might prove dangerous to the Government itself.

Arbitration established by law it would seem could not prove effective in all cases, for, if applied to wages, it might be found extremely difficult to enforce its decisions, unless it was also able to determine the amount of business that the employer should do, and the prices to be obtained for the transportation furnished or the goods sold, which must include the cost thereof and a reasonable profit on the capital invested, together with the wages to be paid for the labor involved.

Again, arbitration, which might prove objectionable to the employee could hardly prove effective, for the result would naturally prove disastrous to the employer, from the fact that the results to him of the work likely to be accomplished under such circumstances would prove unsatisfactory, if even the employees themselves did not withdraw, which might prove the desirable thing for both parties thereto.

In many cases and where the differences were slight between the employer and employee, arbitration would undoubtedly prove in the future, as in the past, very desirable and effective.

To very many minds the law of supply and demand must still govern. It is a principle as old as government itself, and has proven in the years past effective as applied to both employer and employee, but in the minds of many it is to prove ineffective in the future. Can this be so?

I feel quite sure that the opinion expressed by that eminent jurist, Judge Cooley, in his very able paper read before the American Bar Association at its annual meeting held in Saratoga, August 22, is correct, so far as it relates to recent troubles with the American Railway Union.

Speaking of arbitration, Judge Cooley asked:

Suppose a national law providing for compulsory arbitration had existed and the strikers had demanded the intervention of the arbitration board, what must have been the result? Obviously, after the board had looked into the case, it would have

been compelled to say that under the law they could give no remedy, for it had no application whatever. The strike was by railroad employees, and they and their employers were the only parties to it. But the cause of complaint which led to the strike was a controversy between other parties altogether, parties who stood, indeed, in hostile attitude to each other, but were not parties to this strike, and could not be brought in to take part in the arbitration demanded. The board summoned to consider this would be wholly without jurisdiction to determine or even to look into the merits of the controversy, which was the excuse for the one now brought to its attention. If, therefore, the board could take any action whatever it would be merely to report that the strike was not made by any complaint made against the railroad companies; that there was no controversy between the parties investigated and passed upon, and consequently the board had no jurisdiction and must dismiss the case.

The personal liberty of both the employer and the laborer is necessarily to be respected, and every man must be left to determine for himself whether he will observe and perform such moral or sentimental obligations or recognize such claims as the State has never deemed it wise to convert into legal duties or legal rights. The legal difficulties in the way of a complete remedy will remain and will be serious at almost every point, but the very knowledge of their existence will emphasize the need of precautions to prevent a resort to violent measures when arbitration is inadequate and to give additional force to the public opinion which will look with emphatic disfavor upon any refusal of arbitration when that seems a suitable remedy for alleged wrongs.

Our statesmen leaders will never overlook the fact that there is one class of strike that can never be settled by arbitration. That is the sympathetic strike, and the reason is plain—the parties to the strike are not the parties to the controversy that needs be settled, and if the sympathizers are held justified, the original quarrel still remains undetermined. A finding made by a given number of arbitrators as to the merits of the original controversy in such a case would be an idle fulfilmination of opinion, having behind it no force of law and going no further to fix a moral obligation upon any party concerned than would a like expression by any other equal number of equally intelligent members of the community.

Very learned men the world over are today giving this matter their best thought, and it is not improbable that in the no distant future the problem may find its solution and that that solution may prove one that shall, with injury to none, be satisfactory to all, and I most sincerely trust that this may be the result.

319 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is your idea as to licensing railroad employees in different branches of work by the Government?—Ans. I think that has merit, but it would perhaps be questionable whether the licensing would always represent what the law intended. If the licensing of the men should become a political matter it would undoubtedly prove detrimental rather than otherwise.

320 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has not the system been fairly demonstrated on waterways?—Ans. Possibly so, I am not very familiar with that.

321 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Could not the Government establish some such system, experimentally, upon one of the subsidized roads?—Ans. It could, certainly.

322 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you think if that was satisfactory to railway employees it would be opposed by railroad companies?—Ans. No, I think not. It is possible that railroad companies might find it necessary to have a man holding such a license pass its own examination at the same time. In the employment of engineers, firemen, and other train officers we have them pass an examination at the present time.

323 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Going back to the statement you have just read relative to arbitration, I assume you approve of what Judge Cooley said, that you could not make the labor side of the problem responsible. Could not there be some provision of law by which the American Railway Union, for instance, should, before it entered upon a strike, or upon any arbitration for a settlement of the prospective difficulties, be obliged to give a bond which should be forfeited in

case matters went against it?—Ans. I question whether that would be satisfactory or not; we have found in the past from experience in that direction that if the men feel aggrieved even after an arbitration has taken place, it is advisable that they should work for some other company. The soreness would remain and they would not do the same amount of work as satisfactorily as if everything was harmonious.

324 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But don't the managers of railroads generally approve of the spirit which is involved in any system of arbitration?—Ans. Generally, where the differences are small. It is undoubtedly desirable. I have known of cases where harmony was reached through arbitration, where the differences were slight, that proved eminently satisfactory to both sides, but there would be cases, as you can readily imagine, where that could not be.

325 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You base your answer on the assumption that friendly relations are essential to work on railroads, as well as in any protective industry?—Ans. Yes, sir; they always ought to exist.

326 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In the adjustment of wages on railroads are the authorities making the adjustments influenced by the supply of labor, by the earnings of the road, or both?—Ans. The earnings of the road will have the greatest influence.

327 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When the earnings are liberal you are willing to pay liberal wages and not confine yourselves to the law of supply and demand entirely?—Ans. Yes, sir.

328 (Commissioner KERNAN). During the progress of the strike were attempts made to operate Pullman cars upon trains other than those upon which it was usual to operate them?—Ans. Not to my knowledge; not with us, certainly.

329 (Commissioner KERNAN). It has been said here that Pullman cars were placed upon trains in the daytime—mail trains, for no purpose except to compel them to be handled?—Ans. I think that is untrue in its entirety.

330 (Commissioner KERNAN). So far as your road is concerned that was not done to your knowledge?—Ans. Not at all; our trains were made up entirely during the strike as they had ever been made up before it.

331 (Commissioner KERNAN). The American Railway Union claimed they presented some communication to you. Did they present any to you?—Ans. The communication was presented to me by Mayor Hopkins.

332 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you got that communication?—Ans. I left it at the office.

333 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was the substance of the communication?—Ans. I need the communication because I want to comment upon it; I will bring it in the morning.

334. (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you state what answer was made to it by the General Managers' Association?—Ans. The mayor appeared at the rooms of the association some little time after the adjournment of the meeting when only the clerical force and myself were present; some other gentleman accompanied him whose name I don't remember. The mayor said he had a communication to present; I said, "What is the nature of that communication?" (We had heard before that a communication of that character was likely to be presented). He took an envelope from his pocket, handed it to me; I examined it, saw the signatures to the communication and declined to receive it. He said, "I want you to receive it from me, as mayor of Chicago." I said, "We appreciate our mayor very highly, and if that is your request I will

take it, but the signatures which are to that communication are those of men with whom we have no interest." He said, "Mr. St. John, the expenses of the city of Chicago at the present time are something like \$18,000 per day in consequence of the strike," as I remember the conversation, "and I want to get rid of that expense." I said, "I should be very glad to see the conditions such that you could." He said, "I think you will be able perhaps through this communication to bring that about."

I told him that I had no jurisdiction over the matter on the part of the association; that the only thing that could be done was to submit it to the association for such action as they might deem advisable, and I would do that. During the afternoon at the association rooms, upon buying a newspaper or two, I found that communication published, together with a reported interview which was not correct. The publication of this matter was contrary, of course, to all expectations, and I called some of the managers together to consult in regard to it. I think six of the leading lines terminal in Chicago were asked to come to the association rooms for the purpose of hearing that communication read and discussing its merits. They came and the decision was that it ought not to be received, or considered at all. That was the view of all. And finding that the opinion was so unanimous I wrote a note to the mayor, returning the communication, stating in substance that the view of many of the managers was against its reception and the communication could not be received.

335 (Commissioner KERNAN). That was the disposition of it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

336 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why should an association such as that refuse to receive a communication from an association such as the American Railway Union, which was composed of employees of all the lines belonging to the managers' association?—Ans. The union did not unify the employees of all the lines; it did not represent 25 per cent of them.

337 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was that the reason why you would not receive the communication?—Ans. That was one reason, and perhaps the other reason—I think it might be stated as a reason—was, that, in our judgment, there was no room for an organization of that kind.

338 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was it based upon a determination not to recognize any union of all railway employees?—Ans. It might have been upon a determination not to recognize this one of all others.

339 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did it go to the extent, state, of being the sense of the General Managers' Association that an association of all railway employees would not be recognized?—Ans. I think the general feeling was that the parties who had been instrumental—I say instrumental, because I believe that was so—in destroying our property, decreasing our earnings, not permitting us to operate our trains, setting fire to our buildings, were not worthy of very much consideration at that time, when it was plainly evident to all that their power was limited.

340 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you recognize the right of all employees on railroads to unite in one association such as this for their mutual protection on the question of wages?—Ans. We never question whether an employee belongs to one organization or another, so long as he performs his duty and obeys the rules of the company.

341 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that question you have not raised in the proceedings?—Ans. That question we have not raised.

342 (Commissioner KERNAN). Take the instance you related a little

while ago, when some baggage men upon the Lake Shore raised a question as to their wages. Why was not that disposed of by the Lake Shore road, instead of its coming to your association and being disposed of by all the railroads together? So far as all the railroads in the association, except the one involved, were concerned, was not that sympathetic action and support?—Ans. Hardly; that did not come before the association at one of its regular meetings for consideration. It went to a committee of the association appointed to investigate and determine whether the pay that was already being accorded was equal to that paid by other companies.

343 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not fair to say that the action taken upon that subject was the action of the association, and involved the support of all the lines represented there in sustaining that decision in all proper ways?—Ans. It was optional with the road that asked that question to accept that report or not, as it pleased.

344 (Commissioner KERNAN). I assume that to be so, but was not the association really in the position sympathetically to sustain whatever its decision might be as to what that road ought to do in that case?—Ans. No, I don't look at it in that way.

345 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is not the line of distinction pretty hard to draw between sympathetic action there and action in which each road was interested?—Ans. No, I think not. This was a matter of convenience. Suppose I had taken it up myself; the result would have been, I would have written twenty-three letters to twenty-three different lines and would have come then to the same conclusion, undoubtedly, that this committee came to within twenty-four hours, because they had the information in their possession.

346 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assume that in that case a strike had been declared upon the Lake Shore because of that decision, would not all the roads in the association have united in sustaining that road against what it regarded as an unjust demand by these men?—Ans. Not necessarily.

347 (Commissioner KERNAN). In case a strike should result, such as the recent difficulties?—Ans. No united action in regard to a strike is taken, because we have no rule, nor no resolutions which provide that under any circumstances and in all cases the association shall act as a unit upon a matter of wages or anything of that kind. Suppose this committee we have report unfavorably upon a case; the question would be with the road itself, as to whether they would accept that report or not. It is not an association matter until the road asks for it.

348 (Commissioner KERNAN). In this case I understood we had got by that point, that the matter had come at the request of the road to the association; that the association had assumed it to be a matter in which it was interested, and therefore took it up and had its committee pass upon it.—Ans. That is not necessarily so in all cases. The road itself in many cases would act for itself, or by itself, without any consultation whatever. There is nothing that compels an application for an advance of pay to be forwarded to this committee and reported on by it. If the roads do that to save time it could do so, but let me say in this connection, because I see you are misconstruing some things, since the tabulation of the wages paid by the twenty-three lines within the association has been made, no reference of a matter of that kind has been referred to the committee at all.

The point was in this case, the committee was put in possession of the rates of pay by all lines previous to the tabulation, which occupied probably the committee a month or two in getting together. They had



that information, and it was for ready reference in this case as in other cases where application is made for increased pay; it was sent there for comparison and examination by the committee to see whether it was just or not, and that decision, whether it was just or not, was determined by the rate of pay paid by the other lines. If they found the rates of pay were higher on other lines they reported favorably; if they found they were not, they reported adversely. Now we wanted that information so as to enable us to treat with these applications ourselves directly, and we had a tabulation made and each road was furnished a copy, since which time no reference has been made to this committee whatever; each road acts for itself.

349 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assume that in that particular case the decision of the committee as to what would be fair and just had been resisted by the baggage men, and resulted in a strike on that line, would not the association in that case, under the terms of its union, have been bound to sustain that road?—Ans. It has no agreement of that kind nor ever had, but it would have received the consideration of the association, if the roads on which the strike was on deemed it necessary to present it for consideration, and it might be determined to assist it or not.

350 (Commissioner KERNAN). During the late strike was not the action of roads in the association who were not involved in the difficulty, for instance the difficulty on your line, united or sympathetic?—Ans. There was no road that was not involved in this difficulty.

351 (Commissioner KERNAN). What had the Lake Shore to do with the Rock Island difficulty?—Ans. Nothing whatever. What had the Rock Island to do with the Pullman difficulty?

352 (Commissioner KERNAN). None whatever you may assume, if you please, but assuming that to be so, why should the Rock Island be a party to proceedings through your association to procure deputies and protection for the Lake Shore, except sympathetically?—Ans. Because the assault was made upon all, not upon one; it was united action upon all the roads.

353 (Commissioner KERNAN). I know; but as to each line, the assault was made separately, was it not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

354 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, by being united in the way you are, is it not fair to state that you are sympathetically united as to each road's difficulties, regarding them all as being concerned in one grand difficulty which you all had to meet?—Ans. I think it perfectly natural and a perfectly right thing to do, where an assault is upon all, for all to protect themselves, and that was all that was done in this case or all that was done in any case. If a man burns my house down, and burns my neighbor's house down, or tries to, at the same time, we will join in the protection of both. That is natural.

355 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes, sympathetically; you unite to protect each other.—Ans. You may call it sympathy or not, but it is a different sympathy from that sympathy which brings about a boycott upon parties not interested in the controversies at stake.

356 (Commissioner KERNAN). I am not saying it is not justifiable. I only want the fact to appear as it is as to the position each road in this difficulty occupied toward the other roads that had difficulty. You have spoken about arbitration; let me ask you as to whether you think it would be just or not for the Government through a commission to do with the complaints of labor as it does with the complaints of shippers in regard to rates, to decide as to what they ought to be and then give power to the court to enforce the decision, giving either side

an opportunity of appeal?—Ans. We find oftentimes that the recommendations and orders of commissioners are frequently in error.

357 (Commissioner KERNAN). There is no doubt about that, and that is why the law should provide for an appeal from that decision, the same as an appeal is provided for from all decisions of court. Why would there be anything more out of the way in having that same power placed by the Government in examining over wages than is placed by the Government under the interstate commerce act over rates?—Ans. It is possible that might be accomplished in a manner that would be satisfactory, but I don't know whether it could or not. Suppose an arbitration board, under the jurisdiction of the Government, was sent to Chicago on the 1st day of March to arbitrate as to what wages should be paid by a certain company during the ensuing year, then suppose that between March and April the conditions so changed that it would be absolutely impossible for the railroad company to comply with that order.

358 (Commissioner KERNAN). The same commission would have under those circumstances power to correct it, would it not?—Ans. But suppose there were 1,000 of just such corporations in the country, and we had to wait for that commission to reverse its previous decision. It might take as long to get a decision from that arbitration board as it sometimes takes to get a decision from the Supreme Court, and in the meantime where would the company be?

359 (Commissioner KERNAN). These objections you mention were raised and argued with great force by the railroad companies against any attempt on the part of the Government to interfere with rates; they said, "If you fix rates today the conditions tomorrow might make those rates very hard on the railroads, and the slow movement of legal legislation will prevent redress," so thus far have you stated any greater objections than were made against having the Government participate in fixing rates?—Ans. Suppose this board of arbitration you suggest had jurisdiction, which it would, and its orders would apply to all employees—it would have to be applied to all—but its orders when applied to freight may simply apply to some one commodity which the company handles, which the company would prefer to act under rather than go to the trouble of getting a reversal of that decision, which would take time. It might assume it could afford to carry that particular class of freight at a loss for a time, and say nothing about it until the commission could reverse the order. In the one case it don't affect all the freight, it would simply affect a shipment of a particular kind, perhaps, from New York to San Francisco.

360 (Commissioner KERNAN). Some of their decisions have affected all classes of freight transported over railroads from the seaboard to the interior and vice versa; grain rates to the West, etc.—Ans. That is so in regard to imports, but that don't affect all the freight railroads carry; 60 per cent of the freight carried by railroads is local, over which the commission has no jurisdiction.

361 (Commissioner KERNAN). It would be as impossible for a commission to pass upon all wages paid upon all railroads as it is now to pass upon all rates upon all railroads; the law would provide that each road have a hearing and the decision would be as to it, and therefore the difficulty you suggest would hardly exist.—Ans. But suppose that the locomotive engineers have a grievance and think they should have 50 cents or \$1 per day more than they are now receiving, and an order is made that the advance shall be paid; suppose at that time, say on the 1st day of July, the crops are abundant, the rolling stock is

all in use, and the prospect at the time is good for a heavy business; then suppose that when the 1st of August comes the crops are burned up by drought; there is no crop to move in consequence, the rolling stock of the company is not employed and can not be on account of that condition. The order has been given that this advance shall be made; it is impossible to change it for a long time. Then take the other laborers in connection with trains who are closely allied in wages to the engineers; the fireman's rate of wages, for instance, although he has said nothing about it, had no grievance up to that time, but when an advance is made in the engineer's pay he says, "That is not right." The difference between the wages of the two has always been about a certain per cent; now the engineer's wages are increased 25 per cent, say; the firemen say they want the same thing—want a proportionate rate. If the railroad company is forced to raise it in one case they must in the other. It is not possible to make an advance in the wages of one class of men without making an advance to the other classes that operate the same number of hours on the same train with the man who has obtained the advance, be he engineer, fireman, conductor, brakeman or any other class of work; it is all affected.

362 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think it would be a good thing in these controversies between railway managers and their employees if the employees could have an opportunity to have these grievances heard before some public body, and don't you think that such action in many cases would avoid strikes and difficulties of itself by removing misunderstandings and by giving to each side a clearer view of the situation?—Ans. That is possible; I would not like to say it was impossible at all, but the members of the board that are to hear these grievances must of necessity be made up of men who understand the intricacies of the situation.

363 (Commissioner KERNAN). Any board of that kind ought to have upon it a representative both of the railroad side and the labor side to be fairly constituted and able to deal with the question. That is what you mean, is it not?—Ans. I think that might do.

364 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are there any further statements you desire to make in addition to your testimony yesterday?—Ans. I may have a little later in regard to one or two matters that I want to inquire of our general superintendent about. If I find after seeing him that I need to correct them I will be glad to do it.

365 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you tell me how long Mr. Lovejoy was employed on the Rock Island?—Ans. I could not definitely, but my impression is two or three years.

366 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has your association a list of all railroad employees who were out on the strike and who were charged with violence on the different roads?—Ans. No, sir; it never kept any such record; that is a matter of detail for each road.

367 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did those employed by the association to detect men of that character report to the managers' association to Mr. Egan, or the different roads?—Ans. If anything especially important occurred it came in the report of the chief of the organization and was communicated to the roads themselves.

368 (Commissioner KERNAN). Through Mr. Egan?—Ans. Through Mr. Egan's office; yes, sir.

369 (Commissioner KERNAN). Would not Mr. Egan's office have a list of the men?—Ans. No, that is not kept; the communications were sent to the twenty-three roads. I think I perhaps have in my office copies of those communications. Those communications were made

over my signature as chairman of the association. They were just items of news and would give very little information in regard to what you are speaking of. Perhaps there would be days when no names were mentioned at all, and other days, perhaps, when acts of violence occurred that would be made a feature.

370 (Commissioner KERNAN). I was not asking so much as to the names as to the numbers—whether your communications to the different roads would show the number that were charged with violence?—Ans. The number that would be shown by those communications would not be one one-hundredth of what the roads themselves obtained probably, in the aggregate, because there was only about twenty men engaged in that work and that many men distributed among twenty-three roads would be able to obtain but very little information.

371 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you tell me whether a reduction in the scale of wages has been made on the associated roads since this list was made up?—Ans. As I stated yesterday, I think one or two lines have brought their wage scale down to what would be an equal rate as divided between them all, but most of the roads, probably twenty out of the twenty-three, have done nothing of the kind. I want it understood that was not by any agreement. It was their own action.

372 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any documentary evidence you could furnish the commission showing that the officers of the American Railway Union advised or suggested violence on the part of the strikers toward railroad property, or toward those seeking to fill the strikers places?—Ans. You will remember yesterday I was asked the question as to what notice the different railroads received, and what that notice was. I said we had no official notice whatever and that the only basis on which our meeting was called to even consider this matter was the newspaper reports, which by the American Railway Union was evidently considered sufficient. If that was considered sufficient by them in that case reports from the same source would probably be considered ample to meet the requirements of your present question. I would not like to state positively whether that was so or not, but my impression is that the records of the press which we have would show that in certain cases that was so.

373 (Commissioner KERNAN). I am speaking outside of what appeared as their speeches and utterances in the press, whether you have aside from that in your possession documentary evidence of any kind which you could submit to the commission, showing that the officers of the American Railway Union counseled, advised, or suggested violence?—Ans. I have a report of one of the men who attended this meeting at Blue Island, which I put in my pocket yesterday; I did not like to use it then and do not now, but the question you ask would be partially answered by that statement. I think I will read you the report, which can be verified.

374 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you give the name of the man so he can be subpoenaed?—Ans. I can only give the name of the office that employed these men. The men themselves we only know by initials. This report is in regard to the meeting held at Blue Island on the date that I mentioned to you yesterday:

CHICAGO, June 30, 1894.

E. ST. JOHN, Esq.,

*General Manager Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad, Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR SIR: The operatives detailed for the Blue Island meeting arrived there on a Rock Island suburban train at 6.15. Here they met several railroad men about the

saloons, especially at one they called "The Bluff Saloon." A man named Hogan, whom the newspapers stated is named Goodwin, was going about among the men saying to them "We have them on the run. Now, boys, you must stick to us." Mr. Walter Davis, secretary of the American Railway Union, of Blue Island, C. S. Finney, and other American Railway Union men told the operatives they had the sympathy of the engineers and conductors, but could not tell whether they would join in the strike if one was ordered. Several engineers, however, told them they would not work with "scabs."

Howard was the first speaker. He was pretty severe on the General Managers' Association, Mr. Pullman, and Mr. St. John. He said he would like to help hang Mr. Pullman tonight, for he was a tyrant and had done more than any one man in the United States to enslave the laboring men; that he had lied outright to the committee when they had visited him and complained of the treatment they were getting at the hands of the petty officials; that the next day after he had made a promise to investigate the charges made by a prominent business man, one of the committee, this man called on him again and he almost ordered him out of his office. Mr. Pullman asked this business man if he would prefer the words of those "cattle" in preference to his. Howard did not give the name of this business man. He urged the Blue Island men to show St. John and the general managers that they had sand enough to strike, and he wanted to hear in the morning that the Rock Island was tied up so tight that a fly could not get to Chicago over it, but he asked them to wait and not tie the road until they got back to town.

In the course of Howard's speech at this meeting, in talking about Mr. Pullman, he referred to him as "a s— of a b—," at which there was loud applause and shouts from the men. He was very obscene and vulgar in his talk. He urged them to stick together, and referred to the sneaking detectives creeping around among the men, and he hoped that if any were found they would have moral courage enough to use the round end of a coupling pin. He said: "We will win, mails or no mails. We are not obstructing mails; we just say we will not haul the cars."

He was followed by a man who was called Hogan by some and Goodwin by others. He is from Montana. He talked of the Great Northern strike, and the victory they won there; but there was very little of any moment in what he said. Debs followed in a speech, and said he wanted to see the Rock Island tied up tight tomorrow.

W. A. P.

375 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you give us the name of the association where we can get this man that wrote that letter?—Ans. A letter to C. M. French at the Temple, Tel. No. 4699, with the date of that report, would perhaps find you the man. There are many other reports that probably would cover the same thing, but I think one of them is sufficient, and I do not know whether the commission at this time would want all of them. There are some of them of course that will appear later on probably in court.

376 (Commissioner KERNAN). Approximately, how many men on the roads in the association would be affected by the wage scale of last March, if it were applied to them?—Ans. I have no idea. Any number I might state would be a mere random guess.

377 (Commissioner KERNAN). Take your own road as an example.—Ans. The average number of employees we had last year on our road was the number I gave you yesterday, 12,000 and some odd hundred. That was the average per month; some roads would employ more.

378 (Commissioner KERNAN). Would it be safe to say it might affect 50,000?—Ans. Easily; probably it would affect 125,000.

379 (Commissioner KERNAN). And I suppose in the same way the wage scale you produced yesterday, made up by labor unions, would affect an equal number?—Ans. You don't understand; that is a document that contains the wages paid by all companies with which different organizations have contracts, together with the contracts and rules under which those wages are paid, but don't lay down a scale.

380 (Commissioner KERNAN). This wage scale you speak of I assume is based upon the united judgment of what is right by the General Managers' Association and its members; is that so?—Ans. Yes, sir. You apply the wrong term to what this is. The committee asked to see

this, and I said yesterday, while I had no objection to your examining it at all, that this was the association copy and there is only one other copy which each road has, and I could not spare a copy. This is not a wage scale that is to be applied to any road. It contains the wages that are paid by each road for all classes of labor. Each road can take that and draw its average as to what the fair rate would be. That book is Shopmen; this one is Maintenance of Way; this one, Agents and Station Men; this one, Engineers and Firemen; this, Trainmen and Yardmen; this, Train Masters, Train Dispatchers, and Operators. They show what each line is paying to each class of labor and to the persons whose occupation is stated there under that class.

381 (Commissioner KERNAN). This is a tabulation of wages made by a committee of the General Managers' Association?—Ans. That is it, from information furnished it by each road.

382 (Commissioner KERNAN). And it takes each road and states the agreement existing between it and its unions?—Ans. It don't state the agreement, it states what is being paid.

383 (Commissioner KERNAN). I see it states the agreement between the Santa Fe and boiler-smiths, blacksmiths, etc.—Ans. It may be the case on that system.

384 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then follows the classification of employees and the rates paid per month.—Ans. Or per mile, or per day, or per hour, just as the case may be, of each road in the association.

385 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then follows the Baltimore and Ohio and the other lines of the association.—Ans. Yes, sir.

386 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there any book which attempts to fix uniform rates as a result of these tables?—Ans. There was an average made from these books and a suggestion, but it was never adopted. The different railroads act upon their own judgment in regard to this after striking an average. For instance, supposing it is yard masters. There are twenty-three different yards mentioned here having twenty-three different yard masters; some are paid \$90 a month, some \$100, some \$110, and some \$125. You can take the wages paid by each of these twenty-three roads and strike an average very easily.

387 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did the association make up a table or book showing the average?—Ans. No, sir; there is nothing but what is left to each road to act its own pleasure in this matter.

388 (Commissioner KERNAN). You say something was done toward that, but nothing acted on?—Ans. Nothing adopted; no, sir.

389 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was such a detail prepared and submitted to the association by the committee?—Ans. There was a table prepared of what it was thought would be fair rates of pay under present conditions, but upon presentation for action it was not adopted. No action was taken, so that remains just as though there never had been any such thing.

390 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is that table distributed among the roads?—Ans. No, sir. Well, the report of that committee, I presume, is in the proceedings of the meeting.

391 (Commissioner KERNAN). These are all of the books, are they?—Ans. Yes, sir. Chapter A, Train Masters, Train Dispatchers, and Operators; Chapter B, Yardmen and Trainmen; Chapter C, Engineers and Firemen; Chapter D, Clerks and Station Masters; Chapter E, Maintenance of Way; Chapter F, Shopmen.

392 (Commissioner KERNAN). Will you return to the report of that committee you just spoke of?—Ans. Yes, sir; here is the report as to

what would be fair wages and what would be proper rules governing the men employed in their different capacities.

393 (Commissioner KERNAN). It is the rules and rate of wages recommended by the committee under the resolution of February 15, 1894?—Ans. Yes, sir.

394 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you the resolution under which that committee acted?—Ans. The resolution under which this report received its final disposition was as follows:

It was moved and seconded that the report be received. On a vote being taken the motion was carried unanimously. The report was then discussed at considerable length, but without further action.

395 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you turn to the resolution under which the committee acted?—Ans. The resolution under which the committee was appointed reads as follows:

*Resolved*, That Committee No. 2 be requested to report to this meeting as early as practical for its consideration what they consider the fair average of wages now paid by the railroads in each of the various sections represented in this association for each class of train and yard employees.

396 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is the resolution that is referred to here as the resolution of February 15, 1894?—Ans. That is the one.

397 (Commissioner KERNAN). This report I see takes the different classes of men and states specifically the rate of wages which in the judgment of the committee would be a fair average rate?—Ans. Yes, sir.

398 (Commissioner KERNAN). And it also lays down the rules applicable in the different classes of employment, I see?—Ans. Yes, sir.

399 (Commissioner KERNAN). And prescribes what it would regard as proper rules?—Ans. Yes, sir.

400 (Commissioner KERNAN). To what extent after that date did the roads composing the association undertake to put in force the wages specified in the following report:

#### GENERAL MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION.

#### RULES AND RATES OF WAGES RECOMMENDED BY COMMITTEE UNDER RESOLUTION OF FEBRUARY 15, 1894.

##### CLASSIFICATION OF ROADS.

*Eastern lines.*—B. & O.; C. & E.; C. & G. T.; C. & E. Ill.; C. & B. I.; C. & W. Ind.; L. S. & M. S.; M. C.; N. Y. C. & St. L.; P., C., C. & St. L.; P., F. W. & C., and Wabash.  
*Western lines.*—A., T. & S. F.; C. & A.; C. G. W.; C., B. & Q.; C., M. & St. P.; C., R. I. & P.; C. & N. W.; C. & N. P.; Ill. Cent.; L., N. A. & C.; Wis. Cent., and Wabash.

##### Rates of pay for passenger service on regular runs.

	4,000 miles or less per calendar month.	5,500 miles and over 4,000 miles per calendar month.	Over 5,500 miles per calendar month.
<b>Eastern lines:</b>			
Conductors .....	\$90	\$100	\$110
Baggagemen: 55 per cent of passenger conductors' pay. (a)			
Brakemen and flagmen: 50 per cent of passenger conductors' pay.			
<b>Western lines:</b>			
Conductors .....	90	105	120
Baggagemen (a) .....	55	60	65
Brakemen and flagmen .....	50	55	60

a Above rates as to baggagemen not to apply to baggagemen employed jointly by railroad and express company.

(1) On branch lines and on short runs less than 4,000 miles per month, special rates may be made by any company, but said rates shall not exceed the maximum paid for 4,000 miles per month for conductors, and the same ratio for baggagemen, brakemen, and flagmen.

(2) Passenger men assigned to regular runs, failing to make full month will be paid pro rata for service performed.

(3) Pay car trips, inspection trips, special runs, and other miscellaneous work will be classed as irregular passenger service, and an equitable rate shall be made by each road for each case, taking into consideration the character of the service and the number of hours worked, such rates for each twenty-four hours not to exceed the following:

Eastern:		
Conductors .....		\$3.00
Brakemen .....		2.00
Western:		
Conductors .....		3.50
Brakemen .....		2.25

(4) Freightmen assigned temporarily to regular passenger runs will be allowed the regular rate for such runs while so employed.

ENGINEERS AND FIREMEN.

[Passenger.]

Eastern lines:		Per 100 miles.
Engineers .....		\$3.25
Firemen .....		1.75
Western lines:		
Engineers .....		3.40
Firemen .....		1.90

On branch lines and on short runs less than 3,000 miles per month, special rates may be made by any company, but said rates shall not exceed the maximum rate named above per 100 miles per day.

*Rates of pay for freight service.*

	Conductors.	Brakemen.	Engineers.	Firemen.
<b>Eastern lines:</b>				
Through.....per 100 miles..	\$2.75	\$1.80	\$3.50	\$1.90
Local or way.....per month of 26 days..	80.00	55.00		
Local or way.....per 100 miles.....			3.75	2.00
Work trains.....per hour.....	.25	.17	.29	.16
<b>Western lines:</b>				
Through.....per 100 miles..	3.00	2.00	3.75	2.10
Local or way.....per month of 26 days..	55.00	60.00		
Local or way.....per 100 miles.....			4.00	2.25
Work trains.....per hour.....	.27	.18	.31	.17½

(1) On local or way freight runs of less than 100 miles per day special rates may be made, but such rates shall not exceed the rates named herein for this kind of service.

(2) On all freight runs of more than 50 miles and less than 100 miles, a full day or 100 miles will be allowed, provided no other mileage is made the same day; if other mileage is made, then actual mileage will be allowed. On runs of 50 miles or less, 50 miles or one-half day will be allowed.

PILOTS.

Pilots of passenger trains shall receive passenger conductors' pay, and pilots of freight trains shall receive freight conductors' pay for the services performed.

SWITCHING AND TRANSFER SERVICE.

*At Chicago and points where Chicago rates obtain.*

All lines:		Per Hour.
Enginemen .....		\$0.27
Firemen .....		.17
Foremen .....		.27
Switchmen .....		.24



*Outside of Chicago.*

## Eastern lines:

At Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Buffalo, and other points where the same rates govern—

	Per hour.
Enginemen .....	\$0. 25
Firemen .....	. 15
Foremen .....	. 25
Switchmen .....	. 22

## At all other points—

Enginemen .....	. 24
Firemen .....	. 14
Foremen .....	. 23
Switchmen .....	. 19

Excepting small points, where special rates may be made not exceeding the rates above named.

## Western lines:

At points outside of Chicago not taking Chicago rates—

	Per hour.
Enginemen .....	\$0. 25
Firemen .....	. 15
Foremen .....	. 25
Switchmen .....	. 22

Excepting small points, where special rates may be made not exceeding the rates above mentioned.

Day and night work to be at same rate.

## OVERTIME.

No overtime or excess mileage will be paid for passenger service. Overtime will be paid trainmen and enginemen in freight service only after an average of ten hours for each 100 miles' service has been performed, computation to be made monthly. This to apply to runs of 95 miles or over. Runs of less than 95 miles to be arranged for on proper basis.

Time will be allowed trainmen and enginemen in freight service from time set for departure of train by schedule or otherwise, and will end when they are relieved from duty.

## GENERAL RULES.

(1) Callers will be kept at all points where, in the judgment of the superintendent, it is necessary to call enginemen and trainmen. Men to be called at their regular registered residences, and, as nearly as practicable, one hour before leaving time of train. Each man when called will sign call book, which will show time called and the departing time of train called for. Distance limits for calling to be arranged by the superintendent, not exceeding 1 mile.

(2) When enginemen and trainmen are held for duty, and for any cause other than their own acts do not go out, if held on duty three hours or less, they will be paid for three hours at the rate of 10 miles per hour and stand first out; if held on duty more than three hours and less than five hours, they will be paid for five hours at the same rate per hour, and stand first out; and if held on duty more than five hours, they shall be paid for ten hours at same rate per hour, and go behind all other crews at that point.

(3) When men are notified before reporting that they will not be wanted, no time will be allowed.

(4) Enginemen and trainmen of work trains, when held for duty, will be paid for six hours if they work six hours or less; if over six hours and less than ten hours, they will be paid for ten hours; over ten hours they will be paid prescribed rate per hour.

(5) Switching enginemen and yardmen working five hours or less shall be allowed five hours' pay; for more than five hours and less than ten hours, they shall be allowed ten hours' pay. If assigned for duty and they are not wanted, they shall be paid for five hours. If notified before reporting that they will not be wanted, no time to be allowed.

(6) Proportionate rates in all cases will be paid for fractions of an hour.

(7) Enginemen, trainmen, or yardmen deadheading under orders on passenger or freight trains will be paid one-half regular rates.

(8) The number of men to be employed in each crew on trains, or in the switching service, shall be determined by the superintendent.

(9) Employees when acting as witnesses attending court on legal cases (or in similar service) for the company, shall be paid: Enginemen and trainmen, 100 miles per

day (no deadhead milage to be allowed), and other employees their regular wage rates per day for such time as they are necessarily absent from their runs or work, with actual expenses added when absent from home.

(10) No enginemen, trainmen, or yardmen will be dismissed or suspended from the service of the company, except temporary suspension, pending investigation, without a fair and impartial hearing. Ordinarily this hearing will be held within seven days from date of occurrence, and the employee interested will be notified promptly of the result; and if it is found that an employee has been unjustly suspended, he will be paid for time lost.

(11) All employees entering or remaining in the service of the company thereby agree to obey and be governed by any and all rules of the company.

(12) The rules and regulations of the company are for the guidance of all concerned, and for the safe and prompt dispatch of the company's business and care of its property. It is of the utmost importance, in order to make these rules efficient, that they shall be absolutely enforced, and all those unwilling to yield a cheerful and full obedience thereto are not expected to remain in the service.

(13) Promotions and preferments will be based upon merit and the general record of the men, and not entirely upon their age or duration of service. Evidence of a willingness to serve the best interests of the company at all times and care for the company's property will always be considered as meriting reward. The superintendent to be the judge of the fitness for advancement or promotion.

(14) Round trips or doubling runs will be considered as continuous service, and actual mileage only will be paid.

(15) Trips or service commenced on one calendar day, and not completed until the following day, will be considered as made on the day on which commenced.

The committee believes that a trip basis is more equitable than a mileage basis and any company that can arrange its schedule upon a trip basis, not exceeding the rates of compensation recommended, will be at liberty to do so.

The committee recommends that there be but two classes of engines—road engines, switching engines.

Road engines to comprise all engines employed in road service of every character.

Switching engines to comprise engines engaged in switching, transfer, pusher, or helper service.

The committee also recommends that there shall be no classification of engineers, but where roads now have engineers classified that it be limited to one year, and the compensation for first-year engineers be 25 per cent less than full-rate engineers.

These rates and rules to apply to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad west of the Ohio River only.

Respectfully submitted.

R. B. CAMPBELL,

*Chairman Eastern Division of Committee.*

D. B. ROBINSON,

*Chairman Western Division of Committee.*

Ans. I could not say; I think the Chicago and Eastern Illinois struck an average of the rates as shown here of all the different lines and made some reduction, but what that reduction was or what the basis of it was I never inquired. They have a printed schedule, but I have never had very much time to compare it with others or determine how they got at the exact figures they made, but I have no question at all but that in what they did they intended to do fairly. There is one point I would like to make right here, and that is that these men who represent labor in these different roads in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred, there is no necessity for their going beyond their superior officers in these matters. If they have grievances they will be heard; we never decline to hear a man. Even a porter on a sleeping car, if he has a grievance, knows he can go to the office of the general superintendent, general manager, or president and have a hearing, and there is no object in these officials endeavoring to do them a wrong, and it is wrong they should get that into their minds that it is in the minds of all the officials of these railroads to do them injustice. The operation of the roads and the operation of the trains make it necessary, in my judgment, that the greatest harmony should prevail between all classes of labor and the officials whom they serve. There is not a man on the Rock Island road that can say he ever came to my office, or to the office

of any other official, and stated a grievance but what the way was shown to him to have that heard, and if it was a correct and right one, to have it adjusted.

401 (Commissioner KERNAN). Let me ask a question. It is the duty of that man to present his grievance in writing, first to his immediate superior?—Ans. Yes, sir.

402 (Commissioner KERNAN). And if his immediate superior fails to act upon it then he has, in writing, to address the next above?—Ans. Right through.

403 (Commissioner KERNAN). If he there fails to be heard or gets what he considers is justice he then again appeals to you or the general manager?—Ans. Yes, and if he don't like my decision he can go to the president.

404 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, the extent of investigation and redress he gets is simply dependent upon the disposition of the superior to whom he applies?—Ans. That is so in some cases.

405 (Commissioner KERNAN). And I suppose there are some instances where they may not be disposed or may not have the time to give much time to the investigation?—Ans. If they fail to hear the case, if there is that merit to it that justifies it, he can go over the head of that man right to the next one; he need not wait. The same rule practically obtains in all courts of law. If you commence a case in the United States district court and do not get what you consider justice there you can go to the circuit court and from that to the Supreme Court.

406 (Commissioner KERNAN). But in those cases the court acts between two contending parties; the court is not one of the contending parties.—Ans. No, that is so; but whichever one feels he has not received justice can go on to the next higher.

407 (Commissioner KERNAN). Take it on a system like yours, with 12,000 employees. Are not your duties so very numerous that it is difficult for you to devote much time to this matter of personal grievances?—Ans. I want to say in connection with that that no grievance has ever been presented to my office through appeal from an officer below but what I have found time to hear it.

408 (Commissioner KERNAN). We have not had any charge of that kind against you at all.—Ans. No; but I wanted to mention that and I want to say this: There has been cases of appeal that have taken ten days of my time both night and day, sometimes until 10 or 11 o'clock at night, to hear the witnesses, testimony and statements that were made by both sides.

409 (Commissioner KERNAN). I was only suggesting that inasmuch as the investigation of cases required so much time as you indicate, sometimes whether with your multifarious duties it was not a difficult matter for you to devote much time to those matters?—Ans. Under ordinary circumstances ninety-five out of one hundred cases that are presented would be adjusted below; they never would reach me; but when a case is presented to me on the part of a person who feels he is aggrieved, who has gone through all the other steps and has not had it adjusted, I will investigate it.

410 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any way of telling how the large per cent of decisions would run, whether for or against the employee complainant?—Ans. No, I have not; but I will say this, that the general good feeling which I know exists between the employees of the Rock Island road and its officials is abundant evidence, to my mind, that they are a very satisfied class of workingmen.

411 (Commissioner KERNAN). We have not heard anything on that

subject contrary to what you state, but looking at it beyond your road, looking at all other roads, made up as they are of men of different kinds and caliber, is not the system liable to the abuse I suggest that an employee obtaining his rights depends to a large extent on the temper, character, and judgment of his superior officers, and if they are lacking in those qualities they are quite likely to be hasty in their decisions and quite inclined not to rectify them, and thus ferment grievances?—Ans. If that was found to be so in a large number of cases the officer would be removed and somebody of a different temperament put there.

412 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think it is the policy of the railroads to have officials who treat the men fairly rather than the contrary?—Ans. Yes, sir; it must be so to have the lines operated in the manner in which they should be, safely, carefully, and in the interests of the company. We have to guard every point nowadays; earnings are light.

413 (Commissioner KERNAN). To do that you feel you not only have to have the services of your men, but have to have them given freely and cheerfully, and under the feeling they are being treated with justice?—Ans. That is it, exactly. I sent for our general superintendent, Mr. Dunlap, to inform me on one question, but he has not yet arrived. I want to correct one statement I made yesterday. B. B. Ray, whom I said was yard master at Rock Island, was assistant yard master. Our general superintendent yesterday, when he gave me this book Ray kept, said to me he had the employing of all of the men at that point, and so I took it that he was the yard master, as this record he kept, which I read to you yesterday, shows he was in full charge of the yard force. His book shows that he dismissed the men, and if he did that he must have hired them. Our superintendent, Mr. Dunlap, if the commission desires, will explain this later.

414 (Commissioner KERNAN). If Ray was assistant yard master would not the duty of hiring and discharging men be with the yard master?—Ans. Sometimes the assistant yard master is in full charge of the yards. Sometimes the yard master is dismissed and the title of the assistant yard master is not changed of necessity.

415 (Commissioner KERNAN). If a yard master were not discharged would not he hire the men under him?—Ans. Unless he delegated that duty to his assistant. Mr. Dunlap will explain that to you.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If the American Railway Union has a representative present who desires to cross-examine Mr. St. John he can do so now.

(No response. Witness excused.)

#### TESTIMONY OF JOHN M. EGAN.

August 24, 1894, John M. Egan, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

(This testimony relates almost entirely to the General Managers' Association.)

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and residence?—Ans. John M. Egan, St. Paul, Minn.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you at present connected with any railroad?—Ans. No, sir.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have held some relation to the General Managers' Association; please explain what relation?—Ans. I was

a member of that association prior to May last for over six years. On June 28, 1894, I arrived in Chicago and was requested by parties who were connected with the association to take charge of the matters growing out of the trouble that had arisen between the American Railway Union and the railways.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What were your powers and duties in that connection?—Ans. As general manager I established official headquarters and received all reports from the different lines composing the association regarding obstruction to tracks, violence committed, and all things of a nature pertaining to the trouble that existed; also opened an office for the employment of men, and assigned such men to the different railways; received the men that came from the East, and assigned them; also saw they were taken care of. As the reports came in requiring protection I immediately transmitted them to the party who had charge of the forces, the chief of police, the sheriff, the United States marshal, and consulted with them from time to time.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you have anything to do relative to the selection of United States marshals in the interests of the railroads forming your association?—Ans. The different roads appointed one of their officials to name the men they desired appointed as deputy United States marshals; those names were sent to me, and I transmitted them to Marshal Arnold, with the request that they be sworn in as deputies.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How many such deputy marshals were selected by the roads forming the association?—Ans. That would be a hard matter for me to say. I don't remember exactly how many there were. I should say there were between 1,500 and 2,000.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you assign them yourself to the different roads after they were appointed by the marshal?—Ans. No, sir; in making my request to the marshal I requested those men be appointed to take care of the mail trains, interstate-commerce freight, and the property of the different roads.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And you stated that such and such a road would want so many?—Ans. No, sir; I stated right in there what road it was on, whether it was the Chicago and Eastern Illinois, Chicago and Alton, Pennsylvania, or whatever road it was.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You would say that that road wanted so many men sworn in and you forwarded the names to the marshal?—Ans. Yes, sir.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know anything about the service performed by those deputy marshals; did they serve as employees of the road while serving as deputy marshals?—Ans. I could not tell that from personal knowledge.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you had any representations made to you relative to that matter?—Ans. Only in a general way. The marshals made no reports to me. My best information relative to that point is they took care of the interests of the companies' mail and freight matter.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What I want to know is, did these men act as marshals and employees of the road at the same time? For instance, did an engineer appointed a deputy marshal wear the star of a United States marshal at the same time he was acting as a locomotive engineer?—Ans. There were employees of the roads appointed deputy marshals, so as to give them an opportunity to protect themselves against parties who committed violence against them.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). So they did act in that double capacity at times?—Ans. Yes.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know how the deputy marshals selected by the roads were paid?—Ans. I do not; but my understanding was that each road paid for its own men.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what you know relative to the overtures of the American Railway Union to the Railway Managers' Association for terms of settlement of the boycott or strike which recently occurred here, if any such overture was made?—Ans. One of the first questions I asked on my arrival here was if there had been any demand made by the American Railway Union on the different roads, and was informed they had received no such demand. I was shown the resolution that they had adopted. One day during the trouble I was called to the telephone by some party who informed me, I think, that his name was Alderman McGillen, who informed me also he was in the mayor's office, and said that the officials of the American Railway Union, Messrs. Debs and Howard, wished to have a conference with me as representing the General Managers' Association. I informed him I had no authority to enter into any conference of that kind.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did anyone have authority in matters of that kind; if so, who?—Ans. I think that authority would have to be delegated by the General Managers' Association.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Had it been so delegated to anyone?—Ans. It had not, that I know of. A few days later I was out of the office for awhile, and on my return I found the mayor and Alderman McGillen talking to Mr. St. John. I went into the room and Mr. St. John told me the mayor had come there with a letter signed by the officers of the American Railway Union. I told the mayor I thought he should not have permitted himself to be a messenger boy for those parties, and that I further considered that the General Managers' Association should not receive any such document. The document was left there, and during the afternoon I was requested to take the document back to the mayor. I endeavored to find him, but found he had gone to Kensington. I endeavored to reach him by telephone, but, as it was growing late and I could not locate him, I took the document back to the city hall and gave it to the chief of police, with the request that he place it on the mayor's desk, so he would receive it early the next morning. I wrote a letter in which I stated to the mayor that the General Managers' Association did not consider they should receive any such document. On my return to the office I was able to locate the mayor at Kensington, but they told me he had retired for the night, but I telegraphed the contents of the letter, with a request to the party who received it that he deliver it to the mayor that night. That is all I know about any overtures.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was there anything in the document itself that was offensive or insulting to you?—Ans. The document was printed in the papers that afternoon and the next morning and I think it speaks for itself.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you consider it offensive or insulting?—Ans. I considered that any party who attacked railway companies as the American Railway Union had done, and were whipped, as I considered they were, it was displaying considerable cheek to dictate the terms of their surrender.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You do not answer my question; I asked you if there was anything in the document itself that was offensive or insulting to you?—Ans. I don't know as I would be the judge of that.

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What is your opinion about it?—  
Ans. I have not the authority to say whether it was insulting to the  
general managers or anything of that kind.

22 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you return it on that account,  
because the terms of the document were offensive or insulting to you or  
to the managers?—Ans. Well, the managers requested it to be returned.

23 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was that the reason you returned  
it?—Ans. That was the reason I returned it; yes, sir.

24 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is it not a fact that instead of  
being offensive in its character so far as the composition was concerned,  
it was a document courteously composed and looking toward the settle-  
ment of a great and destructive strike that was then in progress?—  
Ans. Well, as I said, the document speaks for itself. I considered that  
the matter was settled then practically.

25 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was that the reason you returned  
it?—Ans. I considered it so; yes, sir.

26 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was the date you received  
that document?—Ans. I could not tell you.

27 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had the Federal troops been  
removed at that time?—Ans. No, sir.

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had the State troops been  
removed?—Ans. Not that I know of; I don't think that they had.

29 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had the extra marshals that were  
employed by the railway company been discharged?—Ans. No, sir.

30 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had the extra deputy marshals  
that had been selected by the marshal been discharged?—Ans. Not  
that I know of.

31 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Would not these troops have  
been removed, and these marshals discharged, if the matter had been  
settled?—Ans. We considered it necessary to have protection for the  
men who were working on the different roads at that time.

32 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). If an agreement could have been  
reached between the managers' association and those who were striking  
would not the necessity for these marshals and soldiers have been  
removed and the expense saved?—Ans. I don't think it would have  
been advisable to have removed them at that date.

33 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I am putting it upon the suppo-  
sition that the matter had been amicably settled between the railroad  
companies and the strikers, what necessity would there then have been  
for keeping these extra protective forces?—Ans. If the matter had been  
settled there would have been no necessity.

34 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But you say that the document  
was returned because the matter had been adjusted or settled?—Ans.  
It had not been adjusted or settled so far as the American Railway  
Union was concerned, but so far as the companies were concerned it  
had been adjusted and settled, because they had employed men to take  
the places of those parties who had gone out on the strike.

35 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, it was necessary to have  
the Federal troops, State militia, and an extra force of marshals and  
policemen to guard the roads still, was it not?—Ans. To guard the  
roads and prevent destruction of property.

36 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were the roads in running order at  
the time?—Ans. Yes, sir.

37 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you mean the roads felt they  
had beaten the strike at that time?—Ans. They did.

38 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And that is the way in which  
you use the word "settled"?—Ans. Yes, sir.

39 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is it not true that one of the reasons for refusing to entertain that document was because it emanated from the officers of the American Railway Union?—Ans. I don't know that I am authority for them, but they had no dealings with the American Railway Union prior to that time.

40 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You mean the roads had none?—Ans. No, sir.

41 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And did not they refuse to recognize the American Railway Union during the strike as an organized body?—Ans. I understood that was their intention, to refuse to recognize them.

42 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You mean by "their" the General Managers' Association?—Ans. Yes.

43 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you present at their meetings generally?—Ans. I was in and out of the meetings at different times.

44 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Their proceedings were not kept secret from you?—Ans. No, sir.

45 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You were acting as their general agent with authority to do what you thought was best under the circumstances?—Ans. Yes, sir.

46 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, then, I will repeat my question. Is it not true that the refusal to recognize these men or have anything to do with them looking toward a settlement, either at the suggestion of the mayor or this alderman you have named, was because the General Managers' Association would not recognize the American Railway Union or its officers?—Ans. I think it would be better to have some of the general managers answer that question.

47 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Don't you know?—Ans. They refused to recognize them or deal with them in any way.

48 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You state you had no special authority to confer with Debs and Howard. Did you think it required some special authority for you, acting as the general agent of the managers to simply meet and talk with those men?—Ans. I certainly did.

49 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What would there have been out of the way in your position to have talked with those two men as to the strike, without coming to any terms of settlement, but simply to have seen how they felt, what their disposition was in regard to settling the matter—what special authority would you have needed for that?—Ans. I considered it would be necessary to have special authority from the general managers before I could confer with those men.

50 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You understand to confer meant simply to talk over the situation with them?—Ans. Yes, sir.

51 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And you felt you needed authority to even talk to them about the situation?—Ans. I did.

52 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And would have to have some special authority before you could do it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

53 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The scope of your duties was very limited, and your powers at the time?—Ans. I didn't think so at the time.

54 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You had power on your own authority at the request of the roads to have marshals called out by the hundreds, did you not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

55 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Involving an expense to the roads who had to pay for them you say?—Ans. They had to pay for the men they asked to be appointed.

56 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In other words, you had authority  
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to engage all the force necessary to suppress the strike, but no authority to talk with anybody about a specific settlement of it; is that so?—Ans. As I stated before, I did not think at that date it was necessary to talk about a peaceable settlement of it.

57 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It was not, then, because you had no authority to confer with them, but because you didn't think it was necessary; that is your reason, now, is it?—Ans. I didn't think it necessary to confer with them.

58 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understood you to say you told the mayor you didn't think he ought to be a messenger boy for those parties?—Ans. Those are about the words I used.

59 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Whom did you refer to by "those parties"?—Ans. The parties who signed the paper, Messrs. Debs, Howard, and Keliher, the secretary.

60 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you think it was derogatory to the honor of the mayor of Chicago to bring a respectful message, requesting a conference, with a view to the settlement of a strike that was costing the railroad companies and the city hundreds of thousands of dollars each day?—Ans. I did at that time, sir—at that late date.

61 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And it was for that purpose you rebuked the mayor for bringing the message?—Ans. I spoke to him in that kind of a way, as I was well acquainted with him.

62 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You expressed the opinion to him that the managers' association ought not to receive such a document?—Ans. I did.

63 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Why did you express that opinion?—Ans. As I said awhile ago, I considered the American Railway Union was whipped in the fight.

64 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It was owing, then, to the condition of affairs and not to the character of the men who had signed the message that you thought the association should not receive it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

65 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You thought everything was quiet and there was no necessity of any conference?—Ans. Not with them, especially when I read in the daily press the declarations they were making from day to day.

66 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is an additional reason, then, why you thought the association should not receive this communication?—Ans. Yes, sir; that is one of them.

67 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you during the entire time you were acting for the Railway Managers' Association attempt to use any other means for the adjustment of this difficulty except force?—Ans. Except the talks I had with the different parties who came there, employees and others of different roads.

68 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did any of the strikers come and talk to you at your office?—Ans. Yes, sir; parties with whom I was personally acquainted—a number of them came.

69 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And you tried to get them to go back to work?—Ans. I told them to go back to work, advised them to.

70 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you have any conversation with any of those who were officers or leaders of the strike?—Ans. No, sir.

71 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you make any attempt to have any?—Ans. No, sir.

72 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You made no proposition for consultation or arbitration?—Ans. No, sir.

73 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And repelled all that were made to you?—Ans. Well, the only ones that were made to me I have given you a version of.

74 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was there any time prior to the time this message was delivered to you by the mayor that the Railway Managers' Association would have been willing to have received overtures from the strikers?—Ans. I don't think so.

75 (Commissioner WRIGHT). There was no time you cared to negotiate?—Ans. No, I don't think so.

76 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You felt you could overcome the strike, did you?—Ans. Yes, sir; we did.

77 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You did not care for a peaceable settlement on any basis they might propose?—Ans. I desire to say that a few days after I came here the managers told me not to hire too many men, for the reason that they wanted to give their old employees a chance to reconsider their actions and return to work, and it was not until the last day of June that we began to employ men to any extent.

78 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was it or not the policy of the managers' association at all times during the pendency of this difficulty to crush the strike, as a matter of policy?—Ans. They considered it necessary to crush the strike; yes, sir.

79 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was that policy on account of any antagonism toward the American Railway Union as such?—Ans. I don't know that it was.

80 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The fact of that union being a new organization played no part in that policy?—Ans. I don't think it did.

81 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You say the managers wished to leave the matter of hiring men open to such an extent that their old employees could if they saw fit, after thinking the matter over, return to work?—Ans. Yes, sir.

82 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was anything of that kind said to the men or their representatives at any time?—Ans. I think the officials who had charge of the men in many cases told them and advised them to return to work.

83 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is, the assistant superintendents, foremen, etc?—Ans. Yes, sir.

84 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did the general managers do anything in that respect, give any instructions, advice, or suggestions to the men?—Ans. I don't know of my own personal knowledge. I did, and I understood they were conferring daily with the officials under them and that they came in contact with the men.

85 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were any suggestions or overtures made to the leaders of the American Railway Union in that direction?—Ans. I don't know that there were; I never heard of any.

86 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Or any other union?—Ans. I have not heard of any.

87 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did any of the striking employees come to you or to the general managers requesting that they might be returned to work?—Ans. Some of the striking employees I know came to some of the different managers and were permitted to return to work.

88 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have any members of the American Railway Union been received back?—Ans. I could not say as to that, but I think they have. That is, parties who were members of the American Railway Union.

89 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In those cases, so far as you know, were

the reinstatement matters of individual account or on account of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Individual, so far as I know.

90 (Commissioner WRIGHT). After the inauguration of the general strike, was not it a matter of general policy with the managers of the railroads to have the strike crushed out, rather than peacefully adjusted?—Ans. I could not say as to how the different general managers felt about that.

91 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was not it talked over at the meetings of the managers?—Ans. I did not hear of it; of course the meetings continued from hour to hour; sometimes I was there and sometimes I was attending to other duties.

92 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You are not prepared to say whether that was, or was not, the policy of the general managers?—Ans. No, sir; I am not.

93 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What did you observe relative to the destruction of property at any time during the pendency of the strike, or acts of violence, or rioting?—Ans. Of my own personal knowledge I know nothing. I only know from the reports that I received through the newspapers and otherwise.

94 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You were at the office most of the time?—Ans. Yes, sir.

95 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many cases were reported to you of railroad men participating in violence or destruction where their names were given?—Ans. There were very few reported to me, so far as any names were concerned.

96 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you keep a list of such as were reported?—Ans. Parties would report there was a mob gathering, or a car overturned, or a switch had been moved or turned under a moving train, but the parties never stated who the men were except in a few cases.

97 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you assume that was the work of strikers who had been railroad men?—Ans. I did in a great measure assume it was the work of strikers or their sympathizers.

98 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you put it that way in your reports?—Ans. I generally put it in "Strikers and their sympathizers." I generally put it in "A mob."

99 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you have any detectives employed to detect cases of that kind?—Ans. I did not, personally.

100 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you have direction of any detective force employed by anybody for that purpose?—Ans. No, sir; that was done through the General Managers' Association outside of my department.

101 (Commissioner KERNAN). Who had charge of that?—Ans. I think it was committee No. 3.

102 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did they have anybody employed in a capacity similar to yours to look after the details of that matter?—Ans. I understood they had a man; yes, sir.

103 (Commissioner KERNAN). Who was he?—Ans. George B. Harris, of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy road.

104 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you a list of those charged with violence of this character who had been railroad men?—Ans. No, sir; I have not. I kept no list of that kind.

105 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you have charge of directing as to the arrest of men engaged in violence?—Ans. When a report was made to me giving the names of men who had been seen committing violence I referred such report to the United States district attorney or his assistant.

106 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many did you so report?—Ans. I could not tell you; I could not even give you an estimate of the number, because the work in the office became so heavy later on that that matter was taken in charge by the attorneys of the different lines.

107 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have had a good deal of experience in railroad matters at one time and another; have you formed any ideas relative to methods which can be adopted through legislation or otherwise to avoid strikes on railroads or other industries? If so, what are your conclusions?—Ans. Have the United States Government issue a license to each and every railway employee who occupies a position above that of a common laborer. Print on the back of the license the United States Government rules that would apply to the class of employees for which the license is issued. Mark or color some article of clothing to designate the class of employees that the party belongs to. Examine as to ability to read, write, and speak the English language intelligently. Examine physically as to eyesight, hearing, mental defects, and deformity. Past experience, if any, and past record should be looked into.

This license should cost the employee but a nominal sum, and only issued to citizens of the United States.

Color of the applicant should be no bar to his eligibility.

The establishment of a code of rules and regulations and a schedule of wages that would be uniform on the railways operating in a prescribed territory that would be fair, just, and equitable to the employees as individuals and the railway companies, and in some way bind the employees as well as the railways to adhere to same.

The standard of the employees would be raised where they knew they had the individual right to think and act for themselves, and nearly every difference that has caused trouble like those in the past would be amicably adjusted.

There would be no grievance committees to report to, and the work of the agitator, organizer, walking delegate, or whatever he is called, would be at an end.

The railway companies should also assist in establishing and maintaining insurance companies for the benefit of their employees, and, after an employee had paid premiums for a certain number of years they could cease paying and their rights would not be effaced.

108 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In this connection, would you have a law providing for licensing, also providing for forfeiture of the license in case of a strike or difficulty?—Ans. Yes, sir.

109 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What reciprocal penalty would you put upon the roads themselves?—Ans. I would put them under a heavy penalty for employing anybody who did not have a license.

110 (Commissioner WRIGHT). At the present time is there any method adopted on any road, so far as you know, by which switch men can be distinguished from anybody else loafing about the yards?—Ans. No, sir; not that I know of.

111 (Commissioner WRIGHT). A locomotive engineer can not now tell by any insignia on a man whether a switch is being operated by an authorized switch man or by any tramp that may be about the switch?—Ans. He can not.

112 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But in other lines of railway employment there is a distinguishing uniform, generally?—Ans. Conductors and brakemen only on passenger trains, none on freight trains, and at some of the different stations the employees of the stations are in uniform.

113 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you think the railway companies would take kindly to a law requiring employees to be licensed?—Ans. I think they would.

114 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would it not result in political complications in your opinion?—Ans. I don't think it would, no more than the licensing of engineers and pilots on steamboats now.

115 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would you have in connection with the system you have outlined anything with reference to conciliation and arbitration in connection with strikes?—Ans. I hardly think it would be necessary to arbitrate any of those things, because I consider the men would adjust all their differences rather than forfeit their licenses.

116 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How, under those circumstances, would you keep the standard of wages at the proper grade?—Ans. I would have, as stated, the different railways meet with their employees and fix a standard of wages in a certain prescribed territory, and let that govern on all roads; if on account of reduced earnings or depression in business of any kind any road felt it was paying more they could afford, I would have them call their men together and arrange for the time being.

117 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You believe, then, that the officials of the road and the employees should confer together relative to conditions which influence wages?—Ans. I do.

118 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It should be a mutual effort, in your opinion?—Ans. Yes, sir. I don't think there are any railroad officials but who would be willing to take it up with the men.

119 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You think the railroad officials under those circumstances would be in duty bound and glad to state to the men the condition of the road as to its earnings and expenses?—Ans. I don't think there would be any hesitancy on the part of the officials to state that to the men, and there are no persons that know that any better than the men themselves. They know the amount of business being done, as they have a chance to look at the waybills they are carrying.

120 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is not the cause of strikes generally a lack of understanding on the part of both parties to the trouble?—Ans. No, I don't think that is the cause. I think in many cases the cause of the strike is that the men belong to these different organizations and the officers of the organizations are paid by them and their offices in a great measure depend on what they can do for the men—what they can obtain for the men out of the railway companies.

121 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is, the officers of labor organizations must justify their existence?—Ans. Yes, sir. And there is another thing which perhaps you are aware of. The men in many instances are very suspicious of those officers, and those officers will not confer with the railway officials unless they have some of the men present to hear what is said and done.

122 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you believe in the principle of organized labor in general?—Ans. There is no doubt but what organized labor at times has done good to some classes of labor, but in many cases they have paid dearly for it.

123 (Commissioner WRIGHT). We are very anxious to learn some method by which these troubles can be avoided, and if you have anything further to suggest in that direction we would be glad to hear it.—Ans. I think it is pretty well covered in what I have stated here.

124 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The public feeling is that there is a

rooted antagonism between the employees of railroads and corporations as such. What is your view of that?—Ans. I don't think there is—where you can go and talk with your men without outside interference. I have been connected with roads during construction in the far West and Northwest and had no trouble. Men don't strike there because the agitator is not there.

125 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then the relations of employees and officials of railroads are not, so far as they are themselves concerned, unfriendly?—Ans. I don't see how they could be otherwise than friendly for the reason that nearly all the officials of railways have risen from the ranks, and know how it is themselves, and where you find an official who will not meet with his employees, or deal justly by them, I do not think he would be kept in his position; he would not be wanted by the higher officials of the railway.

126 (Commissioner KERNAN). In having the Government issue these licenses, have you thought of the great difficulty of having that system administered in all of the towns of the United States?—Ans. I don't think there would be any great difficulty about it.

127 (Commissioner KERNAN). Would you have in each town or county of the United States a licensing board?—Ans. I would have in the principal cities that are reached by railways such a board. Take it at Chicago, for instance, and there was a man at Galesburg or Rock Island who applied for a position; I think the railroad companies, if they wanted him—one of the roads reaching Chicago—would furnish him transportation to come here and appear before the board; and in case a man obtained a license and was promoted to another position, the railroad companies would gladly furnish transportation to some point on their line where there was a licensing board in order to secure him.

128 (Commissioner KERNAN). That could not be enforced as a matter of law—the transportation would only be given as a matter of charity or acquaintance on the part of the railroad?—Ans. Yes, sir.

129 (Commissioner KERNAN). You would not want the Government to compel the railroads to give every man transportation that wanted a position?—Ans. No, sir.

130 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then, if this licensing principle was put in operation, it must be so done that every man in the country who is competent and desires to apply, can do so at small expense in the matter of transportation?—Ans. Yes, sir; there might be a travelling board who would go to the different centers.

131 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assuming that you have all the railroad employees licensed, and then assume there is a difference of opinion arises between them and the managers of railways as to what wages ought to be paid, now is not that a situation where a great deal of danger might arise; on the one hand, the railroads in the event of a strike would be endeavoring to have the licensing board work rapidly so as to fill the places of strikers, and, on the other hand, the organizations of the men would be doing all they could to control the licensing board to prevent licenses being issued so as to force the roads to their terms, and thus might not the system result in just that difficulty that the control of the licensing board would become a bone of contention between the organizations of the men and the railroads?—Ans. As I have stated, I think there should be a schedule of wages, rules, and regulations that would govern the railroads in certain territory, which should be fixed after a conference between the men as individuals and the railroad officials; if they could not agree then there should be some parties to whom the matter could be referred. I should say refer it to

the judge of the United States district court, or somebody else, to say what was right.

132 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't that lead us ultimately to the principle of arbitration?—Ans. I don't think they would look upon it in that light.

133 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think the licensing system would be defective unless it provided a remedy by arbitration, or otherwise, just at the point where the men and the managers arrived at the condition which existed here in Chicago on the 1st of July?—Ans. As I say, these ideas I have given you are crude; I have not had time to figure out the whole thing, but I have thought when we have had trouble before that if there was something of that kind in existence there would be no trouble.

134 (Commissioner KERNAN). What I want to direct your attention to is whether the license system might not curtail the power of the railroads to employ men to take the places of strikers in times of difficulty, and thus place more absolute control in the hands of the men than now exists?—Ans. I think there will always be employees enough.

135 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose there had been a license board here on the 1st of July, would not there have been a contest before that board on the part of the men through every political means they could use to force the board not to issue licenses, and on the part of the general managers to compel the issuance of licenses, and might not that very situation involve a great deal of difficulty?—Ans. If there had been a licensing board here on the 1st of July I don't think they would have had very much to do, because most of the men who came here to fill the places of strikers were employees in good standing on different roads in other parts of the country where business was slack, and also parties who had retired from time to time, and they would have brought their licenses right along with them.

136 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think, then, the unemployed class of licensed men would always be enough to meet the difficulty?—Ans. I do.

137 (Commissioner KERNAN). Therefore the necessity of issuing licenses would not arise at the time of the strike?—Ans. No, sir.

138 (Commissioner KERNAN). How is the penalty of taking away a man's license to be applied?—Ans. For certain trouble he might get into, habitual drunkenness, or if a man committed an error whereby through oversight he caused loss of life.

139 (Commissioner KERNAN). But assuming there is a dispute between an employee and a superintendent as to whether he ought to be discharged or not, the superintendent says he was drunk; he says he was not; does your idea include the idea that the man is not to be discharged until that is heard and investigated?—Ans. I should investigate every case of discharge. If you are dealing with the man individually I should give him the right to go before any official—I should have certain officials hear him. I think it would be advisable to arrange to have two or three officials meet, and if the man has any objections at all to his dismissal hear what they are.

140 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you think that any system that places the decision in the hands of one of the parties to the controversy can give satisfaction? Don't you think you have got to come to the final proposition you did as to wages, that it has to be determined by some impartial person or persons?—Ans. I hardly think that, because, as I say, in these cases there would always be a disposition to treat with a man.

141 (Commissioner KERNAN). And in the event of there being a necessity for having an impartial hearing it might take place before either the licensing board or somebody not concerned in the controversy?—Ans. It might be.

142 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The revocation of the license would have to be by the board granting it, and on hearing?—Ans. Yes, sir.

143 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Independent of the particular trouble with the railroads?—Ans. Yes, sir.

144 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is the way it is in water transportation?—Yes, sir.

145 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has it not been your experience upon railroads that a good many of the difficulties arise out of the fact that it is practically impossible to have very much investigation and hearing as to discharged men, and that the process of reinstatement is too slow and difficult for a man to follow?—Ans. I don't think so in the case of organized labor; take for instance the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers—

146 (Commissioner KERNAN). I am speaking of the individual now without any organization. Don't the necessity of his being compelled to go to work somewhere and of keeping at work put him in a position where it is difficult for him to follow the rules in reference to reinstatement, rehearings, etc.?—Ans. A man should have a hearing immediately after his dismissal.

147 (Commissioner KERNAN). I am speaking of cases where railroad managers, through lack of time or disposition, do not give a man an opportunity to be heard. Is not that where the labor union comes in as a necessity for the protection of the men?—Ans. I don't think a labor union helps the men to any great extent, except it gives a good job to members of grievance committees, who are well paid.

148 (Commissioner KERNAN). You don't think then they serve the purpose of giving the men a medium through which they may have their grievances presented and disposed of more effectively?—Ans. No, sir; because a great many of the men do not belong to those labor organizations.

149 (Commissioner KERNAN). Might not their treatment be better for the reason that the road don't desire that they shall belong?—Ans. Hardly; you generally treat all alike.

150 (Commissioner KERNAN). The insurance company feature that is used on some roads, I suppose both the men and the roads contribute to that?—Ans. Yes.

151 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is your experience as to how the men look on that?—Ans. I understand that the Baltimore and Ohio have one in effect, and it has produced very good results, and many of the labor organizations have an insurance clause in their associations.

152 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not generally a condition of belonging to those insurance associations that the men shall waive their right to recover damage for injuries caused by negligence, and is not that regarded by the men as an unjust feature, and has made them disinclined to it?—Ans. I don't know of any such a thing.

153 (Commissioner KERNAN). It has been suggested to ask you whether you stated to a newspaper reporter that you had now whipped Debs and Howard and you were now ready for Sargent and Wilkinson to bring their grievances and they would be treated likewise?—Ans. No, sir; there was never such an expression passed my lips.

154 (Commissioner KERNAN). It has been stated in the evidence here by Mr. Howard, I think, that you used money to employ men to burn



cars. What have you to say about that?—Ans. Well, sir, considering the source from which that came, I should say it is the vilest rot. I never heard such a thing mentioned or spoken of until my attention was called to it in the newspapers and then I made up my mind that it was on a parity with a great many of the other statements that were being made by Debs and Howard to bolster up the spirits of the poor fellows who they had so successfully duped.

155 (Commissioner KERNAN). There is no foundation or truth in it whatever?—Ans. None whatever.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If any representative of the American Railway Union desires to cross-examine Mr. Egan he will now be given an opportunity.

(No response. Witness excused.)

#### TESTIMONY OF CHARLES DUNLAP.

August 24, 1894, Charles Dunlap, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and occupation.—Ans. Charles Dunlap; am general superintendent of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific road.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been superintendent of that road?—Ans. I have been general superintendent of the entire system since April 1, 1893. Prior to that I was general superintendent for three years of the lines west of the Missouri River.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I have just received this letter from Mr. St. John, general manager of your road, relative to a matter that was asked him when on the stand:

In regard to the question that was propounded to me when on the stand by the commission in regard to Mr. Ray, I desire to say that Mr. Ray was assistant yard master. On different occasions he had charge of the night yard force and at other times of the day yard force, but Mr. McKee was general yard master. Mr. Ray, however, had the authority to hire his own force subject, of course, to the approval of Mr. McKee, and the men whose letters I read yesterday from Mr. Ray's "blacklist," having been discharged by Mr. Ray, were naturally hired by him.

Is that a correct statement of the affair?—Ans. Yes, sir.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). So you can swear to this statement as made by Mr. St. John?—Ans. Yes, sir.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know J. J. Norton?—Ans. I have met him.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was he in the employ of your road?—Ans. No, sir; he never was to my knowledge.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did he make any application to be employed by it?—Ans. No, sir.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was your occupation during the time of the recent strike, that is, what particular part of it did you have to look after?—Ans. As general superintendent I had charge of the operations of the train service; everything pertaining thereto.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you present at the scenes of violence upon your road?—Ans. I was not immediately present where there was any destruction of cars, but I was at Blue Island during the riot on July 2.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what occurred on that occasion?—Ans. An attempt was made by the employees under my direction to remove the cars obstructing the suburban tracks at that point and was resisted by the mob. I think there were some eight or ten coaches

occupying the tracks at this time. After getting two of the cars out of the way, on account of the numbers and resistance of the mob we were compelled to give it up. Later in the day after the reading of the injunction we succeeded in getting one of the tracks, known as the east-bound track, clear so as to pass one train, but this track was later obstructed by cars being overturned. While I did not see the cars overturned I was in the immediate vicinity and saw them shortly afterwards.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you kept track of the evidence that has been given here, describing that trouble at Blue Island?—Ans. Yes, I believe so.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If there is anything that occurred there in addition to what has been described, you may state it?—Ans. I think the occurrence was fully described in the statement submitted by Mr. St. John. I understand the statement he submitted here giving in detail the occurrences was the statement furnished him by me.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And you made up that statement from what?—Ans. From my own personal knowledge of the facts and from reports, and was assisted in making up those reports by other officials who were on the ground at the time.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And that statement covers fully all you saw, and in addition all you were informed of from these sources you refer to?—Ans. Yes, sir; as far as I can now remember.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you see and recognize among those who were using violence any ex-employees of the road that you knew?—Ans. I did not up to that time know very many of the men personally, but during the strike a number of men were pointed out to me in the mob as being our employees.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you see any of them doing any violence or instigating violence?—Ans. Yes, sir.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State when and where and who they were?—Ans. I recall particularly two—one was a brakeman named Dusenfantz; I believe he is now under indictment for it; another one was named Hurley; I remember him particularly; I can not now recall by name any others.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you remember that there were others you recognized as Rock Island men whose names you do not now recall?—Ans. As I said, I knew very few of the men personally, and while others were pointed out to me as being brakemen, switchmen, etc., I could not now recall their names.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you see these men you have named, or any of those pointed out to you, actually engage in violence?—Ans. Yes, sir; they were in the crowd that resisted the efforts to clear the tracks; as to what they done personally I could not now say; there was so much confusion at the time that it would be hard to particularize what each individual did.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you see them leading or instigating the mob?—Ans. Yes, sir; both of those two men I have named; I could not speak so positively as to the others.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How did these two men do this?—Ans. By language and in the abuse of the men who were at work—Hurley particularly; he used the most profane language, addressing the master mechanic, Mr. Fitzgibbons, who was running an engine at the time.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was any statement or grievance in writing presented to you at any time with reference to matters at La Salle, on the Rock Island?—Ans. No, sir.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). With reference to any matters about the time of the strike in pursuance of which there was a strike?—Ans. No, sir.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). This Mr. Ray that has been spoken of, he was assistant yard master?—Ans. Yes, sir.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did he have the power of hiring and discharging men?—Ans. Yes, sir; I think the yard master gave him that authority. I know that for a month or two in the early part of the season Mr. McKee, who was general yard master, was absent and Mr. Ray was handling the yard alone, and I think anyway Mr. McKee allowed him at all times to hire and discharge his own men.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The only man that really knows about that would be Mr. McKee?—Ans. Yes.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I suppose you can have him here?—Ans. Yes, sir.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Ask him to come next Tuesday morning. I suppose you have to rely upon reports from him as to the facts about it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is it usual to allow both the yard master and assistant to hire and discharge men?—Ans. It is customary in yards for the yard master to hire his own men, and if he hires them he can discharge them.

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is it the duty of the yard master to keep a list of the men discharged and the reasons for it?—Ans. We are not in the habit of keeping anything further than this. The rule is on the Rock Island road when a man is dismissed or leaves the service voluntarily, we have what we call a service card which we give him, showing what his service has been, the time he was employed, the time he left the service, whether voluntarily or dismissed, and if dismissed for what cause.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What I want to know is whether there is not a list kept of the men discharged by the man who discharged them, such as the yard master and others, which is sent to you and kept in your office?—Ans. No, sir.

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you in your office any list of men discharged and the reasons for it?—Ans. No, sir.

33 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then at your office you do not give the clearance card?—Ans. No, sir; those are given by the superintendent of the division or district on which the man was employed.

34 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would not he in his office have a list of that kind from which he could state the reasons of discharge?—Ans. No, sir.

35 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How would he know in giving the discharge card what the reason was?—Ans. He would get a report from the party discharging the man, from which he would issue a service card.

36 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And that report he keeps in his office?—Ans. I presume it would be on file.

37 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is not reported to you, is it?—Ans. Frequently a copy of that service card is sent to me for my information.

38 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is that the rule?—Ans. I can hardly say it is the rule; still, I believe the majority of them do it; it is not required particularly, but as a matter of information they generally furnish me a copy of the discharge.

39 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then you are able in your office, if you

desire, to ascertain from that report the reason of the discharge?—Ans. I presume I could hunt it up, but I never keep it or rely upon it; if an inquiry is made in regard to a man I refer it to the man under whom he was employed.

40 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Mr. Ray stated a man was put in his place while he was absent on leave?—Ans. I don't know, I am sure; possibly that is true.

41 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And he says he came to you and asked why he was discharged, and you told him it was because he was friendly to the American Railway Union?—Ans. That is not true.

42 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you have any interview with him?—Ans. Yes, sir.

43 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was that interview?—Ans. He asked me if he could come back to work; I told him he could not. I don't remember the entire conversation, but it was to the effect that he had not given satisfaction at that point.

44 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was anything said with reference to the American Railway Union?—Ans. No, sir.

45 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you at that time know he was active in organizing the men in the American Railway Union?—Ans. I am sure I knew he was connected with it, but I don't think at that time he was a member. In fact, I might say I knew he was not a member.

46 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Had dissatisfaction been reported with him because, although not a member, he had refused to encourage men not to join the union?—Ans. No, sir.

47 (Commissioner WRIGHT). He said that the boys wanted him to do that and he thought he ought not to do it, and that that was the reason he supposed why a man was put in his place. What do you know as to that?—Ans. I never heard anything of that.

48 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you remember where he was employed?—Ans. At Rock Island.

49 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any further facts you desire to state in reference to this matter?—Ans. I don't know that I have.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If no one present desires to cross-examine Mr. Duulap he will be excused.

(Witness excused.)

#### TESTIMONY OF F. W. M'KEE.

August 28, 1894, F. W. McKee, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner KEERNAN). You are yard master at Rock Island?—Ans. Yes, sir.

2 (Commissioner KEERNAN). How long have you held that position?—Ans. I have been there since the 19th of last September.

3 (Commissioner KEERNAN). In that position do you have the power of hiring and discharging the men in the yards?—Ans. Yes, sir.

4 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Do you know B. B. Ray?—Ans. Yes, sir.

5 (Commissioner KEERNAN). What position did he occupy there?—Ans. Assistant yard master.

6 (Commissioner KEERNAN). What were his powers in regard to hiring and discharging men?—Ans. I gave Ray full power to hire and discharge all men, for the reason that when I went there we were in bad shape and it took most of my time in the office, and could not be in the yards as much as I would like to have been, and I turned that matter

all over to Ray and I attended to the correspondence, tracers, and such things.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). After Ray discharged a man was it his duty to report to you, giving the reason why he did it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). And when he did so, did you then pass upon the propriety of it?—Ans. I approved of it, yes, sir.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did he make a written report of his discharges and the reason?—Ans. No, sir.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). There has been a book produced here which was said to have been kept by him?—Ans. He kept a book; yes, sir.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was that called?—Ans. He called it a "Con book."

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). For how long a time was such a book kept?—Ans. I could not say, but I should judge from the time I first took hold there; I was gone a great deal of the time.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). This "Con book," as it is called, was a book produced here with memorandums in it made by him of his discharges and the reasons therefor?—Ans. Yes, sir.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was that book kept in the office?—Ans. It was a book kept by him privately.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you know of it?—Ans. At one time I remember of his reading some passages from it.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was that the kind of book kept before he was assistant yard master?—Ans. No, sir.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did he come there when you did?—Ans. No, sir; he came there before I did.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). You spoke about this book as being kept since you went there?—Ans. Yes, sir; I suppose he had it before I went there; at least he had it when I got there.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you see it from time to time while he was there?—Ans. I remember of seeing it on two different occasions.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). What did you see about it?—Ans. I saw a good deal of writing in there where men had been discharged, where men had resigned, and the reasons why.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was the occasion of your seeing it?—Ans. He showed it to me.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). What, if anything, was said about it between you at the time?—Ans. Nothing at all.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). How did the company come into possession of this "Con book"?—Ans. Ray left it there when he left.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). He left it with the other books of the road, or property belonging there in your office?—Ans. Yes, sir.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you have any other book in which you entered the discharges of men, and the causes for it?—Ans. No, sir; nothing only where a man had been discharged or had resigned, it would be marked opposite his name in the time book, "time given," but give no cause.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). When you discharged the man did you give him a discharge as it was called?—Ans. No, sir; that comes from the superintendent.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). How did the superintendent get his information on which to give it?—Ans. When I discharged a man I would mark opposite his time, "time given;" if he had no time given him that month, then I would make out a form stating to the superintendent the cause of his discharge.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). In the case of the men discharged by Ray, how did you get at the cause of their discharges?—Ans. At that time they did not have this form I speak of. The form now is simply stating the time they entered the service, the time of leaving, etc.

29 (Commissioner KERNAN). At this time you say they did not have a form of that kind. When was that form given?—Ans. About three or four months after I went there; I should judge it was about the last of December when this form came out.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then three or four months after you went there the form was adopted by which you certified to the superintendent the cause of discharge?—Ans. Yes, sir.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). Prior to that time you did not do so?—Ans. Right where we would give the time check if the man was discharged for being drunk, we stated so on a note sent in with the time check to have it approved.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). In the case of Ray's discharges, how did you get your information as to the cause?—Ans. I would always get that from Ray.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). Would he use this book in reference to that?—Ans. No; I never saw the book but two different times.

34 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did any conversation take place between you and Ray with reference to the men joining the American Railway Union?—Ans. Never.

35 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you say to him that you thought he ought to try to prevent them joining it if he could?—Ans. No, sir; not that I remember of.

36 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was Ray discharged while he was there on duty, or while he was absent?—Ans. He was discharged, I believe, while absent.

37 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, a man was put in his place while he was absent?—Ans. No, sir; the office was abolished.

38 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has it been restored since the strike?—Ans. No, sir.

39 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where was Ray when he was discharged?—Ans. In Kansas.

40 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was any discharge card given him that you know of?—Ans. There was not so far as I know; he never asked for one that I know of.

41 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know whether he applied to anybody else than you for one?—Ans. I do not.

42 (Commissioner KERNAN). When Ray showed you this book and you read these entries in it of discharges and the reasons for them, what, if anything, did you say to him about it?—Ans. I said nothing.

43 (Commissioner KERNAN). If he had made any improper entries in there in anyway, was it not your duty to rebuke him?—Ans. It was his own book, the same as any man keeps a book in his own pocket; I had nothing to do with it, although I considered it a piece of foolishness.

44 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know how it came to be called a "Con book"?—Ans. It was just his own common phrase.

45 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was it a name he originated for it?—Ans. Yes; he was the first one I heard speak of it.

46 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then I understand it was not his duty to keep a written record of the discharges of the men and the reasons why he discharged them, so as to submit that to you for your action?—Ans. No, sir; he had no right to keep a written record of the men at all.

47 (Commissioner KERNAN). And it was no business of yours to keep

a written record of the reasons why you discharged them, or why he did?—Ans. No, sir.

48 (Commissioner KERNAN). There was no book in your office in which such a record should be kept?—Ans. No, sir.

49 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was Ray's record as to competency during the time he was there?—Ans. He was incompetent as a yard master.

50 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long did he occupy the position he held there?—Ans. From sometime in August, 1893, to the 1st of May, 1894.

51 (Commissioner KERNAN). When did you discover his incompetency?—Ans. I was gone a great deal of the time in the West, but discovered his incompetency two or three months before we discharged him.

52 (Commissioner KERNAN). In what way was he incompetent?—Ans. In the management of the yards. He proved himself incompetent in the handling of trains and handling of men.

Commissioner WRIGHT. Unless someone wishes to cross-examine Mr. McKee he may be excused.

(Witness excused.)

#### TESTIMONY OF S. C. WADE.

August 30, 1894, S. C. Wade, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner KERNAN). State your name, occupation, and place of residence.—Ans. My name is S. C. Wade; I live at 1805 Wabash avenue, Chicago; am at present an employee in the legal department of the Rock Island Railroad Company.

2 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long have you been employed there?—Ans. Since the termination of the strike.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). And during the strike what was your occupation?—Ans. At the first part of the strike, from the 2d of July, I was a reporter for the Times newspaper until the 7th. After that I was a captain of United States marshals.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). And your services in those two capacities were rendered in the vicinity of the disturbances that were going on, were they?—Ans. Yes, sir; the Rock Island tracks mainly, and the Lake Shore and Fort Wayne tracks.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). State what you saw of violence, intimidation, or destruction of property during the period of the strike.—Ans. My first experience was on joining the C Company of the Fifteenth Infantry on the afternoon of the 5th of July, I think it was.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). You may refer to any memoranda that you have and testify to the facts with reference to it—not by reading the memoranda.—Ans. On the afternoon of the 5th of July I saw a special light engine proceed out of the depot of the Rock Island system; I got on to that engine and found on it the mayor of the city, the chief of police, the corporation counsel, and several officials of the road. We proceeded southward; I went with them in my capacity as a newspaper reporter; we got to about Thirty-eighth street, my recollection of it is, on the road, and several persons recognized the officials and cheered them. At about Thirty-eighth street the party descended and proceeded southward to where obstructions were across the track. The mayor received quite an ovation from the crowd; they

cheered him frantically. I kept close to the party and noticed the kind of obstruction; at the crossing of the stock yards—the lines leading into the stock yards—every switch, every spur, every possible method of access to the stock yards across the tracks of the Lake Shore or the Rock Island were most carefully blocked by overturned cars, spiked switches, or destroyed switches.

I had seen some railroad business before, and I formed the opinion that that was done by persons who thoroughly understood railroading and the system of switches there, which is a very complicated one—the interlocking system. I went along and noticed quite a number of police along the tracks and along the crossing. I have read the evidence of Victor Harding, the reporter for the Times, who was there that day, and I agree with that evidence, that the police were perfectly useless and supine on that day; they did nothing whatever; as fast as they cleared a crossing they allowed the people to filter on to that crossing—men, women, and children, and different persons who were affording obstruction to the United States troops. At that time, in my judgment, the force of police on the ground was amply sufficient, if massed together and used thoroughly, to have cleared that ground and to have cleared all these persons away from the obstruction. I went up to the troops and joined the company of infantry, and I kept with them until they were ordered into the city. As they moved farther back, going southward—the train backed southward—I noticed the demeanor of persons toward the regular infantry of this country. My star, of course, obtained me ready access to the crowd; I could go into the crowd and converse with the different persons; they welcomed me, patted me on the back, and shook hands with me, for the paper I represented stated, I believe, that it was the organ of the strike or favored the strikers.

I saw one man, who stated that he was the vice-president, of a carpenters' union, inciting the crowd to attack the troops; whether he was such officer or not I don't know of my own knowledge; I only know what he stated to me himself; I asked him who he was—he was conspicuous with a large piece of white ribbon on his coat. I looked at the crowd carefully and noticed the kind of persons they were, and I formed the opinion that about five loafers out of every ten were decorated with white ribbons—men who were neither guilty of working or washing. That night I remained at the Fifty-first street crossing with the troops. In the early morning a man came within 150 yards of the sentry of the Federal troops and set fire to two box cars, keeping the other side of the box cars from the sentry; the police made after him and fired four or five shots and they claimed they hit him, but they neither produced a prisoner nor a wounded man. The troops then moved across to the Fort Wayne tracks, where there had been some disturbance. Before we did so, however, I noticed a large squad of police come down on to the Fifty-first street crossing and go down the Rock Island track to clear it; their conduct was entirely different from what it was the day previous; they moved out in large bodies and did resolutely clear those tracks; they were clearly under different orders from what they had been the day before. We went to the Fort Wayne track and found a large crowd there assembled around a yard that was full of empty box cars; my recollection is it was between 11 and 12 o'clock; a large mob proceeded toward the cars, as the troops were on the crossing and making arrangements for going into camp there at the proper time. A fire broke out in this lot of cars; the city fire department was summoned and came up.

I read the evidence of Fire Marshal Fitzgerald, given before this



honorable commission, that he was never interfered with and never had to call for any assistance on that occasion. He was clearly mistaken. He stood on a line of cars there and called to me and to Lieut. C. C. Jamison: "You must drive those men out, they are interfering with the apparatus, or I shall remove it." In consequence of that appeal Lieutenant Jamison charged the mob three times with the bayonet, with the butt end, and drove them out of the yards of the Fort Wayne Company. To give an instance of the kind of persons in that mob, one person claimed that he was stabbed in the right or left breast when retreating before the troops, and that he was dying from the bayonet wound. A large and excited crowd assembled about the man and cursed the troops, and I went through the crowd and got the man to take his coat off, and I examined him and tore his shirt part off and searched him carefully for wounds. There was not a mark on him, especially at the place where he said he was stabbed; there was not a mark on him. In my opinion he ought to be arrested for making such statements. I ascertained subsequently that he went to a drug store and repeated the statement and was examined and found to be unharmed.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Confine yourself to your own observations.—Ans. I then noticed a full account of his experience in a paper called the Chicago Dispatch, describing the serious nature of his injury and stating that he was liable to die. I am prepared to swear that there was not a mark on that man from his head to his waistband. Later in that afternoon I noticed an old man, either a marshal or deputy marshal—I think he was a marshal—who was guarding the little Y track of the Grand Trunk, when a mob of disorderly loafers came up and took a shanty and tipped that shanty across the track after a train had passed, hooting at the train and evidently not in time to get there to block the train. The old man fired his revolver in the air and foolishly ran away from instead of toward the sentry, who was within 200 yards of him; the mob pursued him across a field, took him down in the vicinity of Wright street; I went down there with Lieutenant Jamison and a reporter for the Tribune, named Sparks; we found the man lying on the sidewalk with his head kicked in, bleeding profusely. As we went down we met those persons who had followed him, coming back, laughing and joking and saying they had done up the old scab thoroughly. I handed this man over to a doctor to do what he could for him. The sergeant of police claimed, as usual, that he had fired several shots at four men and had hit them, but he did not produce the men, either wounded or as prisoners. I went back to the troops; the troops made every preparation to arrest this mob for what they had done, but just at the moment we had an order from General Miles to proceed in another direction. These were the persons who had actually tipped that shanty across those tracks. During that time I had paid particular attention to four or five low-class saloons in that vicinity, and I was of the opinion, and am still of the opinion, that those places were headquarters of the strikers.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). State what you saw that led you to form that opinion.—Ans. I saw persons whom I subsequently arrested, persons that I know to have been frequently arrested by the authorities, persons who were pointed out to me as dangerous strikers and likely to cause a disturbance and commit damage, coming from and going to those saloons. When the Federal troops moved down the streets for any purpose a mob would come out of those saloons after them, hooting and cursing the troops, whistling the "Rogue's March" after them and provoking the men to attack them; when the troops moved rapidly down

the street for any purpose the mob would retire to those same saloons. I know the persons who keep those saloons; I have lists of the persons who used those saloons, and I say that those places around there were the headquarters of the strikers. Had those saloons been closed by the city authorities a great deal of disturbance would have been prevented and probably a good deal of destruction to property.

On the morning of Saturday, the 7th of July, two companies of regular troops went into camp by the Fort Wayne tracks at Fifty-first street crossing, close by where this fire had taken place. The troops found it was necessary to obtain wagons to move their baggage; in one instance we went to a tradesman in the vicinity and asked him if we could hire a wagon of him; he said "No, I dare not do so; you can take it by force, if you want to. Personally, I will be pleased to have you take it by force, but put an armed guard around it and tell them you took it by force." The troops took the wagon in that manner—in one case impressed an ice wagon to convey their baggage. When those wagons attempted to load up, and in doing so moved across the city sidewalk, people came out and threatened to inform the city police authorities of their driving across the sidewalk, and interfered with the troops in every possible manner. When the troops had been in camp an hour or two they were ordered into the city to occupy the patrolling trains that came on the different roads. I then went with the C Company, of the Fifteenth Infantry, in command of a son of Mr. Conrad, the captain of the company, and another captain, L. H. Bash. I was sworn in as a United States marshal and came out to keep with that company of soldiers. That was on the Saturday night.

The Sunday my impression is we laid in the depot, waiting to see what should take place on Monday. On the Monday we went out to Forty-seventh street, Fifty-first street, and Blue Island. I don't know whether you wish me to refer to that in detail; there is a very accurate account of it in the Inter-Ocean of the next morning, giving a list of the prisoners, etc; but we arrested sixteen persons, either on warrants or for interfering with ourselves, and the first person that cursed the soldiers was knocked down and arrested at once as an example to the rest. We took some persons from the vicinity of these saloons that I knew to be persons congregating around these saloons; we took persons from Forth-seventh and Fifty-first streets and we executed several warrants at Blue Island, and marched those prisoners in. Some of them have subsequently been indicted by the Federal grand jury and held under heavy bonds.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN): How many have been indicted?—Ans. I could not say; I did not keep track of the subsequent indictments.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are those the sixteen spoken of by Mr. St. John as having been arrested?—Ans. I believe so; the names of some of them were O'Hara, Sullivan, Bennett, Costelo, Miller, Heckan, Fitzgerald, Smith. Some of them were arrested at Blue Island, some at Forty-seventh street, and some at Fifty-first street. On the next morning, the 10th of July, we started to go down to Spring Valley, in consequence of complaint that had been reported to the railroad company; on the way we arrested a man named Michael Hughs, also James Heron; both of these men in company with another man, named John O'Mally—those three men were men who gave more trouble in that locality than any others—two of them I would not accuse of ever having worked in the last five years; O'Mally was dirty and vermin-ridden and was a typical walking delegate.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know that O'Mally was a member of any labor-union or railroad union?—Ans. I know this, that on

the days the American Railway Union had picnics, decorated with a very large piece of white ribbon this man was going with a basket to them; and whenever there was a meeting at State street he went across to attend that meeting, I am informed—I did not attend any of those meetings—and he was thoroughly identified with the strikers; he told me himself he had switched on every railroad in Chicago, and I know Heron was once the boss boiler maker in the Rock Island shops. Those men I noticed—I had occasion to notice them. I served them with copies of the United States injunction in order to prevent their acts of violence, and I say that certainly those men were men who were prompting all these assaults on the workmen who wanted to work. Noticing a man coming to and going from work they watched him and arranged for him to be subsequently assaulted. I took O'Mally on charge of it. He asked Police Officer Murphy, 3268, if he could go into the yards after night, and he said, "Oh, yes;" and within a short distance of him he intimidated workmen.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you hear this yourself?—Ans. No, sir; this was reported to me. I arrested the man, and I repeated it subsequently to him, and he made no attempt to deny it. I served him with a copy of the United States injunction and served the police officer with one to prevent him from allowing any more to go into the yards. Heron I know was subsequently arrested—by the State authorities, I believe. These are samples of the men who infested these saloons. They went across the crossing after dark, going from one saloon to another, observing the switchmen, observing the workmen who were at work, and subsequently I invariably found that those men who were anywhere near the crossing got assaulted until we sent marshals ahead with them for their protection. We took those two men into custody and went on to Spring Valley. At Spring Valley we found no telegraph operator. I was informed that he had been driven away by a mob. We started to go outside towards Bureau, and before we got 100 or 150 yards out, a volley of stones and several revolver shots were fired at the train, and the troops at once fired back again—four marksmen firing out of the baggage car, and two Italians, unable to speak the English language, were killed, and, as far as we could gather, eight wounded.

It is only fair to say that on that occasion I do not believe there was a railroad man in the mob; they were striking coal miners. I went over to the place where they had been standing, and, thrown above the railroad, I found after the disturbance, piles of stones, couplings, and coupling pins lying there to be used as ammunition. I am informed that trains had been pelted in a similar manner before, and in consequence of that we went down—the Federal troops went there to the town, the marshals went there and remained there until evening and then came back again. The next day we went down to Whiting, in Indiana, in consequence of similar complaints. Directly the train got into the depot, I got out of the back of the train, and the troops remained in the train with the blinds down, and a saloon keeper there by the depot—

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was he a railroad man?—Ans. No, sir; a saloon keeper. Commenced to hoot, calling us Pinkertons, and inciting the mob to attack us. I called up two marshals to me—he had a mob of about 150 or 200 men. It was in consequence of what the railroad people had told me as to this man that I was observing him. He incited the mob to attack us; he did not know of the troops in the train. I then sent a messenger to the captain of the troops, and the

company was turned out and advanced towards them, and we arrested this man. This man was armed with a loaded revolver, and attempted to draw it when arrested. I arrested another saloon keeper there, and we dispersed this mob, which had been beating the switchmen of the Lake Shore road with coupling pins.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was the character of that mob?—

Ans. Disorderly men; some of them loafers, but the majority I should say were Standard Oil switchmen, from what I saw and heard of them. They incited a driver of an Adams Express wagon to drive through a company of troops, and I arrested the man for doing so. We held him some time, and he expressed regret, and the captain of the troops ordered him released. That man was a naval veteran. From the 12th to the 17th we made short excursions down the railroad. We went down to Bureau again; we went to Elkhart, Ind., and to Pullman and the Union Stock Yards, but nothing of importance occurred.

On the 18th, in consequence of what the Rock Island road informed us, we went to the Fifty-first street crossing; there were complaints of the workmen being pounded and beaten as they left the shops. Directly I got on the crossing; I had twelve marshals with me; I noticed from Wentworth avenue to the crossing there was probably a block and a half practically full of a disorderly mob of persons, and I knew what they were there for; I sent back a messenger to the captain of the troops and he fetched his men and faced them across the crossing; there was a company of State troops as well there, under arms; I proceeded to go down to Wentworth avenue to see what was going on, and if possible stop the beating of workmen; before I got past the equipment department of the railroad company—part of their shops would be on one side and the yards on the other—a man commenced to beat another over the head; the man who committed the assault was a man named Charles Lindstrom, a striking carpenter, from the Rock Island shops, who had originally worked there and went back one day and worked and then left again. At the time he beat him, using offensive epithets, he said, "You scab, I will teach you to work." I heard that and I ordered his arrest; directly my sergeant moved across the road to effect the arrest, a city police sergeant moved across and asked me what I meant by doing city work; I told him that I had nothing to do with city work; it was perfectly apparent that a large and disorderly mob was there in his view, and he had officers and he made no attempt to disperse them, and I said that I intended to take that man prisoner.

In consequence of what that officer said, the captain of the troops called the sergeant to him and told him that the marshals were working under the protection of the Federal troops and that any assault or attempted assault on them would be resisted by the Federal troops. I then went down to Wentworth avenue and found a man there inciting the crowd to attack the twelve marshals; I ordered my men to load their guns before the crowd; they had Marvin rifles. I arrested this man and found on him a policeman's club and a pair of iron knuckles; he admitted that he carried those as playthings to tickle scabs' heads with. A second man was arrested named Neal Maddin; he was a striker from the Fort Wayne railroad. We took both of these prisoners in, and the matter was left to the State court to take proceedings. I subsequently arrested Charles Lindstrom for assaulting a man named Lyanght, who was a German working on one of the Rock Island switch engines; he went with me to a justice; two warrants were sworn out for the arrest of this Charles Lindstrom, and I was appointed a special constable to execute those warrants. I went to execute them and was

assaulted by his friends who resisted me. I took my prisoner and handed him over to the proper authorities and was then arrested on warrants issued by this same justice who had appointed me his constable, for assaulting the persons who had resisted me. I was searched by two police officers in the public street, and when they found that I carried a loaded revolver, I was then served with a fresh warrant for assaulting a man with a loaded revolver, so they had evidently informed the attorney for the other side who was the same attorney that defended Lindstrom.

The matter came up before Mr. Justice O'Toole; a change of venue was taken before another justice, who decided that there was no case whatever on the first trial, that if he made any other decision the life of a police officer would not be safe. He said that I had done nothing but my duty—in fact, could have done more and still been within the bounds of my duty; he then proposed to try the third case, and the person who appeared to prosecute—not an admitted attorney—then stated he prosecuted under the ordinance for the city of Chicago, but would not proceed to trial. The justice dismissed those three charges. To come back for a moment. On Saturday, the 28th of July, I went down the track to Eighty-first street; ordered there in consequence of there being an American Railway Union picnic at Ralph's Grove—we had heard of certain threats. About half past 12 on the Sunday morning—from that until 1 o'clock—no less than thirty persons in groups of five or six attempted to pass down the track; there is an interlocking apparatus lower down and some switches about; in consequence of what we had heard we turned every one of them back. All of those men were decked with white ribbons and had the appearance of being switchmen or railroad men. They wanted to know why they could not go down the tracks; I told them they could not do so, that there might be mistakes around the switches and we had heard what they intended to do.

With regard to the evidence of Chief of Police Brennan of the city, as to the character and conduct of the United States marshals, I would like to say this: That during the strike I saw some hundreds of these men and only found four of them who were unfit for service; one was locked up at the Twenty-second street police station for a felony; another got drunk and tried to assault me; and two others, who had been on the Chicago police force, proved to be unreliable and insubordinate and I procured their discharge; but the majority of the men, the later appointees especially, would compare very favorably with the substitute police force of the city of Chicago. I picked the men out by Marshal Arnold's orders. I first called for soldiers of the war of the rebellion, and I got seven Grand Army men; then I obtained seven or eight honorably discharged soldiers from the United States Army and several men who served as Columbian Guards during the exposition. Those men would compare favorably with the police force. I had two men who had served on the Chicago City police force, and one of the men I tried twice, and I had to get rid of both those men—one man for telling falsehoods and the other for insubordination. I also noticed some men doing duty at the Fifty first street crossing in police uniform, and I am informed by a superior officer of police that on the 4th of July he had to tell one of those men—

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). I don't think that is evidence. Confine yourself to what you personally know.—Ans. One of these men I noticed myself—a substitute police officer. I had to go to his superior officer and tell him that unless that man was removed I would prefer formal charges against him. He was removed to Forty-seventh street and discharged there, I know, for obtaining beer and drinking it on the

crossing in the middle of the day and being the worse for the beer he had obtained at the public crossing. That man was a sample of some of them; there were some officers who did excellent service; there was one sergeant who throughout the whole strike acted without fear or favor for anybody, and there was a Lieutenant Morrissey who did excellent work; but there were others where it was apparent there was sympathy and more than sympathy between them and those they had to deal with.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long did you serve as a marshal?—Ans. From the 7th of July until—I am serving at the present moment.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). Until now?—Ans. Yes, sir.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). As a railroad marshal?—Ans. No, sir; I was appointed originally as a United States marshal without any reference to the railroads, and was assigned by Mr. Arnold to that company of Federal troops; I remained with them until the 19th of July, I think it was; then they were ordered into camp on the lake front, and the railroad authorities asked me if I would take my men, that they could depend on, out to their shops to protect the workmen; then my commission was changed; I surrendered my original commission and was sworn in on the commission I hold at present.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you fully stated all the facts substantially that you ascertained in the discharge of your duty?—Ans. I think so.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you write the reports for the Times during the time you were a Times reporter?—Ans. I did; I have several of them here.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were those reports printed substantially as you wrote them?—Ans. Those that they used were invariably used in the exact language that I sent them in, with no change whatever; some of them were not used—were crowded out.

#### TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM RICHARD MOONEY.

August 30, 1894, William Richard Mooney, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, and place of residence, and business.—Ans. My name is William Richard Mooney; am a switchman and reside at Blue Island. I have lived there since the 19th day of February, 1892. I am a switchman for the Northern Pacific Railroad; have been in that employment since July 18.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was your employment before July 18?—Ans. I was employed on the Rock Island up to June 29, when the strike was ordered and I went out.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In what capacity were you employed?—Ans. As foreman of a switch engine.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. No, sir.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you at any time?—Ans. No, sir.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you a member of any railway organization?—Ans. I was a member of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid and a member of the Brotherhood of United Trainmen until after the strike.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you ceased to be a member of those labor organizations?—Ans. I dropped both of them when I found they were no good. I left them voluntarily.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You went out on the strike with the employees of the Rock Island Railroad, as I understand you?—Ans. I went out when all the rest went out; there was no use of one staying.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you present at the meeting at Blue Island on the night of June 29?—Ans. Yes, sir.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many do you think were present at that meeting?—Ans. The hall is a pretty big one and it was packed full, and in my estimation there were about 800, as I figure it.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You heard the speeches of Mr. Debs and Mr. Howard there, did you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What did they say, if anything, with reference to advising railway employees to strike?—Ans. Well, they did not advise the men; they gave them a kind of a speech, and they said they could suit themselves whether to strike or not to strike; but they did not order them out on a strike. They came there, I should judge, about 8 o'clock, and they talked until about 10 o'clock, and then they left on the 10.25, and left the men to decide among themselves whether to strike or not strike. I should judge there was about 150 railroad men in the hall out of the 800 that were there; the rest were brickmakers, cigarmakers, saloon keepers, and hoodlums of the town. The meeting was an open meeting.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had Mr. Debs and Mr. Howard left the hall before the vote was taken?—Ans. Yes, sir.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How was that vote taken?—Ans. It was a standing vote to strike. There was no vote not to strike put. Everybody that stood was in favor of striking and everybody in the hall stood up.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was the hall full at the time the vote was taken?—Ans. Yes, sir; some of them had left the hall, but very few of them; I guess just Debs, Howard, and Goodwin were the three men that left the hall; I think the rest remained to see the result of the meeting.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You think these were about all that left?—Ans. Yes, sir.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What proportion of those who were in the hall voted to strike?—Ans. Well, I guess there was only one man in the whole hall that did not vote to strike, and that was a man named George Cruely, who was a yard master for the Rock Island; all the rest voted to strike.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say there was no vote put as to opposing the strike?—Ans. No, sir.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You voted to strike, did you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Why did you vote to strike; what was your grievance?—Ans. I never had no grievance; I went the same as my fellow-workmen went; where they go I go.

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That was all the reason that you had for voting for the strike, was it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

22 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know why they struck?—Ans. They struck simply with the Pullman people, I believe.

23 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had they any other cause or grievance?—Ans. Not as I know of. I never heard of a case of grievance on the Rock Island among any of the men; they were always well used; I was always as well used there as on any other road; I only served ten

days in the year and a half, and that was for not making out a 2.26 report. I served ten days for that.

24 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When you were employed on the road for which you are now working did you have any certificate from the Rock Island road?—Ans. No, sir; I have got a certificate off the Grand Trunk for ten straight years, without a remark against me.

25 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You got your employment from the certificate of the Grand Trunk road, did you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

26 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When did you leave the Grand Trunk?—Ans. In 1890.

27 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you been working for the Rock Island ever since up to the strike?—Ans. No, sir; I worked for the West Shore up to 1892.

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you do anything for the Rock Island road or anyone representing it during the strike?—Ans. Well, what I did for the Rock Island—I went and advised the men to go back to work on—I think it was Sunday we met, and I advised them at Blue Island to go back to work because I seen men around there collecting names and I knew they had my name, and I said to them that I couldn't go back because I saw them taking the names down of those that stood on the track that Monday and I was positive I couldn't get back and I told them so, for I was down town and asked one of the men if my name was on the list and he said "Yes," and I asked what for, but he didn't know what for except I was discharged for being up at the roundhouse when two men were beat; and I was twelve days in the county jail for that, and I never saw that man I was accused of hitting.

29 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By whom were you arrested?—Ans. I was arrested by an officer of the Rock Island company—was taken off my engine.

30 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you remember his name?—Ans. Joseph McMahan, and a detective of the Rock Island company named Ryan.

31 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say he was an officer; do you mean a deputy marshal, or employed by the Rock Island?—Ans. He was employed by the Rock Island company as an officer, I believe; he was a detective of the Rock Island.

32 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And who was this other man?—Ans. Ryan was acting in the same capacity, he is a detective also.

33 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You were taken from your engine whereabouts?—Ans. Down at the foot of New street in Blue Island.

34 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When was that?—Ans. It was on August 3.

35 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You were arrested upon what charge?—Ans. On the charge of assault with intent to kill.

36 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). For assaulting what person?—Ans. The man's name I don't know and the man I never seen.

37 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Where and when was the assault charged to have been made?—Ans. At the roundhouse at Blue Island, and I think they charged it on the warrant between the hours of 12.30 and 2 o'clock p. m.

38 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). On what day?—Ans. In the warrant, when I went up to plead to my indictment, it said on June 18, and they said it was on July 8. I pleaded to my indictment "not guilty." They said, "Are you guilty of assault with intent to kill, on June 18?"



I said, "No; I ain't guilty of any crime like that. On June 18 there was not any strike, and I don't know the man at all." And they took me back to the cell again.

39 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That was before a justice, was it?—Ans. That was down in the county jail; I don't know, I am not posted on the law.

40 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you have any lawyer?—Ans. Yes, sir; I had Lawyer Burton.

41 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether you were taken before a justice or not when these questions were asked you as to whether you were guilty?—Ans. It was in the court-house.

42 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did the trial proceed?—Ans. No, sir; they put my trial back to December.

43 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was there a judge presiding on the bench, or was it a justice, or do you know?—Ans. I could not say who was there when they put the trial back. I believe Mr. Flynn here was there, and my lawyer was there. My trial was put off till December.

44 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether you were indicted by the grand jury?—Ans. I was indicted for assault with intent to kill. I am out now on bond; my bond was \$2,500, and I believe they got it reduced to \$500.

45 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you procure bondsmen, or did some one procure bondsmen for you?—Ans. I believe my lawyer went the bonds.

46 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). During the time that you were in prison state whether you made any statements to any officers with reference to what you knew?—Ans. Never; I never opened my head for twelve days to anybody.

47 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you after you were discharged from prison make a full statement?—Ans. When I went up to the court room I expected there would be about twenty-five witnesses there to say I was not guilty; men that knew I was not guilty; men that seen me there as a peacemaker when I went and stopped them whipping the locomotive superintendent and got him and another man away from the crowd and stopped the crowd from whipping them; I expected those men to prove that I was not the man that hit this man in the head, because I never saw the man and they knew I was innocent, but when I went to the court room there was not a soul there for me and there was five for the prosecution, and I knew those men could not swear that I hit that man on the head if they swore to the truth, and I knew I would get served the same as John Wickman; he never hit the man at all and he got a year and \$500 fine; he had witnesses there that swore he did not hit this man on the head, and they gave him the time for being there.

48 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You made this statement to some of the officers, did you?—Ans. I made it to an officer of the Rock Island company.

49 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What officer?—Ans. Officer Mr. Flynn.

50 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How did you happen to make that statement?—Ans. I made it of my own free will.

51 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did Mr. Flynn come to you to inquire of you as to the facts in the case?—Ans. No, sir.

52 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Where were you when you made the statement?—Ans. I was coming right along the street here; I came

along the street and told him as far as I knew, and then he asked me, "Would you make a statement to that effect?" and I said, "Yes."

53 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was that before or after you had been released on bail?—Ans. I was released on bail then.

54 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had you promised to make any statement before you were released on bail?—Ans. No, sir.

55 Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had you been asked to make any statement?—Ans. No, sir.

56 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had any inducements of any kind been held out to you, directly or indirectly, to induce you to make a statement?—Ans. No, sir. I knew that by me making a statement and those men being arrested that were guilty of this crime that I and my family wasn't going to suffer for it the same as John Wickman is doing today, and that is why I made the statement.

57 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether any of the parties that you informed against have been arrested?—Ans. No, sir; they have not.

58 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you been used as a witness against any of the parties?—Ans. No, sir.

59 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). This meeting on the 29th of June, do you remember on what day of the week that was?—Ans. I think it was on Friday—I think the last day of the month came on Saturday—I think it was something like that, but I am not positive.

60 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you remember anything that took place on the 30th of June?—Ans. Yes, sir.

61 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State substantially what took place on that day.—Ans. On the 30th day of June I got up and got breakfast, I should think about half past 8 o'clock, and went up to the crossing, and the dummy tracks at Blue Island were blocked with coaches. There was not much done; the men hung around; there was nobody there to stop them but a couple of deputy marshals, but they were harmless; they were afraid of the strikers and they allowed them to block the coaches and shove them around as they pleased; to block the tracks so nothing could get through.

62 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know the names of those deputy marshals?—Ans. No, sir; they were all strangers to me. And I believe the engine 1002 came down to take out a train, and a man named Tom Meredith and some farmer, whose name I don't know, went over and spoke to the engineer, and I believe the fireman and engineer quit the engine there and went away, but the men seemed to be willing to work—they wanted to work, but they were scared of the crowd that was there. Well, I went home to dinner then, after that engine was stopped, and I came back I should judge about half past 1, and it was raining; it was not a pleasant day to be out, and we got under the shade all we could until about 5 o'clock I went home, and train 19 they said was canceled, and they wanted to stop her at Blue Island to take the Pullman cars off. While I was at supper I heard a bell ringing, and I guess it was the first bell that had rung that day, and I ran to the front window, which faced the railroad, and I heard an engine on the ties, and I turned and said to my wife, "I guess they have ditched that train," and I walked up and found train 19, engine 940, was off the track.

63 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you acquainted with a man named J. Taylor?—Ans. Yes, sir.

64 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What is his business?—Ans.

His business before the strike was switchman; his occupation now I suppose is laying around looking for a job; he was one of the strikers.

65 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State what took place on the day after the 30th, the 1st day of July, Monday; state whether you saw Taylor that day.—Ans. I saw Taylor.

66 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What time did you see him?—Ans. That day?

67 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes.—Ans. That was on Monday; I don't believe I saw him at all; that was the day they talked about the riot in Blue Island, the Monday following the strike.

68 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Tell what took place when you did see him.—Ans. Well, I got up there I should judge about between the hours of half past 7 and 8 o'clock and there was quite a crowd around there, and I think engine 979, or 579, was trying to get a coach down over the crossing. There was no gateman to allow the gates to come down, and the strikers and people around there, they thought they owned the road, and they got right in front of the coach and would not allow the engine to back up; so I believe there was a deputy marshal there named Logan that had more sand than the average of them, and he tried to arrest a striker, or brickmaker, I could not say which, but he had hold of one man, I think it was one of the strikers, and he was trying to jostle him off the track and the man did not seem inclined to go, and another man said, "Don't let him take him." So there was about eight or ten, I guess, jumped on the marshal then and downed him and took his revolver from him and threw him around there, and there was about 400 other marshals around there, and they all stood around there seeing this marshal beat; and this Fred. Lybraudt says to me, "You know the crowd; go in and try to stop that." So I went in between—every man had his revolver pulled, but I went in between them and the crowd and got the deputy marshal away and got the crowd off him. I did not know at that time that he was stabbed, but I heard afterwards that he was stabbed.

69 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were there any other marshals near there at that time?—Ans. There were about 470, I believe; they told me there were about 470; they were standing around there.

70 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have made a statement with reference to this matter that was taken down in writing, have you not?—Ans. That statement, I believe, is in your hand.

71 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You made that, did you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

72 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Where was that taken down?—Ans. It was taken down in Mr. Flynn's office, I believe, on the day that I got out of jail. I believe it was the 13th day of August.

73 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Your recollection was as distinct then about these matters as it is now, was it not?—Ans. My memory is all right.

74 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I will ask you if you state now that a deputy marshal tried to arrest a man that you thought was a striker?—Ans. Yes, sir.

75 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you not when you made this statement say that Deputy Marshal Logan tried to arrest a brickmaker?—Ans. I didn't say "brickmaker." That man that took that down was a shorthand man, and there was words that I said that he skipped. I was talking to him in a straight way, and I guess I said "brickmaker" about the time he was going to put that down, and he put down brickmaker instead of "striker."

76 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You think you said, then, that it was a striker, and not a brickmaker?—Ans. Yes, sir.

77 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say now that there were 420 deputy marshals?—Ans. That is what I was told, and the way it looked when I got between the guns and the crowd.

78 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you not say when you made this statement that there were about twenty-five marshals a car length away?—Ans. No, sir; not at that time.

79 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). This is at the time that this man Logan tried to arrest somebody?—Ans. It was early in the morning when he tried to arrest this party.

80 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you not in your statement say there were about twenty-five marshals a car length away that stood and saw the car dumped and let the men do it?—Ans. No, sir; there was no cars dumped in the morning whatever.

81 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When was that car dumped?—Ans. It was dumped in the afternoon, and one after night.

82 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It was at that time that you made the statement that there were about twenty-five marshals?—Ans. Yes, sir; that is the time I referred to twenty-five marshals walking up and allowing the gang to dump cars.

83 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is true, is it?—Ans. That is true.

84 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who was in charge of those twenty-five marshals?—Ans. I could not say; they were all strangers to me.

85 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether this Lybrandt was a deputy marshal or connected with the sheriff's force?—Ans. I could not say what he was; he had a star on him; I guess he done his duty; him and a Mr. Frohn was all the men that did anything to amount to anything.

86 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The next morning after this car was dumped, on the 6th and 7th, trains were running, were they?—Ans. Yes, sir; trains commenced to move then.

87 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). We will come down now to the 8th of July. What do you know about any persons being whipped or ill-treated who took the places of the strikers?—Ans. Well, there was one man that I have referred to already—I forget his name, and another man named Maloney. I was at home—

88 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Wait a moment. Do you remember a man by the name of Wait?—Ans. Wait? That was the man I was told; yes, sir.

89 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What do you know about his being assaulted, if anything, and by whom was he assaulted?—Ans. I don't know whether the man was assaulted at all, only by hearsay; a man that had a club in his hand said he hit him so hard on the head that he would not be able to fire an engine for some time to come, and he said he hit him so hard on the head he thought his skull was fractured and he would not be able to fire an engine for some time to come.

90 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was it you saw about Maloney?—Ans. He jumped off engine 971, I think it was, and jumped right into a gang of the fellows that were looking for him and they gave him a couple of kicks and thumps and he got up and made for the freight yard or street across from the roundhouse on his way to West Pullman and he met with two men, Van Drasky and Keeler, and I believe I heard Van Drasky say that he took \$6.75 out of his pocket

and a gold watch, but they gave that back to him, and they white-washed him and let him go to West Pullman.

91 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What do you mean by their white-washing him?—Ans. Whitewashed him; gave him a whitewashing; put it on with a brush as you would whitewash a house.

92 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You did not see that done?—Ans. No, sir; I heard the men talk about it and laugh about it that night.

93 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who did you hear saying that?—Ans. William Keeler.

94 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you acquainted with a man named Davison, a deputy marshal?—Ans. Yes, sir; I seen him only once, but I would know him if I saw him again.

95 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you acquainted with a man named Gilmore?—Ans. Yes, sir; I seen him just about as much as I did Davison.

96 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And a man named Norton?—Ans. Yes, sir; I know him; I have been acquainted with him about five months, I guess.

97 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have made a certain statement with reference to what Norton said about Davison; was that said to you in the presence of Davison?—Ans. It was said to me in the presence of four of us, Gilmore, Davison, Norton, and myself. We were sitting down playing a game at a saloon called "high five."

98 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State what Norton said to you then about Davison if he was present and had an opportunity to hear what was said.—Ans. Yes, sir; Davison was right there; him and Davison was under the influence of liquor, and Gilmore seemed to be a pretty sober sort of a fellow; he did not have much to say, and Norton came in with a kind of a laugh and says, "Hello, Bill," addressing me, and I says, "Hello." So he says, "Pretty nice fire up in the yards;" I said, "Yes," and he says, "There will be another one before long, too." So I didn't say no more, and we went over and had a drink at the bar and came and sat at the table, and he says, "That is the man that started that fire," pointing to Davison, "and I showed him the tracks where it would burn, and if it had only burned a car or two farther down it would have been all right; it would have blowed the damned living stuffing out of them. There was a car of spirits there and if that had caught fire it would have raised hell for about a minute." And he sat down and told that he couldn't go into the yard and do any work, but that Davison was a deputy marshal and he went down through the yard in the morning and set all the brakes and pulled all the pins so that when they hitched an engine on the cars they could only pull one car at a time.

99 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). This Davison, then, was a deputy marshal, was he?—Ans. Yes, sir; and Davison sat there, and we did, and he was kind of tickled over his work, and he says, "Yes, by God, and I will start another fire," he says, "I will burn them all out." I didn't say no more; we had a couple more drinks and started up the street then, and I says to Norton, "You want to be very careful or you people will get nailed," and he started away and he got kind of scared of me I guess.

100 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was Norton then a deputy marshal, too?—Ans. No, sir; but he was as good as a deputy marshal; he used to take their papers and stars and go into the coaches and do just what he liked there.

101 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). He had their commission and

star, had he?—Ans. He would take their star at night and go through the yard; I saw him with a deputy marshal's rifle on him several times and he showed it to me, and another evening I met him and he showed me a big plug of tobacco that had been got out of the cars, and another evening he wanted me to go up and get beer in the refrigerator car on the Rock Island tracks.

102 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was this man Gilmore acting as a deputy marshal?—Ans. Yes, sir; but he hadn't a word to say. He was very quiet. He did not have as much liquor in him as the others and I guess he had more sense.

103 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was there a man named Karrey there?—Ans. He was not there at that meeting—there was just the four of us. Karrey was the man that lived where these men used to go to; he paid rent for the house where these men used to go to and carouse or whatever they did there.

104 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether this man Wait, a deputy marshal that you referred to before, acted as fireman for any railroad companies during the strike?—Ans. No, sir; I don't know the man at all; I never heard of the name until I was arrested. I heard it then. Mr. McMahan told me his name was Wait. He read the warrant.

105 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is he the man you were arrested upon a charge of assaulting?—Ans. Yes, sir.

106 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say you did not know anything about him?—Ans. I never seen the man and did not know there was a man hit on the head until I was up out of the railroad premises altogether, sitting on the hill with the majority of the other people that was there.

107 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say that this man Norton would take a star and commission of some deputy marshal and go through the yards with them?—Ans. Yes, sir; he done it; he told me so himself. He said one day, "When you are asleep I am working, and if you don't win the strike it won't be my fault." I says, "I guess your way of working for the strike is all for yourself."

108 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What, if anything, did he tell you with reference to going through the cars and getting property?—Ans. Oh, he told me he would take a commission and star and he could go through any coach in the yard, they did not know him; there was so many strange deputies there that any man could take a star and a paper and could go in there.

109 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What did he say about beer and tobacco?—Ans. He said there was lots of beer and tobacco in the yard; he said he could get any amount of it there. I told him, "I have money to buy my own beer and tobacco if I want it." He had been out of work about six months.

110 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you acquainted with a man named Hurley, who was a fireman?—Ans. Yes, sir; he was a fireman on the Rock Island.

111 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State if you heard him say anything about cars being burned at West Pullman; and if so, whether it was before or after the fire, and what he said.—Ans. It was before there was a fire in Blue Island. I should judge it was between the 6th or 7th, and I was standing up on Vermont street, me and Patrick Gouley, and we was talking there, and Hurley walked up and said, "That was quite a fire down town." I think that was the night the Panhandle cars was burned, too. I said, "Yes," and he says, "There

will be another in this direction," pointing with his index finger towards West Pullman, and that night them cars was burned at West Pullman. They wasn't exactly burned at West Pullman, but on the side track leading to West Pullman; there was a lot of cars held there for the Plano company to load; they went out and got them when they wanted them to load.

112 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you remember the occasion of the injunction being read at Blue Island by Marshal Arnold and Deputy Marshal Allen?—Ans. It was read by him and then Mr. Allen got up on the coach and made a speech to the crowd, and after him followed Mr. Hurley, encouraging the crowd to pay no attention to the speeches on the interstate-commerce law or obstruction of the mail at all. He got up there—and they didn't pay no attention to Hurley; they laughed at him more than anything else, because he had a big white bouquet and some yards of white ribbon on.

113 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I will ask you if you know an officer by the name of McMahan?—Ans. Yes, sir; he used to be chief of the Rock Island detective force.

114 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I will ask you if you did not state at the time this statement of yours was taken down in writing that you were told by Detective McMahan that if you would give him information he would see that you were released?—Ans. Yes, sir; he told me that.

115 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understood you, in answer to a question of mine before, to say that you were not promised by anyone any favors, or anything of that kind?—Ans. You asked me, after I got out of jail. That was before I was arrested at all that he promised me this; it was before I was arrested.

116 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). He knew you were one of the strikers, did he?—Ans. Yes, sir; he knew it all the time.

117 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you not say in this statement that you made that "in place of releasing me, the men that I told him had done the acts he went and notified to leave the country, and the majority of them done so?"—Ans. That is my statement that I made after I got out of jail.

118 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understood you to say that McMahan made this statement to you before you were arrested?—Ans. Yes, sir; before I was arrested he made that statement; he says, "You give me information and I will see that you get out, and I will be down to see you."

119 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Why do you say in this statement, then, that he said he would see that you were released, if you had not been arrested?—Ans. Well, I was arrested and locked up before he came back for a statement at all. He never came near me for a statement, nor asked me for one after I was locked up.

120 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You stated here that he said to you if you would give the information he would see that you were released?—Ans. Yes, sir; but I didn't give it.

121 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That was before you were arrested?—Ans. Yes, sir.

122 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What were you going to be released from?—Ans. I wasn't guilty of no crime at all; I should judge it was to arrest me to make me squeal, as they call it.

123 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did he make that statement to you before or after you were arrested?—Ans. He made that statement before I was arrested; he made it, I should judge, on July 29,

124 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I will ask you again what he promised you that you would be released from, if you had not been arrested at that time?—Ans. From that warrant.

125 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you know he had a warrant at the time he made this statement to you?—Ans. No, sir; but I was told by several officers of the company that there was a warrant for me. He said the warrant would be withdrawn if I gave him information.

126 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You knew at the time he made this statement that a warrant had been issued for you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

127 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But you did not know he had the warrant?—Ans. No, sir.

128 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But you had heard from other officers of the company that you would be released if you would make a statement?—Ans. No; by him personally.

129 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you arrested after he made that statement to you?—Ans. Yes, sir; it was on July 29 that he told me that, and on August 3 I was arrested.

130 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you have any other conversation with him after that time?—Ans. Not a word, not till I was arrested.

131 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When he made that statement to you you told him of the men who had done these acts that you have spoken of, did you?—Ans. Yes, sir; I told him mostly every one I remembered that had done any act of violence towards the company.

132 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say he went and notified these men that you had told about to leave the country, and the majority of them did so. How do you know he did that?—Ans. Because I was told by a man that McMahan had given other men tips to leave and they left.

133 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You only know that by hearsay?—Ans. That is all.

134 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say that he promised to come and see you at the county jail the following day, but he never did so?—Ans. He never did; nobody came near me but my wife.

135 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understood you to say that this conversation took place three or four days before you were arrested?—Ans. Yes, sir.

136 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Why did he promise to come and see you the following day in the county jail then?—Ans. He wanted more information, he said.

137 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But if you were not arrested then why should he say he would come and see you at the county jail?—Ans. I was arrested on August 3 and brought down there. That statement was made that he was to help me out July 29; it was made down on Harrison street and Pacific avenue; he sent a message for me to come down, as he wanted to see me, and I came down.

138 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It was not on July 29, when he had the first conversation with you, that he told you he would see you at the county jail the next day?—Ans. No, sir; it was on the 3d of August, the night I was arrested; he would see me the next day, he said.

139 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was that statement made before or after you were arrested on the 3d?—Ans. After I was arrested.

140 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). This detective, McMahan, was a detective for the Rock Island road, was he?—Ans. Yes, sir; he is there yet.

141 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Why did you say in this state-



ment here, "I never saw any Rock Island people until I saw Detective Flynn and gave him my statement?"—Ans. That was after I was arrested; I never seen any of them after I was arrested till then; I was locked up and I could not see anybody; I saw all I wanted of them while I was out.

142 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know a man named Maloney?—Ans. I have seen the man, but I don't know him at all; I don't believe I ever spoke to him; I seen him the day he was beat at Blue Island.

143 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who was he, and what was his business?—Ans. I heard them say he was an extra fireman, or a fireman that came to take some man's place.

144 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know what day that was?—Ans. I should judge it was July 8.

145 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I will ask you if you know a man named Christopher Bull?—Ans. Yes, sir; I know him to see him; he used to be an extra switchman on the Rock Island.

146 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In what capacity was he acting that day?—Ans. I believe he had charge of the deputies.

147 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had he a star on?—Ans. Yes, sir.

148 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). A deputy marshal's badge or star?—Ans. I believe he was one of the men they picked up and put a star on them.

149 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many men did he have charge of that day?—Ans. I should judge twenty or twenty-five, by the looks of the crowd.

150 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Deputy marshals, were they?—Ans. Yes, sir.

151 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State what you saw done there with reference to those deputies at that time?—Ans. Well, the old switchmen that knew this Christopher Bull went up and spoke to him and asked him to take the men away and give them a chance to get in to the roundhouse to get at the new men, and he took them away where they were out of sight.

152 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What took place then?—Ans. They went around the house and that is where they got this man Wait—there was a crowd ahead that got him, and the only man I saw was Maloney; he jumped off the engine into a gang of the men and they kicked him and gave him a couple of punches and he started away on a run.

153 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And these deputies had been taken away before that, had they?—Ans. Yes, sir; the men asked Chris. Bull to take them away.

154 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was Maloney doing on the engine?—Ans. He was sitting there, I guess, waiting for his train to go out on the road as soon as the road opened up.

155 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was he an engineer, or a fireman?—Ans. I don't know; I think he was hired for an extra fireman, because he was in that department.

156 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you have any conversation with Chris. Bull after this occurrence?—Ans. Yes, sir; I told him he was more to blame than the strikers were, for allowing the men to do so. I said, "You know very well that those men will be punished." He did not answer me, but walked away.

157 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know a man named

Fitzgibbons?—Ans. Yes, sir; I believe he is a locomotive foreman for the Rock Island.

158 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was he among the strikers at that time?—Ans. No, sir; he was not among the strikers, but he was trying to get away from them.

159 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State what you saw there.—Ans. I saw a man named Dunk McDonald standing facing him, and another one, named Kelsey, standing on his right-hand side, making him take the oath that he would not handle another engine while the strike was on, I believe.

160 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say they were making him take the oath?—Ans. Yes, sir.

161 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What do you mean; how were they making him swear?—Ans. He had his hand up in the air that way, taking an oath.

162 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How were they making him swear?—Ans. Because I guess the man was scared.

163 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What did you hear them say or do?—Ans. They said, "We want you to take an oath that you won't handle another engine while the strike is on." I don't know whether he said "all right" or what he said, but his hand was up in the air and he said he would not handle another engine while the strike was on.

164 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was there any crowd around?—Ans. Yes, sir; I should judge there was fifteen or twenty.

165 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What were they?—Ans. Strikers and sympathizers.

166 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were there any deputies there?—Ans. No, sir.

167 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you hear those standing around, say anything?—Ans. No; I did not hear them passing any remarks at that time. I heard him take the oath, and then I said to the fellows, "Fellows, let him alone, he is an officer of the road and has as good a right to work as any yard master," and I got him from the crowd and on his way to West Pullman.

168 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You did not hear the crowd hallooing to hit him?—Ans. Yes; some of them hallooed, "Give it to him; give it to him; smash him;" that was hallooed several times.

169 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were any other persons present when this remark of Norton was made about Davison having set the cars on fire?—Ans. Well, Polsen, the proprietor of the saloon, was at the bar, but I don't know whether he heard him or not. I don't know of any others besides those I have mentioned.

170 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether Norton had any connection one way or the other with this firing of the cars by Davison, if they were fired?—Ans. He said he had planned it out for this man to work on.

171 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Norton said he had?—Ans. Yes, sir; he said "I laid the plans; and after he set fire to the cars he ran right from the fire to Karrey's house."

172 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did Norton make that statement at the time?—Ans. He made that statement to me.

173 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know where Norton and Davison are now?—Ans. No, sir.

174 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether they have been arrested or not?—Ans. No, sir.

175 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know where the man

Karrey is?—Ans. The last I heard of him he had resigned his situation on the Rock Island and went to switching in the stock yards.

176 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). At the time you heard this were you in any capacity, either by direct employment or by any indirect employment, acting for the Rock Island road?—Ans. No, sir; I was out of all kinds of employment. I was living on what I had saved.

177 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you pump Davison to get this statement from him?—Ans. No, sir; they were perfectly willing to tell me all about it.

178 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you get it by replies to questions that you asked, or was it a voluntary statement made?—Ans. I asked Norton a few questions. I asked him where he saw the cars burned, on what track, and he said "track 41—Merchandise track;" and I asked Davison how he knew the tracks, and he said he had been told the tracks.

179 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you give information of that fire or of the probability of other fires occurring in the future?—Ans. Yes, sir; I went to the crossing and told the marshals, "There will be more fires in the yard to-night, because I have heard threats to that effect."

180 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How long after you heard the conversation was it that you told the marshals?—Ans. I should judge an hour or so after.

181 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What marshal did you tell?—Ans. I think this Mr. Frohn is the only man I told.

182 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). He is the man that you alluded to in connection with Mr. Lybrandt, is he?—Ans. Yes, sir.

183 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you tell any other marshals or officers of that?—Ans. No, sir; I don't believe I did.

184 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were there any others present when you made that statement to Mr. Frohn?—Ans. There was several other men there, but I couldn't see their stars.

185 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether Mr. Frohn was a deputy sheriff, or a deputy marshal?—Ans. I think he was a deputy sheriff, but I don't know which he was.

186 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understood you to say, in answer to my question, that there were some others present wearing stars at the time you made this statement?—Ans. No, sir; I could not say whether they had stars on or not; some of them had their stars under their coats.

187 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you acquainted with a man by the name of Brown?—Ans. Yes, sir.

188 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you have any conversation with him along about June 24 with reference to the strike?—Ans. Yes, sir. I believe I was going over to the stock yards that morning with a train of stock, and there was two men got in the car who were strangers to me, and they asked us if we was going out on a strike on the Rock Island. I said I didn't know; that we had no grievance to go on a strike for. I was more joking with the men than otherwise, for I knew the men were going on a strike; I had heard that talked about. I said we had no grievance and wasn't going out. He said, "The Illinois Central is going out, and if you bring any stock in here we will bust your heads open." I said, "We will be around if there is to be any heads busted." And Brown said to me, "If there is a strike ordered I will be damned if I am going to scab." I says, "There is lots of time between now and the strike, John; I don't suppose I will scab either.

When it comes to a strike I will go out just as good as you will, I suppose." So that was about all that was said there in the caboose. He said he would be damned if he would scab, and I told him I wouldn't do it either.

189 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you know his name at the time of this conversation?—Ans. Brown's? Yes, sir; he was one of my helpers.

190 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understood you to say that two men got on your caboose that you did not know?—Ans. I did not know them at all. One of them got off at Halstead street, at the crossing, and that was the last I seen of him, and the other one got off and went about his business; I don't know where. It was after they got off that I had this talk with Brown.

191 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether these men belonged to any railroad organization or not?—Ans. One of them had a white button with "A. R. U." on it. I don't know whether they were railroad men or not.

192 (Commissioner KERNAN). You said that on the 3d of August you were on an engine when you were arrested.—Ans. Yes, sir.

193 (Commissioner KERNAN). What engine was that; on what road?—Ans. Engine 126, Chicago and Calumet Terminal; it belonged to the Northern Pacific. I went to work for that road on the 18th of July, and have worked for it ever since.

194 (Commissioner KERNAN). At whose suggestion or request did you come here to give evidence?—Ans. I don't know. I was sent for to come and give evidence. I was told yesterday I was wanted here to give evidence.

195 (Commissioner KERNAN). By whom?—Ans. By the officials of the Rock Island road, I should judge.

196 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know where this man Maloney is now—the man that was whipped?—Ans. I heard them say he was in the hospital; that is all I know about him.

#### TESTIMONY OF H. R. SAUNDERS.

August 30, 1894, H. R. Saunders, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, place of residence, and business.—Ans. My name is H. R. Saunders; I live at 5134 Armour avenue, Chicago; and am assistant general night yard master for the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you present at the meeting in Blue Island at which a vote was taken to strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many were present at that meeting?—Ans. I should judge about 200.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Of what kind of people was that meeting made up?—Ans. The meetings were composed of railroad men, citizens of Blue Island, and brickmakers, and the usual occupations around a village.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About what proportion of those present at the meeting were railroad men, in your judgment?—Ans. Well, I should judge that less than one-half were railroad men.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How was the vote taken?—Ans. The vote was taken by a rising vote.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What proportion of the audience

voted in favor of the strike?—Ans. I don't think there was over fifty voted for the strike.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Not over fifty arose?—Ans. I don't think there was. I will explain a little incident. After the speech of the last man—I think it was Mr. Debs—they all commenced to go out, and there was about twenty-five or thirty or forty people that were right in front of the door when the chairman announced that he wanted all of the Rock Island employees to stay, and the crowd that was at the door stood still—I was one of them; and the chairman of the meeting announced that it was the intention of the meeting to decide what they were going to do and to have them express their opinions, and a party by the name of Holly got up and made a motion that they strike at 7 o'clock tomorrow morning, the same as Mr. Lovejoy had stated; it was seconded, by whom I don't know, and the chairman then put the motion and asked all those in favor to please answer by rising. Those that were at the door and standing up—I was one of them—there did not seem to be any voice of any kind and I don't know whether they counted them in or not, but on the other side of the hall some of them hallooed "Aye" and "Hurrah" and threw up their hats, and I should judge there was about fifty people, but that is just an estimate. I think about fifty people voted.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were the fifty people who voted there railroad men or not?—Ans. Well, the majority of them—I can't say really whether they were railroad men or not, it was such a jubilee it was pretty hard to say.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you still an employee of the Rock Island road?—Ans. Yes, sir.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You were not one of the strikers then?—Ans. Well, I don't know. I was standing when they put the vote, although I did not strike; I stayed at work all the time. I don't know whether my vote was counted or not.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. No, sir.

H. B. Saunders, recalled, same day testified as follows:

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have been on the stand before?—Ans. Yes, sir.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you hear anything said at the meeting at Blue Island with reference to counseling violence?—Ans. I did not hear anything more than what Howard made; he said, "If parties take your places kill them with a pin."

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Give his language.—Ans. I could not exactly do that.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Give the substance of it.—Ans. He said, "If any scabs take any of your places kill them with a coupling pin;" that is his language as nearly as I can recollect; I could not say exactly that it was his words, word for word.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you hear any other reference to violence there?—Ans. No, not to violence—only what he called Mr. Pullman.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State what you heard in reference to that.—Ans. He said Pullman was a "son of a bitch and ought to be hung," and "I would help hang him if I had the opportunity."

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was there any other language used in reference to any other persons?—Ans. No, not that I remember of.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there anything else you have

not been interrogated with reference to that you know of?—Ans. Howard said further in regard to tying up the roads, "All we will have to do is to touch another button. We will tie up one and if that don't do we will tie up another, and if that don't do we will tie them all up."

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did he say what the object of the strike was?—Ans. Well, so far as I could make out of the speeches there there was not any object stated at all. He told a story about a young lady in Pullman that had to pay her father's rent after his death, other than that there was not any cause stated that I heard or remember of.

22 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there anything further that you think of?—Ans. No, nothing that I remember of.

## TESTIMONY OF L. A. CAMP.

August 30, 1894, L. A. Camp, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name and place of residence.—Ans. My name is L. A. Camp; I reside at 2300 Wabash avenue, Chicago, which is about 16 miles from Blue Island.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you present at the meeting at Blue Island at the time the vote was taken to strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You were not a resident of Blue Island?—Ans. No, sir.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was your business at that time?—Ans. I was yard master for the Rock Island at Sixteenth street.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many were present that night in your judgment?—Ans. I would not say positively, because I did not pay much attention; I should think there were three or four hundred.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About what proportion of that number were railroad men?—Ans. I could not say; I was not acquainted with many in Blue Island at the time; I did not know any of the road men and but very few of the engineers and brakemen.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How was the vote taken?—Ans. By a standing vote.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many voted do you think?—Ans. I could not say as to that; there were lots of them standing by the door that could not sit down and I could not tell whether they voted to go out or not.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was there any request made that the railroad men should stay and vote?—Ans. Not that I heard. I went home when the majority of them went. They appointed a committee after I went home.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did any of the speakers at that meeting advise violence?—Ans. No, sir; not that I heard.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was there anything said about not committing any violence and not injuring property?—Ans. No, sir.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You did not hear anything of that kind one way or the other?—Ans. No, sir.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you still in the employ of the Rock Island road?—Ans. Yes, sir.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. No, sir.

## TESTIMONY OF W. G. FULLER.

August 30, 1894, W. G. Fuller, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, residence, and business.—Ans. My name is W. G. Fuller; I reside at 388 Gregory street, Blue Island; am agent of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway at Blue Island.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you present at the meeting at Blue Island that has been referred to?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many were there?—Ans. I should judge there was between three and four hundred, and I think that less than one-third of them were railroad men.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many voted to strike?—Ans. I was not at the vote; I got away before they took the vote. Mr. Debs was speaking, or got through, and they started out of the hall, and, as I was near the door, I was one of the first ones out. I did not see the vote taken.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you still in the employ of the company?—Ans. I am.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. No, sir.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You were not in the strike, were you?—Ans. No, sir.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there anything more that you know about that meeting that I have not asked you about?—Ans. Yes, sir; I was there during the whole meeting except the order to strike. I heard Mr. Howard and Mr. Debs speak—in fact, all of them. In Mr. Howard's speech he referred to the Pullman company once or twice, but his principal aim was at the General Managers' Association. He said that George M. Pullman was a son of a bitch and he ought to be hung, and that he would like to be one of them to help hang him; he also said that any scabs that came in to take their jobs—to take a pin and kill them—brace them. That was the tone of his speech—it ran like that all the way through.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you anything to say as to the speeches of any of the others?—Ans. Mr. Debs spoke. He referred to Mr. St. John and Mr. Allen as being very shrewd men, and men that could squeeze money out of watered stock, and that they were men who were creating a disturbance all the time between the men to keep the men fighting each other so as to down each other; but Mr. Debs did not use the language that Mr. Howard did.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who else made speeches there?—Ans. Mr. Lovejoy made a little speech, saying he talked to the American Railway Union at La Salle and that they were going to strike at 7 o'clock the next morning; and there was a couple of other gentlemen spoke, one man from Montana—I don't remember his name; he was kind of on Howard's style, and I don't remember who the other fellow was that spoke.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there anything further that you know about that meeting?—Ans. That is about all I know that I can remember.

## TESTIMONY OF G. D. CRUELY.

August 30, 1894, G. D. Cruely, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, place of residence, and business.—Ans. My name is G. D. Cruely; I live at Blue Island; am a yard master.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you present at that meeting at Blue Island?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many do you think were there?—Ans. Well, as custodian of the hall and knowing its seating capacity and what it will hold, I should say that there was close onto 400. I am custodian of the hall where the meeting was held.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you generally acquainted at Blue Island?—Ans. Yes, sir.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About what proportion of that audience were railroad men?—Ans. Not to exceed 120.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you there when the vote was taken?—Ans. Yes, sir.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How was it taken?—Ans. It was taken by a standing vote.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many voted?—Ans. Well, nearly everybody in the hall got up.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many were in the hall at that time?—Ans. I should think there was in the neighborhood of 100 or 150; they had got thinned out pretty well at that time.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What proportion of that 150 were railroad men?—Ans. Possibly one-third; I think about 50 of them were railroad men, and 100 of them were not railroad men.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was the business of the 100 who were not railroad men?—Ans. They were divided up generally; there was a great many brickyard men there, and some of the people had worked at Blue Island at various occupations, but the majority of those who were not railroad men were employees of the brickyards, and located around Blue Island; they had no particular interest that I know of in the railroads or in the strike, only just the fact that the meeting was called as an open mass meeting, and everybody that had nothing else to do, I suppose, went there.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Before the vote was taken was anything said about the railroad men remaining to vote?—Ans. Not a word.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You heard no request made to the railroad men to remain for the purpose of voting on the strike?—Ans. No, sir.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you hear the speeches that were made there?—Ans. Yes, sir.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State whether any violence was counseled toward the railroad property or toward any of the officers of the railroads.—Ans. There was to a certain extent. The strike at Blue Island was caused by Debs and Howard—by Howard mostly, and Debs incidentally. Mr. Howard got up there and addressed the public meeting and used very bad language; he referred to Pullman as a "God damned son of a bitch," and said that he ought to be hung, and in the course of his remarks he said to the men that if they carried this strike and it was successful that they would not be "Bothered any more with



these pot-bellied piss-ant straw bosses;" he said, "We have got rid of a couple of them now, and all that it is necessary for us to do is to stick together and we can get rid of them all;" and he said, "If you men all strike and go out there won't be scabs enough left in the country to take your places;" and he rubbed his hands and said, "My brothers of switchmen, switchmen never failed us. I know that this Rock Island system will be tied up so tight that a fly can't get over it," and he would make a point once in a while and say, "Wouldn't that jar you?" and everybody would clap their hands and stamp their feet. He talked in that strain for half an hour, and he carried the portion of the audience with him that he was after and gained his point.

Mr. Debs, in his speech, dealt mainly in generalities. He stretched his arms over his head and stated that the strike was won and there was not any doubt at all but that by Sunday morning victory would perch on their banners; he said that the American Railway Union was only organized last August and "We have had eleven issues and we have won victories in all of them, and victory will surely perch on our banner in this one," and he said, "One thing that I want to call your attention to is that the concern of one is the concern of all. One out, all out; all back or none back," and he says, "The scabs that go to work, when we all go back, they will have to walk the plank; there won't be any room for them." That sentiment was very cheerfully applauded. I heard no violence counseled by Mr. Debs.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You were present when the vote was taken, were you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you vote?—Ans. No, sir.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you in favor of the strike?—Ans. No, sir.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Why did you not vote against it?—Ans. There was not any contrary vote called for.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did everybody stand up that was in the hall?—Ans. Nearly everyone, yes.

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you stand up?—Ans. I should say not; no, sir, I did not.

22 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many were there that did not stand up?—Ans. Well, I could not say exactly; possibly there were 75 or 80 that did not stand up, and about that many that did.

23 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). There were about 150 in all, and about half of them stood up?—Ans. Just about that proportion, as near as I could see; I sat on a low seat, like that, down close to the floor, at the foot of the hall, and I could not see everybody that was around me because they stood up in front of me and everywhere, and I did not have a fair opportunity of seeing what was standing, and not having any desire to get up myself, I could not get a good, clear view of the whole hall.

24 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say that there was no opposing vote called for?—Ans. No, sir; there was not.

25 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You think if there had been the vote would have been about even?—Ans. No; I don't think so; I don't think there would be a vote against it.

26 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Why would those who did not stand up—men like yourself—why would not they vote?—Ans. Because they would have got thrown out of the window.

27 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How do you know?—Ans. My experience teaches me that.

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you ever thrown out of a window for voting?—Ans. No.

29 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then what experience teaches you that?—Ans. I have been slugged and hit with pins and stones and links for trying to work for the support of my family when other men thought I hadn't ought to.

30 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When was that?—Ans. That was in 1881, when there was a strike on the Rock Island road.

31 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was that a general strike?—Ans. No, sir; it was confined to the switchmen.

32 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You are not a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. No, sir.

33 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you a member of any labor order?—Ans. I am a member of the Order of Railway Conductors; am secretary of Division 41.

## TESTIMONY OF W. J. KRUSE.

August 30, 1894, W. J. Kruse, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, occupation, and place of residence.—Ans. My name is W. J. Kruse; I am a switchman working for the Rock Island Railroad; I live at Pullman, Ill.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you present at the meeting referred to?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you working up to that time?—Ans. Yes, sir.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many do you think were present at that meeting?—Ans. I should think there was from 350 to 400 people present.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About what proportion of them were railroad men?—Ans. I should judge about one-half.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you hear the chairman of the meeting say anything about the railroad men stopping to vote on the strike?—Ans. No, sir; I did not hear that.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). If anything of that kind had been said do you think you would have heard it?—Ans. I don't know; I could not hear it all; I was away back in the gang.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you in the house when the vote was taken?—Ans. Yes, sir.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you vote?—Ans. No, sir.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You were sitting down, were you?—Ans. I was standing up; I had no chance to sit down, it was so crowded.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How was the vote taken?—Ans. The vote was, all in favor of the strike to stand up.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You don't know whether you were counted as voting for the strike or not, do you?—Ans. No, sir; I don't. I was standing up when the call was made.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many were in the hall at the time the vote was taken?—Ans. About 150 or 200. About half the audience had gone out.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had the speakers told the audience that the meeting was over before the vote was taken?—Ans. Yes; all but taking the vote for the strike or not to strike; they had announced that the meeting was over, all except taking the vote.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was anything said about who should vote?—Ans. No, sir.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And upon that announcement about one-half of the people went out?—Ans. Yes, sir; about one-half.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About what proportion of those who voted, or who were standing up, rather, do you think were railroad men?—Ans. I should judge about half of them; the other half were men employed in other kinds of business.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was any opposing vote taken?—Ans. No, sir.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you a member of any labor organization?—Ans. I was. I belonged to the switchmen, but I do not now belong to any labor organization.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Why not?—Ans. I don't want to belong to any more.

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you withdraw from the switchmen's organization voluntarily?—Ans. Yes, sir.

22 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you do that at the request of the officers of the road or any superior officer?—Ans. No, sir; I did it purely upon my own motion.

23 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you still in the employ of the company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

#### TESTIMONY OF FRANK CONROY.

August 30, 1894, Frank Conroy, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, occupation, and place of residence.—Ans. My name is Frank Conroy; am a switchman for the Rock Island Railroad and reside at Pullman, Ill.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Where did you live at the time of the strike?—Ans. At Pullman.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you present at the meeting that has been referred to here?—Ans. Yes, sir; I was.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you take any part in it?—Ans. Yes, sir; I took a part with the rest.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many were present at that meeting?—Ans. I should judge there was about between 275 and 300.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About what proportion of them were railroad men?—Ans. About a small third, I should judge—about a third.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was said, if anything, before the vote was taken, by the chairman of the meeting?—Ans. He just simply called the point of order and said for those that were in favor of voting to go on a strike to rise, and there was a large majority in the hall standing up, and there was some sitting down, and everybody stood up that I could see from where I was, because the hall was very much crowded.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About what proportion of the audience was standing up before the vote was called for?—Ans. I should judge there was about a quarter of them standing up.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When the vote was called for the rest of the audience got up?—Ans. Yes, sir.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had any part of the audience gone out before the vote was taken?—Ans. Yes, sir; I could not exactly

tell how many went out on account of my being behind the crowd; but a good many went toward the door, and some came back; in fact, I did not pay any attention to those that went out or those that came back at the time.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say that you took some part in the meeting; what part did you take?—Ans. I took the same part as the rest of the railroad men that were up there. I was one of the men that wanted to avoid the strike.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you say anything in the meeting?—Ans. No, sir.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were any speeches made in opposition to striking?—Ans. No, sir.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was any opportunity given for speeches to be made opposing the strike?—Ans. No, sir.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was there any opportunity given to vote against striking?—Ans. Yes, sir.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is, all who were opposed to it were called upon to rise up?—Ans. Yes, sir.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many rose up that were opposed to it?—Ans. The majority that voted to strike started to go out before the other half that intended to declare for no strike got a chance to rise up.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). As a matter of fact, did any rise up to vote against the strike when that was called for?—Ans. They were all standing. There was no chance for a vote the other way at all.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How could they tell whether they were opposing the strike or not if they were all standing?—Ans. They could not tell.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, a large part of the audience was standing when the vote was called for in the first instance to strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And when the vote was called for opposing the strike they were all standing, were they?—Ans. Yes, sir; they were all standing up.

22 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And they declared the strike carried, did they?—Ans. Yes, sir.

23 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are there any other incidents connected with that meeting that you know of?—Ans. There was another incident. After they found out they were going to strike they found out that nobody had gone down to visit the officials of the railroad. It is the general rule in a strike for somebody to go down and see the officials and tell them what they are striking for, but nobody went down to visit the officials or give any cause for going out.

24 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When was that found out?—Ans. That was found out after they had made up their mind they was going to strike and did not know what they was going to strike for; that was after the meeting adjourned. It was talked over by a few of us. I called their attention to it.

25 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was done then?—Ans. Well, a few made the remark, "We have got one foot in it now and we might as well get it out," and so they struck just for instance.

26 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). They struck without notifying the company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

27 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had the Rock Island employees any grievance against the company?—Ans. None whatever.

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You are still in the employ of the company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

29 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In what capacity?—Ans. Yard master.

30 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you a member of any railroad organization?—Ans. No, sir; I used to belong to the switchmen's.

31 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When did you leave that organization?—Ans. When their treasurer skipped out with all the funds and the thing was dissolved; that is the way I got out of that organization; that was not very long ago; it was declared insolvent right after the strike; that fixed it completely.

#### TESTIMONY OF D. BRAHAM.

August 30, 1894, D. Braham, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is D. Braham; I reside at Blue Island; was residing there at the time of the recent strike; am a cigar maker; was not present at the meeting referred to; don't know anything of my own knowledge as to what occurred there; don't know any facts concerning the strike at Blue Island that would be of interest to the commission; don't know why I was subpoenaed here.

#### TESTIMONY OF JOHN DIGAN.

August 30, 1894, John Digan, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is John Digan; reside at Blue Island; was living there at the time of the strike; my business then was plumbing, and is now; am not connected with the Rock Island road in any way; was not present at the strikers' meeting referred to; don't know of my own knowledge of anything that took place there; don't know any matters of interest connected with the strike at that place; don't know the purpose for which I was subpoenaed here, any more than what I read in the papers that somebody testified a majority of the business men of Blue Island attended that American Railway Union meeting, and I thought perhaps that was the reason I was brought here. I don't know of a business man in Blue Island that was at that meeting, except one.

#### TESTIMONY OF GEORGE FURLONG.

August 30, 1894, George Furlong, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, occupation, and place of residence.—Ans. My name is George Furlong; I am engaged in the plumbing business at Blue Island; I was living there at the time of the strike; was not working for the Rock Island road; was present at this strikers' meeting referred to held at Blue Island; I should judge there were about 300 persons present, about one-third of them being railroad men; I was not present when the vote was taken to strike; I left before that time and don't know anything about how they voted or how the vote was taken; I didn't hear anything said at the meeting about violence; I only heard Mr. Debs speak; I didn't hear Mr. Howard; just as he got up to speak I left the hall; the men

present who were not railroad men I should judge were principally brickyard men; I don't know anything further in reference to this matter.

TESTIMONY OF OWEN O'KEEFE.

August 30, 1894, Owen O'Keefe, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, occupation, and place of residence.—Ans. My name is Owen O'Keefe; I reside at Blue Island; was living there at the time of the strike; am a bartender in the saloon of O. W. Bourkes—the "Club Saloon;" I was not present at the strike meeting that has been referred to and don't know of my own knowledge anything that occurred there; I don't know anything with reference to strikes at Blue Island; there was not much intoxication the night of that meeting, that is, at least not in my place; my saloon is one block from the place of meeting; there was one other saloon right across the street from the hall; so far as I know there was no unusual drunkenness or intoxication that night.

TESTIMONY OF FRED DAUMBACH.

August 30, 1894, Fred Daumbach, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is Fred Daumbach; I reside at Blue Island; resided there at the time of the strike; am a farmer; have never been in the employ of the Rock Island road; I was present at this strikers' meeting referred to; I should judge there was about 100 railroad men there, but I don't know exactly, for I don't know them all. I should judge there were about 300 altogether at the meeting, and about one-third of them were railroad men, in my judgment. I was not present when the vote was taken to strike; I had left before that; I heard Mr. Howard and Mr. Debs speak that night; I did not hear any of the speakers advise violence or injury to property in any way; I could not hear everything Mr. Howard said, but I did not hear him say anything about Mr. Pullman or the Pullman company, except he described the situation the men were in over there; I did not hear him apply any epithets to anybody; I did not hear him say anything about hanging Pullman, or he ought to be hung, or anything of that kind, but he may have said that before I went in the hall; I was not in there when he began speaking; he spoke only about five minutes, I should judge, after I came in; I had no interest in the strike.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH RIPPET.

August 30, 1894, Joseph Rippet, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, business, and place of residence.—Ans. My name is Joseph Rippet; I reside at Blue Island; lived there at the time of the strike; am in the milk business; never worked for the Rock Island road; was not present at this strike meeting referred to and know nothing about what occurred there of my own knowledge; do not know anything with reference to the strike, what was done or who took part in it; I don't know what testimony I was called upon to give here or in reference to what facts.

## TESTIMONY OF GEORGE DAVIS.

August 30, 1894, George Davis, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is George Davis; reside at Blue Island; resided there during the strike; am a tailor; never worked for the Rock Island road in any capacity except to make some clothes for some of the employees, I guess; am not a member of the American Railway Union. I was present at this strike meeting referred to, but was only there a very short time; it was so exceedingly hot in there I could not stand it; I was not there when the vote was taken to strike. I heard the first part of Mr. Howard's speech, but did not hear the conclusion of it; I don't remember of hearing him say anything with reference to violence to anybody, or that he would like to see anybody hung; I did not hear him apply any epithets to Mr. Pullman or call him any names; he might have said something like that after I left, but I did not hear him; I guess what little I know about the strike would not interest the commission very much. I was not with the strikers or mixed up with the crowd one way or the other; I would not know railroad men from other men, except a few of them.

## TESTIMONY OF OTTO MORLING.

August 30, 1894, Otto Morling, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is Otto Morling; reside at Blue Island; was living there at the time of the strike; am a tailor; was present part of the time at this strike meeting referred to; I heard all the speeches made except one; that is, I heard three speeches. I heard Debs, Howard, and one other man speak, whose name I don't know. I left before the vote was taken; I should judge there was between 300 and 400 people present there; I could not state what proportion of them were railroad men; I didn't hear anything said about violence to property or persons, except Howard referred to Mr. Pullman as a son of a bitch; I don't remember of hearing him say anything about hanging him or that he ought to be hung; I heard all of Howard's speech; am not a member of the American Railway Union.

## TESTIMONY OF JAMES SIMMONS.

August 30, 1894, James Simmons, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, place of residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is James Simmons; reside at Blue Island; am a tailor; I was present at this strike meeting referred to until Mr. Debs got done speaking; was not present when the vote was taken; am not sufficiently acquainted with railroad men to state what proportion of those at the meeting were railroad men; I saw a few people there who I knew were engaged in other kinds of business at Blue Island; a majority of those present were railroad men, I believe, although I am not positive; I heard Howard speak; Howard spoke before Debs did. The chairman introduced several speakers previous to that, I think; I heard no reference to violence at all by any of the

speakers; Howard referred to somebody as a son of a bitch, but I am not positive whether it was St. John or Pullman he referred to; I don't remember of hearing him say anything with reference to anybody's being hung or ought to be hung; my position was at the back of the hall near the door; I could hear pretty much all that was said by the speakers, but there were some things the speakers said I could not hear; I believe I heard all that Howard said and have stated all I heard him say in reference to Pullman that I remember; I did not hear him counsel any violence.

#### TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER QUASSO.

August 30, 1894, Alexander Quasso, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, place of residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is Alexander Quasso; reside at Blue Island; was residing there during the strike; am a journeyman tailor; was present part of the time at this strike meeting referred to. I went there merely for curiosity's sake; it was a public meeting and I thought I would go and hear Debs and Howard speak. I heard Howard speak, but when Debs commenced to speak I left the hall, because it was so warm, and did not go back afterwards; was not there when the vote was taken. I am not acquainted with railroad men particularly and could not state exactly what proportion of that audience were railroad men, but I suppose about two-thirds of them were railroad men, although my estimate would not be very trustworthy. I heard all of Howard's speech; I heard him make a statement of the condition of the Pullman employees he claimed they were treated very bad, disgraceful, and he thought Pullman ought to be hung; that if he had the job he would hang him himself; I did not hear him call him any names that I remember of; I did not hear anything said, from any of the speakers I heard, in reference to violence, but I only stayed until the wind up of Howard's speech; I did not hear him say anything to them with reference to using violence if they struck; did not hear anything said about a coupling pin. I don't know the chairman's name of that meeting; I suppose he was a switchman; I don't believe he was a Blue Island man; at least, I was not acquainted with him.

#### TESTIMONY OF HENRY LUSSON.

August 30, 1894, Henry Lusson, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, place of residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is Henry Lusson; reside at Blue Island; am in the retail grocery business. I worked for the Rock Island road about three years ago as collector and as a brakesman on the suburban line; am not a member of the American Railway Union nor of any other railroad organization; was not present at this strike meeting referred to; know nothing about what occurred there of my own knowledge; was not up there at all. I live about half a block from the hall and heard a good deal of hooting and hollering; that is all I know about it. I did not notice much drunkenness or intoxication that night. I don't know anything with reference to the strike there that would be of interest to the commission; I only know that times were very dull and that we lost considerable money during the strike.



## TESTIMONY OF J. H. CADY.

August 30, 1894, J. H. Cady, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, place of residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is J. H. Cady; reside at Morgan Park, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Blue Island; I am not doing anything at the present time. The last time I worked was for the Rock Island company as a switchman; I quit that road of my own accord the 16th of last February. I signed my name once to join the American Railway Union, but I never received any card, never paid any money, and never attended but one meeting, which was the strike meeting at Blue Island, spoken of here, and I was only present during the latter part of that meeting. I took no part in the meeting; did not vote at it. There were a great many persons at the meeting that I was acquainted with; it would be hard for me to state what proportion of those present were railroad men. Around in the immediate vicinity where I sat they were nearly all railroad men; I was sitting close to the door; it was a hot evening, and as it was late when I got there the hall was crowded and I got a seat near the door. About the time it looked as if the speakers were through speaking everybody made a rush to get out of the hall; the chairman got up and called those fellows back, stating that they wanted to come to some understanding as to what this meeting was called for. Somebody near the door said to those going out, "You fellows come back," and a few came in, but the others went on out, and the remark was made that nothing had been said so far as to what the meeting was called for. About that time a railroad man got up and said he guessed it was called for a strike; that that appeared to be the general understanding, and he made a motion that they strike in the morning at 7 o'clock; the motion was seconded and the vote called for; all in favor of a strike were to stand up. There was a great many standing up when they called for the vote, but it seemed to me, from the vicinity where I sat, that pretty nearly everybody in the hall got up that was not already up when they called for the vote. I didn't pay much attention to the opposing vote when it was called for; there was considerable confusion in the hall, and it was a hard matter to notice that much; in fact, the vote to strike was so unanimous like that I did not pay much attention to the opposing part of it; it seemed to me to be about unanimous in favor of a strike. A great many were standing up when the affirmative vote was called for, and when the negative vote was called for they continued to stand up; there was considerable confusion and talk going on; an adjournment took place immediately after the vote, or rather, the next thing after the vote they began appointing what they called a "strike committee," choosing members from each different order that was represented on the road to serve on the strike committee. I did not vote for the strike; when the vote was taken I was sitting down on the second step of the rostrum and continued sitting there until after the voting was all through with; I remained there some ten or fifteen minutes after the vote was taken to strike, and left a majority of the audience still remaining in the hall. I don't know whether there was any formal adjournment of the meeting at all; it appeared to be a kind of a general break-up, although it had not broken up entirely when I left. I heard a very little of the last of Howard's speech; I did not hear him say anything in reference to violence, or use any epithets of any kind. When I came in he was telling what they would do to win the strike, and if that did not do

they would "touch another button;" that was about all I heard. My understanding of that expression was, that if the men on the Rock Island struck and that was not sufficient, to "touch another button" was to bring the men out on another road in another locality.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN CLANCY.

August 30, 1894, John Clancy, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, occupation, and place of residence.—Ans. My name is John Clancy; a year ago last March I quit the employ of the Rock Island company; had worked for them as switch tender, conductor, and brakeman; am a member of the American Railway Union, and have been ever since it first started in Blue Island; I don't know exactly the date that was, but it was about three months ago. I was present at this strike meeting that has been spoken of. I am pretty well acquainted with the railroad men at Blue Island and in the vicinity; from what I saw I should judge that about half of this audience at the strike meeting were railroad men, but they were crowded up so you could hardly tell. I was there when the vote to strike was taken; at that time a good part of the audience was seated and a good many had left the hall, leaving more room for those that remained. When the vote to strike was called for, all I saw stood up, and it looked to me as though it was taken for granted that the motion to strike was carried, and those that stood up to vote for the strike never sat down again, that I knew. Right away after the affirmative vote was taken the chairman called for those opposed to a strike to stand up, but nobody had sat down after voting for the strike, and I suppose it was taken for granted that the motion was carried. I only heard the latter part of Mr. Howard's speech; I did not hear him say anything in regard to violence, or that any person ought to be hung; I heard all of Debs' speech. I did not hear any violence counseled by anybody.

TESTIMONY OF M. KUBELSKY.

August 30, 1894, M. Kubelsky, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. M. Kubelsky; I live at Blue Island; am a merchant; never have been in the employ of the Rock Island road; was not present at this strike meeting and do not know anything about it.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES KECK.

August 30, 1894, Charles Keck, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is Charles Keck; reside at Blue Island; am clerking for E. P. Miller & Co., in the feed business, in the city here; was never in the employ of a railroad company; I was present during certain intervals at this strike meeting spoken of; the first time I went up I could not get in; I went up the second time and found standing room in the corridor, or a sort of little hall; I heard part of one speech, but I don't know who the man was who made it; I did not hear anything said in the way of counseling violence or that anybody ought to

be hung, or anything of that kind; I was not present when the vote to strike was taken.

In the speech I heard there was something said about obstructing the mails. The speaker claimed that the mail could be carried to its destination without having the Pullman cars attached to the trains; that it was not necessary for the mails to be held at all; that it could go on without delay, and he mentioned the fact that a judge in Indiana decided that the mail could have gone on without the Pullman cars. He said that the Pullman cars could be stopped and yet the mail not interfered with.

#### TESTIMONY OF J. C. KLEIN.

August 30, 1894, J. C. Klein, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, occupation, and place of residence.—Ans. My name is J. C. Klein; reside at Blue Island; was living there at the time of the strike; am a flour and feed merchant; have never been in the employ of a railroad company; was not present at this strike meeting referred to; don't know anything about what occurred there; don't know anything of interest with reference to the strike at Blue Island.

#### TESTIMONY OF PAUL CLAUSEN.

August 30, 1894, Paul Clausen, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, residence, and business.—Ans. My name is Paul Clausen; I reside at Blue Island; was living there during the strike; am a baker; was never in the employ of the Rock Island Railway Company; am not a member of the American Railway Union; was not present at this strike meeting spoken of; don't know of anything that occurred there.

#### TESTIMONY OF JOHN CLAUSEN.

August 30, 1894, John Clausen, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is John Clausen; reside at Blue Island; am a painter; never was in the employ of the Rock Island company; was not present at this strike meeting; don't know anything about anything that occurred there; don't know anything in reference to the strike in Blue Island except the fact there was a strike; don't know of any acts of violence committed by any railroad men there; don't know what matter I was called here to testify about.

## TESTIMONY ON THE PART OF THE ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD COMPANY.

### TESTIMONY OF ALBERT W. SULLIVAN.

August 28, 1894, Albert W. Sullivan, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner KERNAN). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is Albert W. Sullivan; I am general superintendent of the Illinois Central Railroad; have occupied that position for very nearly five years.

2 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you in Chicago during the period of the recent difficulties in June and July?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). And were in the discharge of your duties as general superintendent of the road?—Ans. Yes, sir.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). State what you know in reference to the causes of the difficulty, the conditions accompanying it, and the extent of the depredations or violence committed, and any other facts that you may think have a bearing on the subject of the investigation?—Ans. The first direct intimation received by the Illinois Central Railroad of any interruption in its service in connection with the American Railway Union difficulties was the stoppage of work on the part of the switchmen in the night yard at Chicago, on the 26th of June.

The stoppage of work on the part of the switchmen was simultaneous both as to the yard within the city and the yard outside of the city—that is, at a distance of 10 or 12 miles from the center of the city, and no work of any kind was done in either of those yards that night. On the following morning, June 27, a great many of the day switchmen who had worked all of the day preceding came to the yards with the intention of going to work, but for some reason unknown to the company did not go to work; and from that moment all traffic within the freight yards of the company at Chicago ceased for a period of several days. Following the cessation of work on the part of the switchmen, the nonpreparation of trains for departure from the city caused a cessation of work on the part of the trainmen on the road, and the inability of the terminals to receive the freight from off the road in the course of a day or two caused the cessation of freight traffic coming into Chicago; and from that as a beginning the cessation of work spread from one department to another at different points on the road until upwards of 4,000 employees had ceased to work.

The passenger traffic was not interrupted through any inability of the men employed in that line of work to perform their duties. The interruption was entirely external to that department of the service and of the nature more or less violent in its character in the form of intimidation and violence, and the passenger service was very little interfered with, notwithstanding the difficulties that were encountered in its operation. Only on one day during the entire troubles did the company fail to dispatch its regular passenger trains from Chicago.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were there Pullman cars on those trains?—Ans. Pullman cars were on every train to which Pullman cars were assigned, without an exception. The troubles culminated on the 6th of July, going steadily from bad to worse from the inception of the difficulty on the night of the 26th of June until the arrival of the military, and from the moment of the arrival of the military the business picked up at once, and was gradually improved until its resumption was made complete in the course of about three weeks.

The cause of these difficulties the company knows nothing about except from what it has gathered from the public press. Quite earnest investigations have been made with a view to developing what trouble existed as between the railroad company and its employees, and without exception, our men have stated that they had no grievance against the railroad company; that their stoppage of work was entirely disconnected from any relations existing between the railroad company and its employees. To my personal knowledge, resulting from interviews with some thirty or forty of the more prominent of our employees who were active in the disturbances and the interruption of traffic which occurred, their statements have been unanimous to the effect that no grievances existed on their part against the railroad company, and there was therefore nothing to adjust on the part of the company as between the management and its employees. The influences which led them to conduct themselves in that manner were influences entirely outside of the service, influences over which the company had no control. Every effort that was possible was made by the management to induce its employees to return to work, to the extent of sending for them—sending for the more influential members of the different branches of the service and discussing the situation with them, arguing upon the merits of the different points presented, counseling with them, advising them against the folly of the course they were pursuing, and endeavoring by every reasonable method to induce them to see the error of their course and return to their proper duties before the opportunity for obtaining reemployment was lost to them.

Some of the employees stated that they had received no notice that it was necessary to return to work, and in order that that point might be properly covered a notice was issued from my office, over my signature, giving them until a certain time—giving them a sufficient time in advance of the notice so they could all be familiar with its purport, directing them to return to work at certain times or else to completely sever their connection with the company—that is, to consider themselves as out of the service. Quite a number of employees returned in response to those notices, and from that as a commencement the force has been restored to its normal condition and the business of the company is now and has been for some time past proceeding in its normal course. The company has at no time had any official knowledge of the causes of these disturbances or who were the instigators of it, and has been left for its information as to the nature of the troubles and the course to pursue in meeting the exigencies which arose entirely to the information obtained from the public press.

The total number of employees who quit work during the strike were 3,599, of this number 1,990 were strikers, and 1,609 were employees who were forced to stop work either through intimidation or persuasion of the strikers.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). How do you get at that?—Ans. By a very careful canvass of the situation through all of the departments, the inquiry extending to all the official channels of the service down to the foreman directly in charge of the men and personally acquainted with them.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Just what do you mean by intimidation or force there?—Ans. Such influences as were brought to bear by the agitators of the trouble to influence such employees as were, of their own accord, willing to work if unmolested, but unwilling to work if it would lead to assault or any other form of violence.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many cases of actual assault were

there, if you know?—Ans. There have been two cases of deliberate assault. By assault I mean where the act has been in the nature of personal violence attended by severe injuries, where the parties committing the injuries are known.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were they railroad strikers who committed the injuries in those two cases?—Ans. Yes, sir; there have been numberless instances of assault by the throwing of stones, even firing shots from weapons.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you count that in as the work of strikers?—Ans. I count that in as the work of strikers, most decidedly.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). How do you know that those were not thrown by women or children, or by thieves or hoodlums who never had been in the railroad employ?—Ans. Because, from the location of the territory of the Illinois Central Railroad Company it has been more than ordinarily free from outside interference, from the fact that its right of way for a distance of 6 miles is protected, on the side towards the city by a high stone wall, on the east side by the lake; from the point where the lake ceases to bound its eastern right of way the elevation of the track commences, carrying it for a distance of 3 miles—nearly 9 miles from the city, where the track is upon an elevated embankment and not readily accessible; beyond the elevated portion of the track the settlement of the territory immediately adjoining the railroad is very thin until Grand Crossing is reached, at a distance of about 10 miles from the city, and that point has been one of the centers of trouble in connection with the operation of the road; south of Grand Crossing to Burnside there is no settlement—there is a distance of 2 miles in there practically without inhabitants—there being a few scattering houses only; the territory on the east of the right of way for the distance of a mile and a half south of Grand Crossing, being bounded by the outside freight yards of the company, and on the west side by an unsettled, swampy district of low land which has never been much built up.

At Burnside, a distance of 12 miles from the center of the city, are the railroad crossings of the Belt Line and the Rock Island road and the shops of the railroad company, and there is quite a considerable settlement at that point; then from Burnside to Pullman and Kensington, a distance of about 2 miles farther, there is very little settlement along the line of way, the ground being clear and free from houses or structures of the character of a settled community for a distance of fully half a mile to the west and nothing except the town of Pullman on the east. The nature of the company's premises has been such, owing to its comparatively isolated condition, that outside of the points at Grand Crossing and Burnside and Kensington there is very little known of it to any others except those who are immediately in the service of the company or in the employ of other railroads and run to and from those points in the interchange of business.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many arrests did you have made for violence of any kind or destruction of property of your road?—Ans. There have been quite a number of arrests made; there have been 13 persons arrested and indicted by the Federal grand jury for overt acts committed upon the premises of the Illinois Central Railroad during the strike; there have been a number of other arrests made where the evidence was not sufficient to warrant a severe charge and in such cases the charge of disorderly conduct has generally been made by the officers making the arrests and the parties allowed to go.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many such cases were there?—Ans.

I have not the data to answer that question exactly, but there have been quite a number.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). As many as fifty?—Ans. Hardly fifty I should say.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). With the large force of marshals and police and soldiers that you had upon your line, with the officials there knowing the men who had worked there, it would seem as though you ought to have been able to detect all acts of violence and depredation committed by your own employees who were strikers?—Ans. Yes, sir; it is known that a great many of our employees committed acts of violence; that is known.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). I say all that committed them ought to have been detected, and could have been arrested?—Ans. No, sir; that is not true, for the reason that a great majority of the acts of violence were not committed when an official of the company was present, nor were many of them committed during the daytime, the great number were committed at night, and inasmuch as there were thousands of employees and less than fifty officials, and probably less than ten officials who were free to be out and around to see what was going on, it would hardly be possible to detect and locate exactly the nature of all the offenses committed even though they were done by employees.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is what I wanted to get at. It is a matter of assumption, is it not, that much of this was done by strikers?—Ans. No, sir; it is not a matter of assumption.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where it was done in the night, and nobody saw it done, do you know who did it?—Ans. We have information which has been obtained since these acts have been committed sufficient to indicate to our mind by whom the acts were committed.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is information that comes from marshals and police and military that were on guard, or detectives?—Ans. No, sir; it is information which comes from parties who we think had reliable sources of observation.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many are there of your employees against whom you have got information of that kind?—Ans. Those against whom the indictments have been found by the Federal grand jury.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, thirteen indicted by them and less than fifty that have been discharged. Are there any others who have not been covered by the arrests against whom you have information sufficient to warrant the arrest of the man, at least, if not his conviction?—Ans. A direct answer to that question would probably anticipate what the company desires to do, and I will say that its line of evidence and information is not as yet sufficiently complete to make a proper answer to such question.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, you are not able to say that the evidence is complete yet upon which you can answer the question?—Ans. No, sir.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). You may proceed with your statement in your own way?—Ans. Of the 1,609 employees who were forced to quit their work by the strikers all have been taken back into the service; of the 1,990 strikers or their sympathizers 680 have been taken back, leaving 1,310 strikers who have been dismissed from the service of the company. That list applies to the entire system of the road from Chicago to Memphis.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you prepared a list of them and advised the deputy superintendent as to them?—Ans. The lines upon which restorations to the service could be made from among those who

have quit work were laid down in my office and communicated to the superintendents of divisions and departments.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). The lines of what?—Ans. The course of action which superintendents of divisions and departments should take in reference to reemploying these men.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). What were those directions?—Ans. Those directions substantially were that employees who had committed no acts of violence, who had caused no damage to the company's property, or who had not interfered with or intimidated others from working, and who had conducted themselves while away from their work in a quiet and lawful manner, who had committed, generally, during the strike, no illegal acts could be reemployed provided their services were required—that is, provided their places had not been filled by the employment of new men. In other words, so many of the strikers as had conducted themselves in a lawful manner could be taken back as were required to fill the vacancies which existed.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was a list of those deemed not eligible sent to the superintendents?—Ans. No, sir.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). I presume that an application by one of these men for employment anywhere on the line would result in an inquiry where he worked last, and what his recommendations were, would it?—Ans. The course to be followed would be precisely as it was before this strike occurred.

29 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was that?—Ans. I can best answer that by reading a rule of the service. (Witness reads):

Applicants for positions in the service of this company must be of sound health, and free from physical, mental, or moral infirmities. For the positions above that of laborer, no white person shall be employed who can not read and write the English language, or who does not possess a knowledge of the rudiments of arithmetic. No minors shall be employed in the train, yard, or engine service. No person deficient in hearing, visual power, or color perception shall be employed in any branch of the service involving the use of signals or the movement of engines or trains. No person who is intemperate, dishonest, immoral or otherwise vicious shall be allowed to enter or remain in the service. No person suspended or dismissed from one department or division of the service shall be employed in another without the consent of the head of the department or division from which he was dismissed, subject to the approval of the superintendent of lines and the general superintendent. No person from another railroad shall be given employment in the service of this company unless satisfactory evidence is produced as to previous record, character, and ability.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). That kind of evidence is a certificate of some sort from the superintendents or officials of the other road, is it not?—Ans. Yes, sir; there are two more rules here of a collateral character, but they do not bear directly upon this matter.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). That covers what I wanted to know. Any assistant superintendent who employs any of these men must do so after application to his former employer as to his character, etc.?—Ans. Provided in other respects the applicant is fitted for the position; yes, sir.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was the abandonment of the American Railroad Union made a condition of reemployment?—Ans. No, sir.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). Nothing said about that?—Ans. No, sir; nothing whatever.

34 (Commissioner KERNAN). If there is anything further that you desire to state, state it.—Ans. I have been asked by the chairman of the commission to furnish a statement showing the damage sustained by the railroad company, both as to property and loss of business during the strike. I have the statement in the form of a memorandum only, and can submit at this time figures only approximate to the total



loss, for the reason that sufficient time has not yet elapsed for all the claims to be presented and adjusted.

The damage by destruction to property during the strike was approximately \$53,000, so far as we have been able to ascertain up to this time; the claims for freight detained and destroyed—chiefly perishable freights—are approximately \$50,000; the loss in traffic, \$500,000.

35 (Commissioner KEERNAN). How do you get at that?—Ans. That is an estimate prepared by our traffic department—by the traffic manager of the road.

36 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Does he base it upon the earnings of some other like period?—Ans. I presume so, but I am not able to answer definitely. It is what the company would have earned had not it been for the interruption of its traffic by reason of this strike as against what it did earn during the strike.

37 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Gross or net?—Ans. Gross. The extra expense of operation during the strike was \$127,000; that is expense directly attributable to the strike itself—expense of a character which would not have occurred had the strike trouble not existed. The aggregate amount of these losses is \$730,000. The loss in wages to the employees of the road who stopped work during the strike is, as nearly as it can be ascertained, \$164,000; that covers nothing but the loss in wages due to the men not working—the wages they would have earned had they continued at work during the period of the strike. I think that answers the request of the commission.

38 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Are there any other facts that you desire to testify to in connection with the matter?—Ans. The position of the railroad company with reference to this strike has been decidedly an unique one in this, that while it has suffered severely it has at no time been in a position where by its own acts it could have prevented those losses from occurring; nothing in its power could have protected it from the losses which it has sustained under the conditions which existed prior to and during the strike.

39 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Well, the whole business community of Chicago were in the same position, were they not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

40 (Commissioner KEERNAN). A great many innocent people were affected by it.—Ans. Except that the railroad companies' premises, being directly the scene of the disturbance, suffered more severely and was more immediately concerned. Every possible influence was brought to bear upon the employees to bring them to see the error of their actions, and my personal efforts were given for several days in endeavoring to bring them around to a proper performance of their duties. There was nothing I could do, no concession I could make that could have any influence, because nothing was asked of the railroad company; at no time during any of these disturbances was anything asked of the railroad company, and when traffic was resumed it was resumed by those among the strikers who went back to work as an entirely voluntary act upon their part. They stopped work without any grievance; without notice of any kind to the company of their intention to do so; without any explanation of any kind of why they had gone after they had quit; they remained away as long as it suited their convenience or their purpose, and then they returned to work when they saw fit to do so, and no explanation has been made as to the reason of it before the trouble, during the trouble, or since the trouble. And yet, notwithstanding this utterly helpless condition of the management of the railroad to protect itself—to protect its service against such an experience—it has sustained a very heavy loss, and it

stands today in no better position to guard itself against a repetition of the same experience than it stood in prior to this strike.

41 (Commissioner KERNAN). What remedy is there for that situation? What do you suggest as a way of preventing difficulties of that kind involving such consequences?—Ans. The remedy is a very simple one, and that is to require a labor organization, when it is formed, to assume with its various other functions a responsibility for its acts and for the acts of its members, and if that is done there will be no more trouble of this kind.

42 (Commissioner KEENAN). What do you mean by "assuming a responsibility?" Do you mean that they should not be allowed to organize unless they could give guarantees of that kind of some sort, or have a capital? How are you going to accomplish that?—Ans. There is no objection to their organizing, no objection to a labor organization; in fact there are many reasons why it is desirable that the men should be organized, but when they are organized they obtain unto themselves a power which they did not possess as individual employees, and with the assumption of that power and the freedom to exercise it, which they now possess, there is absolutely no check to their wrongful use of it. In other words, they are wholly irresponsible so far as accountability for their acts or the acts of their members is concerned.

It is the custom on railroads for the various organizations to form, select or appoint grievance committees; these committees are charged with the duty, among other things, of exercising supervision of the service, the interests of their members in the service, and in case of any grievance which may exist, to investigate it, and if they think proper, to call upon the officers of the company for an adjustment; that is the usual method of procedure. There are many advantages to be obtained from that form of organization, for the reason that a committee of intelligent and conservative men will often find a means of adjusting grievances to the satisfaction both of the employees and of the management. That feature of the organizations is a very good one, beyond any question. But the organization itself is incomplete, as developed during this strike; for among the first things that I did, when I found that the individual employees here were inaccessible, was to call together the committee of the conductors and the trainmen of our service and demand of them an explanation of why their members, after having made an agreement with the railroad company through their organization of conductors and their organization of trainmen, that they would under certain rules perform certain duties, and that agreement was in binding effect and full force at the time that this strike took place—why those members of those organizations with whom this agreement existed quit work, and, when called upon, refused to go to work; I wanted to know why that was done.

The answer was in reply to the interrogatories, first, that there was no grievance against the company; in other words, the company had done nothing to which the employees could take exception or which would serve as a basis for them to take any action at variance with the terms of the agreement. That being the fact, I asked how they could reconcile the conditions of the agreement with the facts that existed, that the men had stopped work and they would not go back to work. I asked whether that was supported by their organizations. They said "No;" that their organizations did not support them in that course of action. Well, what would be the result? They would probably be expelled from their organizations. Then, if that was the attitude of their organizations, how could they, while still members of those organi-

zations, pursue such a course detrimental to the company and in violation of their contract and agreement; how could they justify themselves in that? Well, it was their sympathy. Sympathy with what? Sympathy with the American Railway Union. Did they belong to the American Railway Union? No. Then they considered their allegiance to the American Railway Union, of which they were not members, more binding in its character than their allegiance to the company with which they held a contract and agreement, and which the company had in nowise violated? The answer was that the cause of one was the cause of all, and their sympathies were in that direction and therefore they would not work.

43 (Commissioner KERNAN). You speak of a contract. Did your road have any contract with their organizations which was violated by the men in leaving their work, or anything of that kind?—Ans. Not specifically in those terms, but a contract governing the rates of pay and the rules of employment.

44 (Commissioner KERNAN). But not binding as to length of time, I presume?—Ans. Yes, sir; binding as to length of time.

45 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then, when a man quit he violated his contract, did he not?—Ans. No, sir.

46 (Commissioner KERNAN). Explain that; that is what I asked. I wanted to know whether they broke a contract with you when they quit. If they had a contract with you by which they agreed to work a certain length of time upon certain wages, and, if they quit without cause, they broke the contract?—Ans. Under those circumstances they did. That was exactly the situation. To the question how they could reconcile their acts in this case with their duties to their organizations as members of those organizations, having a contract or agreement with the company then in full force, their answer was that they acted as individuals, not as members of the organization of conductors or of the organization of trainmen, but as individuals. In other words, that where the rules of their organizations required them to stand by the rules of the service, as incorporated in the agreement with them, and the rules of their own orders, so far as acting in a body was concerned, yet they claimed that they had a perfect right to each one of them step out of his place in the service as individuals and, in effect, produce exactly the same results as though they had quit as an organization. That is an element of irresponsibility in the organizations.

A railroad company will make an agreement with an organization which it is bound absolutely to live up to or suffer the penalty, and it can be collected from it. A labor organization, under the same circumstances, can get all the benefits which come from organization handled by intelligent, skillful leaders—wise counselors—and then under the existing conditions, after they have derived all the benefit to come from that form, they are in a position where they can kick the whole thing overboard, and, as individuals, go out and act just as though there was nothing to control them, no obligation of any kind. In other words, as individuals they repudiate the moral obligation to the railway service made under the organization or with the approval of the leaders of their organizations, and conduct themselves entirely as irresponsible individuals.

I went to the chief of the switchmen's organization here in Chicago a day or two after this trouble broke out, before it extended to our trainmen, while it existed among the switchmen, and asked him what the reason was for this disturbance. I could not get any information from our employees, and I thought possibly he might know, and he

said he had nothing to do with it; that the men had received no authority from him for taking any such action, and furthermore, that they were conducting themselves in a manner directly in violation of their own rules and their obligations to the company, and had conducted themselves in such a manner that he could not sustain them in their position, and would not do so, and would expel them from the organization, which was the extreme measure of discipline which he could apply to them.

There is no restriction whatever for the formation of a labor organization tomorrow that can go to work and do over again, or repeat, all of the errors and all of the misdoings that have prevailed during the recent strike, provided that there go among those of that organization men who can bring about such an emotional wave that will carry with it the same degree of ardor and eliminate entirely all the elements of conservatism, all the obligations of agreement of contract, all the moral obligations that exist between an employee and employer, will sweep those aside as though they were nothing, simply because the organizations themselves have no responsibility; and there is no way at present of making these acts of wrongdoing carry with them to the organizations a penalty beyond such discipline as they may choose themselves to inflict in the suspension or the expelling of members who fail to obey their own rules. But meanwhile the organizations are somewhat weakened, but the damage to the railroad interests is done—it is a fact. And that is the great weakness of the existing situation, that the railroads for their very existence are dependent more on the intelligence and the conservativeness of the leaders of the labor organizations than they are upon any contract or any agreement which they may make with those organizations. The thing is entirely upon an emotional basis without any influence of a deterrent nature to regulate the exercise of those emotions. I have contended with the leaders of these organizations that when they make an agreement with the railroad company they are in duty bound to see that it is lived up to by their members, and if their members fail to perform the duties under those agreements they are also morally bound to furnish men to fill the places of those who violate the contract, but they will not do it.

47 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is not that the rule in England in some cases?—Ans. I can't say as to that. The organizations make contracts with railroad companies to protect the employees of the organization. An agreement is made with a committee numbering anywhere from 12 to 40 members, according to the size of the system. That agreement made by those committees and approved by the leaders of the organizations and by the officials of the company constitutes the working contract and covers the employment of several thousand employees, who join the organizations in order that they may obtain the benefits to be derived of having such a contract or agreement. It is entirely from a point of view of self-advantage to the members of the organizations, but with the assumption of those advantages they assume no responsibility whatever. If a number of those men, perhaps on some remote portion of the road, quit work, as they have done, without any notice whatever, say 100 or 200 of them, directly in violation of the terms of the agreement, the leaders of the organization, on their attention being called to it, will at once make efforts to straighten out the difficulty—that is, to require the men to go back to work and present their grievances in a proper manner, in a manner laid down by their own rules, and that is usually done as an outcome of their efforts. But during the two or three days or a week that they have been trying

to get this thing straightened out, with the traffic of the company tied up and the losses amounting to thousands of dollars—that is a fixed fact—the company has suffered that loss, and the leaders of the organizations are very sorry for it, but these fellows kicked over the traces and they could not help it.

Now, if an organization is to control anything it must control in both directions; it must control not only with reference to the benefits that are to accrue to its members by reason of having an organization, but it must control with reference to the security of the railroad service with which it makes such contracts. Under those conditions organizations are highly desirable, provided, of course, they are led by men of intelligence and conservatism. An organization in the hands of men who are not of that character has within it the elements of a vast amount of injury.

48 (Commissioner KERNAN). It can not do very much for a great length of time, can it?—Ans. It can do a great deal in a very short time.

49 (Commissioner KERNAN). It can not survive a very great length of time if unwisely conducted, but goes to pieces for not wisely conducting its affairs?—Ans. Naturally, like every other business organization does; yes, sir.

50 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the continuance of an organization of that character requires the exercise of sound business principles, as applicable to the questions it is trying to meet in the end?—Ans. Yes, sir.

51 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any remedy to suggest for the difficulties beyond what you have stated? What do you think of this license system that has been talked about, or arbitration, or the Government ownership of railroads, and these various devices?—Ans. I do not think the license system has any advantage in it; I do not think it is necessary; I do not think it would be productive of any good. And with reference to arbitration, the necessity for it as a remedy will not exist, provided that the labor organizations become responsible.

52 (Commissioner KERNAN). You can not make them responsible, I suppose, by law, in any way?—Ans. It really indicates a necessity. There is a necessity for such a responsibility. As to how that would be obtained I am not sufficiently versed in legal requirements to even indicate or even suggest. It is an anomalous position that a contract or agreement shall be made between one party who is perfectly responsible and another party who is utterly irresponsible, and that is the present relations between the labor organizations and the railroad companies. If they can be both put on the same plane of responsibility nothing of this kind would happen; and I would say this, so far as the experience of the Illinois Central Railroad is concerned, there never has been a question presented to the management, either of grievances or of wages—a question of any character whatever, affecting the relations between the management and the employees—which has not been satisfactorily adjusted. And I speak from an experience extending over fifteen years of official connection with the service and twenty-four years directly in the service.

Of the several strikes and disturbances which have occurred at different times, all have been of an irresponsible character, for the reason that their adjustment has not been attended with any acts on the part of the company in the nature of a concession or an inducement for the men to return to work. The men have gone out on a strike, and when

they have exhausted their feelings—their emotions in that direction—they have returned to work, and whatever questions existed to be adjusted have been adjusted entirely independently of any act of violence of that character which has been taken by the men. And the fact is that at the outbreak of these disturbances, in an organization of over 16,000 employees in the service of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, not a grievance existed nor has there been a grievance presented to the company in connection with any of these troubles to this day.

53 (Commissioner KERNAN). At the time the men went out you had not tried to compel them to haul Pullman cars upon their trains in violation of the notice of the American Railway Union, had you?—Ans. We had no notice from them.

54 (Commissioner KERNAN). You saw the one in the newspapers, did you not?—Ans. I saw it in the papers, yes, sir; but we had no trouble with the men who were hauling the Pullman cars; the trouble broke out with the men who had nothing whatever to do with the Pullman cars.

55 (Commissioner KERNAN). I say the question did not come up at all between you and your men before they struck about your hauling Pullman cars. Are you a member of the General Managers' Association?—Ans. The road I belong to is; yes, sir.

56 (Commissioner KERNAN). You are not the one who represents your railroad in the association and at its meetings, etc.?—Ans. No, sir.

57 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has the scale which was adopted and recommended by a committee of the General Managers' Association since last February been, to any extent, adopted on your road?—Ans. There has been no change of wages of any kind in the Illinois Central Railroad Company during the present year and there is none in contemplation—that is, I refer to those departments of work where there are schedules or scales.

58 (Commissioner KERNAN). You are familiar with the report of the committee that I refer to, are you not?—Ans. No, sir.

59 (Commissioner KERNAN). Made to the General Managers' Association last March, by a committee appointed for that purpose, recommending to the association the rates of wages for different classes of employees?—Ans. No, sir; I don't know anything about it.

60 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that has not been used by you upon your road at all you say since that time?—Ans. No, sir.

61 (Commissioner KERNAN). There have been changes, have there not?—Ans. No changes, no adjustment in the schedules, since the 1st of January, 1893.

62 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When wages are reduced on your road on account of economic conditions, depressed times, or anything of that kind, are they ever restored voluntarily by the management?—Ans. There has been no reduction of wages in the service of the Illinois Central Railroad since 1877; every year, or nearly every year, from that date to the present time has brought with it an increase of wages in some branch of the service; the movement has been a continuous one for more than fifteen years.

63 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It has appeared in evidence here that whenever wages are raised it is the result of a specific demand, and not the result of the voluntary action of a railroad—not your railroad particularly, but any road.—Ans. The usual method of adjusting those questions is by annual conferences, either annual or biennial conferences, with the general committees of the different branches of the service—that is, the labor organizations.

64 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Such as the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, etc.—Ans. Engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen and switchmen.

65 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And you make a written contract with them, do you not?—Ans. Yes, sir; the contract is printed.

66 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And signed by both parties?—Ans. Yes, sir; that is true with reference to some of the schedules, with some it is not. A great deal as to the method depends on custom. For instance, one of our schedules has been in existence since 1876—eighteen years—with the necessary amendments to keep it even with the development of the service, but the schedule is just as satisfactory today as it was when it was made. Now, that is one in which no labor organization appears officially; the method is to make these arrangements with committees of employees representing the different divisions and representing all of the employees in the service and authorized by the employees to make these negotiations for them.

67 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is the general custom, is it?—Ans. Yes, sir; that is the general custom.

68 (Commissioner WRIGHT). On all roads, so far as you know?—Ans. So far as I know, yes, sir; it is the general custom.

69 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It is a custom recognized as a proper one, is it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

70 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Now, as a matter of general principle, irrespective of the Illinois Central Railroad, would it not be a good policy whenever wages are reduced for economic reasons and business purposes for the management to increase the wages when prosperous times return or those economic conditions are done away with? Would not that be a good policy, and would it not secure peace to the roads in a large measure?—Ans. I think that has been done in a number of instances. It is my recollection that the Vanderbilt system, following the reductions of 1877, took such action as that, and a number of other systems. Wherever there is an agreement to do so it should certainly be done.

71 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It would work well as a matter of moral effect, would it not?—Ans. Yes, sir; whatever agreement is made, whether it is good or bad, if it is an agreement, should be lived up to faithfully by any management until it expires or is modified, but so long as it exists as an agreement it should be lived up to.

72 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But a railroad with such an agreement, finding itself more prosperous than it was when the agreement was made, might make a voluntary proposition to increase the scale comprehended by the agreement, might it not? It would be a perfectly proper thing to do, would it not?—Ans. That is a very broad question, one which could not be considered with reference to one railroad alone, because one of the most potent arguments which are used by the labor organizations is that one road in a similar condition ought to pay and should pay the same scale of wages as another road.

73 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And that the managers consider right and proper I suppose?—Ans. Yes, sir; assuming that what wages exist are proper. Now a road which is below that scale is approached by its employees and asked to pay that scale. Now, if there are twelve or fifteen roads in a group, one road might, under special conditions, be in a position to do more than the twelve or thirteen other roads of that group, and the question would be whether it could with propriety, considering all phases of the situation, take voluntary action in that matter without consideration for the other railroads which were similarly situated with reference to general conditions.

74 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I understood you to say, when speaking of labor unions, that where an agreement exists between a railroad and a labor union and individual members of the union break that agreement the union itself should take the responsibility of the acts of the individuals?—Ans. I think it should.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If there is anyone present who desires to cross-examine Mr. Sullivan on behalf of the American Railway Union he can do so now.

(No response. Witness excused.)

Mr. A. W. Sullivan subsequently forwarded to the chairman of the commission the following letter and tabulated statement to be attached to his testimony:

ILLINOIS CENTRAL RAILROAD COMPANY,  
OFFICE OF THE GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT,  
Chicago, August 31, 1894.

HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT,  
Chairman United States Strike Commission, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In my testimony before the commission, 28th instant, as to the number of persons arrested for interfering with the service of this company, the intimidation of its employees, and acts of violence, there was some misapprehension as to the scope of the question; and, with the view of giving more exact information than was contained in my reply to the question of Commissioner Kernan, I inclose tabulated statement taken from the records of this office showing the occupation of the persons arrested and bearing out the assertion which I made at the time, that the interference with the service of this company was mainly on the part of striking railway employees, and not by outsiders.

This statement has been carefully prepared and I submit same in case you desire to have it incorporated in the record.

Yours, truly,

A. W. SULLIVAN,  
General Superintendent

*Statement showing parties arrested for interfering with the service of the Illinois Central Railroad, intimidation of employees, committing overt acts, etc., during American Railway Union strike, June-July, 1894.*

Name.	Occupation.	Location.	Cause of arrest and disposition of case.
Andrea, W. ....	Unknown .....	Cairo, Ill. ....	For intimidating employees willing to work, cutting air-brake hoses, stopping trains, and assaulting employees in discharge of their duties. All of these men were members of the American Railway Union and were arrested on bench warrants issued by United States court, Springfield, Ill.
Corcoran, Dennis ..	Switchman .....	do .....	
Oahill, Peter .....	Illinois Central switchman ..	do .....	
Devlin, Gus .....	do .....	Mounds, Ill. ....	
Dwyer, E. A. ....	Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis switchman.	Cairo, Ill. ....	
Denton, Geo. ....	Illinois Central yard master ..	do .....	
Elkins, John .....	Switchman (not employed) ..	do .....	
Frazier, Peter .....	Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis switchman.	do .....	
Hill, J. T. ....	Switchman (not employed) ..	do .....	
Milburn, E. B. ....	Mobile and Ohio bill clerk ..	do .....	
Meahan, David .....	Deputy sheriff .....	do .....	
Ray, Wm. ....	Illinois Central switchman ..	do .....	
Rosch, R. P. ....	Illinois Central telegraph operator.	Bridge Junction, Ill. ....	
Stewart, A. L. ....	Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis switchman.	Cairo, Ill. ....	
Sullivan, Jack .....	Unknown .....	do .....	
Simpeon, Chas. ....	Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis or Mobile and Ohio switchman.	do .....	
Simmons, Edw. ....	Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis switchman.	do .....	
Salyard, J. B. ....	Illinois Central telegraph operator.	do .....	
Talbot, Linsey .....	Illinois Central yard clerk ..	Mounds, Ill. ....	
Van Dusen, Frank ..	Illinois Central switchman ..	Cairo, Ill. ....	
Wilson, F. W. ....	Illinois Central stenog- rapher.	do .....	



Statement showing parties arrested for interfering with the service of the Illinois Central Railroad, intimidation of employees, committing overt acts, etc., during American Railway Union strike, June-July, 1894—Concluded.

Name.	Occupation.	Location.	Cause of arrest and disposition of case.
Clark, Steve.....	Unknown.....	Cauro, Ill.....	For breaking into freight cars. Fined \$50 and costs, Aug. 2.
Hogan, W.....	do.....	do.....	For interfering with mail trains.
Miffin, G.....	Proprietor lunch counter.....	do.....	Hogan fined \$100 and costs; Miffin, \$50 and costs, Aug. 4.
Elkins, John.....	Switchman.....	do.....	For interfering with mail trains. Fined \$100 and costs.
Turner, F.....	Unknown.....	do.....	For assault on watchman.
Turner, J.....	do.....	do.....	Fined \$25 and costs each, August 12.
Voice, George.....	Coal miner.....	Duquoin, Ill.....	For intimidating train men; July 4.
Hurley, D.N.....	Illinois Central signalman.....	New Orleans, La.....	For conspiracy. Held under \$500 bonds each to United States circuit court.
Harrison, —.....	Illinois Central trainman.....	do.....	
Sperry, M.G.....	Illinois Central fireman.....	do.....	
Conley, W.....	Illinois Central brakeman.....	Bardwell, Ky.....	For attempt to wreck train at that point. Bound over to circuit court, July 6.
Donovan, D. B.....	Claimed to be switchman.....	Kankakee, Ill.....	For intimidating engineer on train No. 23. Held to Federal grand jury in bonds of \$500, July 4.
Kennedy, J. J.....	Painter, Pullman Co.....	Riverdale, Ill.....	For tampering with switches.
Canon, A.....	Tinner, Pullman Co.....	do.....	Placed under bonds of \$500 each, by United States Commissioner Hoynes, July 4.
Burke, T.....	Painter, Pullman Co.....	do.....	
McCaffrey, Jos.....	do.....	do.....	
Hotchkins, L.....	Illinois Central conductor.....	do.....	For attempting to wreck train No. 3. Placed under bonds of \$5,000 by United States Commissioner Hoynes, June 30.
Rice, Wm.....	Pullman Co. employee.....	Burnside (Chicago).....	For intimidating workmen at Burnside shops. Rice fined \$20 and costs; Corey discharged, July 24.
Corey, Albert.....	do.....	do.....	
Klee, Daniel.....	Illinois Central switchman.....	Dauphin Park, (Chicago).....	For throwing stones and jumping on trains. Fined \$10 and costs, Aug. 16.
Sheppard, Wm.....	Switchman unemployed.....	Grand Crossing (Chicago).....	For wrecking train No. 17. Case dismissed and rearrested on United States warrant. Held under bonds of \$5,000, June 30.
O'Neil, E.....	Illinois Central fireman.....	Chicago.....	
McMullen, W.....	do.....	do.....	For stopping mail train No. 23.
Taylor, W. H.....	do.....	do.....	Held in bonds of \$500 each by Commissioner Hoynes, July 1.
Duffy, J.....	Illinois Central blacksmith.....	do.....	
Churchill, Wm.....	New York Central and St. Louis switchman.....	do.....	For tampering with switches at Sixty-seventh street. Fined \$50 and costs by Justice Quinn.
Coons, Ed.....	Lake Shore and Michigan Southern switchman.....	Dauphin Park (Chicago).....	For calling names, throwing stones. Fined \$5 and costs.
Gepper, Tony.....	Illinois Central fireman.....	Chicago.....	
Edgerle, W. S.....	do.....	do.....	For intimidating and assaulting Fireman Spencer on train No. 23 at Central Station, July 3.
Keefe, John.....	Michigan Central engineer.....	do.....	
Marley, John.....	Illinois Central round-houseman.....	do.....	
Adams, Theo.....	Unknown.....	do.....	For breaking windows in caboose cars at Seventy-ninth street. Fined \$25 each, July 27.
Enright, Gus.....	do.....	do.....	
Enright, Jos.....	do.....	do.....	
Gillespie, W.....	do.....	do.....	For trying to force entrance to coaches, Weldon yard. Fined \$10 and costs, Aug. 14.
Keen, H.....	do.....	do.....	
Bennett, J.....	do.....	Kensington, Ill.....	For assault on brakeman C. L. Arnes. Held to grand jury, bonds \$700, Aug. 21.
Pryor, T.....	Michigan Central switchman.....	do.....	Intimidating Trainmaster Coapman in the performance of his duty, and thereby obstructing interstate traffic, June 29.
Donahough, Thos.....	Illinois Central switchman.....	Fordham (Chicago).....	
O'Connors, M.....	do.....	do.....	
Johnson, Thos.....	do.....	do.....	

Total number of men arrested, 62.

## GENERAL TESTIMONY RELATING TO THE STRIKE.

The following testimony relating to the strike generally was called for by the commission on its own motion. Such testimony includes that of General Miles, U. S. A., the United States marshal, and the mayor and members of the police and fire departments of the city of Chicago, and the reporters of the various Chicago daily papers.

## TESTIMONY OF GEN. NELSON A. MILES.

August 28, 1894, Nelson A. Miles, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner KERNAN). Please state your residence and occupation.—Ans. My residence just at present is at Evanston—practically, in Chicago; I am in the military service of the United States.

2 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you came to Chicago when, in July, with reference to the matter of the strike?—Ans. I arrived on the 4th of July at about 11 o'clock—between 11 and 12 o'clock.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you continued in the command of the United States troops here during the period of the trouble, did you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). It has been stated in evidence before the commission that upon your arrival, or after your arrival, you visited the General Managers' Association and conferred with them. How is that?—Ans. That is a mistake.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). You did not?—Ans. No, sir. I think it was stated that I arrived here on the 2d. I was in Washington on the 2d of July and did not arrive here until the 4th of July. I have not been at the general managers' headquarters since my arrival.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). And it has been further stated that at some time after that you said that you had broken the backbone of the strike. What is there about that?—Ans. I do not remember making the remark. I made the remark that we had broken, in my opinion, the backbone of the opposition to the Federal Government. That was our purpose.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that is all that you said, in substance, in reference to what I have called your attention to, is it?—Ans. That is all that I recall.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were there any occasions when men were forced to work at the point of the bayonet in the hands of Federal soldiers to your knowledge?—Ans. Not to my knowledge.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were there any orders under which that could have been done legitimately?—Ans. Well, there might be certain conditions under which that might be done.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were there any such conditions when men were forced to work—new men employed by the companies forced to do their work at the point of the bayonet?—Ans. I do not know of any. If you have no objection I will state our position here. The military had nothing whatever to do with the strike. The strike was ordered on the 11th of May, and later about the 25th of June. The troops were not ordered here until the 3d of July, and when they were so ordered it was on this order of the President, in which the word "strike" does not appear in any way.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). This is the order under which the troops

were brought here and acted, is it? [showing witness a paper]—Ans. Yes, sir; under which they acted, and, having completed that work, they were ordered to other places.

(Order read.)

WAR DEPARTMENT, HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,  
Washington, D. C., July 3, 1894—4 o'clock p. m.

To MARTIN,

*Adjutant-General, Headquarters Department of the Missouri, Chicago, Ill.:*

It having become impracticable, in the judgment of the President, to enforce by ordinary course of judicial proceedings the laws of the United States, you will direct Colonel Crofton to move his entire command at once to the city of Chicago, leaving the necessary guard at Fort Sheridan, there to execute the orders and processes of the United States court, to prevent the obstruction of the United States mails, and generally to enforce the faithful execution of the laws of the United States. He will confer with the United States marshal, the United States district attorney, and Edwin Walker, special counsel. Acknowledge receipt and report action promptly.

By order of the President:

J. M. SCHOFIELD, *Major-General.*

Official copy:

CHAS. B. SCHOFIELD, *Aide-de-Camp.*

MEMORANDUM.—The order was addressed to the adjutant-general of the Department of the Missouri, as the representative of Major-General Miles, commanding the Department, who at the time was temporarily absent.

November 30, 1894.

WITNESS. The proclamation of the President is of the same character; the matter of strikes does not appear.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is the same that appeared in the public press at the time?—Ans. Yes, sir. The proclamation was sent to me to be communicated immediately to Mayor Hopkins, and so far as the military was concerned, the question of strikes or strikers had nothing whatever to do with our action; the purpose was to carry out the decrees of the Federal court and maintain the Federal authority.

#### TESTIMONY OF JOHN C. DONNELLY.

August 21, 1894, John C. Donnelly, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name and occupation.—Ans. John C. Donnelly; chief deputy and United States marshal for the northern district of Illinois.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you here during the late strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State who had the principal charge of the selection or sending out of deputy marshals.—Ans. I had charge of selecting all of the first outfit that went out.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many deputy marshals in all were sworn in during the strike?—Ans. We had a regular force of between 1,400 and 1,500, and we swore in for the railroad companies from their employees between 3,000 and 4,000.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By whom were the 1,400 or 1,500 deputy marshals selected?—Ans. From people that men sent in to me.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By whom were the 3,000 or 4,000 deputy marshals selected?—Ans. By the different railroad companies by their special agent, who would bring them over, or the manager or superintendent.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By whom were these latter deputy marshals paid?—Ans. The railroad companies paid all the men

they brought in to us. We marked them as railroad deputies, and the Government paid the 1,400 or 1,500—well, it has not yet, but I suppose it intends to.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State generally what the character of the men were that were selected as deputy marshals by you; that is, the 1,400 or 1,500.—Ans. The first men we got we had to go into the streets and pick up, and we got some fellows that were worthless, but as soon as we found out what kind of fellows they were we discharged them, and along about the 5th or 6th of July we commenced filling up our ranks with a better class of men.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understand you, then, that at first you were practically compelled to take most any kind of material you could get?—Ans. Yes, sir; I went out myself to get men to come in and be sworn as marshals, but many of them seemed to have a prejudice against doing any act against the strikers, and the better class of men you could not get to do it.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But subsequently the morale of your force, you think, was very much improved?—Ans. Yes, sir.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). During the strike were you out in the district where disturbances were taking place at any time?—Ans. Yes, sir; I was out for about five days at the stock yards in charge of the troops there, and was down at Fortieth street and Root street.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State what class of persons you observed taking part in acts of violence or disturbance of the peace.—Ans. All violence and burning and turning over of cars that I saw was done by a lot of boys about 16 or 18 years old; a lot of toughs. I know I went up the track one day and about 2,000 followed me up; they were all young kids.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you see any women?—Ans. Yes; there were lots of women around.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What part, if any, did the actual strikers or railroad employees take in these disturbances?—Ans. To my knowledge I did not see any.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State whether or not you saw much drunkenness among those who were creating these disturbances.—Ans. I saw it among some of those young kids; they would be drinking, going along turning over cars; they did that ahead of us one day when I was on the train—all young fellows.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State, if you know, who composed the deputies selected by the railroad companies. Were they railroad employees, or persons selected especially for that business?—Ans. They had some especially for this business, but the large part of them were their employees.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you see any drunkenness among the deputy marshals selected by you, or those selected by the railroad company?—Ans. The most reports we got at our office of the men drinking were some railroad deputies.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you see any drunkenness among the railroad deputies?—Ans. I did not.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). To what extent did you get reports of that kind?—Ans. I got them every day; I just got one a few minutes ago, and have just sent to revoke his commission.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you investigated that matter to any extent?—Ans. I have had two reports on this fellow.

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). He has been, up to this time, and still serves as a deputy marshal?—Ans. Yes, sir; for the railroad company.

22 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did the deputy marshals selected by the railroad company wear badges the same as the deputy marshals selected by the office here?—Ans. Yes, the same stars; we furnished the stars to the company and they receipted to us, returning them to us when they got through with them.

23 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many are still serving as deputy marshals of those selected by the railroad company?—Ans. I could not tell you; we have quite a lot of them still acting; they come in most every day.

24 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was the scope of their authority—what did they do as deputy marshals, so far as you know?—Ans. I don't know what they did; the companies would come in and want this man sworn in to ride out and in on trains, coming from other States and ride on their mail trains in and out, to protect their employees.

25 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were any of them on freight trains as well as on passenger trains?—Ans. Yes, sir; they would go to work on the trains in the performance of their duty.

26 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What did the deputy marshals that were selected by the marshal's office do?—Ans. They were instructed to protect all property that was interstate property and all mail trains.

27 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were they employed in any other service besides that?—Ans. Not unless they did it without any knowledge of ours.

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But the other class of deputies, those selected by the railroad companies, were employed in other matters besides guarding interstate trains?—Ans. Yes, sir.

29 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). At whose request was this extra force of United States marshals sworn in—I refer now to those selected by the marshal's office, or by you acting for the marshal?—Ans. On instructions from Washington from Attorney-General Olney to appoint all we thought necessary.

30 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was any number designated, or was it left to the judgment of the marshal?—Ans. It was left to the judgment of the marshal.

31 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). At whose request were the marshals sworn in that were selected by the railway company?—Ans. At the request of the railway company. I will say this, Mr. Olney directed Marshal Arnold to consult with Mr. Walker, who was special assistant United States attorney at the time, and with Mr. Milchrist, with reference to the appointment of more men, and Marshal Arnold no consultation increased the force from time to time as necessary.

32 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Mr. Milchrist was United States district attorney for this district at that time?—Ans. Yes, sir; and Mr. Walker was appointed to assist him.

33 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you express yourself to anyone that you now remember as to the effect of the strike?—Ans. Not on my part. I was reported as saying so, but I never did. I was never interviewed on it.

34 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have no recollection of saying, "The strikers would win and you would bet on it"?—Ans. No, sir; I never said anything of the kind; I was very busy attending to something else at that time.

35 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). At the time these marshals were selected and sworn in, had there already been other acts of violence than simply boycotting the Pullman cars, or preventing trains running to which they were attached?—Ans. We had a few men appointed first on the 27th of June; they were cutting holes on train tops—freight

~~cars~~—at Blue Island. The principal part of the trouble to start with was on the Rock Island around Blue Island.

36 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When were the bulk of these marshals sworn in?—Ans. From the 30th of June to the 5th of July.

37 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State whether there were any special instructions given the deputy marshals that were selected by the marshal's office as to the discharge of their duties?—Ans. I generally would tell them when going out what their duty was, that they were to guard and protect, see that all interstate freight was moved, arrest anybody that interfered with it, and the same instructions were given in regard to mail trains; if anybody did anything to stop the traffic of the mail train to arrest him.

38 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were those instructions oral?—Ans. Yes, sir.

39 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were any instructions given to the deputies selected by the railroad companies?—Ans. No, sir.

40 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether any instructions were given them from anyone connected with the marshal's office?—Ans. Not that I know of.

41 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Would you be likely to know it if any such instructions had been given?—Ans. I think so.

42 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were these deputies armed?—Ans. We armed our own deputies with revolvers.

43 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether the deputies selected by the railroad companies were armed or not?—Ans. I don't know of my own knowledge. I know some of them were.

44 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By whom were they armed?—Ans. By the railroad companies.

45 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were they under charge of any officer from the marshal's office?—Ans. No, sir.

46 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Under whose charge were they, if you know?—Ans. The chief detective of the railway companies.

47 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). To whom did they report, if anybody?—Ans. To him, I suppose; they did not report to us at all.

48 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). So the marshal's office had no control of them or reports from them after they were sworn in?—Ans. No, sir.

49 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). They were solely under the employ of the railroad companies?—Ans. Yes, sir.

50 (Commissioner KERNAN). They had a right to exercise all the power of United States marshals?—Ans. Yes, sir.

51 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were any certificates as to character required of them in any way?—Ans. Well, we could not very well have gotten any men at first if we had required that, but after the first five or six days we required something of that kind.

52 (Commissioner KERNAN). When the bulk of the 5,000 were appointed was any inquiry made as to character, or certificates required?—Ans. No, sir; we generally took one of the railroad company for their men.

53 (Commissioner KERNAN). They would bring in the men, ask them to be sworn in, and you did so?—Ans. Yes, sir.

54 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether any of the deputies selected by the railway companies were used by them to operate their trains?—Ans. I don't know of my own knowledge.

55 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have never made any investigation as to that?—Ans. No, sir.

56 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What pains, if any, were taken to ascertain whether those sworn in as deputies were citizens of the United States?—Ans. We had some that were not.

57 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many of that class?—Ans. Only one that I know of.

58 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was he among those selected by the marshal's office?—Ans. Yes, sir.

59 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know anything about those selected by the railroad companies, whether they were citizens of the United States, or not?—Ans. I don't know.

60 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). There was no effort made to ascertain whether they were citizens or not?—Ans. Not any.

#### TESTIMONY OF JOHN P. HOPKINS.

August 30, 1894, John P. Hopkins, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name.—Ans. John P. Hopkins.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What position do you hold in the city of Chicago?—Ans. I am mayor of Chicago.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you the mayor of Chicago during the strike difficulties that occurred last month and the first of this month?—Ans. I was.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I suppose, as mayor, you are practically the commander in chief of the police of the city?—Ans. I am.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State generally as to the conduct of the police during the recent strike, as to the disposition manifested by them, and as to the conditions attending the strike from first to last, in your own way.—Ans. On the evening of June 25, Mr. Ellsworth, who claimed to represent the different railroads in Chicago, called to see me and informed me there was a possibility that a boycott would be declared the next day; he said he understood I was going to Springfield that evening and he would like to meet the chief of police so he could arrange for proper police protection; I saw the chief later in the evening and arranged an interview for Mr. Ellsworth, which I understand they had the next morning. So far as I know, and I believe I am thoroughly conversant with the case, the police did all the work required of them. In fact, I have the assurance of the officials of the different railroads that they received the most efficient protection they had ever received during similar troubles; that condition of things existed until July 5.

On the morning of July 5, Mr. Wright, of the Rock Island road, called at my office and claimed that mobs of men were interfering with the operation of their road; that they had four trains on the main track that had been stalled there for several hours that morning. I went to Mr. Cable's office, the president of the Rock Island road, accompanied by Mr. Bubens, corporation counsel of Chicago, and talked the matter over with Mr. Cable, who seemed to be under the impression that the police were not doing their duty; my information was all to the contrary, that they were doing their duty, and so informed Mr. Cable. I requested Mr. Cable to go with me to the scene of the trouble and make a personal investigation for himself, but he did not seem to think that would be a wise thing to do on his part. I then suggested that the general attorney, Mr. Wright, go down with me. Mr. Wright did not think

it would be safe for him to do so. I then asked my corporation counsel, Mr. Rubens, if he would go, and he said he would. The Rock Island road secured an engine for us, and we went down there. We found there a large body of people—probably 3,000 or 3,500—composed largely of women and children. On the main track of the Rock Island road, just south of Thirty-seventh street, there were four trains standing, which had been there for some hours, and just north of Thirty-seventh street there was an empty freight car turned over on its side and lying across the track.

I presume half an hour after I arrived on the scene a wrecking crew came along, which consisted of Mr. Newell, a son of the late president of the Lake Shore; Mr. Wright, the general solicitor of the Rock Island road; Mr. Mather, his assistant, and two or three other young gentlemen employed in the attorney's office, I guess, and they started to take this car off the track. I forgot to mention that when going down on the main line we found the road entirely unobstructed. After they had straightened this car out and we had moved on about 100 feet we found some more cars, which had been turned over on the track we came out on. On investigation, I found there were probably twelve or fifteen cars within the next mile and a half north of there turned over in the last half hour preceding the time we had made the investigation. The police force, so far as I could see, were doing all they could. They kept the track entirely clear. I inquired of Mr. Parker and Mr. Purdy, two of the officials of the road, where the wrecking crews were, and they answered me they were down at Blue Island, just outside of the city limits. I remained there probably two hours, then came back to the office, and that evening I issued a proclamation to the people of Chicago. I also directed the chief of police to suspend all the officers on the crossings between the main depot and Thirty-seventh street, where those cars were turned over.

I was informed late that night that the First Regiment, from Chicago, was going down to Springfield to camp. I did not deem it wise to have them leave the city at that time, and I wired the governor, requesting that they remain here, stating that I would advise that they be ordered to report at their armory in Chicago, as we might be compelled to call upon them within the next twenty-four hours; that same evening, about 10.30 p. m., I think it was, I was down at the police station at Hyde Park—the headquarters of that district—when information came in that the "Diamond Special," on the Illinois Central, was stalled at Kensington, and there was a large crowd of people on and around the tracks. Inspector Hunt sent reinforcements there, and before I retired that evening I was informed the track was clear and everything in good shape again. Friday morning, July 6, which was the first time the railroad companies called upon me, as chief executive of the city, for more protection than what they had been receiving—in fact, it was the first time they intimated to me they were not receiving all the protection required—information came to my chief of police that there was some trouble down near Kensington; that there were crowds gathered around on the Rock Island and Eastern Illinois, and after consultation we decided that I should call on the governor for five regiments of militia, which I did that forenoon. Some of the troops reported that evening, the others late that night.

The only trouble we had on Saturday, July 7, was about 3.30 p. m. at Forty-seventh and Loomis streets. A mob of people had attacked a small squad of police and a company of the State guards at that point, and the police and State troops had fired into them and killed one, I



think, and two others, I believe, afterwards died; from that time on we did not seem to have much trouble with the mobs that were formed, so far as I know, and I have the assurance of Marvin Hughitt, of the Chicago and Northwestern—he got all his protection, as I understand it, from the police department. I also have the assurance of Mr. Harahan and Mr. Sullivan, of the Illinois Central; Mr. Thomas, of the Western Indiana, and of Mr. Ashby, of the stock yards, to the effect that the protection they had received was perfect.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were those assurances orally expressed or in writing?—Ans. Some were in writing; some of them I have with me. I have a communication from Mr. E. P. Thomas, president of the Western Indiana Railway, dated July 2, in which he says:

**The CHIEF OF POLICE:**

The protection which we have received from your department is complete. We have been enabled to handle all trains over this terminal with very little delay.

Mr. Marvin Hughitt called at my office on July 7 and told me he did not desire to have his name in the newspapers; that he did not want his photograph put in the daily press, but that he was receiving the best protection he had ever received in his experience and was perfectly satisfied.

I have a communication from Mr. Ashby, of the stock yards, and also one from Mr. Edgar A. Bancroft, solicitor for the Santa Fe road, in which he says to my chief of police:

I desire, also, to express the thanks of the officers of this company for the assistance you have so often rendered them in the protection of the property of this company.

He writes this letter, which is dated August 10, commending the service of some of our police officers, especially that of Mr. James Tyrell, and for the services rendered by him he thinks he should be promoted. On the 16th of August Mr. Bancroft wrote another letter to the chief of police, in which he mentions the names of Sergeant John J. Meany, John Kane, James Allen, and James Thornton, who were, with James Tyrell, as deserving of special praise and credit. I also have a letter from Mr. James H. Ashby, superintendent of the Union Stock Yards and Transit Company, dated July 20, directed to myself, in which he says:

I know you have the interest of the city at heart and stand ready and willing to do anything in your power to help the big industries located here, and I feel sure when you are put in possession of our wishes you will do all you can to carry them out.

This letter was in regard to the withdrawal of State troops; he did not want them withdrawn. He further says:

You are to be congratulated on the way this whole thing has been managed and that no greater loss of life has occurred.

So far as the action of the police in the late trouble was concerned, I have read the evidence given before this commission pretty closely, and fail to find any charges made against the police of Chicago. I want to call the attention of the commission to the fact that the Blue Island police are distinct and separate from the Chicago police. Blue Island is not in the city of Chicago, and has its own city government. In the testimony that has been taken before this commission I have noticed that the word "police" has been used indiscriminately in referring to the Blue Island police, Hammond, Ind., police, or the Chicago police. We found, and I know what I am talking about, because I

was down on the line of trouble every day, that there was very little resistance to our police. I found the people treated me very nicely the day I was down there. Some of them hooted at me and yelled, but it seemed to be a good-natured crowd. There was not any trouble there of any great moment. The only place we had any trouble with the police at all was at Forty-seventh and Loomis streets and at Kensington, on the night of the 5th and morning of the 6th of July, and I think we also had some trouble on the 8th over in the southwest section. On the night of the 7th we had some trouble at the corner of the North-western tracks and Ashland avenue. The police fired into the crowd there, and a woman was killed who was standing on the roof of a residence. That was about the only damage done that evening.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know how many were killed altogether, or died in consequence of injuries received during the strike trouble here?—Ans. I could not answer you definitely, but I think it was seven within the city of Chicago, counting those who afterwards died. There were three at Forty-seventh and Loomis streets, one at Kensington, or rather in that territory adjoining Pullman, and this German woman I spoke of, and think there were two others that afterwards died, but am not positive of that. I can, however, get that information for you very easily, and will see that the commission gets it.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What regiment was that you said was here in Chicago?—Ans. The First Regiment.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And that you afterwards called on the governor for five additional regiments?—Ans. I called on the governor for four additional regiments. I have a copy of my telegram to the governor here.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Please read it.—Ans.

CHICAGO, July 5, 1894.

Governor JOHN P. ALTGELD,  
*Springfield, Ill.:*

I am informed that the First Regiment is going to camp at Springfield. I hope this is not true. They should be retained in Chicago, and advise they report at their armory in Chicago, as we may be compelled to call on them within the next twenty-four hours.

In a telegram to the governor the next day, after stating the situation, etc., I said: "I suggest that five regiments of the State militia be ordered by you immediately to assist said civil authorities for the purpose herein above indicated," that is, to preserve law and order.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What action was taken by the governor upon the receipt of that telegram?—Ans. Within a half hour I received the following reply: "Have ordered troops, and they will report to you as mayor."

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many regiments of Illinois State militia were here during the strike?—Ans. We had practically the entire force of Illinois; that is, we had the entire First, Second and Seventh regiments; then later on the Third Regiment, and the Sixth Regiment came later and a portion of the Fourth. We virtually had all the forces of the State.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know how many regular troops there were here?—Ans. I understood there was about 2,000 men. I am not positive of that, though. I don't know.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How long were the State troops left here?—Ans. The last of the militia were ordered home August 6. I can give you in detail an account of how they came and when, if you desire it.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, you may give it to us.—  
 Ans. July 9. I telegraphed the governor for one more regiment. The governor sent General Barclay and his staff that same night with eleven companies. July 18 I wired the governor: "The situation is quiet at present. I suggest you recall the Second Brigade and the naval militia, but do not disturb the First and Third brigades until I wire you again." The Second Brigade and naval militia were withdrawn that afternoon. July 24 the governor wired me: "Can not the troops be withdrawn now with safety?" I answered him: "The situation is still too critical to warrant the withdrawal of troops. Will advise you promptly of any change in the situation." The next day I wired the governor that in my opinion the situation warranted the recall of the Third Brigade. That was on July 25. On July 27 I wired the governor suggesting the recall of the Seventh Regiment. July 31 eight companies of the First Regiment went home. August 4 eight companies of the Second Regiment, Troop A, and Battery B were recalled. August 6 the remaining six companies were sent home.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The State militia was left here, then, as long as you thought it was necessary, in your judgment, for the protection of the city?—Ans. Yes, sir.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And were withdrawn from time to time at your suggestion when you thought their services were no longer needed?—Ans. Yes, sir.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understood you to say that at one time you ordered certain officers at certain crossings in the city to be suspended. What was the reason for that?—Ans. The railroad officials, the Rock Island people, claimed those men were not alert enough, that they allowed the people to jump over their fence. I don't know whether you are familiar with the situation down there or not. The Lake Shore and Rock Island roads occupy a joint right of way, probably 200 feet wide, and on the east and west sides of that right of way there is a low fence. It is a section of the city where a great many poor people live, and their houses are built right up to and adjoining these fences on the sides of the tracks, and there was a long string of freight cars on the track nearest the fence on one side, extending, I think, from Twenty-second to about Thirty-ninth street. My policemen claimed that some people would jump over this fence, tip a car over and jump back, and they could not watch them. I simply had the men suspended for the effect it would have on the balance of the force. I did not believe they were guilty, and since that time the matter has been thoroughly investigated, and the officers have all been reinstated; but I thought it would have a good effect at that particular time to suspend them.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). From your personal knowledge and from your inquiries, and from reports that have come to you as mayor, did the police of this city, or any portion of them, directly or indirectly, encourage and promote the strike?—Ans. So far as I know and from the reports I have received, our police force all did their duty, but I would not say but what some of the policemen were in sympathy with the strikers; I presume they were, and I am free to admit, so far as the Pullman strikers were concerned, I was with them myself.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But, so far as you know, that sympathy did not extend to any overt acts of assistance?—Ans. No, sir. I am entirely satisfied that the police of Chicago did their whole duty; I am satisfied you will not find an official of any railroad in Chicago who will point out a single instance where they did not. Mr. Egan, of

the board of managers, might make a general statement, but he kept us during the strike half the time chasing around on the reports he sent in to us. He would telegraph, for instance, that they wanted 50 men and two wagons at Eighty-seventh street and Chicago avenue, and the inspector of the district told me that when the men and wagons got there they found no trouble.

We have in Chicago 2,100 miles of railroad within the city limits, and, as I understand it, and I think I am correct, there are 1,360 trains per day coming in and going out; we have 160 railroad crossings—that is, where one road crosses another; we have upward of 3,000 surface crossings where the streets cross the railroad tracks, and with a police force of, I think, 1,928 patrolmen, detailed for patrol duty, and 186 square miles of territory within the city limits, you can see that we can not cover every point.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). I think your chief of police said that during the strike the police force numbered about 3,000.—Ans. That would be taking all our men, the men from local reserve, everybody, and putting them on duty in that district. On the West Side these men had been on duty for ten days without going home, sleeping in their stations, and where the trouble occurred, like the stock-yards district and Pullman district, I will venture to say that during the three months or more of the strike at Pullman there has not been a pane of glass broken in that time, nor has there been a single complaint of any kind filed by the Pullman company.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is Pullman within the city limits?—Ans. Yes, sir. I reside in Pullman. The stock-yards officials, I think, will all say the police did their duty, and I think all the railroad officials will say the same, except some of their hired men might say different.

23 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State whether you did at any time advise Mr. Debs, or any member of the American Railway Union, as to how the strike should be conducted in order to make it successful.—Ans. No, sir; I did not.

24 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you at any time advise Mr. Debs to order a strike, or any of those gentlemen?—Ans. No, sir.

25 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I will ask you whether the General Managers' Association ever at any time, or from time to time during the strike or since the strike, requested the city officials to arrest any individual rioters whom they had information had done violence?—Ans. Not to my knowledge. I received some information from Mr. Howard, of the American Railway Union.

26 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). My question is with reference to the general managers of the railroads.—Ans. I would like to explain that. Mr. Newell, I think, swore out a warrant for Hall, but it was upon information furnished by the city authorities.

27 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have the officers of the American Railway Union endeavored in any way you know of to have rioters arrested, furnishing any information to the city authorities?—Ans. Yes, sir; they have. It was upon information furnished by them that we arrested Hall.

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was he charged with?—Ans. With leading a gang of men who turned over cars. He had a hearing before a justice and was held to the grand jury.

29 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are there any other instances where the city authorities have received information from the American Railway Union or any of its officers?—Ans. I received information in regard to another case, but we run it down and don't think there is

anything in it. They sent a letter to me, or a copy of a letter, supposed to have been received from a man named F. L. Horton, secretary of the committee of public safety at Springfield, Ill.

I sent a man to Springfield after Mr. Horton, but found he had gone to St. Louis; he was followed there and was brought up to Chicago. We had him before our chief of detectives, and after questioning him very closely I was satisfied there was nothing in his statement. He claimed he could not give any names without seeing the man who employed him; that it was a secret organization he belonged to, and he was paid a salary. The information he claimed to have was that the railroad officials had employed men to turn over cars; but after half an hour or an hour's close questioning we arrived at the conclusion there was nothing in his statement; that he was one of those people who write letters to alarm the public. There were also two or three other cases that we examined upon information from some of the members of the American Railway Union—I think it all came from Mr. Howard—but after running those cases down we were satisfied they did not amount to anything.

30 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State whether the officers of the American Railway Union have shown a disposition to assist the city authorities in arresting those who were doing violence.—Ans. Yes, sir; I am satisfied they have.

31 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I will ask you if during the pendency of the strike, or before the strike, you know of any attempts to secure a settlement of the differences by arbitration?—Ans. No; not of my own knowledge, except I know this, which happened before the strike started at all: I met Mr. Pullman over at lunch at the Chicago Club one day—it was the day the committee was to wait upon him. He told me that he had an engagement with them that afternoon; in fact, it was the first time my attention was called to the troubles. I was not at the time familiar with them. I did not know they were even dreaming of a strike at Pullman. That was the first intimation I had; and the next was on July 3, when I had a talk with Mr. Brown, the manager of the Pullman company. He called at my office and wanted extra protection for the next day, it being the Fourth and a national holiday. He said everything had been all right up to date; that there had been no trouble; that the property was all protected; in fact, I think some of the strikers themselves had went to work for the company as watchmen to protect the property; but the next day being a national holiday, and people not working all over the city, he thought possibly somebody might charge up all this trouble to Mr. Pullman, and some damage might be done. I suggested to him then the advisability of settling the trouble, but he thought he could not treat with those men because they were not law-abiding citizens; they were lawbreakers, he said.

On July 6, I think it was, the council committee held a meeting in my office. The chairman of the committee, Alderman McGillen, telephoned to Mr. Egan requesting him to come over and meet with them; he came back and reported in the room that Mr. Egan said he could not come, or did not want to meet them; then a day or two afterwards that same committee of the city council called at Mr. Pullman's office, that is, the Pullman company, and tried to arrange for the appointment of a committee, as I understood it, to arbitrate the question as to whether there was anything to arbitrate or not; not to arbitrate the differences between the Pullman company and its employees, but to see whether there were any differences, and I understood that they said

they would have to stand on the statement they had made to the public and refuse to arbitrate. On July 11, I think it was, I received a telegram from Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, stating that he had wired to fifty mayors throughout the country to give their views on the question and desired to know if I would go with him to present those documents to the Pullman company; I wired back that I would, and the next day he came to Chicago and we went over there, but did not accomplish anything.

32 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who did you see when you went there?—Ans. We saw Mr. Wickes, Mr. Runnells, and Mr. Brown.

33 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was that interview?—Ans. It was a very long interview, in which Mayor Pingree—I will read his telegram: "Have received telegrams from over fifty mayors of the largest cities, asking Pullman to arbitrate differences with his men. Will you go with me in person to present such telegrams to the Pullman company? I await reply." I replied, "I will be pleased to go with you in person to present the telegrams of the mayors of the largest cities of the United States to the Pullman company." Mayor Pingree took the position that they should be willing to arbitrate the question between the company and the men in this interview I speak of. He argued the point very forcibly, I thought. He told about his own experience when his employees went out—he is a member of Banker & Smith, wholesale shoe manufacturers—and that in nine months it cost the firm something like \$50,000. Messrs. Wickes, Runnells, and Brown withdrew after a while and prepared a statement which they handed to Mayor Pingree, in which they said they had defined their position in a public statement, and they could not do anything else.

34 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you that statement?—Ans. No, sir; but it was published at that time in the press. Later on, a few days afterwards, I think the date was July 13, Messrs. Debs, Howard, and Kelher, of the American Railway Union, called on me and presented a communication to the Railway Managers' Association, which they requested I should take over and present to them, offering, as I understood it, to settle the difficulty and declare the strike off; not requesting the reinstatement of all their men, that is, they desired to have their men reinstated, not as members of the American Railway Union, but as individuals, that portion of their men who had not committed any overt act, or by their actions had not offended any official of the railway company. I went over with Alderman McGillen, chairman of the council committee, and presented that document to Mr. St. John—the board of managers had held their meeting in the morning and adjourned—and Mr. St. John informed me they did not desire to receive any communication from that source, but in view of the fact the mayor of the city had brought it over he would receive it and personally talk to the members of the board about it.

I want to say in this connection that the papers quote Mr. Egan as saying in his testimony that he told the mayor he should not be a messenger boy for those men. I want to say emphatically that Mr. Egan never said that to me; I don't think I would have allowed him to say it. The next morning I received this note:

A number of managers who learned from the afternoon papers that a communication signed by Debs and others had been presented to the chairman by your honor, expressed themselves in the most positive terms that they will receive no communication whatever from the parties whose names are attached. They therefore request me to return their communication.

Yours, respectfully,

JNO. EGAN.

That communication was also published in the press. That was the last act on my part towards trying to settle the difficulties between those people.

35 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there any other matter you think of that would be of interest or pertain to the inquiry?—Ans. I don't know of anything that is pertinent to the inquiry, but there is a matter I would like to state personally, myself. It has been intimated, or rather charged, that I protested against the Federal troops being brought into trouble. I want to say that I was not advised or counseled with when they were brought here, and up to that time nobody had notified me they were not receiving adequate protection. I had nothing to say about the withdrawal of the troops, except to answer a communication dated July 14, but I did not receive it until the morning of the 16th, from General Miles:

I have the honor to Inquire whether you believe yourself able, with the aid of the State troops under your control, to protect public property and preserve the peace so fully as to enable the United States civil authorities to enforce the due execution of the laws of the United States in the city of Chicago.

I have the honor to remain, respectfully, yours,

NELSON A. MILES,  
*Major-General, Commanding.*

In reply to that I answered him:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed letter of the 14th instant. I am not aware of anything in the situation at Chicago which will prevent me with the forces at my command to protect public property and to preserve the public peace or to enable the civil authorities of the United States to enforce the due execution of laws of the United States within the city limits.

On July 17 I received the following telegram, which I afterwards received permission from the Secretary of War to publish:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 17, 1894.*

Hon. JOHN P. HOPKINS,  
*Mayor, Chicago, Ill.:*

As mayor of Chicago is it, in your judgment, necessary that Federal troops should longer remain in that city for the protection and absolute safety of the Government property there?

DANIEL S. LAMONT.

I answered:

CHICAGO, *July 17, 1894.*

Hon. DANIEL S. LAMONT,  
*Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

In my judgment Federal troops not necessary to protect Government property in Chicago. I believe to be able to furnish all requisite protection with the forces at my command, but would suggest that the troops taken from Fort Sheridan be returned and kept there for the present.

JOHN P. HOPKINS, *Mayor*

I state this because I never protested against the Federal troops, notwithstanding I felt they should have called upon the State authorities first; but the troops came here and I presume they did some good.

36 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How long after your reply to the Secretary of War, which you have just read, was it until the Federal troops were removed?—Ans. That telegram was on the 17th of July, and on the 19th I received a communication from General Miles, as follows:

I have the honor to apprise you of the fact that a portion of the United States Army in the city of Chicago is being withdrawn, the bulk of it to Fort Sheridan. Two columns are already en route. The detachments at the Government building and on the various lines of railway are being withdrawn to the camp on Lake Front Park, and all will be removed without unnecessary delay.

I have some further communications here from General Miles with

reference to information he received during the strike; it is simply advising me of the situation from time to time, but I presume if he wanted it in evidence he would have furnished it to the commission himself.

37 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). We do not think that material. We understand it has been said in the press that you applied to Mr. Debs for permission to move certain trains in the city, or to have them moved.—Ans. That is not true; I should like to give my statement in regard to that. A man named John Brenock has a contract with the city of Chicago to remove dead animals from the streets of the city; his place of rendering them is down in Indiana some place on the other side of the State line; he called at my office one day—I don't recollect the date, but it is a matter of record which I can furnish you later on—and said there was a train of dead animals down at the stock yards that were decaying, and were very offensive and he could not get anybody to pull the train out; I asked him what the trouble was; he said the railroad men had quit.

I thought in a matter of that kind it would not be much trouble to get a crew to volunteer to pull them out and I sent my secretary to the headquarters of the American Railway Union to notify the officers in charge over there that there was a train load of dead animals at the stock yards and I would like them to send a crew to pull that train out of the city limits, and my understanding is they did select a crew of men there to do it; but when the crew went down and reported to the company they put them onto another train of meat and they pulled out the train of meat in place of the dead animals, and after they had gone some distance they realized their mistake and the men jumped the train and the dead animals remained there for a few days longer until we succeeded in getting another crew; I could not compel the men to work, but was satisfied they would answer any request of the city in a matter of that kind.

38 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You made such a request through your secretary and they complied with it?—Ans. Yes, sir; immediately.

39 (Commissioner KERNAN). Your object in that was to protect the public health?—Ans. Yes, sir; I wanted the dead animals taken out of the city limits.

#### TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL BRENNAN.

August 24, 1894, Michael Brennan, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner KERNAN). You are superintendent of police of the city of Chicago?—Ans. Yes, sir.

2 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long have you occupied that office?—Ans. Nearly thirteen months.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). State briefly any facts you know bearing upon any violence that occurred during the recent difficulties, or any destruction of property, the parties engaged in it so far as you observed, and what was done by the police force for the purpose of controlling the difficulties.—Ans. As soon as the strike commenced, which I believe was on the 26th of June, I immediately called in all the police force and kept them in reserve subject to call and requests made by the railroad companies for the purpose of preserving the peace and preventing violence. I kept them so during the strike, and the police under my instructions did all they could to prevent violence, disperse mobs, and preserve the peace. I will state that so far as violence,



destruction of property, or assembling of mobs is concerned, my information is based on reports received from my officers in command of divisions, districts, and precincts.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you furnish the commission with the reports that you had from day to day?—Ans. Yes, sir; I think so. Of course many of the reports, or at least many occurrences, took place on account of the police at the time being exceedingly busy all over town, which were not reported in writing, but I think in the main the reports cover all of them. On the 26th of June the mayor directed me to use the whole police force in preserving the peace, protecting property and preventing violence, and from that time on until the arrival of the troops I think I succeeded pretty well. So far as I understand there had not been very much violence or depredations committed prior to the 3d of July, when the troops arrived. At that time the indications looked bad and the arrival of the troops, I think, was opportune.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). The situation on the 3d of July was threatening, was it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you think the arrival of the troops was opportune and necessary at that time?—Ans. It appeared so; yes, sir; but no serious riot or violence had occurred up to that time, and the police force had been handling it for ten days.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why do you say the situation was threatening then?—Ans. At that time my police force had been on duty constantly for nine or ten days and the calls from the railway companies were so numerous and became so frequent that it more than absorbed the whole police department to supply all calls and demands. I had, at that time, 3,000 or 3,100 men in service, and every one of them was engaged in that particular business of preventing violence.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you have to keep part of that force in other portions of the city?—Ans. Yes, sir; this trouble extended all over the city; this city is practically a network of railways, and the territory being quite large, about 195 square miles, I believe, and to cover that territory, which is filled with railway tracks, yards, towers, switch houses, and freight houses, it can readily be seen that it would absorb the whole police force. On the 5th of July the mayor called me up by telephone and asked me to go down with him along the tracks of the Rock Island road, and he and I and Corporation Counsel Rubens and some officers of the Rock Island road or Michigan Southern went down the track and everything was clear until we reached Thirty-ninth street. There we found quite a large crowd of people, composed principally of women and children, a few men among them, and there was one car overturned. I think there was a man or two, railway employees, engaged in clearing the wreck, and there was ample police protection there, probably not less than fifteen policemen and a company of soldiers. I mention this to show that this is the only time, so far as my personal observation goes, that I saw anything on the outside. My place was the headquarters during the trouble, directing the force wherever it was needed and responding to calls made by the railway companies, as I have described.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). You responded to those calls to the best of your ability, did you?—Ans. Yes, sir; I responded to every call that was made. Sometimes they would ask for 50 men where I thought that perhaps 20 men might do; and I will say this much, that in no case at any time during the strike were the police forces insufficient, wherever they went, to disperse any mob found. On only one occasion was any resistance offered to the police force: that was on Saturday, I

believe it was July 7, at the corner of Loomis and Forty-ninth streets, where the troops had fired into the mob, and the police remained there and cleaned them out.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). It has been said by some witnesses that they observed a hesitation on the part of the police to restrain or interfere when parties were engaged in the work of tipping over cars, interfering with switching operations, etc.—Ans. His honor the mayor directed me to suspend immediately or discharge from the force any policemen found in any way backward or lukewarm or inefficient in that direction. And we did suspend several of them, but on investigation of the facts we have not yet found a case wherein we could find evidence of any such action on the part of any policeman.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have complaints come to you from the railroad people to that effect?—Ans. Yes, sir; I received many such complaints, but upon investigating them I found that generally they were made by some person of no responsibility, or some person who would telegraph from outside along the track to the office that they were being intimidated, or prevented, or interfered with, but I have not found on investigation that any such thing occurred. I believe a good many of those reports were made by deputy United States marshals, who themselves, I might say, were, in my opinion, more in the way than of any service. Not only that, but the police force frequently had occasion to restrain them and arrest them for indiscriminate shooting.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). To what extent did that occur?—Ans. To a very large extent.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was there friction between the police and deputy marshals?—Ans. None whatever, and I think it is commendable, there being four distinct authorities here, that there was no friction. To avoid friction upon the arrival of the troops here and the militia, I issued the following instructions to the police force on the 4th day of July, 1894:

*General Order No. 30.*

The presence within the city of a military force to carry out the orders of a Federal court, as it is unusual, makes it necessary that the duties of the police force under such circumstances should be thoroughly understood.

Therefore, the following instructions for the guidance of the police department of the city of Chicago are promulgated:

First. The duty of maintaining the public peace and the protection of life and property within the limits of the city of Chicago rests upon the police force of said city as heretofore.

Second. The property of certain railway companies being under the protection of the civil and military authorities of the United States, the police force will recognize such authorities as having the right to direct its control and management. The police force will therefore exercise all their lawful powers to prevent any interference therewith.

Third. The ranking police officer present at any time or place will ascertain from the officer in command of the military or civil forces whether such property is or is not under the control of the Federal authorities, and will act accordingly.

Fourth. The existing details of police for the protection of railway property will continue until otherwise ordered, and such additional details will be made as may be required.

All members of the police force are specially enjoined to continue to evince the prudence, caution, and vigilance which has characterized them up to this time, and thereby preserve the confidence and respect of all the people which they now have, and so justly deserve.

M. BRENNAN,  
*General Superintendent.*

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did charges of inefficiency against the police under your charge, giving the names and the charges, come from

any responsible railroad authority in writing?—Ans. Sometimes they did, and we have investigated them, but there was only one case in which I found that a policeman was very zealous in compelling the railway company to keep the tracks clear of obstruction caused by unnecessarily and unlawfully long trains at the stock yards. I had directed the police in that territory, inasmuch as many of the employees were new and inexperienced hands, to be lenient with them, but this policeman arrested one or two railway employees, and I think he was a little over-zealous in that respect, but so far as complaints were made of the police not exerting their authority and full power to prevent violence I have not had a case where we could get proof enough to satisfy me of guilt in that direction.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). What papers, generally, have you now before you?—Ans. I have a copy of the proclamation issued by the mayor of Chicago on July 5 calling upon the people not to assemble in crowds and be peaceful and all that, and calling upon the police to prevent unlawful assembling. I have also a letter from the mayor of the same date addressed to me, directing me to discharge from my force any policeman who did not do his full duty in preventing violence. I have also a statement showing the number of policemen I actually had on duty at that time and in the service of the railroad company. Also the number of wagons and horses. Also some communications regarding indiscriminate shooting by deputy marshals where the police had to arrest some of them, and threatened to arrest them if they did not cease (a).

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). By whom was that report made up?—Ans. This report is made by Captain Madden personally. I know nothing of it more than he reports.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). What else have you?—Ans. There are a number of communications on the same subject. I also have letters here from some of the railway companies, commending the police force for their conduct, and I have a communication here giving the record of some of the deputy marshals who are now over in the county jail, who were arrested while deputy marshals for highway robbery (b).

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many were charged with that offense?—Ans. I have three here.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). As those deputy marshals will hardly have an opportunity to meet those charges here, I think we had better omit that part of it.—Ans. I am willing.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). If you will allow our stenographer to take the other communications you have there we would be glad to make them a part of our record.—Ans. I will do so.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any statement showing the number of arrests made during the strike period?—Ans. I have not with me, and it would be difficult to connect all the arrests made with the strike, because sometimes persons might be arrested on the charge of disorderly conduct, or it might be for rioting.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you tell me how much the arrests during the days of the strike excitement exceeded the average?—Ans. I don't think it would exceed the average very much, because the arrests made during those days were all principally on one account, whereas on other occasions the arrests would be for larceny, burglary, and such things as that.

a See Exhibits 6 to 8.

b See Exhibits 9 to 11.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did that lead you to the conclusion that the disreputable elements were all gathered in the vicinity of the railroad property?—Ans. No, sir, not necessarily so; but it led me to the conclusion that the police force, instead of giving the usual amount of attention to that class of people were giving their whole time, attention, and efforts in the other direction; that is how I account for it.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, they being about the scene of the strike occurrences they could not attend to other duties which would lead them to make arrests in other directions?—Ans. Yes, sir; and holding in reserve at the different stations awaiting calls at all times of the day or night.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the average number of arrests per day in Chicago?—Ans. We average about 35,000 arrests per year; about 100 a day.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). From your reports are you able to reach a conclusion to what extent railroad men who were on strike participated in the disturbances and riots?—Ans. So far as I have seen, or had an opportunity of learning, only a small percentage of railroad men were engaged in that.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). Who was making these disturbances, destroying property, etc.?—Ans. I think they were a lot of hoodlums and vicious people, mixed up with a lot of women and children.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the strike was their opportunity?—Ans. Yes, sir.

29 (Commissioner KERNAN). To what extent did your reports cover the meetings of the railroad strikers at which they were addressed and where they were assembled?—Ans. We allowed no meetings during the strike except in halls, and there we had no policemen.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was there no occasion for any policemen at the meeting?—Ans. None whatever.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were there calls for them at those meetings at any time to quell disturbances?—Ans. None that I know of. I desire to say, in justice to the city of Chicago and its police department, that when the police department is referred to I suggest that it be the police department of the city of Chicago, and not of Blue Island, as was done yesterday.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has the police force of Chicago jurisdiction at Blue Island?—Ans. No, sir. I noticed yesterday it was said here that the police were blamed, but I noticed, too, it was the police of Blue Island that was referred to.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). That does not come within the jurisdiction of the city of Chicago?—Ans. No, sir.

#### EXHIBIT 6.

CITY OF CHICAGO, EXECUTIVE OFFICE, July 5, 1894.

*To the People of the City of Chicago:*

The events of the last twenty-four hours render it necessary that extraordinary measures be taken to preserve public peace and order.

The mayor of the city of Chicago has the legal right to demand the services of every able-bodied man in the city and to call out the militia, if necessary, to suppress riots or other disorderly conduct, and he will certainly exercise every power vested in him by law for the protection of property and the preservation of the public peace. He expects every citizen to do his duty in preserving the peace by avoiding all places where crowds are congregated, to attend strictly to his own particular affairs, and to see that all women and children are kept away from the public streets and railway tracks.

The mayor intends to enforce every law of the State and ordinance of the city, and he confidently relies upon the people of Chicago to aid him in his efforts in that behalf. If the well-disposed comply with his request as herein indicated, he will, no doubt, find means of preventing the evil-disposed from violating the laws.

The police force is hereby directed to disperse every assemblage of persons in the public streets or on or near railway tracks, and to promptly arrest all persons who refuse to disperse on demand.

JOHN P. HOPKINS, *Mayor.*

EXHIBIT 7.

CHICAGO, *July 5.*

MICHAEL BRENNAN,  
*General Superintendent of Police.*

DEAR SIR: I am informed that certain persons without authority publicly and in the presence of police officers of the city, overturned a number of freight cars on the railway tracks of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, and that these police officers did not make sufficient efforts to prevent these lawless acts and arrest the offenders. You will at once inquire into the matters referred to and suspend all police officers present when said cars were overturned, pending the investigation. Hereafter, in every instance, whenever violations of the law occur, you will promptly remove every police officer present who does not by his acts and conduct evince a purpose to do his whole duty in enforcing the laws.

Respectfully,

JOHN P. HOPKINS, *Mayor.*

EXHIBIT 8.

CITY OF CHICAGO, DEPARTMENT OF POLICE,  
*July 16, 1894.*

JOHN M. EGAN, Esq.,  
*Of General Managers' Association, Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR SIR: As requested in your favor of the 16th instant, I submit the following, showing distribution and detail of police force during this strike:

Central division, in command of Capt. John Byrne, including officers detailed along the tracks and used by Illinois Central Railroad Company, riding on Illinois Central trains, on reserve duty at the station subject to call, and those transferred temporarily to Inspector Hunt, commanding Hyde Park and stock yards districts.....	197
First division, in command of Inspector J. E. Fitzpatrick, including those on reserve duty. This force was used upon all the railroads, wherever necessary in that portion of the South division of the city of Chicago, north of Thirty-ninth street, and extending out to Brighton Park.....	613
Second division, in command of Inspector Nich. Hunt, including those on reserve duty. These men were used in guarding and patrolling all railroad property south of Thirty-ninth street, to the city limits, including stock yards.....	700
Third division, in command of Inspector Lyman Lewis, including those on reserve and those sent to Inspector Hunt for emergencies. The balance of this force were detailed wherever necessary along the tracks of the Northern Pacific, the Pittsburg and Fort Wayne, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, Chicago and Northwestern, Chicago, Minneapolis and St. Paul, the Pan Handle, and other roads traversing that portion of the West division lying south of West Kinzie street.....	900
Fourth division, in command of Inspector M. J. Schaack, including those on reserve duty. Fifty of these men were sent to Inspector Hunt for emergencies, and were assigned to duty at the stock yards and elsewhere in that division. The balance of this force was assigned to duty along the tracks of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company, Chicago, Minneapolis and St. Paul Railroad Company, and a large number were necessary to guard the extensive yards and shops of these roads at West Fortieth street, and they are still there.....	590
Total.....	3,000

Of course, you understand these details had to be kept up night and day; those on duty at night were held in reserve during the day, and vice versa. By this means we were enabled to send wagon loads of men to any point whenever called for in emergencies. In addition to this force, please bear in mind that about 50 patrol wagons, 8 supply wagons, 5 ambulance wagons, and 250 horses have been constantly in use for that purpose since the commencement of the strike.

Trusting this information is sufficiently specific, I remain,

Yours, respectfully,

M. BRENNAN,  
*General Superintendent.*

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EXHIBIT 9.

[Western Indiana Railroad Company and the Belt Railway Company, of Chicago, Dearborn Station,  
B. Thomas, president and general manager.]

CHICAGO, July 2, 1894.

M. BRENNAN, Esq.,  
*General Superintendent of Police, Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR SIR: There is a small house in Twenty-fourth street, on the west side of our tracks, which the house movers want to move over our tracks and the tracks of the Pennsylvania company to-night. If we should allow this to be done the strikers and their sympathizers might take advantage of the opportunity which a house on our tracks would afford to prevent it from being moved off after it had been moved on, and I think it would be a good plan to hold the house where it is at present. I hope, if you can consistently do so, that you will give instructions not to allow the house to be moved any farther, or in case you should conclude that this course would not be right, that you will see it is promptly moved over our tracks after midnight, at an appointed time, when our trains will be subject to the least delay.

The protection which we have received from your department is complete. We have been enabled to handle all trains over this terminal with very little delay.

Thanking you for the promptness with which you have responded to all our calls for assistance.

Yours, truly,

B. THOMAS, *President.*

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EXHIBIT 10.

ATCHISON, TOPEKA AND SANTA FE RAILROAD COMPANY,  
*Chicago, August 10, 1894.*

Hon. M. BRENNAN,  
*Chief of Police, Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR SIR: Among the many officers of your department who rendered efficient service in the protection of property and quelling of disorder during the late strike troubles, I desire, as an act of justice, to place on record the appreciation by the officers of this company of the special efficiency and courage displayed on several occasions by Mr. James Tyrell, of the Eighth precinct.

On July 6, 1894, he performed a particularly courageous act in meeting and checking a mob of between 200 and 300 men near the line of this company at the Belt crossing. The mob had already overturned several cars of the Chicago and Alton Railway Company, and was about to come upon the right of way and disturb the property of this company. With only one or two persons to assist him, he boldly met the mob before it reached our right of way and diverted it, and by his fearless stand prevented them from advancing further.

I desire also to express the thanks of the officers of this company for the assistance you have so often rendered them in the protection of the property of this company.

Very respectfully,

EDGAR A. BANCROFT,  
*Solicitor for Illinois.*

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EXHIBIT 11.

ATCHISON, TOPEKA AND SANTA FE RAILROAD COMPANY,  
*Chicago, August 16, 1894.*

Hon. M. BRENNAN, Esq.,  
*Chief of Police, Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR SIR: Since writing the letter to you dated August 10, hereto attached, I have ascertained the names of the officers who came to the assistance of James Tyrell, and

whose bravery and courage displayed on the occasions mentioned in that letter are deserving of special praise and credit. The names of the officers in addition to James Tyrell were Sergt. John J. Meany, John Kane, James Allen, James Thornton, of the Eighth precinct, and Peter Quinn, a special agent of this company. What I have said of Mr. Tyrell's bravery in checking the mob at the Belt crossing applies equally to the above-mentioned officers, and we wish to show our appreciation of their efficiency and courage.

Yours, truly,

E. A. B.

TESTIMONY OF MALCOMB M'DOWELL.

August 21, 1894, Malcomb McDowell, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Malcomb McDowell; Chicago; am a reporter on the Chicago Record; have been on that paper between four and five years.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State briefly your own observation, as a reporter for the Record, of any acts of violence, disturbance, or rioting which occurred during the recent strike.—Ans. I was at the front almost all the time from the beginning of the strike. I mean I was on the railroad tracks. I was sent to Blue Island, I think, on the day following the day the Rock Island men went on a general strike. When I reached Blue Island the first evidence I saw of what was said to be violence was an engine that was thrown from a switch. It was said the switch was turned, and the engine was across the two main tracks of the Rock Island, and the Rock Island officials said the engine blocked all traffic and they had posted a circular stating that all the traffic between Blue Island and Chicago would be stopped.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What did you see yourself?—Ans. I saw the engine there. I did not see the switch turned. I think that the first overt act I saw myself was the upsetting of two freight cars at Blue Island. I think that must have been about July 1, because the troops came down there the 2d or 3d. I don't remember now, without referring back to the papers, but it was some two or three days before July 4, and before the troops came. I saw one car upset myself, and saw another car after it had been upset. There were about twenty men upset that car.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). Describe their appearance, etc.—Ans. The men did not look like railroad men. They looked more like men who made brick in a brickyard near Blue Island. Most of them were foreigners, and one of the men in the crowd told me afterwards that he was a detective from St. Louis. He gave me the name of the agency at the time, because he wanted to pose as a circulator of the Chicago Record down there, and asked me if I had any objection to his doing that. I told him I could not allow such things as that. Then he told me he was there getting a list of names of the men who were in trouble.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did he say in whose employment he was?—Ans. He gave me the name, but I have forgotten it now, because at that moment I was going over to a car from which Marshal Arnold was reading an injunction.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did he say he was in the employ of the general manager of the railroad?—Ans. He gave me to understand that, but he did not say so.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did he give you his name?—Ans. He did, but I did not take a note of it at the time because there were several exciting incidents occurring at the time, and I did not pay any attention to it. This man was in the crowd that upset the car.

8 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Did you push your inquiries to ascertain whether any railroad men were engaged in that matter?—Ans. I did.

9 (Commissioner KEERNAN). What did you ascertain about that?—Ans. I was told by a man who said he had been a foreman on the Rock Island road, that in that whole crowd there was but one man who was really a railroad man.

10 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Go on.—Ans. That was the only real violence I saw the entire time I was at Blue Island. I heard a good deal of shouting and crying, and a good deal of noise but no absolute violence at that point.

11 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Was there a large concourse of men there?—Ans. Yes, there were probably some 400 or 500 people gathered down around the railroad depot and around the office of the yard master of the Blue Island yards.

12 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Were they on the railroad property?—Ans. Yes, sir.

13 (Commissioner KEERNAN). What was the nature of the conversation and expressions you heard there?—Ans. I will have to divide that between the time the injunction was read to them and afterwards, because there was a decided change in the way they talked. Before Marshal Arnold and Mr. Allen came out to read the injunction granted by Judge Wood and Judge Grosscup, I believe, the men were not bitter; they were rather jolly—were playing quoits with horseshoes—and I heard no particular expression of anger or anything of that sort. They had simply laid off, as they said, and most of them were up to their homes—I know that because I went around the town and found out that to be so—others were sitting around the depot doing very little and chatting and explaining the way the engine got off the track; they kept that up until the cars were upset, and I asked a number of men, whom I knew were American Railway Union men, and they denied having anything to do with upsetting the cars.

14 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Were those cars so upset that they obstructed and prevented traffic?—Ans. Yes, temporarily; but it did not take them more than fifteen or twenty minutes to right the cars when they got at it.

15 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Who did the work of righting them?—Ans. Assistant General Manager Dunlap of the Rock Island and his yard master and assistant yard master down in the Blue Island yards.

16 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Were they interfered with while engaged in doing that?—Ans. No, sir; not at all.

17 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Were they surrounded by those who were jeering and scoffing at them, while they were doing it?—Ans. Yes, sir, at some distance; but it was mostly in the shape of guying them, it was hardly jeering them. It seemed that one of the cars there had been thrown off the track through some error made on the part of the assistant yard master, I think it was, who did not throw the switch right or something of the sort, and there was a good deal of good-natured chaffing at that.

18 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Were you present when the injunction was read?—Ans. Yes; Marshal Arnold stood in a mail car and read one injunction. He was jeered considerably and one of the men hooted at him, and they called him all sorts of names, such as "whiskers," and such remarks as that; then the other injunction was read from the back of a passenger car by his deputy, Allen. The men, of course, gathered around and I suppose there were 500 men upon the hill in the roadway and around the cars. There was probably a dozen men who seemed to



be somewhat under the influence of liquor, and they did almost all the jeering. It was from that crowd that the cry came, "To hell with the Government!" "To hell with the President!" "To hell with the court and injunctions!" I saw very few men intoxicated because the saloons had been closed by the mayor, I suppose. In a general way I should say we frequently commented on the fact that there was not much intoxication. Of course there were drunken men here and there, and I do not want to be understood as saying there was not much drunkenness, for there was a great deal of excitement down there at times, and perhaps I did not notice it.

It seemed to me at that time that the men did not understand the purport of that injunction until Mr. Mather, assistant general counsel of the Rock Island road, got up and told them flat-footed just what the injunction meant. He did not mince his words; he told them if they laid their hands on any cars that were on the railroad tracks, whether they stood still or were in transit, whether mail cars or passenger cars, that they would get themselves into trouble and would be liable to arrest; that if the United States marshals could not do their duty troops would be up to help them. That started them all crying and jeering again, and then it was that several American Railway Union men climbed up on the back platform and told the men they must stop that hooting and yelling; that the injunction meant business, and they must get away, and in fifteen or twenty minutes the mob, as it was called, dispersed.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). You say American Railway Union men got up on the car platform; how do you know that?—Ans. Because they told me they belonged to the union, and two or three of them had little white buttons on with A. R. U. on them and they were members of the strike committee down there; I had their names but I don't remember them now. They told me the men who made all that noise were not American Railway Union men and not railroad men, and I was told afterwards that there was not over ninety-five railroad men at Blue Island, and if that were so the crowd was certainly six or seven times larger than that. There are brickyards at Blue Island and from the 1st to the 4th or 5th of July the brickyard men were off on a frolic and they came up to Blue Island where the trouble was and I was told down there, not only by the men but by the mayor of the town and by business men on the main street, that most of the noise and racket was made by the brickyard men.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was that the result of your observation there at that time from what you could ascertain?—Ans. Yes, sir; the result of my observation was that the railroad men, pure and simple, had little to do with the trouble down there—I mean with the rows; there was no very serious trouble at Blue Island compared with the trouble that followed afterwards, but it was about the first trouble that occurred and that made it very prominent.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did not this crowd gather about the tracks in such a way that an attempt to move trains would seriously imperil them or the track be obstructed by them?—Ans. Not down there; they did up town on the tracks. The First Battalion of the Fifteenth Infantry, United States Army, four companies of them, arrived at Blue Island at 6 o'clock on the morning of the 3d of July and encamped down near the roundhouse, at some little distance from the office of the company, where prior to that all the gatherings had been. That was the main street crossing of the town, and that was why they gathered there. The troops were left alone, nobody seemed to be much alarmed because they were there, and for the first day they maintained

very little guard duty until that night, when they threw out their sentinels and surrounded the yards. After that there was no more trouble in the yards. They put the engine back. I want to say here the men said they would voluntarily help the company put that engine back, but the company would not accept their services and put it back themselves—pulled it back in the ordinary way—and when they did that they opened up both main tracks so trains could come in and go out through Blue Island, at least, if they wanted to. The night the troops got there reports of trouble came in and one detachment of troops, under Lieutenant Jamison, was sent down to a point near Morgan Park, because some men down there were upsetting cars. I didn't see that, but saw the cars the next day that had been upset.

The day after the 4th, which would be Thursday, the 5th of July, they determined to bring a train into Chicago over the Rock Island road. Of course, trains had been held up at Joliet as well as at Blue Island, and they came up to Blue Island and two of the through trains came into the city under an escort of two companies of the Fifteenth Infantry. I was on the cowcatcher of the first train with three or four soldiers; the soldiers were ordered, of course, to be ready to fire, and they were ready. We got to Fifty-first street without trouble; at Fifty-first street I saw a crowd of probably a hundred men that were together right on the track we were coming on. Our engine slowed down; the soldiers on the engine jumped down and charged into the men, and they did it without violence; they simply went at them, and when the crowd dispersed we discovered a hand car that had been upset on that track, and I suppose the idea of the crowd was to conceal that hand car and let the train run into it and damage somebody on the pilot. You could not see the hand car until the crowd went away.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did the crowd have any weapons that you saw?—Ans. I saw no weapons at all.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was their condition as to intoxication?—Ans. Sober, so far as I was able to see.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you form a conclusion as to whether they were railroad men or not?—Ans. I did not at that time, for there was nothing to indicate to me whether they were or not. Just about that time the white ribbons came up and there were a few white-ribbon men among them.

25 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What do you mean by white-ribbon men?—Ans. Mr. Debs sent out word through the newspapers, and otherwise, asking all who sympathized with the cause of the strike to wear white ribbons, and the next day the epidemic of the white ribbon became worn both by American Railway Union men and sympathizers as well. Debs said he put it out as a test to find out the general sentiment.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). What happened to the train after it left Fifty-first street?—Ans. At that time there was a few men on the track ahead of us, but after the train stopped and the troops came out the entire right of way as far south as we could see was blocked with men running towards us. The regulars formed in line, went through the crowd, and chased them off the tops of the freight cars. A few stones were thrown—I don't know who threw them—one soldier, a musician of Company B, was struck in the cheek, and he thrashed the man that did it without drawing any weapon at all. He jumped into the car and thrashed him and the crowd applauded. One company of troops was left there and we went on with the other company, I think, up as far as Thirty-eighth street, where we ran across the first car upset.

27 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did the crowd stop the stone

throwing?—Ans. There were very few stones thrown and they were not thrown with any very great amount of force; they seemed to be just tossed over from the back yards. I did not see anybody throw a stone. I know I got struck that day and I didn't know who threw the stone, I wasn't hurt much. The United States deputy marshals were with us at the time and they became very aggressive, run around the yards, but made no arrests; they simply drew their revolvers and pointed them at groups of men, telling them to get out of the way. By this time the crowd was pretty large; I should say about 2,000 or 3,000 men, women, and children of all sorts had gathered there.

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did either the troops or deputy marshals use any force towards these crowds after they got off the railroad property?—Ans. The troops did not; the deputy marshals every once in a while would clutch a man and say, "Get out of the way;" they were not moving on fast enough to suit them. I went on with the train, and at Thirty-eighth or Fortieth street, somewhere around there, we found the first car upset, that is, it was there when we got there, and between that and three or four blocks farther north there were nine cars upset, and I was told they were upset by a crowd that came from the stock yards about two hours before that. Between Thirty-eighth and Twentieth streets I counted, altogether, twenty-eight or twenty-nine cars that had been upset. It was always done ahead of us. As fast as we would come to a car upset, the assistant general manager of the road, Mr. Dunlap, the superintendent of the road, the general counsel, Mr. Wright, and his assistant, Mr. Mather, and three or four subordinates formed themselves into a wrecking crew and righted all the cars that were on our track themselves. Down about Armour's Institute we met Mayor Hopkins, Chief Brennan, and Corporation Counsel Rubens, and Mr. Wright and Mr. Mather, who had come out on a locomotive. Mayor Hopkins told me at the time that that was the first time he had seen a crowd. I think, myself, it was the second day there had been any real mob-like demonstration. I think on July 4 there was some trouble at the stock yards, but I was not there.

Mayor Hopkins looked the matter over, went up to Mr. Dunlap and asked him where his men were. They had rather a sharp conversation there; it seemed to me that Mr. Dunlap or the Rock Island officials had told Mayor Hopkins that they had all the men they wanted, and all they needed was police protection and they could get their trains through. He appeared to be angry about it, and Corporation Counsel Rubens seemed in the same condition. He practically accused the railroad men of telling them something that was not so. The crowd jeered Mayor Hopkins and he turned on them and ordered them home; told them they had no right to be there. He turned to Mr. Hunt, the inspector of police there, and ordered him to clear the crowd away, and then the police became very aggressive; up to that time they had not done very much towards dispersing the crowd that day. From what I was able to see they let the regulars and deputy marshals do it, and they stood back. I did not see a policeman raise his hand from the time we struck the crowd at Fifty-first street until we got down to near Armour's Institute. Mayor Hopkins told Chief Brennan to put enough men there to keep that right of way clear, and said, "If you don't do it I'll get a new chief of police and a new police force." Chief Brennan issued some orders, and pretty soon a patrol wagon came in there, and they ran a line of police along the right of way and kept everybody away from the cars, would not let them come within 200 or 300 feet of them.

29 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did the police do that efficiently after they began it?—Ans. Yes, sir; they had everything their own way after that. The only time I saw the regulars do anything—Captain Hornish was in command of this company—was at Armour Institute; they marched down into an alleyway and cleaned out a lot of women and children and men, but as soon as they came back the men, women, and children came back again and the police drove them out. The soldiers did not like that sort of business and growled about doing police duty. Mayor Hopkins kept with us there for four or five blocks as we worked along, meeting two or three or four upset cars at a time. I went ahead to see who upset the cars, but only saw them upset three cars that day. It was done by a crowd of thirty or forty men who run along the parallel streets and when they got far enough ahead of the soldiers and police would upset another car; it did not take but fifteen or twenty men to upset a car; in fact, I saw them upset about three cars in about five minutes.

30 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you know any of the men?—Ans. I did not recognize any of them at all.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were they white-ribbon men?—Ans. There were some white-ribbon men among them, but you could not tell whether they were railroad men or simply sympathizers, because men, women, and children of all sorts wore the white ribbon for a while.

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How many of those engaged in upsetting the cars that you saw wore the white ribbon?—Ans. Probably half of them.

33 (Commissioner KEENAN). Were they sober?—Ans. I think so. I was not able to get near enough to them to tell because by the time I would get up there they would be scattered. Now, that was regarded as a very riotous demonstration all the way down all the time. I saw Mr. Dunlap struck once while he was talking with Mayor Hopkins; somebody threw a piece of clay at him, but the clay was soft and it broke when it hit him. I saw half a dozen rocks thrown, and I saw one or two men jabbed with bayonets and two revolvers drawn by the men. I also saw a revolver drawn by a United States deputy marshal. They seemed to draw their revolvers at every opportunity they could get. That was all I saw there, except the hooting and yelling. The crowd came right from the neighborhood there; they would come out from the houses—men, women, and children—and I think Mayor Hopkins called Mr. Dunlap's attention to the fact of there being as many women and children there as men.

34 (Commissioner KEENAN). Were all in the crowd labor sympathizers?—Ans. I don't know.

35 (Commissioner KEENAN). I mean from their conduct or from what you heard there?—Ans. I think a great many were there from curiosity. Of course there were many aggressive sympathizers that followed the train right along from Fifty-first street clear up to Sixteenth street.

36 (Commissioner Kernan). Did you hear any appeals from those in the crowd to their companions to scatter and desist?—Ans. No; I did not. In fact, the only thing I did hear from the crowd that day which indicated they were willing to have a row was—there is a high picket fence along the west side of the right of way of the Rock Island road—and four or five men would go outside the fence and get a bushel of rocks and heave it at them; there also was some cursing and swearing when the police charged on them, and also when the soldiers charged them, but not so much when the police charged on them; they seemed to take it as a personal insult that the soldiers were there, but the

United States deputy marshals came in for the greatest share of abuse.

37 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did your observation extend to ascertaining to what extent there was violence in other parts of the city except at Blue Island before the troops came?—Ans. I was only on the Rock Island tracks and the Lake Shore tracks prior to the coming of the troops, and I don't know personally anything about what happened on other lines of road before that. The only violence I saw before the troops came, that you could call real violence, was the upsetting of the two cars down at Blue Island.

38 (Commissioner KERNAN). Go on and state the rest of your observations after the 5th of July.—Ans. After the 5th of July the Rock Island had very little trouble, for the right of way was open, at least, I think so. They had very few riots, neither did the Lake Shore, whose tracks paralleled the Rock Island tracks as far as Englewood. A great many false alarms would come into the office about riots and rows here and there that I would be sent on, and I would be kept busy three or four days running them down, and then would find there was nothing in them.

I think considerable trouble was caused by the United States deputy marshals, who up to the time the troops came did nothing particularly—were very quiet, but as soon as the troops came they became very aggressive and in my opinion, from what I saw of them they displayed very poor judgment at times, and several times where there were little scraps—not riots—they would provoke the difficulties themselves by going around with a chip on their shoulders hunting trouble. That seemed to be what some of them were after.

39 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know about what the number of deputy marshals were?—Ans. I was told there were about 2,000 of them. I saw myself about 250 at Blue Island.

40 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the usual force of deputy marshals under the marshal at Chicago?—Ans. I don't know.

41 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was this force largely made up of men that had not acted in that capacity before?—Ans. It would seem so.

42 (Commissioner KERNAN). State any further observations you made on subsequent days.—Ans. The United States deputy marshals and the special deputy sheriffs were sworn in by the hundreds about the 3d and 4th of July, and prior to that, too, and everybody who saw them knew they were not the class of men who ought to be made deputy marshals or deputy sheriffs. I recognized among them, not by name, but by sight, a great many whom I had seen down on side streets when I was going around, who did not seem to have any particular avocation. There were of course some notable exceptions to that. There was one force of very fine men who seemed to be attached to one of the companies of the Fifteenth Regiment, but there were only twenty-eight of those. In regard to most of the deputy marshals they seemed to be hunting trouble all the time; they either did that or ran or slept. Those I saw did not do their duty, I know, down at Blue Island. At one time a serious row nearly resulted because some of the deputy marshals standing on the railroad track jeered at the women that passed and insulted them—this was before the troops came—and a body of their fathers and brothers came down and declared they would throw them bodily out of town, and the deputies went back into the cars again.

43 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think there were men that had not been trained in their duty and displayed bad judgment in dealing with

the crowd?—Ans. They displayed that, and I must say that I saw more deputy sheriffs and deputy marshals drunk than I saw strikers drunk.

44 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You think, then, that whatever the deputy marshals did in the way of showing force or authority was apparently to justify their existence, to be officious?—Ans. Yes; once in a while they seemed to think they ought to display their authority. A number of them acted just as a great many men act who have a brief authority thrust upon them and want to make the most of it for the time being, but they did not do that until the troops came. It was after the troops came that they became aggressive, ran around and made arrests on all sorts of provocation.

45 (Commissioner KERNAN). After that did you observe any other scenes of violence, car upsetting, and destruction?—Ans. I did not see any real scenes of violence, no; but I saw the effects of it; that is, I saw cars burning, but did not see them set on fire. I saw cars after they were upset and all that sort of thing, but it was after it was done.

46 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where did you see cars burning?—Ans. On the cut-off between West Pullman and Blue Island. I saw them burning on the Lake Shore track and also on the Illinois Central, although at that time I was not on down there.

47 (Commissioner KERNAN). You saw none of them set on fire?—Ans. I only saw one car set on fire; I had forgotten about that. That must have been about the first car that was burned, and was on the Rock Island tracks; somebody threw a bunch of waste into a Merchants' Dispatch car and we noticed the fire as we were passing by and a couple of men jumped out of our car and put it out. Our attention was called to that by some men in the crowd calling out, "There is a fire in that car!"

48 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was it a man that you saw throw this waste in the car, or a boy?—Ans. It was a man; that is, it was this way: Somebody called out, "There is a fire in that car!" and we looked over and could just see a little smoke coming up. Then a man jumped out of the car, jumped the fence, and was lost in the crowd; then a couple of men from our car jumped into that car and stamped the fire out.

49 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was a crowd of people looking on in the vicinity?—Ans. Yes, sir.

50 (Commissioner KERNAN). What disposition towards that occurrence did they manifest?—Ans. The ones I saw were simply looking on and had little to do or say. That was the only car I saw set on fire; the rest I saw were after they had been burned or after the fire had been started some time.

51 (Commissioner KERNAN). What were your instructions with reference to reporting the occurrences, if any special instructions were given?—Ans. We had none particularly; the city editor told me to report it as I would a fire, and that was all the instructions I had.

52 (Commissioner KERNAN). By whom were your reports revised or changed, if at all?—Ans. They were not changed at all; they were simply read by the copy reader and appeared in the paper as any report would.

53 (Commissioner KERNAN). You had no instructions to color your reports in any way in favor of either side?—Ans. No, sir.

54 (Commissioner KERNAN). And in the treatment of the reports was any leaning to either side given to them, either by you or by those who supervised them, which was unjustifiable?—Ans. Personally I tried to get a straight account, and I did not see that my account was

changed at all; sometimes a reporter writes more than there is space for and the report is shortened up, but my reports were never changed at all, so far as I observed. I know it was very difficult to get the real facts on both sides, unless you were right on the ground and saw it, for I must say both sides lied a great deal.

55 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think each side tried to color the situation in its own favor?—Ans. Indeed they did; everybody I came in contact with on both sides.

#### TESTIMONY OF RAY BAKER.

August 21, 1894, Ray Baker, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is Ray Baker; am a newspaper reporter on the Chicago Record; have been on the Record a little more than two years; was employed by the Record in making observations and writing up the recent difficulties in Chicago, and was present at the time of the firing by the regular troops on the mob at Hammond, Ind., Sunday afternoon about the 7th or 8th of July; I do not remember the exact date. The mob had overturned a number of cars the night before and had turned back a couple of passenger trains. About 1 or 2 o'clock Sunday afternoon the mob began to assemble in the center of town and one of the Pullman cars, which had been partially burned the night before, stood on the side track, and a big, rough-looking fellow, whom the people called "Pat"—I did not learn his last name—led the mob down and they threw two ropes over the top of the Pullman car and made an attempt to overturn it. A large crowd, principally women and children, gathered around and just as the mob was about to overturn the car the United States troops who had been riding up and down the track in a caboose with an engine attached came in view and began firing into the crowd. I was in the center of the crowd myself near the place where they were trying to overturn the Pullman car, and the firing was entirely without warning, without even a shout.

As soon as the firing began, of course the crowd scattered, but it was hemmed in on each side by long rows of box cars which they could not get between very well and so they had to run in the direction of the firing, and a number of men, women, and children were injured, or rather men and women, there were no children, and none of those who were injured were members of the mob that was trying to overturn the Pullman cars. I saw the man who was killed; he stood in the crowd not a great distance from me. He did not have hold of the ropes and he was apparently merely a spectator. The men who did have hold of the ropes were not strikers. I know that, because this big fellow who led the mob I looked up afterwards and found him to be a tough from Chicago. As soon as the riots were over he mounted a beer keg in front of one of the saloons and advised men to go home, get their guns, and come out and fight the troops, fire on them. He repeated the statement over and over again and a number of the men did as they were requested to do. He was the leading spirit, in fact, the only one who made any demonstration. As soon as reinforcements of troops came from the city, Lieutenant Payne made his way into the crowd and drove the fellow off. The same man appeared two nights later at Whiting, Ind., and made quite a disturbance there, roused the people up. In all that mob that had hold of the ropes I do not think there were many American Railway Union men. I think they were mostly roughs from Chicago who had been brought there by the

excitement. Hammond is just across in a straight line about 20 or 22 miles from Chicago.

I also saw the disturbances at Kensington and Grand Crossing. Having covered the Pullman strike, I was acquainted with most of the strikers from Pullman who were present at Kensington a great deal, and I did not see any of those men I knew engaged in the disturbances. I could not tell but what there might have been some railroad men among them, because I did not know them all. In fact, a good many of the Pullman strikers were present at that trouble on the outskirts of the crowd trying to persuade their men to keep away; that I saw myself. Mr. Collins, chairman of the relief committee, was present there, and I saw him trying to persuade the men to go home. They were lingering around the outskirts of the crowd there at Kensington. In the trouble at Hammond no one apparently attempted to stop the trouble. If the police had taken any precautions there the whole trouble might have been averted. The police knew well enough all about this man I have mentioned who was the ringleader of the mob, but they did nothing and the deputy marshals were not any better. The proprietor of the Martin House at Hammond told me the night before, when the trouble began, that fifteen deputy marshals came to the hotel, went to bed, and slept there all night, letting the crowd do its worst.

The mob had entire possession that night. They did not have anybody to oppose them at all so far as I could learn. They overturned fifty or eighty cars on the Michigan Central or Fort Wayne, the Nickel Plate, and the Wabash. This was the night before the troops arrived. As soon as the troops arrived, which was about 7 o'clock in the morning, the riot ceased until the afternoon. In the afternoon they began again in spite of the troops, the detachment having gone away for a short time to protect bridges. I was present at the time of the burning of the cars at Burnside, but I did not see them set on fire. They were set on fire just before I got there.

At Kensington the mob had overturned a number of cars, and a detachment of deputy sheriffs and special detectives went out, and one of the detectives named Stark fired into the crowd, killing one man and wounding two men. During the overturning of the cars the police authorities were there, but they apparently did not do anything.

There is a police station at Kensington not more than three or four blocks away from where the main trouble was going on, but the police authorities apparently were not present so far as I could learn. The police force at Kensington was small at that time and was not able to cope with the crowd, but I did not see a single policeman around there that night up until 7 or 8 o'clock, then an extra force was sent on. Before that time there had been a great deal of rioting; a great number of the tracks were entirely blocked by overturned cars and an engine had been set loose and started wild and had collided with a freight car and threw it off the track, but the most of that rioting occurred during the forenoon, and I did not get there until the afternoon about 1 o'clock. The crowd I saw when I got there was mostly roughs apparently. I went into the headquarters of the railroad men there, which was in a building facing the railroad tracks, and I asked some of the leaders what they were doing about it, and they said they were doing all they could to keep their men from creating a disturbance.

At Grand Crossing there never was much disturbance that I saw, except the first troubles which occurred there. The strikers and their sympathizers stopped the "Diamond Special" and another train on the



Illinois Central. They did not exactly stop the trains, but the gatemen had struck, and the engineers refused to pass over the crossings until the gates were open, and there was no one to open them, and for that reason the trains were blocked there that evening. There was no physical obstruction to the trains proceeding at all. No destruction of property took place there. To the best of my ability I reported to my paper accurately what I saw, and my reports were not revised in any way, but I usually had to average my reports, as both sides misrepresented the facts, and I made the reports according to what I thought was nearest the fact. They would frequently say to me that there had been rioting at a certain place, and describe it, and then when I reached the spot I would find, perhaps, some trouble, but not the rioting that had been represented at all. For instance, one night we had the report that there was a large amount of rioting going on at Riverdale, a station beyond Kensington, but on going out there there was not any to be found at all. That report came from the special detectives of one of the roads.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the character of United States deputy marshals during this difficulty so far as you knew them, with regard to their bearing, etc.?—Ans. From my experience with them I think it was very bad indeed. I saw more cases of drunkenness, I believe, among the United States deputy marshals than I did among the strikers.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know whether any of them were in the railroad employ at the same time?—Ans. I don't know.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know anything of their appointment being obtained in any way by the railroad?—Ans. No, sir.

#### TESTIMONY OF HAROLD I. CLEVELAND.

August 21, 1894, Harold I. Cleveland, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and occupation.—Ans. Harold I. Cleveland; reporter on the Chicago Herald.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been acting in that capacity?—Ans. Since the middle of May, 1894.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). On what other papers have you served in Chicago?—Ans. I never have worked on any other paper in Chicago.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you detailed by the Herald to make reports of the recent difficulties, rioting, disturbances, etc.?—Ans. Yes, sir.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what you saw yourself relative to riots or any disturbance or destruction of property and where, and on what dates.—Ans. I was sent on the afternoon of July 4 to the Rock Island tracks between Thirtieth street and Englewood, which is Sixty-first. The Lake Shore tracks are parallel with the Rock Island tracks. I reached the track at Thirty-ninth street about half past 2 in the afternoon, and saw the first rioting during the strike that I have any knowledge of. I had been on the strike on the Illinois Central since the 27th of June, but had seen no rioting or violence up to that time. When I arrived at Thirty-ninth street there was a crowd around a box car standing near the power house; they had pushed the car off the siding, and the people were shouting and yelling. The crowd was made up of men, women, and children, and they got their hands under the car and turned it over. They then went north toward Thirty-eighth street, on to the Lake Shore tracks, and turned two cars over there, and a few minutes after that one of those cars took fire. I didn't see

it set on fire, but I saw the flames coming from it. From there they went further down the track, keeping north, and near Thirty-seventh street turned over two other cars. I suppose at that time there were on the track between 5,000 and 6,000 people, of which a good portion were women and small boys—street gamins, hoodlums. From my knowledge of that neighborhood I should say that those engaged in turning over the cars were largely hangers-on in the saloons and low dives which can be found on both sides of those tracks.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were any strikers among them?—Ans. So far as my personal knowledge is concerned, I did not see a railroad man engaged in any rioting there, and I have an intimate personal acquaintance with many employees of the Rock Island road in the city here.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was the white ribbon custom in vogue at that time?—Ans. Yes, sir; and nearly everybody in the crowd, men, women, and children were wearing the white ribbon.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That was on the persons who were engaged in overturning the cars?—Ans. Yes, sir.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). They were therefore in sympathy with the strikers?—Ans. I could not say that was the case, because undoubtedly a large number of those ribbons were got hold of more through bluff and bluster than from any sympathy with the strike. I don't think the majority of the men engaged in rioting on the Rock Island track there ever did an honest day's work in their life. I know that neighborhood quite well from Englewood into the city.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you familiar with the conduct of the deputy marshals?—Ans. I was on those tracks and on the Western Indiana tracks for fourteen days from the afternoon of the 4th of July to the 15th of July, and I suppose I saw in that time a couple of hundred deputy marshals. I didn't know any of them personally. I think they were a very low, contemptible set of men. That was the impression I gained of them by watching the manner in which they performed the duties assigned to them.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know anything about how they were appointed?—Ans. I do not.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you observe any other difficulties than those you have described on the Rock Island?—Ans. On the 5th of July, on the same track and also on the tracks of the Western Indiana—that is their trackage, but over which the Erie, Wabash, Eastern Illinois, and Monon roads operate—on the afternoon of the 5th on the Rock Island track, between Fortieth and Thirtieth streets, there was some twenty-odd cars overturned; then on the Western Indiana tracks at Fortieth street, where the stock yards crossing is, there were cars overturned. I saw some of them overturned.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what you saw, how it was done, and what the character of the people were who did it.—Ans. There was one case at Fortieth street; the Seventh cavalry and a company of infantry were bringing up a stock train; there was a great crowd ahead of them, and they moved very slowly along until they came to the Western Indiana track, where they had to stop, being unable to go ahead, and finally went back to the stock yards at the junction of the Fortieth street crossing of the Transit company and Western Indiana, and I saw two freight cars there overturned by women, without any assistance from any man. The women were largely of the foreign type—I should say Bohemians, or Poles, or Germans, who lived in that neighborhood, and they had been very abusive of the troops, addressed vile

language to them, until finally some of the men from Fort Sheridan went down among them and told them to go home; that they would be better off getting supper for their husbands, mending their clothes, and taking care of their homes than they were down on the tracks, and they would be liable to get into trouble; if there was firing they certainly would be shot, and they went away from the vicinity of the cavalry that was ahead of the engine pulling this stock train.

Early in the afternoon at Root street crossing of the Western Indiana track there was a car standing on the track of the Fort Wayne road. The crowd was marching up and down the track, yelling at the top of their voices, and shouting, and they made a rush for this car, and there was one police officer there. They ran up to the car and were trying to push it down on the crossing. He ordered them back. As he did so a dozen pistols were pulled and cocked, and he was told to go away and mind his business. I was standing near him when this occurred. He looked at the pistols and laughed, and walked back on the crossing, and they then turned the car over and partially turned another one over, then went back to where the troops were guarding the stock train.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you recognize any of those who had pistols?—Ans. I didn't know any of them at the time, but I would recognize them if I saw them again.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was their character?—Ans. It was a pretty tough element in there—all loafers, idlers, a petty class of criminals well known to the police, who went on to the tracks because the tracks were open and accessible; not guarded like the Illinois Central is with fences and high stone wall. The crowd was of the same character as the other crowd. The tracks were only about three blocks apart; that is, the Rock Island tracks and Western Indiana tracks, and they would run from one track to the other, wherever there was excitement. I came down that same afternoon on a suburban train of the Fort Wayne road, and I got on it at Englewood, within a block of Root street. We were running very slow. I was standing on the rear end, and there was a hose attached to the rear end running up to the top. A man ran out behind the train and tried to turn the air cock, and did pretty near turn it, and recognized me as a reporter of the Herald, and called me a rather strong epithet. I drew my pistol and stuck it under his nose, telling him to let go of the air cock, and he ran away. I turned the air on and an instant afterwards the train was stopped, and an immense crowd between Root street and Fortieth street crossing surged on to the train. They jumped up on to the engine, and one man got hold of the fireman and tore his coat. The fireman turned around and knocked him off the engine and thrashed him, and then he and the engineer abandoned their engine and went over to State street, and the train stood there until the next day—two coaches and an engine.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you know this man who tried to turn the air cock?—Ans. I know his face and could recognize him, but I don't know his name. I think he was a railroad man, familiar with the workings of air, and I have an indefinite recollection of having met him around the Wabash roundhouse. During the time this rioting was going on there was a large number of employees at the Wabash roundhouse, sitting around on benches and boxes, taking no part in it. I went over there and talked with a number of them while the trouble was going on.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was the character of their talk?—Ans. Very little was said among them about it. They were very quiet;

did not want to talk to a reporter, at least did not want to talk to me, and when I saw them they were sitting down talking as to the probable outcome of the strike.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was there much drunkenness in the crowds you witnessed?—Ans. There was considerable.

19 (Commissioner KEARNAN). What was the condition of these men you saw at the roundhouse who you know were railroad employees?—Ans. I saw but one man among them that was drunk.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many were there?—Ans. There certainly must have been fifty or sixty old employees of those roads that I know. I know a large number of engineers and quite a number of switchmen.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you make it your business during the time you were observing these things to try and ascertain to what extent the strikers were engaged in these rioting demonstrations?—Ans. I did, every opportunity I could.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). To what extent had you a personal acquaintance with them that aided you in that investigation?—Ans. On the two systems, what is known as the Western Indiana and Rock Island, for two years I have had, through outside business, quite an intimate personal acquaintance with the men who worked on those roads; that is, switchmen, engineers, firemen, and trainmen. I have quite a number of personal friends among them, and men I have been associated with. I was pretty well posted as to what they were doing, and took particular pains in justice to my paper to find out the character of the men I was associated with the ten days that I was on the track.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was the result?—Ans. I wrote it repeatedly that in all the trouble that took place there there was a very small per cent of railroad men engaged in it; that it was the rough, vicious, and lawless elements of those districts that produced that trouble, and I personally expressed the opinion if the police had done the same things on those tracks on the Monday preceding the 4th of July that they did on the Friday following this rioting there would have been no trouble there at any time. There would have been no rioting if they had kept the people off the tracks and away from the cars.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). When did the police first begin to do that?—Ans. They started Thursday evening of the 5th of July after Mayor Hopkins visited the Rock Island tracks. Inspector Hunt took the police and charged the mob on the Rock Island track and then with ten officers charged them on the Western Indiana, and they went like snow melting in the spring and did not come back again.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you see any of those men with whom you are acquainted as you have stated, engaged in those riotous demonstrations?—Ans. I did not see a railroad man I knew.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). About how many of them did you know so you would be able to recognize them as railroad men?—Ans. I certainly know 500 or 600 railroad men in that district on those different roads, for I ride with them every day and have other connection with them.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). But you were not in a position to see at all times?—Ans. No, sir; but what I saw with my own eyes I particularly noticed the absence of railroad men from these troubles.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you completed your statement of what you saw as to violence at this time?—Ans. Yes, sir.

29 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were your reports made according to the facts?—Ans. Yes, sir.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were they changed, modified, revised, or colored in any way?—Ans. I particularly followed, as I suppose every newspaper man does, to see how the stuff appeared in print, and I don't believe of the matter I wrote on the strike—and I was engaged on it from the 27th of June until the last of July—that I had ten words changed in my copy; I had no instructions in the matter either way.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). When did the Federal troops first appear upon the scene?—Ans. I saw them first the 4th of July, or the 5th, in the afternoon.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was that the first they did anything actively towards guarding property?—Ans. I believe so, to my knowledge.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long before that had these disturbances and threatening gatherings been going on?—Ans. I knew of none going on previous to that time.

34 (Commissioner KERNAN). Previous to the 4th?—Ans. No, sir.

35 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were there not on the 3d some gatherings?—Ans. Not in the district that I was in that I had knowledge of. I was on the Illinois Central on the 3d and morning of the 4th. I was transferred to Rock Island the afternoon of the 4th. I had read accounts of trouble on other systems with reference to overturning cars and destroying cars, but I had not seen it before that.

#### TESTIMONY OF VICTOR M. HARDING.

August 21, 1894, Victor M. Harding, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner KERNAN). State your name, age, residence, and occupation?—Ans. Victor M. Harding; 27; No. 3230 Forest avenue, Chicago, Ill.; reporter on the Chicago Times.

2 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long have you been engaged as a reporter on the Times?—Ans. About six months.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). Prior to that were you in the same business?—Ans. Yes; on the Chicago Tribune.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you act as a reporter on the Times during the period of the recent strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). And were you a witness of the events in any section of the city during that time?—Ans. Yes; I was a witness of a great many of the events.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). Begin at the first difficulty that you saw arising out of the strike and describe thereafter whatever you observed.—Ans. The first difficulty I recollect was on the Illinois Central in the latter part of June. I was detailed to observe matters on the Illinois Central and was there about a week or ten days, at least, from the time the boycott began until the serious trouble broke out on the Rock Island and at the stock yards; then I was assigned to the Rock Island the day of the riots there, and later on at the Pan Handle and at the stock yards. The first trouble I actually witnessed was on the Rock Island, which was, I think, on the 5th of July, 1894. I was told by my city editor to patrol that railroad from the city as far south as Forty-fifth street. I arrived at the railroads about noon of that day, and crowds had already begun to collect; policemen were mixed with them, and they would overturn one or two cars. The fire department had been called out to put out a fire that occurred at a switch near Thirty-eighth street, where I reached the tracks. I remember I saw

there was likely to be trouble there, and I went over to the stock yards and obtained a horse in order to cover the ground more thoroughly. I remained on the tracks from that time until 8 o'clock that night. The Rock Island officials attempted to bring in two or three parts of express trains from Blue Island to the city.

7 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Were Pullmans on those trains?—Ans. Yes, sir; the Pullman cars were on all of those mail and express trains from Omaha, Kausas City, etc. I understood they were parts of mail trains and of express trains long overdue. The train I first met was at Forty-third street. Regulars were sitting on the cowcatcher of the engine; also on the roof of the cab and on the coal in the tank and along the train. The crowd overturned several box cars between Thirty-eighth and Forty-third streets and along the switch track at Fortieth or Forty-first street, which connects the Illinois Central with the stock yards. In the block between Forty-third and Thirty-ninth streets there were seven cars overturned. The track was comparatively clear when I first reached the railroad at perhaps 1 o'clock, and these cars were rapidly overturned between that time and 2.30, when this train arrived.

8 (Commissioner KEERNAN). Was there any opposition to the overturning by policemen?—Ans. There was no opposition to the overturning by anybody. It was done in open defiance of the police; the police seemed to be making more of a bluff than anything else. They were there apparently to preserve order, but were outgeneraled by the crowd; instead of going ahead of the train, where the trouble was, they remained around the train and behind, allowing the crowd to proceed ahead of the train and overturn cars at will. The regulars disembarked at Thirty-ninth street—I am not sure about the street, for I have not had time to look up the files of the paper in which I reported this matter, but I think it was at Thirty-ninth street that a car was overturned. That was the first one the train met that was on their track. The regulars disembarked and fled along the track on to the crossing where the crowd was packed closely. At this point the police officers came up and cleared the track. I at no time saw any opposition made to the authorities; the crowd was not as turbulent as it often is at race courses; they moved out of the way whenever the police tried to push them back; sometimes two or three men would get upon the fence and shout some joke at the regulars, make fun of them or something of that kind, but there was no organized demonstration against the police.

At Thirty-ninth street, as I say, the trains were stopped to drag a car from the track, and very shortly afterwards an engine came from the city with Mayor Hopkins, the chief of police, and other authorities from the city, and they got off there and seemed to consult with the railroad officials. I think there was only about a half a dozen railroad officials there, mostly clerks, well-dressed men; at least they were not laborers or accustomed to moving cars, or work of that kind; they went to work and moved this box car out of the way, but in the meantime the crowd ahead of them overturned cars every few minutes; there were twenty cars overturned that day between Forty-third and Twenty-ninth streets. I saw that Mayor Hopkins and his staff and these other people were not going to do anything ahead, so I rode ahead on my horse down to where the crowd was at work. There were at least 10,000 people on the tracks overturning cars in plain view of the soldiers and authorities. I went down as far as Twenty-ninth street and witnessed the overturning of the cars and saw policemen standing

by seeing it done. At Twenty-ninth street I saw a lot of negroes—most of the crowd was from the levee district and State street—around there which has a big negro settlement.

At Twenty-seventh street I recognized a number of strikers with white ribbons on, and I asked them if they were in sympathy with the crowd in overturning cars and destruction of property. They said, "No, we are not." I said, "Why don't you prevent it?" They said, "We can not; look at the crowd!" I said, "You can make an effort to do so," and at last one of the men said, "We will try," and they walked up to Thirtieth street, where some people were engaged in overturning cars; went up to a car and pushed aside the men engaged in overturning it; made them let go of the car; but it was futile. The crowd surged back; another batch of men took their places, and the first thing I knew the car was overturned. That incident illustrated my position that the railroad men were not engaged in this work; in fact, at this particular car I don't think there was more than three or four white men pushing it over; they were all negroes, and the crowd along the track was composed as much of women as of men. The women did not do the work, but would stand near the track and cheer the efforts of the men. I saw a policeman in that crowd who was near, but made no effort to stop them; in fact he told me afterwards it would be as much as his life was worth to try to do it. There must have been 200 or 300 policemen around the trains in the rear with the soldiers, but there were no policemen ahead except the crossing policemen, who had been there all day along the track. I rode up and down the tracks all that day, leaving them only for short excursions to the stock yards, the Wabash and Pennsylvania tracks, which were near by, to see what was going on, where there were large crowds also.

One of the largest crowds was along Fortieth street tracks, where it crosses the Wabash street railroad tracks. A number of railroads lease the Western Indiana tracks, and that is perhaps the largest line running out south, and at that place there was an immense crowd, and mostly men there, apparently railroad men. They were not doing anything, but evidence of what had been done was plainly visible. There were perhaps thirty or forty cars overturned, switch houses overturned, switches broken and disarranged all through there. I never saw a railroad man engaged in overturning a car or men who had the appearance of being railroad men, but the appearance was that the work done was instigated by railroad men, because it was done so thoroughly and the blockade was so effectual it must have been done under somebody's leadership. At Fortieth street two cars were overturned so well that they formed part of the fence, and all along the Fortieth street tracks the overturning of the cars showed it was concerted action. I should say that if the strikers were not directly engaged in it they at least instigated it, or railroad men—I will not say the strikers instigated, but somebody who knew how to do that kind of work.

The only place where the crowd came in contact with the police to my knowledge, that day, was at Nineteenth street. This train tried to get down town, but cars were overturned in front of it all of the time, and it took it from noon to 7 or 8 o'clock before it reached Nineteenth street. By that time the crowd had got tired and were coming back, and there the police and authorities on the train met the crowd and there was a collision, some jeering shouts at the authorities and stones thrown. The police charged them and made some arrests. I was not present at that. It was there the mail car was left and later brought into the city by detail of police.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you, in your capacity as a reporter, investigate or observe other occurrences on other lines?—Ans. Yes, sir. I was present at the time so many freight cars were burned on the Pan Handle.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Describe that.—Ans. I went out to what is known as Brighton Park that day, and was told there was a big fire going on at the Pan Handle freight yard, some three-fourths of a mile south. I went down there. It looked like a small fire at first. When I arrived, two or three engine companies were at work putting out the fire. I saw smoke still further south, and I spoke of it to some of the firemen. They said, "We are doing all we can to put the fires out, but they are lighting other fires as quick as we can put them out," and they pointed to where some boys were running along throwing lighted waste into the cars and firing them. I was told that the same thing occurred on both sides of them, in plain view of the firemen.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you see anybody doing that except boys?—Ans. No, sir.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you see any evidence that those boys were put up to that—directed to do it?—Ans. I saw a gang of boys that day deliberately at work destroying a switch which I understood cost the road \$50,000 to put in; it was a big interlocking switch on the Pan Handle tracks and an intricate piece of mechanism; it consisted of a lot of pneumatic tubes in which wires were laid, extending a distance of 100 yards, perhaps, from the switch house. When I arrived the coverings had been torn off and the pipes were exposed, and the boys were at work with pieces of iron pipe—I don't know but what some hammers, too—and were deliberately breaking and hammering off the wires and otherwise attacking the most vital parts of the mechanism of the switch. Policemen were standing right at the crossing in plain view; in fact, passing constantly, and people living in the neighborhood were passing constantly, smiling at the boys, treating the matter with unconcern. No attempt was made to stop the boys. When a policeman came near they would scatter and then come back again. No attempt was made to chase them away or arrest them. I understood the Pan Handle had 1,000 cars burned that night.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did these boys seem to be under the direction of anybody?—Ans. They did. Their work was so well done that the inference would be they had been directed to do it.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). It would not require much direction for a boy to know by cutting pipe and cutting wires it would render the switch useless; why do you say it seemed to be done as though it was instigated?—Ans. They seemed to be so businesslike about it.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were they communicating with anybody near by that you could see?—Ans. No, sir.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were any headquarters of the railroad strikers near there?—Ans. No, sir. The locality around there was vacant. The nearest house to the track was some three blocks away, and then it was only a small settlement.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The boys were attacking the vital parts of the interlocking switch?—Ans. Yes, sir; and were carrying bits of it away. They had little carts, and were going away with it across the fields to these houses. They evidently lived in the neighborhood.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). I believe you said something about seeing some other occurrences?—Ans. I learned from the firemen and the police that these fires were being started right along; that, while they were at work at one fire, fires would start on both sides of them and along the track. It was evidently the work of boys; both the police and



firemen said no striker had anything to do with it to their knowledge. They were first on the scene, and I took their statements as accurate on that point at least.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You used their statements in making up your report in the papers?—Ans. I quoted them as saying so. In making up a report it is the duty of a reporter to cover the ground as much as he can at all points. I always gave preference to my own views of things. If I saw a thing to be so, I stated it so; if I did not see it myself, I said that the police told me so.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you stated all that you personally know?—Ans. That covers the Pan Handle trouble. I have had frequent talk with policemen. I know this to be a fact; they were in sympathy with the movement, and, while they deprecated the destruction of property, they regarded it as bringing pressure on the road and not altogether an unfortunate thing. I have had several conversations with policemen and know that was a general sentiment among them.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is, they sympathized with the object, but did not approve of the means?—Ans. Yes, sir; while deprecating the means, they were not sorry it was going on, because they hoped it would have the effect of making the railroads come to terms.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you observe on any other road any of these disturbances?—Ans. After that I was at the Forty-ninth street riot on the Grand Trunk. I know one instance, after the wrecking train passed they tore up one track to prevent it returning; that was after the riot at Loomis street. I was not at that riot, but was there shortly after it occurred.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How soon were you there after it occurred?—Ans. I was there, I think, within fifteen minutes; the crowd was still there.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the general appearance of these crowds you saw?—Ans. Women and children; that is, it was a holiday crowd; all the people were out in front of their houses. I interviewed a little German who was a commission broker at the stock yards; he told me he was the man who had three bayonet wounds—one in his groin, one in his hip, and one in his back. He could not speak English, but his wife told me he had gone out to bring his cow home. This was at the Forty-ninth street riot. There was a crowd in front of his house, and he went out and stopped in front of his gate to see what was going on. At that moment the crowd was driven back by the militia, and running past him pushed him down, and before he could get up he received a bayonet thrust from one of the soldiers, and after he got up on his feet he received another one. He spoke Polak, and the soldiers did not understand him and struck him again, and then he fell, and he thought that saved his life, for the man showed no intention of letting up on him, but when he fell the man went on after somebody else, and he got back into his house. Several others I spoke to said that the stone-throwing was done by boys in the neighborhood, and the other people merely went outside their houses to see the soldiers clear the tracks, and they were hurt.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). They were on the railroad property, I suppose?—Ans. No, sir; they were on the street crossing; I understood from both the militia and deputy marshals on the train that the crowd did not come inside of the wire fence on both sides of the railroad. The crowd kept outside of that, but the boys threw stones, and when the wrecking train arrived at Loomis street they found the crossing blocked by a crowd on the track.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How were those railroad fences in yards of that kind treated? Were they torn down?—Ans. Yes, sir; they were injured by the people who sympathized with the strikers. The Grand Trunk at Forty-ninth street especially suffered. I understand that a number of their depots were burned down, switch houses torn up, and switches broken.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How wide an acquaintance did you have at that time among railroad men?—Ans. Previous to the riot I had been doing a good deal of labor work for a time, and attended their meetings at Ulrich Hall and Thirty-ninth street, Kensington, and various places around. I was detailed to watch strikers at Pullman, and write them up, for two or three weeks before the troubles occurred.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then you had a wide acquaintance, by sight, with railroad men?—Ans. No, sir; I had no acquaintance directly with railroad men, although I knew some of the men on the Illinois Central by sight.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In any of these disturbances did you see any of those you recognized?—Ans. Never; those that I saw always deprecated what was going on; said they would stop it if they could. I have repeatedly talked with them in that way about the outrages, and they always deprecated them.

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). At labor meetings, how did they talk?—Ans. Very orderly. I never saw a strike before in a union of this kind where men showed such faith and advocated such peaceable methods as Mr. Howard and Mr. Debs professed. I have seen many strikes where it was said if they could not be carried by other means they should be supplemented by violence. I think the advice in this strike to the men to refrain from interference was given in good faith; the men seemed to so regard it, at least.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In making up your reports of these disturbances, did you have any instructions regarding them?—Ans. Yes, sir; I had strict orders from the Times, when the railroad boycott was declared, that I should not color my reports, that they should be strictly facts.

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You were told to avoid sensationalism?—Ans. Yes, sir; that I was to make a perfectly accurate report of things that occurred, because it was not difficult to make an article readable in this case by confining myself strictly to the facts.

33 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were your reports fairly treated in the office in the course of supervision?—Ans. I never had anything changed that I recall.

34 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is there anything further that you desire to state?—Ans. I want to say that I know some of the newspapers in this city grossly misrepresented the affair at the stock yards. I know that from my personal experience there and from talking with the police. I know the stock yards has been regarded for years by certain papers in this city as a scapegoat on which they can settle all the crimes that occur in that part of the city, and it is so thought also by the business men who live in that district.

35 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You think the character of the employees has been misrepresented in this matter?—Ans. Yes, sir; not only the character of the employees, but of the crowds there. I don't remember that anybody fired any shots down there except the militia. I was told by the police that the militia frequently indulged in that after nightfall for the purpose of creating a sensation. Of courses a volley of shots in a city like this will bring a crowd of people, a lot of

reporters, and police, and everybody else around, and create a sensation right off; and I have understood from Captain O'Neil out there that that thing occurred nightly during certain periods of this trouble, while the Second Regiment was stationed there, and he could never find any reason for it; that one night he heard a volley of ten shots, I think he said, and on investigating it he learned that two militiamen claimed they had shot a Polak crawling under a car—that is the common name for a Pole. He asked them if they had shot the man; they said they didn't think they did, he was too far off; he asked them how they knew it was a Pole, if it was too dark and he too far off to shoot him? "Well," they said, "they knew it was a Polak." I have heard several stories of that nature indicating that the militia was not to be relied on always.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM H. T. SHADE.

August 21, 1894, William H. T. Shade, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. William H. T. Shade; No. 109 North Clark street, Chicago; am a reporter employed by the Dispatch.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been on the Dispatch?—Ans. About five or six months.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you on any Chicago paper before that?—Ans. Not regularly.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you detailed by the Dispatch to report occurrences relating to the late difficulty here?—Ans. Part of them; yes, sir.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State briefly, in narrative form, the result of your observations as a reporter for the Dispatch.—Ans. I was sent out into what was called the stock yards district—I am not sure whether it was the 5th or 6th of July; I think it was the 5th. I was sent out to cover the Rock Island tracks from Thirty-ninth to Forty-ninth streets. I got off the State-street cable at Forty-ninth street, I believe it was, and walked across to the tracks. It was very quiet at that time, but a little later, along about 10 o'clock, perhaps, it might have been nearly 11, a train came in and got as far as Forty-ninth street—I am not positive about the street numbers, because I am a comparative stranger in the city; that train was unable to come on down on account of an obstruction some distance below there. The train had on board some United States troops belonging to the Fifteenth Infantry. I was some distance below the street where they first stopped, and saw some of the troops get off the train. A crowd at that time had gathered. I saw them coming down ahead of the train, and the crowd scattered and got off the track. I stayed on the track, telling them I was a reporter, and was permitted to remain there. The troops passed by me, and the train followed slowly. They found a car derailed a short distance below there, and had to stop.

In the meantime the crowds kept gathering. I got on board the train and we finally came about two squares and found the track blocked again. After that I remained with that train all day, and we were from about noon until 6 o'clock in the evening getting down to the Rock Island depot. I got off the train whenever it was stopped by obstructions, and during the day I saw a number of cars overturned, but was never close enough to see who did it. While the track was

being cleared of one car, the crowd, which was perhaps two squares above, would be overturning another. All along the right of way on that day there were a great many women, who were the noisiest people in the mob; they did most of the talking, and made most of the threats; in fact, about all the threats I heard made were made by them. On this train, which was a passenger train, was a young man who said he was a postal clerk, he had been sent in from a suburban town to see if he could get a train through to that town, one through passenger, and a lady with her children. I advised the lady to take her children, go over to State street, and take a car down town, which she did. The through passenger remained until we got down a number of squares, when he finally weakened and concluded he would take a street car.

During the time there were a great many insulting remarks made by people in the crowd, who would term us "scabs," they evidently taking us for passengers. Some of the crowd remarked we were dead willing to ride on a scab train, and all that kind of language. There was a stone thrown at the car, which struck near the window I sat at; I did not see who threw it. The track was finally cleared, and the train entered the station at 6 or 7 that evening. I was out on that work then until the strike was practically over, but it covered so much time I hardly know what to tell you about it.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the character of this mob on this first day you were out?—Ans. It was made up of a cosmopolitan lot of people. I think women and children largely predominated; that is, out of proportion to what we would expect.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the character of the men in the crowd?—Ans. The men in appearance were laboring men of some sort; they did not look like capitalists at least, and a majority of them wore white ribbons. Most of the insulting remarks that I heard were made by women.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you actually see any cars overturned or switches destroyed?—Ans. I saw cars overturned, but I could not say whether the people who did it were white, black, or anything else. I saw one car set on fire on the stock-yards switch, which led over from the stock yards to a track east; that was the day of the Loomis street riot; I forget the date. Myself and another reporter were down there pretty early in the morning; we had been over to the Fort Wayne tracks and were coming back again when we saw quite a crowd around two overturned freight cars; as we got about 2 rods from them the crowd started to scatter—walked away rapidly, and I overheard one of two men who met us and did not notice us, apparently, say, "We had better get away," and we looked to see what was the cause of the remark and saw smoke issuing from the car. Most of the crowd were small boys from 10 to 15 years of age. I didn't know who these two men were, but they evidently knew the boys were at this. The police saw the smoke of the car down at the crossing and they made a charge up that way; in fact, I came very near getting clubbed on that occasion myself because I did not run. I told the police we were reporters but they were disinclined to believe it. That was the only car I saw set on fire.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). You say you didn't know these two men you speak of?—Ans. No, sir; but they looked like any brakemen or firemen would, although I don't know that they were such. On the morning following the night on which so many freight cars were burned out on the Big Four track, I went out in company with the militia of the Second Regiment. On that occasion we left the first camp

very close to the Nineteenth precinct police station; went up to Fifty-first street, and then west. All the way over I walked along on the sidewalk, keeping about even with the soldiers, and heard a great many threats made by people—insulting threats and remarks—directly against the troops. At one place, very near the Big Four track, somebody, from an old building—I think they were behind it—threw a stone at the soldiers, but none of them saw it. I was very near there and tried to yell out for the soldiers to watch, but nobody heard it, there was so much noise, but it missed them anyway. I went on up the track with a detail of this company, part of them having stopped at the crossing of the Big Four track and Fifty-first street. I went some distance ahead of the company at first and passed a big malt house, I think it was, or an elevator, and I saw three young men come around the corner of that, and when they saw the troops they started to run very rapidly. My first impression was that they were trying to catch some chickens which were frightened and trying to get away, the chickens run under the cars and the boys dodged under the cars too, but they kept on running after they got through there. I went with the troops clear up and beyond Sixtieth street and back again and found the tracks practically clear.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). What other scenes of violence did you observe?—Ans. I don't recall any others at present. The most disorderly crowd I saw was the first day I was out there—the night of this Loomis street affair. I started out there, but stayed at the Nineteenth precinct station, as they had all the information I was after.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did the temper of these crowds seem to be such as to indicate there would be violence and interference unless restrained?—A. Yes, sir; I think it did.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). State whether you observed any interference on the part of those who sympathized with the strikers against those who were trying to work upon the railroad.—Ans. I was on what was called a "hoodoo" train, I believe, because they made so many attempts to get it out of the stock yards and failed. There were two companies of the First Regiment on board and cavalry was around it, and there was some remark made as we went along, directed principally at the soldiers and at the supposed crew of the train, which was manned at the time by office people in the employ of the railroad. I remember when we crossed Michigan avenue going toward the Illinois Central tracks there was a cab which had to stop to let the train go by that had two men and two women in it, who were apparently in a slightly intoxicated condition, and one of the men made some very insulting remarks—called the troops some very bad names. On that occasion one of the soldiers who was in the same car I was in begged permission of the captain to go down and take the man out of the cab. He said, "I will put him under arrest and get him on the car before the train goes by;" but the captain said to pay no attention to it.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you see any actual violence toward those who were trying to take the strikers' places?—Ans. I did not see any; the times I saw people working who were taking the strikers' places, they were under guard, almost invariably.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you report all of these facts accurately as you observed them?—Ans. Yes, sir; I think I reported it accurately.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was it printed by the paper as reported?—Ans. Yes, sir; so far as I recollect.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). I suppose there were others reporting at the same time?—Ans. Yes, sir; other reporters for the same paper and a great many for other papers.

## TESTIMONY OF W. C. ROBERTS.

August 21, 1894, W. C. Roberts, being first duly sworn testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner KERNAN). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. W. C. Roberts; 313 West Van Buren street, Chicago, Ill.; am 38 years of age; am a reporter upon the Dispatch.

2 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long have you been engaged in that business?—Ans. One year.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you engaged in that business during the period of the recent strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you observe any of the scenes of violence and destruction that took place during the strike?—Ans. I never saw a blow struck during the strike.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was that because you were engaged elsewhere than where the difficulties occurred?—Ans. Yes, sir.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you to any extent attend labor meetings and report them?—Ans. Yes, sir.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many of them did you attend during the period of the excitement?—Ans. I attended every meeting of the convention and every meeting of importance held by the American Railway Union in the city here.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where?—Ans. At Ulrich's Hall.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was that your special department?—Ans. Yes, sir.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Those meetings were public, were they?—Ans. Yes, sir; so far as the press were concerned. I believe once or twice they barred out the general public, on account of there not being room in the hall; but they let the press in, which was the same as being public.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). State during the period of the strike excitement what the bearing and conduct of the members in attendance there was and what was their condition as to sobriety?—Ans. I don't believe I saw a man under the influence of liquor but once or twice, and they were generally removed from the hall, provided they made any noise.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). To what extent was incendiary language used there which would tend to incite the men to disorder?—Ans. I did not hear any; it was generally of a conciliatory nature.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). What advice was given on the subject of keeping away from, or watching, or being about the railroad property?—Ans. The speakers all advised the men to stay away from where there was any excitement, and they seemed to be annoyed if the newspapers reported that any railroad men were engaged in any disturbance.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was it the result of your observation that this advice was given in good faith?—Ans. I believe it was.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you hear or see anything at any of these meetings which led you to believe that violence indulged in by the members would be regarded favorably or winked at?—Ans. They made every effort to discover anyone who had committed violence, and were

only too willing to hand them over to the authorities because they believed that was their only protection.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think that they believed it was the best policy for the success of the strike?—Ans. I do not believe but what it was only the best policy, but I believe that all the utterances that Debs and Howard made were sincere.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you receive any special instructions from your paper as to how you were to report?—Ans. I was simply to tell the truth.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were any directions given to you about it one way or the other?—Ans. No, sir; I never had any instructions, except simply to tell the truth, and I invariably did so.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). And how were your reports treated, as to being revised before being printed?—Ans. I never had a blue pencil used on any report I made, unless it came in just before the paper was going to press, and it was necessary to cut it down, and then only on that account.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you attend all the meetings in June and July?—Ans. I attended every meeting of the convention called by the different organizations, every one that had any connection whatever with the strike.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). You did not have any part in reporting or investigating violence or anything of that sort?—Ans. No, sir.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was said, if anything, at those meetings with reference to those who sought to take the strikers' places, and how they were to be treated? Was anything said as to how scabs were to be treated by the members of the organization?—Ans. No, sir.

#### TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM K. M'KAY.

August 21, 1894, William K. McKay, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name and occupation.—Ans. My name is William K. McKay; am a reporter for the Chicago Evening Mail; have been reporting for the Mail about nine months; was in the city and acting as a reporter during the late strike; my experience during the strike was confined wholly to the meetings at Ulrich Hall, Lake street, and at the general offices of the American Railway Union.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State what, if anything, you heard said at the meetings of the railroad men at Ulrich's Hall and other places, with reference to the conduct of the strike, so far as violence, rioting, etc., were concerned?—Ans. All the speeches I heard counseled obedience to law and order, and my interviews with Mr. Debs and Mr. Howard were all the same way.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who did you hear make such speeches?—Ans. Mr. Debs, Mr. Howard, and the chairman of various committees representing the strikers on various roads.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How were you impressed with those speeches at that time, as to whether they were sincere or merely made for buncombe?—Ans. I suppose they were sincere; there was always a good deal of confidence in the ultimate success of the strike expressed, and the speakers invariably said they could only win by being orderly.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know anything of interest in this matter in connection with your reporting the general managers'

meetings?—Ans. I was never down to the general managers' meetings, another man attended to that altogether.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there anything else in connection with this matter that you know?—Ans. Nothing occurs to me, unless you have something to ask.

TESTIMONY OF NICHOLAS HUNT.

August 23, 1894, Nicholas Hunt, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is Nicholas Hunt; I reside in Chicago; and am a police officer. I am inspector of the second division of the city. That division is bounded on the north by Thirty-ninth street, on the south by One hundred and thirty-fifth street, on the west by Western avenue, and on the east by Lake Michigan.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you engaged in that district during the whole of the strike difficulties?—Ans. I was.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State in your own way and without questions being asked you what you know, generally, of the strike, those participating in it, and what was done.—Ans. On the 27th of June was the time that we were really called into actual service—a portion of my division. There was a strike on hand all along the different railroads coming into and from Chicago—in the stock yards, Pullman, etc. There did not seem to be much difficulty, only that there was a lot of men idle and standing around. There was no difficulty to amount to anything there until up to about the 3d of July or thereabouts—the 2d or 3d of July. Up to that time the strike consisted principally of men not working. There was no depredation and no violence of any kind used.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Coming up to the 3d of July, you may state what happened.—Ans. Well, there were some trains stopped on the different railroads from coming through for probably a little while—ten, fifteen, or twenty minutes at a time, and people would get around where there was no police protection, and we would hear of it and we would disperse them and have no trouble, and if the railroad men were ready to run they had protection to run the trains.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How were the trains stopped?—Ans. I have not seen any stopped; only what the employees of the road and the officers of the road said. They told us that there was some people came and talked with their men that was running the trains there and they stopped—would not run any farther.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You do not mean, then, that violence was used in stopping these trains?—Ans. No, sir; I don't. I don't know of any violence being used toward stopping the trains, but the men, as a rule, that were running the trains did not like to go against the wishes of the masses of those that were idle, and did not wish to see them running or working.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Your idea, then, is that they stopped operating the trains upon the request or appeal of those that were striking, is it?—Ans. They certainly did, from that more than anything else. I have seen times there that a man was running his engine and there was a crowd of idle people standing away on one side, and somebody in a crowd of probably 100 or 200 people would halloo, "Get down off that engine," or something of that kind, and we would disperse the crowd, move them away blocks from the train, and give



him ample time to run his train and carry on his business, but I have seen them walk off the engine and say, "I won't run it," and there would be nobody near them.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Up to this time was there any resistance to the police in dispersing these crowds?—Ans. No, sir; I never was resisted until the 7th of July.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You may proceed to tell what followed after the 3d.—Ans. Any time after the 3d when we undertook to disperse a crowd, the crowd made no resistance toward me or any of our men. What I mean to say by that is, that they made no fight toward us. Somebody might halloo, or a rock might come through from back of the crowd, that we could not reach the party that threw it, and some harsh words might pass, but we could not very well pick out the ones that would halloo in a large crowd of that kind, but as a rule, when we would order them to move on they would go, and always did go. We cleared the tracks of all crowds after the 5th of July. The morning of the 6th of July there was not anybody allowed on the tracks at all except railroad officials and men that were employed by the railroad companies.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who were they—deputy marshals?—Ans. They were deputy marshals and crews working about and men working for the companies, and they would have to make themselves known before my officers would let them go through on the railroad. I had picked men all over the tracks from one end to the other, where there was liable to be any controversy, and dispersed everybody and kept them off the streets from congregating in any kind of a crowd or meeting each other on the streets or on the railroads.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You speak of the "tracks." Do you know what tracks they were?—Ans. The Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, the Fort Wayne, the Pan Handle, the Illinois Central, the Michigan Central, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Erie, and the Eastern Illinois; in fact, every track that was running in on the south of Thirty-ninth street.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many policemen were under you there?—Ans. I had a thousand men.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And that force, as I understand you, was sufficient to guard and protect the tracks up to that time?—Ans. Yes, sir.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State if anything happened after that.—Ans. On the 4th of July I took twenty-five men down to Fortieth street and Halstead, where there was twenty-four carloads of meat. The night previous I understood they undertook to remove those cars, and Nelson Morris & Co. thought better not to move those cars, because they did not think they would be protected enough, and it was getting late in the evening, and on the 4th of July morning I took twenty-five men and the captain of police and myself there and Mr. Snyder, the superintendent of the Michigan Central. There was a car thrown across the track there—upset. He had his wrecking train there, and we threw it off the track. He had his crew couple up the cars, and there were people gathered around, and we kept everybody back, and they moved out those cars without any trouble. We had not any soldiers at that time—I did not see any in sight, at least, at that time. Right after that train had been moved, however, there was some regulars came along to where we moved the train from. After that time we had not any trouble until the 7th. We had some fires that was set at night in outlying districts, side tracks, etc., that we had to go there

and disperse crowds at the time we seen the fire. Those fires were cars burning.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know anything about who set those cars on fire?—Ans. I do not. I am investigating a little about it now, and have been since the time it occurred, but I don't know anything in particular yet. We dispersed a lot of those people when cars was burning. We had no trouble—they went when we got there.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Tell us what kind of crowds those were generally—what they consisted of.—Ans. Boys and men and women, and crowds of that kind, all idle people, that would like to see something in the way of curiosity. They were gathering around there. People that did not interfere at all in the strike was standing around looking at it, appearing to be attracted by curiosity.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You are fairly well acquainted, I presume, with the section of country and the people through your district where you are inspector?—Ans. Fully.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State to what extent railroad men appeared to be taking part in any of these obstructions that you saw, or interferences, if any, in any way.—Ans. Well, I have not noticed one railroad man—that is, a railroad man that was on the strike, interfering in any way, manner, or shape. They appeared to be a class of people that I would judge from the looks of them that they never worked on a railroad—the majority of them—or knew anything about switching or running an engine or anything else.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You mean those that were crowding up there and interfering?—Ans. Yes, sir. I seen a great many faces that I knew by sight, and I never saw them doing anything wrong, and I have talked to several. A great many of them went away to their homes and did not come down again. Several that I knew I talked to—a lot of men around Grand Crossing and that neighborhood, where I have lived twenty-five years. I talked to them and they went and stayed at home and did not come out again. And, as a rule, those fellows that we arrested were not railroad men. The men that we caught in the act of doing some depredation, they were not railroad men.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know how many were arrested for matters connected with this strike, in your division there, during its continuance?—Ans. I think we had some fifty or sixty.

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many of them were bound over or how many discharged, if you know?—Ans. There was quite a number that the United States marshal took hold of, and we prosecuted them under the city ordinances and fined them, any of them that were guilty. Some of them were set free. Those that we got positive proof against were fined, and parties came and paid their fines. Others were taken by the deputy marshals, and I don't know what became of them.

22 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many of those that were prosecuted under the city ordinances were fined, if you remember?—Ans. At a rough estimate, I would say about twenty-five or thirty. They were fined for disorderly conduct.

23 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I think you said there was some violence afterwards that you have not come to yet, perhaps?—Ans. On the evening of the 7th of July, at Forty-eighth and Loomis streets, we had a wrecking train on the Pan Handle road taking up those dead cars that were lying across the tracks, and I had some ten or twelve police officers with that wrecking train, and there was a company of State militia also accompanying the wrecking train. About half past

3 in the afternoon there was a mob moved onto these people. I was at the Nineteenth police station at the time—at the stock yards. I called the captain and called the reserved men that we had, which was about 200, near, and I sent out 100 of them; and Colonel Moulton, of the Second Regiment, took a company of men to the scene, under my orders, and Captain O'Neil and his lieutenants took some officers, about 100 in all, up there, and at the time I got there the crowd of people and the six or eight police officers was parleying with each other, and I instructed them to disperse that crowd, even if they were obliged to shoot them—that they should disperse the crowd by all means. They did disperse the crowd. I then called on the different other stations.

I stayed at the telephone myself, directing all the patrol wagons I had and their officers to assist in case we needed them. As I understood, there was probably 3,000 people there. Now, in that crowd I made it my business to inquire of the captain and the lieutenant that was acquainted in that neighborhood, that has been there for years and knew everybody, how many railroad men was connected with that mob, and they could not call a man. There was two or three killed there and five or six wounded, and there was one man killed out and out whose name was Burk. He never was connected with a railroad in his life. He was in that array, and he was the leader of the mob.

24 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was anybody who was a railroad man killed or injured?—Ans. No, sir; not that I know of. The man that was killed there was a thief; we knew him to be a thief; we had him arrested several times. There was some women in the crowd that got hurt—that got trampled on. This man Burk was the leader of the mob.

Well, that mob was dispersed, and after that we had no trouble up to the present time to amount to anything. There might be a man that would take the place of another man that two or three people might waylay and lick him when going or coming from his work, and we would get information of that and arrest the men and bring them into court.

25 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). There have been some intimations that the police force, or rather, perhaps, the rank and file of the police, were disposed to be indifferent, and not to discharge their duty in connection with the events of the strike. How was that?—Ans. That is not so, sir; every policeman, every police officer, under my jurisdiction was in earnest—done what I told him, worked earnestly and hard, just as much so as he would in any other case. I never saw a man showing any favors toward those men. When they deserved harsh treatment they got it, and there was no hesitation in obeying the orders. I never seen anything of the kind or heard of anything. I heard them kind of stories myself, but I was unable to find anything out about it. I instructed the officers and commanding officers, the sergeant and lieutenants; they were in charge of the companies, and I instructed them myself what their duties were and what they should do, and I never received a report of any officer shrinking from doing his duty in any shape or form.

26 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have described this mob on the 7th. Was there any serious outbreak or disturbance subsequent to that?—Ans. No, sir.

27 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there anything else connected with the strike or the action of the police there that is pertinent to this matter that you have not detailed or I have not asked you about?—Ans. I don't think there is a thing. I have detailed everything as far

as I know. We had ample protection. there was not a railroad official that ever asked me for one or two or a dozen or fifty men that he did not get them immediately. I sent them to them in every direction, from one point to another, to such a yard, such a switch, or such a place as there was liable to be trouble. The officials of any road can't say to the contrary but what I sent them ample protection.

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State what your duties and powers are as inspector of police in that district.—Ans. Well, I am the head of that division. I am virtually chief of police of that division. The inspector of the division gives the orders and changes the men to any place he wants to. I could use my discretion in sending or calling for men anywhere I wanted them. If I was short of men and I called for one hundred men from Chief Brennan, he sent them to me. My chief is Chief Brennan, and under him I have charge and control of my division, and he holds me responsible.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN E. FITZPATRICK.

August 28, 1894, John E. Fitzpatrick, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner KERNAN). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is John E. Fitzpatrick; am 43 years of age; reside at 5822 Drexel avenue, Chicago, Ill.; am an inspector of police, in charge of the first division.

2 (Commissioner KERNAN). What territory is covered by the first division?—Ans. From Van Buren street south to Thirty-third street, and from the lake west to Corworth street. Brighton Park takes along the east side of the river.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). Beginning with the 1st of July, you may state what you observed in reference to violations of law by mobs and the destruction of property, and what efforts you took to ascertain who were guilty and to prevent the occurrences continuing.—Ans. I did not take charge of that division until the morning of the 6th of July, and can only speak from the morning of the 6th. I was sent out there by the general superintendent of police on the morning of the 6th of July, and took charge of that division. It contains the Rock Island, Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, Grand Trunk, Eastern Illinois, Wabash, Western Indiana, Northern Pacific, and the Santa Fe. They all run through that district. I took charge of it with the police, and there has not one thing occurred from that time until the present time. No violation of anything occurred. There was no destruction of property; nobody interfered with it.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was there any car burning at all?—Ans. There was one car set on fire on Sunday morning. The damage amounted to about \$25. We immediately put it out. Well, yes; there was another one; there was two that day; one amounted to about \$100 damage and the other amounted to about \$25. That is all that occurred in the way of depredation or violence in that division since the morning of the 6th.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). What do you know about it prior to the 6th?—Ans. Not anything of my own knowledge.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). Under whose charge was the division then?—Ans. It was under the assistant chief, Kipley.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you have occasion after the 6th to arrest those charged with violence by anybody?—Ans. No, sir; there was no violence committed there; there were no acts of depredation committed in that division.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were there any charges made that strikers were interfering with new men? Were you called upon to protect new men against assaults of that character?—Ans. There was one man assaulted in Brighton Park proper—that was in a park, not on the railroads, and we arrested the two principals in that case; that was all the arrest that we made.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were those principals railroad men?—Ans. No, sir.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there anything further that you can state in reference to difficulties attending the strike?—Ans. No; not anything that I know of.

#### TESTIMONY OF JOHN FITZGERALD.

August 22, 1894, John Fitzgerald, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner KERNAN). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. John Fitzgerald; Chicago, Ill.; assistant fire marshal and chief of the eleventh battalion, Chicago fire department.

2 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long have you occupied that position?—Ans. As chief of that battalion four years in February next, but I have been connected with the fire department twenty-seven years last April.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). And during your experience you have served in all the different grades?—Ans. Yes, sir.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have been gradually promoted to the position you occupy now?—Ans. Yes, sir.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). State what territory you have charge of?—Ans. The territory I have charge of is bounded on the north by Thirty-ninth street, on the south by Fifty-fifth street, on the east by State street, and on the west by the city limits. My district includes the stock yards district and most of the railroads—that is, the Rock Island, Michigan Southern, Western Indiana, Eastern Illinois, Monon, Pan Handle, Wabash, and the stock yards tracks. After the Wabash leaves Fifty-fifth street it is out of my district and goes into the Twelfth.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many other districts are there?—Ans. Fourteen.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). How much of the railroad property came under your charge during the recent strike?—Ans. Everything from Thirty-ninth street to Fifty-fifth street, and from State street west to the city limits.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). Who had charge of the other railroad property during the strike in your position?—Ans. South of me was Joseph Kenyon, chief of the twelfth battalion. His district run to Pullman. He went clear south to the city limits west of State street.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Between him and you was it your duty during that time to keep a record of the number of cars and the amount of destruction upon the railroad?—Ans. Yes, sir.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you did that?—Ans. So far as we possibly could get it.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you that in written form?—Ans. We have the reports we made to the chief. All our reports were forwarded to the chief of brigade, U. J. Sweeney, and we have those up to the 8th of July and for the whole month of July.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). Up to the 8th would cover substantially the period of railroad destruction?—Ans. Yes, sir.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). State what your report was you made during that period as to destruction of railroad property?—Ans. My report to Chief Sweeney as to the number of railroad cars, depots, switch shanties, towers, and hay barns on the different railroads that were burned in my district from the 5th of July to the 9th of July, inclusive, was as follows:

Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company, 1 car burned; Rock Island Railroad Company, 1 car and 1 switch shanty; Grand Trunk Railroad Company, 22 cars, 4 switch shanties, 2 depots, 6 towers, and 1 hay barn; Michigan Central Railroad Company, 1 car; Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, 1 car; Chicago and Alton, 1 car; street car company, 1 car; Northwestern Railroad Company, 2 cars; Swift & Co., 1 car; P. D. Armour & Co., 1 car; Pittsburg, Fort Wayne & Chicago, 35 cars and 2 depots; Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, 1 car; Wabash, 22 cars; Pan Handle, 76 cars, 17 of which were loaded, 2 depots, and 2 towers, making a total of 147 cars, 5 switch shanties, 6 depots, 8 towers, and 1 hay barn.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were there any cars burned before the 5th of July?—Ans. There were a few on the 4th.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). If you have a record of those, please give it to us.—Ans. Chicago and Western Indiana Railroad Company, 1 freight car, No. 736, at Union avenue and Wabash railroad tracks, on the 4th, and another freight car belonging to the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company, unoccupied; that was all, I think, on the 4th.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was any property destroyed on the 3d?—Ans. I didn't have a fire on the 3d of July in my district at all.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). After the 8th there was no trouble which led to any destruction of that kind, was there?—Ans. We had a few cars burned after that up in the Erie yard, a very few, but I could not tell the number without looking over my record; I think there were six at one time up in the Erie yard or Fort Wayne yard; I know there were two that I recollect of.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). We want to get at all those that were burned during the period of the strike excitement. Do you remember any others besides the six you mention?—Ans. I could not tell without going through the record for each day.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was there any considerable number burned?—Ans. No; nothing more than usual after the 8th.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). And nothing more than usual before the 3d?—Ans. No.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you yourself attend any of these fires?—Ans. I attended pretty nearly all of them.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). What did you discover, if anything, as to the causes of the fire?—Ans. Well, when we got there, the cars were burning, but I saw some youngsters setting fire to cars.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you see any of the youngsters doing it?—Ans. The oldest one I saw doing it was a boy about 19 years old, and a lot of women and children kind of urging him. I don't know how many big ones there were, but I know that I got throwed in the ditch when I tried to stop them.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you have an acquaintance with railroad men employed in that vicinity?—Ans. A great many of them; yes, sir.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you see any of them engaged in anyway in connection with these fires, either in encouraging the boys in setting fire to them or aiding in preventing their extinguishing?—Ans. No, sir; I did not.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you receive any aid from that class of people?—Ans. I did once at Forty-fifth street and the Fort Wayne tracks, where two or three railroad men I knew helped us

make a lead between some cars; they were old switchmen that I knew connected with the stock yards association.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you try to get aid from them?—**Ans.** We handled the fires with our own force if we possibly could.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you try to get aid and have it refused in any case?—**Ans.** No.

29 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you have your hose cut, or any trouble of that kind at times?—**Ans.** I had a link of hose cut on the corner of Forty-ninth and Loomis streets by some man with a sharp knife when stepping over it; there were two policemen there looking at the man's actions, but never noticed that the holes was cut until after he got over it, and then it was too late, they could not get him; that was the only hose I had cut except one at the Pan Handle tracks, and how it was cut I could not tell.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). How about your being obstructed from getting to the fires by the crowd?—**Ans.** We never were obstructed in getting to the fires.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were any attempts made to prevent your getting in position to extinguish them, or to prevent your handling your apparatus?—**Ans.** Not at all.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were there any attempts to prevent or interfere with your apparatus; to injure it or break it except as you have stated?—**Ans.** That is all, only at the Pan Handle fire; that was the only place they disturbed me.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). Between you and the other chief, Mr. Kenyon, who had charge of the other district running to Pullman, the whole territory of railroad obstruction was substantially covered?—**Ans.** Yes, sir; he run from Fifty-fifth street south to Pullman, and I took in every thing from Fifty-fifth street to Thirty-ninth street.

34 (Commissioner KERNAN). I suppose you had no doubt these fires were incendiary?—**Ans.** No, sir; I did not, for I saw about twelve or thirteen cars set on fire myself.

35 (Commissioner KERNAN). In all instances was it done by the class of people you have mentioned?—**Ans.** Yes; principally youngsters—hoodlums, as I called them—and men for plunder.

36 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you suspect they were put up to it by anybody?—**Ans.** I investigated to find out as far as I could, but could not trace it to reliable sources.

37 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). These fires were unusual and were connected with, or grew out of, the strike?—**Ans.** Yes, sir; I judge so.

38 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And were far in excess of the number of fires you have ordinarily?—**Ans.** Yes, sir.

39 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And you know part of them were incendiary?—**Ans.** Yes, sir.

40 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State about what would be the average of cars burned in your district during that length of time, ordinarily.—**Ans.** To state that accurately I would have to refer to my records; probably we would average from fifteen to twenty cars a year, probably not that many.

#### TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH L. KENYON.

August 23, 1894, Joseph L. Kenyon, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner KERNAN). State your name, residence, and occupation.—**Ans.** Joseph L. Kenyon; Chicago, Ill.; assistant fire marshal, chief of the twelfth battalion.

2 (Commissioner KERNAN). How large a district is in your charge?—  
Ans. 54½ square miles.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). Marshal Fitzgerald was on the stand yesterday and said that you had charge from the limit of his district to Pullman; is that correct?—Ans. Yes, sir; from Fifty-fifth to One hundred and thirty-eighth streets, with the exception of South Chicago.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was it your duty to keep track of the number of fires and the amount of car destruction done during the time of the recent strike?—Ans. Yes, as far as possible.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you a record of that with you?—  
Ans. Yes, sir.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). Please give us the figures.—Ans. The starting point of the fires was the night of the World's Fair fire, which was also in my district; that was on the 5th of July at 6.17 p. m., and we were at that fire from that time until 9 the next morning; that was a large fire, there being a first, second, and general alarm, and also a special call for five additional engines; that brought a great number of engines from the southern territory, stripping the district largely of available resources for extinguishing fires. At 1.09 a. m. on the morning of the 6th, on the Illinois Central track between One hundred and first and One hundred and second streets, 50 freight cars, chiefly empty, were burned; there were 10 coal, 3 refrigerator, and 37 box cars empty. I was not at that fire at all, and did not see anything in connection with it except the remains the next day.

I will state, in regard to that fire, that it was remote from water to such an extent that we were compelled to use 3,200 feet of hose, and were sadly handicapped, being compelled to have an additional engine to make sufficient pressure to reach the cars. On the 6th, in what is known as the Pan Handle yards, at Fifty-ninth street, there was a total of 622 cars in my district consumed in one fire originating about 2.03 p. m., or thereabouts. That fire occurred on the Pan Handle tracks, remote from water, and extending from Fifty-fifth to Sixty-third street, just 1 mile, six tracks. While this fire was burning I was in the office trying to assist the men there, the operators, etc. Chiefs Green, Fitzgerald, and Marshal O'Mally were at that fire. I got notification from Engine Company 62 that there was a fire burning on the Illinois Central track between Ninety-ninth and One hundred and first streets, slightly to the north of the previous fire on the night before. There were 141 cars consumed at that fire—coal, refrigerator, and freight cars. I was present at that fire.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you present at the Pan Handle fire?—Ans. I was not.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). State what you observed at this fire with reference to the cause of the fire, and all that sort of thing.—  
Ans. I responded to the call as quick as possible, but should judge it took me twenty-two to twenty-eight minutes to get to the scene of the fire. When I got there I found no water. The fire was burning out to the north and to the south. I advised with Chief Smith, of the Fourteenth battalion, located at South Chicago, and as soon as the engines arrived we placed them in line, the nearest available hydrant being at One hundred and fourth street and Pullman avenue, and we worked to the best of our knowledge and ability to extinguish the fire at the north end of the yard, because of its liability to take in the shops if it got away from us. We put that fire out first. We found no people inside of the fence except railroad employees, and but few of those. On the outside of the fence, on the prairie, there were perhaps from 500 to 1,000 people, but they did not molest the firemen, so far as I could see.



9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were they striking employees?—Ans. No, sir.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did they interfere with your apparatus or hose?—Ans. No, sir; they used a little forcible language, was about all.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there anything further in reference to that fire?—Ans. No, sir; I left Marshal Smith in charge of that fire, and I came back, knowing the other end of the town was in bad shape. On July 6, at Ninety-second street and the Rock Island tracks, there were 13 cars consumed, out of a batch of probably 350 to 400 cars. All these fires were remote from water, which handicapped us to a certain extent.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). What did you observe at that fire?—Ans. I was not at that fire; I was at another one at Elizabeth street. It was impossible for me to be at all the fires of last month, because there were 86 actual fires.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the average of fires, one month with another?—Ans. There are about 2½ fires a day, probably 3 fires a day.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then the fires in July did not exceed the average, according to that?—Ans. Hardly.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). About 70 fires would be the average, would it?—Ans. Just about.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were there any other fires during this time?—Ans. July 7, at 7.30 p. m., there was one box car consumed belonging to the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. I know nothing of that fire except from hearsay. Two more Fort Wayne empties at Seventy-sixth street and Illinois Central tracks. July 9, at 8.55, at One hundredth street and Illinois Central tracks, that was communicated from the fires of the 5th and 6th; that is, coal was allowed to remain on the track, probably 20 to 30 tons of soft and hard coal, for it was almost impossible to strip the district and keep engines there continually pumping water, and we thought we had the fire out, but it broke out again on the 9th at 8.55 p. m. On the 10th there was a fire set about 1 o'clock on the Pan Handle tracks and Seventy-eighth street, but we did not get the alarm of fire until 4 p. m. There were two box cars owned by the Rock Island road, empties, consumed. They had previously been used for cement.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). When you got notice of that fire, where did it come from?—Ans. It came through a police officer.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). As a rule, who did the notices of these fires come from, from the railroad companies?—Ans. No, sir; they came from box alarms, or were sometimes discovered from the towers of engine houses.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you remember of any calls from railroad people with reference to these fires?—Ans. Yes, sir; on the 8th we received a notification that there was a fire burning at Burnside, on the Illinois Central track, at One hundredth street. I believe that message came through a representative of the Illinois Central. It was a dispatch from the Burnside shops to the Kensington police, and was then telephoned to me, and we had a company there at 8.55 p. m. and extinguished what fire we could see, except a pile of coal, and we could not strip the district by keeping engines and hose out there playing on that coal, and we came to the conclusion the Illinois Central railroad people were not exercising good judgment in putting out the fires themselves.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is that the only instance when you received a notice or request from the railroad people?—Ans. That is the only one to my knowledge.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you in a position so that you would know where all the notices for outside fires came from?—Ans. No; I could not tell who pulled the box.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). What I mean is, suppose that a written communication or requests were sent in there, would they come to you?—Ans. They would come to me or to Marshal Green, who was in charge of the south end of the district.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). Go on and give the other dates of fires.—Ans. The last fire sighted, I believe, was at Seventy-eighth street and the Pan Handle tracks, July 11, at 2.26 a. m. From Ninety-eighth to One hundredth street there were five box cars, empty, consumed.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you at that fire?—Ans. Yes, sir.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). What did you observe there as to interference on the part of anyone?—Ans. There was no interference whatever. Then, again, on the 11th, at 9.41 a. m., there was a fire in Jackson Park, World's Fair site, Sixty-seventh street, in the rear of the stock pavilion; thirteen box cars destroyed; cause, incendiary. On the 12th of July, at 8.41, at La Salle street and Chicago and Eastern Illinois track, one box car, slight loss, \$50.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does that cover your knowledge of the fires during the strike period?—Ans. That is all with reference to railroad cars that I had in the district.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you fully stated your observation as to the source of those fires, and as to interference by strikers or their sympathizers with the department or its apparatus in any way?—Ans. I was asked to make an investigation with reference to the Burnside fire and the Pan Handle fire. I know nothing of the Pan Handle fire except the loss furnished by the railroad people and the figures furnished by the men I detailed for that purpose, and they are pretty nearly alike. With reference to the trouble at Burnside, Captain O'Neil reported that on his arrival the night of the World's Fair fire, to the best of his knowledge and belief, there was hardly over eight people on the ground, and that those eight people, with his own men, previous to getting water, did the best they could to shove back cars away from the fire. Now, from hearsay I think the employees of the Illinois Central were derelict in not moving those cars at One hundred and ninth street the morning of the 6th. They pulled cars away from the north end of the yard and lost valuable time by pulling them away instead of pulling them from the south end. Richard Head, an employee of the Illinois Central, made that statement to me personally.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did the railroad do what it could under the circumstances to get cars out of the way of these fires?—Ans. At that fire I saw no cars moved.

29 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was it possible to have moved them away out of the range of the fire at any time after you saw the fire?—Ans. I think they could.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did they have any engines that they could have used for that purpose?—Ans. The night of this first fire, when 141 cars were lost, I believe they had switch engine No. 111 in there with a crew on it, and according to the statement of Richard Head they lost two hours and forty-five minutes of valuable time before they pulled a car.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where does Richard Head reside?—Ans. At Hyde Park.

## TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN H. ATWELL.

August 21, 1894, Benjamin H. Atwell, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name and occupation?—

Ans. My name is Benjamin H. Atwell; am a reporter on the Chicago News, and have been a little over a year; have been in the business of reporting for about three years, was here during the late strike, and was sent to Grand Crossing, Pullman, the stock yards, and Blue Island. The only real acts of violence I witnessed during the strike were at Blue Island and at the stock yards. At Grand Crossing there was considerable hooting, and I saw several crowds gather on the railroad property, but no acts of violence. The crowds were mixed, composed partly of railroad men, but a great many men from the factories would gather around at night. I saw a man ask the gate-man to stop work at Grand Crossing, but saw no actual violence. At Blue Island I witnessed the attempt of the United States marshal to make up a train and pull it out of the depot there; a mob of probably 600 men gathered at the crossing and tried to prevent the train being made up; they stood on the track at the crossing and said they would have to be run down by the train before it could cross the street. They claimed to have a right to the crossing, it being city property. They also tried to stop some teams on the crossing, and most of the marshals drew revolvers and threatened to shoot, and there were several blows struck.

I saw one deputy marshal—I forget his name—stabbed with a knife. There was a great deal of confusion and it was hard to state who was responsible for the trouble. There were a good many men there from the brickyard. I went down to the brickyard and saw the men were not at work. Most of them were gathered around town, were drinking a good deal, and looking for trouble. I interviewed the mayor, and he called a meeting of the saloon keepers and asked them to close their saloons in order to prevent the crowd that was gathered there in the city from making further trouble. There was nothing real serious, however; there were no stones thrown while I was there, or anything of that kind. When the injunction was read there were speeches made by several representative railroad men, asking the crowd not to attempt violence, and after those speeches were made the men who said they were railroad men left the company's property, saying they would not inviolate the injunction. I did know the names of two of the men who spoke there at that time, but I have forgotten them now.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). This interference with making up of this train, as I understand you, consisted in standing upon the track of the right of way, rather than any acts of interference with the train itself.—Ans. There was no interference with the train at that time; after the train had been made up there were some pins pulled out of the couplings, but there were no blows struck until the United States marshals drew their revolvers and threatened to shoot; then there was some fighting on all sides, but in my opinion the fighting was not done by railroad employees, because the officers of the road were there and I talked with them, and they picked out several railroad men who were very quiet and said they were railroad men, and at that time Mr. Dunlap, of the Rock Island, told me he did not think his men were responsible for that work. He was at the time superintendent of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad and in charge of Blue Island.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What else, if anything, did you see at Blue Island?—Ans. I went down on that train that went to Fifty-first street, where they had the trouble, and once or twice people threw stones at us, but they were mostly boys 17 or 18 years old, and did not appear to be railroad men. As we were coming just north of Englewood there was a man and his wife and a couple of children on the back porch of the house, and they fired a revolver at the train. It was the Fourth of July, and Lieutenant Jamison said: "I believe that is a blank cartridge, but if you hear the bullet strike the cab shoot into that crowd." I think it was done in a spirit of mischief; I don't think the man was a railroad man; he was pretty well dressed.

I afterwards went down to the stock yards and witnessed a great deal of trouble there, but for the most part it was done by men who appeared to be connected with the stock yards, rather than the railroad. I went out on the first train, which was a beef train, that they got out of the yards and there was no violence attempted at that time; there were too many troops present. Before that I witnessed cars set on fire by crowds and in one instance they took my horse, cut him loose and started him down the street, but none of them were railroad men; they were just toughs intent on committing all kinds of depredations.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What did you notice as to the conduct of the deputy marshals during the strike at different times?—Ans. Many of the marshals were men I had known around Chicago as saloon characters, and some of them that were out there told me themselves they went out for the avowed purpose of having a good time. Some of them were very respectable men, but others caroused. The first day, I believe, after the troops arrived there at Blue Island the deputy marshals went up into town and some of them got pretty drunk. All of them that had money enough seemed to be out for a good time.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What did you observe, if anything, as to railroad men being drunk and raising disturbances—I mean those who were designated as strikers?—Ans. For the most part they did not appear to be drinking heavily; I talked with many of them, and at their meetings they brought that up, because they were preparing for a long struggle, and they advised the men to be as economical as possible and save their money, and, in order to create public sentiment in their favor, to be as orderly as possible.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did your observation confirm the statements made to you in that particular?—Ans. I believe so. There was a picnic where some of the strikers got drunk, but that was the only day I saw any of them at all under the influence of liquor.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I think you said you were at Pullman during the strike?—Ans. I went over to Pullman one night, the night they burned the cars down there, and I found the strikers there as a committee, or a body of men who were trying to prevent disorder, and I found they had caused the arrest of two reporters because they saw them buy cartridges at a hardware store. I talked with Lieutenant Barrett, who was in charge of the district there, and he said he didn't think it was the men who belonged in Pullman that was causing the trouble, and upon my recommendation he released these two newspaper men. He told me they had been arrested on suspicion of being dynamited and looking for trouble. One of them was an Inter-Ocean man; I don't know what paper the other one represented.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you learn why the two men you mention were arrested?—Ans. These newspaper men had been arrested by the strikers as being suspicious characters; they said they

were going to prevent any outsiders coming in and creating an erroneous impression in regard to them.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You spoke of cars being burned at Pullman; was it inside the corporation?—Ans. I don't know what the limits of the town are. The cars were burned north of the works at a big repair shop there; I think it belongs to the Illinois Central. They were freight cars, and the men that belonged in those repair shops were Illinois Central employees. I was present when those shops were closed, and they told me they worked for the Illinois Central.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know how many cars were burned there?—Ans. At that time I telegraphed in there was about 200 burned there.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did the employees have anything to do with the burning of those cars?—Ans. There was no one in sight when I got there. There was a big meeting at the time up in Kensington, which was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 miles from where these cars were burning, and I went over to the meeting afterwards.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What day did these cars burn?—Ans. I think it was early in July, but I am not positive. I think it was after the 4th, for on that day I was at Blue Island; that is the only day I remember. I was sent almost everywhere and kept no record.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say there was no crowd around where these cars were burning?—Ans. There was no one around at the time I saw them; I did not see them when they were first set on fire.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Where were you then?—Ans. On the way down there. On that day there had been some trouble before, and I had hurried down there in anticipation of further trouble; there was some trouble there at the time, and the police were there in large numbers, and troops were also in Kensington.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you mean the police and troops were in the neighborhood of where these cars were burning, or near them?—Ans. They had been, but when I got there they were in Kensington. The place was deserted; there was no one where the fire was.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there any other fact connected with the strike you think would be of interest or bear on the questions involved?—Ans. I know of nothing further, except instances such as I have cited. I saw cars set on fire several times at the stock yards.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By whom?—Ans. It would be hard to tell who did it; they looked to be too young to be railroad men and too young to be butchers. I saw boys not over 17 years old around cars that were burning inside, and when anyone spoke of such a thing as putting it out they were ready to mob the person.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you discover any railroad men in that crowd that you knew?—Ans. I saw none in the stock yards that appeared to be railroad men making trouble; they appeared to be workmen—that is, belonged in the stock yards. I could tell some were butchers from their conversation.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). What were your instructions, if any, from your paper in regard to making your report?—Ans. My instructions were to deal impartially, not to attempt to fix the blame myself, but state the facts entirely, no matter who it hit.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you think it part of your duty to find out if possible how far railroad men were concerned in this violence and outrage?—Ans. I did, because I was told to make no mistake in attributing the blame.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you state fully all you were able to see and gather in that regard?—Ans. I believe so, substantially.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were your reports treated fairly in your paper?—Ans. They were not changed in the least.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). You spoke of 200 cars burning near the Illinois Central repair shops, and a big meeting at Kensington of railroad men that you attended.—Ans. Yes, sir.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). At that meeting did you discover any evidences of sympathy with the fire or jubilation over the fact that the cars were burning?—Ans. A good many laughed at it—seemed to consider it a huge joke, but no one seemed to think they were responsible for it. The spirit seemed to be that the rough element in this part of the country was in sympathy with the strikers and would do anything they thought would help them out.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you hear anything said as to whether it was the duty of the strikers to assist in restraining that element or keeping away from that difficulty on that evening?—Ans. No, sir; I did not. The meeting was an open-air meeting, and when I got there it was almost over, and the people were very jubilant. They thought they had won the strike and were shouting, yelling, and hurraing. It was an open-air meeting on the edge of the sidewalk. There was a hall upstairs and some kind of a secret meeting was going on there.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you ascertain anything about what the secret meeting upstairs was for?—Ans. I did not.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). Or who was in it?—Ans. I was led to believe that the labor leaders in that section were in it.

#### TESTIMONY OF N. D. HUTTON.

August 21, 1894, N. D. Hutton, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and occupation.—Ans. N. D. Hutton; am a reporter for the Chicago Tribune.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been engaged as such?—Ans. Since July 1, 1894.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you on any Chicago paper prior to that?—Ans. The Chicago Times.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you detailed to report the facts relating to the late troubles, so far as rioting, etc., were concerned?—Ans. Yes sir.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State in detail what you observed and know of your own knowledge with reference to destruction of property, rioting, and the character of the people engaged in the riot?—Ans. I think my first assignment by the Tribune on that work was at Blue Island. I went down there, I believe, July 2, in the afternoon, with two deputy marshals who were to serve the injunction issued by Judges Wood and Grosscup. These two deputies went down on one of the regular passenger trains, on the Rock Island in company with Mr. Mather, counsel for the road, and they delivered that injunction to Marshal Arnold, and he read it to the mob, a very large and noisy crowd. There was no actual violence at the time, but there was a good deal of loud and ugly talk. The crowd did not appear disposed to listen to the reading of the injunction, and cursed the United States court and laughed at the soldiers.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Where was that?—Ans. At the depot at Blue Island. I was at Blue Island until the morning of the 4th. I don't think there was any destruction of property during that time except to turn over two or three cars that night and the night after. Within two hours after the injunction had been read some of the men upset two or three box cars across the main track of the road and blocked it pretty completely there.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you see that done?—Ans. No; I didn't see the work done; it was done early in the evening, just after dark.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). You do not know the character of the men engaged in it?—Ans. No, sir; the most of the men engaged in disorder there, however, were strikers or sympathizers with them, I think, because nearly all the people down there were railroad employees. During the time I was there I had to stay pretty close to the marshals or deputy sheriffs, for I could not get anything out of the strikers; they would not tell me anything, and were very bitter against all reporters. They ran one reporter out of town the second night I was there. They were hunting for Tribune and Herald reporters very hard, but could not find any of us. A committee—I don't know whether it was a regular committee or a self-constituted committee—held several of us up on the street one day and insisted on knowing what papers we were for, and laid hold of one Inter-Ocean man and were going to run him out of town. Before that they had chased this other fellow out, and said it was a pity they had not hung him, and afterwards told us they had whitewashed some scab there and chased him across the prairie.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Who told you this?—Ans. I don't know the name of the man, but he represented himself as being from the strikers' headquarters engaged in looking after the reporters. They complained the newspaper men did not give their side; that they must quit that; that they were going to have fair play or know why. That evening a number of the boys did meet them, and that was the time this fellow spoke about whitewashing the scabs. I believe either the next day or the day after that a number of them got inside of a line the deputies had established and made a charge on the roundhouse there and on two or three foremen, but none of them were very badly hurt. The deputies run them out of there. I was not there after the troops came. They came on the morning of the 4th at daylight—part of the Fifteenth Infantry. Then I was called in.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). You say that the crowds you saw were composed mostly of railroad men?—Ans. Yes; that was the impression I got everywhere, that the most of the men were employees of the railroad, a larger proportion of them than were in these mobs uptown or at the stock yards, where the trouble was largely done by bummers, anarchists, and disorderly people; but that element is not so large at Blue Island.

The deputy marshals and deputy sheriffs did very little toward handling the crowds except to keep them off the railroad property. They had their lines out and would allow no one to pass in that could not identify himself. The crowd would lie around there very quietly; you would not see them at all except when they would hear a train coming; then certain of them would go over to an engine that had been derailed, ring an alarm, and then the whole town would turn out, men, women, and children. On the afternoon of the 5th or 6th of July I was detailed to go to the stock yards and incidentally to stop along the Rock Island and Lake Shore tracks and see if anything was happening

there. At Sixteenth or Eighteenth street, on the Rock Island track, I found two or three cars had been upset not more than half an hour before I arrived, and as I went on down the track there was a great many other cars upset. The police told me it had been done by a mob of about 3,000 men that came up from the south about half past 12, who had upset cars all along the track, set fire to two or three of them, and burned one oil shanty. Then they scattered; the police could not get at them. A few minutes later several trains came in from the south on the Rock Island. The first train had one company of the Fifteenth Infantry, under Captain Hornish, and he attempted to work the train through, and when the train struck the first obstruction on the track and the officials stopped to clear the track, get the overturned cars off the track, the crowd would run ahead of them about six blocks and tip over another car, almost in sight of the soldiers. You could not see them do it, but you could see the car roll over. They did that several times along ahead of the train, and the crowd outside of the fence all of the way did a good deal of hooting at the troops.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). What was the character of those crowds?—Ans. A large element of curiosity hunters were mixed with them and a good many women. The women were pretty abusive, some of them. I was told by the soldiers further south they had had several skirmishes with these people, and rocks, pebbles, and such things had been thrown at them, but I did not see any of that. I did not go further than Fortieth street. The paper sent me to the stock yards, and I was there for about nine days. Of course that whole neighborhood was in a state of panic, and it was very hard to keep track of what was going on. We would hear reports of a fight in one neighborhood and go down there and it would be over, and before we got back there would be another story from another direction. There were crowds all around that stock yards neighborhood that belonged to Forty-seventh street on the south and Halsted street—young fellows, a hard looking set, that loafed around there until some man appeared as a leader to stir up some sort of a fuss, and then they would all fall in with him. It was not safe to travel around there. Myself and a reporter on the Herald went one night on a street east of Emerald avenue and were coming back from a box car that was on fire and three or four men followed us and threw stones at us.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). How extensive an acquaintance did you personally have at that time among railroad employees?—Ans. Very little.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). You did not see any employees that you knew engaged in the trouble, did you?—Ans. No; I could not say that I personally know that any of the men who did any of that work were railroad employees.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you see any railroad employees whom you judged to be such instigating or leading these crowds?—Ans. My idea was in most cases that the leaders were railroad employees; at least, in a great many cases.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). To what extent did you investigate to ascertain whether that was so or not?—Ans. It was nearly impossible to get anything out of those people, because if a man went among them and represented himself as a reporter he probably would have trouble the next minute; so we had to take what we could see and get the rest from the soldiers and at the police station.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you have any special instructions as to your reports except to ascertain the facts?—Ans. No, sir; when



anything special would happen I would generally call up the office and ask them if I should go out on it, or in what way I should handle it.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). I mean any special instructions to ascertain the facts on one side or the other?—Ans. No, sir.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Or disturb the reports in any way?—Ans. No sir.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were your reports made correctly so far as you ascertained the facts?—Ans. As nearly as I could get at it.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). In the course of supervision were they changed substantially?—Ans. No, sir; no more than all newspaper copy is ordinarily. Sometimes the copy will be cut when there is no room for it.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). In cutting it would they cut what was favorable to one side or the other?—Ans. I saw no attempt to shade the report in the office.

#### TESTIMONY OF HUBERT F. MILLER.

August 21, 1894, Hubert F. Miller, being first duly sworn, testified as follows :

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Hubert L. Miller; Chicago; am a reporter for the Chicago Tribune, and have been for nearly two years.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you detailed by the Tribune to report the facts for it relative to the disturbances, etc., of the strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State, in narrative form, what you observed, beginning with the commencement of the trouble.—Ans. The beginning of the trouble, as I remember, was when the American Railway Union took a hand in the Pullman strike. There were rumors of trouble with several roads, and my principal work for several days was watching the down-town end of it, that is, about the stations and general offices of the different railroads. There we were better able to learn what was going on outside of town. The first time I had any connection with what we call rioting was at Blue Island, some time before the troops were called out. One evening there came a report that a mail train had been ditched by the mob at Blue Island. The following morning there were 100 United States deputy marshals sent to Blue Island on a special train under United States Marshal Arnold. I heard of the fact, reported it to the Tribune, and was sent on that train with the marshals to Blue Island. They were proposing to raise the blockade caused there by the wrecked mail train, and move other mail trains through that town. The yards were blockaded so by trains that had been stopped it was important to move trains. The train left here with the marshals at 6 o'clock in the morning, Marshal Arnold, General Superintendent Dunlap, of the Rock Island, and myself, I think, being the only persons aboard except the engineer and fireman who were not marshals.

On the way down Marshal Arnold said he would probably need everybody to help, and he would deputize the railroad officials present and myself as marshals. Everyone was armed with revolvers. When we got to Blue Island, after finding switches spiked all the way down, that is, not all of them, but several of them, and other evidences of disorder, we found a tremendous crowd gathered. When the train moved into Blue Island the whole town was aroused by the ringing of a locomotive bell on a wrecked train. The engine lay partially on its side, or

tipped over partially, and somebody got up on the engine and rung the bell. That attracted the attention of a great many people, and they came running up. As soon as the crowd gathered close to the tracks Marshal Arnold stopped them, told them they must not trespass on the right of way; that they must keep back of the low fence, which was the line of the right of way, which they did. A large number of people stood back of the fence and indulged in violent language, swearing, and calling names. One remark made was that Pullman cars would never be moved; that mail cars could, but they would not allow Pullman cars to be moved. Marshal Arnold replied they would move mail cars and everything connected with the trains, and the man, with an oath, said they would not. I did not know the man and could not recognize him now. There was a man or two there I would recognize if I saw them, but not be positive as to more than one or two, and I don't know their names. They were particularly violent in their talk.

We arrived there about 9 o'clock, and it was nearly 1, I think, before we attempted to move a train. In the meantime, the time was spent in talking with the city officials. Superintendent Dunlap told them he understood the people of the town were very aggressive toward the Rock Island road, and unless they showed a better disposition he would take the station away from that point, allow trains to run through without stopping, and discontinue the suburban trains; he seemed to blame the citizens of the town, the municipal authorities, for not protecting their property better. He said they had allowed trains to be tampered with unnecessarily, that their officers might have made a greater effort to stop it. He also said that the railroad employees who were working and people on the trains had been boycotted from getting meals in the town, instigated by the men who had the train wrecked the night before; the city authorities disclaimed all knowledge of that; they said they were ready at any moment to help move trains, and they immediately sent police down to clear the crossing, where the Rock Island crosses the main street.

The crossing was full of people and it was necessary to move the crowd before they could move the engine across and attach it on to the cars that blocked the track. Then we went down; all the deputy marshals and deputy sheriffs were congregated about the engine. The intention was to move the first train across into the yards and side track it as a preliminary move toward clearing the main track through the town. As soon as that move was made the mob made its first violent demonstration. They crowded around the cars so close it was impossible to move except at the rate of a very slow walk. The cars were moved toward the street—it was being backed in, the engine back of the car—the train moved slowly backward, and as the back end of the car commenced to go upon the street where the crowd was congregated they packed in so close it was dangerous to life and limb to move the cars. The marshals were packed in about the car as tight as they could be, but they were insufficient in force to move the crowd back. The striking with fists, etc., commenced as quick as the car penetrated the crowd, even to the distance of a foot, as soon as it crossed the sidewalk entering the public street. There was one man hurt, who stood almost at my side; his name was John Logan, a deputy United States marshal, he was struck in the back with a knife, making a cut some inches in length in his back, and almost at that instant, I could not say positively whether it was a second or two before, or the next second or two, everybody that had a revolver seemed to take it out of their pocket, seemed to think it necessary to defend their lives.

I certainly did, and drew my revolver. At that moment I was struck in the back by something heavy, at least it hit me pretty hard, and I was sore there for several days.

I could not say who struck me or what hit me, but somebody said it was a coupling pin. The trouble lasted probably fifteen minutes—getting that car through there and coupling it on to the cars in the rear; then the people in the crowd would not allow the coupling to be made, and it was at last given up. As soon as that trouble was over I went to my shorthand reporter up stairs in a room over the telegraph office to dictate my report, intending to telegraph it the minute it was done. A man having arrived from the Tribune office to take my place where I left off, and I was in that room while this trouble was going on, during which the order of the United States court was read to the crowd. I heard a good deal of jeering and understood from others they were jeering the order of the United States court, but that I did not see. I simply heard that from Mr. Hutton, who testified this morning: he was the man who relieved me. I came at once to the Tribune office with my typewritten report of some 4,000 or 5,000 words of what had occurred between 3 o'clock in the morning and 6 in the afternoon, and Mr. Hutton took the report up at that hour and continued it as long as he stayed there, probably a day or two. I stayed in town two days on other work, going about the stations down town. The second day I was sent with a detachment of the Fifteenth Regiment, regulars, to the stock yards.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). It has been said in the testimony, I think, that you drew the first revolver at Blue Island?—Ans. Yes, sir; that has been said by some of the people that testified here.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the fact about that?—Ans. The facts, as near as I can state them, are that there were perhaps twenty revolvers drawn within a space of two seconds. I don't think I had my revolver out before anybody else; if I did it was because I was a little quicker on the draw than some of the people, having had three years' experience in the West and having practiced a good deal in getting my revolver out of my pocket quick. I don't think I drew my revolver first.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). The other revolvers were drawn by whom?—Ans. By the United States deputy marshals principally, but there were a good many people in the crowd who had revolvers; it seemed that everybody about me had a revolver in his hands, some had clubs, and one man had a knife, at least.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where were you standing when you drew your revolver?—Ans. At the front end of the car as it backed; I had one hand on the rail of the car to keep from being pushed under the wheels by the crowd which crowded on me; there were men all about me, both marshals and those taking part on the other side.

I went to the stock yards with the regulars, as I stated. We arrived at 6 o'clock in the morning, and I remained at the stock yards until the troops were called in, which was a matter of five weeks, remaining at the Transit House principally, and wrote the greater part of the news from the stock yards. I think I was the only reporter that went with the troops there on the train. I took with me an operator and an apparatus for tapping the wires at any point, and he remained with me for some two or three weeks. I was assisted for two days by Mr. Hutton, who was sent down to help me. After he arrived he did the greater part of the work until he left. He stayed some three or four days, and during that time wrote the most important news, because he was a stranger and could get more news than I could,

I being well known around there, having been there before. On several occasions when I went out to report a disturbance I was threatened by the people I met along the road, and on one occasion was attacked. That was within the first three or four days after the trouble commenced at the stock yards.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Who were the people that attacked you?—Ans. I suppose they would come under the head of strikers, at least, Debs' sympathizers, because they had white ribbons on their coats. They did not offer any violence other than to threaten violence on that occasion. Some two weeks after that, when in company with a reporter for the Herald, one night, we were shot at two times on a back street—I will correct that, by saying the bullets went close enough so we heard them, and we supposed we were shot at. The man who did the shooting was across the street from us, perhaps a hundred yards away. The first bullet we did not hear, but heard the shot; the second bullet we heard plainly; the third bullet we heard strike the fence or some obstruction near us; none of them hit us, however, and we immediately left the place and went back to the hotel, giving up the work we were going to do that night; it was then nearly midnight. I saw no other disturbances except at the stock yards and Blue Island.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Describe the disturbances at the stock yards.—Ans. There was so much going on down there that a detailed account would be hard to give. I remember of seeing from my window in the Transit House one day a box car being fired at Fortieth street. There was a string of cars along there and we heard a fire alarm. Mr. Hutton and the operator, Leets, were in the room with me. We looked out the window and saw a box car burning at Fortieth street and a crowd running from that car west along the track; they ran probably 100 rods and then hesitated; the fire seemed to die out for a moment and they ran back toward the car. The car immediately blazed up again freely and then they ran again. Then we saw people we took to be policemen—this was at a distance of four or five blocks away—running toward the crowd, and the crowd ran on west; then saw an engine driven up and the fire extinguished. Then we went back to our work. An hour or two later fires commenced springing up along the Pan Handle track somewhere near Brighton Park, a little station west of the stock yards, and from that time to near midnight there was a matter of 1,200 cars burned up between Brighton Park and the lower end of the Pan Handle yard. We suppose the same crowd whom we saw leave this other burning car at Fortieth street had continued west to Brighton Park, started the fires there, and continued on south to the end of the Pan Handle yards, that being only our observation and supposition.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you make all these observations from the room you speak of?—Ans. No, sir; simply the first part of it. As soon as we heard of the fires in the west we took a carriage and drove over there, and we saw those cars burning, saw the railroad officials and found out approximately how many cars were in this string that were burned. Men in the yard told us there were 1,200 cars in the yard, but we thought it was perhaps an overestimate and so put it at 700 or 800 and wrote it up that way, but found afterwards more cars had been burned than we had estimated. We found people along the track who told us they had seen cars being set on fire. Where Garfield Boulevard, I think it is called—it must be Fifty-fifth street—crosses the Pan Handle tracks near the tracks there is a station; in that station was an old lady, her daughter and son who live there and take care of

the station, sell tickets, etc. They told us they saw the crowd that set the cars on fire; that they came along, some of them on a hand car, others walking, and when they came to the crossing there was a watchman's tower there that guards the crossing; they set fire to it two or three times, but it stood on a single post and would not burn; they then raised a small boy up with a can of oil and he poured oil around the post and after it was saturated with oil so it would burn freely they lit it with matches. We saw the ruins of the post. The old lady was very much frightened; she had all her furniture piled out doors or down stairs; she said the crowd threatened to burn the station and would be back later in the evening. I reassured her; said the crowd had passed two or three hours and perhaps would not come back, but she would not go to sleep or take the furniture back in the rooms where it belonged because she believed they would come back. It was then getting late and we were obliged to go back to the Transit House and finish our report, which we telegraphed late in the evening.

Then there was a series of riotous disturbances along Fortieth street tracks when meat trains were attempted to be moved. They attempted to move a meat train west or east out of the stock yards and were prevented by mobs that gathered and intimidated the engineer, in some cases threatened to take him off his engine; in other cases cutting the train by pulling coupling pins, and in other cases which I witnessed they threw switches under the train—say, where switches were close together. They could throw a switch here and there and perhaps had a half dozen cars off in the length of one train, making it impossible to move the train without considerable trouble—by going back, cutting the train all to pieces, and putting each separate car back where it belonged. When the train men would do that they would find cars off at other points, and at last the attempt was given up. The regulars, as I understood, were not allowed to use their guns. This the crowd discovered, and not being afraid of their shooting could keep out of the way of the bayonets, and they continued depredations until the militia arrived, who had orders to shoot.

The militia had some trouble in moving trains, but not so much as was experienced by regulars. Until the militia arrived the regulars were unable to move trains to any distance. As soon as the people heard trains were being moved there would a mob of thousands interfere to such an extent it was impossible to move them. One night after the regulars had been out all day, before the militia arrived, attempting to move the train eastward from the stock yards, and, failing at last, came back to camp at 6 or 7 o'clock in the evening. Right opposite their camp, within speaking distance, a mob gathered, upset one box car and attempted to upset another. While that was going on a detachment, of perhaps a dozen United States cavalry, moved out to that point and drove the crowd away, and their commanding officer, finding out they had driven the crowd away from that car, told them they had no authority to interfere on that track, because it was a side track, as I gathered, that had no connection with the interstate-commerce law, under which the troops seemed to be acting, it being supposed to be the duty of the State authority or municipal authority to protect that side track. So the crowd had its own way there. They upset one car and tried their best to upset the other, but failed after working at it three-fourths of an hour because it was too heavy. And the cavalymen, infantry men, and a number of newspaper men watched them, sitting on the fence with folded arms, within speaking distance.

That was close beside the camp of the United States troops, right under the Forty-third street viaduct which crosses the stock yards.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the character of the crowd you saw at these various places?—Ans. I should say nine out of ten of them wore the white ribbon, but I always designated them in my reports as being hoodlums and toughs.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). The white ribbon was worn not only by strikers but by everybody?—Ans. Yes, sir.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were any women and children wearing them?—Ans. I saw a few women with white ribbons on, but don't remember of seeing any children wearing them. It was simply a narrow white ribbon, tied on the coat, usually in the lappel.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). How large an acquaintance did you have at that time among railroad men?—Ans. I knew a great many personally; I got acquainted with a number of them by reporting labor meetings.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). On any of these occasions state to what extent you saw any of those you knew instigating any of these occurrences?—Ans. I never saw a man I recognized as a railroad man—that is, knew positively was in the employ of a railroad—implicated in any serious riot or disturbance.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you able to judge whether they were railroad men or not by their conduct; that is, by their familiarity with switching or things of that kind?—Ans. I believe a great many of them were railroad men, from the fact of their familiarity with railroad business, from their conduct and their evident sympathy with the railroad strike, and from some of the remarks they dropped that they would not go back to work until this was settled, etc.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you see men who talked in that way participating in any of the violence of destruction of property?—Ans. When there was violence and destruction going on they were not talking in that vein, of course.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you see any of them prominent in these crowds that were doing damage?—Ans. I believed them to be railroad men; I saw one man I know was a railroad man, because I had met him at the strike meeting where the strike was talked of.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). How active was he?—Ans. He seemed to be a leader, was pretty well dressed, and talked as one having authority. He was rather younger than some of the men; he was particularly abusive of the men who were trying to move the trains, militia, etc., but I did not see him throw any switch or anything of that kind.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you see him instigate any violence?—Ans. I could not recall his language, but the general tenor of his talk was in favor of what they were doing.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you recall any other instances of that kind?—Ans. The first week or two I was at the stock yards something was going on every day. I was at the scene of trouble at Loomis and Forty-ninth streets—where the militia shot a number of people—immediately after the shooting occurred, but not before.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). Some of the witnesses have described these crowds as being made up very largely, in their judgment, of toughs, hoodlums, etc.?—Ans. I think the majority of them would come under that head, but I believe that in some of the mobs at least there were railroad men. I do not wish to be understood as saying they were all railroad men, or that there were no railroad men; but in

my opinion I think most of the trouble was caused by hoodlums and toughs.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was there much drunkenness in those crowds?—Ans. Not so much as I expected there would be. I saw some drunken people.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you attend the labor meetings at the halls and places where they held meetings to any extent?—Ans. Yes; considerable.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). How were the men there as to sobriety or drunkenness?—Ans. They were very much inclined toward sobriety. Once in a while you would see a man the worse for liquor, but it was the exception to see a drunken man at a meeting of that sort. I don't think the leaders encouraged drinking. I don't think they made any special effort to discourage it, but I know they did not encourage drunkenness.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). In these meetings did you hear any addresses advising violence or incendiarism, or what was the character of the speaking?—Ans. I have heard labor speeches where there was an undercurrent of talk advising violence. Sometimes they would seem to get a little excited, and would go a little further than they intended to when they started in.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). They claim that their advice to their men was to keep away from the scene of disturbances and not participate in any violence.—Ans. Yes, I can corroborate that. I think at almost every meeting I attended something was said toward discouraging violence.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you think it was sincerely said?—Ans. By the speakers, yes, I think generally. There were exceptions to that. I think some of the speakers said that only as a cloak to cover other things; but, as a rule, I know the advice of their leaders was always against violence. I don't think they started out with the intention of violence, but I think some of them were willing to use violence rather than submit to defeat.

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## TESTIMONY OF WITNESSES WITH REFERENCE TO RAILROAD LOSSES DURING THE STRIKE, CALLED BY THE COMMISSION ON ITS OWN MOTION.

### TESTIMONY OF CHAUNCEY KELSEY.

August 28, 1894, Chauncey Kelsey, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and occupation.—Ans. Chauncey Kelsey; am auditor of the Chicago and Alton Railway Company.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The commission has requested your company to file a statement with it relative to its losses during the strike; have you such a statement?—Ans. I have [hands statement to Commissioner Wright].

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are your estimated losses in June and July in this statement gross or net?—Ans. Gross earnings.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Your usual percentage of operating expenses would be about how much?—Ans. About 60 per cent.

The statement furnished by the witness is in the words and figures following, to wit:

AUDITING DEPARTMENT,  
CHICAGO AND ALTON RAILROAD COMPANY,  
Chicago, Ill., August 27, 1894.

Hon. CARROLL D. WRIGHT,  
Chairman United States Strike Commission.

DEAR SIR: Answering your favor of the 23d instant, addressed to C. H. Chappell, esq., general manager of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, I submit herewith the following statement of the losses and expenses in connection with the recent strike troubles:

PROPERTY LOSSES.

3 oil-tank cars destroyed at Joliet, \$250 each.....	\$750	
3 foreign cars destroyed at Kansas City, \$350 each.....	1,050	
1 Mather stock car destroyed at Chicago.....	400	
1 foreign car destroyed at Chicago.....	350	
		\$2,550
Picking up cars and repairs to same.....		750
Repairs to track on account of explosion of bomb, spiking switches, and removing obstructions, etc., at Brighton Park, Coal City, and points between Brighton Park and Bloomington.....		1,000
Repairs to locomotives because of nuts being put in guides and ripping off of side machinery.....		2,000
1 car of meat in transit.....		1,500
Total.....		7,800

EXPENSES.

Expenses of United States marshals, salaries, board, and arming....	\$17,600	
Re-icing cars in transit.....	960	
		18,560
Total.....		26,360
Loss of earnings (estimated in June and July).....		160,000
Loss to employees on wages (estimated).....		100,000
Grand total.....		286,360

Very respectfully, yours,

CHAUNCEY KELSEY, Auditor.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM M'FADDEN.

August 28, 1894, William McFadden, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name.—Ans. William McFadden.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You represent the Lake Shore road?—Ans. I represent the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What position do you hold in that organization?—Ans. The firm to which I belong, Gardner & McFadden, are the local attorneys of that company at Chicago, and in the division of labor between my partner and myself the work of attending to the business of that office has devolved upon me.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you the statement called for by the commission in reference to the losses and damages to property occasioned by the occurrences in June and July?—Ans. I have divided the statement into two portions: First is a statement of injury and damage occurring within the corporate limits of the city of Chicago; second, injury and damage within the county of Cook, but outside of the corporate limits of Chicago.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you the estimated loss of earn-



ings?—Ans. No, sir. I received a letter from the president of our company, since deceased, inclosing one from yourself asking for that. The president told me he had sent to you a letter saying that would be made up if possible. By reason of the absence of the division superintendent and the death of our president we are not able, I am sorry to say, to furnish that statement at present.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You can later on furnish the commission with that statement, I suppose?—Ans. We will endeavor to do it. It can perhaps be done when the division superintendent returns, but at present we don't know where he is.

The statement furnished is as follows:

*Statement of property of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company injured or destroyed as a result of the riots and mobs in Chicago and Cook County, in June and July, 1894.*

In the corporate limits of the city of Chicago:

Damage to freight cars of company .....	\$473. 83
Damage to freight cars of other roads in custody of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company .....	633. 00
Damage to passenger cars of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company .....	71. 63
Damage to engines.....	35. 86

Total .....

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1, 214. 32

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In Cook County, outside of Chicago:

Damage to freight cars of the Lake Shore Company on other roads...	2, 692. 13
Value of freight cars of the last-named company .....	1, 258. 21

Total .....

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3, 950. 34

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Total in Chicago.....

Total in Cook County.....

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3, 950. 34

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Total.....

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5, 164. 66

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*Statement of approximate loss in wages to employees at Chicago, Ill., during the late strike.*

Clerks in freight offices.....	\$501. 71	Inspectors .....	\$71. 04
Tallymen in freight houses.....	422. 71	Laborers.....	30. 00
Freight handlers in freight houses .....	330. 34	Car repairers.....	500. 96
Switchmen:		Blacksmiths and machinists.....	184. 11
Yard conductors.....	346. 50	Enginemen:	
Yard brakemen.....	852. 18	Passenger.....	44. 23
In passenger yard .....	123. 88	Freight .....	381. 10
Switch tenders.....	357. 00	Switching .....	495. 26
Flagmen .....	22. 52	Firemen:	
Tower men.....	23. 89	Passenger.....	23. 31
Road men:		Freight.....	206. 00
Freight conductors.....	261. 15	Switching .....	301. 52
Freight brakemen.....	439. 65	Total .....	6,098. 94
Shop men .....	179. 88		

#### TESTIMONY OF E. P. BROUGHTON.

August 28, 1894, E. P. Broughton, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You are general superintendent of the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad?—Ans. Yes, sir.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you a statement relative to the losses of your road during the strike?—Ans. Yes, sir; I have a state-

ment of the earnings, extraordinary expenses, and damage to property, which statement is as follows:

*Statement of the earnings, extraordinary expenses, and damage to property, Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad Company.*

	July, 1894.	July, 1893.	Increase.	Decrease.
<b>Freight earnings:</b>				
First week .....	\$2,793.06	\$53,390.21		\$50,597.15
Second week .....	11,426.68	59,682.69		48,256.01
Third week .....	68,191.93	59,326.12	\$8,865.81	
Fourth week .....	90,985.94	68,156.67	22,829.27	
<b>Passenger earnings:</b>				
First week .....	3,961.80	37,401.51		33,439.71
Second week .....	6,253.88	24,629.82		18,375.94
Third week .....	11,847.97	26,274.79		14,426.82
Fourth week .....	12,764.03	27,944.83		15,180.80
<b>Other earnings:</b>				
First week .....	1,489.11	2,851.46		1,362.35
Second week .....	1,319.51	2,870.19		1,550.68
Third week .....	1,513.51	2,660.09		1,146.58
Fourth week .....	2,161.23	2,846.45		685.22
<b>Total</b> .....	214,748.65	268,034.83		153,296.18
<b>Pay rolls</b> .....	77,864.88	131,412.22		53,547.34
<b>Extraordinary expenses:</b> Account of strike, including boarding men, attorneys' fees, expense account of detectives, marshals, and sundry other miscellaneous items .....	21,600.00			
<b>Damage to property</b> .....	2,377.00			

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). About what percentage ought to be taken off of these freight and passenger earnings that you have given here as made in 1893 to give us a fair average?—Ans. I could scarcely answer that. My way would be to compare the first two weeks of July, 1893, with the first two weeks of July, 1894, at which time the strike ended on our road. You will find from that that during the first two weeks there was a decrease of \$99,000 in 1894 from that of 1893.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). I presume the freight earnings would not be particularly affected; that is, the earnings of 1893 would be about a fair average?—Ans. The freight earnings were more affected by the strike than the passenger earnings.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is not the point I want to get at; I want to know if there had been no World's Fair last year, and the conditions had been normal, how much those earnings would have been; in other words, what percentage must we take off of the passenger earnings to give us a fair average with which to compare the earnings of 1894?—Ans. I should say 40 per cent.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). The other earnings would not be particularly affected by the World's Fair last year?—Ans. I think not.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN D. BESLER.

August 28, 1894, John D. Besler, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You are connected with the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad?—Ans. Yes, sir; as general superintendent.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). We asked that company to hand the commission a statement as to its loss and damage, both to property and otherwise; are you prepared to make an answer to that request?—Ans. The loss on account of destruction of property and other incident-

tals of the strike was \$115,000. As to the loss of business, that was large, and I am not prepared to give any figures.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you furnish us the figures as to loss of business at a later date?—Ans. I will, if possible; but it will be very hard to get at that.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But you will make an effort to do it?—Ans. We will try to.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the loss in wages to the employees?—Ans. That is very hard to say. There were 371 who quit, and their average pay would be about \$2.50 per day.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). For how many days were they out?—Ans. Some of them are out yet.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When you arrive at the facts in the case will you furnish the commission with them?—Ans. We will do so as near as we can.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If you will send a sworn statement to the commission as early as possible we will be glad to have it.—Ans. Yes, sir.

#### TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM O. JOHNSON.

August 28, 1894, William O. Johnson, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and what railroad company you represent.—Ans. My name is William O. Johnson; I represent the Chicago and Erie; I am the counsel for that railroad company.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The commission asked that road to furnish it with a statement of its losses as to property and for damages and the wage loss to the employees of the road. Are you prepared to make that statement?—Ans. I am.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you kindly read it?—Ans. Yes, sir. (Witness reads:)

The loss of property by fire and cars tipped over was \$1,076. The loss of business, estimated from the time the strike was on, is \$100,000. The total amount of claims presented for loss on perishable property held in our Chicago yards which we were unable to move, which includes claims presented up to date only, \$14,300.50. The loss in wages to employees was \$29,412.26.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How did you make up that statement as to wages?—Ans. By taking the June statement of the pay rolls and the July.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In comparison with what months?—Ans. Just June and July of the present year.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). One month following the other?—Ans. Yes, sir.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). How about that \$100,000 loss of business; what does that mean?—Ans. That is as near as we could approximate it, taking into consideration that last year was the World's Fair and our passenger business was very large; our earnings of July of this year and last, there was a decrease of \$82,000, but a portion of that should be attributed to the World's Fair business, and \$36,000 or \$37,000 to decrease arising from the strike. The \$100,000 includes the loss in both freight and passenger business. I have not separated the freight from the passenger business. That is the gross loss.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). To get at the net loss you would have to take off about 60 per cent for operating costs, would you not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

CHICAGO, August 28, 1894.

Hon. CARROLL D. WRIGHT,  
*Chairman United States Strike Commission, Chicago, Ill.*

MY DEAR SIR: I beg to submit herewith a statement showing the aggregate losses on the Chicago and Erie Railroad on account of the strike of the American Railway Union, in accordance with the request contained in your valued favor of August 25th:

Loss of property by fire.....	\$1,076.00
Loss of business (estimated).....	100,000.00

Total.....	101,076.00
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Total amount of claims presented for loss on perishable property held in Chicago yards which we were unable to move (includes claims presented up to date only).....	14,300.51
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Loss in wages to employees on the Chicago and Erie.....	29,412.26
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Any other information you may desire will be cheerfully furnished.

Very respectfully, yours,

W. O. JOHNSON,  
*Counsel Chicago and Erie Railroad Company.*

## TESTIMONY OF J. M. WHITMAN.

August 28, 1894, J. M. Whitman, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and business.—Ans. My name is J. M. Whitman; I am general manager of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The commission called on you to make a statement as to the losses in property and losses by damage to business and the loss of earnings during the strike. You have handed me a statement. Will you read that part of it which relates to those losses?—Ans. Yes, sir.

(Witness reads statement:)

A careful and conservative estimate of the losses sustained by the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company during the recent labor trouble shows in total an amount approximating \$572,690.31. This loss is divided into three separate accounts, viz, property loss, financial loss (being money which the company was compelled to expend which it would not have been called upon to do under normal conditions), and loss of business.

The loss to the company by reason of the destruction of its property at the hands of rioters has been comparatively small, which is, in main, owing to the fact that the company's lines of railway within the city of Chicago are not located in the district where most of the rioting and destruction of property occurred, the total loss sustained on this account amounting to only \$425.

The loss sustained by reason of damage to perishable freight and live stock caused by the sudden refusal of men to handle trains is considerably larger. All of the claims against the company on this account have not as yet been presented, but are being received daily, and to date aggregate the sum of \$10,460.66. Of this amount \$3,072.26 has already been paid by the company.

By far the greatest loss to company was that sustained by reason of loss of traffic, both freight and passenger. This loss occurred during the last three days in June and all of the first half of July. This item is of necessity estimated, but the estimate has been made in a careful and conservative manner, and does not exceed, if it equals the amount that would have been actually earned under normal conditions. In making the estimate no account has been taken of the loss in earnings resulting from a diversion of passenger traffic to other places and routes, which, under normal conditions, would go to, from, or through Chicago, the losses through failure of people to travel, through fear of making trips during the period when trains were being stopped, running irregularly, and were being interfered with in numerous ways, nor has any estimate been made of the losses in freight revenue caused by a similar diversion of freight traffic from its natural channels, consumers and producers in all of the Western and Northwestern States, at great loss and inconvenience to them, being forced during the strike period to find markets other than Chicago, and use routes through other places, causing large loss, not only to the Chicago roads, but to merchants, manufacturers, and others in the Chicago district.

The estimate has been made under these conditions, and amounts to the sum of \$510,000.

Another considerable item of expense, which virtually amounts to a loss, as it would not have been incurred under normal conditions, and that is the amount expended for the hiring of a large force of men for the purpose of protecting the company's property during the time its destruction was threatened, and the housing and feeding of these men. Also the expense incident to the hiring of new men, and the housing and feeding of these men, which the company was compelled to do during the time they were threatened with violence while in the performance of their duties. The amount expended on this account up to date reaches the sum of \$51,804.65.

The total loss up to date that has been sustained by the company on the various accounts enumerated above amounts in total to the sum of \$572,690.31, summarized as follows:

Loss of property (cars and freight damaged and destroyed).....	\$10,885.66
Protection for employees.....	51,804.65
Loss of business.....	510,000.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>572,690.31</b>

The loss sustained by employees in wages which would have been earned by them under ordinary conditions and circumstances, and which were directly lost to them by reason of the strike, reaches the sum of \$206,523.67.

It will, therefore, be seen that the loss to the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company and its employees within the past sixty days, the direct cause of which was the recent strike, amounts to \$779,213.98, or at the rate of over \$12,000 per day, divided as follows:

Loss to railway company.....	\$572,690.31
Loss to employees.....	206,523.67
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>779,213.98</b>

Respectfully submitted.

J. M. WHITMAN, *General Manager.*

CHICAGO, August 27, 1894.

#### TESTIMONY OF W. N. D. WINNE.

August 28, 1894, W. N. D. Winne, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You are connected with the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company?—Ans. Yes, sir; as general auditor.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That road was called upon by the commission to furnish a statement as to its losses both in property and business and the wage loss to its employees caused by the strike.—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I have the statement here which you have kindly sent the commission. Will you read it please?—Ans. (Witness reads statement:)

CHICAGO, MILWAUKEE AND ST. PAUL RAILWAY CO.,  
GENERAL AUDITING DEPARTMENT,  
Chicago, August 28, 1894.

Hon. CARROLL D. WRIGHT, *Chairman.*

DEAR SIR: In reply to inquiries addressed to Mr. A. J. Earling, general manager, I submit the following statement of Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company:

Loss in earnings from strike of July.....	\$618,454.16
Loss in wages to employees.....	175,779.44
Loss in property on foreign roads (15 cars destroyed).....	7,540.71
Damage to cars.....	66.25
Loss in property at Galewood yard (our own road), 14 cars destroyed..	6,627.45
Damage to cars.....	10.54

Yours, truly,

W. N. D. WINNE, *General Auditor.*

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). On what do you base the loss of wages?—  
 Ans. We estimate that the earnings of July would at least equal what they were in June so far as the freight earnings are concerned. With the matter of passenger earnings, we found the loss in June, 1894, from June, 1892, was 13.92 per cent; we deduct that same percentage from the passenger earnings for July, 1892, and call the remainder the probable earnings what they would have been in July, with no interruption of our business.

TESTIMONY OF ARTHUR G. WELLS.

August 29, 1894, Arthur G. Wells, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and business.—Ans. My name is Arthur G. Wells; I am assistant to the first vice-president of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You were asked to furnish a statement relative to the losses on your road. Have you the statement asked for by the commission?—Ans. Yes, sir; it is in the form of a letter.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you kindly give us the figures?—  
 Ans. The loss of property on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe aggregated: Cars, to the value of \$2,373.09; buildings and other property, \$2,663.84. As to the loss of business, we are not able to give information that would be reliable; we estimate that it will run pretty close to half a million dollars. The loss of wages to employees by reason of the suspension of traffic, as nearly as we can figure it, aggregated \$111,217.36. I believe those are all the figures that the commission called for.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is that statement in a form that you can file it with the commission?—Ans. I can put it in form and send it over and will do so (a).

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The strike has been declared off on the Santa Fe, has it?—Ans. Not formally; no, sir.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is the road operating now as it did before the strike?—Ans. Yes, sir; without interruption to traffic.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you personally know anything with reference to violence on the road and destruction of property?—  
 Ans. No, sir; not from personal observation, only from reports.

EXHIBIT 12.

ATCHISON, TOPEKA AND SANTA FE RAILROAD SYSTEM,  
 Chicago, August 30, 1894.

Hon. CARROLL D. WRIGHT,  
 Chairman United States Labor Commission, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: As directed by you this morning, and agreeable to promise, I beg leave to submit the following statistics:

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad lost by acts of strikers and their sympathizers during the American Railway Union troubles the following property:

Cars to the value of.....	\$2,373.09
Buildings and other property .....	2,663.84
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>5,036.93</b>
As nearly as we can arrive at it the loss in wages to employees during the same period aggregated .....	111,217.36
The loss of traffic by reason of the strike is hard to arrive at, but we think it will closely approximate.....	500,000.00

Respectfully submitted.

A. G. WELLS,  
 Assistant to First Vice-President.

## TESTIMONY OF E. ST. JOHN.

CHICAGO, August 29, 1894.

Hon. CARROLL D. WRIGHT,  
*Chairman Labor Commission, city.*

DEAR SIR: By careful examination of our records, we find that the total number of men affected by the strike upon our line was 6,998.

Wages lost to employees .....	\$115,602.93
Damage to property .....	13,144.94
Loss in business (estimated) .....	459,293.38
Cost for protection (estimated) .....	35,000.00

(We have already paid on above item, by voucher, and it is not all in, \$29,601.27.)

Total loss to the company and its employees .....	623,041.25
Deduct loss to the men in wages .....	115,602.93

Total loss to the company direct .....	507,438.32
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Probably this amount will be increased rather than diminished when the actual facts are obtained.

Very respectfully,

E. ST. JOHN, *General Manager.*

STATE OF ILLINOIS, *Cook County, ss:*

E. St. John, being first duly sworn, on his oath says, that he is general manager of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, and affiant further says that the above and foregoing statement by him subscribed is true, according to his best knowledge, information, and belief.

E. ST. JOHN, *General Manager.*

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of August, A. D. 1894.

H. S. WALDRON, *Notary Public.*

(See also testimony of A. W. Sullivan, *ante*, as to the losses, etc., on the Illinois Central Railroad.)

The above testimony is all that was given before the commission at its hearing. From written statements from the railroad officials, some verified and some unverified, forwarded the commission since the hearing at Chicago, and from data furnished by companies to the Department of Labor, the commission was enabled to make up the statement published on page XVIII of the report proper, which is believed to be as nearly accurate as could be made in a matter necessarily based, to a considerable degree, on estimates.

## TESTIMONY ON THE PART OF THE STRIKING EMPLOYEES AT THE TOWN OF PULLMAN.

### TESTIMONY OF THOMAS W. HEATHCOATE.

August 16, 1894, Thomas W. Heathcoate, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is Thomas W. Heathcoate; am 58 years of age; am a car builder, and reside at Pullman, Ill.; have been a car builder thirty years; I was employed at the Pullman shops until the recent strike; have been at Pullman as a car builder five years; am a member of the American Railway Union and have been since April, 1894; am president of local union, No. 208, at Pullman; the membership of that local union is 656; there are nineteen local unions of the

American Railway Union at Pullman, and their membership varies from 200 to 650 members; I could not state the number of members in each local union exactly; these local unions at Pullman are all affiliated with the American Railway Union.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It has been stated here that the recent strike at Pullman by the employees of the Pullman Palace Car Company was declared by the local unions there belonging to the American Railway Union; is that correct?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what you know of the causes which led to that strike by the local unions at Pullman, the conditions which surrounded it, and any facts connected with it that came within your knowledge. State it in narrative form in your own way, as briefly as possible.—Ans. In May, 1893, we were getting good wages and had quite a good deal of work on hand in the Pullman shops; along about September, 1893, our wages began to be reduced because work was slack, that is, on their own work, and they kept reducing our pay each month on almost every contract we took from the company; they kept reducing the price of piecework until it was almost impossible for us to live; in January, 1894, the men wanted to strike, but we were not organized at that time; there was no organization in the shops, except the painters, and in order to succeed in securing a higher rate of pay it became necessary for us to organize in some way; we could not see any more feasible plan than to organize in the American Railway Union, for the reason, we believed, that union was stronger than any other organization in the country.

Along about the latter part of March or 1st of April, 1894, we began to organize, and in order to do so we had to go to Grand Crossing, as the Pullman company would not tolerate any union in their shops. If a man belonged to a union, if the company knew it, he was discharged; we had to go down to Grand Crossing for the purpose of organizing the first local union; then we held meetings over in Kensington. At about the first meeting that was held I think about 200 signed their names as members of the American Railway Union. The conditions became worse; in April there was another cut, which made it impossible for us to maintain our families and pay our rent; we had to do something; times were hard and men could not get money enough to move away from Pullman; we did not know really what to do. I used my utmost endeavors to keep the men from striking. I knew the condition of the times, but it was utterly impossible for me to control those who wanted to strike; we then held meetings until we had about 35 per cent of the men organized; and on the 10th of May, after this committee had been down to see the Pullman officials, after they had used every effort with the Pullman company to make some concessions towards the raising of wages or reduction of them, the mediation board, which was a committee composed of three members from each local union, then organized, met in Turner Hall, and were in session all night discussing what to do, and that night a strike was ordered by the local union, that is, three members from each local.

The strike occurred on May 11, 1894, and we then met in Turner Hall and appointed what is called a central strike committee for the purpose of conducting the strike. We then appointed committees to watch the Pullman property, so as to protect it. We had about 300 men stationed at different points for that purpose, thinking perhaps hoodlums would come from Chicago and other places and try to destroy the shops. We kept them there night and day, changing the men, until the United States Government sent troops there. There were about 4,500 men



there that had nothing to do, and we took that precaution in order to save the Pullman property, and only withdrew our watchmen after the United States militia came.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did any violence or destruction of property take place at Pullman?—Ans. No, sir.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You spoke of the United States militia; you mean the State militia, do you not?—Ans. I mean the United States troops.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were United States troops at Pullman?—Ans. Yes, sir.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What wages were you receiving at time of and prior to the strike?—Ans. Now, I was foreman of a gang, or what they call a gang boss, and I have my time book with me [witness referring to book]. In June, 1893, my pay for two weeks' work was \$43.55 at piecework; in July, 1893, my pay for two weeks' work was \$34.65. The reason of that difference was in the difference in the cars. On some cars we got a little better price than on others, it being finer, nicer work, and an expert mechanic can make better wages on fine work than common work.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You worked on palace cars?—Ans. Yes, sir.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). If you had kept on at the same kind of work you were on in June would not your earnings have been the same?—Ans. If I had had that class of work right along and the price for it my wages would have been the same.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was there any change in the scale of wages in those two months?—Ans. Not on the same kind of work. For the last two weeks of July, 1893, my pay was \$30.20. I lost some time during that two weeks; I did not work two or three days. In the first two weeks in August there was a reduction in the pay of 20 per cent, that is, the same class of piecework was cut down and a 25 per cent reduction made on the piecework. The day rate remained the same in August. We were rated at so much a day, but we had to do piecework, and a great many of us never got any day work. It was only the friends of the foreman that got the day work. The last two weeks of August, 1893, my pay was \$37.25; I worked some overtime. In the first two weeks of September my pay was \$32.70, and for the last two weeks of September, \$12.25. We were laid off from the 22d to the last of September, that is, the foreman laid all the gang off, so I only earned \$12.25 that two weeks. During the month of October we had no work at all. The first two weeks in November I received \$8.05; the second two weeks \$20.10. There was another cut; there were two cuts came in the first two weeks.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you give us here what you would have earned for the same amount of work in June, 1893?—Ans. I could not tell exactly without figuring it, but instead of earning \$20 I would have earned about \$38.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). And while you were earning the \$8 what would you have earned?—Ans. I should have earned then about \$14.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). While you were earning the \$8 during the two weeks you speak of you were not working all the time?—Ans. No; but for the same amount of time I did work I would have earned \$14 in June, 1893. In December, 1893, I worked full time and made \$22.70. There was another cut—

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). How much would you have earned for that time, say, in June, 1893?—Ans. I would have earned \$48. This more than cut the wages in two; it took a little more than half the price

off what it had been in June, 1893. During the last two weeks of December, 1893, I worked every day except seven hours and earned \$21.15; in January, 1894, I worked full time with the exception of five hours and earned \$20.85.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). What would you have earned for the same time in June, 1893?—Ans. Forty-eight dollars. The last two weeks in January, 1894, I worked full time and made \$27.55; the first two weeks in February I made \$22.10, and the last two weeks \$14.75. In March, 1894, the first two weeks I made \$24.75, and the next two weeks \$26.50.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). What would you have earned for the same work in June, 1893?—Ans. About \$43. We were making in June, 1893, from 28½ to 32½ cents per hour on piecework, and now we are making 19 cents an hour, and 18, 15, and 14 cents.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). What do you mean by now?—Ans. In the months of March, April, and May, 1894. The first two weeks in April I lost two days and made \$16.25; the second two weeks, working full time, I made \$20.95. I worked up to April 4, and we appointed a committee to go and see Mr. Wickes. On the 5th that committee returned to Pullman. We waited two days to have an answer from Mr. Wickes in regard to what should be done, and on the 9th we returned again to Mr. Wickes.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have not given us what you said to Mr. Wickes?—Ans. In the first place we went to Mr. Middleton, the manager of the shops, and asked that something be done with reference to the piecework, that the price be raised, that we could not possibly live at the prices we were getting. He said he could not do anything, that he had no authority, that the general manager had utterly refused to do anything with regard to raising prices so we could make more per day. We then appointed a committee of three from each department to go down and see Mr. Wickes, so each department would be represented. We went down and saw him, stated our case to him, and he said he could not do anything, that the company could not pay any more wages, that they were losing money. I asked Mr. Wickes why it was that railroad companies were paying \$2.50 per day for the same work the Pullman company were only paying \$1.90 for. He said he was not aware of anything of that kind. I had gotten that information from the master car builder of the Great Western road and the Northern Pacific. I wrote to him to find out what price they were paying per day and found out that they were paying \$2.50 per day for the same kind of work that was being done in the Pullman shops for \$1.90 per day, only ours was piecework and theirs was day work.

In order to show you the difference in making \$1.90 at piecework and \$1.90 at day work, a man has to do about four times as much work at piecework as he has to do at day work, because the prices are cut down so low it is almost impossible for a man, unless he is an expert, to make \$1.90 per day at the work. For instance, take the desk behind which you sit. I take the making of that desk today for \$20; I go to work on it and, being an expert, make \$4 per day at it; then the foreman says to me "the next time I will not give you but \$18 for making it." Well, I take another desk at that and by hard work still make \$4 per day at it. The next time he cuts the price down to \$16. I still by using more effort, working hard, make \$4 per day at it. He then cuts the price down to \$12 and I can only make \$3 per day at it. Being an expert mechanic, I will not make any more, don't want to. He then gives the desk to some other man who is not as expert in doing the

work, and that man can not make \$1.25 per day at it. That is the reason a man has to work so much harder in order to make \$1.90 than the man who works in a railroad shop at \$2.50 or \$2.75. He has to do four times the amount of work.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would the same proportions you have given with reference to your own loss of earnings hold good for the general employees at Pullman during the time you were working there?—Ans. I think so. There are some men in Pullman that earn good wages, but on the average all the employees of the Pullman shops were in about the same condition.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Between June, 1893, and the time of the strike at Pullman, which was May 11, 1894, was the company building new palace cars?—Ans. Yes, sir; they were building compartment cars of their own, and they were building some refrigerator cars for the Lake Shore, some for the Long Island road, and they had a few cars for some other line. I am not familiar with the names of the lines.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does the Pullman company manufacture palace cars for roads over which they do not operate the cars themselves?—Ans. If you term palace cars common day coaches, they do.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I mean those palace cars in which seats are sold at an extra price?—Ans. That would be a chair car; I don't think they do.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do they manufacture sleepers for the Wagner company?—Ans. No, sir; not since I have been there.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you live at Pullman now, and occupy one of the Pullman houses?—Ans. Yes, sir.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What rent do you pay?—Ans. \$17.71 per month when I have the money to pay.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the size of the house?—Ans. Five rooms, a cellar, and a back yard.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What would you have to pay in this city for the same accommodations, or say in Kensington or Hyde Park?—Ans. There are seven and eight room cottages, separate and alone, that are renting there today for \$7, \$8, and \$9 per month.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the price last year for such accommodations as you have at Pullman?—Ans. The same as it is now.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has there been any change in the rental since you have been working there?—Ans. No, sir.

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does the rent you pay include any privileges, such as water, gas, or anything?—Ans. It includes the water; it is \$17 for rent and 71 cents per month for water.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And your gas you pay for as you use it?—Ans. I can not afford to use gas.

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the price of gas at Pullman?—Ans. I think \$2.50 per thousand; I am not positive.

33 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What does the company pay for water?—Ans. I don't know, but I understand Mr. Pullman makes \$33,000 per year over and above what it costs him from his tenants; I have been so informed.

34 (Commissioner WRIGHT). By persons in a position to know?—Ans. It did not come to me through any officer of the company, but from parties who had heard some of the officers say so; I only know that from hearsay.

35 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you made application for reinstatement at Pullman?—Ans. No, sir; I have been told that I am black-

listed; they have a blacklist there and I have one of them in my pocket, similar to the one sent out to different railroad companies.

36 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you produce it, and submit it as part of your testimony?—Ans. Yes, sir; the blacklist that was made out in December is as follows:

PULLMAN, ILL., December 23, 1893.

To all foremen:

In connection with the recent trouble we have had with steam fitters, both in the construction and repair departments, I give below the names of the men who have left our employ, and I hereby instruct that none of these men be employed in these works.

CONSTRUCTION DEPARTMENT.

No. 1703. Joseph Cohan.  
1705. Frank McKevelt.  
1706. William O'Meara.  
1707. James H. Matthews.  
1711. Edward Sweeney.  
1715. John Guthardt.  
1721. Martin Tracey.  
1720. Tice Mastenbrook.  
1722. Charles G. Duffy.  
1740. Frank Vincent.  
1743. Michael McNulty.  
1753. William H. Danaher.

No. 1764. Edward M. Barrett.  
4500. Jacob Stockman.  
4516. Robert Goebbels.  
4563. James A. Brown.  
4564. Louis Moss.  
4565. Thomas Hamilton.  
Daniel J. McCarthy (a).  
John A. Smith (a).  
Frank Pool (a).  
Ambrose J. Hough (a).  
George Elwell (a).

REPAIR DEPARTMENT.

No. 6976. Frank Engel, steam fitter.  
6977. B. Jones, steam fitter.  
6978. Thomas Johnston, steam fitter.  
6980. Wm. J. Connell, steam fitter.  
6982. August Berghofer, helper.  
6983. Chas. R. McGinnis, steam fitter.  
6985. C. Patton, steam fitter.  
6986. P. McCaffrey, steam fitter.  
6988. Martin Craig, steam fitter.

No. 6990. J. C. Warburton, steam fitter.  
6995. B. O. Gara, steam fitter.  
7002. Josh. Jones, helper.  
7007. William Mack, helper.  
7015. Mike Carroll, helper.  
7016. Frank Oberreich, helper.  
7035. Dave Burrows, helper.  
7024. M. Cunningham, helper.  
7025. James Payne, helper.

H. MIDDLETON, *Manager*.

37 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where did you get this list?—Ans. It was given to me after the strike. Of course I do not want to name the man, but it came from the company's office, and it was presented to me by one of the friends of one of the clerks.

38 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any objection to stating who the clerk was?—Ans. I do not want to, for he would lose his position.

39 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you suffered from this blacklisting method at Pullman?—Ans. I have not yet myself, but I am convinced that I shall never be able to get a job in the railway service again.

40 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you known of employees there who have suffered by blacklisting?—Ans. One man went down to the Rock Island shops and made application to Mr. Childs for a job. He told me yesterday that Mr. Childs took out a list, or asked his clerk for the names of the men that had worked in the Pullman shops, and his name was in the list, and he was told he could not have a job.

41 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Who is that man?—Ans. A man in Pullman. I can bring him down here if necessary.

42 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). This list you present is dated December 23, 1893, what trouble does that refer to?—Ans. That was at the time of the steam fitters' strike in Pullman, in December, 1893.

a These men were hired, but would not go to work when they found the other men had quit.

43 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was there ever a strike before that time?—Ans. Yes, sir; there have been several strikes in different departments; in 1886 the body builders struck; you see, an inside finisher can do body work, and a body builder can do inside finishing, so they would use one department to whip another until the organization of the American Railway Union; then when one went out all went out.

44 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Up to the time of the trouble in May had the relations of the employees to the company been a kindly one or an inimical one?—Ans. The employees were very favorably disposed toward Mr. Pullman until the actions of the last management seemed to estrange the men from the Pullman management—that is, from Mr. Pullman; I believe the employees were very favorably impressed with Mr. Pullman previous to Harvey Middleton's taking hold of the shops about one and a half or two years ago.

45 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You say labor organizations were not allowed at Pullman and you had to go elsewhere to organize?—Ans. Yes, sir.

46 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were there any orders from the company to that effect?—Ans. Not any orders that were posted.

47 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What measures were taken to prevent the employees organizing?—Ans. In order to explain that to you I will state that the inside finishers and body builders went out on a strike since I went there—or rather it was not a strike—it was during Mr. Sessions' administration, and they organized over in Roseland, at least a portion of them organized, and as soon as the company found out this organization was in existence some of the leaders were dropped, and they have not been able to get work there to this day. It is very easy for the company to drop men and not let the cause of it be known, but when a man comes up to them for an explanation they give him no excuse whatever, only that his services are not needed. Why should they drop some of the best mechanics they have, at times when they want first-class mechanics, that are leaders in an organization like that? There must be some reason, and that is why we judge no union will be tolerated there.

48 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But there was no open order against it?—Ans. Not at that time, but now when a man goes to the company for a job they ask him, "Are you a member of the American Railway Union?" "Yes, sir." "Have you got a card?" "Yes, sir." "Give us that card." The card is handed to them and then the applicant signs a paper that he will have nothing to do with the American Railway Union or any other order for five years if he wants a place in the Pullman shops.

49 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Returning to the matter of building cars, the Pullman company takes contracts to build any kind of cars, does it not, from any railroad that wants them built?—Ans. Yes, sir.

50 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Going back to your efforts to settle the difficulties at Pullman, did you serve on any of the committees of the American Railway Union other than for your local union?—Ans. I was chairman of the committee that went down to see Mr. Wickes. I was spokesman there on both occasions, but never was on any committee that went from the American Railway Union to see Mr. Wickes. I have only acted in the capacity of chairman of the local committee that went to see Mr. Wickes, and as chairman of the strike committee.

51 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you a member of the convention which was held June 12?—Ans. No, sir.

52 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have stated, I think, that your efforts were to prevent a strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

53 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What were the results of the two interviews with Mr. Wickes of which you have spoken?—Ans. We asked Mr. Wickes if he could in any possible way adjust our wages so we could support our families and pay our rents. We wanted either the wages of 1893, or a reduction of the rent and a raise in our pay sufficient to pay rent and support our families. He said the talk about cutting down the rent was utterly impossible, as they were only making  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on their money invested. In regard to raising the wages he said they were losing money. You must understand that nine-tenths of the work done in the Pullman shops is Pullman work; the cars are owned by Pullman, and operated by the company.

54 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Leased to railways you mean?—Ans. Sleeping cars, day coaches, dining cars, all cars operated by the Pullman company. I should judge, up to the time of the strike, that nine-tenths of the work done was done on Pullman work alone.

55 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is repairs, etc.?—Ans. Yes; repairs and new work. Now, the question was, why they could not pay the same rate of wages as were paid in other railway shops. They were getting work done in other railway shops at the rate of \$2.75 per day, that is, for the repairs on the cars that the Pullman company had to do that was done in other shops, they were paying for at the rate of \$2.50 and \$2.75 per day, while we, at the Pullman shops, had to do the same kind of work at piecework for \$1.90 per day, while if we could have gotten the same price for our work the Pullman company paid in other railroad shops we could have made \$3 per day easy. I also desire to say there is a great deal lost by mismanagement in the Pullman shops. The manager of the Pullman shops is no car builder, and in order to be manager of car works of such magnitude as the Pullman company has the manager must be a practical car builder. Now, Mr. Middleton is a machinist or locomotive engineer and does not understand car building. I don't know much about Mr. Perant, the general foreman, but he is not an expert mechanic, or is not experienced in the business; and some of the other foremen are not experienced, and consequently there is a great deal of work gotten out and spoiled by the foreman, the management, etc.

Now, the cars have to be built at a certain price and, therefore, on account of the material that is spoiled the men have to suffer for the mistakes of the general manager and foreman. When Mr. Sessions was there there was nothing of that kind going on at all. We had good wages under him, but as soon as Mr. Middleton took charge he put inexperienced men in almost every department, men who were his friends, and, of course, as the cars had to be built for so much the men had to do so much more work in order to pay for the destruction of the material. To illustrate: There was one coach of which the sash was made of mahogany, and because the sash did not happen to be all of one color, instead of picking out the color for one side of the car, and putting all the same color on one side and then take the other side of the car and put all the same color on that side, the general foreman ordered the men to break up those sash and smash them all to pieces.

56 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was there any reduction in the pay of the men who made them?—Ans. That had to be paid for by the men who made them in a reduction on the next lot of cars.

57 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was the reduction in pay applicable to all departments of car building, as well as in your own line?—Ans.

I think the freight-car department suffered worse than the others. I know it did, the freight cars and sleepers. There is a gentleman here who will testify before the commission, named Coombs, who knows all about the cuts that were made in the freight department. There is also a gentleman here from the paint department, Mr. Theodore Rhodie. There are a great many departments in the Pullman shops, and in order to get at the real facts in the matter a man from each department should be called on to testify before you.

58 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do not they understand that the commission is ready to hear all testimony offered?—Ans. Yes; but some of them have not got money enough to come here from Pullman.

59 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If rents had been reduced to any reasonable extent, along with the reduction of wages, would the employees at Pullman have been satisfied?—Ans. Yes, sir; if they had reduced the rents in proportion to the reduction of wages.

60 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were employees permitted to buy land within the corporation of Pullman and build their own houses?—Ans. No, sir.

61 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You asked the Pullman company to submit certain questions to arbitration?—Ans. Yes, sir.

62 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State specifically just what points you desired to have arbitrated.—Ans. We wanted to lay our grievances in regard to our wages and the rents before a board of arbitration, and whatever decision that board arrived at we were satisfied to submit to. If they had said the rents were right as they were, and we were getting wages enough for the class of work we were doing, the employees of the Pullman Palace Car Company would have submitted to that decision.

63 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How did you propose to have that board constituted?—Ans. We wanted to select one man, allow the Pullman company to select another, and let those two select a third.

64 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And you promised the company to abide by the result?—Ans. Yes, sir. Now, I want to be understood in this matter; other committees went there for the purpose of asking the Pullman company to arbitrate, and Pullman said they had nothing to arbitrate. Mr. Pullman claimed he was losing money, and then two days afterward declared a dividend of \$600,000, and that made the men much more determined to strike. It appeared to the men and it appeared to me—and I claim to have a small amount of intelligence—that if I were losing money I could not possibly declare a dividend of \$600,000.

65 (Commissioner KERNAN). That dividend might have been declared out of accumulated profits rather than from the earnings of the company. Was not that explanation given at any time?—Ans. That dividend might have been declared on money that had been previously accumulated and had nothing whatever to do with the Pullman company, and if Mr. Pullman had explained that the men would not have felt the way they did.

66 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was that a semiannual or a quarterly dividend?—Ans. Quarterly; there have been two dividends declared since the strike.

67 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was there anything said in the interview you had with Mr. Wickes about permitting you to examine the books of the company in order to see how their business was running?—Ans. Yes, sir; they gave us the privilege of examining the books, but we were pretty well posted in regard to the management of the books.

We know the parties up in the shop who keep the books, are pretty well acquainted with them, and so far as getting at the real facts on the company's books I don't think it is possible to do so. There was no possible means of getting at their losses or gains from the books.

68 (Commissioner KERNAN). You did not accept that offer because the men had no confidence in the accuracy of the books?—Ans. Yes, sir.

69 (Commissioner KERNAN). The men believed the books were prepared for the occasion?—Ans. Yes, sir.

70 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you have any facts to justify that belief, or was it mere suspicion?—Ans. I believe that one time previous to this that occurred, and there is but one expert in Chicago that can go through Pullman's books; I believe he is in the court-house building somewhere, but I don't know his name.

71 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you agree to have an expert make an examination?—Ans. Our financial condition was such it would have been impossible for us to have paid an expert.

72 (Commissioner KERNAN). The question did not come up as to how you were to make an examination, whether personally or through an expert?—Ans. No, sir.

73 (Commissioner KERNAN). You never got to that point?—Ans. No, sir. When we left the Pullman service we owed George M. Pullman \$70,000 rent, and our pay was such we could not pay our rent and have sufficient to eat. I have known men to drop down by the side of a car when they were working for want of food; and the way I had to work myself, in order to make the amount of money I did, I would frequently have to sit down at 10 o'clock in order to rest until I got strength enough to go on again, and there were hundreds of men in that condition at the Pullman shops when we quit.

74 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You mean you had to work so hard at piecework in order to make what you did?—Ans. Yes, sir.

75 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do I understand you to say that all the operatives who live in Pullman and are housekeepers live in houses owned by the Pullman company?—Ans. Whenever a man is employed in the Pullman shops he is supposed to live in a Pullman house until the Pullman houses are filled; that has been the case previous to this strike; when a man came to the shops he must live in a Pullman house. He could not live in Roseland unless he owned his own property; he must live in Pullman. I have known men who owned property in Roseland who had to leave their property not rented and come down to Pullman and hire houses in order to fill up the Pullman houses.

76 (Commissioner KERNAN). How was that rule made and enforced?—Ans. Suppose you made application to a foreman for a job; if the houses in Pullman were not filled he would give you a job, provided you moved into Pullman; that was made a condition of the job. I have seen men that lived out of Pullman get jobs when men were out of employment in Pullman, but that was through the favoritism of the foremen.

77 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you mean to say that a man having a job in Pullman and who was living in one of the Pullman houses, if he saw fit to move to Roseland and rent there, that would be sufficient cause for losing his job?—Ans. Yes, sir.

78 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say you pay \$17 per month rent and 71 cents for water?—Ans. Yes, sir.

79 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you acquainted with the cost of building such houses as you occupy?—Ans. Yes, sir.



80 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About what would it cost to construct such a house as you live in?—Ans. I would like to have the job of constructing the same class of houses for \$600 each.

81 (Commissioner KERNAN). How about the street improvements, sidewalks, and things of that sort?—Ans. There are macadamized roads there and wood sidewalks; take the sodding, etc., of course we have to pay for the sodding ourselves out of the rent; then there are men employed on the street picking up paper, keeping things clean, and one thing and another, and that, indirectly, comes out of the men employed in the shops.

82 (Commissioner KERNAN). They pay it in their rent?—Ans. Yes, sir.

83 (Commissioner KERNAN). You spoke a while ago about owing \$70,000 back rent; during how long a period has that accumulated?—Ans. The accumulation of the back rent commenced about the 1st of November. I do not think there was a man in the Pullman shops that owed any rent up to November 1, 1893.

84 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know what, if any, attempts have been made to collect those rents during the last three or four months?—Ans. They have been around twice after the rent within the last three months; there have not been any attempts at eviction as yet; when we used to get our pay our pay was in two checks, one check for the rent, the other for the amount we had left.

85 (Commissioner KERNAN). How would the check be made out for the rent?—Ans. It would be made out in full for the current rent; that is, two weeks in advance.

86 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was the check payable to your order?—Ans. Yes, and I would have to indorse the rent check.

87 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that check would be good anywhere?—Ans. They have a paymaster and a rent collector that goes with him.

88 (Commissioner KERNAN). Could you get the rent check cashed anywhere in town?—Ans. Not without I was to keep it and not sign it. If I was in such a condition that I could not pay my rent, or any part of it, of course the law of the State is that I must be paid in full; of course they could not compel me to pay the rent, but if I had only \$9 coming to me, or any other amount, the rent would be taken out of my pay; that is, the rent check would be left at the bank and I would have to leave my work in the shop, go over to the bank and have an argument there for a few minutes to get the gentleman to let me have money to live on, and sometimes I would get it and sometimes not. I have seen men with families of eight or nine children to support crying there because they only got 3 or 4 cents after paying their rent; I have seen them stand by the window and cry for money enough to enable them to keep their families; I have been insulted at that window time and time again by the clerks when I tried to get money enough to support my family, even after working every day and overtime. They would want to know why I could not pay my rent up when the average per capita was only 8 cents over the rent, and a man would have to keep a family for two weeks on it. If there is any woman can keep a family on 8 cents apiece, clothe themselves, and appear decent on the streets I would like to see it done.

89 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are the schools free?—Ans. Yes.

90 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are the schoolbooks furnished?—Ans. No, sir; they are paid for by the parents.

91 (Commissioner KERNAN). How about your coal, flour, and things of that kind? Who furnishes those things at Pullman?—Ans. A man named Davis keeps a coal and wood yard in Pullman, and then there are other stores in Kensington.

92 (Commissioner KERNAN). The Pullman company has nothing to do with the matter of furnishing supplies?—Ans. No, sir. Well, the company sells to a party that delivers wood from the shops—that is, waste stuff from the saws—hard wood and all kinds of waste wood.

93 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is the only place the company at all interferes in the matter of regulating the purchase of supplies?—Ans. Yes; and they don't interfere in that.

94 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is there a savings bank at Pullman?—Ans. Yes, sir.

95 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the name of the treasurer?—Ans. Bryant.

96 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are lots in Pullman bought and sold, so that you can give an approximate estimate of the value of a lot there?—Ans. No, sir; there are none sold there.

97 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know how many acres of land belong to the Pullman company?—Ans. No, not exactly; but there must be 220 or 230 acres there.

98 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you any familiarity with the value of suburban lots in any of the other towns adjacent to Chicago that would enable you to say what would be the fair market value for the house and lot you occupy, and for which you pay \$17 per month rent?—Ans. I know a house and lot that has been built about two years. I believe the party paid \$2,500 for it, and it has two tenements and is separate from any other buildings. It has a nice front yard, with as much room in it as is in my house, and much more beautifully located. That can be rented for \$12 per month.

99 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Where is that house located?—Ans. On One hundred and eleventh street. I think the number is No. 2524.

100 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you think the cash value of that house and lot is as much as the cash value of the house and lot you live in, or more?—Ans. I would build the one I live in for much less than I would build the other one.

101 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Taking the lot in connection with it, I mean?—Ans. Yes; it is in a more desirable location than the house I live in. It is on a boulevard, on One hundred and eleventh street, and the house I live in in Pullman is on a back street.

102 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). So you think the fair cash value of that house is as much as that of the house and lot you live in?—Ans. It is more. I would not give over \$1,000 for the house and lot I am living in.

103 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You stated that Mr. Wickes said to you "the company was only realizing 3½ per cent out of the rent."—Ans. Yes; on the investment in Pullman; that is what Mr. Wickes and Mr. Pullman himself said; either 3½ or 2½ per cent, I could not say which.

104 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Three and one-half per cent on the value of the house and lot you live in would make the house worth about \$6,000 if you pay \$17 per month rent?—Ans. Yes, sir.

105 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But he spoke on the whole investment?—Ans. Yes, sir; the whole investment; well, I don't know;

the houses are operated by the Pullman Land Company and the shops by the Pullman Palace Car Company; so he could not have meant all of it.

106 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then you think the reference was to the investment of the Pullman Land Company alone?—Ans. Yes, and they have nothing invested there except in the houses and lots. There are some wooden houses there which rent for \$8 per month that I should judge could be built for \$90 or \$100 at the outside; they are 7-foot ceilings; they really ought not to rent for over \$5 a month, and that would be a large price.

107 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have spoken of some of the workmen there receiving only 8 cents and different amounts less than \$1 after deducting their rents, as I understand you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

108 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did not that occur on account of their not putting in full time, or, in other words, was there any rate of wages so low that a party working, putting in full time, would have only such an insignificant amount of money left after deducting his rent?—Ans. In order to answer that question I will state: During the time of the construction of the Alley L cars I made 15 cents per hour on an elevated car, and a gang right by me made 4 cents and 5 cents per hour, which would be 50 cents a day, and they were doing the same kind of work I was, inside finishing, on those Alley L cars.

109 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What made the difference?—Ans. The inexperience of the men.

110 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You are what is regarded as an experienced workman?—Ans. I believe so; yes.

111 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And those other men after paying their rent would have but a small amount left?—Ans. I don't think they would have had a cent left if they paid their rent. I had two of those cars; I made 16 cents per hour on one car and 15 cents per hour on the other, and I never worked so hard in my life.

112 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say others working right by you only made 4 and 5 cents?—Ans. Yes, sir. There was one car—I have not the number of the car—but a party that worked in the car with me knows that to be a fact, that in order to get the car out the company put in two extra men into the car, when there ought not to have been but two men in it, and paid the two extra men they put in out of the money that was coming to the parties having the contract for the car, at the rate of 15 or 18 cents per hour, in order to complete the job, and that is the way they do in a great many instances.

113 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is, where they require extra help to finish a certain job, they take the pay of that extra help from the regular employees building the car?—Ans. Suppose I took a job today and don't have it done on time, or at the time they want it; say that I have six days' work to do in that car and they want it done in one day; of course, it will require five more men to do that work. Now, whether I want it done or not, they go to work, regardless of my objections, and put in five extra men, no matter whether they can do as much work in a day as I can or not, and pay them the same wages I get myself, and take it out of my contract. That is the system employed in the Pullman works all the time and there is no redress.

114 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do not they give you a certain time to do the work in, and is it not your own fault, to a certain extent, in not getting the work done on time?—Ans. No, sir; it is misjudgment on the part of the management; they agree, when I take such a job, that in case of anything of that kind happening, they will allow you one-half

for overtime and pay half the help themselves, and let you pay one-half out of the contract.

115 (Commissioner KERNAN). How much of a lot has the house you live in at Pullman?—Ans. Just enough to hang up clothes in the rear. The lot is about 20 feet by 60.

116 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the house occupies about half the lot?—Ans. No, not quite. I think the house is about 20 by 35; something like that.

117 (Commissioner KERNAN). Not much room for a garden?—Ans. No; there is no garden lot.

118 (Commissioner KERNAN). What advantages do you have by living in Pullman in the way of a library or other advantages?—Ans. You have to pay for books from the library, but I never went near the Pullman library.

119 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why don't you do it?—Ans. I don't like to go. I have reading matter enough myself, and I never felt like going to the library.

120 (Commissioner KERNAN). Because it cost too much?—Ans. Yes, sir.

121 (Commissioner KERNAN). What does it cost you to have library privileges?—Ans. Three dollars per year, or something like that.

122 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you able to state about what the average wages of the average workingman were at Pullman during the months of January, February, and March, 1894, leaving out the rent entirely? About what were the average wages per day of a mechanic ordinarily skilled?—Ans. I don't believe they would average over \$1.50 per day.

123 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How about the laborers?—Ans. One dollar and thirty cents per day. The laborers sometimes drew more than the mechanics.

124 (Commissioner KERNAN). Taking the whole number of employees at Pullman, how many of them are mechanics and how many laborers?—Ans. I should judge about 800 of them are laborers and the balance would be mechanics.

125 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any other suggestions you would like to make to the commission relative to your relation to the Pullman company, or to the strike, or as to the relation of other employees?—Ans. In regard to this blacklisting, I don't think any corporation should be allowed, or any class or set of men, to blacklist an employee. I don't think it is just. I think it is doing the laboring class, or, in fact, any American citizen, an injustice.

126 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is blacklisting confined solely to the employers; are they the only people who practice the system of blacklisting?—Ans. I never knew of anything of that kind in connection with railways until I came to Pullman. I have been in charge of railway shops as general foreman and as master mechanic, and I would not allow anything of that kind. I resigned my position once on a road on account of the blacklisting system.

127 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do unions ever blacklist nonunion men?—Ans. The American Railway Union does not. I don't know anything about other unions, for I never belonged to one.

128 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If you could have your way, how would you prevent strikes, provided, of course, you are opposed to them, as you say you are?—Ans. There are a great many ways, but there is one system I would like to see adopted, and that is to have the railways in the hands of the Government, and everything else. I

would like to see the banks controlled by the Government—money and everything connected with it controlled by the Government. I believe that would do away with all strikes, for I never heard of a strike in a post-office system or in the navy-yard; never heard of anything of that kind.

129 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would that prevent strikes in other industries?—Ans. I think it would.

130 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If you could not carry that out, is there any other way which you think would prevent strikes?—Ans. If matters were placed before a board of arbitration that was just to both parties I believe that would prevent strikes.

131 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How far would you go in arbitration? Would you have a board of arbitration authorized to compel the attendance of both parties and then have power to enforce its decree like the judgment of a court?—Ans. I would go so far as to compel the attendance of both parties, but so far as compelling them to agree, I would not do that, because I don't think that would be right. I believe that reasonable men, men who have a heart in them, any manhood about them, when they know my family is starving to death and I am compelled to use every effort and energy I have, and knowing my qualifications as a mechanic can not sustain life, then I think if they are not in a condition to arbitrate or concede to my demands to some extent I think after that board of arbitration had decided, I would beg my way from door to door rather than to strike.

132 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But you would go far enough to compel them to submit the grievances to arbitration?—Ans. Yes, sir.

133 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are there any other suggestions that you would like to make?—Ans. I don't think of any just now.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If there are any representatives of the Pullman Palace Car Company present who would like to cross-examine Mr. Heathcoate they can do so now.

(No response.)

August 16, 1894, Thomas W. Heathcoate, recalled, testified as follows:

134 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know how many liquor saloons there are in Kensington and vicinity?—Ans. There must be somewhere in the neighborhood of one hundred, and one in Pullman at the Hotel Florence.

135 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When on the stand before you were asked as to the relations existing between the Pullman company and its employees. I will ask you further, do those relations affect your standing in any way in the community, with reference to your rights as citizens, as voters or members of society, outside of your membership in the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir; politically, that is, it has previous to this strike; I myself was never approached upon the question as to who I should vote for, but there have been men who have been ordered, when making an effort to secure a nomination, to leave the service of the company.

136 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you state that of your own knowledge?—Ans. Yes, sir.

137 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is the prohibition or temperance question, in relation to whether saloons shall or shall not be licensed at Pullman, regulated by vote?—Ans. I don't know that there has been any vote in regard to the liquor question there since I have been in Pullman. I think it is a conceded fact that Chicago is a liquor town, not

a prohibition town, and I don't think it could be made so, but there are sections of Chicago I believe that are in favor of prohibition. With reference to Pullman it is prohibition, with the exception of the Hotel Florence. There is a saloon there, or a place where you can get a drink. That is the only place at Pullman, unless you have a prescription from a physician for liquor. The management get their drinks at the hotel, but the men have to go to Kensington and Roseland.

138 (Commissioner WRIGHT). To what extent do they go to Kensington for that purpose?—Ans. There are quite a number of Germans there who indulge in drinking beer, more or less.

139 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has there been much of that since the strike began?—Ans. No, sir; I have advocated in all my speeches to the strikers not to carry any pails of beer over to Pullman.

140 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Your union advocates that?—Ans. Yes, sir.

141 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have they observed the rules of temperance during the trouble down there?—Ans. Yes, sir; there has been a less number of arrests and fewer calls for the patrol in Pullman than ever before.

142 (Commissioner KERNAN). The number of saloons there seems to be regulated by public sentiment, does it not?—Ans. I don't know as to that, but I don't think public sentiment would favor so many saloons as there are at Kensington and Roseland.

143 (Commissioner KERNAN). I am speaking of Pullman?—Ans. Oh, no; George M. Pullman regulates that himself.

144 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does public sentiment support Mr. Pullman in that matter?—Ans. There has never been any vote in Pullman in regard to that.

145 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You say you advocated the strikers avoiding the liquor saloons in Kensington; is it true that the saloons of Kensington have not received support to any extent from the striking employees at Pullman?—Ans. That is true.

August 18, 1894, Thomas W. Heathcoate, recalled, testified as follows:

146 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I understand that you desire to make some further statements in addition to what you testified to the other day?—Ans. I desire to state in regard to the books the Pullman company propose to allow us to examine. We were allowed to examine the books, say, today and tomorrow morning we were not allowed to examine them; it was simply a statement made by one of the clerks.

147 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You stated in your testimony the other day that the day after the conference at Pullman, when it was decided not to strike, that three members of your committee were discharged?—Ans. Yes, sir.

148 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Of how many did that committee of which these three men were members consist?—Ans. I think it was 46.

149 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were these men peremptorily discharged?—Ans. Yes, sir.

150 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was any reason given?—Ans. No, sir.

151 (Commissioner KERNAN). The rest of the 46 were not discharged?—Ans. No, sir. Mr. Wickes said that if we would return to work they would consider our grievances, make an examination of them, and we went back to the shop with the promise that none of the men on this committee or any of the girls should be discharged or in any way interfered with, but the next morning Mr. Hasty and two

others were discharged. We tried to find out the reason of their discharge, and the reason they gave was that the work these men were engaged on was so far ahead that they would have to lay them off on that account.

152 (Commissioner KERNAN). Who gave that reason?—Ans. The foreman of the department to which Mr. Hasty belonged, and under the order of the superintendent of the iron machine shops the work was taken out of the hands of Mr. Hasty and the foreman completed the work, working all day on that piece of work. Mr. Hasty asked the reason of his discharge and he was told he was discharged, or laid off, and laid off in cases of that kind was virtually discharged.

153 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know any reason why the balance of the 46 members of the committee were retained?—Ans. No, sir.

154 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When were the local unions of the American Railway Union organized at Pullman?—Ans. In the latter part of March and through the month of April.

155 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What led to that organization?—Ans. The different cuts made in the shops were so severe that we had no other way by which we could get the company to talk with us except through organization. If they knew we were thoroughly organized with that purpose we might make a settlement with them better on that account than though we were not organized; all other attempts had been made, and we could get no redress.

156 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did the organization of the local unions spring from your own action at Pullman?—Ans. Yes, sir.

157 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How many men or people went out on the strike of May 11, 1894, at Pullman?—Ans. There were about 4,000.

158 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What proportion of that 4,000 occupied houses at Pullman?—Ans. About 2,500 or 3,000, I should judge. There was quite a number lived outside in Chicago, Burnside, Auburn Park, Roseland, Kensington, and Riverdale.

159 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I think you said in your former testimony that the aggregate membership of the American Railway Union at Pullman was something like 4,000?—Ans. Yes, sir.

160 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Each one of that 4,000 had a card from the union?—Ans. Yes.

161 (Commissioner WRIGHT). At what expense?—Ans. One dollar.

162 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You therefore raised \$4,000 to join the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir; but that card was good for a year's membership.

163 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any other information you wish to give the commission?—Ans. There is one more matter I would like to state. One of the foremen—he has a very violent temper—had a piece of work being done which he had to wait for some little time on account of the workman not being able to do it in a certain length of time, and he struck him in the face, making his nose bleed. The matter was reported to the management, but they took no action whatever in regard to it. The man was going to sue the foreman, but he was told by the foreman of the department to which he belonged that if he did he would be discharged. The foreman's name was George Trumbley. I don't know the name of the man who was struck, but can get his name when I return to Pullman.

August 21, 1894, Thomas W. Heathcoate, recalled, testified as follows:

164 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In your former testimony you stated that the grievance committee of the Pullman employees held a meeting on the night of May 10?—Ans. Yes, sir.

165 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And that, acting under the advice of the officers of the American Railway Union, they decided not to strike. Is that the way you wish to be understood?—Ans. No, sir; it was a grievance committee of the different locals at Pullman, consisting of 46 members, and they took three or four votes. We were up all night until 5 o'clock in the morning and decided to strike against the advice of the American Railway Union. The reduction of wages was such that it was utterly impossible to sustain ourselves and families, and we had no other alternative. We had done all we possibly could with the Pullman company to have our rents cut down or give us more pay, and failed. We were not earning enough to live on and we had no other alternative than to strike. That was the conclusion we came to and we voted that night to strike. There were three votes taken, and the first time all but three voted to strike, and we struck on the 11th of May. We heard in the forenoon that the Pullman company intended to lock us out at noon on the 11th. They had a man watching the action of this committee; he either climbed in the windows or got a bench outside, put it up to the window, and looked through to see what the committee was doing, and we finally changed our quarters and went into another place—Turner Hall—and this man went and reported this matter to the Pullman company.

166 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The conclusion to strike was reached on the night of the 10th?—Ans. Yes, but there was no time set for the strike; this subsequent information we received precipitated the strike, together with the discharge of the three men I have before testified about.

167 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would the strike have taken place when it did if it had not been for these two occurrences you have just related?—Ans. It was decided by the committee to refer the matter back to the locals and have them take another vote upon the question of striking, but the locals had given this grievance committee the power to order a strike, and I thought, being chairman of that committee, it would be best to refer the matter back again. I did not want any strike. I used every influence in my power to keep them from striking.

168 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have already testified to that?—Ans. Well, the conditions of the men were such that it was utterly impossible for them to be kept back; I could not control them, nor could the officers of the American Railway Union.

#### TESTIMONY OF JENNIE CURTIS.

August 16, 1894, Jennie Curtis, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Jennie Curtis; reside at Pullman; have been a seamstress for the Pullman company in the repair shops sewing room; worked for them five years.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of any labor organization?—Ans. Yes, sir; I am a member of the American Railway Union.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been a member of that union?—Ans. Since about the 8th day of last May.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you hold any position in the union?—Ans. I am president of the girls' union, local, No. 269, at Pullman.



5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you have anything to do with the strike at Pullman, which occurred on the 11th of May, 1894?—Ans. No, sir.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Had you anything to do with any of the efforts to avoid the strike, or to settle the difficulties?—Ans. I had not, further than being on a committee which called to see Mr. Pullman and Mr. Wickes, the general manager of the company, to ask for more wages, asking to arbitrate, and such as that.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you on those committees, or some of them?—Ans. Yes, sir; I was.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State briefly what you did as a member serving upon those committees.—Ans. I was on a committee that went from Pullman to speak for the girls in May before the strike, to ask for more wages.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Whom did you see?—Ans. We saw Mr. Wickes the first time, and the second time we saw Mr. Brown, Mr. Perant, and Mr. Wickes, and all the head managers of the company were there; also Mr. Pullman.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what took place at the first interview.—Ans. We went there and asked, as the men did, for more wages; we were cut lower than any of the men's departments throughout the works; in 1893 we were able to make 22 cents per hour, or \$2.25 per day, in my department, and on the day of the strike we could only earn, on an average, working as hard as we possibly could, from 70 to 80 cents a day.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you give us how the wages changed from month to month?—Ans. Whenever the men were cut in their wages the girls also received a cut. We were cut twice inside of a week in November, 1893, and in January our wages were cut again; that was the last cut we received, and we worked as hard as we possibly could and doing all we could, too. The most experienced of us could only make 80 cents per day, and a great many of the girls could only average 40 to 50 cents per day.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many girls in the Pullman works at Pullman belong to your union?—Ans. About 125.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). How much were these girls that finally got but 40 to 50 cents per day earning in May, 1893, for the same kind of work?—Ans. They could average at that time not less than \$1.50 per day.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you pay rent in Pullman?—Ans. No, sir; not now.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You pay board?—Ans. Yes, sir. My father worked for the Pullman company for thirteen years. He died last September, and I paid the rent to the Pullman company up to the time he died; I was boarding at the time of my father's death. He being laid off and sick for three months, owed the Pullman company \$60 at the time of his death for back rent, and the company made me, out of my small earnings, pay that rent due from my father.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). How did they make you do it?—Ans. The contract was that I should pay \$3 on the back rent every pay day; out of my small earnings I could not give them \$3 every pay day, and when I did not do so I was insulted and almost put out of the bank by the clerk for not being able to pay it to them. My wages were cut so low that I could not pay my board and give them \$3 on the back rent, but if I had \$2 or so over my board I would leave it at the bank on the rent. On the day of the strike I still owed them \$15, which I am afraid they never will give me a chance to pay back.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Your union, consisting of girls employed in the Pullman shops, struck at the same time the other employees did?—Ans. Yes, sir.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And are still out?—Ans. Some of them, and some of them have gone back.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Take up that interview again and give us a little more fully what occurred, as you remember it, between your committee and the managers of the Pullman company.—Ans. We stated our grievances to Mr. Wickes and told him we wanted our wages raised; he said it was impossible to raise them, as the company was losing money on its contracts and it could not possibly raise our wages a cent. We then asked if they did not think they could lower rents a little. He said, "No; it was utterly impossible to lower the rents one penny, as they were only receiving about 3 per cent on their investment now, and were losing money on contracts just to enable their men to have work." Mr. Wickes then appointed another interview with us the following Wednesday, and we went down again and saw Mr. Pullman; he said he could not raise our wages nor lower the rents.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was anything said on either of those occasions about arbitration?—Ans. I don't remember on those occasions. I went with another committee from the convention of the American Railway Union and saw Mr. Wickes and asked if the Pullman company would not arbitrate. He said they had nothing to arbitrate.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What did you expect the board of arbitration to decide upon in case it had been agreed between you that a board should be chosen?—Ans. I expected them in justice to decide that we receive more wages.

22 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I didn't understand what work you were engaged in at Pullman?—Ans. We made all the carpets, and all the silk, satin, plush, and velvet drapings for the dining cars, made all the linen for the sleepers, berth curtains and vestibule curtains, and we sewed the tapestry for the covering of the seats; we bound the blankets, made the mattresses for the bunks, and all such work as that.

23 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Does it require expert labor to do that work?—Ans. It does for the drapery part for the Pullman cars, because they are very elegant sometimes.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You say you were told the company was losing money on its contracts?—Ans. Yes, sir.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were the girls working at Pullman doing contract work or Pullman work?—Ans. I don't know.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You were working on the cars which the Pullman company operated?—Ans. Yes, sir.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And not on cars they were building for outside parties?—Ans. Well, I really could not say as to that.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any other information you would like to furnish us?—Ans. No, sir; I have not.

Commissioner WRIGHT. Is there any one present who desires to cross-examine Miss Curtis?

(No response. Witness excused.)

#### TESTIMONY OF THEODORE RHODIE.

August 16, 1894, Theodore Rhodie, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and

occupation.—Ans. Theodore Rhodie; 39; live at No. 367 Stephenson street, Pullman, Ill.; am a painter.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you been employed at Pullman in the works there?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been employed there?—Ans. About twelve years.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). As a painter?—Ans. Yes, sir.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been a member of that order?—Ans. Since April last, the 19th day of April, I think.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you one of the strikers at Pullman?—Ans. Yes, sir.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what led you to strike, the cause, etc., in your own way?—Ans. About four years ago I had a job and there was another class of work they wanted me to do that nobody else could make a day's wages out of on piecework, and they wanted me to work in partnership with two or three or four other men, as many as might be necessary, to carry on that class of work, and whatever we made we were to divide equally, and I was to kind of oversee the work, that it was done properly and got out at the right time. I told them I would take the job under consideration and would see if I could get along with it, but if I could not make wages at it I would want my old place back. After they got me at it once I told them several times I did not like the job and would like to have my old place back, but I could not get it back; I was told I had to stay there or else get out. We get so after working a number of years at a certain class of work that we can make from \$2.65 to \$2.80 per day, working 10½ hours per day; for work that I got \$9 per hundred last fall I only got \$4.25 at the time we struck. They kept cutting me down from last fall on the same kind of work and on the same amount of work we could not make \$1.25 per day out of it; I told the foreman it was impossible to make anything at it, and he said if I didn't like it I could quit. There was also many other things which led us to strike—the abuse, and I owe them for rent and I could not pay it, and I was in debt to my grocery-man, to my butcher, and so on all along the line, and it was impossible for any of us to make a living.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). When you used the word abuse, what did you mean?—Ans. From the abuse the foreman gave us. They would talk to the men as though they were dogs. For instance, one time the foreman came up to me—he was looking after some sash—and he said he understood there should no more sash come up. I told him if that was the case he should give the men in the cabinet shop an order not to send any up; that I had nothing to do with it; that I could not interfere with another man's business; that I was only to attend to my own department. He said, "Why don't you fix it?" I said, "I can not fix it." He said, "Why can't you paint it up?" I said, "I could not do it and make a good job out of it." Then he said, "You had better ask somebody that can." I said, "Well, I will ask you. I have worked at this business now for twelve years, and I try to do the best I can, and will leave it to my foreman here whether I am doing my work as good as it can be done, or if they have anybody else here that can do it any better." He said, "If you can not do any better work than that you will have to quit," and said he was going to get somebody from St. Louis. Finally he got a man from St. Louis and put him at it, but after it was done and went in the cars it was brought back, and I had to fix it up. The man from St. Louis did not do it as

good as I did. I had to fix it over, and when I asked for pay for doing it the answer was, "Oh, we have a contract. You understood we were to see that the work was done right, and because you did not do it right was the reason you had to do it over again."

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Didn't you get any pay for the time you spent fixing it over?—Ans. No, sir; these men experiment a good deal at our expense. For instance, they will buy new material without knowing anything about how it is going to work up, and if the work turns out bad the workmen have to turn right around and fix it up so as to make it go out, and if they ask for extra pay they will not give it; lots of times they get English varnish in there which can not be used in the shops only when the atmosphere strikes it just right; if the air is a little damp, the varnish goes back on us, and of course it then causes a great deal of unnecessary work which should not be done. We have to do the job over again, sometimes two or three times, and get nothing for it. If you ask the management to pay you for the time, they say no, they can not do that; but they can ask you to do the work for nothing, and if you don't like to do it you can quit.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you live in one of the Pullman houses?—Ans. Yes, sir.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What rent do you pay?—Ans. Fifteen dollars rent and 71 cents for water.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How many rooms and what other accommodations do you have?—Ans. I have five rooms, part of a cellar, and part of a back yard.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How does the price you pay compare with the rent of similar houses with similar accommodations in adjoining localities?—Ans. You could get the same accommodations, I believe, at from \$7 to \$8 per month.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How large a lot of land belongs to your house?—Ans. I should say the frontage of those houses is from 16 to 20 feet.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How deep?—Ans. Thirty to 35 feet; that is, the house; the lot is deeper; I could not say just how deep.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you a member of any of the committees which attempted to secure a settlement of the difficulties at Pullman?—Ans. Yes, sir.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what your experience was with reference to those efforts?—Ans. We sent a committee up to the management and they said they could do nothing for us.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you on any of them?—Ans. No, sir.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I thought you said you were on a committee—we only want what you know of your own knowledge.—Ans. Well, I had nothing whatever to do with that part of it; I only know we sent committees there and they brought back reports.

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how much did you earn in the month of April, 1894?—Ans. I could hardly tell that, but I know I did not have much left after my rent was taken out.

22 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how much did you have after paying your rent?—Ans. From \$12 to \$15 every two weeks.

23 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you a man of family?—Ans. Yes, sir.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long since you have paid any rent?—Ans. I believe I owed \$2 or \$3 for back rent before we went on the strike and I have not paid any since that.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has there been any effort to collect any

rent out of the tenants?—Ans. There was day before yesterday, I believe.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What form did that effort take?—Ans. I was not home, but they asked my wife if I was going to pay any rent; my wife told them that I would pay rent as soon as I could get work and earn enough to pay it; that I had no work and had no money, but would pay the rent as soon as I could get money enough to pay it.

27 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The Pullman shops are running now, are they not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know what wages they are paying?—Ans. Only from hearsay; I hear they are paying some men from \$2.50 to \$3 per day, and others from \$3 to \$5.

29 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you made application for work since the strike?—Ans. No, sir.

30 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there any reason why you have not made application?—Ans. There is one reason, and that is, I do not like to walk up there and hand up my membership in the American Railway Union; because when a man asks me to give up my principles, my right as an American citizen, he might just as well ask me for my life.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would you be expected to sever your connection with the union if you went to work at Pullman now?—Ans. Yes, sir.

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know that to be a condition of reentering the works?—Ans. Yes; I know that to be a fact. I know some men who went there, and after they had taken their card away from them and sent them to the foreman, the foreman said that he had nothing for them to do and did not want them, and did not give them their cards back again.

Commissioner WRIGHT. The witness, Rhodie, is subject to cross-examination if anybody wishes to cross-examine him.

(No response. Witness excused.)

#### TESTIMONY OF R. W. COOMBS.

August 16, 1894, R. W. Coombs, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. R. W. Coombs; No. 526 Stephenson street, Pullman, Ill.; car carpenter by trade.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been employed as a car carpenter?—Ans. I have followed the business for near twenty years; at Pullman for the past ten years.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What class of cars do you work on?—Ans. In the freight department on refrigerator cars, gondola cars, and cabooses.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been a member?—Ans. Since last February.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what wages you received as a car builder a year ago, and what wages you received in April last.—Ans. A year ago I made about \$2.25 per day at piecework; I received 17½ cents per hour; last April I was not working as a car carpenter; I was

inspecting for the company; but in March, 1894, my wages as a car carpenter was about 68 cents per day at piecework.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was that reduction gradual or sudden?—Ans. The cut commenced in November, 1893; prior to that the car carpenters received on the average from \$2.10 to \$2.25 per day at piecework; in November, 1893, was the first reduction we had and the cut came all of a sudden. I have here what I copied myself out of a ledger of the Pullman company that was gotten up by the general time-keeper of the freight department.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does that give the earnings from November last down to the time of the strike?—Ans. I will give it to you. We built cars there in lot numbers. Lot No. 1515—that was a Santa Fe stock car; that was built in 1888. Now, in November, 1893, we built the same kind of a car with the latest improvements upon it; in 1888 a car carpenter received \$13 for his work on such a car; a truck builder received 90 cents, and a truck laborer 31 cents; hanging the brakes, \$1.20; delivering, forging, and casting, \$1.05; delivering lumber to the car, 88 cents; framing the car, 40 cents. Now, I will give the prices for the same kind of a car with the latest improvements, in November, 1893, which was the first cut we had that we felt; the car carpenter received \$7 for his work—that is a reduction of \$6 right on the jump; the truck builder received 60 cents; the truck laborer, 9 cents; hanging the brakes, 64 cents; delivering, forging, and casting of car, 35 cents; delivering lumber to the car, 21 cents; framing the car, 12 cents; making a total of \$9.01.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has there been a reduction since November last?—Ans. Yes, sir.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What would the expense of building that car have been in April last at the prices then paid?—Ans. We finished those cars about the 7th day of September, 1893.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Give the reduction after that, if any, in the same class of work.—Ans. We have not been building a class of cars of that kind in 1894 yet.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What would the price have been had you built any?—Ans. If we had built any more of them in 1894 I don't think we would have got anything for it; I don't know but what we would have to have paid the company for the privilege of building them.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). After November, 1893, during the time you continued to work until the strike, what further reduction, if any, was made?—Ans. Well, I will say this: The car we struck on was what is called a Wickes patent refrigerator car; those are the cars the freight-shop men refused to work on; I don't know whether it was a strike or not, but the boys refused to work; at the time the boys quit there their wages averaged them about 81 cents per day. The very best car builders, men who had had experience of from twelve to fourteen years, could not make over 81 cents per day.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). In May, 1893, what would they have been paid for that same class of work?—Ans. Prior to November, 1893, they would have been paid at the rate of about \$2.10 per day.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). In November, what would they be paid for that work?—Ans. Just about what I have stated.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you rent a house in Pullman?—Ans. Yes, sir.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What do you pay for it, and how many rooms are there?—Ans. I have been paying \$15.71 per month.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been occupying that house and paying that rent?—Ans. For the past four years.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has the rent been the same all the time?—Ans. Yes, sir; \$15 for rent and 71 cents for water.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How much did you have left last February from your earnings after you had paid your rent?—Ans. Just about \$3.50 in the month of February after I had paid my rent.

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What is the size of your family?—Ans. A wife and two children.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How many rooms in your house?—Ans. Five.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it a separate house by itself?—Ans. No; it is what is called a flat. There is a family that lives right over me who pay the same amount of rent.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). What yard room is connected with it?—Ans. There is a back yard about 25 by 40 feet, and the family above and my family use the same yard. There is no front yard whatever.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What would the same accommodations cost you of like size in some place other than Pullman?—Ans. I could go over to Roseland and rent a house with from five to seven rooms, with a nice yard to it, both front and back yard, with the same water we pay Pullman for, at from \$9 to \$12 per month.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any views relative to the prevention of strikes?—Ans. Yes, sir; I have.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Please state them.—Ans. If the men at Pullman had had proper treatment there would never have been a strike. If our general superintendent in the freight department had listened to what a great many of us asked him to do, and had done it, there would have been no strike. I lay that strike altogether down there on a man named John Pearson, assistant superintendent of the freight department; he was the cause of the whole strike and nothing else, on account of his treatment of the men; his language and abuse to them drove them to what they did. I have heard him use very abusive language to his men, and during the last two months before the strike, while I was inspector for the company, I was told that if a man did not do what I told him to do to take a club and knock his damned head off.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). By whom were you told that?—Ans. I was told that by John Pearson, assistant superintendent.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you an applicant for work now at Pullman?—Ans. Yes, sir.

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). On what conditions can you return to work there?—Ans. Under no conditions can I work there again. Harvey Middleton says I took a very prominent part in the strike. I asked Mr. Wickes one day if any of us had committed any great depredations sufficient to bar us from working for the Pullman company. Mr. Wickes said, "Not that I know of; you have all conducted yourselves like gentlemen; you have not destroyed a flower in our flower beds or broken a window pane." I asked him why we should be debarred from working there again. He said he didn't know as anything, but Mr. Middleton insisted I should never work there again. The day I took my tool chest out of the shop I had hardly got it out before he told me, "Now get away from here, and we don't want you here any more."

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you in arrears for rent?—Ans. Yes, sir; I think I owe those people about \$117 for house rent.

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have they taken any steps to collect it?—Ans. They have been at my house two or three times in the past

two weeks after rent, but they have taken no legal steps that I know of.

33 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). If I understand you correctly, you think there would have been no strike at Pullman on account of the inadequacy of the wages if it had not been for the conduct of this man Pearson?—Ans. I don't believe that there would. I believe he was the cause of all of it.

Commissioner WRIGHT. Does anyone wish to cross-examine Mr. Coombs?

(No response. Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MERRITT BROWN.

August 17, 1894, Merritt Brown, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, and occupation.—Ans. Merritt Brown; 28; car builder; reside at Pullman.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you employed by the Pullman company?—Ans. I have been, but I am not at present in their employ.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When did you first enter their employ?—Ans. Five years ago last January, but I have not worked there steady; I worked there off and on until May 11, 1894.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you join the strike at that time?—Ans. Yes.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you made any attempts to return to the employ of the company?—Ans. No, sir; I have not, for the reason that I have been led to understand I am a blacklisted man and can never work for the Pullman company again.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How did you get that understanding?—Ans. From a gentleman that was on our committee. I never went to see whether it was a fact or not, but I have been blacklisted there before.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State the circumstances on which you were blacklisted prior to this strike.—Ans. Three years ago last January we had a strike in the Pullman freight-car shops. At that time some 150 men went on a strike. The shop was very busy and they gave us nine days to reenter the employ of the company, or we could never work for them again. We voted not to go to work as a body, and went away, scattered over the country, and finally I came back to Chicago in the fall. Work was short in the city here, and being out of work two years ago in April I went to the Pullman company for employment. Upon going there the foreman and superintendent at that time gave me to understand—of course the superintendent did not say so in so many words, neither did the foreman—that I would have to change my name if I wanted to reenter the employ of the Pullman company. I changed my name, and worked for them for two years after that under an assumed name, and I know of several other instances where men have had to assume another name to get work from the Pullman company in the freight-car shops.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What were your wages there a year ago?—Ans. A year ago our wages were from \$2 and \$2.25 to \$2.50 for the best men; the poorer men, some of them, would not make but \$2 per day on the freight cars. Prior to May, 1893, they made \$2.75 and \$3; but when the house rents, water, and gas bills were taken out the



men had very little left. We worked pretty steady up until September, 1893, and from September to December I had about twelve or fourteen days' work, making something like \$18. In December we worked two weeks. I have not got my exact wages with me, but from that time until the 1st of May, 1894, I have my wages in a book.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Give your wages, month by month, as they were paid to you, from December, 1893, up to the time of the strike.—Ans. January 8 I drew \$11.25 for two weeks' work, paying \$3.65 out of that for house rent. January 23 I drew \$6.38 for two week's work; no house rent was paid out of that. February 8 I drew \$21.75, paying \$8.60 for rent out of it.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Each of these amounts are for two weeks' work?—Ans. Yes, sir. February 23 I drew \$19.85, paying for rent \$8. March 8 I drew \$13.96, paying \$7.60 for rent. March 23 I drew \$15.72, paying \$8 for rent. April 8 I drew \$17.50, paying \$7.60 for rent. April 23 we were laid off two weeks and had no pay. May 8 I drew \$13.99, paying \$7.60 for rent. At the time I left the company's employ I was employed as an inspector, and had been about three weeks. In the main office they knew nothing about my working there under an assumed name, but in the freight-car department they knew it, and as I took quite a prominent part there last January and February, trying to get the freight shop organized, I do not see why it was, unless it was to get me out of the way, they made me an inspector, unless it was that I had some influence with the men and they thought if they gave me that position there would be no strike. The company makes an appropriation for every lot of cars and that appropriation has to cover all expenses, and I know of one instance where there was an immense lot of lumber gotten out for the cars that was never used. It was such poor material that it could not be used. Railroad inspectors would not receive it, and when any of that lumber was put in the cars the men had to take it out at their own expense; whereas if they had not had to take it out they would have made fair wages. The company never allows the men for any poor material they put in the cars. All that freight work is on the piecework system, the company allowing a gang of four men so much for a car.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You say the plan is to make an appropriation for which a certain number of cars must be built?—Ans. Yes, sir.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And if there are any mistakes in construction, or anything that would make an excess of that appropriation, the men have to bear the burden?—Ans. Not exactly in that way. The freight-car department is allowed that much from the general office, and if that appropriation runs out they must make it up on another lot of cars on a different contract. I mean where the cost of construction exceeds the appropriation on one lot of cars the men, as a general thing, are cut down and work for a less amount of money on another lot of cars. That has been going on for six years that I know of. When I was inspector I had to look over every car and see it was all right before it went away, and our general foreman, who took the place of the general superintendent just before we went out on a strike, came to me one day when we were just finishing up a lot of cars and said, "All the work you do on these cars from this day will have to go in on the next lot, as the appropriation for these cars has been exhausted."

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Your statement is that when the management furnished poor lumber that was worked into the cars and then had to be taken out that the men got nothing for the extra expense of taking it out?—Ans. Yes, here lately. When I first went

there we were always paid by the hour—17½ cents per hour for each man—but in the last year very little of that was done; the four men in the gang that had built the car had to take the material out, and it was seldom they were allowed anything for it.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you occupy a house owned by the company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How much rent do you pay?—Ans. \$14.60; \$14 for rent and 60 cents for water.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How many rooms have you?—Ans. Four rooms, part of the cellar and back yard.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know how that price for your tenement compares with the price of like tenements in adjoining towns?—Ans. Yes, sir; in Roseland I could have got a five-room frame cottage—a nice cottage—for \$6 per month, and in the city here in different places where I have lived I have never paid over \$10 or \$12 per month for a house with better accommodations than the Pullman houses.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is your house in Pullman in a block or is it a separate house?—Ans. It is in a block, and as a general thing they take up about 18 feet front; they don't take up a full lot.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Since February.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you an officer of that body?—Ans. No.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you take any official part in the recent boycott?—Ans. No more than any other member of the union would.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You were not a member of any of the committees?—Ans. No, sir; the only thing our local unions in Pullman took part in they quit work, and if any strangers came to town we would talk to them and try to get them not to work for the Pullman company.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was there any intimidation on the part of the old employees as against the new ones?—Ans. Not that I know of.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would the local unions at Pullman tolerate that action?—Ans. No, sir; they have condemned it right along.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And don't undertake to prevent non-union men from working?—Ans. Not to my knowledge; there has not been a man prevented from going to work at Pullman any more than a man would go and talk to him; I never knew of a man's being intimidated.

There is one thing in the Pullman shops that I don't think has been spoken of, and that is, a man that works in those shops has to take a check out in the morning when he goes to work, and if he finishes his work at 10 o'clock he has to stay until noon just the same; if he don't have a good excuse to get out of the shop he can not get a permit to go home, and it is the same way in the afternoon; I have been there from 2 o'clock to 6 o'clock doing nothing, but was not allowed to go home, unless I could slip out and get back some way, and put the check in; when they lay out piecework in the freight shop they take two or three of the most experienced gangs and put them on the work, and sometimes take some of them and figure from the work of the best men in the shop. and at the time we quit there there were men I actually know could not make a dollar a day, no matter how hard they worked, while there were some who could make more; and the assistant foreman, Mr. Pearson, came around and told the boss he would see that the men did not make but \$1.60 a day at piecework; that if they made any more

they would not be allowed to turn it in, and I have had him figure up what he made in the shop and let all that exceeded \$1.60 per day run over until the next pay day; they would not allow them to make more than that at piecework.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the nature of the relations between the employees at Pullman and the company?—Ans. So far as I know in the freight shops there has never been any love lost between them; they have never been satisfied in the freight shops, because they have always been cut down on nearly every contract that came into the shop for pretty nearly six years.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The price of piecework has been gradually reduced, has it?—Ans. It has for the last five years right straight along on freight-car work in the Pullman shops, and not only there but in most of the shops in the country; I have been around considerably, and the Pullman shops are the worst shops in the country for piecework on freight work; they pay less wages and make a man work harder there than any other place in the country.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you worked in the Pullman shops at any other point?—Ans. No, sir; I have not; freight-car work is my business, and they have only one freight-car shop in the country that I know of, and that is at Pullman.

30 (Commissioner KEERNAN). You spoke about the men making \$1.60 per day on piecework, was that about the time of the strike?—Ans. Yes; and for some time before.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). What did the men get for the same amount of work prior to May, 1893?—Ans. We built some cars in February and March—Wickes patent cars, similar to the Merchants Despatch cars—that we got \$36 for in the spring of 1890 and only got \$19.50 for them at that time, making a cut of \$16.50 on a car.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). When was that cut made?—Ans. In February, 1894.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). I want to know what a man would earn per day on that class of work in May, 1893?—Ans. We would make \$3 per day straight along when we had steady work, but a car at the present time is much harder to build than it was then; that is, cars similar to what is now called the Wickes patent; in May, 1893, four men could build a car in less than three days; now they can not build it under three days; that is, expert workmen.

#### TESTIMONY OF REV. WILLIAM H. CARWARDINE.

August 17, 1894, Rev. William H. Carwardine, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, profession, and residence.—Ans. William H. Carwardine; am a clergyman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Pullman, Ill.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been at Pullman?—Ans. It will be two years the 1st of October.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you been interested in the recent labor difficulties at Pullman?—Ans. Yes, sir.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you investigated the conditions of the employees there, their wages and their general environments?—Ans. Yes, sir; I have.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you kept yourself informed as to the facts of the boycott or strike, from day to day?—Ans. Yes, sir; I have followed it very closely indeed.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what you know of your own knowledge relative to the causes of the strike there, and the conditions which led to it, and which concerned the strike after it did occur. State it in your own way as briefly as possible.—Ans. Last year we had a very prosperous year at Pullman and the men were apparently doing very nicely; along toward September, perhaps a little before that, it got very dull and we entered into a very dull season. During the winter I realized that there was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the employees; I heard it said on every hand occasionally, "The men are organized; there will be trouble in the shops in the spring;" I heard that a good deal, and I also realized there was a great deal of distress by reason of the hard times, and here and there cases of destitution were shown. Toward the spring I realized that the dissatisfaction was about to break out, and as it has been repeated here—it is simply the old story—they waited on Mr. Middleton, who did not accede to their desires; they then took the matter to Mr. Pullman and Mr. Wickes, talked the matter over with them and did not get any redress there.

At that time Mr. Pullman agreed to look into the matter, and I think said he would give them an answer on the following Wednesday, which he did. Well, we all were of the opinion that night—I know the most of us felt that the strike had practically been averted, and the trouble would not come to pass; we were all in hopes of that; that was our general feeling; we feared a strike. I remember that I, myself, felt very easy that night, thinking that matters were averted and negotiations were going on and perhaps things would be made all right. The next day, to my surprise, and to my great regret, I saw that the word had gone out that the men were going out of the shops. I watched them go out and felt very sorry. We then commenced to discuss the matter, and I began to hear the discussions. I saw the employees were being condemned very much by the press, and a brother clergyman in the town told them he thought they had done a very unwise thing; that he thought they were better off in the shops, etc., and knowing the state of affairs as I had seen it, I felt I must preach upon the subject, as the other pastor had done, and state my views on the question. I did so, and from that on I have taken a great deal of interest in the matter. That brings me up to the question of the strike. What further do you desire me to state; anything in regard to the cause of the strike?

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Yes; what you know of the cause of the strike—Ans. I judge from all I have found out in regard to the matter that in the first place the wages were cut very severely; they were cut, it seems to me, from all I have been able to find out, unequally; there was not an equalization of wages throughout the shops. I also realized there was a great deal of dissatisfaction with what is known as the local administration, and also on account of the abuses that were practiced by the foreman and subforeman. I also realized that one cause of the strike was that while they were cutting wages, and unequally cutting them, they did not at the same time make a reduction in the rents, and when the employees made their appeal for an investigation they were very suspicious; they were in a state of suspicion regarding the company. They had come to feel that they could get no justice. There was that feeling on the part of the men, that it was no use, that these things would not be made right, and, I am sorry to say, the feeling was very bitter, and has been very bitter all through. It was through that winter at least, and has been, ever since the strike has been on, very bitter against the local administration.

I feel, personally, that Mr. Pullman is not so much to blame for the present state of affairs, in one sense of the word, or Mr. Wickes either. I have a great deal of respect for Mr. Wickes and also to some degree for Mr. Pullman. I have felt that the great trouble has been, that the difficulty lies, with the local administration. I have felt, however, that Mr. Pullman is to blame for this; he has not kept himself in touch with the laboring men. Of course, as a clergyman, I constantly have compared him with the class of men represented by George W. Childs and such as him—with, for instance, Mr. Armour. I compared Mr. Pullman in his relations to his employees with men of that character with whom I have occasionally come in contact, and I am positive today—I feel free to make the statement—that there never would have been a strike in Pullman if Mr. Pullman had been in closer relations to his men, and if the rents had been reduced at the same time the wages were cut.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How far would you carry that reduction of rents relative to the reduction of wages?—Ans. That, as a business man, I am not prepared to say; but it does seem to me they ought to be reduced from 10 to 20 per cent—perhaps that is too much.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If the works ceased entirely to operate, would you have the rents cease entirely, too?—Ans. Of course if the works ceased at Pullman that would end the whole matter.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It would end the relation of employer and employee?—Ans. Yes, sir; it would to a great extent; but the reason I criticise the Pullman company is this: They started out upon the basis that their system is paternalistic, and according to the literature I can find relative to the company they founded their system upon a desire to improve the workingmen and to solve the industrial situation, for instance, on a basis of a mutual recognition. Now, I contend that a company making as much money as the Pullman company does out of one part of its plant, that when they come to reduce in another part of their plant—having old employees who have been with them so long—it ought not at least to cut them so severely, but share up a little bit with them, from the standpoint that it is a paternalistic system.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you examined in regard to the wages paid at Pullman?—Ans. I think I have. I have talked with the men a good deal personally in regard to the cutting of their wages and have read a good deal about it from all sources; then I have taken, for instance, the cuts as given by the employees in their reports to the American Railway Union. I took that as a basis and I submitted that to one or two gentlemen who had been for many years in the employ of the company. I submitted it particularly to one gentleman who had been in the employ of the company, I think, from ten to eleven years, and who knew about the cuts, and asked him if he thought it was a fair statement to make; and while he did not wish me to use his name, or in any way bring him into public notice, yet he said they were all right.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you those figures in writing?—Ans. I have them in a small pamphlet I have printed on the subject.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The statement in that book relative to wages paid at Pullman, then, was the result of your investigation?—Ans. Yes, sir.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And you believe the statement therein made relative to wages to be true?—Ans. So far as I could get at the truth, I have reason to believe they are true.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). So if the commission should refer to your work relative to wages it would have your statement as you

wished to make it?—Ans. It would, with this understanding, that if there are mistakes I am willing to take the blame of them, but wish it understood I have been sincere in seeking to get at the truth, and as near as an outsider can get at it I have endeavored to tell the truth in that pamphlet.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Had you access to any of the pay rolls of the company in preparing that statement?—Ans. No, sir; it is statements of employees who have been in the employ of the company, and whom I believe had grounds to base their opinions upon.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you rent the house in which you live of the Pullman Land Company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What rent do you pay?—Ans. I pay \$18.50 per month, plus 71 cents for water.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And what accommodations do you have?—Ans. I have a brick cottage with five rooms, a water-closet upstairs, no bathroom, a little back yard, and one faucet in the house.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). A detached cottage?—Ans. A cottage that is in the middle of a brick block.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What would the rent be for such accommodation in other places where you have lived?—Ans. My house costs me \$19.21; I can go to Stewart boulevard in Auburn Park, and I can rent an elegant stone flat, one upstairs and one down, with all the modern improvements, with a large bathroom, all finished in hard wood, with one of those nice fireplaces, etc., with all the conveniences of being on a boulevard, for \$20 per month. I am giving \$19.21 for what I have—in addition there are seven rooms in the flat of which I speak.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. No, sir.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you associate with the committees of that union in any efforts to secure a settlement of the difficulties at Pullman?—Ans. Yes, sir.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you present at any interviews between such committees and the management?—Ans. Will you allow me to state wherein I endeavored to bring about a settlement at one time?

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Take your own method.—Ans. For instance, it will be remembered just about the time the federated labor unions were about going out and the boycott seemed to be just on the wing, and we were all afraid of the federated labor union, two or three editorials were printed in the Chicago Herald, headed each day "A way out of the difficulty"—that was about the substance of the heading—and the editorials said, "Now was the time for the Pullman men to do something for their country, etc." If they would get Mr. Debs and the American Railway Union to declare the strike, or rather the boycott, off and throw the matter back to the Pullman strike, then the sympathy of the public, because of that patriotic action, and because of their interest in the welfare of the public, etc., would revert to the Pullman men. I was very much pleased with that editorial, and a minister named Rev. Brushingham, in Chicago, telegraphed me on the evening of that day and said, "Will you not try to do something on the line of that editorial?"

After my church service was over I went down to the headquarters and asked Mr. Heathcoate if I might meet the central committee in their secret session. He said, "Yes," and I met them at half past 10 that night, which was the first time that I had ever met them in that way.

I read the editorial to them and made an appeal to the men to do all they could to refer the strike back to Pullman, and alleviate the strain that would come by the federated labor union going out. After I had made my appeal to them I left them. The next morning I was told they had sent a committee down to see the American Railway Union and asked if I would go myself to see Mr. Debs. I went down to see Mr. Debs; told him what I had done, and he said to me, "We are about to do that very thing to-night. I meet the federated labor union at 8 o'clock, and we will propose a plan by which if the railroad managers will take back the men without prejudice, excepting those who have indulged in lawlessness, we will declare the boycott off." I then left Mr. Debs, feeling that I had at least done a little something, and you will remember that that night they did that very thing, but the railroad managers refused to have anything to do with it, and that was the end of it. I refer to that to show that I was anxious to use what little influence I had at that time to bring about something of that kind.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you in favor of strikes?—Ans. No, sir. In my sermon delivered within ten days after the strike, which was printed at the time—I believe I sent you a copy of it last night—you will find I said then and there that I deplored the strike, and to my mind it was an unwise thing to strike. I felt that these men had better have remained at work and have had their grievances settled, but I wish to say alongside of that, it is my private opinion, if they had remained in hoping for a settlement on these other lines they never would have got it.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have they yet received the settlement?—Ans. No, sir; I don't think the disposition of the company was to really give them a fair show about it.

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are there tables in the book you speak of having published?—Ans. Yes, sir.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you refer to the pages of your book which contain tables of wages?—Ans. Page 81, and I think pages 83 and 84.

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you given any attention to the subject of a settlement of strikes and labor difficulties?—Ans. I have thought a great deal about it, but I confess I hardly know what absolute opinion to form. I am very much inclined, however, to the idea of courts of arbitration, but am not settled in my own mind as to whether that would be a wise course. I am also very much inclined to be sympathetic with the idea that has been advanced with reference to putting the railroads into the hands of the Government. I will not say that I have committed myself to that idea, but am inclined to look somewhat towards that as one of the solutions of the difficulty. I realize that there are many things—for instance, it would require something in the line of civil-service reform—it is rather difficult in my mind to get an absolute settlement. I am convinced, however, of this, which of course is Utopian to those who do not look at it from my standpoint, that there never will come a settlement of these difficulties until employers are more just toward their employees than has been illustrated in this affair through which we have just passed. There will have to be more justice, more of the spirit of cooperation, more of the spirit of recognition.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you carry those views far enough to advocate what is known as state socialism as a way out of the present difficulties?—Ans. I am not prepared to take that position,

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have not advocated it as yet?—  
 Ans. No, sir; I have not. I do not like to commit myself to the policy as yet, but I confess I am inclined very much toward some of these things.

33 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have been charged with being both a socialist and an anarchist?—Ans. Yes, sir.

34 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You of course understand the difference in the terms?—Ans. Yes, sir.

35 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And if you are a socialist you can not be an anarchist at the same time?—Ans. Yes, sir.

36 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How much truth is there in that public charge?—Ans. In regard to anarchy?

37 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Yes, sir.—Ans. That charge would be so low that I really don't feel like answering it; to suppose for a moment that I, who am American born, my father a soldier who died for his country—to suppose that I for one moment would be thought an anarchist is to me one of the most contemptible and false charges that could possibly be brought against me. I might be what you would call a Christian socialist, but as to anarchy, I repudiate it entirely.

38 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I thought it fair to allow you to define your position relative to these difficulties, and that is why I asked the question.—Ans. I confess I am surprised at the prejudice which exists on the part of a great many people toward this whole matter. I am told that my book has not been read because people believe I am of that tendency, and I know that my publisher has endeavored to get certain publishing agencies to take my book and sell it and they have said: "It is a good book, what we in the phrase of the business call 'a seller,' but we prefer not to handle it." I simply refer to that as showing the intense prejudice against literature of this kind. But my brethren in the clergy do not all agree with me in the position I occupy, and I wish to say this: I was a clergyman in the town of Pullman and had to do one of two things, I had to keep quiet and say nothing, and at the same time realize that these men were not being rightly treated, or else I had to speak out my convictions, and that is the reason I have been interested as a clergyman in this matter. I will also say there has been a good deal said on the part of the clergy about reaching the masses, getting hold of the workingmen and getting them into our churches, and I have thought if as clergymen, without indorsing all that the workingmen do, we would show our sympathy for them in their desire to better their condition we would probably be able to reach them on other lines if we would help them practically on these lines.

39 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). On page 98 of your pamphlet you say: "There is no question whatever but that better flats and cottages, with pretty gardens and bathrooms, can be hired at the neighboring towns of Roseland and Kensington at fully 20 per cent less;" are you satisfied to allow that statement to go in as the result of your investigation?—Ans. I think that is probably a little too much. I was talking with my publisher here today. I had better err on the other side than to be a little bit under. While I know it to be a fact in Roseland that you can get accommodations for a workingman, satisfactory, comfortable accommodations, for a great deal less than you can in Pullman, yet I realize, on account of the difference in sanitation, etc., perhaps that statement in my book is a little broad, and think perhaps it would be well to make that about 15 per cent instead of 20 per cent.



40 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). If I understand you, in renting the houses there the water is charged to the tenant?—Ans. Yes, sir.

41 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I also find this statement: "The water tax has always been a burden upon the people. Bought under contract for 4 cents per 1,000 gallons, it was retailed to the tenant for 10 cents per 1,000 gallons," and that "since Mayor Hopkins took office the price for the town of Pullman has been increased." Was that true up to the time of the increase you speak of?—Ans. That is true, so far as I can find out; I have every reason to believe it is true.

42 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then there was about 6 cents profit made by the Pullman Land Company on every 1,000 gallons taken by the tenants?—Ans. Yes, as nearly as I can find out. It is a statement that has been made very many times, and I do not think it has ever been refuted.

43 (Commissioner KERNAN). Someone has said to me that while it was true the charge by the city was 4 cents it is now 6 cents.—Ans. I think the charge by the city is higher; at least, I am inclined to believe Mr. Pullman is not making as much on water now as he did before.

44 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has any change taken place in the water rent of Pullman, owing to the rise in the cost?—Ans. No, sir.

45 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You pay so much per month for water?—Ans. Yes; 71 cents.

46 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Without regard to the quantity you use?—Ans. If you should figure it out; I think it very unjust myself.

47 (Commissioner KERNAN). Explain how you have the use of water there.—Ans. There is one faucet in my house. That faucet was in the back room of the second floor. There are two rooms below, three above, and the faucet was in the back room. Now, to oblige the tenant that was in there before me, the faucet was taken away from there, and the tenants used that as a sort of a sitting room and had the faucet and sink put down in the basement, and the faucet is there yet instead of being on the main floor, and but one faucet in the house.

48 (Commissioner KERNAN). You carry water from that to the different parts of the house?—Ans. Yes, sir; wherever I want to use it.

49 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there any bathing facilities in the house?—Ans. Not unless you take a tub or something of that kind. There is no bathroom in the house. There is a small water-closet upstairs, which is kept in good condition.

50 (Commissioner KERNAN). And this charge for water covers the water for that?—Ans. Yes; I presume so.

51 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How did you make your calculations that the Pullman company pays so much per 1,000 gallons for water and sells it for so much per 1,000 gallons when you pay your water rate by the month?—Ans. I don't know how that is arrived at. I simply make that statement as having been a statement that has always been recognized in Pullman and has never been refuted. If the company will show us it is not so I am willing to accept it.

52 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Seventy-one cents per month, estimating it at 10 cents per 1,000 gallons, would make an expenditure of water of 7,000 gallons, for a cottage of five rooms, per month. I suppose you base it on that sum, do you not?—Ans. I presume so.

53 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I see it is also said in this pamphlet that you pay \$2.25 per 1,000 feet for gas, while in Chicago it is sold for \$1.25 and \$1. Where is the gas manufactured that is used in Pullman?—Ans. It is manufactured in Pullman by the Pullman company.

54 (Commissioner KERNAN). What are the conditions in Pullman as to the building of churches for the accommodation of the people?—Ans. When Mr. Pullman built the town of Pullman he decided that there should be one church building, and he built that church, a very handsome structure indeed, and they are renting it today at \$100 per month, plus the water, plus the gas, plus the steam; and the parsonage, which is part of the church, rents for \$65 per month; but no minister, so far as I have ever been able to find out, has received salary enough to permit him to live in that parsonage.

55 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the membership of that church?—Ans. I could not state; I should judge there were from 200 to 250, but I do not think they have that membership now.

56 (Commissioner KERNAN). You speak of heads of families?—Ans. No, sir; I am taking them all through—men, women, and children.

57 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many heads of families are in that congregation?—Ans. I could not say as to that congregation; my church meets in what is called the Casino Building; we pay \$300 per year rent, plus the steam, water, and gas, but we don't use any water, particularly; we have, say, 200 members, or 225.

58 (Commissioner KERNAN). What I want to know more particularly is whether churches can acquire title to property there at all?—Ans. No, sir; they can not, in the town of Pullman proper; but across the tracks, on Pullman's property, but not really recognized as Pullman proper, the Roman Catholic people have got a lease for ninety-nine years and have a very handsome church there, and the Swedish Evangelical Lutherans have got a church, also. Nobody, however, can buy property to build a church. We have made several efforts to get Mr. Pullman to sell us property to build a church, but could not.

59 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are these tenements generally well lighted, ventilated, drained, and kept in repair by the company?—Ans. I should say yes, as a rule; when you get back in the blocks in some of the houses I don't think it is quite as good as it might be; but am willing to say, taking all things into consideration, that it is all right in that line.

60 (Commissioner KERNAN). I see in your book, on page 23, you speak of cabins renting there for \$8 per month, which you say could be built for \$100 apiece?—Ans. Yes, sir.

61 (Commissioner KERNAN). What kind of cabins are those?—Ans. It is a little bit of a wooden shanty with three rooms in it, the main room, say, about 18 by 24, and then take that room and divide it into two rooms and you have the other two. There is no upstairs.

62 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are those shanties lathed and plastered?—Ans. Whether they are ceiled or lathed and plastered I could not say.

63 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you had that estimate verified by any builder competent to pass an opinion upon it?—Ans. I have had carpenters look at those buildings and say to me that they could be built for from \$50 to \$75 apiece, and I thought it safe to say \$100.

64 (Commissioner KERNAN). They were speaking of the carpenter work alone?—Ans. I suppose so.

65 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you have added to that what you thought the lumber would cost?—Ans. Yes, sir; I thought, taking it under contract as the Pullman company did, and everything, work, etc., \$100 apiece would be fair.

66 (Commissioner KERNAN). What have you to say as to the conduct of the people at Pullman during the strike?—Ans. I think it has been remarkably good.

67 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you observed among them a disposition to be violent, requiring urgency on the part of yourself and their leaders to repress, or what was the disposition?—Ans. I felt at times there was an element in our midst that required watching and subduing, but I do not think it was very difficult to subdue that element.

68 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did it need any influence outside of yourself and the citizens there?—Ans. I am free to say I believe it was a good thing to have the militia on the scene of action for about three or four days during our severest time, but I believe sincerely after that that there would have been no disturbance if it had been left entirely to the police force.

69 (Commissioner KEENAN). Have you endeavored to verify this statement of yours, in your book here, as to wages and cuts?—Ans. I have, in the way I spoke of, by inquiring of those who seemed to me were in a position to know.

70 (Commissioner KEENAN). On page 83, I find a statement of the wages of 1893, as compared with those of 1894, giving in one column the wages of 1893 and in the adjoining column the wages of 1894. What time in 1893 is referred to—what month?—Ans. I could not say.

71 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was it early in 1893, before the cuts began?—Ans. The cuts commenced along, I think, about November, 1893. We passed through the midst of the World's Fair season—say about May, I think it was—when things reached their climax, and immediately after that times got very dull and the shops gradually laid off hands until about in September there was not more than 900 men on the pay roll, according to Mr. Middleton's statement to me—

72 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is not that table taken from statements made by the strikers' committee?—Ans. Yes, sir; I state that in the book.

73 (Commissioner KERNAN). It was not one you made up, but one you took from that source, which you believed to be substantially correct?—Ans. Yes, sir; you will see on page 82 that I give credit to them.

74 (Commissioner KERNAN). That shows from 30 to 50 per cent reduction?—Ans. Yes, sir.

75 (Commissioner KERNAN). In addition to that, I will ask you if there is anything in your further statement, "Besides the fact that the scale was reduced, wages were further reduced by the piecework price in the same way," etc.?—Ans. When I come to discuss the real question of wages I am not an adept at that, but I am free to say that so far as I can get down to it, the great trouble has arisen from the piecework and not the day work.

76 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was this statement taken from the committee's statement you published?—Ans. It was published, but it had been published, I think, for two months; had been before the public, I think, about that time—no, not that long; say about six weeks, and I had looked into the matter a great deal. Then I saw a gentleman who seemed to understand the whole matter; he had been in the employ of the company about eleven years, and he told me, "You are very safe in making those statements," and I said, "If you say so, I will let it go," and he went through it carefully and put me on my honor not to give his name.

77 (Commissioner KERNAN). You speak of shop abuses in this book; have you any personal knowledge on that subject?—Ans. As to absolutely coming in contact by hearing it with my own ears, I will say no.

78 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you seen any differences yourself

or heard any discussions?—Ans. No, sir; that is a statement that came to me and had been discussed pro and con.

79 (Commissioner KERNAN). I see on another page, further on, of your book, you say, speaking of blacklisting, "Fortunately for the strikers, they had a piece of splendid evidence against the company to prove this charge. About December, 1893, there was some trouble among the steam fitters, which resulted in the blacklisting of the following 40 men." Then you copy the order as sent out by the general manager:

PULLMAN, ILL., December 23, 1893.

*To all Foremen:*

In connection with the recent trouble we have had with steam fitters, both in the construction and repair department, I give below the names of the men who have left our employ, and I hereby instruct that none of these men be employed in these works.

You then give the names of the men, and the order is signed by the manager. Was that a printed document?—Ans. It was a typewritten document that was in the possession of Mr. Heathcoate, and a gentleman in the employ of the company who had been instrumental in sending out the identical paper told me, personally, it was all right.

80 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know whether that document was sent outside of the Pullman foremen—that is, whether it was given out to the public or to anybody except the foremen of the different shops?—Ans. As to positive evidence of that I have none, but it has been told to me very directly that men have not been able to get work in other places.

81 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have heard it said so?—Ans. Yes, sir; and that would be hearsay evidence.

82 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you followed up the issuance of that circular to ascertain whether it was sent outside of the foremen of the works to other places?—Ans. As I understand you, you want to know if a man that is blacklisted in the Pullman shops is also blacklisted in other shops?

83 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes.—Ans. I have no positive evidence of that; I have not seen it with my own eyes, but have no doubt it exists.

84 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you follow it up to ascertain whether that had been done with this circular?—Ans. No, sir; I will add, with reference to this blacklisting; a certain gentleman told me that a committee that went down to see Mr. Wickes between their first and second visits—this man had been sent out to find out the names of these men with a view to blacklisting them.

85 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the result of your observation as to whether there is any attempt to interfere at Pullman with the free exercise of the political rights of the help?—Ans. I am very strongly of the opinion that that has been done.

There is one case that came within my own knowledge. A man in the employ of the company was asked by his friends to run on a certain ticket for alderman, and the company had another man toward whom they desired to throw their influence. I talked with this man, being well acquainted with him, and I realized that while he was willing to let his name be used upon the ticket for the nomination, yet he was perfectly willing to withdraw in favor of the other candidate. In the meantime I met one of the officials of the company—I don't think it is necessary for me to give the names of these men—and he and I got to talking about it on the train. He said to me, "This man who is permitting his name to be used is doing an unwise thing, a foolish thing,"

and he spoke of it in other ways. I said, "Do you think it would be better for him to withdraw?" and I said, "He really wants to withdraw; he has no desire personally to go on, and I would rather see him out of the fight." He said, "Well, if you will talk with him and see what he says I would be pleased to have you do so." I said, "I certainly will, for I wish he was out of it." So I went over to see this man, and met him about 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the office, and he was very much excited. This official I referred to, instead of waiting for me to have a conversation with him, had gone into the office and asked him if he was going to withdraw, and said to him, "I think you will have to settle this to-night," giving him to understand that the matter had to be settled at once as to his withdrawing, intimating that his running would interfere with the company's man. The man was very angry, and felt, while he was willing to withdraw, and had told another official, Mr. Sessions, he was willing if his friends would permit him to withdraw, yet because this higher official came to him and said, "You have got to do it," he made up his mind he would not be intimidated in that way, and he drew up a statement of the whole matter, took it before a notary public and swore to it; and I read it, looked over it, and talked about it a good deal afterwards. I considered that intimidation.

86 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know of any other instance of that kind?—Ans. No; not positively.

87 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did the men attempt to vote or were they permitted to do so without being attended by a foreman or watchers?—Ans. I have heard it said the foreman would go to the men and press them very strongly; give them to understand that they must vote so and so.

88 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is that something you have heard as happening occasionally, or as a system?—Ans. I would not be prepared to say it was systematic; it was not said that "you must vote this ticket, because it is my party or anything of that kind," but that they wanted you to, and it was especially so in regard to local elections.

89 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is there any other statement you would like to make?—Ans. I have been told, to illustrate the peculiarity of the company, that there are about sixty-four families that ought to be evicted, and their names are on the list for eviction because of non-payment of back rent, and I am told my own name heads the list.

90 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is simply hearsay?—Ans. No; I have reason to believe it is a fact.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If there is a representative of the Pullman Palace Car Company present who desires to cross-examine the witness he can do so now.

(No response. Witness excused.)

#### TESTIMONY OF MARY ALICE WOOD.

August 18, 1894, Mary Alice Wood, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Mary Alice Wood; No. 302 Stephenson street, Pullman, Ill; from December, 1893, to May, 1894, I worked in the electrical department at Pullman.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. I am.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you one of the strikers at Pullman?—Ans. Yes, sir.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you sought to get back into the

employ of the company?—Ans. No, sir; I have not, because I could not live on the wages I could get there.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What wages did you earn in June, 1893?—Ans. I did not work there in June, 1893.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I mean from the time you commenced to the time you quit?—Ans. My wages were the same, because I only started there about Christmas, 1893; I got \$1 per day and paid the Pullman company \$7.73 for rent.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have no knowledge of the rate of wages paid prior to the cuts of last fall?—Ans. Yes, sir; I worked in Pullman some two or three years ago, and I know the girls then made \$2 and \$2.25 per day, seldom less than \$1.75 when I left there; prior to May, three years ago, I earned from \$1.75 to \$2.25 per day.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is there anything further you desire to state?—Ans. Yes, sir; my father, prior to eight years ago, was employed as a watchman at the Fulton street gate in Pullman, and on the 15th of July, 1886, or 1887 I believe it was, there was a man named Pearson attempted to leave the shops with a box of tools without a pass; the company's orders were strict to take a pass from anyone leaving with any article. Father demanded that he give him a pass; he would not do it and struck father in the face with a hatchet or something—I did not see this, but there are witnesses who did see it, one of the witnesses who saw it was William McLean, he is in New Jersey somewhere now, I don't know his address; a doctor in Pullman attended father and he was brought home; Lieutenant Kane arrested the man; he took a change of venue to a South Chicago police court, and he was acquitted, because they said no man had a right to stop him from taking his tools from the shop, either with or without a pass. Inspector Hunt, at that time captain of police, requested mamma to come up to Chicago with witnesses and they would have the man indicted, but when they got here the grand jury had adjourned and when it met again Pearson had left the town, and there was nothing further said about it.

I wanted mamma to bring a case against the Pullman company, but she had no money and they had everything and she did not do it. Father did not die at once, but he did not recover enough so as to get back his position, although he got employment in the paint department after a while. He was not able to work, and it was only through Mr. Canady's kindness that he was able to hold it at all; when he was able to go to the shop it was all right, and when he was not it was all right, and he died the 30th of May following.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What has this matter to do with this strike we are investigating?—Ans. It has nothing to do with the strike, but a great deal to do with the Pullman company. Last year one of my sisters was renting the house where we lived. In December they said she could not have the house any more because she was owing them about a month's rent, so I took the house in my name, as I was working at that time for the company again, and I had \$6 or \$7 per month to pay on rent. In the latter part of April I was laid off for lack of work and they came to the house and wanted to know how I was going to pay the rent. I told them I wish they would tell me; that I could not tell them unless I could secure work, and they discovered at that time that there was \$12.71 I had paid on the January rent that they credited to my sister. I have a receipt showing the rent paid up to the 30th of April, and a notice of eviction, dated May 3, was served on me, and I have a receipt for the rent paid up to April 30.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you produce that notice and make it a part of your testimony?—Ans. Yes, sir.

The notice of eviction referred to by the witness was in the words and figures following, to wit:

[Form 2545. 19-3. 1000 B.]

DEMAND FOR POSSESSION.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, *County of Cook, ss.*

*To May Wood:*

Pullman's Palace Car Company hereby demands immediate possession of the following described premises, to wit: *House No. 302 Stephenson street, lot number thirty (30), in block number twelve (12), in the town of Pullman, in the township of Hyde Park, in the county of Cook, in the State of Illinois, as shown on sketch plat of said town of Pullman, in the office of the agent of Pullman's Palace Car Company, at the town of Pullman, and hereby appoints said agent to receive possession thereof from you.*

This demand is made upon you on account of nonpayment of rent by you, under your lease of said premises, dated the first day of *January, A. D. 1894*, and under clauses Nos. 6, 14, 15, 16 of said lease and its execution and renewal by you prior to this date, reference to which is hereby made and had.

You are hereby notified that by reason of such nonpayment and default we have elected to determine your lease, and you are hereby further notified to quit and deliver up possession of said premises to us within ten days from this date

Dated at the town of Pullman, Illinois, this *third day of May, 1894.*

PULLMAN'S PALACE CAR COMPANY.

Per W. P. HOORNBECK,

*Agent, Second Assistant Auditor, and Acting Agent.*

NOTE.—This demand may be made by delivering a copy thereof to the tenant, or by leaving such copy with some person above the age of twelve years residing on or being in charge of the premises; or in case no one is in actual possession of the premises, then by posting the same on the premises. If the demand is made by a person not an officer the return must be sworn to by the person serving the same.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any further statements to make?—Ans. Yes, sir. When I was served with this notice I went over to the office to find out why a notice of eviction, dated May 3, was served on me, when my rent was paid up to the 30th day of April. Mr. Hoornbeek said he had signed the notice, that it had been sent to him from the company, and he did not know whether it was right or not; I then went to the bank and Mr. Webb hunted up the record and he said I had only paid \$5 on the January rent, leaving a balance of \$12.71; I told him the day I paid it, then he looked again and found it had been paid, but said they had credited it to my sister's account; I asked them to rectify it; that I had been paying my board the same as if I was away from home until December, 1893; Mr. Webb informed me that he applied all money paid in as he saw fit and he did not consider it any of my business; I went back to Mr. Hoornbeek and he said if Mr. Webb had applied it that way that I would have to pay the \$12.71 over again or leave the house; ma went to Mr. Wickes about it and he said he didn't know anything about my father's case, never had heard of father's being hurt at all, but Mr. Pullman knew of it, for we wrote registered letters to Mr. Pullman from which we never had any reply; Mr. Wickes told ma to go home, and we were going to move; I told Mr. Middleton so, and he went to the foreman where I had been employed and asked him to give me work if there was any; they sent for me to go to work; I said I didn't think there was any use in my going to work as long as I had to leave the house; told Mr. Middleton so; he said the notice of eviction was not worth anything at all, that it would not be executed, and then Mr. Hoornbeek found out he could rectify the mistake, although he had told me before he had nothing to do with it, and that if Mr. Webb had applied the \$12 to the back account it would have to stand.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was the notice of eviction carried

out?—Ans. No, sir; it has not, but I don't know how soon it will be. Mr. Middleton told ma she would not be bothered for the rent at all; that he thought the Pullman company ought to do something for her, and that she would never be troubled for the rent as long as he was here; but they have asked for the rent three times since then. I don't think his word is very good. At the time the strike occurred, when the shops closed, I had \$3.53 coming to me. When I went to draw it they asked me to sign it over for rent, and twice since they have been to the house. Mr. Middleton asked ma to give him back the notice of eviction, but I didn't know what good it would do him and I did not give it back; I thought, possibly, it would not do me any good, but I didn't think it would do him any either, and as it was served on me, I thought I would keep it. I think there is a prospect of my being evicted.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Well, we will not guess at what people may be going to do.—Ans. I know they were at the house after rent last week, and I can not pay it unless I get work.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). You say you are paying \$17.71 rent?—Ans. Yes, sir.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). That was for apartments for whom?—Ans. For my mother.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any brothers?—Ans. No, sir, not here; I have a brother in the West.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). Who else is there in the family besides your mother?—Ans. I have a little niece at home, that is all, that rents the bedroom. We have five rooms.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are there any other employees that help to pay the rent of that apartment except yourself?—Ans. No one helps to pay the rent directly, but indirectly there was, because my mother kept boarders.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN).—But nobody else working in the shops contributed toward the rent?—Ans. No, sir.

## TESTIMONY OF ARTHUR M. WILSON.

August 18, 1894, Arthur M. Wilson, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Arthur M. Wilson; 49; Pullman, Ill.; am a wood-worker; work at inside finishing and at trimming in palace cars.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you worked at that at Pullman?—Ans. It will be four years the 28th day of next September.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. I am.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you now employed at Pullman?—Ans. No, sir.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When did you leave the employ of the Pullman company?—Ans. I was locked out at the time of the strike. I was not a member of the American Railway Union at the time of the strike, but am now.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you made any attempt to get back?—Ans. I have not.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What were your wages a year ago in your line?—Ans. Twenty-three cents an hour.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What were they just before you were locked out?—Ans. There were no wages stated; we were working piecework, and piecework varies a good deal.



9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State, if you can, your earnings, say, a year ago and up to the time you left the company's employ.—Ans. (Referring to time book.) For the last two weeks in January, 1893—we got our pay every two weeks there—my pay was \$32.78. In February my pay was \$30.94; in April, \$36; in June, \$28.87. In July we were laid off—summer is generally a slack time in the Pullman shops, usually for two or three weeks. In August my pay was \$30.07. In November—that was before the cut—we were put on seven hours a day, which practically amounted to the same thing as a cut. My wages for the first two weeks in November were \$19.32; the last two weeks, \$18.03. The last two weeks of January, 1894, we commenced to work on piecework; my wages were \$18.97. I will say our time was sent in on the 15th of each month and the last of each month, and from the 16th to the last day of January my pay was \$18.97. The first two weeks of February my pay was \$17.45; the last two weeks it was \$16.35. The first two weeks of March, \$17.35; the last two weeks, \$18.75. My pay the first two weeks of April was \$21.23; the last two weeks, \$20.05. That is the difference between the piecework and day work; where my day work amounted to from \$28 to \$30 for two weeks it then amounted to from \$17 to \$20.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That was the result of the reduction in the price per piece?—Ans. Yes, sir.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you reside in one of the Pullman houses?—Ans. Yes, sir.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How many people went on the strike at Pullman?—Ans. I could not answer that, for at the time the strike occurred the shops were closed, and I was not in the shops the day of the strike and could not say how many people walked out. I would like to say that when the strike occurred I was laid off; my gang was laid off and had been for several days.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When you were employed there were you at work on Pullman work or on contract work it had taken for other companies?—Ans. My work was all company work. I was in the repair department, where they do their own work; the construction department is where they build cars for other roads.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the proportion of the company's work with reference to the whole work performed at Pullman, if you know?—Ans. I think it would be safe to say that in the last year eight-tenths of all the work done has been Pullman's own work, principally repair work, that is, in the Pullman shops; I am not speaking of the freight shops or the street-car shops.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You know nothing of that?—Ans. No, sir.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Does the reduction of your wages which you have detailed here represent, so far as you know, about the proportionate reduction in the wages of all the employees there?—Ans. I could not say, for I am not posted on what the other men receive; I even do not know the wages other departments were getting.

#### TESTIMONY OF MYRTLE WEBB.

August 18, 1894, Myrtle Webb, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Myrtle Webb; No. 325 Watt avenue, Pullman, Ill.; was a seamstress in the Pullman shops.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long did you work there as seamstress?—Ans. Two years.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you now employed there?—Ans. No, sir; not since the strike.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the class of your work, and how were you paid for it when you did work?—Ans. Linen, drapery, and carpets, both piece and day work.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State how much you earned last year.—Ans. In 1893 I could make on piecework as high as 17½ cents per hour and this year I could only make 6, 8, and sometimes 12 cents per hour.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). On the same work you got 17½ cents for before?—Ans. Yes sir.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How old are you?—Ans. Nineteen next October.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you paid the same as the older women there?—Ans. No, sir; some of the older ones got 12 and 14 cents and I got only 10 cents, but there were some that were not as old as I that got 12 cents, where I only got 10 cents for the same work I done and same quality of work—girls that worked right along with me all the time. I went in and spoke to our foreman about it and asked if he could not raise my wages; asked him if he did not think I was capable of earning as much as some of the other girls that came there after I did. He said he rated the girls according to their ages; the older girls he gave 14 cents to, the next 12 cents, and, I being one of the younger girls, he rated me at 10 cents. I asked him why it was that certain girls in the room younger than I were getting 12 cents. He said he didn't know about that; that he did not mean to do me an injustice; but he never saw it was righted. I asked this over a month before the strike.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. I am.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When did you join?—Ans. About a week before the strike.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you rent a house there now?—Ans. I do not.

TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL J. CARROLL.

August 21, 1894, Michael J. Carroll, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and occupation.—Ans. Michael J. Carroll; am a printer and editor of the Eight-Hour Herald, and have been editor of that paper for a little over two years.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the Civic Federation?—Ans. I am.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State to the commission what efforts were made by that federation, so far as you know of your own knowledge, relative to the arbitration of the difficulties at Pullman.—Ans. The matter was taken up by the industrial section of the Civic Federation and a committee appointed to try to bring both parties together. The committee failed for the reason the Pullman officials refused to go on with it; their answer was they had nothing to arbitrate.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you take part in that interview?—Ans. No, sir.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). So you have no personal knowledge of

any interview between the representatives of your federation and the Pullman officials?—Ans. Only what they reported back.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What did they report back?—Ans. That it was impossible to bring the Pullman people to see any necessity of submitting their case to arbitration in any way.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was there any reason given for that decision?—Ans. Simply that they had nothing to arbitrate.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are there any facts that you know of your own knowledge relative to the recent troubles that you would like to state to the commission?—Ans. I don't know that there is anything that has not been made public; it has been gone over pretty thoroughly. I know Mr. Debs was very anxious that the matter should be submitted to arbitration. While at the same time he maintained his organization could win in case of a strike, still he was anxious to avoid a strike.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is your idea of a remedy for these troubles, if you have any?—Ans. That is a pretty broad question. If you could avoid hard times I don't think you would have any strikes, but I think having hard times, and workmen being ground down to a point where they can no longer sustain themselves and families, of course you will have strikes. I think a little humanity on both sides would avoid them. If we could introduce and recognize generally the principle of the living wage it would do a great deal toward preventing strikes. When workmen are ground down to a point where they can no longer sustain themselves and families, of course it has a tendency to make them desperate, destroy their patriotism, and everything else.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any views as to what legislation can do to prevent and avoid strikes and boycotts?—Ans. If we could introduce the same system in the mechanical and labor branch of industry that we have in the mercantile houses it would go a long way toward avoiding these troubles. As I understand the rule in all reputable mercantile establishments they promote everybody, encourage their employees in every way, increase their pay, and under such circumstances the trades union does not exist in those establishments—there is no need for it. On the other hand, in all mechanical and laboring branches of trade the practice has been whenever the financial result of the business has not been satisfactory, a cut of wages has been made, regardless of whether the men were getting enough to sustain themselves or not; that has been my experience.

Naturally I am inclined to arbitration, for the reason I am a member of a union, and have been for thirty years, that has always advocated arbitration, and practiced it as long ago as twenty years—the typographical union. One of the objects for which that union was organized was to endeavor to replace strikes and their attendant bitterness and financial loss by arbitration. That is one of their fundamental principles which was practiced twenty years ago. In the scale of prices there is an agreement signed here in Chicago by the representatives of the newspapers and this union by which all matter pertaining to the scale or condition of labor are settled by arbitration, and in my experience with arbitration I have found it satisfactory. While the result of any application of the principle may not be entirely satisfactory to both parties, in fact, it seldom is, it is better than a strike, in my opinion. To avoid strikes I think it would be well to encourage, legalize if necessary, and recognize trades unions. Where a union is strong financially and otherwise, it has a tendency to do away with strikes. Their strength is acknowledged and respected. In such case they naturally

look to arbitration or something else before they resort to a trial of strength.

So far as the railroad corporations are concerned, I am inclined to favor Government ownership. I know the public press of this country to a great extent say it is impracticable. I hold here a letter from our New Zealand correspondent received a few days ago, in which he says: "I observe a great controversy going on in your land about Government control of telegraphs. This somewhat surprises the colonists, because there is no private control of the wires here. The telegraphic system belongs to a public system and is supervised by the minister of posts and telegraph." In regard to the railways, I believe the situation out there is about the same. This is practical experience of people who have tried it, and is worth any amount of theory in a matter of this kind. "Our railways are owned and run by the State under control of nonpolitical boards of three. We have a State labor bureau and everything of that kind." He says also in that connection that the purpose of Government control is to do away with strikes.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). In speaking of those things, such as Government control of telegraph, etc., in New Zealand, they are advocating compulsory arbitration; that would indicate that everything they have tried thus far, such as ownership of telegraph, etc., has not relieved them from the difficulty of strikes?—Ans. Not entirely. Compulsory arbitration appears to be looked on with a good deal of suspicion. I don't see how else it is to be applied satisfactorily. Where one side always stands ready to arbitrate and the other side will not, what is the use of voluntary arbitration?

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You would compel the parties to appear and when a decree was rendered enforce it by compulsory methods?—Ans. I do not see any other remedy, though I don't think that would ever be necessary. My experience has been that conciliation, concessions, and arbitration will do away with any trouble. The thing is to bring the contending parties together. That is what we failed to do previous to every big strike that has taken place lately. It is my opinion there would not be any strikes if we could get the parties together.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you not think if we had compulsory arbitration, as we use the term, and compel each party to abide by the decision of that arbitration, so far as possible, that the very fact of there being that kind of legislation would tend to increase voluntary arbitrations or conciliations before grievances went that far?—Ans. I think it would have that tendency. I think if compulsory arbitration prevailed railroad corporations and other industrial corporations would follow some line of settlement of dispute. It would have a tendency to induce and popularize that system.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Whose fault has it been, in your experience, that the parties did not get together?—Ans. The party declining arbitration; invariably the employer.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you go so far as to say that in all your experience the employees have been ready to arbitrate and the employers have not?—Ans. There has been probably isolated cases where the employees would not submit—the demand might have been unreasonable or something of that kind. Human nature, I suppose, is the same on both sides. There might have been cases where the union considered itself a good deal stronger than the other party.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). If the employees invariably want arbitration, why are they unwilling to attach to it conditions compelling submission?—Ans. I don't know. I can answer for myself, I have no objection to such a condition.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You think the general rule is the employers are the ones not disposed to arbitrate?—Ans. That has been the rule in all the cases I can call to mind at present. That was the case at Homestead and at Pullman, surely.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have said you thought there would be no trouble if employers would pay living wages. Now, during times of great financial distress, when employers are losing money, how can we answer their position, that the conditions of business do not permit them to pay beyond certain wages regardless of whether they are living wages or not?—Ans. They do it in the mercantile departments of their business while at the same time they are cutting down the wages of their mechanics.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is for the preservation of the business; they continue paying through times of depression rather than lose their experienced help.—Ans. They should give the employees during that time some of the benefits which accrued from the profits they made when times were good.

TESTIMONY OF REV. MORRIS L. WICKMAN.

August 21, 1894, Rev. Morris L. Wickman, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and profession?—Ans. Morris L. Wickman; minister of the gospel.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Where are you located?—Ans. On the borders of Pullman. It is called the Pullman Swedish Methodist Church.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been pastor of that church?—Ans. Five years.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you familiar with the condition of affairs at Pullman?—Ans. I think so.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State briefly the condition of the Swedish employees there.—Ans. Their condition, I suppose, is somewhat superior to the condition of the others, because our people are naturally industrious, good mechanics, and sober in their habits, so that up until the present year they had nothing to complain of, except petty grievances in the shops; but during this time of general depression their wages have been so reduced that they were unable to meet their expenses, and quite a number of them became very seriously embarrassed, so that last year, beginning with October or November, we were compelled as a church to take measures to relieve their condition. We had quite a number of destitute families to take care of, and that condition was quite prevalent.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you have anything to do with the conditions which led up to the strike?—Ans. No, sir.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you familiar with the condition of the people as to their tenements in Pullman and surrounding places?—Ans. Yes, sir; during the time of my pastorage I have made about 1,500 visits, I should judge, to the families in Pullman, and have visited families in Kensington and Roseland also.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what you found comparatively as to conditions in those three places.—Ans. I find that the people in Pullman are compelled to pay about one-third at least more rent than the people in Kensington and Roseland for like accommodations.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do employees of the Pullman shops live

in Kensington?—Ans. Yes, sir; but when the work begins to be slack in Pullman the outside workmen receive orders to move into Pullman if they wish to retain their positions. I am acquainted with families that were compelled to do so last fall.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you see the order from the Pullman company to that effect?—Ans. No, sir; I did not. But they are not written; they are given verbally by the foremen of the different departments. I have a foreman belonging to my church that personally has given those orders by the orders of the company.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). The orders were to the effect that they must live in Pullman as long as there were accommodations there if they wanted to work?—Ans. That is, when the work begins to get slack; it is not the condition always.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). When there is plenty of work, then, the Pullman houses are full; and do you mean to be understood that those who live in the adjoining towns are the overflow?—Ans. They are, save only in cases of exceptionally good workmen.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). They are allowed to live wherever they desire?—Ans. Yes, sir; I had a case in my own congregation, a man who is an exceptionally good workman, and orders came from the office twice to lay him off, as they term it, but the foreman said he could not possibly do it, because he had work he had to do, and he was retained even during the hard times.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have observed, of course, the moral bearing of the people of Pullman, Kensington, and Roseland?—Ans. Yes, sir.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How does that of one place compare with that of the other?—Ans. I think so far as the moral conditions go that the people in Roseland are better off than the people in Pullman. The families in Pullman, on account of the high rents, are compelled to keep roomers, and the rooms are so arranged that a roomer can not go to his room without going through the private rooms of the family, which breaks in upon the sanctity of the family, and there have been cases where immorality resulted from that cause.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How is it as to conditions of temperance as between Kensington and Pullman?—Ans. Kensington has the reputation of being a "bum" town, and the saloons are concentrated there.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is that reputation well earned?—Ans. Yes, sir; but there is a steady stream of people pouring from Pullman into Kensington every night and every Sunday. There are kegs of beer carried over into Pullman, and the beer wagons have free permission to go through the streets of Pullman, and leave beer and liquor with the families and in the boarding houses.

18 (Commissioner WOETHINGTON). What would you say generally as to the habits of the Pullman employees, so far as sobriety is concerned, compared with the habits of employees in similar establishments?—Ans. I think, taken as a whole, it is a very good community, and I think the conduct of the men during the strike would bear me out, until the rioting began on the railroads. We had more quiet, less rioting during that time than at any other time during the history of the town since I have been there. The people were quiet and attended to their own business.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). How is it as to their providence as a class; I mean as to saving out of their wages, whether they live up to their income as a rule or whether there is a tendency to save among

them?—Ans. Speaking for my own people, there is a saving tendency among them. Quite a number of them have tried to obtain their own homes in Roseland. Of course they are seriously embarrassed now and have been ever since they attempted it, but it shows the tendency that they wish to get their own homes, and they put all their spare earnings into that.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). How does the Pullman company, if at all, encourage this desire on the part of the men to get their own homes?—Ans. I don't think the Pullman company tries to hinder it, at least I have never found it so; but of course when work begins to get slack these men are the first laid off; that is the only way the Pullman company hinders them, I believe.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). The men can buy land in the adjoining towns and build homes if they desire?—Ans. Yes; if they have means.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it your observation that that course places them at a disadvantage as workmen?—Ans. It does place them at a slight disadvantage, because workmen living in Pullman have the first chance.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). What inducement is there in the town of Pullman to invest savings, except in the savings bank?—Ans. There is a local branch of a building association called the Calumet Building Association, in which some of the men have invested.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have the Pullman company any connection with that association?—Ans. No, sir.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you reside in one of the Pullman houses?—Ans. I do not now; I reside in Roseland.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long since you resided in a Pullman house?—Ans. It is three years now.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know anything of the case of the threatened eviction of Miss Wood?—Ans. No, sir.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You never were evicted?—Ans. No; I always made my payments. I said there were petty grievances in the shop and the men could not obtain justice, and I believe that is one of the causes which led up to the strike. I have a case in my own congregation, if I may be permitted to mention it.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was it reported to you?—Ans. No, sir; that I know about myself, and even appeared before the Pullman company in reference to it.

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Give us the benefit of your own knowledge.—Ans. It was one of my members who was working in the hammer shops. While he was holding a riveting stake, another man doing the riveting, a piece chipped off the riveting stake and struck him in the hand, crushing a bone and severing a tendon. He was taken to the company surgeon and the wound sewed up, the tendon also. He called on the surgeon several times, but I noticed his arm was continually swelling and getting black, and finally his side was getting black. I saw something must be done for him, and I took him to Wesley Hospital, and when they had reduced the swelling so the wound could be opened they probed it with a tube, which immediately turned black, and when the wound became in such condition it could be operated upon some crushed bone was removed that had not been removed in the first place, and they put a drainage tube in the arm, and they were doubtful whether the man's life could be saved, much less his arm; but they did the best they could for him, and after being nine weeks in the hospital he was discharged as cured, but his hand has never since been in the condition it was before; his wrist is stiffer.

I went personally with him to see the Pullman officials to see if anything could be done for him, because the accident was not on account of his fault, and they read a statement to me which read: "While I was riveting loops in the hammer shop, one of the loops flew up and struck me; the accident was unavoidable," and the statement was signed with this man's name. I said to General Manager Brown: "That is a forgery," and he grew very indignant at first, but afterwards found out that the man was not in a condition to hold a pen to paper at the time that it was signed, and it was signed by the physician and foreman of the shop. Mr. Brown said he would personally investigate the case, and the following week the foreman became frightened and asked to have the matter quieted up, but an investigation was made and another statement made out, to which the man signed his name, stating that a piece of a riveting stake chipped off and struck his hand, showing that the first statement was entirely false. I went again to the company and asked if something could not be done for the man, but Mr. Brown said it was an accident that was entirely unavoidable. "It is a very sad case, and personally I feel sympathy for the man, but I am merely an agent of the corporation and am here to guard the interests of that corporation, and nothing can be done for him."

During the time this man was in the hospital he was charged for rent and had to pay the hospital bills, and when he returned to work his wages were reduced on account of not being fully competent to perform the work he did before. This is just one specimen of the grievances the men had to contend with, and I think to a certain extent led up to the strike.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You think there were others of like character?—Ans. Yes, sir; I think so, because the superintendent of the freight-car shops told me he had numbers of cases of that kind, but did not want me to say it because his position was in danger if it should come out, but he has been discharged since and so I do not think I do him any wrong to tell it.

32 (Commissioner KEERNAN). There was no charge made by the company for the services of the surgeon, was there?—Ans. No, sir.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does the company keep a physician?—Ans. Yes, sir.

34 (Commissioner KERNAN). To what extent does that physician look after the health of the people?—Ans. Just when an accident happens in the shop. We have need of an emergency hospital in Pullman, and at one time took steps to get one some years ago. A committee was appointed, consisting of a preacher and two doctors, who called to see the Pullman company, stating that they would see that the expenses of the hospital were met and the doctors would furnish their services free, if the company would donate a cottage on Watt avenue, but they refused, without giving any reason, simply stating that the cottages were not built for that purpose; that they were built for residences.

35 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where was the Wesley Hospital you took this man to?—Ans. On the South Side, Thirty-fifth street and Dearborn.

36 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then an employee that is injured so he needs care has to be removed to some hospital in Chicago for treatment?—Ans. Yes, sir.

37 (Commissioner KEERNAN). I understand no provision is made for paying the expenses.—Ans. No provision unless it is so clear that the injury was caused by the fault of the company or its agents that the company can not get out of it.



## TESTIMONY OF ANDREW W. PEARSON.

August 18, 1894, Andrew W. Pearson, a witness called by the commission, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your residence, business, and place of business.—Ans. I reside in the city of Chicago; am a real estate agent and have been about two and one-half years; my office is on the corner of One hundred and sixteenth street and Michigan avenue; I deal in real estate in Kensington, Roseland, Gano, and some at West Pullman, and also in Riverdale.

2 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you familiar with the going prices of real estate and the rental value of property in those locations?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you had charge of the renting of property?—Ans. I have between 90 and 100 dwelling houses, cottages, and flats I am now renting, and have had for something like two years.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). What class of property is it?—Ans. It is of the cheaper class, for a poor class of people—the middle class, working people, wage workers, who generally work in the shops in that part of the city.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you had charge of the sale of real estate in that locality, if so, to what extent?—Ans. Yes, sir. In the last two and one-half years the times have been rather slack in that business. But I have been making on the average one or two sales a month.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). Of what class of property?—Ans. It is of the cheaper class of property; five-room cottages, including the lot, which together with the lot sell for something like \$1,000 to \$1,200; also vacant lots in the subdivision of C. B. Sawyer on Michigan avenue, located between State street, Michigan avenue, South One hundred and sixteenth, and North One hundred and nineteenth streets.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you familiar with the rental property at Pullman?—Ans. Yes, sir; to some extent.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you familiar with the condition of the houses there which rent at from \$8 up to \$25 per month?—Ans. Yes, sir.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Will you give us from your knowledge and experience a comparison as between the rental in Pullman and the rental in the surrounding towns for similar houses?—Ans. The property I am agent for don't have the sewerage that there is in Pullman, but we have the city water, and the people renting from me have more privileges, better conditions, and more comfort than they have in the Pullman cottages or in the Pullman flats. I lived myself in a Pullman house as a tenant for about seven and one-half years while I was in the employ of the Pullman company, from the 1st of March, 1881, to the 10th of May, 1891; I lived in the Pullman houses during the largest part of that time. March 1, 1881, the Pullman houses were not yet completed, but as soon as I could get a flat I rented one, and I experienced more misery in that flat than in any other place I ever lived. We had city water in the flat I lived in, but there was not force enough to bring the water up to the second floor, and we had the greatest inconvenience and discomfort there. Then we moved out of that flat into a five-room cottage at Pullman and paid \$17 per month rent and 71 cents for water. There I had the same trouble. My family was sick and I was sick eleven weeks with typhoid fever, and my family was sick with a similar disease, and every other disease, and it took all I

had to pay doctor bills and house rent, and could not pay my grocery bills and other bills that I got value received for. I experienced more discomfort in those Pullman houses than in any house that I ever lived in.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). After you left those houses, state where you lived then and what rent you paid for similar accommodations—  
 Ans. Every house in Pullman has a basement, and there is a valve from the sewer, and sewer gas escapes through that valve and ascends through the house, and I think it was that made my family sick nearly the whole time; and then, the water was inferior; we did not get the water we ought to have had. I don't know whether it was the city water or Lake Calumet water, but the water was not pure, and we were paying as much for inferior water as if it had been good water.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). When you left Pullman where did you go to live?—Ans. I went into my own house, that I built myself, at No. 1107 Michigan avenue, and have been living there ever since.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). What are the rentals for houses that you have charge of and know about in towns around Pullman, having similar accommodations to the Pullman houses?—Ans. Houses with similar conditions to what I had in Pullman at \$17.71 rent, I am renting for \$10 per month in Kensington, Roseland, and Gano.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). How far are those houses from the works at Pullman?—Ans. They are in the neighborhood of three-fourths of a mile from the south point of West Pullman.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Take property that rents at \$25 per month in Pullman, what does such property rent for in these adjoining towns?—Ans. At something like \$15 per month.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does this difference you have specified in these two instances extend to all the different classes of houses from the \$8 to the \$25 houses?—Ans. I have better classes of houses, of course, which vary in rental according to locality.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). What I want to know is whether a flat which rents in Pullman for \$10 per month rents for more or less with similar accommodations in these other towns?—Ans. Property that rents for \$10 per month in Pullman will probably rent for something like \$5 outside of Pullman.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). To what extent outside of Pullman?—Ans. It would be pretty much the rule in all the surrounding territory.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). How would it be in Chicago in the vicinity of manufacturing establishments—what would be the rent of such houses having accommodations similar to those of houses usually occupied by that class of people?—Ans. I could not say how it would be in Chicago, but I am agent of property at Grand Crossing, brick cottages of five rooms, having the ordinary conveniences and accommodations, including water, which we pay ourselves, and they rent for \$8 per month.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you keep the property in repair?—Ans. Yes, sir.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). In your opinion are the rentals at Pullman higher or lower than the rental of houses that have similar accommodations in that vicinity outside of Pullman?—Ans. As nearly as I can estimate the rental of houses in Pullman is on the average one-third higher than it is outside of Pullman.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has there been a decline in the rental of the class of houses you speak of during the last year or two?—Ans. There has.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the rental you have given is the present rental?—Ans. Yes, sir.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). Take a five-room flat, or cottage either, which rented for \$15 per month two years ago, what would it rent for now?—Ans. We rent such houses for \$12.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does that represent a fair average of the decrease in rent, owing to the present depression?—Ans. Yes, sir.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has there been any change in the rental at Pullman, so far as you know?—Ans. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you familiar with the method of assessing property for the purpose of taxation at Pullman, Kensington, and these other places?—Ans. I am not very familiar with that part of it.

27 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is it not true that so far as adornment, ornamentation, etc., beauty of surroundings, are concerned, it is much greater at Pullman than in the other villages?—Ans. The beauty and attractions of the town of Pullman might be far greater, but the people that rent and live there don't have the comforts they have in the surrounding towns; the rooms in the Pullman houses are laid out so badly you can not possibly have any comfort; the rents are so high that the tenants have to rent the best part of the house out to roomers to get enough to pay rent, and thus deprive themselves of the best part of the house.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When did you leave the employ of the Pullman company?—Ans. May 9, 1891.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you leave of your own motion?—Ans. No, sir; I had a paralytic stroke and was not able to work; I left the shop and went to the hospital.

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). There was no trouble connected with your leaving?—Ans. No, sir; I could not find any fault with the shop management or work of that kind.

## TESTIMONY ON THE PART OF PULLMAN'S PALACE CAR COMPANY.

### TESTIMONY OF FRANK W. T. GLOVER.

August 22, 1894, Frank W. T. Glover, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Frank W. T. Glover; residence, No. 326 Michigan avenue, but am residing temporarily at 1315 Michigan avenue, Chicago; occupation, real estate.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you ever resided at Pullman?—Ans. No, sir.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been in the real estate business?—Ans. Seven years.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you familiar with real estate at Pullman, Kensington, Roseland and vicinity?—Ans. Not necessarily; only at Kensington.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you been asked by the Pullman company to appear here?—Ans. It is a question whether I was asked

by the Pullman company or by somebody else. I was going to Kensington the other afternoon and was talking with a gentleman on the cars about business and also in regard to the strike and he asked my opinions and asked me if I was willing to come before this commission and give my ideas in regard to the conditions at Pullman. I said I would. This gentleman has no connection with the Pullman company, but is a large real estate owner joining me.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you familiar with the value of the property in Kensington and Roseland?—Ans. Somewhat. I have the care of property there, have tenants and also have sold property. I have never interested myself as to the condition of property adjoining me in any way. I have set my own price and have sold at that price.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you familiar with the rentals of property at Pullman?—Ans. No, sir; only by the papers, and also as reported to me by tenants who left Pullman and rented houses I have; in that way I am.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State now from the knowledge you have gained in your business how the rentals of similar property in Pullman, Roseland, and Kensington compare?—Ans. I could not speak of any place but Kensington.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How do rentals compare in Kensington with rentals in Pullman?—Ans. I should say, if I was interested, I would consider the Pullman property rentals cheaper than my own. I have frame houses of six rooms which I rent at \$12 per month. The Pullman houses, while I have never been in them, look very inviting from the outside, and I consider the prices as quoted in the papers at \$17 and \$22 a great deal cheaper than my houses, or houses joining me in Kensington which rent at from \$10 to \$12.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do your houses occupy separate lots?—Ans. Yes, sir.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What is the size of the lot?—Ans. Twenty-five by 125; the house covering 20 by 30.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What are the conveniences?—Ans. No conveniences at all with the exception of running water in one room.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). No bath tubs or anything of that kind?—Ans. No, sir; we have no sewerage there, nothing but open ditches, and in one sense of the word, to a respectable laboring man, it is not very inviting.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say you have never been in any of the Pullman houses?—Ans. No, sir; and hardly ever have been on the ground; I think not more than once.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). So your judgment is based entirely upon the external appearances of the Pullman houses as compared with the external appearances with yours?—Ans. Yes, sir; or property adjoining me on the opposite side of the street.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You would not consider a tenement located upon a lot in that way, disconnected from other houses, as more desirable than the same room in a house that was connected with others; in a flat or something of that kind?—Ans. That would depend on the surroundings; my houses are close together, just merely a passageway from the front to the rear between, of about 2 feet; still it gives an open space and circulation of air, and in that way has some advantages which, perhaps, would be beneficial to some people.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What would be the fair market value of one of these houses you speak of containing six rooms, which rent

for about \$12 per month?—Ans. The cost of the house and lot originally was about \$1,500. That was some six or seven years ago. There has been no real increase of valuation in property until the West Pullman Company came there; that of course was of some little advantage to all surrounding property, both acreage and lots, and the lots have been marked up during the last two years from \$25, in some localities, to an even \$100 in other localities, which were considered more desirable; that is, they had water in the streets and perhaps more built up. The cheaper lots are more like prairie lots, without water; a great many of them without walks, and can not be reached, many of them, on account of the water when we have an overflow. In the spring and fall the majority of them are under water, and it is impossible to get to them only by wading, so I think it would be a hard matter to compare my property with the Pullman property.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You pass your opinion, if I understand you, then, upon the rental value of the Pullman property as compared with your own, on account of the outward surroundings and the sanitation there and sewage?—Ans. Yes, sir; everything.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And not upon the conveniences in the houses?—Ans. I know nothing about the conveniences, but I am told by the papers they have conveniences, and when a tenant leaves Pullman property and wants to rent one of my houses he invariably says, "what beautiful homes they have in Pullman!"

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What conveniences are you assuming the Pullman houses have in expressing your opinion as to value?—Ans. I judge that the houses are kept in good repair; the houses in Kensington are not kept in good repair. I say to our tenants, "We make no repairs; whatever repairs you want you make yourself," and I understand it is the same way with the adjoining property owners around us. The tenant rents the house for a certain amount and if he wants any inside repairs he makes them. We have eleven houses, and I don't think they average \$5 a year on the eleven houses in repairs, and I understand that the Pullman company does make inside repairs. I only know that from reports made to me by the tenants.

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You make that one of the elements in thinking the rentals in Pullman as cheap as they are in Kensington?—Ans. I consider a six-room house in Pullman worth more than a similar house in Kensington. The peculiar circumstances connected with these houses we have in Kensington are that we sold the lots to a party, taking a second mortgage on them in order to help the party build. The houses were built, but they were not able to keep them, and we had to take possession of the property. The rent first was \$14 for them, and we reduced them to \$12 in that locality, and in another locality to \$10, the condition of the surroundings making the price.

22 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you any acquaintance with the reduction of wages at Pullman, and the circumstances attending it?—Ans. Yes, sir; somewhat. I have about forty or fifty tenants, owners of property, who are paying on lots by agreement, and they always report at certain seasons of the year; owing to the scarcity of labor or reduction in wages they are not able to pay as much as they agreed to pay. For instance, a man has agreed to pay \$10 at a time; they were only able to pay \$5, and in that way I became acquainted with the condition of wages at Pullman. This last winter many of our men at Gano and Roseland reported to me that they could only work three days in the week on account of there being no work; that they

would only give them three days in the week, and then let another set work three days in the week. This is all hearsay from my people and people from Kensington, Roseland, and Gano.

23 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you understand that the rate of wages was the same as it had been before, but they were working less time than before?—Ans. No, sir; not necessarily; the wages had been reduced in a number of cases, and in a number of cases the time of labor was reduced, only working from two to three days in a week. Last winter was a very hard winter at Kensington; we had a great deal of trouble and a great deal of suffering.

24 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I will ask you if there has been any reduction of rents in Kensington on account of the hard times?—Ans. I don't think there has; there has never been a surplus of houses in any of the localities there until within a short time back, when, owing to the hard winter, a great many families left and moved to other places; at the present time there are quite a number of vacant houses in Kensington. I have two; did have three; but one I rented last week for \$12 per month, at the same price I have always rented it for, which was perfectly satisfactory to the tenant.

25 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is there any other matter bearing upon the point in investigation that you are informed about?—Ans. I hardly know. I can only answer whatever you ask me.

26 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know anything about the causes of the strike at Pullman of your own knowledge?—Ans. No, sir; I do not. The general condition of affairs as it appeared to me through the papers would be—I was reading a notice in the Springfield Republican, published at Springfield, Mass., where I was born, that a manufacturer of cars at Springfield said they had bid for a certain number of cars that were then being built at Pullman, but were not able to get them, that Pullman insisted his men would have the work, no matter if the company lost money to keep them at work.

27 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I was inquiring more particularly of what you know of your own knowledge?—Ans. That is all I know—hearsay. Those I am brought in contact with, of course, when they come to pay their monthly payments or rent, claim that they have not had work, or wages have been reduced, and they are not able to pay.

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether a preference in the way of employment is given by the Pullman company to tenants that rent houses in Pullman?—Ans. In seven years' time that question has only been brought up to me once or twice. At certain times in the year some of our tenants, back on rent two or three months, have said to me they were obliged to move over to Pullman because they could not get any work if they did not. Whether that is so, I don't know of my own knowledge.

29 (Commissioner KERNAN). The \$1,500 house you speak of with six rooms, is it a one-story house?—Ans. No, sir; a story and a half, with four rooms downstairs and two upstairs.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there an outside kitchen, or any other addition—a shed?—Ans. No, sir; all in one building.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). About what is the size?—Ans. Twenty by 30.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the lot?—Ans. Twenty-five by 125.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). You say those houses rent for \$10 and \$12 per month, depending upon location?—Ans. Yes, sir.

34 (Commissioner KERNAN). But there is not any difference in the houses?—Ans. No, sir.

35 (Commissioner KERNAN). When were those houses built?—Ans. About seven years ago.

36 (Commissioner KERNAN). At that time what were lots such as those houses stand upon selling for?—Ans. From \$200 to \$500, depending upon location.

37 (Commissioner KERNAN). And what are such lots worth now?—Ans. The cheaper lots, the \$200 lots, are all closed out. The cheapest lot we have to-day we price at \$400, which is the same price we have asked for the last four or five years. The \$500 lots are on the street which is in fairly good condition, and we are asking \$700 for them.

38 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know of any houses in Pullman that occupy lots that cost about the same as yours?—Ans. No, sir; from what I remember of Pullman when I was on the ground, it looked to me like they were all brick houses that would cost two, three, or four times as much as mine.

39 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you mean that a six-room brick house in Pullman would cost two, three, or four times as much as yours?—Ans. Yes; I should judge so, looking at the outside, knowing nothing about the interior. I should think those houses would cost from \$3,000 to \$4,500.

40 (Commissioner KERNAN). You mean six-room houses, not flats?—Ans. I mean as a house; I know nothing about the arrangement, whether they are divided into flats or individual houses.

41 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose they are built in flats, in blocks, and renting at \$17 per month, how would they compare with your houses?—Ans. A flat, of course, could be built a good deal cheaper.

42 (Commissioner KERNAN). How would that compare, in your judgment, with yours?—Ans. It would depend a good deal upon the interior; if it had the modern conveniences which everybody at the present time wants it would cost more.

43 (Commissioner KERNAN). The houses have one faucet for water and gas, if the tenants choose to use it. How would such a flat of six rooms compare with your houses in Kensington?—Ans. I should judge that possibly such flats would average about \$1,200 to \$1,500 each, built in a block, two or three in a block; I should judge it would cost to build a building like that about \$5,000 or \$6,500, making two or three flats in a building.

44 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you think those flats are worth from \$5 to \$7 more a month than your houses, because of the sewerage and surroundings?—Ans. I should think they would be worth a great deal more. When you go by on the cars you see beautiful grass plats, flowers, and everything inviting, and if I were a poor man and had a family I should prefer to economize in every way and live in such a locality.

45 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the effect, if any, on the value of property in Roseland and Kensington on account of the building up of Pullman?—Ans. When Pullman first started there I am told that property was worth from \$75 up to \$5,000 per acre, which was very choice property. I don't know of any acre property that can be bought in Kensington, Roseland, Gano, or West Pullman now at less than from \$2,000 to \$3,000 per acre, and all that advance has been on account of the building up of Pullman.

46 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know anything about the assessed valuation of Pullman, Roseland, Kensington, and surrounding villages for the purpose of taxation?—Ans. No, sir.

47 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any understanding or agreement with the Pullman company with reference to your rent?—Ans. No, sir.

48 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it simply a matter between you and your tenants?—Ans. Yes, sir; I don't know Mr. Pullman; have only seen him two or three times on the cars; I know nothing about their business; my business is strictly my own; while I depend upon the town of Pullman to sell my lots and rent my houses, personally, I have no interest in it more than to get all I can out of my property.

TESTIMONY OF PAUL E. HEARNES.

August 22, 1894, Paul E. Hearnese, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Paul E. Hearnese; Pullman; news dealer and stationer.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been engaged as such?—Ans. For three years.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What do you know, if anything, of the causes which led to the strike that occurred at Pullman on the 11th of May last, the condition of the people at that time, etc.?—Ans. There had been a good deal of dissatisfaction because there was not steady work, for one thing. Men were unable to earn as much as they were used to do. We had just passed through a very prosperous season. I worked in the Pullman shops for six years prior to starting in business, and in the fall of 1886, when that strike commenced, I did not see that we had any chance of gaining our point, but I quit and left the town and came back after the strike was finished and they had resumed work. The principal reason of this last strike seems to have been that there was not enough earned all around, because they only worked two or three days a week.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do I understand you that for the two or three days a week they did work their wages were less or more?—Ans. I have heard people say their wages have been cut.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). You are a news agent?—Ans. Yes.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). In charge of what?—Ans. Of all the daily papers published in Chicago, and I sell them, have them delivered by newsboys, and collect for them.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you in the employ of the Pullman company?—Ans. No, sir; I am not. I own my own business; I bought it three years ago the 28th of January.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you rent your quarters there?—Ans. I rent my store and also reside there.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know anything as to the rents at Pullman?—Ans. So far as my house is concerned we have a nine or ten room house on Arcade road and our rent is \$25 per month. I pay extra for my store; the residence has nothing to do with the store.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you investigated and made inquiry as to rents in Kensington and similar surrounding towns as to the rent of such quarters as you have?—Ans. I don't think I could get the house I have for the same rent in the city of Chicago, so well located.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). How about Kensington and towns about there?—Ans. If anyone chose to live there, well and good, but the smell of the open sewer would be enough to keep me from there; my father-in-law is a physician and he always talks against these open



ditches, and he finds a good deal of sickness there which we don't have at Pullman.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assuming that you are willing to put up with that, what could you get a similar house for there?—Ans. I don't think there is a house as well put up in Kensington as mine is, with a few exceptions, and those are occupied by the owners.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know any facts in connection with the strike in addition to what you have stated?—Ans. I think if some of the men had let whiskey and beer alone they would not have been half so hard up.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there a good deal of drinking there?—Ans. I think so. The company pays off twice a month and it requires three days, and when working with the full force four days, to pay off, and on those pay days I would commence collecting, say about the second day they paid, and in my collection tour I would see the beer wagons of Kensington in a continuous stream, you might say; I have seen wagons all day, morning and evening, between meals and after meals, delivering beer. It is a well-known fact that the saloon keepers of Kensington have all grown more or less rich. Simon Cohn and Mr. Wolf and many others I can not mention, and so far as I can see the money all comes from Pullman employees. There are a great many sober and industrious men at Pullman who have bought homes at Kensington, Roseland, Gano, Burnside, and even at Grand Crossing, that work for the Pullman company. I know that at \$2 a day when I was working for the company I managed to save \$5 per month, and when I got a little higher wages and was able to save \$7.50, I married and kept myself on that and saved a little.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). How much of a family do you support?—Ans. Only my wife and myself.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). When did you work for the company?—Ans. For six years previous to the time I bought this newspaper business. I ceased working for them three years ago the 28th of January.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you think the expenditure for liquor at Pullman has amounted to wastefulness?—Ans. In a great many instances.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you mean by that in the majority of instances?—Ans. No, not a majority; I don't want to say that.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). How large a percentage of the employees would you say were excessively addicted to the liquor habit?—Ans. I am not prepared to give you any percentage. I base my opinion on what I have seen. I know one man who was very poor and needy, whom I helped last winter—he lives at No. 815 Cottage Grove avenue—and when I sent him eatables and sent him word if he would come to the house we would give him clothing such as I could afford to give away, when he came after it he was in a drunken condition. I got the news of his needy condition through my carrier. That is one instance, and there are a great many others that have come to my knowledge.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). Take the 4,000 or 5,000 employees that were there, how did they compare with 4,000 or 5,000 employees of a similar class in Chicago, for instance, as to the drinking habit?—Ans. I don't know as to that. When I worked in a shop in Chicago I never got intimately acquainted with any of the men I worked with; I usually kept pretty much to myself; maybe one reason was because I could not speak English at that time. I came to this country nine or ten years ago without any knowledge of English, and for the first six or eight months I really did not associate with anyone in particular. I spent

my evenings in trying to acquire the use of the language and learning to read and write.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). This drinking you speak of, does it extend to all kinds of liquors?—Ans. I have seen whisky as well as beer brought to the town; it is brought in regular delivery wagons that go up the alleys, and I have seen people come out right and left and get their cases of beer.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you see drunken people about the streets there?—Ans. I am not out very much evenings.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, when you are out, do you see drunken people about the streets?—Ans. I am not very likely to, because our town is very quiet in daytime when everybody is working; you can go two blocks and might not see twenty-five people in the two blocks, except women and children.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). You are not in the habit of going out in the evening, and don't know what the condition is then?—Ans. No, sir; I have to attend to my store. We do an evening business necessarily.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). How do you reach the conclusion, then, that there are a good many people about in the evening intoxicated?—Ans. I have often seen a good many people going toward Kensington in the evening and coming back, or when I had business in Kensington I have seen quite a number of the Pullman people in Kensington in not too sober a condition.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). How was your business affected last winter by the hard times?—Ans. It was affected very much, and I was wishing for an improvement, and I thought it had come in May, when the first thing we knew there was a strike. We thought that business would greatly improve again, because it looked as though we were having a little more work.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the condition now?—Ans. It is worse, for the reason that the men have not received the amount of money they would have had if they had continued working, and the result is all business has suffered; at least I should judge so from the effect on my own.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You said there was some discontent at Pullman. Do you speak of the time prior to the strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did that discontent take any other form than dissatisfaction with wages?—Ans. I am not prepared to make any statement; I have heard things which I do not exactly recollect. Some men have thought they were not treated right, but I did not give their complaint much weight for the reason that when times are good and when it is admitted that wages are good, there are always some people who think they are being slighted. I have always found my treatment to be what I desired it.

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are there any liquor saloons at Pullman?—Ans. No, sir; nor never have been.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You are not connected in any way with the Pullman company?—Ans. Not since I left their service three years ago.

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you told to appear here by the company?—Ans. No, sir; I received my summons from the commission yesterday and came in response.

33 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the character of your work when you worked in the Pullman shops?—Ans. I was in the electrical department making electrical annunciator bells and push buttons, and

eventually I worked making the wires and wiring the cars and such work.

34 (Commissioner KERNAN). You spoke of there being some dissatisfaction there and complaints when times were good?—Ans. Yes, sir.

35 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was that the case before the recent difficulty; were the complaints confined to a few, or were they general?—Ans. It was not general, because a great many of the men who were my customers were perfectly satisfied with what they were getting. One man who left Pullman at the commencement of the strike and came back last week expecting to get a job, told me within the last few days that he tried during the entire duration of the strike to get work in the East and he could not even buy a job until finally through a friend of his he got work in a mill and was able to earn at piecework \$1.25 or \$1.50 a day and he is a good machinist.

36 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were these men you speak of as being satisfied members of the American Railway Union?—Ans. A good many of them were not.

37 (Commissioner KERNAN). About how many were not members down there?—Ans. I don't know; apparently the majority of them were members.

38 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you see any intimidations or force used on the part of those who were not members of the union or in favor of the strike against those who were opposed to it?—Ans. I did not personally see anything, because I have to attend to my business and I did not have anything to do with the strike. I thought my best policy was to keep away from where trouble might be, and I never even went to Kensington during the time the trouble was there.

#### TESTIMONY OF L. H. JOHNSON.

August 22, 1894, L. H. Johnson, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. L. H. Johnson; 68; Pullman, Ill.; hardware and furniture.

2 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you doing business for yourself there?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you own your property or rent it?—Ans. I rent it from the Pullman company.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you familiar with the rental values of similar property to that in Pullman in Kensington, Gano, and Roseland?—Ans. I have not made any particular inquiry in regard to a comparison.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know the rental of property in Roseland and Gano?—Ans. Yes, sir.

6 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know what similar property in Pullman rents for, or is there similar property there?—Ans. The location probably makes some difference. I pay \$25 per month for the house I live in at Pullman, and I don't think I could get a house similarly located—that is, with the improvements around it—for any less money on some of the streets in Kensington or Roseland, but possibly I could.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is your residence property connected with your store?—Ans. No, sir; I have a separate house where I live.

8 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many rooms?—Ans. Six rooms.

9 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is it situated in a flat?—Ans. It is built together with other houses, but it is a house by itself—that is, there is no one else in the same house. It is a two-story house, three rooms below and three above.

10 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). There is no separate lot, as I understand it, then, for your house?—Ans. No, sir; nothing but a yard.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What are the conveniences in your house?—Ans. We have the ordinary improvements, such as gas, water, inside closets, etc.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Bathroom?—Ans. No, sir; no bathroom.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You don't know of any such property in Kensington, Roseland, Gano, or any of those towns that you could get for less money?—Ans. You might get a house with the same amount of room for less money, but it would not be so favorably located, and I don't care about living in a house where there are not good improvements, such as sewers, etc.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How much money do you think you could rent such a house for in these places I have designated?—Ans. I could not say, for I have not inquired there with a view of renting in those towns.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How long have you lived in Pullman?—Ans. Twelve years last spring.

16 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Where is your store located?—Ans. In what is called the Arcade.

17 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know anything as to the causes of the strike in Pullman?—Ans. No; not in particular; it was a surprise to me; I did not look for a strike at all.

18 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You know nothing about the facts as to a reduction of wages?—Ans. No, sir.

19 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Nor as to the employees working only part of the time?—Ans. I know that was the case with some of them; they did not work all of the time.

20 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But as to the rate of wages for the time they did work you are not familiar with it?—Ans. No, sir.

21 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What are the habits of the Pullman employees generally, compared with other employees in the same class of work?—Ans. They are a well-behaved people generally; there might be those that were a little addicted to drinking and spending their earnings in that way, and then come to want when hard times come on.

22 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Would that be a large or a small percentage of the employees there?—Ans. Well, it is a considerable percentage; of course not a very large percentage, but I live in a location where I have a chance to see them going backward and forward with beer cans pretty often.

23 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have seen workmen at other places than at Pullman?—Ans. I have seen some.

24 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I would like to know how the habits of the Pullman employees, with reference to economy and sobriety, compare with employees at other places. In other words, are they thrifless, or inclined to be economical, temperate, or intemperate?—Ans. As a general thing they are economical and temperate, with the exception of a few.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The prosperity of your business depends upon the prosperity of Pullman, does it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know of any changes in the

valuation of property around Pullman in the last ten years?—Ans. Yes, sir; the value of real estate in the vicinity of Pullman has enhanced in value a good deal in the last ten or twelve years. In Pullman there has not been any property sold that I know of.

27 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How has it been for the last twelve months?—Ans. I guess property for the last twelve months has been pretty much at a standstill.

28 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know whether the rents in the surrounding towns have increased or decreased during the last twelve months?—Ans. I think they have been standing about where they were, so far as I know; there might have been a little reduction in some places on account of the hard times.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know of any general discontent among the Pullman employees, irrespective of the wage matter, during the last year or so?—Ans. I don't know that there has been any discontent particularly, except there might have been on account of the wages being reduced some, otherwise the employees seemed to be pretty well satisfied.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you rent your property by the year or month; your store I mean?—Ans. By the month.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any guaranty as to the length of lease beyond the month?—Ans. Yes, sir; we lease by the year, but pay by the month.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can anyone who desires to go into business there rent a store?—Ans. Yes, sir.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). There is no selection or favoritism about that that you know of there?—Ans. Not that I know of.

34 (Commissioner KERNAN). What line are you in?—Ans. Hardware and furniture.

35 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many are there in competition with you?—Ans. There is no one in competition in that line in Pullman proper, but we have plenty of competitors close by in Roseland and in Kensington.

36 (Commissioner KERNAN). How is that with reference to the news agency? Was this witness who has just left the stand the only one in that line there?—Ans. I think so.

37 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know whether or not the Pullman company undertakes to restrict the stores in that way by renting to but one at a time?—Ans. I don't think they do now, but there was a time a good many years ago when they did.

38 (Commissioner KERNAN). You say there is no understanding or agreement between you and the company by which they would refuse to rent to other hardware stores joining you?—Ans. No, sir; there is not. Some years ago I paid the Pullman company a good deal more rent than I do now. I made a complaint; the company sent an agent to my store and wanted to know what I thought would be a fair rental for the stores in the Arcade. There are a good many of them, and he came to me, because I was about the oldest tenant, to see about it. I told him what I thought would be a fair rental for the stores, and he said that would be satisfactory.

39 (Commissioner KERNAN). Tell the rent you paid before that.—Ans. The rent I paid before that was \$1,800 per year for one and \$1,600 for the other; that was five years ago. Then they came down from \$1,600 to \$900 on one and from \$1,800 to \$1,000 on another.

40 (Commissioner KERNAN). You are familiar with the business of the

town; has there been any similar reduction in your experience there?—  
 Ans. I think when they made this reduction to me they made a general reduction to all the tenants in what is called the Arcade, where all the stores are; that is, so far as I know they did.

41 (Commissioner KERNAN). What did you pay for your house after that?—Ans. Just the same.

42 (Commissioner KERNAN). So in the house rent they made no change?—Ans. No, sir. I have always been of the impression if the Pullman employees had gone to the company in the right way they would have got a reduction of rent like I did. The company might be a little slow in such matters, but if you have patience they will come around and look into the thing, and if you are right they will accede to you. That is the way I found it, and for that reason I have been of the impression the employees were a little too hasty and that these matters would have been remedied if they had been more patient.

43 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, you think there would have been a readjustment of rents?—Ans. I could not say about a readjustment, but probably there would have been some equalizing of wages. I think there has been in the shops sometimes some parts which paid a little more than other parts in proportion, and those things, if adjusted, would make it more just to all parties.

44 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is your lease a written one?—Ans. Yes, sir.

45 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you it with you?—Ans. No, sir.

46 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are there any special conditions in it?—  
 Ans. The conditions I can cite are that if I want to get rid of the lease I can do it by giving ten days' notice, and the company has the same privilege.

47 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, they could turn you out on ten days' notice, and require you to move your business within the ten days?—Ans. I presume so.

48 (Commissioner KERNAN). What other conditions are there in it?—Ans. I don't know of any other conditions, except they keep the place in repair, both inside and out.

49 (Commissioner KERNAN). Both for the stores and house?—Ans. I have always gotten any repairs I asked for.

50 (Commissioner KERNAN). You know property that rents there for, say, \$17 per month and from that down to \$8, don't you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

51 (Commissioner KERNAN). Tell me how the rental of that class of property, if you know, compares with similar property over in Kensington.—Ans. I think it is a pretty reasonable rent, for this reason: there are a great many of the employees in Pullman who rent out rooms, and in that way a good many tenants get back almost as much as they pay in rent, and being favorably located near the shops they can rent their rooms, while if they had a house farther off they could not do that; it would be impossible.

52 (Commissioner KERNAN). What I want to know is what a \$17 house in Pullman would rent for in Kensington?—Ans. It might rent for \$12 over there, probably.

53 (Commissioner KERNAN). How about the \$8 or \$10 houses up there in the brickyard?—Ans. Those are cheap houses, of course.

54 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any idea about what such houses would cost?—Ans. No; but they probably cost \$200 or \$250.

55 (Commissioner KERNAN). They rent for \$8. What would such a

house as that over in Kensington rent for?—Ans. I don't know that it could be had for any less; it occupies a lot.

56 (Commissioner KERNAN). That, you think, would be about the rent for the same kind of property in the adjoining towns?—Ans. Yes, I think so.

57 (Commissioner KERNAN). Those houses have not the advantages of as attractive surroundings as the property you occupy, and similar property?—Ans. No.

58 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What do you pay for water?—Ans. About 70 cents for the house, and it may be a little more for the store.

59 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is without reference to the quantity you use?—Ans. Yes; there is no meter in the house.

60 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the relative cost of provisions in Pullman as compared with Chicago and Kensington?—Ans. I do not see as there is any difference. I think I can live as cheaply, get provisions as cheaply at Pullman as anywhere else. I know in my line I have to sell as cheap as anybody or I could not sell anything.

61 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you ever work for the Pullman company?—Ans. No, sir.

62 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And are in no way connected with them, except you rent your store and house from them?—Ans. That is all.

#### TESTIMONY OF AXEL LUNDGREN.

August 22, 1894, Axel Lundgren, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner KERNAN). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is Axel Lundgren; age, 34; Pullman, Ill.; have been working as a car builder for five years, and cabinetmaker. I have been at Pullman for thirteen years.

2 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you there during the period of the recent strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). What do you know with reference to the causes of it and the conditions surrounding it?—Ans. I had nothing against the Pullman company whatever. I have been working for the company thirteen years, and I have nothing to complain of in regard to wages at all; and, as we all know, I think at the present time it would be impossible to strike any work, starting at the Atlantic coast and going to the Pacific; we knew that when we went on the strike, and I understood how it was going to turn out. I am in debt now \$150, but I did not owe a cent when I went out on a strike with the other people.

When I came there and started to work thirteen years ago we made very high wages, and kept on for seven or eight years drawing very good pay; many people built their own homes and bought lots in Kensington and in that neighborhood from money they got from working for the company. There were a great many mistakes made on inside work which the company didn't know anything about; if they had known it I am perfectly sure they would have straightened it out; those mistakes occurred on account of a great many foremen being employed who had no more mechanical skill than a new-born child.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were those foremen given absolute power over the men?—Ans. I don't think they were.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose they gave orders, did the men have to obey them?—Ans. Yes, sir.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose the men did not obey them, what happened?—Ans. They would be laid off for some time.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there any place the men can go and complain about it and have it made right?—Ans. No; that is the worst of it.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is the difficulty, you think?—Ans. Yes, sir.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Could not they go to the office of the superintendent?—Ans. I don't think it would do any good.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Could not they get a hearing before the superintendent or higher officers?—Ans. Yes; it has been tried several times, and he would listen to it and say, "I will see about the matter," and then would forget all about it. There have been foremen down there who struck people in the face and it has been reported to the officials, and they said, "We will look the matter up and do something about it," but they always forgot it.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). There is no system about affording employees an opportunity of having their grievances heard?—Ans. No; I don't think so.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think that is one of the difficulties?—Ans. That is what I do; more than anything else.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you at work there now?—Ans. Yes, sir.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). You returned after the strike was over?—Ans. Yes, sir.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). What were the conditions of your reemployment?—Ans. I didn't go out on the strike to better myself; I went with the others on account of principle; I was satisfied with the wages I was making when I left the works.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). When you went back, what were you required to do, if anything?—Ans. They did not ask anything, except that I had to step out from the American Railway Union.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). Somebody said something about the employees being compelled to make a contract not to join a union for five years, or anything of that kind?—Ans. Yes; it is a written contract or bond you have to sign. I don't remember the exact words in it, but it says, "You will have no more to do with the American Railway Union." It don't say for no time, either five years or any other time.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does it say anything about any other union?—Ans. No; it don't mention any other union at all.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). How much were your wages about May, 1893?—Ans. I think working overtime, as we were allowed to do at that time, I could make about \$4.50 per day; working ten hours, I made about \$3 or \$3.25 per day.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). Take it from that time down to the time of the strike, and tell us what changes took place in your wages and work?—Ans. The changes took place when the Pullman company had nothing to do, and it happened that way twice before, but what year I don't recollect exactly; as soon as work gets slack, and the company has nothing to do, they always cut down prices.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). How much were your wages cut down by last December?—Ans. They were cut from \$2.95 to \$2.25 per day.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many days' work in a week were given you at that rate; did you work all the time?—Ans. No, we did not work steady; we did not have enough work.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). Something has been said about the company giving part of the men a certain number of days' work, then lay-



ing them off and giving another part of the men a certain number of days' work; was that the way it was done?—Ans. Yes, sir.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you work on piecework?—Ans. Yes; always.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). How did they cut wages on piecework, if at all?—Ans. Suppose you were making \$4 per day on certain piecework; they will go to work and cut the price down so you can only make \$2.25 per day.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). After December last what further did they do up until the time they closed in regard to changing the rate of wages?—Ans. They gave out that we were not to be allowed to make but \$1.90 per day, but I think a good many people made about \$2.15, \$2.20, and \$2.25 per day anyway, and they did not say anything about it, if you were able to do it.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). How were you able to do it?—Ans. By working overtime, you know. We were not allowed to work overtime when work got scarce, but experienced men can do more than inexperienced men.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was there any further change in your wages, except what you have stated?—Ans. No, sir.

29 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that was so at the time of the strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you a house down there?—Ans. Yes.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). A family?—Ans. Yes.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). How much of a family?—Ans. My wife and my mother.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). How much rent do you pay for your house?—Ans. \$9.60, which includes water.

34 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many rooms have you?—Ans. Four rooms in the flat.

35 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you investigated to find out at about what you could get such accommodations for in the adjoining towns?—Ans. No, sir; I have not. I have heard several gentlemen speak about it, friends of mine from the city, and they said they thought the Pullman houses rented reasonably. That is all I know about it.

36 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you coerced or forced to join the strike in anyway?—Ans. When everybody else went out there was no use in two or three men staying in there at work. I was working on the day they struck at 10 o'clock in the morning and the works were closed at 6 o'clock that day; so you could not have gone to work the next day if you had wanted to. They had a notice put up on the gates outside: "The works will be closed until further orders."

37 (Commissioner KERNAN). You quit at 6 o'clock that day?—Ans. No; I quit at 12 o'clock; and the next day the works were closed with this notice on them.

38 (Commissioner KERNAN). In the meantime, what had the employees done; had they voted to strike?—Ans. I had something to do at home.

39 (Commissioner KERNAN). I mean did they hold a meeting and vote to strike that evening?—Ans. I don't know; I didn't attend any meetings.

40 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was any coercion or threats made against you in any way by those who had struck, or the leaders of the strike?—Ans. They heard I did not like the strike and reported me to the committee, saying that I was working against the strikers. I went down and said it was not so; that I was not working against the

strikers; that I went out, but was asked by the company to work as a watchman from the day they struck, but I did not do it.

41 (Commissioner KERNAN). State whether any of the workmen threatened you, or intimidated you in any way in case you did not join the strikers?—Ans. No; the other day, after I went back to work, a man met my mother outside and told her that if they ever met me out at night they would kill me for going back to work.

42 (Commissioner KERNAN). Who said that?—Ans. I don't know; my mother is a little old, and she could not tell who the man was.

43 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has anybody attempted any violence toward you?—Ans. No.

44 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know what kind of quarters the men have who pay \$17 per month rent?—Ans. Yes.

45 (Commissioner KERNAN). How much better than yours are they?—Ans. Considerably better than the house I am in.

46 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you a member of the American Railway Union?—Ans. Yes, sir.

47 (Commissioner KERNAN). You gave up your card when you went back to work?—Ans. Yes.

48 (Commissioner KERNAN). What kind of work do you do?—Ans. I am working at cabinetmaking at present, but I was working as carver for several years from the time I first came to Pullman.

49 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you ever a foreman or had any control over the men?—Ans. No; simply a mechanic.

50 (Commissioner KERNAN). What would you say as to the character of the employees at Pullman as to being temperate?—Ans. Most of them are temperate. There is nothing to get in Pullman; there is no saloon there. I seldom see any person under the influence of liquor in Pullman on the street or anywhere else.

51 (Commissioner KERNAN). How was it during the strike?—Ans. There was more drinking then than at any time before, it seems to me. When I walked out down to Kensington I always met several of the old workmen half drunk.

52 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you ever been acquainted with other manufacturing localities of that kind?—Ans. No, sir.

#### TESTIMONY OF JOHN M'LEAN.

August 22, 1894, John McLean, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner KERNAN). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. John McLean; 57; Pullman, Ill.; physician and surgeon.

2 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long have you been a practicing physician?—Ans. Since 1863.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long have you been practicing at Pullman?—Ans. I have been there since October, 1881.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long have you been in the employ of the Pullman company?—Ans. Since May, 1884.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the scope of your employment?—Ans. I have charge of all the injured employees of the company at the plant; I also look after accidents that may occur to visitors.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). When a man is injured there is it your duty, on behalf of the company, to take charge of him at his home and give him such medical attendance as he needs until he is restored to health?—Ans. Yes, sir; without charge to the employee.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there any hospital in Pullman to which such injured men can be taken?—Ans. There is not.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is that a necessity?—Ans. Not absolutely; we have excellent hospital facilities in the city here and where we have to send them to a hospital at all we send them to some of the hospitals in the city.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where they are sent to hospitals in the city is that done at the expense of the company?—Ans. Yes, sir; if the company sends them; but sometimes the men prefer to come themselves. In that case the company don't take the responsibility of paying their bills.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does the company undertake to send them where the case, in your opinion as a physician, requires hospital treatment?—Ans. Yes, sir.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). And where that is done the company pays the hospital charges?—Ans. Yes, sir; pays the bills.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). About how far do you have to go to a hospital from the works?—Ans. St. Luke's Hospital is on the Illinois Central road at Twelfth street; sometimes we have to send them to the Eye and Ear Infirmary; in case the eye is injured we send them there.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Mr. Wickman stated in his testimony something about the case of a man whose hand was injured; have you read an abstract of his testimony?—Ans. Yes, sir.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). What, if anything, do you desire to state with reference to that case?—Ans. The man was brought into my office with a piece of steel or iron, probably steel, that had entered the right wrist at about that point [indicating], severing the extension tendons of those two fingers; my son had taken out a piece of steel before I got in. We then united those tendons, and of course we had to make an incision to get the upper end of the tendon, because it would contract in consequence of a contraction of the muscles. We united those, closed the wound, as is customary in such cases, dressed it, and sent the man home. The next day he came into my office and was in very good condition. I told him to report the next day, but he did not do so, and the next day I went to see him, when he told me he had employed another physician. There my services ended. I never saw the man afterwards and would not know him to-day were I to see him.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did he tell you who the other physician was?—Ans. Yes, sir; he told me it was Dr. Rankin, a physician who lives in Pullman.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). In that case I assume you did what you thought was professionally necessary for the man?—Ans. Yes, sir; I did what was the rule in such cases, and took all the necessary precaution, but there is one fact that it would be probably well for me to explain, and that is, we know now that there is a certain microbe, so to speak, that produces inflammation, pus, and blood poisoning. They often get into a wound, are taken up and find lodgment there before the patient gets to the doctor. A man comes in from the factory begrimed with sweat or soot, and when they are injured they frequently take a handkerchief or a piece of waste and put it around the injury, and often these microbes get into the wound before the doctor sees it.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). In this case it was said that after a time the arm swelled, became black, and they had to put in drainage tubes.—Ans. The introduction of these microbes produces blood poisoning, and the result is always swelling, inflammation, pain, sometimes even loss of the part.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). It was also said that some pieces of broken bone were still there that ought to have been removed at the time of the original dressing?—Ans. That is not true; there was nothing of that kind, because I did a good deal of work there to get those tendons together and I could see to the bone, and the bones were not fractured. I will not say there was not a piece of bone came out of the wound, but it was not from the result of a fracture.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have been a witness at Pullman of all the incidents connected with this strike, I suppose?—Ans. Yes, sir.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). What would you say was the cause of the strike and the conditions surrounding it?—Ans. As a matter of fact, the main cause of it really was the depression all over the country in business of all kinds, and it became necessary for the company to reduce wages the same as has been done everywhere else, and the men either were not prepared for it or were unwilling to stand it.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you on a salary?—Ans. Yes, sir.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was your salary reduced?—Ans. No, sir.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). Go on and state any further facts about it.—Ans. The condition of the men was different when the strike occurred to what it was in May, 1893; there is no question about that; they were getting less wages and there were fewer men employed.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any knowledge as to whether the wages were cut excessively, or unevenly and unfairly?—Ans. I know nothing about that of my own knowledge; I only know what the men say.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know as a result of your experience there as to whether the men were subjected to ill-treatment from the foremen, or those in charge, or whether they were without redress if complaints of that character were made?—Ans. Most of the cases of complaint seemed to come after the strike occurred. I never heard much of it before; occasionally I would hear some man make a complaint of a foreman, but all such cases came to light after the strike that I had any knowledge of that were prominent.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). You occupy a residence there?—Ans. Yes, sir.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). What rental do you pay?—Ans. Sixty-five dollars per month; my office and residence are together.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). A residence of that expensive rental is not usual, I suppose, among the workingmen?—Ans. No, the residences that the workingmen occupy are cheaper, of course.

29 (Commissioner KERNAN). Taking those that run from \$8 to \$25 per month, how do they compare with similar rental property in that vicinity?—Ans. They probably rent a little higher; I don't know just how much, for I know nothing about the rental outside except what I have seen discussed in the papers pro and con since the strike occurred.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have not made inquiry in the adjoining towns and are not familiar with the going rental, so as to be able to give us a comparison on the subject?—Ans. That is it exactly; but I know this, that I would not want to live in some of the houses outside, even if they were rent free, in consequence of their surroundings.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). The surroundings at Pullman are much better than the surroundings of workingmen's houses elsewhere?—Ans. The sanitary condition is better and the property is better kept up; all the repairs are made as you call for them at the expense of the company.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). How is the health of the inhabitants of Pullman comparatively speaking?—Ans. The concensus of opinion among the doctors there is that it has been very healthy for the past two years, not only there, but in the surrounding towns.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). How does that town compare with other localities in that respect?—Ans. It would be hard to say positively just at this time. Usually when we have epidemics of diphtheria and like diseases they are worse outside than at Pullman.

34 (Commissioner KERNAN). How does the death rate compare there with similar communities?—Ans. It is lower.

35 (Commissioner KERNAN). As a result of your observation what have you to say in regard to the habits of the people there as to temperance, general morality, and good conduct?—Ans. They compare favorably, I think, with any other working community in this country, or any other.

36 (Commissioner KERNAN). In the course of your practice what have you found as to how extensive the drink habit is?—Ans. It is pretty extensive.

37 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you mean it is extensively carried on to excess?—Ans. I don't know whether you would call it excess or not, but there are men there who drink every day; you see beer wagons running all the time during the day, delivering beer at residences; then in the evening, after working hours are over, you will see the men going in gangs to Kensington, where there are forty-odd saloons.

38 (Commissioner KERNAN). As a community, are they given to excess in that respect or moderate?—Ans. I think it is a constant drinking without getting very drunk.

39 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you see the effects of it in your practice in treating these people?—Ans. Yes, sir; I don't only see its effects in my practice, as I do in all drinkers, but I see the effects of it in collecting bills, as well, for as a rule they pay the saloon keepers before they do the doctors.

40 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it the general characteristic of the town or not?—Ans. There are a good many people there that don't drink at all; just what per cent I could not say, but there are a good many people that do drink. I remember on one occasion I saw eleven beer wagons in the length of two blocks at the Union Foundry Building, which would indicate there was considerable drinking.

41 (Commissioner KERNAN). The fact that there are no saloons and the beer wagon has to stop in front of a man's house that wants beer makes it a prominent feature that is seen by everyone?—Ans. Yes, but when they go three times a day it would indicate there was considerable used.

42 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do I understand you to say it is your observation that the trouble at Pullman arose from the drink habit?—Ans. To a certain extent I think it did. I think all labor communities are afflicted in the same way and that strikes are liable to grow out of it indirectly. A man that earns large wages is very apt to contract rather profligate habits, and sometimes habits of intemperance, and those men, when times get hard and wages are cut, can not come down to it as readily as a man who gets moderate earnings.

43 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you attribute this recent strike to that as one of its causes?—Ans. I think it is one of the causes, as it is a cause in all working communities where there is a large amount of noxious liquor used.

44 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think all labor troubles are chargeable to that difficulty you suggest?—Ans. In a measure, indirectly.

45 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you practice elsewhere than in Pullman?—Ans. Yes, sir; I practice in Roseland, Kensington, and adjoining towns.

46 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, your services are not given exclusively to the company?—Ans. No.

47 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are there other physicians in Pullman?—Ans. Yes.

48 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you personally opposed to the use of intoxicants?—Ans. No, sir; I take a drink of whisky now if I want it or think I need it, but I believe in a man not taking more than he ought to and to take it when he ought to. If you will permit me, I would like to state a little more fully my connection with the company, so far as my professional services have gone. During the time I have been officially connected with the company I have a record of 2,155 personal injuries that I have treated that were sufficiently grave to keep men off of work two days or longer.

49 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is for how many years?—Ans. Ten years. I have a record of 2,000 other minor cases where there would probably be a small piece of steel get into the finger, or something in the eye, some minor injury that would require only one dressing, where there was no extension of the difficulty. In none of those cases has the company refused to pay any bills I might see proper to make. The drug bills for surgical appliances and prescriptions to injured men have amounted to \$700 per year for the last ten years, which were all paid by the company. In all cases where it has been my opinion that special treatment was required, I have been permitted to call a specialist from the city, whose bill has always been paid by the company.

50 (Commissioner KERNAN). To what extent has that been done?—Ans. I could not tell you exactly the number of cases, but there was one case we had where a man lost an eye that cost the company, I think, \$150. Another where a man was struck in the face with a flying block and the bones of his face were fractured; he was sent to the hospital and the bill was quite considerable there; it took special attention to get the bones in position by mechanical means; the dentist who did it was a very prominent one in this city. In some cases where there were injuries to the nervous system I have called a specialist, whose bills have been paid by the company.

51 (Commissioner KERNAN). Could you give us the amount of those bills during the time?—Ans. I could not even approximate them, because it is a matter I never made any note of.

52 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you have anything to do with settling damages for injuries between the company and the men?—Ans. Yes, sir; I am always consulted in those cases, and have always advised the company where there was a prospect of damages to settle, and they have usually done so. I don't think we have had more than one lawsuit for personal damage on the average for the last ten years.

53 (Commissioner KERNAN). I suppose you report all of the cases to the company?—Ans. Yes, sir; I make a report at once of an injury. My report goes to the manager, then to the superintendent or foreman of the department where the man works that was injured, who gets any additional facts he can from the witnesses of the injury as to the character of it, the machinery, or whatever it was caused the injury.

54 (Commissioner KERNAN). You do not, I suppose, do the negotiations as between the company and the men as to the amount of damages, etc.?—Ans. No, sir; that is done by someone else. The legal department looks after that. I simply advise where I think the company ought to do something for the men, and they usually do it.

55 (Commissioner KERNAN). How about their usually adopting your advice?—Ans. They generally adopt it, and then the compensation or damage is fixed between the man and the legal department, usually the man himself; but if he has brought suit, of course it is settled between his attorney and the attorney of the company.

August 24, 1894, Dr. John McLean, recalled, testified as follows:

56 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any statement to make in addition to what you stated the other day?—Ans. I was somewhat unprepared the other day, because there are a good many facts in a history of ten years, and I wish to go back to the time I was appointed surgeon for the company and more fully relate the practice of the company in regard to the treatment of men.

57 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Whatever you wish to say, if it has a bearing on the strike at all, we will be glad to hear.—Ans. I have already said, I believe, that extravagant habits have much to do with strikes, whether it be from intemperance or other causes, and this statement I wish to read is in extension of that remark.

58 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Well, you may proceed.—Ans. (Witness reads as follows:)

From 1884 to 1886, during the time Colonel Barrows was manager of the Pullman car works, it was customary to pay a man \$1 per day during the time he was out of work on account of his injuries, and in many instances he was paid his regular wages. This continued until 1886, when Mr. Sessions became manager, when this policy was discontinued on the ground that a man was liable to take advantage of the company. Previous to that time, if a man was seriously injured through fault of the machinery, he was paid his regular wages until able to work. I remember the case of John Powers, a very intelligent Irishman, who was injured by a lot of iron rods falling and striking his leg and breaking it. Shortly after the accident an effort was made to have Powers taken to the hospital, in order that he might be influenced to sue the company for damages. He spoke to me about it and I advised him not to do any such thing. He is now at Milwaukee and has a little foundry of his own, where he makes dental instruments, has acquired considerable money, and is glad that he did not start his business career by bringing suit against the company. Another man, John Wilson, got his hand cut on a saw, and the company paid his wages right along. It was then customary to pay at least \$1 a day and all expenses, no matter who was to blame.

November 20, 1892, Frank Krosynski, a laborer employed in the lumber yard, was working about a push car or truck loaded with lumber, when one of the wheels accidentally came off, allowing the lumber to fall, a part of which struck Krosynski. He came to my office and claimed to be feeling very badly, although I could find no evidence of an injury; it was more fright than anything else, really "traumatic hysteria," which is most common in railroad accidents. On December 17, 1892, Dr. Church, a specialist of nervous diseases, came to Pullman at the request of the company and made a careful examination of Krosynski and verified my diagnosis. Mr. Pettit, the company's lawyer, came down at the same time and offered some money in settlement,

but Krosynski said he had seen a lawyer and would not talk settlement. Finally, Justice Foley, of Kensington, brought suit for Krosynski against the company for damages. I kept telling Krosynski that he was all right if he would only think so and go to work. Dr. Church came down a second time and made another examination, which resulted the same as the first. He made his detailed report to the company and sent in his bill for \$30 for each visit. The company finally arranged a settlement and paid Krosynski some money. He began to improve almost immediately and continued to improve rapidly. This is only one of many similar cases. We all know at Pullman that for a number of years prior to 1894 the men had been prosperous and earning large wages, which period of prosperity culminated in the extraordinary earnings of the first months of 1893; then came the panic and abrupt change from large earnings to smaller earnings, requiring strict economy. This change of condition prepared the minds of the men for the destructive influences of the labor agitators.

Many men who earned but small wages have formed economical habits and now own their own homes, situated in the immediate vicinity of Pullman. Not long ago a man who has lived several years in Pullman stated that he had saved \$100 a year from his earnings of \$600 per annum, after feeding and clothing himself and wife and three children. He was able to do this by close economy, the cheapness of provisions, and from having lived in one of the Pullman houses, with good sewers and sanitary arrangements, conducive to the good health of his family.

Now, in comparison with this man who earned \$600 per annum, I will cite the case of a man who earned \$11 per day. He worked in the steel mill, and for many months his pay averaged \$200 per month. In December, 1892, he showed me his check for two weeks' wages, which was a little over \$100. He was a man of bad habits, did not save his money, and absorbed all his earnings in living. In July, 1893, this man, who less than a year before earned \$11 per day, was working in a ditch as an ordinary laborer that he might support his family.

In conversation with Mr. Pullman he has always impressed me as being deeply interested in the working people, and greatly pleased when they were earning good wages. I have known workmen who earned \$150 per month during that time, but now the work is not to be had.

According to the census of 1890, there was an average of 1 physician to every 500 of the population in the United States. That would give us about 20 physicians in Pullman in order to have our proportion, when in fact there are but 6. The point is just this, that with the improved conditions that we have here there is less liability to illness. The average workman's wife doing washing in a room with a temperature of 90° does not need to go outside for water, exposing herself in inclement weather. Her children have not the necessity of going to outside closets, and the result is less sickness, less impairing of the vitality of the family, and less care and worry for the workman who is the wage earner, and consequently a better degree of health for him and increased ability to earn than he would have under other conditions.

My entire professional life of thirty-one years has been spent in manufacturing and coal-mining towns among working people, and I am, therefore, in a position to speak advisedly when I say that I know that the morals of the town of Pullman are exceptionally high, better than those of any other working town in the surrounding country, or of any other manufacturing town with which I am familiar.

There is no place in this or any other country, judging from my observations and reading, where the working people have as much general



intelligence, where they live as well, and have as many of the comforts and luxuries of life as in Pullman.

In regard to the statement of the Rev. Wickman, made before this commission, that the morals of the town were affected by the necessity of people passing through the sleeping rooms of the residents, I beg to say that such statement is incorrect. Having seen through every building in town, I know of the arrangement of the rooms and the manner in which they are reached by boarders. With few exceptions there is no necessity of boarders passing through the family living room, and then under such conditions that morals are not endangered.

The average annual death rate per thousand, including accidents, is 12, and has ranged from 7 to 14 during the last twelve years in Pullman. The average annual death rate for the world is 32 per 1,000, and in American cities 22½ per 1,000. In Chicago and Milwaukee the death rate is a little over 20 per 1,000. The town of Pullman probably has more young children than any town of its size in the country, and a large proportion of the deaths are of young children. The low death rate is due largely to the admirable system of sewerage, prompt removal of garbage by the company, preventing decomposition of refuse matter through the neglect of tenants.

For a number of years prior to May, 1893, the town of Pullman has been a regular Utopia for the workingman, and a large number of cases are known of employees who have sent for their relatives in Europe and different parts of the United States. A large percentage of the men who have left Pullman have invariably returned within a year or two. This fact has been noticed in particular by L. H. Johnson, a dealer in furniture in the Arcade Building at Pullman. Families who had homes here which were well furnished, and who were in comfortable circumstances, have left Pullman only to return in a year or two with their original supply of furniture nearly all gone, and have been compelled to purchase a second supply of a much cheaper kind.

Referring to the statement before this commission, made by the Rev. Wickman, that the signature of Adolph Nelson to an accident blank made in my office March 29, 1892, was a forgery, I have to say that in case of the inability of the injured person to write it is customary for such persons to make their mark. This was done in this instance by Nelson resting his hand on the pen in the right hand of my son. In such manner Nelson made his mark to the accident blank in my presence, which was duly witnessed by my son.

The contents of the report were read to him before he made his mark. The reason he made his mark instead of signing his name was that his right hand was maimed and bandaged with a splint.

59 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does that cover all you desire to say?—Ans. Yes, sir.

60 (Commissioner KERNAN). You speak of accident blanks in your office; do you keep them there?—Ans. Yes, sir.

61 (Commissioner KERNAN). What are they?—Ans. If I had thought that question would have been asked I would have brought one; it is a statement of the cause of the accident; we first take the man's name, his age, residence, and then the character of the injury.

62 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you state the character of the injury?—Ans. Yes, sir.

63 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the cause of it?—Ans. I get his statement first as to the cause of it, then I put it down, stating the date of the injury, the time of day the injury occurred, the department the man was working in, and what disposition was made of the patient;

if he was sent away to a hospital or went to his home. If it is a minor injury the man signs that statement.

64 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why does he sign it?—Ans. Because it is the custom of all incorporated institutions so far as I know to have the men make statements of that kind, railroads as well as manufacturing concerns.

65 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is where they can get him to do it?—Ans. Yes, sir; it is not compulsory at all by any manner of means.

66 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it designed that it shall be used in case the man attempts to compel the company to pay?—Ans. No, sir; the design of that is to get at the facts so as to prevent similar occurrences if there is fault anywhere.

67 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know of any instances where those blanks have been used for the purpose of contradicting a man's subsequent statement?—Ans. No, sir.

68 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why is that put in your charge?—Ans. I presume it is because I would make a more scientific statement as to the character of the injury than a foreman would.

69 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why is that part of the statement from the man as to the cause of the injury put in your charge?—Ans. It is in my charge and also in the charge of the foreman of the department, too; it is his duty to get a statement on the other side of the blank; there is a blank on each side of each sheet, one for the report I make and one for the report made by the foreman or whoever has charge of that department.

70 (Commissioner KERNAN). On the other side of the paper the foreman takes from the man a statement, does he?—Ans. He takes from the man a statement and also the statement of the witnesses that saw the injury.

71 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the purpose of it is what you state?—Ans. Yes, sir.

72 (Commissioner KERNAN). It has no other purpose?—Ans. No other purpose that I know of.

73 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have spoken of advising several men to settle; is it your custom to advise men to accept what the company offers rather than get themselves into the hands of lawyers and a lawsuit?—Ans. I have done so.

74 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you ever advised men not to settle?—Ans. No, sir.

75 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you not thought that as long as you were in the employ of the company, working faithfully for their interests, you should try to induce men to settle at what the company offered if you thought it fair?—Ans. Yes, sir.

76 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you ever advised the company to pay more than they offered?—Ans. I don't always know what the proposition is; that is always made by the legal department; the amount is not fixed by me; if they come to me I simply advise if I know the condition of the man and the circumstances under which he was injured. I advise as I think best and usually advise a settlement, and that is the policy the company has usually adopted.

77 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you remember an instance in which you have not advised a settlement?—Ans. I don't think there has been any case where I have not advised a settlement where the man was injured and there was a loss of time and all that, and possibly in many instances where the man was maimed, like taking his fingers off, or that would place him in such a condition he could not do the work he

did prior to the injury; in all those cases I advised settlement where there is any controversy.

78 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you had instances where men refused to sign these statements?—Ans. I think only one case, and he came back the next day and signed it. It frequently happens that if a man is maimed in his right hand by an accident he can not use a pen and has to make his mark.

79 (Commissioner KERNAN). I understand they are simply the statements of the man as to his injury written out by you?—Ans. Yes, sir; I take the statement and he signs it.

#### TESTIMONY OF ISAIAH CAMPBELL.

August 24, 1894, Isaiah Campbell, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and residence?—Ans. Isaiah Campbell, No. 2613 One hundred and sixteenth street.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is your business?—Ans. Carpenter and contractor.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been engaged in that business?—Ans. Ten years.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you resided at Pullman all that time?—Ans. No, sir; I have resided at Kensington all the time.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you had any business associations with the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. Yes, sir; I have worked for them as an employee and have also built buildings for them as a contractor.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In what capacity have you worked for them as an employee?—Ans. I worked in the freight department building cars and also on the erection of buildings in the town.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long ago did you leave their employ?—Ans. As an employe some eight years ago, perhaps, since which time I have been engaged as a contractor and builder.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you ever built any residences for the Pullman company?—Ans. No, sir; I never built any residences for them; it has all been factories and down-town buildings.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know anything of the valuation of property in Pullman as compared with the valuation of property in Kensington, Roseland and adjoining places, especially as regards rents?—Ans. I only know in a general way; I have no real knowledge myself as to the rents they are charging their men.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know anything about the causes which led to the recent strike on May 11 at Pullman?—Ans. I have no personal knowledge; all I know is what I gather from certain reports and talks with different men in that locality.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is your general impression from talking with the men as to the content or discontent there was there?—Ans. One cause of discontent was the large reduction in wages; another cause was that the company had a large body of men living in their buildings, and on account of the depressed condition of the times they were not able to employ them full time, and a large amount of discontent grew out of that fact. I have talked with some men who were perfectly satisfied and with others who were not. I think possibly there would have been no strike if it had not been for the organization of the American Railway Union, because the speeches and representations the officers of that union made to the men led them to believe that great things could be accomplished through their organization.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Or wages restored?—Ans. Yes; than could be otherwise.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). This you say from general information and not from your own knowledge?—Ans. From general conversations; I know nothing of the matter myself; of course, I have listened to some of their speeches.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is it not true there was dissatisfaction at Pullman prior to the strike, in addition to the causes that immediately led to it?—Ans. Yes, that is true, I think; there seemed to have been considerable dissatisfaction on account of some of the under bosses; it was claimed that some of the under bosses oppressed the men in different ways.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What do you know as to the conditions in regard to morality at Kensington and Pullman?—Ans. I think it is fairly good; I think the Pullman people are a respectable class of citizens on the whole; industrious and law abiding.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is the moral condition better or worse in Pullman than in Kensington?—Ans. I think it is about the same.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You think, generally, they are intelligent and economical in both towns?—Ans. Yes, sir.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Many of the Pullman employees live at Kensington?—Ans. Yes, sir.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know anything of the valuation of property generally in those two places?—Ans. At Pullman there has been no chance to place a valuation on the property from the fact that none of it has ever been for sale; the only way you can judge what property is worth there is from what property is being sold for at points near there. In the last year property around there has decreased very much in value, or at least in the last two years; I don't think there had been any decrease in value up to that time; I think it was on the increase, if anything, prior to that.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I believe you said you knew nothing of the rent rates at Pullman?—Ans. Only what I have heard.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And you are not able to compare the rents there with other adjoining places?—Ans. No, sir; I never entered a house of the Pullman company; I know nothing about what their charges are, except what I have heard.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where have you been engaged as a builder?—Ans. In Kensington; towns about there; all over Chicago nearly.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). You know the character of the buildings at Pullman, do you not?—Ans. Yes; in a general way, I do.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). About what would be the cost of one of those cottages in Pullman that rents at \$25 per month?—Ans. I don't know exactly which houses rent for \$25, but I know some of them that are said to rent from \$17 to \$18 per month.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). Single houses?—Ans. Yes, sir.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). About what would be the cost of erecting such a house as that?—Ans. I should think anywhere from \$1,500 to \$1,800.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where a large number of houses are built together, as they are at Pullman, would it make any difference in the cost?—Ans. I had that in mind when I gave you the price. The fact that they are built in blocks would make them cheaper.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then the price you speak of was for houses in blocks, that rent from \$17 to \$18 per month?—Ans. Yes, sir; in my judgment they would cost about \$1,500 to \$1,800.

29 (Commissioner KERNAN). What does that estimate of cost cover?—  
Ans. Nothing more than the sewerage necessary to connect the main sewer of the street with the house.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). About what do such houses as that rent for in Kensington?—Ans. Four-room cottages in Kensington and that vicinity are renting for from \$8 to \$10 per month; five-room cottages at about \$12, and six to seven room cottages anywhere from \$15 to \$18, depending upon the locality and conveniences.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is the present rental?—Ans. Yes, sir. I know there are exceptional cases in which the rents are much lower at this time. I have some houses that I rent myself, and know what I am talking about.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). About what rental have you been getting for the past two years for your houses?—Ans. I am renting one six-room house for \$12, and have been getting that for six or seven years.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). About what would be the rent of such a house as that in Pullman?—Ans. I think perhaps it might be about \$20 per month, but possibly it might have some conveniences my house has not.

34 (Commissioner KERNAN). The houses in Pullman have water, one faucet, and gas?—Ans. Yes, sir. Mine has water, but no gas.

35 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is that about a fair statement of the difference between rents in the two towns? Do they run through the different classes of property about in that way?—Ans. I hardly know as to that.

36 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has there been a decrease in the rental in Kensington for the last two years?—Ans. Yes, sir.

37 (Commissioner KERNAN). About how much has been the decrease?—Ans. I should say about 20 or 25 per cent.

38 (Commissioner KERNAN). What did you get for your \$12 house two years ago?—Ans. I got the same; well, I reduced it to \$10.50 about six or eight months ago.

39 (Commissioner KERNAN). Take the other houses you have; how have they run?—Ans. They have not decreased more than 15 to 20 per cent.

40 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is that about a fair average of the decrease, running through the different classes of rental property in Kensington?—Ans. I think so.

41 (Commissioner KERNAN). About how many houses have you that you rent there?—Ans. In that vicinity I have seven or eight perhaps.

42 (Commissioner KERNAN). You know the houses that have been spoken of here situated at the brickyard in Pullman, which rent at \$8 per month that have only two, three, or four rooms?—Ans. I know where they are located.

43 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know about what character of houses they are?—Ans. No; I have not been at the brickyard for some years; I have only passed on the street, but they are mere shanties, I think.

44 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you able to state about what they would rent for in Kensington or elsewhere?—Ans. I would hardly be able to say that unless I saw the houses and their condition.

45 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assuming them to be in fair condition and containing three or four rooms each?—Ans. A good four-room cottage in Kensington rents for from \$8 to \$10 a month, but I think they are a great deal better than these Pullman shanties you speak of.

46 (Commissioner KERNAN). How long did you work for the Pullman company?—Ans. I did not work for them, probably, more than a year.

47 (Commissioner KERNAN). As a mechanic?—Ans. Yes; carpenter.

48 (Commissioner KERNAN). When did you work there?—Ans. It must be at least twelve years ago, something like that; but I didn't work for them all at one time.

49 (Commissioner KERNAN). You are not able to say anything personally, then, about the recent grievances complained of?—Ans. No, sir.

50 (Commissioner KERNAN). Or as to the redress that was given for any illtreatment by the underbosses?—Ans. No, sir; I am not able to say.

## TESTIMONY OF DUANE DOTY.

August 24, 1894, Duane Doty, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Duane Doty; Pullman, Ill.; am connected with the Pullman company, with the engineering department, and have the custody of all the plans and civil-engineer work.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you held that position?—Ans. I have held that particular position about nine years, but have been connected with the company ever since the summer of 1880.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you, in your official capacity, had occasion to observe the conditions at Pullman prior to and succeeding the recent strike? If so, state what knowledge you have relative to the causes of the strike and the conditions surrounding it.—Ans. I am familiar with Pullman from the time it was founded to date. I am not an employer of men, and of course have not the actual connection with them that their superintendents or foremen have in the shops, yet my acquaintance is very wide there. I know a great many people, as I am the senior resident there now, I believe, connected with the company.

I came here more especially on some other features than the mere causes of the strike, because I don't think I am prepared to speak so intelligently as to the cause of the strike, although I was a witness of all that occurred at Pullman; was there when the men left their work on the 11th day of May. I had heard of a possibility of a strike several days prior to that, but could hardly credit it. I saw the men leave the shops on the morning of the 11th; heard the various statements made in regard to the reasons why they left, and instituted inquiries at once, as part of my duties are those of historian and statistician of the place, as to the causes, and received what has already been said before you here, that a meeting had been held the night before and a strike resolved upon. The important reason being given on the morning when the men left their work was that some members of their committee that had presented some grievances to the vice-president of the company had been discharged from their work after being assured they should not be discharged. That was told me, and I inquired at once into it and obtained information that was perfectly satisfactory to me that the men were laid off and not discharged.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You spoke of members of a grievance committee?—Ans. Yes, sir. It is a very common matter in all factories to lay men off when you have not work for them, or where material is lacking.

5 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were any other employees laid off except the members of this grievance committee at that time?—Ans.

I don't remember, but my impression is there was a dozen men laid off at that time, possibly more than that. I have known that number laid off frequently in the case of lack of material; that is, some work is not ready for a particular class of men and they are laid off temporarily.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). These are matters told you by others?—Ans. They were told me by the foremen and the superintendents themselves with whom I am personally acquainted. I supposed I was called more especially here upon the subject of our rents at Pullman. Statements have been made before the commission that rents were extraordinarily high for the class of buildings we have at Pullman, and as no facts have been given that I have heard of I wish to present to the commission a transcript of the rent roll so the commission may see the number of dwellings, the number of homes, and exactly the sums for which they rent.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where did you get the information from which you made this statement?—Ans. I originally fixed the rents; that is the reason I am familiar with them, and I have the records in my possession. While I do not lease the houses at present, the rents are as I originally fixed them.

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you the date when you fixed them?—Ans. I began in the latter part of 1880; the first house was rented January 1, 1881, and as new buildings and new houses were added the rentals had to be fixed for them and they have been fixed from that time on to date as new buildings have been added, and this document I present gives the information exactly as it stands on our books today.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And those rents are now just as originally fixed by you?—Ans. Some of them have been slightly modified, but only in a few cases.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). This virtually is a statement from the Pullman books?—Ans. Yes, sir; I am prepared to make affidavit that this is a correct statement of the matter. Statements have been made in connection with the subject which I know to be erroneous, and I thought the commission would be glad to have the facts from the books. If the commission will permit me I would be glad to read two or three short paragraphs in connection with that document on the topic of rents:

The Pullman houses are of brick, with the best possible system of drainage and sewerage for an entire town, with modern improvements, such as gas, pavements, sidewalks, parks, lawns, water-closets inside of every house, and faucets and sinks inside of every house, cellars and basements, and these houses are situated on broad paved and shaded streets, cared for by the company, and the town kept clean as a park. The houses at Pullman have basements, some of which are used for kitchens and dining rooms, but these basements are not counted in our report of the number of rooms, but they should be so counted if compared with the number of rooms in dwellings in this neighborhood. There is a clause in the Pullman lease which provides for the termination of the lease on ten days' notice by either party. Dwellings in the neighborhood of Pullman are almost wholly frame structures on streets which have board sidewalks, but no pavements, no sewers, no gas, and no water inside the houses, and no water-closets and no drainage connection for such purposes; in fact, devoid of what are termed "modern improvements," and are therefore offered at a somewhat lower rent than dwellings in Pullman, for they could not be rented except at lower rates.

We have within 4 miles of Pullman, I had better say, probably, within a mile of Pullman, not less than 20,000 or 25,000 people, exclusive of Pullman; that is, a large suburban population dependent, to some extent, and has been largely in the past, on the industries at Pullman, although there are industries springing up around us at Riverdale, and Roseland, and Harvey. We have the Illinois Central shops at Grand Crossing, but those regions have not been sewered; they have not been

improved. The ground is low and will require a heavy outlay in order to put in the proper sewerage mains which have not yet been provided. The matter is under discussion and will undoubtedly come in the near future. Pullman itself has a most thorough and complete system of drainage, built by engineers of high rank and acknowledged ability; the system of drainage and sewerage is not surpassed anywhere. I speak of this because it renders the homes at Pullman much better in every way than those about there and accounts for the difference of rents between the homes of Pullman and in the suburbs.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You mean the rents are higher at Pullman than at other places?—Ans. They are somewhat higher. I had sent to me yesterday from three different real-estate agents reports of fifty-one houses which they rented, with their rent. I wished to get the current rent in Roseland, Grand Crossing, Kensington, and Pullman. These real estate agents did not know for what purpose this information was asked; they possibly thought the writer desired to rent property and they put in an excellent class of property and I could institute no comparison with so small a number of houses with our Pullman houses.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). How did their rent compare with fifty-one of yours?—Ans. They differed very slightly; they were a little higher at Pullman. Most of these other structures of course were frame.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did that communication come to you in writing?—Ans. Yes, sir; I did not bring it with me, for I hoped to get a larger number, so I could institute some comparison.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did that give you the rental price of the houses?—Ans. Yes, sir.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). In the present depression are not rents very much lower in the adjoining towns?—Ans. The rents are lower than they have been. There has been a time when there was a great demand for houses, when rents were as high as they were at Pullman.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were those houses offered to you at a rate of as much as 20 or 25 per cent lower than similar houses in Pullman rent for?—Ans. Yes, sir; some of them for half what they could have been rented for five years ago.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). How do they compare with similar houses in Pullman now?—Ans. There are no similar houses in Pullman; we have nothing to compare with them. It is impractical to institute any comparison because the conditions are so different.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Take the five-room houses without regard to the outside condition?—Ans. They might compare as \$10 to \$12.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Not exceeding that difference?—Ans. It might in individual cases, and in others the other way.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You say there has been a reduction of rent in other places. Has there been any corresponding reduction at Pullman?—Ans. There has been no change at Pullman, nor was there any increase when there was an enormous demand for houses; there has never been any change in the schedule of rents, except in a few individual cases; the general schedule is the same.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). If you expect us to attach weight to the communication you received from the real-estate agents you ought to have it here.—Ans. It was not with a desire to institute a comparison; I acknowledge the fact that the rent is some higher at Pullman, and necessarily so; if it were not so houses in the vicinity of Pullman could not be rented unless the rents were lower than at Pullman.

Because of the misstatements that have been made on the question



of our rental, I prepared this statement I have furnished the commission. I wished to have an intelligent understanding of just what the rentals were, and in addition to that I have given the number of rooms in the statement—the number of houses having a certain number of rooms; so many two rooms, so many three, so many four, and give the average rental at Pullman, which is \$13.50 per month; that includes the house of the general manager and all the better houses on our avenue.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the average rent per room?—Ans. About \$3 per month. We have fitted up a great many of our basements now, so they are used as kitchens and dining rooms; they were formerly not intended for that purpose, but they are very dry, as the town is thoroughly drained, and they are used largely for that purpose on many of our streets.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). On what basis of valuation did you fix this schedule of rents?—Ans. The basis was the cost of the property, including the original cost of the land, the original cost of the buildings, and the land improvement. I mean by land improvement pavement and piping, sewers, service pipes to houses, the lawns, the proper proportion of the park features; it includes the land improvements of the place. The place occupies about 600 acres; the buildings don't occupy more than half that space, but including the parcel of land it contains about 600 acres.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is this cost you speak of the cost of the whole 600 acres?—Ans. Yes; but that cost was very low eighteen years ago when it was bought. An ordinary lot would be put in at \$20; perhaps none of them to exceed \$30.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does the cost of the works enter into the valuation on which the rents are based?—Ans. No, sir; that has nothing to do with the dwellings whatever. There is a separate account for the works and an account for the machinery. Nothing but the land improvements and actual cost of the dwellings enter into the basis on which the rents were fixed.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What percentage is the rental on that cost?—Ans. I should have to consult my books to get that percentage accurately.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you furnish it to the commission?—Ans. Yes, sir; I don't think there could be any objection to it.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). I understand that you began in 1880, as these houses got ready for occupancy, and fixed the rents?—Ans. Yes, sir. Of course at first we had probably half a dozen houses; when the first one was finished the tenant was ready to move in, and it became absolutely necessary for him to know what rent he was to pay for it.

29 (Commissioner KERNAN). The rents were fixed as the houses were finished?—Ans. Yes, sir.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the rents you so fixed from time to time on the houses as finished are the rentals stated in this document you have handed in?—Ans. Yes, sir.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). And those rents have remained without change from the time they were fixed up to the present?—Ans. Yes, sir; substantially; I don't think there has been a change in twenty houses.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). In fixing those rents you took the cost of the houses, as I understand it, and of the improvements, including the paving, sidewalk, and sewers?—Ans. Yes, sir.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). What else, the park?—Ans. That is

all the street improvements. The streets are parks; they have lawns and trees planted; the city stands in a park in itself; that all went into the cost of the town.

34 (Commissioner KERNAN). So it takes in everything except the cost of the shop?—Ans. Yes, sir.

35 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you tell us what percentage upon that amount you sought to realize as a whole?—Ans. Yes, sir.

36 (Commissioner KERNAN). What did you?—Ans. Six per cent upon the cost; that at that time was considered the amount that was often mentioned by officers of the company.

37 (Commissioner KERNAN). What percentage of that 6 per cent is taken up in taxes and repairs?—Ans. That is an item I don't know.

38 (Commissioner KERNAN). Would it exceed 2 per cent?—Ans. In my judgment it would.

39 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is ascertainable, is it not?—Ans. I suppose it is; there will probably be an officer of the Pullman company on the stand from whom you can get that information; that was not my work.

40 (Commissioner KERNAN). From 1880 until 1892 and 1893, were substantially all the dwellings occupied that were ready for occupancy?—Ans. Yes, sir.

41 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did the demand continue equal to the supply up to the time of the recent depression?—Ans. We have always had vacant houses; we feel it necessary to have an excess of the number needed at any particular time so as to have a supply in case of an emergency; in case we have more work to do and more workmen. You must have something in the way of homes for people.

42 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you have tenants for all property you have to rent?—Ans. Yes, sir.

43 (Commissioner KERNAN). Reserving some houses for an emergency?—Ans. Yes, sir.

44 (Commissioner KERNAN). I see there are 222 houses here renting for \$17 apiece; what was the cost of those houses in the way you say you figured them?—Ans. I could not give you that cost, as I have not my record here; the cost of every house is tabulated at the office.

45 (Commissioner KERNAN). How was the percentage ascertained for each of these houses for its share to be borne as part of its cost of the improvements outside of the house itself?—Ans. That was very easily calculated; we kept account of our paving, sewers, alleys, and street improvements, and then it was spread over the block on the basis of front feet; a house with 20 feet front would be a quarter more than a house with only 15 feet front. That was the only way in which it could be distributed.

46 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you tell me what the assessed valuation of this property is?—Ans. No, sir; that varies each year.

47 (Commissioner KERNAN). It runs along about the same, does it not?—Ans. I presume so; I have no doubt there will be officers here who will give the exact valuation.

48 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you give the assessed valuation of a \$17 house?—Ans. No, sir; the property is all assessed as farm property; it has never been subdivided; it is assessed simply as section so and so; it is assessed by the acre.

49 (Commissioner KERNAN). These dwellings, factories, and all?—Ans. Yes, sir; the whole property.

50 (Commissioner KERNAN). About how much per acre?—Ans. I don't know, I am sure.

51 (Commissioner KERNAN). What has been the assessment at any

time you have known it?—Ans. I don't know, for it is a matter I never had anything to do with.

52 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know the cost of the land?—Ans. The cost of the land varies; some of it may have cost \$300 or \$400 per acre, and some of it not half that.

53 (Commissioner KERNAN). A fair average of it would be what, \$250?—Ans. Yes, sir; when it was bought, say seventeen or eighteen years ago.

54 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you occupy one of those houses?—Ans. Yes, sir.

55 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is your rental?—Ans. I occupy a three-story brick house on the corner of one of our blocks; it has twelve rooms, a basement with all modern improvements, hot and cold water bathroom, but it is not heated by steam, as some of the houses are there, but probably will be this fall, and I pay \$37 per month for it.

56 (Commissioner KERNAN). There are three of those houses, I see.—Ans. Yes, sir.

57 (Commissioner KERNAN). Who occupies the other two?—Ans. One is occupied by a superintendent and I think one of them is a boarding house. I rented just such a house as I am in in the city of Chicago, for which I paid \$60 per month.

58 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is your rental proportionately fair to the other rentals?—Ans. I think so, because the rentals were fixed in the same manner.

59 (Commissioner KERNAN). A flat renting at \$17, with five rooms in it; do you think that is a fair proportion to yours with twelve rooms?—Ans. Yes, sir. There are no flats that rent for just that amount; flats rent for less than that sum.

60 (Commissioner KERNAN). You say this property includes forty-three frame houses not on the land of the Pullman Palace Car Company, and don't form part of the town of Pullman?—Ans. Yes, sir.

61 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that those are not built of brick, although at the brickyard?—Ans. No, sir; they are frame. The Pullman company established brickyards as a temporary industry and continued up to this year. We made brick for building the town, or part of it, and at the request of the men who went to work there some frame structures, temporary structures, were built; they are not connected with the town, neither the streets nor sewers reach them; they are not regarded as any part of Pullman, yet they are included in our rent roll.

62 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are those the ones that have been spoken of as renting for \$8 per month?—Ans. Yes, sir.

63 (Commissioner KERNAN). What did they cost apiece?—Ans. Two hundred and fifty-two dollars apiece, and they have had not less than \$100 each put upon them since in the way of improvements, painting, and raising. They have all been raised from the ground.

64 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many years have they been built?—Ans. I think they were built in 1883 or 1884.

65 (Commissioner KERNAN). Three hundred and fifty dollars each would be a fair estimate of the cost of those with the improvements?—Ans. Yes; I should say that would be a fair estimate. I should say either that or \$400.

66 (Commissioner KERNAN). I suppose the cost of those houses the company has exactly?—Ans. I have given you the original cost, as I built them.

67 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were they built by contract?—Ans. We had a carpenter department and employed our own men.

68 (Commissioner KERNAN). You kept track of the time and paid the men, and according to that they cost at least \$350 or \$400 each?—Ans. They cost \$252 when built, and from \$100 to \$150 each has been put on them since.

69 (Commissioner KERNAN). That, of course, covers improvements and repairs?—Ans. Yes, sir.

70 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you regard \$8 per month as rather high for those houses?—Ans. I do not for this reason, the houses were built, to begin with, at the request of the men working there so they could have quarters close by; they were purely temporary structures and only occupied during the brickmaking season; there are individual houses there occupied all through the year now, but for many years they were only occupied during the summer for making brick.

71 (Commissioner KERNAN). You certainly did not apply the 6 per cent basis to those?—Ans. No, sir; they are not a part of Pullman and never was regarded so. When you build temporary structures of that sort they must necessarily be rented higher than permanent structures because they must be charged off sooner or later from your books. Those houses have stood there longer than we originally intended, but I don't think, on an average, that all of those brickyard houses have rented more than half the time since they were constructed.

72 (Commissioner KERNAN). Taking the figures as you give them here, it looks to me as though those houses pay 10 per cent and paid for themselves in six or seven years. If you pay the taxes and insurance and rent them but part of the time for ten years they will pay for themselves.—Ans. They ought to, as a business matter. They have to be finally charged off the books as part of the expenditures of the yard, and it is legitimate to do so.

73 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). As a matter of fact, they would pay for themselves in about five years, would they not?—Ans. I could not say as to that.

74 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). If they cost from \$350 to \$400 and rent for \$96 per year, they would?—Ans. They don't rent for that, for half the time they are not rented; they rent for about half that sum per year; there are a few of them that are rented all year; there are men living in those houses who work somewhere else.

75 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have those houses attached to them any garden lot?—Ans. They have an ordinary sized lot.

76 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the size of those lots?—Ans. Twenty or 25 feet by 125.

77 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was there a book issued during the Exposition with regard to Pullman that you had any connection with?—Ans. My wife issued a book on Pullman last year during the Exposition. She wrote the book. It is an illustrated volume descriptive of the industries.

78 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did the company have anything to do with it?—Ans. No, sir; they knew nothing about it until after it was printed. It was done privately.

79 (Commissioner KERNAN). There was no such book as that issued by the company or under its authority?—Ans. No, sir; there was some literature printed during the World's Fair at the expense of the company, but it was purely descriptive matter in connection with our exhibit.

80 (Commissioner KERNAN). One of the grievances the men complained of at Pullman was reduction of pay?—Ans. I so understood it.

81 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did that reduction extend to the officers, superintendents, etc?—Ans. No, sir; I don't think it did.

82 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did it or not affect your position?—Ans. No, sir.

83 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know of any similar class of property to that in Pullman which has not been affected in rental value and in actual value by the depression of the last year?—Ans. I own but little property in that neighborhood, and my duties don't call me to give much attention to it, except occasionally a little engineering work, and I could not say.

84 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it not true that all property of that character has been affected in its rental and actual value by the depression of the last year?—Ans. I suppose that is so.

85 (Commissioner KERNAN). And in view of that do you not think that some reduction ought to be made in the rent of this Pullman property?—Ans. I hardly see how the reduction of that rental, fixed, as it was, on the basis of the cost of the property, need be affected, as nobody is required to live there. The renting of the property is absolutely optional on the part of the tenants, and at a time when property was renting for a great deal more than it is now, and that property could have been rented for more, no change was made then. I had my property during flush times and during times of depression at exactly the same rent; no change has been made in it whatever.

86 (Commissioner KERNAN). The rental according to the valuation, you say, was not based on flush or good times, was it?—Ans. That property is worth a great deal more today than it was when the rent was fixed on it, because the value of all real estate in that neighborhood has raised largely; the property is worth a great deal more today than it was when I rented my house.

87 (Commissioner KERNAN). How is it worth more to the tenant?—Ans. Exactly as property is worth more to a tenant on the better portion of Michigan avenue than it is across on State street; because it is a better character and quality of property; it has increased in value largely with the improvements.

88 (Commissioner KERNAN). But how does the tenant get any benefit out of the increase in value?—Ans. He only gets it as any tenant gets it out of the better class of property. If a man rents property on a good street with better surroundings he pays more for it.

89 (Commissioner KERNAN). I suppose the idea of it is the surroundings are constantly being improved and enlarged, and in that way he gets more value for the money he pays?—Ans. Yes, sir.

90 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But this point comes up; we will say the property at Pullman when you fixed the rent was worth \$250 per acre on the average; you say the value of that property has increased manifold since then. How does the tenant get any benefit out of that increased value by the payment of his rent?—Ans. I hardly think that is a fair way to put that question, as a tenant rents a house wherever he chooses; he selects his own property. If he rents a house today which cost \$2,500 twelve years ago but is now worth \$5,000, if he gets it at the same rent he did twelve years ago and then asks for a reduction of rent if he can do better by going to Roseland, Harvey, or Kensington, he is at liberty to do so. Your question seems to imply the tenant is obliged to stay at Pullman and live in one of those houses, which is not so.

91 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It has been so stated here in evidence.—  
 Ans. That is wholly and entirely incorrect; a year ago 2,800 of our operatives lived in homes out of Pullman.

92 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many of your houses were then unoccupied?—Ans. I presume not more than 150 of them.

93 (Commissioner KERNAN). Not more than you thought proper to reserve for an emergency?—Ans. Probably not.

94 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then there was no place for the 2,800 to live in Pullman?—Ans. We had a surplus of houses; we have never been called upon to refuse anybody a home who asked for it; we have always had plenty of accommodations for everybody desiring houses.

95 (Commissioner KERNAN). I understood you to say that all the houses were occupied except those you usually reserved?—Ans. I gave as a reason why we had an excess of houses was because it was well to have that excess—to have a safety factor in case of an emergency. New manufacturing establishments are constantly coming there, and we need the vacant places for them.

96 (Commissioner KERNAN). You did not have houses sufficient to take care of those 2,800 people a year ago, did you?—Ans. No, sir; we had not if they had desired to come.

97 (Commissioner KERNAN). The evidence has been here that it is made compulsory upon employees of the company to occupy Pullman houses as long as the company has houses in this way; that unless he does so as soon as work becomes slack those employees not occupying company's houses and those living outside of the town are laid off. What is the fact as to that?—Ans. My knowledge of it leads me to say it is incorrect.

98 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you sufficient knowledge of that to be able to say it is not true?—Ans. I do say it is not true, and never has been since the founding of the place.

99 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why should not the company do that as a pure matter of business?—Ans. I do not see why; I would not hesitate to do it.

100 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't they do it?—Ans. They do not. Encouragement has always been given to men to buy property and own homes.

101 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then why has not the Pullman company put some of its property on the market so they could buy homes?—Ans. I will answer it in this way. Any man that ever had anything to do with a similar enterprise and a large one involving such a large money value would understand that until the proprietor got his system of streets and parks, sewerage, drainage, water, and all those features in a shape so that in the future they could not be marred or changed in case it became a city corporation, that such improvements would no doubt be extended, would be added to rather than modified or interfered with, he could not do this with any divided ownership. It became absolutely essential to have it under one ownership and one control in order to have that unity in the construction of the improvements as the place has had.

102 (Commissioner KERNAN). There are streets there where all that has been done; they have been paved and completed?—Ans. Yes, sir.

103 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you ever heard it suggested or discussed by the company as to why they did not put that property upon the market where their plans had been completed and could not be interfered with?—Ans. Those houses had been built in blocks by the

company; they were not separate, and the policy of the company has been to reserve those houses, not dispose of them, but the subject has been under discussion frequently of opening adjacent land, extend present streets and improvements, and give outsiders and tenants who wish to build their own houses on adjacent land an opportunity to do so, and I may say that was part of the general plan in the construction of Pullman.

104 (Commissioner KERNAN). When is it contemplated to carry that out?—Ans. I could not say, as I am not the owner; some surveys have already been made. I have surveyed and platted 100 acres for that particular purpose on the west side; the streets have not been platted upon it yet, but it is a part of this general plan. Then another thing; at the outset when you get a large body of operatives in a new manufacturing establishment they come from all parts of the world, and it requires some little time to be able to determine what men you would desire to have as permanent residents and to select the right class and character of men; it takes time to do that; it can not be done at once.

105 (Commissioner KERNAN). So far as you know the company has not determined how long a man must be a resident and faithfully work before it will give him an opportunity to buy a home?—Ans. That is a matter entirely outside of my business; the officers of the company will be better able to tell you as to that, but I understand that is in contemplation in the very near future. Perhaps in another year it will be completed.

106 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you consider it would be a desirable thing and for the benefit of the workmen for them to have an opportunity to buy their own homes?—Ans. It seems to me it would.

107 (Commissioner KERNAN). That, you think, at the outset was part of the original plan?—Ans. I know it was; I know that was discussed.

108 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think between 1880 and 1893 sufficient time had not elapsed to put that plan in operation?—Ans. I am not prepared to answer that question. It might have been done had the business policy of the company been such as to direct it, but there was probably too much else to do and it was a matter that had not been reached in the course of general business.

109 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know whether there was any general desire among the employees for anything of that sort?—Ans. There have been requests in the past, but I don't know to what extent, because they have not been filed with me.

110 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have given the reason of the company for not selling employees property in the outset, but what is the reason now why it can not sell to employees houses on the finished streets?—Ans. There may not be any reason except the business policy of the company with which I am not familiar. I would buy the house I live in if I had an opportunity. I would like to do so.

111 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you ever tried to?—Ans. No, sir; as I told you, the property has never yet been subdivided and I know the property is not for sale. The company will always have to keep some property there in order to provide homes for workmen.

112 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You stated there was a ten-day clause applicable to each party in the Pullman leases. Upon what basis was that ten-day clause put in the leases?—Ans. It is not put on a basis clause; it is a mutual one. The tenant has the same liberty of leaving if he is not retained at work for a year; he can leave at any time during the year with that clause in the lease. It is a clause that is put in

many leases in this city. That clause was adopted at the suggestion of the officers of our company. I can show it to you in a number of leases in the city now; whether it was taken from our leases or not I could not state. I know that was under discussion, and it was deemed an advisable thing to insert it in the lease. A tenant, by giving a ten-days' notice, can vacate his premises if he chooses to leave, and the company has the same privilege.

113 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What has been your observation relative to the character of the employees at Pullman during the last ten years; has it improved or not?—Ans. I think it has very decidedly improved.

114 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the conduct of the people there during the recent disturbance as to intemperance, or anything of that kind, or attempts to interfere with parties or property?—Ans. I think there was very little of it, if any, on the part of citizens of our place.

115 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know of any such conduct on the part of others not citizens of your place?—Ans. During the time of the strike that occurred at Kensington and on the Illinois Central road I was merely an observer, like thousands of other people. I was present on that afternoon when cars were overturned, two certainly quite near my house, and was in the crowd at Kensington where there was considerable noise, and was near by when one man was shot by a Michigan Central detective, I believe.

116 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Will you furnish the commission the cost of one of those houses of five rooms that rent for \$17 per month?—Ans. Yes, sir; I will send you such an estimate.

117 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did any Pullman employee that you knew participate in any of this violence that you saw?—Ans. Have never seen a man I knew in Pullman that had any connection with any of that violence, but of course there are many people in Pullman that I don't know.

I desire to put in evidence before the commission a memorandum which I have prepared from the census report of 1890, giving data relative to the industries of Pullman which aggregated over \$30,000,000 of products each, and other data showing comparison of average earnings at Pullman with railroad shops and car manufacturing establishments elsewhere. Said memorandum is as follows:

[Memorandum prepared by Mr. Doty from the census report for 1890.]

*Data found in bulletin relating to industries which aggregated over \$30,000,000 of products each, and other data showing comparison of average earnings at Pullman with railroad shops and car manufacturing establishments in the United States.*

During the census year of 1890 there were 716 car shops, large and small, operated by railroad companies. The average number of employees, laborers, and mechanics in these shops for the year was 108,585, or an average of only 150 hands to a shop. The aggregate of the wages, earnings, and salaries paid in these shops for that year was \$61,797,675, making the average annual earnings of each employee \$568.12. The capital invested in these shops was \$76,192,477. The cost of materials used was \$66,561,526, and the value of the entire product for the year was \$129,461,698. The excess of the value of the annual product over the cost of materials used and wages paid was only \$1,102,497, or only 0.0144 per cent upon the capital invested. When we consider the question of proper interest on the investment and a proper charge for depreciation of buildings and machinery, we see that these railroad shops, as a whole, were operated at a loss, and quite a heavy loss. The year 1890, too, was a year in "flush times," and the wages paid in these very car shops today are not less than 25 per cent lower than they were in 1890. The average annual rates of pay to operatives and laborers in the Pullman car works for January, February, March,



and April, 1894, were (at the rate of \$1.85 a day) \$573.50, a rate above that of the annual rates of the railroad car shops for the flush times of the year 1890, or \$569.12 a year. Railroad shops, like Government shops, always pay more than private parties, and more than contract shops do for labor.

During the census year of 1890 there were 166 places (shops), large and small, not operated by railroad companies, but by private parties and companies. The capital invested in these car shops was \$48,460.667. These shops employed an average of 35,929 workmen for the year, or an average of only 216 for each shop, showing that many of the establishments were small. They paid in wages that year \$19,445,698, or an average per year of \$541.22 for each workman for the year. This is somewhat lower than the average annual rates for the railroad shops, and the average is \$10 a year higher than it would have been had the wages paid in the Pullman car shops been excluded, as the Pullman shops employ not less than 15 per cent of these men and paid them higher earnings than workmen drew in other private shops. The total product turned out in these shops was valued at \$76,352,199. The cost of materials was \$47,528,561. The total of wages paid, added to the cost of materials used, was \$66,974,259, showing an excess of \$9,377,940 over and above the cost of wages and materials, or 19 per cent on the capital. From this excess 10 per cent interest on capital must be deducted, and then a proper charge for depreciation in value of buildings and machinery. When this is done little is left as net profit. The operatives at Pullman, though their average earnings for four months of 1894 had been above those of the flush times of 1890 in all contract shops, saw fit to lay down their tools and quit work.

During the census year of 1890 the average annual earnings of employees in all the manufacturing establishments for the whole United States were \$499 for males and \$268 for females, or \$9.60 a week for men and \$5.16 a week for women.

During the months of January, February, March, and April, 1894, and after a reduction of wages, the rate of daily earnings for work in the Pullman car shops averaged \$1.85. This is at the annual rate of \$573.50 for both men and women, a sum above the average annual rates of pay in railroad car shops as well as in contract shops during the flush times of 1890.

The earnings of operatives and laborers in the car shops at Pullman have always been larger than the earnings of operatives anywhere in this country where similar work is done. Yet with rates of pay necessarily made lower here as everywhere else, but still above the average rates in all the car shops of the country during the year 1890, workmen here have seen fit to lay down their tools and stop work.

The aggregate value of the manufactures of Chicago in 1890, as shown by the census returns, was \$664,567,923, an increase of 167 per cent in ten years. Chicago stands second alone to New York in the volume of its manufactures; 9,977 different establishments reported to the census takers, and they employed 210,336 hands and paid out in wages \$123,955,000. The annual average earnings of employees were \$546, the annual average for males being \$586 and for females \$310. The average excludes salaries paid to members of firms and to officers. These rates of pay in Chicago are all much lower now than in 1890.

CHICAGO, ILL., May 20, 1894.

DUANE DOTY.

*Statement of monthly rents of dwellings at Pullman.*

Number of dwellings.	Monthly rent.	Number of dwellings.	Monthly rent.	Number of dwellings.	Monthly rent.
2	\$4.00	4	\$11.50	8	\$26.00
6	4.50	173	12.00	1	27.00
23	5.00	23	12.50	13	28.00
4	5.50	4	13.00	9	30.00
24	6.00	283	14.00	4	32.50
41	6.50	70	15.00	20	35.00
5	6.75	61	16.00	3	37.00
55	7.00	222	17.00	3	40.00
9	7.50	57	18.00	10	45.00
83	8.00	2	19.00	1	46.00
5	8.25	26	20.00	1	50.00
106	8.50	3	22.00	1	55.00
226	9.00	2	22.50	1	60.00
4	9.50	4	23.00	2	65.00
68	10.00	6	23.50	1	70.00
38	10.50	1	24.00	2	75.00
53	11.00	45	25.00	1	77.25

The average monthly rental of 1,799 dwellings at Pullman is \$13.50; 1,200 of these dwellings have an average monthly rental of \$10 each; 600 of these dwellings have an average monthly rental of \$8 each. "Dwelling" as here used means a home for a family, and includes flats.

Dwellings.	Rooms.	Dwellings.	Rooms.	Dwellings.	Rooms.
262	2	22	9	3	24
394	3	9	10	1	25
450	4	3	11	1	35
527	5	1	12		
47	6	1	14	1,799	
45	7	1	18		
11	8	1	22		

Of these dwellings 409 are now vacant and 1,390 are occupied by tenants.

It is proper to say that this statement includes 43 frame houses which are not on the lands of the Pullman Palace Car Company and do not form a part of the town of Pullman, such as the temporary dwellings at the brickyards, which are not connected with the town by streets, sidewalks, sewers, or gas.

DUANE DOTY.

PULLMAN, ILL., August 22, 1894.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES CORKERY.

August 24, 1894, Charles Corkery, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, business, and place of business.—Ans. My name is Charles Corkery; I live in Gano, but am in the meat and grocery business at Pullman; have been engaged in business at Pullman almost thirteen years. I have three stores there that I rent from the Pullman company. There are other meat and grocery stores, about four I think, in Pullman in competition with me. For one of my stores I pay \$4 to \$5 per month for; another store I pay \$60 for, and in another place I pay \$100. I have always been satisfied with the rent I have paid there. I think my rent compares favorably with similar stores in Kensington and Gano. In one of my places last winter I was charged \$60 per month for a stall. Some of the merchants in the same building were not satisfied and we asked for a reduction, and the company reduced us \$10 a stall per month. That satisfied me. I have a store in Kensington which I pay \$50 per month for, which is about the same sort of a store I pay \$60 for in Pullman, only I have better accommodations in Pullman than I have in Kensington. I have a yard and barn and the improvements are a great deal better. I pay \$22 per month for my residence in Gano; it is an eight-room house. I could buy the place for \$3,300. I occupied a house in Pullman at one time that was not much different from the house I occupy, and I paid there about \$18 or \$19 per month and had some better improvements, but the house I now live in is more private, being a separate, detached house.

I don't know anything about reductions of rent in Gano during the last year; my rent, I know, has not been reduced. At the time we asked for this reduction in rent at Pullman that I spoke of there was probably half a dozen of us asked for it, and the rent was reduced all around. There was no specific amount of reduction asked for, only we thought there ought to be some. I think that was along last December sometime. We thought we would not be justified in paying as much rent as we were from the way business had been going on there

for the last eight months, and they gave us a reduction. I have not been in Pullman as much since last December as I formerly was. The company never had any interest in my business; my dealings were directly with the employees. There was no agreement, understood or otherwise, between the company and myself as to other competing stores. Some of the stores I have got when other men failed in them and the stores had been idle for a long time.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD F. BRYANT.

August 27, 1894, Edward F. Bryant, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and place of residence.—Ans. My name is Edward F. Bryant; I reside at Pullman, Ill.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is your occupation?—Ans. I am manager of the Pullman Loan and Savings Bank—cashier and manager. I have been connected with that bank for nearly nine years.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is that bank an organization independent of the Pullman company?—Ans. Yes, sir; it is. It was organized under the laws of the State of Illinois as a State bank; it has a capital of \$100,000.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are the Pullman officials stockholders in the bank?—Ans. Some of them are.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). To what extent—not exactly, but about to what extent?—Ans. The capital stock is divided into 1,000 shares of \$100 each, and of those 1,000 shares I think that probably 200 or 300 are held by officials of the Pullman company, if such term includes directors of the company, not the active officials.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But including all active and advisory officials?—Ans. Yes, sir.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the character of the remaining stockholders?—Ans. The remaining stock is held by the Pullman Southern Car Company.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Just what is the office of that company and where are its headquarters?—Ans. To the best of my knowledge that company is now owned by the Pullman Palace Car Company.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It is the same thing?—Ans. No, sir; I think not the same thing, but it is now owned and controlled by the Pullman Palace Car Company. I am not familiar with the organization of the Pullman Southern Car Company.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Where is the Pullman Southern Car Company located, and what does it do?—Ans. So far as I know its officers are at Chicago and are similar to those of the Pullman Palace Car Company.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does it operate cars or manufacture cars, or what does it do?—Ans. It operates cars.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But its stock is owned by the Pullman Palace Car Company, is it?—Ans. So far as my knowledge goes; I have no absolute knowledge of the matter.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That company operates Pullman cars?—Ans. It does.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you under the pay of the Pullman Palace Car Company directly?—Ans. No, sir; and never have been.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What functions do you perform as cashier of that bank in relation to the Pullman company?—Ans. The business of the Pullman Loan and Savings Bank is that of a general banking

institution, and because of our location at Pullman we have been able to secure as depositors, commercial deposits, as I would say, the accounts of the Pullman Palace Car Company and that of other industries located at Pullman and the immediate vicinity, including merchants and individuals.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does that bank do a discount business, like a regular national bank?—Ans. It does. Our loans are of the character generally found in a savings bank.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It has two classes of deposits, has it—commercial deposits and savings deposits?—Ans. I would add, as a savings bank and trust company.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you have any relation to the Pullman company in reference to the collection of its rents?—Ans. Well, in the course of our business we collect for different individuals drafts, notes and whatever bank items are sent to us for collection, and, included in such general business, are rent accounts from the Pullman Palace Car Company.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You collect them in what manner?—Ans. The bills of non-employees of the Pullman company and bills of tenants who are behind in their rent are sent to the Pullman Loan and Savings Bank for collection; I employ several men as collectors to present these bills for payment and secure such money as the tenants are able to pay.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have the supervision of the work of collecting rents generally for the whole company from its tenants, do you?—Ans. Only in such capacity as a bank collects accounts; owing to the location of our business, we do such business as comes to us from that locality.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But any matters connected with the collection of rents, such as evictions, do they come under your charge in any way?—Ans. They do not; we simply present a bill to a tenant and if he does not pay it such bill is returned to the Pullman Palace Car Company as a draft upon which payment was refused would be returned to any bank with which we transact an ordinary banking business; the same as in the ordinary course of banking business.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But are the rents payable to you through checks given to the employees for wages?—Ans. No, sir.

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are there not two kinds of checks given to an employee for his wages or earnings, one to cover rent and the other to cover any balance which may be due him after the rent is paid?—Ans. There are two such checks given, but their character is exactly the same, as, for instance, if a man has earned \$15 and he owes \$5 for rent there are two checks made, one for \$10 and one for \$5, both given to the man, and it is entirely at his discretion whether he uses the check for the amount of his rent in payment thereof or not; it is payable to his order and can not be used until he voluntarily indorses it, which is the only way that it can be made good.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is, he could indorse both checks and use them in ordinary business transactions other than the payment of rent, could he?—Ans. He could; yes, sir.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are these checks on your bank?—Ans. Yes, sir.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are all wages paid in that way?—Ans. All wages of employees at Pullman are.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You keep your savings deposits separate

from your commercial deposits, I presume?—Ans. We always have. Here is our last printed statement:

*Statement of the Pullman Loan and Savings Bank, Pullman, Ill., at close of business, June 30, 1894.*

[Organized May 7, 1883.]

Resources.		Liabilities	
Loans and discounts .....	\$391,574.24	Capital .....	\$100,000.00
Bonds and stocks .....	306,600.00	Surplus .....	100,000.00
Due from banks and depositories .....	345,604.15	Profit and loss .....	20,829.67
Furniture and fixtures .....	8,500.00	Dividend unpaid .....	3,000.00
Real estate .....	327.82	Deposits, commercial .....	430,483.34
Cash .....	55,297.29	Deposits, savings .....	453,590.49
	1,107,903.50		1,107,903.50

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). This statement shows the loans, discounts, etc., and the deposits for savings. Now, will you submit a statement similar to this at the close of business June 30, 1893?—Ans. I can submit such statement embodied in a schedule of statements which I would respectfully submit to this commission. The date, I notice, is July 1, 1893, which would be at the close of business June 30, 1893.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Just as well. On that statement what is shown as savings deposits?—Ans. Savings deposits which I would say are subject to the ordinary regulations of savings deposits. The savings deposits on July 1, 1893, were \$657,347.64.

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Can you state what they were the 1st of November last?—Ans. I can not at this time, but I will be very glad to hand in the exact figures. I will furnish the commission with that statement.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you a date in your statement near the 1st of November, 1893?—Ans. The dates to which I would submit statements are June 1, 1893, July 1, 1893, May 1, 1894, June 1, 1894, July 1, 1894, August 1, 1894, anticipating that the commission might desire to note the differences and changes during the last three months at Pullman.

*Comparative analytical statement of savings deposits of the Pullman Loan and Savings Bank, August 20, 1894.*

	Number.	Amount.	Percent- age.	Average deposit.
<b>June 1, 1893:</b>				
Employees .....	2,477	\$581,577.52	86	\$234.79
Not employees .....	213	92,835.45	14	435.85
Total .....	2,690	674,412.97		250.71
<b>July 1, 1893:</b>				
Employees .....	2,425	582,380.39	88.5	240.16
Not employees .....	175	74,967.25	11.5	428.38
Total .....	2,600	657,347.64		252.83
<b>May 1, 1894:</b>				
Employees .....	1,679	422,834.34	86.5	251.84
Not employees .....	186	66,193.84	13.5	355.88
Total .....	1,865	489,028.18		262.21
<b>June 1, 1894:</b>				
Employees .....	1,539	383,590.09	82.5	249.25
Not employees .....	215	81,558.58	17.5	379.34
Total .....	1,754	465,148.65		265.19

Comparative analytical statement of savings deposits, etc.—Concluded.

	Number.	Amount.	Percent- age.	Average deposit.
<b>July 1, 1894:</b>				
Employees .....	1, 414	\$384, 454. 59	80	\$257. 75
Not employees .....	224	89, 185. 90	20	397. 93
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>1, 638</b>	<b>453, 590. 49</b>		<b>276. 92</b>
<b>August 1, 1894:</b>				
Employees .....	1, 212	303, 087. 89	85	250. 07
Not employees .....	141	53, 273. 86	15	377. 84
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>1, 353</b>	<b>356, 361. 75</b>		<b>263. 39</b>

  

	Number of accounts.	Total amount.	Average amount.
<b>July 1, 1893:</b>			
Under \$100 .....	1, 150	\$41, 662. 69	\$34. 23
\$100 to \$500 .....	1, 119	250, 413. 07	223. 75
\$500 to \$1,000 .....	205	138, 128. 15	673. 75
\$1,000 to \$2,000 .....	94	127, 367. 12	1, 355. 00
\$2,000 to \$3,000 .....	26	61, 250. 80	2, 355. 90
Over \$3,000 .....	6	38, 525. 92	6, 420. 97
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>2, 800</b>	<b>657, 347. 75</b>	<b>252. 82</b>
<b>July 1, 1894:</b>			
Under \$100 .....	764	24, 761. 70	32. 41
\$100 to \$500 .....	639	142, 943. 32	223. 69
\$500 to \$1,000 .....	128	84, 442. 17	656. 70
\$1,000 to \$2,000 .....	70	95, 041. 79	1, 357. 74
\$2,000 to \$3,000 .....	39	71, 246. 18	2, 456. 76
Over \$3,000 .....	8	35, 155. 33	4, 394. 41
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>1, 638</b>	<b>453, 590. 49</b>	<b>276. 91</b>

Statement of the condition of the Pullman Loan and Savings Bank.

	Close of business—					
	June 1, 1893.	July 1, 1893.	May 1, 1894.	June 1, 1894.	July 1, 1894.	August 1, 1894.
<b>RESOURCES.</b>						
Bonds and stocks .....	\$392, 850. 00	\$410, 850. 00	\$306, 600. 00	\$306, 600. 00	\$306, 600. 00	\$306, 600. 00
Loans and discounts .....	511, 011. 37	497, 266. 55	406, 829. 29	391, 652. 78	391, 574. 24	379, 966. 75
Merchants' Loan and Trust Co .....	63, 000. 26	42, 847. 70	134, 474. 64	17, 033. 53	150, 940. 01	43, 910. 73
Premium account .....	1, 475. 00		1, 275. 00	1, 225. 00		1, 225. 00
Pullman's Palace Car Co. Farmers' Loan and Trust Co .....	206, 334. 26	145, 558. 92	71, 916. 02	181, 797. 32	185, 011. 64	125, 011. 64
Real estate, furniture, and fixtures .....	8, 061. 61	15, 006. 32	13, 721. 71	27, 245. 02	9, 652. 50	14, 382. 73
Expense .....	10, 234. 92	9, 827. 82	9, 827. 82	9, 327. 82	8, 827. 82	8, 827. 82
Overdrafts .....	7, 870. 54		5, 549. 44	7, 188. 30		1, 257. 62
Suspense account .....	2, 078. 71		34. 14	174. 02		4, 300. 45
Cash .....	75, 889. 53	123, 622. 90	49, 586. 34	60, 165. 80	55, 297. 29	48, 535. 91
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>1, 277, 824. 20</b>	<b>1, 244, 982. 21</b>	<b>999, 800. 84</b>	<b>1, 002, 399. 50</b>	<b>1, 107, 963. 50</b>	<b>934, 026. 04</b>
<b>LIABILITIES.</b>						
Capital .....	100, 000. 00	100, 000. 00	100, 000. 00	100, 000. 00	100, 000. 00	100, 000. 00
Surplus .....	70, 000. 00	75, 000. 00	100, 000. 00	100, 000. 00	100, 000. 00	100, 000. 00
Profit and loss .....	28, 560. 00	25, 212. 32	17, 877. 71	20, 432. 71	20, 829. 67	20, 829. 67
Interest .....	13, 288. 53		8, 150. 74	10, 463. 01		909. 21
Exchange .....	191. 47		153. 61	189. 70		30. 08
Deposits, commercial .....	382, 754. 58	384, 422. 25	276, 586. 26	301, 152. 55	430, 483. 34	351, 529. 70
Deposits, savings .....	674, 412. 97	657, 347. 64	489, 028. 18	465, 148. 05	453, 590. 49	356, 361. 75
Cashier's checks .....	1, 041. 79		1, 462. 12	498. 95		672. 08
Certificates of deposit .....	6, 123. 11		5, 692. 22	4, 491. 59		3, 476. 05
Certified checks .....	1, 451. 75		350. 00	22. 43		242. 50
Dividend unpaid .....		3, 000. 00			3, 000. 00	75. 00
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>1, 277, 824. 20</b>	<b>1, 244, 982. 21</b>	<b>999, 300. 84</b>	<b>1, 002, 399. 50</b>	<b>1, 107, 963. 50</b>	<b>934, 026. 04</b>

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Give those changes, bringing your statement to August 1.—Ans. At the commencement of business May 1, 1894, our savings deposits—to which I will call particular attention as being kept entirely separate from our commercial deposits, which are subject to check, there being two departments of our bank—the savings deposits at the commencement of business May 1, 1894, were \$489,028.18, at the commencement of business June 1, 1894, the savings deposits were \$465,148.65; at the commencement of business July 1, 1894, the savings deposits were \$453,590.49; at the commencement of business August 1, 1894, the savings deposits were \$356,361.75, showing that our savings deposits were reduced from May 1, 1894, to August 1, 1894, 133,000-odd dollars.

33 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the proportion of the savings deposits in the Pullman Loan and Savings Bank belonging to the employees of the Pullman company exclusive of officials—I mean of the workingmen, the wage receivers at Pullman?—Ans. I would respectfully submit to this commission a carefully compiled comparative analytical statement of our savings deposits; and I would say that in making these two classifications the employees at Pullman consist of those who are engaged in the different industries there, almost all of whom are in the shops of the palace car company, and any salaried officials are carefully excluded.

For the information of the commission I would state that on June 1, 1893, as will appear upon the statement just quoted from, the total deposits in our savings department were \$674,412.97; this amount was composed of 2,690 accounts. Of that 2,690 accounts, 2,477 accounts belonged entirely to the employees at Pullman—that is to say, 86 per cent of our deposits belonged to employees, with an average deposit of \$234.79. On July 1, 1893—I would like to give the commission the same relative figures and of the same date a year later—on July 1, 1893, there was to the credit of our savings deposits \$657,347.64; this amount was composed of 2,600 accounts, 2,425 of which belonged to employees, or 88½ per cent, the average deposit being \$240.16. Just one year later, on July 1, 1894, our savings deposits aggregated \$453,590.49, which amount consisted of 1,638 accounts, of which number 1,414 belonged to employees, which number aggregated in amount \$364,454.59, or 80 per cent of the entire amount of our savings belonged at that time to employees.

34 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the average?—Ans. The average deposit of the employees was \$257.75. For the purpose of showing to the commission as careful an analysis as possible of the savings, and to show what the average deposit is from the workingmen, I would say that the analytical statement which I have before me shows that on July 1, 1893, the aggregate deposits were \$657,347.64, consisting of 2,600 accounts with an average of \$252.83. Now, of this amount the number of accounts under \$100 was 1,150, or nearly one-half; this 1,150 accounts aggregated \$41,662.69; of these accounts under \$100 the average would be \$36.23. The next classification is accounts of between \$100 and \$500, of which we had 1,119 accounts, making a total of \$250,413.07, or an average of \$223.75. The next classification is of accounts of between \$500 and \$1,000, of which we had only 205, aggregating \$138,128.15, or an average of \$673.75. The next classification is of accounts between \$1,000 and \$2,000, of which we had but 94, aggregating \$127,367.12, or an average of \$1,355. Of accounts of between \$2,000 and \$3,000 we had but 26, aggregating

\$61,250.80, averaging \$2,355.90. Of accounts over \$3,000 we had but 6, aggregating \$38,525.92, averaging \$6,420.97.

To show the changes which took place between July 1, 1893, when our deposits reached very nearly the largest amount ever attained, and the condition of our savings deposits one year later, July 1, 1894, I would read the corresponding figures: On July 1, 1894, the amount of our savings deposits was \$453,590.49, consisting of 1,638 accounts; of this number we had of accounts under \$100, 764 accounts, making a total of \$24,761.70, averaging \$32.41, as against \$36.23 average the year before in a similar class of cases. Of accounts of between \$100 and \$500 the number was 639, aggregating \$142,943.32, the average deposit being \$223.69, showing that the average deposit of accounts of between \$100 and \$500 changed but slightly during the year, while the amount drawn out between those amounts was about \$100,000, or nearly one-sixth of the total deposits. I would call attention to the fact that these were savings of the workingmen. Of accounts between \$500 and \$1,000 we had 128, aggregating \$84,442.17, averaging \$659.70. Of accounts of between \$1,000 and \$2,000 we had 70, aggregating \$94,041.79, averaging \$1,357.74. Of accounts between \$2,000 and \$3,000 we had 29, aggregating \$71,246.18, averaging \$2,456.76. Of accounts of over \$3,000 we had but 8, aggregating \$35,155.33, averaging \$4,394.41.

35 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the rate of interest allowed upon the deposits in your savings bank department?—Ans. Since the organization in May, 1883, we have always paid 4 per cent per annum, paid to the depositors on the 1st days of July and January, and we have continued this rate and are now paying the same at the present time, regardless of the fact that many of the banks have reduced their rate to 3 per cent per annum.

36 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How are the savings of the bank invested?—Ans. Quite largely in real estate mortgages at Pullman or in the immediate vicinity of Pullman.

37 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there any restriction applicable to the investment of the deposits under your charter and the law?—Ans. We are governed and consider ourselves amenable to the laws of Illinois governing State savings banks; we are under the supervision of the State auditor, to whom we make reports for publication as called for.

38 (Commissioner KERNAN). As a savings bank?—Ans. Yes, sir.

39 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you make reports annually to the State department?—Ans. We make reports whenever they are called for; we never know when the call is coming.

40 (Commissioner KERNAN). The law does not require you to make a report at a fixed time each year?—Ans. No, sir; neither the national nor State banks are so called upon.

41 (Commissioner KERNAN). You make them whenever you are called upon by the auditor?—Ans. Within five days.

42 (Commissioner KERNAN). How many such reports have you had occasion to make?—Ans. Ever since the auditor of the State of Illinois assumed control of the State banks of Illinois, in a similar manner as the Comptroller of the United States controls the national banks—

43 (Commissioner KERNAN). How often; what is the custom about it?—Ans. I think we are called upon to make such statements about once in two or three months. Our last statement was made only a few weeks ago and published in the paper at Pullman.



44 (Commissioner KERNAN). When was this bank organized?—Ans. May 7, 1883.

45 (Commissioner KERNAN). Would it be too much trouble for you to furnish us with a copy of the reports that you have made since then?—Ans. Of all the reports that we have made since May, 1883?

46 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes; so as to show the growth of the business gradually in this line.—Ans. I should be very glad to make such a report. I have not got it now, but I will furnish it.

47 (Commissioner KERNAN). We would like the report since the bank started, to show the growth of the business. I suppose your report is substantially such as the printed one you have submitted here, showing the liabilities at each period when the report is called for?—Ans. Yes, sir. May I ask what particular details you would like in regard to the growth?

48 (Commissioner KERNAN). We want it for the purpose of seeing how the deposits on the part of employees have increased from time to time, or decreased; what has been the progress of that kind.—Ans. I might state in a general way that the savings deposits of the men commenced when the bank was organized on May 1, 1883, and increased with regularity up to May 27, 1893, when we reached the maximum amount of our savings deposits, 677,000-odd dollars; from that date, owing to the panic of last summer, our deposits have decreased until at present they are 356,000-odd dollars the first of the month.

49 (Commissioner KERNAN). About how large a proportion of the commercial deposits comes from the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. About two-thirds.

50 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that is usual with that class of your deposits?—Ans. Yes, sir; from one-half to two-thirds.

51 (Commissioner KERNAN). I suppose that is usual with that class of deposits?—Ans. Yes, sir.

52 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is this a bank used by the people at Kensington and surrounding towns for depositing?—Ans. It is; we consider that our territory, so to speak, consists of Pullman, Roseland, Kensington, Gano, Riverdale, Dalton, etc. We receive general bank collections for all of that territory.

53 (Commissioner KERNAN). So that your savings-bank deposits and commercial deposits, I presume, represent as a general rule the deposits of the people in the towns you have mentioned who desire to deal with a bank on those two lines?—Ans. Yes, sir; some of our best accounts are from merchants and men outside of Pullman.

54 (Commissioner KERNAN). Your surplus of \$100,000—I see you have a capital of \$100,000 and a surplus of \$100,000—is that an accumulated surplus, or one that was paid in by the stockholders?—Ans. When the bank started there was no surplus; it was a surplus of gradual growth from the business of the bank.

55 (Commissioner KERNAN). About what dividend have you been able to pay?—Ans. This bank has paid 3 per cent semi-annually—6 per cent per annum—since its organization, and no more.

56 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you say that you paid 4 per cent on the deposits of depositors?—Ans. On our savings deposits; there is no interest to commercial depositors.

57 (Commissioner KERNAN). There has been no change in that rate of interest made?—Ans. We have paid 4 per cent on our savings deposits; paid it to the depositors on the 1st of July and 1st of January of each year.

58 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you a savings-bank book that is

used by those who deposit savings?—Ans. I will submit such a book to the commission.

59 (Commissioner KERNAN). And I suppose that book contains the rules under which deposits are received and paid out?—Ans. Yes, sir.

60 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the rule with reference to the withdrawal of the parties as to its effect upon the interest?—Ans. As stated in the by-laws of the bank, which are similar to those of all savings banks with which I am familiar, we require sixty days' notice, but we have never made use of such requirements.

61 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have the right to require that if you choose to?—Ans. Yes, sir; but we have never availed ourselves of it.

62 (Commissioner KERNAN). With reference to the interest question, what are the rules about that; suppose that a deposit is made, for instance, after the beginning of a quarter, does the sum begin to draw interest before the beginning of the next quarter or half year?—Ans. Yes, sir; the sum of money deposited accrues interest from the first of the following month after the date of such deposit.

63 (Commissioner KERNAN). On a withdrawal what is the rule as to loss of interest?—Ans. We compute our interest upon all balances as found in our savings department on the close of business June 30 and December 30 of each year. If an interim withdrawal is made it is deducted from the oldest amount or from the balance to the credit of such depositor the last interest date. If, for instance, a withdrawal was made March 15 it would be deducted from such money as this depositor had on hand January 1 of the same year.

64 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, if a man had \$100 in there on the 1st of January and withdrew it on the 15th of March, he would not get interest?—Ans. No, sir; he would get no interest unless he permitted the sum to remain until the semiannual report, June 30.

65 (Commissioner KERNAN). A deposit must remain until the next regular interest day in order to get interest?—Ans. Yes, sir.

66 (Commissioner KERNAN). And if withdrawn sooner it does not?—Ans. No, sir.

67 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is that a usual rule in savings banks?—Ans. Yes, sir. I know of no savings bank but what has a similar rule.

68 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have no rule that works to the injury of the depositors in the way of causing them to lose interest, then, different from any other savings bank in this vicinity?—Ans. No, sir. On the contrary, many times we make a loan to a depositor so that he will not forfeit his interest, always taking the savings-bank book as collateral. Only this last May I made a loan for thirty days to a depositor so that he should not lose his interest for the six months.

69 (Commissioner KERNAN). You spoke of some connection that the bank had with collection of rent. What is the arrangement between the bank and the Pullman Palace Car Company by which the bank acts as agent for the collection of rents for the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. I respectfully submit this statement of the custom of collecting rents of houses from employees of the company. Prior to the passage of the "Truck act," or before June, 1891, it was customary to give an employee who was a tenant, in payment for his earnings of every two weeks, a check for the difference between the amount of his earnings and one-half of the amount of his monthly rent. If a tenant employee got behind in his rent the amount of one-half of his monthly rent deducted was increased by a small amount when he again went to work until his back rent was paid.

Since the passage of the "Truck act" the full amount of earnings

for every two weeks has been given to each tenant employee by the paymaster of the company in two checks. One for the amount of one-half the month's rent, and the other for the balance of wages earned. It has been customary for the men on receiving these two checks to indorse and deliver to the rent collector, who was near at hand during the pay days, the check representing the rent. If a tenant employee was behind in his rent he came to the office of the rent collector and made such payment as he could on his back rent from the money obtained from the check received for the balance of his earnings or from other resources which he might have.

During the past year the decrease of work has been such that many of the tenant employees could not easily pay the amount of their current rent or their back rent. For the purpose of dealing considerably with such tenants, the collector requested the paymaster of the company to send both checks due such employee to him for delivery. Upon their calling their checks were handed them, with the request that they make some payment upon their rent. For months during the last year, several hundred men in this way paid but \$1 each every two weeks for rent, the remainder of the amount of both checks being paid to the employee. In some cases no rent at all was paid by the employees. Prior to the passage of the "Truck act," and since, when a receipt was given to an employee for one-half a month's rent and a check for the balance of earnings, such employee could always take such rent receipt to the agent of the town of Pullman and have such part of it repaid him in money immediately as his necessities required. When I speak of the agent, I mean the Pullman Loan and Savings Bank, which acted in that capacity.

70 (Commissioner KERNAN). For the benefit of those in the dark, tell me what the "Truck act" is.—Ans. The "Truck act," which is a part of the laws of Illinois—I believe it has since been declared unconstitutional—forbids the deducting from a man's earnings what he might owe his employer.

71 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, the bank, acting in this capacity as collector, or having that under its control, I presume it is paid by the Pullman company for its services in doing that work?—Ans. We charge the Pullman company for making these collections the same as we would charge a bank in Chicago for making similar collections in our territory, the charge being regulated by the work we do.

72 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, you charge such a percentage—a commission on the rents that you collect?—Ans. We make a charge adequate to the service performed.

73 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is it fixed by agreement or arrangement, or is it based on the amount of work done? How is it ascertained?—Ans. It is a fixed sum.

74 (Commissioner KERNAN). At so much per year?—Ans. At so much per month.

75 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the amount?—Ans. We get for making all the collections enough to pay our clerical help and expenses and make for the bank the customary drafts made upon collections.

76 (Commissioner KERNAN). What do you mean by the "customary drafts;" one-half of 1 per cent?—Ans. Yes, sir; about that.

77 (Commissioner KERNAN). And how much of a force of collectors do you employ?—Ans. Three; but I would say that the Pullman Loan and Savings Bank, in their capacity as collectors, make these collections. When you ask me how many collectors we have I would say

that all the employees of the bank attend to these collections as they may require it; I, as manager and cashier, and my chief clerk, if necessary, and any employee of the bank attends to these collections. It is not particularly apportioned to any one man.

78 (Commissioner KERNAN). Anyone in the bank has authority to make these collections of rent?—Ans. Yes, sir.

79 (Commissioner KERNAN). And I assume that the officials of the bank and its employees try to collect the rents up as promptly as they can?—Ans. Yes, sir.

80 (Commissioner KERNAN). Regarding themselves simply as collectors to get it as they can and as speedily as they can and they do what they can properly to accomplish it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

81 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, why is it that they make the payment of the wages in two checks?—Ans. Simply for the convenience of the men.

82 (Commissioner KERNAN). How is it convenient to the men?—Ans. Because when conditions are normal as regards to there being plenty of work, the workman can easily turn his check right over to the collector upon indorsement and pay his rent and be done with it.

83 (Commissioner KERNAN). Receiving the check for the amount of rent from the company enables the workman to know just how the rent account stands between him and the company and to pay it directly over to the bank?—Ans. Yes, sir.

84 (Commissioner KERNAN). Suppose he comes with the rent check and says that he wants the money on it; you give him the money in the way you have stated?—Ans. Yes, sir; he does not even have to come to us; it is current at any bank in Chicago or elsewhere.

85 (Commissioner KERNAN). When you find that he has not paid his rent, what do you do then?—Ans. Within the last year he has been permitted to remain in the house undisturbed, knowing that the amount of work in the shops had so much decreased.

86 (Commissioner KERNAN). You report him, do you not?—Ans. We simply report him to the company. I speak of the general conditions as I happen to know them as a resident of Pullman.

87 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understood you to say that the number of employee depositors July 1, 1893, was 2,425?—Ans. No, sir; July 1, 1893, the total savings depositors were 2,600.

88 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I don't mean the savings depositors, but the employee depositors?—Ans. 2,425; yes, sir.

89 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did that class of depositors represent men who had been at work for some time for the Pullman company?—Ans. Yes, sir; many of them had lived in the town since it started.

90 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And that represented the gross amount of their deposits during the time for which they had been employed by the company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

91 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I think you stated that the average of those deposits was \$234.79?—Ans. \$240.16; the amount that you read was of June 1, 1893. I wrote two months there.

92 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). \$240.16?—Ans. Yes, sir; on the date you now give.

93 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you the average there for July 1?—Ans. That is July 1—\$240.16.

94 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understood you to state that July 1, 1894, the total number of depositors was 1,414. Is that correct?—Ans. Yes, sir.

95 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And their average deposit was how much?—Ans. \$257.75.

96 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The number of employee depositors then fell off during the year from July 1, 1893, to July 1, 1894, a little over 1,000?—Ans. 1,009.

97 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How do you account for that great falling off in the number of employee depositors during that year?—Ans. There had been for several years a good deal of work in the Pullman shops, and other industries were in the same condition the country over. In the summer of 1893 all business was very dull, and the work at Pullman was much less and many people went away from Pullman, taking their deposits with them, many foreigners going back to Europe, taking advantage of the dull business to revisit the countries from which they came, and some of the money was drawn to be expended in the World's Fair period and various expenses.

98 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was the difference in the number of employees in the Pullman works July 1, 1894, and July 1, 1893?—Ans. I am not an employee of the Pullman Palace Car Company and could not say except from general information.

99 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). There was no serious falling off in the number, was there?—Ans. Yes, sir; the number was, if I may state from information gathered from reading and general information, of course, not being an employee of the company, I simply have the same means of obtaining information as to that as other residents of Pullman.

100 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But you paid the checks of the employees?—Ans. Yes, sir.

101 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And it gave you a better opportunity than others had?—Ans. Yes, sir; I should say, in round numbers, that on July 1, 1893, there was between 5,000 and 6,000—about 5,000—men employed; one year later I do not think there was more than half that number employed. The work fell off very much when the World's Fair opened, because many cars for which repairs were made were all pressed into the service during the World's Fair period.

102 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I suppose you are not able to state how many of those had gone away of those who had been depositors on July 1, 1893—that is, had left Pullman, or had ceased to work there?—Ans. I should think about 400—from 400 to 500—making such a statement from the fact that we had 1,000 less depositors July 1, 1894, than we had on July 1, 1893.

103 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That would be an estimate?—Ans. An estimate based, however, on pretty correct information which we kept at the time.

104 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That would leave, then, about 600, or about 25 per cent of the total of depositors July 1, 1893, that had in some way or other entirely exhausted the savings of previous years during that twelve months, would it not?—Ans. No, sir. You asked me for the number of men that went away from Pullman, and I stated to you that I thought only about 400.

105 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). No, I did not ask you that. I wanted to know the number of men who were out of employment that had been employed there before, remaining at Pullman, and then the number of men who had gone, so as to get the aggregate—that is the number of depositors July 1, 1894, or of those who had ceased to be depositors rather, that were out of work at Pullman—had been dropped

from the rolls.—Ans. Then I should say that between 400 and 500 went away and there were 400 or 500 left; I estimate that about one-half went away and the other one-half remained.

106 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Remained in what capacity, still as employees?—Ans. Still waiting to go back to work when the work admitted of it.

107 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you think the other half of the difference in the number of depositors between 1893 and 1894 were men that were out of work at Pullman during that year?—Ans. Yes, sir; as I understand your inquiry.

108 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I will put it in another shape; I want to know the number of employees at Pullman July 1, 1894, that had used up the savings of former years in some way or other and ceased to be depositors. You told me that there were 1,414 depositors July 1, 1894, and 2,425 July 1, 1893.—Ans. Yes, sir. I consider that one-half of those people looked for work elsewhere, went back to the old country or went away; the other 400 remained in Pullman and withdrew their savings for one reason and another, but for what reason I am not able to state.

109 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was the falling off of the average of the number of depositors who remained July 1, 1894, compared with those in 1893?—Ans. Well, I should say just about the difference between 80 and 88½ per cent.

110 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). There was very little falling off, then, in the class of depositors who remained July 1, 1894?—Ans. Yes, sir.

111 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But there was a total exhaustion of the deposits of 1,009?—Ans. Yes, sir.

112 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What class fell off the most?—Ans. Those having deposits of between \$100 and \$500. My analytical statement shows that the major part of our deposit has always been made up of accounts of between \$100 and \$500 during the period from July 1, 1893, to July 1, 1894, you speak of. The deposits of between \$100 and \$500 fell off \$108,000, but the average remained, with the exception of a few cents, precisely the same—the average of deposit.

113 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). This bank was organized when?—Ans. May 7, 1883.

114 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Give me the average or approximate average length of time of the deposits of these employee depositors.—Ans. Many accounts we have had since the bank started, and as an estimate I should say that these accounts would average three to four years. When I make that statement I make it from the information I have gathered in going over and verifying the interest every six months and at odd intervals.

115 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Can you state the total amount back on rents unpaid July 1, 1894?—Ans. No, sir.

116 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Can you approximate it?—Ans. That could only be stated by the landlord, as to how much rent was due him. We have for collection such bills as the Pullman Palace Car Company see fit to send us for collection. I can state to this commission the amount of bills we had on hand to collect, which is a portion of the outstanding indebtedness.

117 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But that does not represent it all?—Ans. No, sir; it represents such part of the indebtedness for rent as the company saw fit to send to us for collection.

118 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is July 1, 1894?—Ans. I can give you the amount outstanding June 30, 1893, and the amount outstanding when the strike occurred, May 11, 1894.

119 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Give those amounts.—Ans. I would say that on June 30, 1893, the amount of bills which we had received from the Pullman Palace Car Company for collection against employees was only \$3,891; in other words, at the end of many months of prosperity the amount of bills which the Pullman company had seen fit to send to us for collection in the way of general business was only \$3,891.15. This was due June 30, 1893.

120 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That was the amount then due and unpaid?—Ans. Yes, sir; the amount of bills the Pullman company had sent us for collection.

121 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was any other person or corporation acting as collectors for the Pullman company?—Ans. Not unless they made such collections as they saw fit, direct. On May 11, 1894, we had on hand bills for collection received from the Pullman company aggregating \$28,244.21.

122 (Commissioner KERNAN). How was that made up; against what classes of tenants?—Ans. Tenant employees.

123 (Commissioner KERNAN). What classes, I mean as to the amount of rent they paid; some paid \$17 a month, some \$10, and some \$12; Can you ascertain how much was owing from each class?—Ans. No, sir; because my information is not accurate as compared with the whole; I received just such bills as the company saw fit to send me; they own the houses and they know what is the sum total of rent due and how much from each man; we know nothing about their business except so far as they send us bills for collection and we collect them; I have made no such analysis as you speak of; my impression is that the bills which we have were on men who were paying on an average about \$13 per month for their houses.

124 (Commissioner KERNAN). That was the class against which principally this balance had accrued?—Ans. Yes, sir; in this estimate of back rent due from employees, which I have made, of course none of the officials, none of the foremen, etc., are included, and they owed no rent; it was only the ordinary mechanics.

125 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Will you give us the figures? You were interrupted.—Ans. \$28,244.21 was the amount due May 11, 1894, estimated amount due from employees, with the explanation which I have made as to how I made up that amount. I lived in Pullman myself. I paid my rent, and my rent is not included in that amount; neither is the rent of any of the officials that reside in Pullman.

126 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What amount was back upon the first day of the succeeding months after May 11? Have you any statement?—Ans. I will give you the amount June 30, 1893, the same men—the same class of bills—they owed but \$3,891.15.

127 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have given us that.—Ans. I have no further dates.

128 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have no dates for June, July, and August, 1894?—Ans. I can give you May 1, 1894.

129 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You may furnish the amounts of rent up to August, 1894, the amounts of rent due for each month.—Ans. May 1, June 1, July 1, 1894?

130 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes, sir.—Ans. Yes, sir; and I can give you the amount due August 1, 1894, if you would like that.

131 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Give us that now.—Ans. That

was \$58,773.57. That was due the first of the present month. Speaking in round numbers, June 30, 1893, the employees, consisting of mechanics, exclusive of officials, etc., at Pullman, owed the company 3,000 odd dollars; August 1, 1894, they owed the company \$58,773.57; but this is only such bills as the company saw fit to send to us for collection; they are only partial.

132 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You are not prepared to say that there is back rent due for which bills have not come into your hands, are you?—Ans. Yes, sir; there is.

133 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When bills for rent are sent to you for collection do they, under ordinary circumstances, remain in your hands from month to month?—Ans. I wish to qualify that other statement. I think there are; I might say I know there are.

134 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Amounts due for back rent other than the bills that you received?—Ans. Yes, sir.

135 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When a bill is put into your hand for rent it remains there, I suppose, unless ordered out?—Ans. No, sir; it remains there until I have presented it for payment and reported upon the status of such bills, just as if you sent a draft upon one of my customers. I present the draft and if I don't get the money I give you a report of why I don't get it; that would follow, with very little difference, in the case of rent bills. Of course a rent bill is kept by us a little longer than a sight draft would be or a protest draft, but they are treated in the same manner.

136 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then the bills sent to you on the 1st of May, for instance, if not paid within a few days, would be returned during that month?—Ans. No, sir; we would hold them longer than that.

137 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how long would you hold them?—Ans. Upon an average I would say two months, perhaps three months. We would be governed entirely by the condition of the tenant owing the bill; in case of illness, if he was a good man, we have held bills for many months, and when he got well he paid it.

138 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You exercise your own discretion in returning these unpaid bills, do you?—Ans. Yes, sir; that is a service we render for the remuneration received for making the collections.

139 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It was understood between you and the Pullman company that you exercised that discretion, was it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

140 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What pressure is brought by the bank, as collector, against tenants to compel payment of these rent checks?—Ans. These tenants are given to understand that they are expected to pay their rent the same as the tenant of any other landlord, and they know that these bills will be returned by the bank with a recommendation that they be asked to vacate their houses if they do not pay their rent. The company does not act upon all recommendations made by the bank; the company uses its discretion finally upon such recommendations as we make.

141 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Has the bank in any instance declined to pay the rent check if the party was unwilling to have it applied on the rent?—Ans. No, sir; never. We have no right to do so; the check would be no good until it was indorsed.

142 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Suppose it is indorsed?—Ans. Well, then, we would get the money on it.

143 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Suppose it is indorsed and they



do not want to turn it over for rent?—Ans. Then they get the money on it.

144 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And it is not applied on the rent?—Ans. No, sir; the checks are given to the men, and in many instances men take the checks and go out and do not pay anything, making the explanation that they have illness in their families or their circumstances require them to use the money, as in the statement which I read.

145 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is their action with reference to turning over these rent checks—indorsing them and turning them over to the bank—as free and voluntary as the action of any outside party would be who brought a check to your bank against whom you had a collection?—Ans. Yes, sir.

146 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is no more pressure used, and no more influences brought to bear?—Ans. No, sir.

147 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you, in any instances, asked for the application of rent checks of this kind upon the back rent of former tenants?—Ans. Will you repeat the question?

148 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It has been stated in testimony here that the daughter of a former tenant, Miss Jennie Curtis, was required to pay a part of the rent that her father had owed. Do you know anything about that?—Ans. Yes, sir; and knowing that such a statement had been made, I have carefully investigated this particular case, and I would respectfully read to this commission—

149 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I would rather you would testify without reading it; you can refresh your recollection by examining the document, if you please.—Ans. Our collector called on September 14 for payment of rent, not knowing that Mr. Curtis had died September 9. He was told this by a younger sister of Miss Curtis, who stated that Miss Jennie Curtis would call at the bank and arrange in respect to the rent, and in respect to continuing to live in the house.

150 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have that from your own knowledge?—Ans. Yes, sir.

151 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you call there and see this sister of Miss Jennie Curtis, and did she tell you that?—Ans. No, sir; my collector did.

152 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then you do not know it of your own knowledge?—Ans. No, sir.

153 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I asked you if you knew it of your own knowledge.—Ans. I misunderstood you. It was done under my direction. Early in October Miss Curtis called at the bank and said she wished to continue in the house until the approaching marriage of her sister, and as the arrearage of her father's rent, \$17.52, was small, she herself said she wished to discharge it, but that to do so she would have to make small semimonthly payments out of the wage checks coming to her. She continued to occupy the house only up to October 31, 1893, and although her father had died September 9, by an inadvertence the account continued to be kept and the receipts to be given her in her father's name. The arrearage of rent up to the time of her father's death was \$17.52; the amount accrued thereafter for her own occupancy up to October 31 was \$32.14; total, \$49.66. There was due from that house when her father died \$17.52; she continued to occupy it herself, and I presume the other members of the family with her, up to the 31st of October, and the accrued rent for the time she occupied it was \$32.14. In pursuance of her proposition she made small pay-

ments, beginning in October and ending in April, 1894, the aggregate amount of which is exactly \$32, and these amounts were credited on the account which was her father's, and her own continued in his name.

The unpaid balance is \$17.66, which is a trifle more than the amount of the debt of her father, the payment of which by her she complains of, calling it \$60, as I understand from reading. I did not hear Miss Curtis say it was \$60, but I think I have read it. It will be seen also that the total sum paid by her after her father's death, \$32, is a trifle less than the amount of indebtedness for rent, gas, and water incurred by herself for her occupation of the house after her father's death, so that her own payments did not pay her own debt, and that the facts are not consistent with the published statement of Miss Curtis that she has been forced to pay an indebtedness of \$45 of her father in addition to her own, the actual fact being that Miss Curtis paid us \$32. The accrued rent of the house she occupied from September 9 to October 31, when she vacated the house, was \$32.14; her father owed when he died \$17.52, and no matter what application was made of the money, we collected \$32 from Miss Curtis in all, and she owed \$32.14 for her own occupancy of the house after her father's death.

154 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Leaving out the father's account, do you mean to say that she still owes you \$32 for the rent of the house for herself?—Ans. No, sir.

155 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What does she owe after applying all the money that she paid upon her own account?—Ans. Fourteen cents. I would submit a detailed statement of the exact payments made, with the dates of payments, etc.

156 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How did you apply the payments she made on the rent there, commencing from the first?—Ans. The payments of money that she made were first applied on the oldest rent bills outstanding.

157 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is, the bill against her father?—Ans. Yes, sir.

158 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Give the amounts that were paid you monthly until the indebtedness of her father was wiped out?—Ans. On October 5, 1893, she paid \$5; on October 12, 1893, \$5; on November 6, 1893, \$1.76, and also on that date, \$1.24; November 21, 1893, she paid \$3; January 9, 1894, \$3; January 26, 1894, \$3; February 8, 1894, \$2; March 8, \$2; March 23, \$2; April 7, 1894, \$2; and April 23, \$2; leaving a balance unpaid of \$17.66.

159 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were those payments made to you individually?—Ans. No, sir; they were made to my collectors or teller—whichever collector she happened to see in the bank.

160 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It was to somebody employed in the bank at the time?—Ans. Yes, sir.

161 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And where was the application made of those payments?—Ans. At the bank.

162 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who made the application?—Ans. My clerks.

163 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And they were applied to the extinguishment, first, of the indebtedness of the father?—Ans. Yes, sir.

164 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). After the father's death was not a lease made out to her, individually, of this property?—Ans. No, sir; because she gave us information to the effect that she expected very shortly to vacate the house. Her father died September 9, and

she moved out October 31—the very next month—and through a clerical oversight no new lease was made for the one month and twenty-one days.

165 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did she agree in writing to pay the back rent?—Ans. No, sir; it was a verbal agreement.

166 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you, or one of your collectors, have the conversation with her in regard to the payment of the rent?—Ans. One of my collectors did.

167 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You were not present at the time of the conversation?—Ans. No, sir; I did at the last—I did have a conversation with Miss Curtis. I think it was in the early part of May, in which she stated that she could not afford to pay any more money, and that she had already paid some on her father's account. I said to her, "Very well, if you can't make the payments, we appreciate that you have paid what little was due on your father's account, but altogether what you have paid is no more than what you owed for the house up to the time you vacated it." She vacated it on the 31st of October, 1893, and this conversation took place long after she had vacated it, in May, 1894.

168 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had she gone into any other house of the company?—Ans. Yes, sir; I think she was boarding with her sister.

169 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was she renting any other house from the company?—Ans. No, sir; she never rented any house since she vacated the house where she lived October 31, 1893.

170 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). She vacated that house October 31, 1893?—Ans. Yes, sir; so that all the money we have collected from Miss Curtis would not entirely liquidate her indebtedness for the time she occupied the house.

171 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But the company still holds against her a claim of \$17 for rent?—Ans. Which we have never pressed in any way.

172 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But still hold it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

173 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How did you happen to have that conversation with her in May, when she said that she could not pay any more?—Ans. Because she had not made any payment for some time, and when no payment is made my collectors often refer such a case to me. Miss Curtis explained that she was earning less and she could not afford to pay any more, but she was satisfied, and our conversation was of a most pleasant character, and I always considered her a lady.

174 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The cause of that conversation was some claim on her for back rent by your collectors—the reason she came to see you?—Ans. Yes, sir; we expected her to pay the rent.

175 (Commissioner KERNAN). I understand that all that you have stated as being said by Miss Curtis the first time that she was seen after her father's death, when she, as you state, agreed to pay the back rent, was said to one of your collectors?—Ans. Yes, sir; to my chief clerk.

176 (Commissioner KERNAN). And your testimony is a narrative of what he reported to you?—Ans. Yes, sir. What I submit in regard to payments I submit of my own knowledge. I know the money came.

177 (Commissioner KERNAN). In making up the amount of Miss Curtis' rent you have figured it for the time that she occupied the

house after her father's death at \$32.14. Is that the amount?—Ans. Yes, sir.

178 (Commissioner KERNAN). Just how do you make that up—by charging her for the month of October how much, and for the month of September how much?—Ans. Her father died September 9; therefore she is chargeable with the balance of September, \$12.40; for October rent, \$17; for water 71 cents and for gas 23 cents, and for gas consumed from September 15 to October 31, \$1.80; making a total of \$32.14.

179 (Commissioner KERNAN). Her father, I suppose, had a written lease.—Ans. Yes, sir.

180 (Commissioner KERNAN). How was it to be paid; in advance at the beginning of the month, or at the end of the month?—Ans. In advance at the beginning of the month.

181 (Commissioner KERNAN). So that at the time of his death the father owed for the month of September?—Ans. Under the terms of the lease, yes, sir.

182 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). She only owed for the month of October?—Ans. I did not so consider it. Her father could not owe the debt after he was dead, but if he owed for the month of September it should go against his estate. If Miss Curtis had vacated the house at the time of her father's death she would not owe us the rent, but if she continued to occupy it after her father's death I think the rent would be due against her.

183 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is the way you came to make up that amount of indebtedness against her, is it?—Ans. Yes, sir. She continued to occupy the house after her father died, and was therefore owing it from the time of the death of her father. The report given me by my collector was that she voluntarily offered to pay that little balance which her father owed. I think a short time prior to that date he was getting good wages. Of course things changed very radically in 1894.

184 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did the collector report that he did not suggest that she should do that, and urge her to do it?—Ans. The collector reported that he did not suggest that she do it, but that she offered to do it.

185 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does the bank own the property it occupies?—Ans. No, sir; we are tenants of the Pullman Palace Car Company.

186 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the rent paid there?—Ans. We pay for our banking facilities \$150 per month.

187 (Commissioner KERNAN). How much ground do you occupy?—Ans. Our bank occupies the northeast corner of the Arcade Building, and I think the frontage is about 20 feet, and I think it is about 100 feet deep.

188 (Commissioner KERNAN). Ground floor?—Ans. Yes, sir.

189 (Commissioner KERNAN). Anything above or below that?—Ans. No, sir. It includes a vault which the company built for itself, which we continue to use—a banking vault.

190 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you give me the decrease in the number of accounts from July 1, 1893, to May 1, 1894?—Ans. The number of accounts July 1, 1893, was 2,600; May 1, 1894, 1,865.

191 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the deposits had decreased how much?—Ans. The deposits had decreased from \$657,000 to \$489,000.

192 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Suppose a check for rent was presented to you for deposit on savings-bank account, properly indorsed of course

by the payee, would that check be received at the bank?—Ans. It would, and be credited to the man's savings account; but the report of such refusal to pay the rent would be made to the Pullman company, the same as a refusal to pay a draft would be made to a wholesale merchant.

193 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You would either cash that check or deposit it in the savings department, as the payee desired?—Ans. Yes, sir.

194 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is there anything on that check to indicate that it is on the rent account?—Ans. No, sir.

195 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you collect rents for other parties than the Pullman company as against the Pullman company's employees? For instance, if they are living in Kensington, do you collect rents for the landlords there?—Ans. No, sir; they do not give us that kind of business. They have commercial accounts with us, but they generally prefer to save the expense by collecting their rents themselves.

196 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is your knowledge of the valuation of property and the rentals adjusted on that, both in Pullman and adjoining towns?—Ans. I am not sufficiently familiar to give any valuable testimony in regard to that matter. I have owned some property myself in the vicinity of Pullman, but do not at the present time.

197 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know anything of the adjustment of the rents at Pullman on the cost of the place, or the valuation, or otherwise?—Ans. No, sir.

198 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have any measures been taken to enforce the payment of back rents recently, so far as you know?—Ans. No, sir.

199 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has any eviction list been given to you?—Ans. No, sir.

200 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You mean that you do not know that any measures have been taken, or that no measures have been taken?—Ans. To the best of my knowledge no measures have been taken, but I do not know it positively; it would not be in my department.

#### TESTIMONY OF CHARLES H. EATON.

August 27, 1894, Charles H. Eaton, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Charles H. Eaton; New York City; clergyman.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State briefly, in your own way, what you know, if anything, of your own knowledge of the conditions at Pullman at the time of the strike or since, and how you came into possession of such facts.—Ans. I would like to say to the commission that the reason of my presence here is my life-long interest in the subjects under discussion. I know nothing of the conditions at Pullman or in Chicago prior to the strike excepting what I have read in the newspapers and heard in relation to it. I came to the city of Chicago and went down to Pullman on Tuesday of the present week to investigate the causes and effects of the strike. I done this entirely as an individual, and without directions from anyone. I visited the homes in Pullman and investigated and inquired of the working people—a workman whose name I don't know took me in charge and took me from home to home—that I might understand the exact condition of the working people, my object being to find out whether the destitution at Pullman justified the strike, or whether paternalism in Pullman

justified the strike—two claims which had been made. I made a personal examination of thirty-one homes, and entered forty homes and conversed with more than forty people, and I discovered in parts of Pullman the intelligent workmen, or very many of them, said that they did not feel that their grievances justified the strike, and that they were—

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what you saw yourself, not what you were told.—Ans. I would say that I went personally and then I went with the relief committee into forty homes and was unable to find any extreme destitution; there were some cases of need, undoubtedly.

4 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). We have avoided so far going into the destitution at Pullman in this investigation as hardly germane to the inquiry.—Ans. I thought possibly that if, after the men had been out of employment for three months, the destitution was so small as it is to-day, it was testimony as to the character of the men and the management of the town—

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It is the decision of the commission that the question as to the alleged destitution there is not a matter for this commission to investigate. If we went into that we would open up a new question which would take us too far away from the matter we were directed to investigate.—Ans. Do you desire me to say anything about paternalism? I inquired of the workmen in order to find out for my own information as to whether paternalism drove them by its severity into the strike. If that is at all pertinent I will speak of it.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Had you ever been in Pullman before?—Ans. No, sir.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you go there at your own cost and expense at this time you speak of?—Ans. Yes, sir. I had been reading political economy theoretically all summer and I came out to investigate.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You only know of the matters leading to the strike from what you have been told?—Ans. What the workingmen have told me—their own statements of grievances and the causes leading up to the strike in their opinion.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). They ought to make their statements here themselves.—Ans. I don't know that it is germane, but I followed my guide, Rev. Mr. Carwardine, and undertook to verify the statements in his book, because I thought if they were true something ought to be done; and I discovered that many of the statements were true, but most of them were very greatly exaggerated.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I hardly think we will go into that. The line on which you are testifying, Doctor, does not, in the opinion of the commission, come within the scope of the matters we are investigating, but I would like to have you state as the result of your inquiry and study at Pullman what, in your opinion, might be done to avoid such affairs in the future; what remedy you would adopt in such cases.—Ans. I could not say that I have a theory that is entirely elaborated. I have heard the theory of others, but have not heard any yet that seems to be thoroughly competent to deal with the present difficulties. Personally, I believe the only solution of the troubles which exist is the creation of character, and think the town of Pullman has made a fair contribution in that direction. Compulsory arbitration I do not think is possible, but if you can get the proper surroundings for the men I think you will build up character, and that, I think, is the solution of the question.

11 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What specific act would you recommend so far as legislation is concerned for the prevention of

such strikes?—Ans. I have not yet heard from men who are competent to speak upon the subject of any plan which seems to me satisfactory.

12 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have formulated none yourself?—Ans. No, sir. Compulsory arbitration, I think, is impossible, because there is an absence of responsibility on the part of one party to the arbitration.

13 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have never been in any business where you employed a large number of men, have you?—Ans. No, sir.

14 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you ever been an employee where a large number of men were employed?—Ans. No, sir; but I associated with machinists in my youth—boarded in the homes of mechanics.

15 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Your views of these questions are theoretical, are they not?—Ans. Not altogether; my guardian was an employer of a large number of men in a factory in Massachusetts, and I grew up in the atmosphere of a manufacturing town, and was in constant association at an early period in life with mechanics, and my chosen work also compels me to investigate these things and the questions involved in them.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). What do you think of the licensing system for railroad employees that has been talked about?—Ans. I think it is a denial of the freedom of the individual employee, and I think it would be a very doubtful relief. You don't want my theory, and I will not give it with reference to the solution of this problem.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes; if you have any remedy you desire to suggest, do so.—Ans. I think the only way to help the working people, of which class I am a member although I am a minister, the only way to improve the condition of the working people is to increase their social opportunities, and I think that has been done in a large measure by the reduction in the hours of labor, and I think that the inevitable course of industrial life as well as of legislation is toward the eight-hour system; that will give larger leisure to the laboring man; he will demand more influence, therefore he will build more character; he will create a larger market and improve the industrial condition of the country generally, so he will also improve in his own improvement of condition the condition of the capitalist as well. In other words, you make more of the man and you will make more of the community, and if any experiment helps to make a man then you are helping to do what this country requires in everything. I want to say that I discovered at Pullman this fact, that the library, which is a voluntary association, has its classes for instruction in stenography, art, and history, and that for a small sum, which takes away the idea of charity which is now the aim of all essential charity everywhere, the young children of Pullman may be instructed in those branches. Being interested in such work in New York I can appreciate the work done there. I am informed that one of the skilled stenographers in Chicago learned the art in one of these classes. So the library in Pullman tries to build up men. I think it commendable also to charge those who take books out; so you remove them from charity. Workmen want justice, not charity. That is the sum of it.

#### TESTIMONY OF GEORGE M. PULLMAN.

August 27, 1894. George M. Pullman, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your full name.—Ans. George Mortimer Pullman.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You are the president of the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been president of that company?—Ans. Twenty seven years on the 1st day of August.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It has had a continued existence, has it?—Ans. Yes, sir; it has had a continued existence for twenty-seven years. It was organized in 1867, on the 31st day of July.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the capital when the company was organized?—Ans. One million dollars.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you state, in your own way, what the objects of the company were at the time of its organization, and its general plan of operation.—Ans. Its main object at the time of its organization was the operation and running of sleeping and parlor cars upon railroads under written contracts, but its charter contemplated the manufacture of cars as well, and soon after its incorporation it began the manufacture of its own cars, and subsequently the manufacture of cars for the general market.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). When was the town of Pullman established, or is it known as Pullman City?—Ans. I think the "town of Pullman" is correct.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The town of Pullman, then?—Ans. In 1880, I think. The first stone was laid in May, 1880, I think.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Well, state generally what the idea was of establishing the town in connection with your manufacturing plant.—Ans. Anticipating that question, if the commission will allow me, I would like to state, from memoranda that I have, which are very brief, an answer to your question.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). There is no objection, if it is a brief statement.—Ans. It is (reading):

The object in building Pullman was the establishment of a great manufacturing business on the most substantial basis possible, recognizing, as we did, and do now, that the working people are the most important element which enters into the successful operation of any manufacturing enterprise. We decided to build, in close proximity to the shops, homes for workmen of such character and surroundings as would prove so attractive as to cause the best class of mechanics to seek that place for employment in preference to others. We also desired to establish the place on such a basis as would exclude all baneful influences, believing that such a policy would result in the greatest measure of success, both from a commercial point of view, and also, what was equally important, or perhaps of greater importance, in a tendency toward continued elevation and improvement of the conditions not only of the working people themselves, but of their children growing up about them. Accordingly, the present location of Pullman was selected. That region of the country was then sparsely populated; a few hundred people, mostly farmers, living within a radius of perhaps a mile and a half of the site selected, where there are now living some 25,000 people.

It was not the intention to sell to workmen homes in Pullman, but to so limit the area of the town that they could buy homes at convenient distances from the works if they chose to do so.

If any lots had been sold in Pullman it would have permitted the introduction of the baneful elements which it was the chief purpose to exclude from the immediate neighborhood of the shops, and from the homes to be erected about them. The plan was to provide homes in the first place for all people who should desire to work in the shops, at reasonable rentals, with the expectation that as they became able and



should desire to do so, they would purchase lots and erect homes for themselves within convenient distances, or avail themselves of the opportunity to rent homes from other people who should build in that vicinity. As a matter of fact, at the time of the strike 563 of the shop employees owned their homes, and 461 of that number are now employed in the shops; 560 others at the time of the strike lived outside; and, in addition, an estimated number from 200 to 300 others employed at Pullman were owners of their homes. The company neither planned nor could it exercise any municipal powers in Pullman. It was, in fact, within the boundaries of what was legally called the village of Hyde Park, but was several miles distant from the actual village as settled at that time. The people lived there first under the ordinances of the village of Hyde Park, and now live under the ordinances of the city of Chicago, and not at any time under regulations of the company.

The relations of those employed in the shops are, as to the shops, the relations of employees to employer; and as to those of them and others living in the homes, the relations are simply and only those of tenant to landlord. The company has not now, and never has had, any interest whatever in the business of any of the stores or shops in the town. They are rented to and managed by outside parties, free from any control by the company. The people living in the town are entirely free to buy where they choose, and as a matter of fact the large disbursements in wages at Pullman, amounting to an average of \$2,360,000 a year, from September, 1880, to July, 1894, has created a great competition for the trade of Pullman in the small surrounding towns, as well as in Chicago; the natural result of which would be to bring the prices of all merchandise down to a minimum.

In carrying out this general plan every care was taken in making perfect sanitary conditions by a water supply and an extensive and scientific system of sewerage, paved and well-lighted streets, and open places properly ornamented with trees and shrubbery; all of which are kept in perfect repair and cleanness by the company at its own expense.

Due attention was paid to the convenience and general well-being of the residents by the erection of stores and markets, a church, public schools, a library, and public halls for lectures and amusements; also a hotel and boarding houses. The basis on which rents were fixed was to make a return of 6 per cent on the actual investment, which at that time, 1881, was a reasonable return to be expected from such an investment; and in calculating what, for such a purpose, was the actual investment in the dwellings on the one hand and the other buildings on the other, an allowance was made for the cost of the streets and other public improvements, just as it has to be considered in the valuation of any property for renting anywhere, all public improvements having to be paid for by the owner of a lot, either directly or by special assessment, and by him considered in the valuation. The actual operations have never shown a net return of 6 per cent, the amount originally contemplated. The investment for several years returned a net revenue of about 4½ per cent, but during the last two years additional taxes and heavier repairs have brought the net revenue down to 3.82 per cent.

That covers about what I have to say in regard to the policy of the company.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That 3.82 per cent you speak of is on

the cost?—Ans. It is on the cost of all the property; the original cost of the property, plus the cost of streets and improvements. It is the net after taxes and repairs are paid.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does that cost include the cost of the manufacturing plant?—Ans. Not at all; the manufacturing plant has nothing whatever to do with the residence part; they are kept entirely separate and distinct.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has that policy of excluding the baneful influences, which you mention in your plan, been carried out to the present time?—Ans. It has.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And with what success?—Ans. With a very satisfactory success. There are no saloons in Pullman; there are no brothels or other objectionable houses; no such places of resort.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Just how do you regulate that?—Ans. Simply because, owning that property, we have declined to rent it for any purpose that was not satisfactory to the company.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Something has been said here about the lease which you give to tenants. Have you a copy of that lease with you, or will you furnish the commission with a copy?—Ans. I will furnish the commission with a copy. I have a copy here, and will furnish it to the commission.

(Mr. Pullman handed the commission a copy of the lease.)

This indenture, made this — day of —, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-four, between Pullman's Palace Car Company, a corporation existing under the laws of the State of Illinois, party of the first part, and —, of Pullman, in the city of Chicago, county of Cook, State of Illinois, party of the second part,

Witnesseth, that the party of the first part, for and in consideration of the following covenants and agreements to be kept and fully performed by the party of the second part, has demised and leased to the party of the second part, all those premises situate, lying, and being in Pullman, in the city of Chicago, in the county of Cook, and State of Illinois, and known and described as follows, to wit: —

Lot No. —, block No. —, of Pullman, in the city of Chicago, State of Illinois, as shown on sketch plat of Pullman in the office of the agent of Pullman's Palace Car Company at Pullman.

The party of the second part to have and to hold the said above described premises, with the appurtenances, from the — day of —, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-four, for, during and until the thirty-first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-four, but always upon condition, as hereinafter provided, of full performance by the party of the second part of the covenants and agreements herein contained.

And the party of the second part, in consideration of said demise, does covenant and agree with the party of the first part to pay to the party of the first part rent for said demised premises at the rate of \$—per annum, in installments, as follows: The sum of \$— on the execution and delivery of this lease, and the balance in equal installments of \$— each, payable on the first day of each calendar month, for such month during the continuance of the term hereby created; and it is agreed that, after deducting any expenses, disbursements or charges as herein provided, there shall be a rebate of a proportionate part of the rent for the period, if any, which may happen to elapse between any one of the days of payment and the determination of said term, if the said term should happen to determine sooner than the day above named for its final termination.

And it is further expressly agreed by the party of the second part, in consideration of said demise and lease, that the party of the second part shall and will keep said demised premises and every part thereof, and all entrances, halls, ways, water pipes, gas pipes, sinks, catch-basins, sewers, and drains, water-closets, and all out-houses, whatsoever they may be, upon or pertaining to said premises, in a clean and healthful condition. Also that he will observe the general sanitary regulations prescribed by the party of the first part for the common good and the common safety, and that, at the termination of this lease, however determined, the premises shall be left in a clean and tidy condition for a succeeding tenant, or that the second party will defray the expense incurred or necessary to be incurred by the party of

the first part of placing such premises in such condition, which expense shall be treated as so much additional rent accrued under the terms of this lease, and may be collected as such.

That the party of the second part has received the said premises in good condition and repair, and that the same shall be kept in that condition during said term, and especially that he will keep in good condition and repair all water pipes and plumbing of every sort, and will replace all broken glass, and that the first party shall not be called upon to incur any expense on account of any of the matters aforesaid, and that he will observe and require the members of his household to observe the rules and regulations prescribed for the care and protection of buildings, and that at the end of said demise, occurring by lapse of time or otherwise, he will surrender the premises in good repair to the party of the first part.

That the party of the second part will not keep or permit any articles deemed hazardous on account of fire to be received, stored or used on or within the said premises, unless previous written consent, indorsed hereon, of the party of the first part in each and every case shall be first obtained; and further, that he will take every precaution to guard against danger from fire, and that he will observe and obey, and require the members of his household to obey, the general rules and regulations prescribed by the first party for the use and care of closets, for the economical use of water, and for protection against danger from fire.

That during said term no alterations shall be made upon or of said demised premises or any part thereof, nor any signs painted or placed thereon, without written permission by the first party, nor shall the said demised premises, nor any part thereof, be suffered to be used for any purpose calculated to injure the reputation of the same or of the neighborhood.

That during said term neither said demised premises nor any part thereof shall be underlet, nor the possession thereof parted with; and that said term therein, and in every part thereof shall not be assigned, nor permitted to become assigned, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, by act of the said second party or by the operation of law; and that no act or acts will be done or suffered whereby the same may be assigned or become assigned in whole or in part, unless the written consent of the party of the first part, endorsed thereon, shall be first obtained in each and every case of underletting or assignment as they shall from time to time occur or be desired, and that nothing whatever shall be held to be a waiver of or supersede the necessity of such endorsement, or a waiver of the right to enforce the covenants and each of them in respect to said matters or any of them by forfeiture of this lease and the term hereby granted, or otherwise for breach thereof.

That in case the party of the first part shall advance or expend any money to put or keep the said demised premises, or any part thereof, or any of the aforesaid appurtenances thereto, in a clean and healthy condition as hereinbefore specified, or in repair of said premises or any part thereof, then and in such case said sum or sums of money so advanced or expended shall be taken and deemed to be so much additional rent for the said demised premises, due and payable to the party of the first part when the next installment of rent falls due after any such advance or payment, subject to all conditions and agreements as to payment and collection of rent contained in this lease or provided by law; and that the second party shall pay all gas, water, steam heating and other rates that may be charged against said demised premises by the party of the first part during the term hereby created.

That the party of the first part shall have, at all times, the right to enter upon said demised premises to inspect their condition and to repair the same, and shall also have a right of distress; and also that during the last month of said term, whether the same shall end by expiration of the time hereinbefore named or by notice, or in any other way, the landlord shall have the right to exhibit the premises and to put thereon the usual notice of "To let" or "To rent."

That at the expiration of said term, by limitation or its sooner determination in any other way, quiet possession of said demised premises shall be given to the first party, and in default thereof it shall be lawful for the party of the first part, its officers or agents, and license for that purpose is hereby given, either with or without process of law, to enter into said demised premises and each and every part thereof, to expel, remove and put out of the same the party of the second part and every other person or persons occupying or having possession thereof, using such force as may be necessary in so doing, and the same to repossess and enjoy as in its first and former estate.

That if the installments of rent or any of them, or any part thereof, shall not be paid promptly as above specified, or if default shall be made in the performance or observance of any of the covenants, conditions or agreements in this lease contained, which are to be kept, performed or observed by the party of the second part, or if, during said term, the building or buildings on said demised premises, or wherein the same may be situated, shall be destroyed or so injured by fire or otherwise as to be untenable, then and in each and every such case this lease, at the election of the

party of the first part, shall be and become void, and the term hereby granted ended and determined.

That the said covenants shall be duly kept and observed and the rent promptly paid as above, as to each and all of which, time shall be taken as of the essence of the same.

That if either of the parties heretoshall be desirous of putting an end to the said term hereby demised, and shall for that purpose deliver to the other of them a notice in writing of such desire, not less than ten days previous to the time named in such notice for such termination, then and in such case the said term hereby demised shall at the time fixed in such notice cease and determine to all intents and purposes whatsoever. And the fact that rent may have been paid at any time in advance shall not be a waiver of the right to put an end to the term and tenancy under this lease by such notice, but that part of the rent so paid in advance proportionate to the time succeeding the expiration of said notice shall be repaid to the party of the second part on reasonable demand, provided the covenants and agreements of this lease shall have been in all other respects observed and performed. All notices required by law or under the provisions of this lease may be given as follows: If given by the party of the first part, by leaving a copy of such notice upon the demised premises; if given by the party of the second part, by leaving a copy of such notice at the office of the managing officer or of the agent of Pullman's Palace Car Company at Pullman. The party of the second part expressly covenants and agrees that his rent may be deducted monthly from his wages by his employer, and he hereby authorizes his employer to pay over said monthly rent so deducted to the party of the first part.

And the party of the second part hereby constitutes and appoints any attorney of any court of record to be his attorney, for him and in his name and stead to appear in and before any court of record at any time after any default or failure made by the party of the second part in the performance of any of the covenants, conditions or agreements of this lease, to waive the issuing and service of process and to file a cognovit and confession of judgment for the whole amount of money at that time due under the terms of this lease, with interest thereon, and ten dollars as an attorney's fee and for the costs of suit, in favor of the party of the first part, its successors and assigns, and against the party of the second part, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, and to file a cognovit for the amount thereof, with an agreement therein, that no writ of error or appeal shall be prosecuted upon the judgment entered by virtue hereof, nor any bill in equity filed to interfere, in any manner, with the operation of said judgment, and to release all errors that may intervene in the entering up of said judgment, or issuing the execution thereon, hereby ratifying and confirming all that the said attorney may do by virtue hereof.

And it is agreed that the party of the second part shall pay and discharge all costs and expenses that shall arise from enforcing the covenants of this indenture by the party of the first part, and such attorney's fees as may be allowed by the court, and that the same may be proved up in the action brought at any time to enforce said covenants and the said attorney's fees may be allowed by the judge or justice of the peace trying said cause, and be included in the judgment therein.

And it is further mutually covenanted and agreed, that all the covenants and agreements herein contained shall extend to and be obligatory upon the successors, heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns of the respective parties.

In witness whereof, the said parties have executed this lease by affixing their signatures thereto the day and year first above written.

PULLMAN'S PALACE CAR COMPANY. [SEAL.]

By \_\_\_\_\_, Agent.

[The tenant signs on this line.] \_\_\_\_\_ [SEAL.]

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It is said that this lease has a ten-days clause, by which either party can terminate it at that time, on that notice. Without stopping to read the lease, is that statement true?—  
Ans. That is true.

18 (Commissioner Wright). What was the object of having so short a notice?—Ans. The question of the lease—the kind of lease—was an important one, as you will readily see. We were building houses, as I have stated, in a sparsely settled place. It was called at that time the Calumet Swamp, and there was danger, unless the leases were well guarded, that there would be a disposition on the part of some tenants to use their houses that they may have leased from the company for improper purposes. In the first settlement of the place a great many common laborers were tenants, and men who were engaged in the

original buildings, and the common labor pertaining to the foundations, you may say. In such case there would have been no way to meet the difficulty except by a suit at law, and proof of such conditions in violation of law. On the other hand, a great many people would probably lease property with the expectation that they would want to stay a year, and they might not want to remain as long as that; and it was finally decided to put in that clause, which benefited both parties equally, that in case a tenant desired to cancel his lease he could do so at any time by giving a ten days' notice; and in case, for any reason, the company desired to cancel it, they had the same privilege.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has there been any practical difficulty in applying that short notice?—Ans. There have been a very few cases in the fourteen years where that has been applicable; where that has been resorted to; a very few cases.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In the matter of leasing property for business, has the company made any restrictions or agreements relative to competition; that is to say, if you let a hardware man a store, does the company undertake, by any means whatever, moral or otherwise, to prevent other hardware dealers from occupying stores in the place?—Ans. It does not.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is there any implied understanding relative to that matter?—Ans. I think not now. I think that originally, at the beginning—it is my impression—that, while I have no recollection of any written agreements, we did take into account about the proper number of hardware stores, or of dry goods stores to the population there, and if that number were then occupying stores, we would not consider the application of an additional person; but I have no recollection of applications for additional stores under those circumstances, although there may have been. There is nothing that I remember of.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the present capital of the company?—Ans. Of the Pullman company?

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Yes.—Ans. Thirty-six million dollars.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has that capital been paid in, in cash?—Ans. That is capital paid in, in cash, from time to time during the twenty-seven years of its existence, as it has been acquired in the general enlargement of its business.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It has been stated in the public press that you have a surplus of accrued profits of about \$16,000,000. Is that statement correct?—Ans. I have not the annual statement of the company. It is a larger sum than that that has been earned and not divided, but invested in the assets of the company. In other words, all of the property of the company is not capitalized.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It is undivided profits?—Ans. Undivided profits made in former years. The policy of the company has been to make itself financially strong to meet such conditions as exist now, and such as have existed, as we all know, frequently in times past.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is that surplus of undivided profits considered as a part of the \$36,000,000 capital?—Ans. That is in addition to that.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What does the company do with that surplus; how is it used?—Ans. A great deal of it is in the property of the company, in its cars, and in its property; and the surplus, with the capital, is used in earning the dividends paid to its stockholders.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Of what particular use is that surplus

in the general running of the company?—Ans. So far as it affects or affected the manufacturing business, during the Baring panic of 1890, I will say, we secured contracts for building cars for the Reading Railroad Company, some eight or nine millions of dollars, simply because we were able to finance that large amount of money, that is, by giving the company credit on what is known as the "car-trust plan."

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is, by building their cars and trusting them for future payments?—Ans. Yes, sir; trusting them for future payments, holding the cars as security, and taking monthly payments. If we had not had a surplus available, we should have been unable to procure that large order, and the manufacturing department at Pullman received a great benefit in that case, and it has in many cases since that. We have been able to secure orders for manufacturing by reason of being able to give the credits, and that is the way that our surplus, or a portion of it, is used.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are the dividends which you pay based on the whole capital of \$36,000,000?—Ans. They are based on the capital of \$36,000,000; yes, sir. Our dividends are 2 per cent quarterly.

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Two per cent quarterly?—Ans. Yes, sir. The capital stock of our company has never been watered. It represents the actual money paid in, and its dividends have continued for a great many years on this basis of 8 per cent.

33 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have they so continued?—Ans. The company has paid dividends from its organization every quarter.

34 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And of 2 per cent quarterly?—Ans. The dividends for the first few years were at the rate of 3 per cent quarterly, and there was a time that the dividends were paid at the rate of 9½ per cent, I think, running through, perhaps, three years, and then from that date they have been 8 per cent, and without any change.

35 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has the company any bonded debt?—Ans. It has no bonded debt.

36 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have stated that the company was organized for the purpose of operating palace cars and also for building cars. You built your own rolling stock, I suppose?—Ans. Yes, sir.

37 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What proportion of the construction works of the company belongs to outside contracts, and what to the building of your own cars?—Ans. My recollection is that it is between 60 and 70 per cent of outside or contract work. Somewhere between that. I don't recollect exactly. Between 60 and 70 per cent is my impression. In matters of that kind of detail you will have an opportunity to get the evidence of the second vice-president, who will give it to you in detail.

38 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is he the active business man of the concern?—Ans. The second vice-president, Mr. Wickes, has been with the company twenty-five or twenty-six years, and during the strike he has been here and has prepared a statement in detail of all matters pertaining to the strike. He will give it to you definitely.

39 (Commissioner WRIGHT). We would like to know the effect which the World's Fair had upon the manufacturing of cars generally in the country?—Ans. It had the effect of stimulating the manufacture of railway cars almost everywhere. The railways were naturally putting themselves into condition to meet an expected large increase of travel, and the car shops of the country were generally full of orders. In

our case we had the largest number of men that we ever employed at Pullman, fully employed.

40 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Your company went into the market for its share of the car-building business?—Ans. Yes, sir. We did not have to make much effort. The market came to us at that time. In the anxiety of railways to get cars for the World's Fair, they usually applied to us. We did not have to go about seeking work, as we did very soon after the World's Fair was over.

41 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has it been the practice of the company to reduce wages from time to time; and if so, when did that practice commence?—Ans. I am not familiar with the daily operations of the manufacturing department and would refer the commission to the second vice-president for a general answer to that question, but I will say that during the depression last year I found on inquiry that during the entire month of August—I will say owing to the depressed condition last year—during the entire month of August we had not received an invitation to bid for any cars, and that during the months of September and October on more than one-half—quite a large proportion—a large majority of the bids that we put in for those months we failed to get the work. It was let to other parties because of lower prices.

I realized that some vigorous effort must be made to secure work for the large number of people that we had employed at Pullman, or great suffering would be the consequence. I had a consultation with Mr. Wickes and the general manager, for the purpose of seeing what we could do in the premises, and as a result, based upon the figures that we had bid for cars and had failed to get them on, and from all the information that we could obtain on the subject, they undertook, about November, to revise the piecework prices and see how low we could make the cost of cars. Upon that basis I undertook personally to attend the lettings and to contribute money in the way of bidding below the actual cost, for the sake of procuring orders. Of course it will be understood that the people who wanted cars at that time realized that the car builders of the country had very little work and would bid very low, and it was only the lowest bidder who would get the work. I undertook to make the Pullman company's bids lower than any other, and my recollection is that the first large order for passenger cars after that time was an order for fifty-five cars for the Long Island Railroad.

42 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How many?—Ans. Fifty-five.

43 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Passenger cars?—Ans. Passenger cars. The figures of the cost were given me by the manager in detail, the cost of labor and material and the cost of transporting the cars from here to Long Island, and I had the matter under consideration in my New York office for two weeks. Nearly all the first-class car builders in the country were there to endeavor to get this work, all feeling, as I supposed, as I felt, that they would take the work at very low figures rather than to have their men idle. I finally put in a bid at somewhere between \$300 and \$400 per car—I don't recollect the precise figure—below the actual cost, making up my mind to make that contribution rather than to have our men entirely idle in that department of the works. The order was awarded to us, as I understand, at \$24 lower than the next lowest bidder. I continued that policy.

I remember a case where the men in the freight shops, as it was reported to me, would have finished the work that they were then engaged on within a very short time, and there were no new orders in sight. The Chicago and North-western Railway—that is, Mr. Hughitt,

the president—told me that he was going to buy 250 refrigerator cars. I had the estimate made upon those cars carefully figured and had explained to me the cost of labor and material, and I authorized the manager to put in his bid at \$10 a car below the actual cost of building, making up my mind that I would contribute \$2,500 rather than to have the men in the freight shops laid off. As he was going out of the door, I said: "You may make that \$15; I am afraid that \$10 perhaps won't get it." I knew the anxiety of other builders everywhere to get work. Car men all over the country were being laid off. I got the work by just \$1—that is, having taken off \$15 from the actual cost, I was only \$1 a car under other bidders. It was that very work—those 250 cars—that the men were at work upon at the time of the strike. I suppose if I had not taken off the last \$5, possibly the strike would not have occurred, because the freight-car men would have had nothing to do. They would have been out of work, anyway—they would have been out of work, I mean. I could recite a good many instances of that kind. I have done so in statements that I made pending the strike, after the strike commenced, that were published in pamphlet form, and which, with the permission of the commission, I will submit as a part of my statement.

44 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have a right to do so?—Ans. That relates to a number of cases of our bidding very considerable sums below cost. In other words, up to the time of the strike, we had lost, I think, more than \$50,000 in the effort to keep our men at work. I explained this very fully to the men in Mr. Wickes' office.

45 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You explained it personally?—Ans. I explained it personally to the men in Mr. Wickes' office on Wednesday before the strike, and I said to them in reply to a remark by Mr. Heathcoate, as I remember, about the middle of the remarks I was making. He said, "We want the wages of 1893." I said to him, "Would you be willing—would you take"—or "would you, after having agreed to do this work at the piecework prices"—under which they were working, "and I, based upon that, had taken the contracts to build cars—would you go back on your contract," or "would you go back on that contract?" He made no reply to that. I said, "It would be the most unfortunate thing for you, and for all the men here—all the men employed—if the wages of 1893 should be restored, because there is not more than six or eight weeks work in the shops altogether, and it would be utterly impossible to get any more work at prices measured by the wages of 1893, which were somewhere from 20 to 25 per cent higher than the wages of 1894," and that I thought it would be most unfortunate for the men. I said, "It seems to me there should be no hurry about this matter. Take time to investigate. Take time to consider this. As long as you are in the employ of the company you can have access to the highest officials of it. You already have arranged with the second vice-president to take up your grievances and adjust them, and all questions can be discussed between the men and the management as long as you are in the employ of the company. You can, if you desire, see the books and contracts relating to those cars; those orders that I have taken." I had stated to them, as I have now, that work I had taken below cost, and I said to them, "You can do that, if you desire to do it. In fact, every facility will be offered you to see whether what we are doing is not for the best interests of all parties, or is not the best thing that we can do under the present conditions. If you should decide that you do not care to go on and do any more work at those prices, it would be competent for you to say so, if you are inclined



to do it." So far as the company is concerned, it would be more profitable for it if it did not have the interests of the people at Pullman at heart, as well as the general interests there. It would have been more profitable for the Pullman company to have closed its works, instead of taking the work at this large amount of money less than it actually cost them. The sentiment of the meeting seemed to be in favor of the suggestions that I had made in that regard, and, as I understood, when they reported at their large meeting at Kensington that night, the general understanding was that there would be no strike. That is the report that came to us. The next day the tone of public sentiment was very cheerful in Pullman, but the next night we understood that a party of twenty or thirty, more or less, of the people there decided to call the strike the next morning, and that was done.

46 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were any promises made to that committee at that time relative to their not being discharged, or such matters, for serving on the committee?—Ans. I will say that that matter is dealt with in detail by Mr. Wickes, who is much more familiar with it than I am.

47 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were the books, as a matter of fact, shown to this committee, or to any members of it?—Ans. The books were not shown to the committee because they made no application to see them, and they struck very soon afterwards. This was on Wednesday afternoon that I talked to them, and on Friday morning they struck. They made no application, they made no request to see the books at all. The books would have been shown if they had.

48 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were not other grievances presented at that time in addition to the demand for the 1893 wages?—Ans. There were grievances that Mr. Wickes, the vice-president, and Mr. Brown, the manager, had taken up and promised the men that they would devote their time to them each day.

49 (Commissioner WRIGHT). They were not presented to you?—Ans. They were not presented to me at all. That will appear in the testimony of those gentlemen.

50 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Can any employee of the Pullman company having any grievance reach the officers of the company freely and present their grievances?—Ans. I think he can. That is a matter that the vice-president would be more familiar with than I.

51 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Can they reach you if it became necessary?—Ans. Yes, sir; if it became necessary, as in this case.

52 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you the active business manager so far as the higher officials are concerned of the company; that is, do you take charge of the details of the company's affairs?—Ans. No, sir; I am the president of the company, and the officers of the company report to me.

53 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How much time do you devote yourself to the work of the office here in Chicago?—Ans. Well, I devote all my time to the work of the company here and in our New York office, and at other points of the country where my services may be required.

54 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you at the town of Pullman much?—Ans. Not much; not a great deal. It is impossible for me to spend a great deal of time there because of my duties elsewhere.

55 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does what you have said cover your own knowledge of the causes of the strike of the 11th of May?—Ans. Substantially all; yes, sir.

56 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did you have any further interviews than the one you have related with the committee of your people or with

anybody else relative to settlements?—Ans. I don't remember to have had any other.

57 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What attempts were made, if any, to secure from your company any adjustment of the difficulties after the break?—Ans. A more satisfactory answer to that would come in the testimony of the second vice-president, who was here attending to it.

58 (Commissioner WRIGHT). He attended to the strike details?—Ans. Yes, sir; to all those details.

59 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did this grievance committee or anybody in its behalf seek any adjustment through arbitration or otherwise with you personally.—Ans. I believe not; I think I did not see any of the committee.

60 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It has been stated very freely that you stated to the committee, or to other committees that waited upon you, that you had nothing to arbitrate; has that public announcement the basis of fact?—Ans. I explained my views upon that; I do not know that I made use of just that term, but I explained my views.

61 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are they contained in this statement which you have filed with the commission?—Ans. They are.

62 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If you have anything that you wish to state relative to that strike, Mr. Pullman, at the time it occurred, of your own knowledge, we would be very glad to hear it.—Ans. Thank you; I do not think, commissioner, of anything at the moment; if I should hereafter, I suppose I could be heard.

63 (Commissioner WRIGHT). There will be an opportunity to say anything you wish.

64 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You stated that the original stock of the Pullman company was \$1,000,000, I believe?—Ans. Yes, sir.

65 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, this was the Pullman Palace Car Company, was it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

66 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). There is another company there that deals with the land, is there not?—Ans. There is what is called the Pullman Land Association.

67 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is a separate corporation from the Pullman Car Company?—Ans. Yes, sir; entirely. That is held by trustees.

68 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By trustees for whom; who are the cestuis que trust—the beneficiaries?—Ans. The land was purchased by myself and other parties. The land on which Pullman is situated, 500 acres, was purchased by the Pullman company.

69 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is, the Pullman Land Company?—Ans. No, the Pullman Palace Car Company; when it undertook the construction of its shops and homes for workmen, considered what amount of land it could reasonably own under its charter from the State, which provides that it should own lands sufficient for its manufacturing business, and under the advice of eminent counsel it was decided that 500 acres of land would be a fair interpretation of the meaning and intent of the charter; therefore 500 acres of land were bought by the company and are owned in fee by the company.

70 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. Yes, sir; by the Pullman Palace Car Company.

71 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And on that 500 acres of land are constructed the manufacturing establishments of the company?—Ans. Yes, sir; the manufacturing and residence parts; the manufacturing part and the homes and everything pertaining to them.

72 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then those houses that are rent-

ing are not owned, as I understand, by the Pullman Land Association?—Ans. The Pullman Land Association have some few houses in the north part of the town.

73 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In the 500 acres reserved by the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. No, sir; of the 500 acres reserved by the Pullman Palace Car Company I am unable to say from memory, but I presume there are 300 and odd acres which are covered by houses and stores and other buildings that belong to the Pullman Palace Car Company. The Pullman Land Association owns land adjoining, and has some houses upon it.

74 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But the bulk of the houses that are rented to employees are owned by the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

75 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And not by the Pullman Land Association?—Ans. No, sir.

76 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, you say that trustees hold the land that is owned by the Pullman Land Company?—Ans. Yes, sir; the Pullman Land Association.

77 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). For whose use?—Ans. For the use of the owners of the property. It was owned by the holders of certificates of trust, twenty, thirty, or forty—I don't remember the number of people who invested in the land.

78 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That bought the entire tract originally?—Ans. Yes, sir; and my object in doing it was to protect the borders, you may say. Otherwise, if the land had not been owned by parties interested in preserving the integrity of the town of Pullman, the baneful influences of which I have spoken—the saloons and other bad places—would come right up to the border line.

79 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). So that there is no community of interest between the Pullman Palace Car Company and the Pullman Land Association?—Ans. There was no community of interest, with the exception of the fact that the owners of the land—there was no community of interest originally, except that the owners of the land were the owners and stockholders of the Pullman Palace Car Company.

80 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But they are separate corporations entirely?—Ans. Yes, sir; they are separate corporations entirely.

81 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But the land owned by the Pullman Land Company was originally purchased by parties who became stockholders of the Pullman Palace Car Company, do you mean?—Ans. Yes, sir.

82 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are they still stockholders of the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. Generally; yes, sir.

83 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). So that as individuals they own the property, or are the beneficiaries of the Pullman Land Company; that is, the stockholders of the Pullman Palace Car Company are the parties for whose use the Pullman Land Company holds the balance of that land?—Ans. There was no connection. The Pullman Palace Car Company bought these 500 acres of land for the purposes of a manufacturing business, and other parties bought the land of the land association; that is, they formed an association and bought land to protect that land, but without any connection with the Pullman Palace Car Company as an association.

84 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is what I am trying to get at.—Ans. The two had no connection. The one is an association of trust, and the other is the Pullman Palace Car Company. The people

owning them had their certificates of trust and they are negotiable, and they could be sold to any one—

85 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). They can dispose of them as they see fit?—Ans. Yes, sir.

86 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But as a matter of fact they are mainly the same parties holding these certificates and holding the stock of the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. They were. I construe your question now to mean what was the status of the two companies; that is, the Pullman Palace Car Company and the land association.

87 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). No. I understood you to say they had no community of interest whatever?—Ans. They were entirely separate and distinct.

88 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But that the original owners of the land conveyed 500 acres to the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. Yes, sir; the original owners of the land conveyed 500 acres to the Pullman Palace Car Company.

89 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And the balance of that land— —Ans. To the trustees of the land association, which was entirely separate and distinct.

90 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But the parties owning the land are the stockholders of the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. Some of them were.

91 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). They were, you said?—Ans. Yes, sir.

92 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are they still?—Ans. Well, no; I couldn't tell whether all the parties that originally owned the land association are stockholders of the Pullman Palace Car Company or not.

93 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was there any agreement, express or implied, that controlled the conveying of the land by the Pullman Land Company?—Ans. No, sir; not at all. There was no agreement between the two companies at all.

94 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). So that this land that was bought for the purpose of protecting the interest of the Pullman Palace Car Company could, without the consent of the Pullman Palace Car Company, be disposed of to other parties?—Ans. Perfectly. I say that was in my mind, for instance. It was never expressed. There was never any obligation of that kind. There was never any obligation expressed. There was no agreement between the Pullman Palace Car Company and the Pullman Land Association with reference to the land.

95 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The control of the stock of the two companies is in the control of the same parties?—Ans. No. There is no control of the stock. The Pullman Palace Car Company has 4,200 shareholders, and the control of the stock of the Pullman Palace Car Company does not lie in the hands of anybody connected with, or that was originally connected with, the land association. I do not know that I get your idea. You are speaking of the control of the Pullman Palace Car Company?

96 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And of the Pullman Land Company.—Ans. You asked if the same parties control the one that control the other.

97 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes; do the same parties that control the one control the other?—Ans. No, they did not by ownership.

98 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I mean the legal control?—Ans.

Well, that would be by ownership of a majority of the shares. There was no such control.

99 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And there is no legal reason that you are aware of that prevents the Pullman Land Company from disposing of that land to whomsoever it sees fit to?—Ans. Well, the Pullman Land Company's shares have been purchased since that time.

100 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By whom?—Ans. By the Pullman Palace Car Company.

101 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, do they own a majority of those shares?—Ans. Yes, sir.

102 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It is owned by the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

103 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What proportion of the shares do you know of that they own?—Ans. They own them all now.

104 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). All the shares of the Pullman Land Company?—Ans. Yes; the companies were entirely separate and distinct at the time it was formed, and gradually during the period of fourteen years the stock has been absorbed—that is, the surplus of the Pullman Palace Car Company has been invested from time to time in the shares of the other company.

105 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). All of the shares of the Pullman Land Company have now been purchased by the Pullman Palace Car Company out of the earnings of the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. Yes, sir; out of its surplus.

106 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And does that form part of this surplus of \$16,000,000 that you speak of?—Ans. Yes, sir.

107 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Nearly 18, I think you said?—Ans. I didn't say—it is larger than that. I have not the annual statement with me.

108 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It is larger than 16?—Ans. Yes, sir.

109 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When does your fiscal year commence?—Ans. It commenced the 31st of July.

110 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It commences then practically the 1st of August?—Ans. Yes, sir.

111 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And the net results of the last year have not been made out?—Ans. No, sir; they will be in October; the annual meeting occurs in October.

112 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, the capital stock has been increased from time to time, of the Pullman Palace Car Company, from \$1,000,000 to \$36,000,000, I understood you to say?—Ans. Yes, sir.

113 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How has that increase been made? Will you state about the times the increase has been made?—Ans. It has been made from time to time as the growth of the company's business required it, by the issue of stock to the stockholders in proportion to their holdings at par.

114 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How long after 1867 was it until the first increase of stock was made?—Ans. Very soon. The first increase was \$250,000. The second increase was \$500,000, and then another increase brought it up to \$3,000,000, and so on from time to time as the business of the company required the money. The stockholders furnished it and took stock at par.

115 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Has that increase been made from year to year?—Ans. Not every year. It has been made whenever the business of the company required more capital, and the capital was furnished by its stockholders.

116 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The total increase of stock has been \$35,000,000, has it not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

117 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Within a period of twenty-seven years?—Ans. Yes, sir.

118 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Has the average increase amounted to \$1,000,000 a year?—Ans. It would amount to more than \$1,000,000 a year.

119 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I was trying to get at how that has been divided. Has there been a large increase at any one time, or has it averaged about the same amount from year to year?—Ans. The last increase, I think, was \$6,000,000.

120 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). When was that made?—Ans. About two years ago, I think.

121 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That would be in 1892?—Ans. I haven't the data with me, but I think about that.

122 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, about that?—Ans. Yes, sir.

123 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was that increase of stock provided for at the close of fiscal years at the annual meetings?—Ans. It was provided for at the meeting of the stockholders in accordance with the by-laws.

124 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I want to know whether it would be on a review of the business of a fiscal year just ended?—Ans. It would be upon a review of the business and of a statement to the stockholders of the reason why the capital was required. That has not always been at the end of a year, but it has been sometimes at different periods of the year, but a statement has been made to the stockholders giving the reasons for the increase of capital and upon a vote of the stockholders.

125 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how many actual stockholders are there?—Ans. About 4,200—something more than 4,200.

126 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How has this stock been paid?—Ans. It has been paid in cash.

127 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By whose cash?—Ans. The cash of the stockholders.

128 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What I want to get at is whether this represented to any extent the profit of the Pullman company?—Ans. No, sir; the stock was delivered to stockholders upon their payment at par for cash.

129 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And it did not represent then the profits of the company, unless they had taken the dividend and applied it to the purchase of the stock, as I understand?—Ans. Well the dividends have been made in the regular way—quarterly dividends. The stock has been issued without any reference whatever to the dividends.

130 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And so far as you know has been paid for entirely outside of the earnings or any division of the increase in value of the Pullman company?—Ans. Oh, yes.

131 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In other words, it represents \$36,000,000 actually paid in in cash?—Ans. Yes, sir.

132 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Except of the first million?—Ans. I have made a statement somewhere—I have it right here [referring to paper]: "Two-thirds of the first million representing the appraised value of cars then held by three owners, and one-third representing the appraised value of its franchises and existing contracts"—that made the first million.

133 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know what the total,

amount of dividends paid out by the company since its organization amounts to; have you ever figured that?—Ans. I couldn't tell you from memory.

134 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The annual reports I suppose would show?—Ans. Yes, sir; it would be a matter easily ascertained by taking all the annual reports together.

135 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The first two years, I understood you to say, that it paid about 3 per cent?—Ans. Three per cent, quarterly, for the first two years.

136 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That would be 12 per cent a year?—Ans. Yes, sir.

137 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And for the next few years it paid about 9½ per cent annually?—Ans. My impression is it was about three years.

138 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And for the rest of the time about 2 per cent, quarterly, or 8 per cent per year?—Ans. Yes, sir; 8 per cent has been the regular dividend from that time, and there has been no change in it.

139 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, in addition to those dividends, you have accumulated from sixteen to eighteen millions of undivided profits?—Ans. The undivided profits are something like twenty-five millions; that is my impression.

140 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I got the impression from your testimony—perhaps I misunderstood you—of about \$16,000,000?—Ans. No, sir; I have not made use of that term.

141 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then in addition to the annual dividend that you have mentioned, there has also been accumulated about \$25,000,000 of undivided profit?—Ans. Yes, sir; from the date of the organization of the company. We have never made any extra dividends. There has been no stock watering and no extra dividends. The surplus earnings during what we call prosperous years, the company has put aside to meet the bad times, practically guaranteeing the investors in the stock of the company their permanent dividends. You can readily understand that the business of last year was exceptional; but this year we have, as a result of the large expenditure to meet the extraordinary demands of travel to bring people to the World's Fair, 400 cars, representing some millions of dollars, in store at Pullman.

142 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I would like, while on this line of thought, if you could approximate the total amount of dividends that this company has declared within the last twenty-seven years; that is, if you could.—Ans. Well, I can not, really.

143 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Will you furnish the commission a statement of the total amount of the dividends?—Ans. Yes, sir.

(The witness subsequently filed a statement showing total dividends from 1868 to 1894, both inclusive, of \$28,554,347.50.)

144 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You have the annual reports, I suppose, from the organization of the company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

145 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And will you furnish those from the annual reports?—Ans. Yes, sir.

146 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I presume you have not extra copies of the annual reports that you can furnish the commission.—Ans. You mean from the date of the organization of the company down?

147 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes.—Ans. No, sir. I can give you that information you desire.

148 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That we would like to have.

Can you give us, from your annual reports, the total amount of wages paid out by the company from year to year?—Ans. I have here [producing paper] an account of wages paid out at Pullman, from some memoranda that I made.

*Memorandum of pay rolls of Pullman Palace Car Company for twenty-seven years, from August 1, 1867, to July 31, 1894, exclusive of salaries of officials.*

Year ending July 31—		Year ending July 31—	
1868.....	\$40,065.12	1883.....	\$2,415,026.86
1869.....	63,112.36	1884.....	2,580,795.80
1870.....	155,138.15	1885.....	2,601,629.24
1871.....	405,931.43	1886.....	2,668,418.62
1872.....	588,527.60	1887.....	4,377,409.11
1873.....	777,719.48	1888.....	4,924,651.56
1874.....	679,794.30	1889.....	5,394,050.89
1875.....	765,777.06	1890.....	5,756,651.32
1876.....	793,442.61	1891.....	6,715,324.34
1877.....	686,790.34	1892.....	6,078,528.93
1878.....	711,292.55	1893.....	7,223,719.51
1879.....	798,955.78	1894.....	4,471,701.39
1880.....	935,368.59		
1881.....	2,172,551.94	Total.....	67,632,646.11
1882.....	2,850,271.23		

149 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In gross, or from year to year?—Ans. The average is from year to year in the statement I read, I think. We have paid out in wages at Pullman since October, 1880, to August, 1894, nearly \$33,000,000; from September, 1880, to July 31, 1894, there has been paid to wage earners in Pullman \$32,847,934.44, and there has been consumed in materials used in the manufacturing business in that time \$73,457,000—

150 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Your annual reports will show the amount in wages paid each year?—Ans. I can give you that; it amounts to \$2,362,000 per year.

151 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is the average?—Ans. That is the average. Our annual report would not show that detail, but that is the fact.

152 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Your annual report will not show the amount of wages paid out each year?—Ans. The annual report to our stockholders would not go into that detail; but, of course, from our books I get this figure of \$2,362,000 per year average. Last year the amount paid out at Pullman was about \$3,400,000 for wages.

153 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Could you cause to be prepared from your books, without too much trouble, the amount of wages paid out each year?—Ans. I will do so with pleasure.

154 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And will you furnish that with the total amount of dividends each year?—Ans. Yes, sir; that is, you want the total amount of wages paid to all employees if you are going to compare it with the dividends to all stockholders.

155 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes; that would be the only fair way of estimating it. Your company has had a phenomenal success financially, has it not?—Ans. Well, I don't know just what you mean by "phenomenal."

156 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, we will leave out the word "phenomenal," as that is a little uncertain, and say it has been a very successful company financially?—Ans. My aim, from its establishment, has been to make it good in every particular. It must be good to the public; it must be good to the railroads with which it has contracts; it must be good to its owners—that is, be good and sound; the securities must be good.



157 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Good in its influences?—Ans. Yes, sir; good in its influences.

158 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I appreciate that, Mr. Pullman.—Ans. When I built the manufactory and the homes at Pullman, I had the same idea that has run through the development of the car business itself. It commenced, or I commenced, by building the first Pullman car in a shed, near where the Union depot now stands. I commenced the sleeping car business in 1859, individually, in a small way, and in 1864, or in the spring of 1865, I brought out the first Pullman car at a cost of \$18,000, which was more than four times as much as any sleeping car had cost up to that time. That was the foundation. It has been a steady growth, as you will notice, from year to year, and it has not, as is generally supposed, been supported or sustained by patents. The quality of car met a public want—a public demand. It was better than any other. There was no reason that other people could not have built as good cars as this company. I continued business from 1859 until 1867 as an individual enterprise, except that two or three of the railroads with which I had contracts were part owners of the cars, as a number of the railroad companies with which the company has contracts now are part owners, or joint owners. The Rock Island is, and other roads.

159 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I was not questioning at all but what the company deserved all the financial success that it enjoys. I was only trying to get a bird's-eye view of its success in this, as I understand it, that with a stock ranging from \$1,000,000 to \$36,000,000 in twenty-seven years, and with undivided profits amounting to \$25,000,000 and with dividends paid upon that stock of never less than 8 per cent and as high as 12 per cent, you would naturally conclude it was a good financial operation?—Ans. Yes; well, let me say right there—

160 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). These are practically the facts, are they not?—Ans. Let me say right there—let me qualify that—the \$25,000,000 is not an absolute addition. Out of that \$25,000,000 would come any depreciation of property. All the property of the Pullman Company stands on its books at its cost, and all the earnings in excess of the dividends paid have been put to the credit of the income account, so that you would see by that—

161 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes; I understand; this \$25,000,000 of profit is represented by property?—Ans. Yes, sir; it is represented by property and the value of that property you must make your own estimate upon.

162 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You do not consider that this is seriously decreased in value, do you?—Ans. When we consider the present state of the country—and what is before us none of us can tell—it is the part of safety and prudence for the management of a large corporation to be strong enough financially to tide over these difficult situations that arise.

163 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is, in tight times, you perhaps could not put it on the market and sell it for what you estimate it to be worth; but for the purposes for which it was established, and with the ordinary business outlook, you consider it worth fairly what you have estimated it at?—Ans. I think that would be hardly a fair question to ask me—an estimate of its present value—because I would not be prepared to give that. I give you the facts, from which you can draw your own conclusions, that the property stands at its cost, and the depreciation of that property would have to come out of the apparent surplus.

164 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). At what time did you make the estimate of the cost upon which you base your statement of \$25,000,000 of undivided profits?—Ans. That simply as we earned this money more than we divided, it goes to the credit of the income account, the property standing all the time at its original cost. A car that cost \$18,000 stands there all the time at that cost.

165 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It represents \$18,000?—Ans. Yes, sir; it represents \$18,000, and this income account stands representing what it does, you understand.

166 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The maintenance of the property, I suppose, is put to the operating cost, generally, is it not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

167 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, passing to another branch of the subject, I understand you to say, or perhaps I get it from your statement, and, as that is here, I wish to examine something with reference to that—that the business of the company consists in building palace cars to lease to roads, and also in building cars of other descriptions and repairing cars. That is correct, is it not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

168 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Has there been any reduction in the amounts charged roads for the use of cars, or in the rental price?—Ans. Yes, sir.

169 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Within the last year?—Ans. There has been a reduction in the amounts that we have received by reason of the great decline in business.

170 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But that was not exactly my question. It is, whether there was any reduction in the prices charged under your leases?—Ans. No, sir.

171 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But there has been a falling off in revenues on account of there being less travel since last year?—Ans. Yes, sir; and following the decline in the ability of certain railroads to pay their leases.

172 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is to say, you have some bad debts?—Ans. Bad debts coming by reason of the great prostration of business.

173 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, you have met with this from time to time during the last twenty-seven years, have you not?—Ans. Not to as great an extent as now.

174 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You met with them in 1873, did you not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

175 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And at other times to some extent?—Ans. Yes, to some extent; but then we were not as extensively engaged in business as we are now, and in 1873 the railroad companies under the contracts maintained the cars, and now we maintain the cars as a rule and they pay us mileage.

176 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is a change in your contract?—Ans. Yes, sir.

177 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you a general form of contract under which you lease to railroad companies?—Ans. Yes, sir.

178 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you one of those with you?—Ans. I have not one with me but I will furnish one.

(Following is a copy of the contract furnished:)

This agreement, made ———, A. D. 18—, between Pullman's Palace Car Company, hereinafter called the Pullman Company, party of the one part, and the ———, hereinafter called the Railroad Company, party of the other part, witnesseth that:

Whereas the Pullman Company is engaged in manufacturing sleeping and parlor cars, and furnishing the same under contracts with railroad companies for long terms

of years; and has established and is maintaining an extensive system of sleeping and parlor-carservice over lines of connecting railroads throughout the United States, Canada, and Mexico; and

Whereas the Railroad Company is desirous of availing itself of the advantages afforded by the use of sleeping and parlor cars furnished by the Pullman Company, and by the connections of its extensive system;

Now, therefore, in consideration of the premises and of the agreements hereinafter contained, the parties hereto agree as follows:

#### ARTICLE 1.

**SECTION 1.** The Pullman Company shall furnish sleeping and parlor cars sufficient to meet the requirements of travel over the lines of railroad now owned or controlled by the Railroad Company, and over all additional railroads which it shall hereafter own or control.

**SEC. 2.** The Pullman Company, remaining the owner of all the sleeping and parlor cars furnished hereunder and maintaining the same, except as herein provided, shall retain the right to collect such fares from railroad passengers, occupants of such cars, for the use of seats and berths therein, as are customary on competing lines of railroads where equal sleeping and parlor-car accommodations are furnished, agreeing that no more room in said sleeping and parlor cars shall be furnished to any person or persons than is usually furnished to passengers by railroad companies which use their own sleeping or parlor cars, unless by the assent of the proper officer of the Railroad Company.

**SEC. 3.** The Pullman Company shall furnish with each of such sleeping and parlor cars one or more employees—as may be necessary—whose duties shall be to collect fares from railroad passengers, occupants of such cars, for the use of seats and berths therein, and generally to wait upon and provide for the comfort of passengers therein; such employees at all times to be subject to the rules of the Railroad Company governing its own employees.

**SEC. 4.** The Pullman Company, except as hereinafter provided, shall keep all such sleeping and parlor cars in good order and repair, and shall renew and improve the same so far as may be necessary to keep them up to the average standard of approved sleeping and parlor cars furnished by the Pullman Company for general use on competing lines.

**SEC. 5.** The Pullman Company shall save harmless the Railroad Company from damages, costs, and expenses growing out of, or incident to, any claim that may be made to the effect that any of such sleeping or parlor cars, or any part thereof, or any improvement therein or thereon, is an infringement upon letters patent of the United States covering like cars, or like parts thereof, or like improvements therein or thereon; the Railroad Company having first given the Pullman Company written notice of any such claim, when made, in order that it might resist the same should it desire to do so.

**SEC. 6.** The Pullman Company will place its tickets for seats and berths on sale in such of the railroad ticket offices as it may consider necessary for the convenience and accommodation of passengers.

**SEC. 7.** The Pullman Company shall furnish free passes to the general and division officers of the Railroad Company, for use in such sleeping and parlor cars, over the lines of railroad now owned or controlled by the Railroad Company, and over any additional railroads which it shall hereafter own or control.

**SEC. 8.** The Pullman Company shall do all things required of it hereunder, at its own expense, and free of charge to the Railroad Company, except as otherwise herein specifically provided.

#### ARTICLE 2.

**SECTION 1.** The Railroad Company shall haul such sleeping and parlor cars furnished by the Pullman Company hereunder as may at any time be necessary in operating the lines of railroad now owned or controlled by the Railroad Company, and any additional railroads which it shall hereafter own or control; and shall use such cars as a part of all passenger trains controlled, in whole or in part, by it, where sleeping and parlor cars are required, in such manner as shall best accommodate passenger travel.

The Railroad Company shall also, in consideration of the use of such sleeping and parlor cars for the transportation of its passengers, bear the cost of maintaining the running gear and bodies of such cars, and such other parts thereof as are essential to ordinary first-class passenger cars, and are not incidental to a sleeping or parlor car, which cost is understood and agreed to amount to an average of two (2) cents per mile, and shall pay to the Pullman Company, in fulfillment of such obligation, said sum of two (2) cents per car per mile for every mile run by such sleeping and parlor cars upon the roads of the Railroad Company, or upon the roads of other railroad companies by direction of the officers of the Railroad Company.

SEC. 2. The Railroad Company shall haul, without charge to the Pullman Company, such sleeping and parlor cars to and from repair shops, and to and from other points on the lines of railroad at any time owned or controlled by it, as may be necessary in order that such sleeping and parlor cars may be put in good order or repair, or be renewed or improved as required hereunder. No mileage shall be paid on the cars so hauled.

SEC. 3. The Railroad Company shall furnish and apply to such sleeping and parlor cars all necessary lubricating material, ice, water, fuel for heating, and oil, fluids, or other proper materials for lighting; and shall wash and clean such cars; and shall replace bell-cords and couplings, and air-brake hose and couplings, as often as necessary.

SEC. 4. The Railroad Company shall pay to the Pullman Company the cost of repairing and making good all damages to any of its sleeping and parlor cars resulting from accident or casualty on the lines of its roads and on any other roads upon which any such cars may be run by direction of the Railroad Company, except damages resulting from accident or casualty arising from defective heating or lighting apparatus, or from the actual negligence of the employees of the Pullman Company in the line of their employment.

SEC. 5. The Railroad Company shall promptly make all such repairs as may be necessary to put any of such sleeping and parlor cars in good order whenever requested by the Pullman Company so to do; and shall, without request, make such repairs as may be required at any time to insure the safety of such cars, and, when the Pullman Company is by the terms hereof under obligation to make such repairs, shall, at the end of each month, render to the Pullman Company bills therefor, charging the actual cost of material and labor expended on such repairs, with an addition of ten per cent to cover general expenses.

SEC. 6. The Railroad Company shall furnish, free of charge, at convenient points, rooms and necessary facilities for airing and storing bedding, linen, supplies, and other movables belonging to or designed for the use of such sleeping and parlor cars.

SEC. 7. The Railroad Company shall require its ticket agents, at such offices as may be designated by the Pullman Company, to sell tickets for seats and berths in such sleeping and parlor cars, without charge to the Pullman Company; the proceeds of such sales to be at the risk of the Pullman Company.

SEC. 8. The Railroad Company shall furnish free passes to the general and division officers of the Pullman Company over the lines of railroad now owned or controlled by the Railroad Company, and over any additional railroads which it shall hereafter own or control.

SEC. 9. The Railroad Company shall do all things herein required of it, at its own expense, and free of charge to the Pullman Company, except as otherwise herein specifically provided.

#### ARTICLE 3.

SECTION 1. All settlements and payments for mileage and repairs shall be made between the parties hereto monthly.

SEC. 2. Whenever the revenue from sales of seats and berths equals or exceeds an average of seventy-five hundred dollars (\$7,500) per car per annum, upon the whole number of cars furnished under this contract; then while such annual revenue shall continue, the Railroad Company shall not be required to pay mileage on such cars.

SEC. 3. The Railroad Company shall have the right to co-operate with other railroad companies in forming through and continuous lines of sleeping and parlor car service; and if it should become necessary for the Railroad Company so to co-operate with other railroad companies using sleeping or parlor cars not owned by the Pullman Company, the Pullman Company shall have the right to furnish its *pro rata* of sleeping and parlor cars, for service on such through or continuous lines, based upon the mileage of the Railroad Company in said lines; and in all cars operated on such through or continuous lines, the Pullman Company shall be entitled to receive all local fares for the use of seats and berths therein upon the roads of the Railroad Company, and its *pro rata* of through and intermediate fares based upon the proportionate mileage of the road or roads covered by this contract in such through or continuous lines.

SEC. 4. If any of the Pullman Company's employes, furnished with any of its sleeping or parlor cars operated under this agreement, be injured or killed, in consequence of a railroad accident or casualty, when serving in the line of his duties, the Railroad Company shall save harmless the Pullman Company from damages, costs, and expenses growing out of or incident to such injury or death, to the extent that the Railroad Company would be liable if such employe were in fact an employe of the Railroad Company when so injured or killed, and the Pullman Company shall save harmless the Railroad Company from such damages, costs, and expenses to any greater extent, each company to have immediate notice from the other of any claim or suit for such injury or death, and the right to resist or defend such claim or suit.

SEC. 5. If either of the parties hereto shall fail to clean or repair, according to its obligations under this agreement, any of such sleeping or parlor cars, and shall after written notice from the other party of the neglect complained of further neglect or refuse so to clean or repair such sleeping or parlor cars within a reasonable time, such other party shall have the right to clean such cars and to make, or cause to be made, all necessary repairs and renewals thereof, and shall, at the next monthly settlement between the parties, be repaid the cost of such portion of the cleaning or repairs as the party in fault is liable for by the terms of this contract.

SEC. 6. If either of the parties hereto shall fail to keep or perform any of the agreements of this party hereunder, and shall continue in default for sixty (60) days after written notice of such failure from the other party, then such other party shall have the right to declare this agreement terminated at such time as shall be specified by written notice of its intention to terminate the same.

SEC. 7. This agreement shall be construed liberally, so as to secure to each party hereto all the rights, privileges, and benefits herein provided or manifestly intended; and if any difference between the parties hereto shall arise under or in respect to this agreement, then, after written notice from one party to the other of the existence of the difference, with a statement of the question or questions on which a decision is desired, the same, with any questions which the other party may propose for decision, shall be submitted to arbitration, as follows:

To such person as sole arbitrator as the parties may agree upon within ten days after such notice, and his written decision shall be final and be binding on both parties.

If the parties shall fail to agree upon such arbitrator within the time aforesaid, then, within ten days thereafter, each party shall appoint an arbitrator, and the two so appointed shall, within ten days thereafter, choose a third.

If either party shall fail to appoint an arbitrator within the time provided, the other party may within ten days thereafter appoint the second arbitrator, and the two so appointed shall within ten days thereafter choose a third.

So soon as a third arbitrator is chosen, the questions of difference shall be submitted to the three arbitrators, and the written decision of any two of them shall be final and be binding on both parties.

If the sole arbitrator, or if a majority of the three arbitrators, shall fail to render a written decision within thirty days after the final submission of the questions of difference, either party may, at any time before a written decision is rendered, elect to end the arbitration, and shall then have the right, upon giving the notice aforesaid, to have the questions of difference submitted to a new arbitration in the manner hereinbefore specified.

SEC. 8. The Pullman Company shall have the exclusive right, for a term of twenty-five years from the date hereof, to furnish under this agreement all sleeping and parlor cars for use on all the lines of railroads now owned or in any way controlled by the Railroad Company, and on all the additional railroads which it shall hereafter own or in any way control; and also on all passenger trains on which it may, by virtue of contracts or running arrangements with persons, companies, or corporations owning or controlling other lines of railroad, have the right to use such cars; and the Railroad Company shall not contract with any other person, company, or corporation to run any sleeping or parlor cars on or over any of the lines of railroad aforesaid during said period of twenty-five years.

SEC. 9. This agreement shall remain in force for the full term of twenty-five (25) years from the date hereof; that is to say, for the term commencing on the — day of —, A. D. 18—, and ending on the — day of —, A. D. 19—, unless the same shall be sooner terminated by virtue of the provisions of section 6 in this article, or by the mutual agreement of the parties hereto.

In witness whereof, the parties hereto have signed, sealed, and delivered these presents the day and year first herein written.

PULLMAN'S PALACE CAR COMPANY,  
By ———, *President*.

Attest:  
———, *Secretary*.

By ———, *President*.

Attest:  
———, *Secretary*.

179 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, last year, on account of the Exposition here, was an exceptional year, I suppose, in the use of your palace cars?—Ans. Yes, sir.

180 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And the revenues were accordingly increased?—Ans. Yes, sir.

181 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Are you able to tell me now how the revenues for this year compare—of course you can not tell exactly, because the report is not made up yet, but how the revenues from the railroads for the use of your cars compare with the fiscal year ending this season, compared with the fiscal year ending in 1892?—Ans. Do you mean the amount that the railroads paid us?

182 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes.—Ans. We don't get our pay from the railroads.

183 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I mean the earnings from your palace cars, without reference to where you get them.—Ans. You mean how do our earnings compare in the year 1894—so far?

184 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes; with the year preceding the year of the Exposition upon your palace cars.—Ans. The falling off in the month of July was about \$500,000. I am really unable to say exactly without refreshing my memory, but in the neighborhood, perhaps, of 40 per cent.

185 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is, comparing this year with the year prior to the Exposition. Last year was an exceptional year.—Ans. Oh, I didn't understand. We show quite a large falling off as compared with 1892. As I have not that data with me I couldn't tell now, but it is quite a falling off as compared with the year 1892.

186 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, I understood you to say that you took certain contracts for building cars below the cost of construction, estimating the wages you had been paying. How many of those contracts did you take, or did your company take?—Ans. You will get all that evidence in the examination of the second vice-president, in his statement. I haven't it.

187 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I found an instance in this pamphlet of 250 cars for a particular company.—Ans. I gave a number of cases.

188 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And 50 for another company.—Ans. There are many others.

189 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I have examined this pamphlet hastily since it was handed me here. I think this states that you took them below the bids of other companies.—Ans. Yes, sir; and we took them at a loss to us.

190 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is what I wanted to get at.—Ans. It will appear in the detail of the second vice-president's statement. I think the actual losses under the contracts that we have taken are something over \$50,000.

191 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is during this year of 1894?—Ans. Yes, sir; commencing, I think, possibly, from November on to the time of the strike, four or five months.

192 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Say five months.—Ans. Well, you will get that evidence absolutely from the second vice-president. I am speaking only from memory.

193 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The reduction of the wages of your employees was from 20 to 25 per cent, as I understood you?—Ans. You will get that, too, from him. You see it is difficult for me to speak of those details as I would like to speak of them.

194 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). If you feel that you have not sufficient recollection of the details of this, and that Mr. Wickes or some other gentleman has—is it Mr. Wickes you refer to?—Ans. Yes, sir; Mr. Wickes, the second vice-president.

195 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Of course we do not wish to press you upon an examination in regard to matters of which you have

no recollection. You took these contracts, as I understand you, upon an estimate of a certain reduction in wages?—Ans. Yes, sir.

196 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, now, then, were the wages reduced according to your estimate, or were they reduced more or less than your estimate?—Ans. I shall have to refer you to the people who had that matter directly in charge.

197 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You were asked something by Mr. Wright with reference to the question of arbitration, I think?—Ans. I don't remember.

198 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Let me ask you if any attempts were made by approaching you, either in writing or orally, by different parties to secure an arbitration of the differences between the Pullman company and the strikers there?—Ans. I don't recollect of any formal attempt at arbitration with me. I think some committees waited upon Mr. Wickes, but of that he will be able to speak.

199 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you, as president of the company, ever express to any parties your willingness or unwillingness to submit these matters to arbitration?—Ans. I expressed my unwillingness to submit these matters to arbitration.

200 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I think you are quoted in this pamphlet—and I do not know that I can turn to it now—Ans. I think I can show you where I refer to it.

201 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What is the page?—Ans. Page 13 of the pamphlet.

202 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes, I see it here (reading):

The demand made before quitting work was that the wages should be restored to the scale of last year, or, in effect, that the actual outgoing money losses then being daily incurred by the company in car building should be deliberately increased to an amount equal to about one-fourth of the wages of the employee. It must be clear to every business man and to every thinking mechanic that no prudent employer could submit to arbitration the question whether he should commit such a piece of business folly.

Was that your language?—Ans. Yes, sir.

203 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). At that time did you know what losses your company was sustaining during that year or this year?—Ans. Yes, sir; I knew the losses, for I directed the bids upon these different lots of cars. I put the bids in myself.

204 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were those the only losses that the company was sustaining in the employment of its workmen during that year?—Ans. Well, those were the losses pertaining to the work. What I wish to be understood is that the question with me was whether the shops at Pullman should be closed or whether we could, by putting the prices so low as to command whatever work was to be let anywhere in the country, secure it, thus keeping our people employed, and the amount which I was willing to contribute in that way—willing to sacrifice—was a varying amount according to my idea of how low it was necessary to make the bid in order to get the work.

205 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). At the time you made this statement that the actual outgoing money losses then being daily incurred by the company should be deliberately increased, etc., you had an idea of what the actual outgoing money losses of the company were at that time, did you not?—Ans. I didn't figure that down to know just what the amount was. I knew what it was on the different contracts; for example, when I had taken the contract for the refrigerator cars for the Northwestern road at \$15 less than cost I knew what the loss was there.

206 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). How many of those cars were there?—Ans. Two hundred and fifty.

207 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That would be 250 at \$15?—Ans. Yes, sir.

208 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, was there any other loss that you knew of then?—Ans. There were the 55 passenger cars.

209 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was the loss on each one of those cars?—Ans. I believe it was nearly \$400 a car, as it turned out, but I can not give you all of them. That is a detail that you will get from the second vice-president.

210 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I wanted to know what you had in mind at the time you made this statement that "it was very clear that no prudent man could submit to arbitration in this matter" when you were referring to your daily losses as a reason why any prudent man could not submit to arbitration?—Ans. The amount of the losses would not cut any figure; it was the principle involved, not the amount that would affect my views as to arbitration.

211 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then it was not the amount of losses that the company was then sustaining, but it was the fact that a continuance of the business at the rates that had been paid would entail loss upon the company?—Ans. It was the principle that that should not be submitted to a third party. That was a matter that the company should decide for itself.

212 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You did not have in view the amount of the losses that the company had already sustained, but you did have in view the principle that if it continued at the wages of 1893 it would lose money?—Ans. Yes, sir; and that we must be the parties to decide whether we were willing to continue the manufacturing business at a loss, instead of being told by some third party.

213 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, let me ask you if, taking all the revenues of the Pullman company for the last year, so far as you are advised, if the company has lost money or made money during the last year?—Ans. The company has made money during the last year.

214 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What amount of dividends was declared during the last year?—Ans. The usual dividend of 8 per cent.

215 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What is the gross amount?—Ans. I can't tell now.

216 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It is upwards of \$600,000, is it not? It has paid out about \$2,800,000 in dividends during the last year, has it not?—Ans. It has, for the full year.

217 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I mean for the full year.—Ans. Yes, sir.

218 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is out of its earnings of the last year, is it not?—Ans. Yes, sir; out of the earnings—of course, in that we get the earnings of the World's Fair—the latter part, three months.

219 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But, taking the year together, it is out of the earnings of the last year—that is, the year from August, 1893, to August 31, 1894?—Ans. Yes, sir.

220 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And you have no idea of the losses you sustained on account of this car building?—Ans. I have told you that on the contracts we took the losses were something over \$50,000.

221 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But it was upon the principle and not the amount of the losses?—Ans. Yes, sir—



222 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Don't you think it would have been right that a corporation that has been so successful financially as the Pullman corporation—and of which we have all been proud—declaring a dividend of \$2,800,000, should not have borne some losses for employees who had been working for a long time—shared your profits to that extent with them?—Ans. Take the profits to begin with. The manufacturing business at Pullman is a perfectly distinct and separate branch of business from the manufacturing business at Detroit. The profits and losses of that business are kept entirely separate and by itself. I can see no reason why I should take the profit belonging to the 4,200 shareholders and that comes as the result of their investment in this company years ago and pay one set of men a higher rate of wages than I was paying other men in different parts of the country, or than other people were paying men, because the manufacturing business happened to belong to the same company that the business of operating cars did, or that we happened to be able to pay the \$2,800,000; because during all the years we have been prudent and put our surplus earnings into property that has helped earn this money, that we should be called upon now to pay them out to give exceptional wages to a certain class of men who happened to be living at Pullman.

We have many men at Pullman that have been there for a number of years. We have a great many men who had been there but a very few months at the time of the strike. The claims of those men would be the same upon us with the men who live at Wilmington, or at St. Louis, or at Ludlow, or at any of our shops. The wages paid at Pullman are supposed to be, and are calculated to be, on the same basis as those paid at Wilmington and Ludlow. Wilmington I speak of particularly, because our shops there are large and we work about as many men there on repairs as at Pullman. There was no complaint of wages there. The effort of the American Railway Union to cause a strike there was a failure, although they made repeated efforts to get the men out. They were satisfied with their wages. The wages were equal to those paid by other people, and they knew it, and therefore they could not be induced to go out; and I could see no reason why because the Pullman company happened to be prosperous, as you say, that it should pay a higher rate of wages than other establishments in the same business.

223 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did the Pullman company during its years of prosperity ever voluntarily increase the wages of any class or of all classes of its employees?—Ans. Not specially on account of prosperous business. It has always paid its employees liberal wages. It has now about 11,000 names on its pay roll. In normal times it has from 14,000 to 15,000, and I think that it has never had a strike, with the exception of the strike in 1886 and some little strikes in departments—unimportant ones—it has had none in all these years.

224 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But it has never increased the wages of its employees voluntarily?—Ans. Certainly it has not increased them any other way.

225 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It has never divided any of its profits with them in any shape or form?—Ans. The Pullman company divides its profits with the people who own the property. It would not have a right to take the profits belonging to the people who own that property—

226 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, we will not discuss that question. If you will answer my questions we will get along faster. Now, when the first year of losses comes, it makes a reduction of 20 or

25 per cent on its employees.—Ans. In that particular branch. It was a question whether we could get cars to build or whether we should shut up our shops.

227 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was this reduction upon one class of your employees only, or upon all classes?—Ans. It was a reduction upon the people connected with the car-building department of the company, with the car works, with the manufacturing business proper.

228 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was it a reduction made upon the repair department—upon the wages there, too?—Ans. Yes, sir.

229 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, you were not losing anything there, were you?—Ans. Yes, sir; we were losing there, for the reasons that I have given. Our business generally was very much less than it was the year before.

230 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But you got the same prices, practically, for repairs as you did the year before?—Ans. We did not get the same amount. We have not changed the rate of mileage on cars, but we do not collect so much money, and we have a very large amount of cars that are earning no mileage. Our loss in that direction is very considerable, as compared with the previous year.

231 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I am not asking you about that. I am asking you about the prices charged for repairs. You charged the same rates for repairs as you did formerly?—Ans. Yes, sir.

232 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But you do not collect as much?—Ans. No, sir; we have more cars on repair for the same money. In other words, the 400 cars that we have standing idle at Pullman have to be repaired, and they are not earning money. We do not get as much money as we did.

233 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you estimate that as a part of your losses, because you have so many cars there that are not employed?—Ans. It is a part of the losses, because we have to keep those cars in repair.

234 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And that was one of the reasons, then, for your reducing the wages, was it?—Ans. No; when we reduced the wages in one part of the manufacturing plant we would reduce the wages in all parts of it. You can not be paying one set of men higher rates than you are paying others. Our repair men are paid the same rate of wages in Pullman that they are in Wilmington, and they pay the same rate all around. The wages of car builders and car repairers generally have been reduced.

235 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It is the fact, and not the reasons, that we care for particularly. Of course you can give the reasons afterwards, but what I want to get at is that you have reduced the wages of car builders on account of the fact of taking contracts to build cars for less than cost. Now, is it true that you have made a reduction in all other classes of employees there in the car service?—Ans. In the car service we have made a reduction in the piecework prices, of repair work as well as of the construction work.

236 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, let me ask you right there, Mr. Pullman, what do you see that is objectionable, in a business point of view, under the existing state of affairs, the unrest of labor, and all the consequences that follow this unrest—the strikes especially—what do you see that was so objectionable in submitting to disinterested persons the question as to whether under all the circumstances wages might not, be increased somewhat of your employees?—Ans. I think I have made that as plain in this statement as I can make it if I should repeat it a thousand times.

237 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is that the only reason you can give?—Ans. What do you mean by that, “The only reason?”

238 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The reason you give here (in the statement), “It must be clear to every business man and to every thinking workman that no prudent employer could submit to arbitration the question whether he should commit such a piece of business folly.” Is that the only answer to it?—Ans. Well, now, I have a little memorandum here which is practically the same thing on the question of arbitration. Of course there are matters which are proper subjects of arbitration—matters of opinion.

239 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What are those matters that are proper subjects for arbitration?—Ans. A matter of opinion would be a proper subject of arbitration, as, for instance, a question of title, or a disagreement on a matter of opinion; what settlement shall be made of a transaction which has come to an end, may be made the subject of arbitration and be put at rest by it; but as to whether a fact that I know to be true is true or not, I could not agree to submit to arbitration. Take the case in hand, the question as to whether the shops at Pullman shall be continuously operated at a loss or not, is one which it was impossible for the company, as a matter of principle, to submit to the opinion of any third party, and as to whether they were running at a loss on contract work in general, as explained to the committee of the men in my interview with them—that was a simple fact that I knew to be true, and which could not be made otherwise by the opinion of any third party.

240 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You use the expression, “Impossible to be submitted.” Why is it impossible?—Ans. Because it would violate a principle.

241 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What principle?—Ans. The principle that a man should have the right to manage his own property.

242 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The decision of arbitrators would not be compulsory, would it?—Ans. I still think, having managed the property of the Pullman company for twenty-seven years, that I am perhaps as well calculated to manage it for the interests of its stockholders and for the interests of the public—for the general interest—as some man who is not interested, who comes in to arbitrate certain points.

243 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is an additional reason, then, why you were unwilling to arbitrate?—Ans. The reason I have given there is the reason. I do not know that I care to give any more.

244 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is, practically, in other words, that you knew what it cost to run that establishment, and you knew what your receipts were, and whether you were making money or not, and that being so it would be impossible to submit the question whether you ought to pay any more wages or not?—Ans. Yes, sir; of course. Suppose an arbitrator had said, “Yes, you are able. Go on and pay these additional wages;” it would only be a question of time, of course, when any concern would be bankrupt under that condition of things, and therefore the principle would be violated in that.

245 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Suppose a board of arbitration had examined into the matter and had said: “Yes, we accept your statement that you are losing money on these jobs and that the times are hard, and you are not receiving as much money on car mileage as heretofore; but with a body of workmen who had been with you some time—and a person would imagine it would be a good thing to do that under all the circumstances—you ought to divide with them a little,

give them at least enough to make a good living"—wouldn't that have been a fair matter to be considered?—Ans. I think not. How long a time should a man be with a company before he would be entitled to a gift of money? For that is what this would mean. The wage question is settled by the law of supply and demand. We were obliged to reduce wages in order to get these cars—to compete with other people in the same business, that were doing the same thing. I suppose the wages are practically uniform. I assume that the people who are bidding for the same class of cars, bidding for the same lots of cars that this company was bidding for, and obtained them against our bid until we finally reduced them to a point away below cost—I suppose the wages that we were paying were practically the same wages they were paying. Of course, that I am not certain of.

246 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In other words, you insisted upon a right which is conceded to you, of course, or your company, of getting the labor as cheap as you could, and of reducing the wages there to correspond with the reduction that you made in contracts that you took?—Ans. I beg your pardon; my point at the time was to work in conjunction with the men at Pullman to secure the disbursement of the large amount of money involved in these contracts. I was willing to contribute, or the company lose money for the sake of getting them, if the men were willing to do their work at a less price; I believe it amounts to 20 or 25 per cent. If they were willing to do that rather than to have the work go to Detroit or Dayton, Ohio, or Springfield, Mass., or Wilmington, Del., in order to bring it to Pullman, and give the people at Pullman the benefit of the disbursement of that money; to let it permeate the channels of trade—to do that, a mutual sacrifice must be made. The men must work a little harder and the Pullman company must use its profits that it has made in its business to secure that object.

247 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You are unable to give me the figure so that I could use figures definitely, but I will ask you generally; is it not the fact, now, that in your estimates on these jobs that you have mentioned here, the men, by the reduction of their wages, bore all the loss the company would have sustained in filling those contracts?—Ans. No, sir.

248 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). In other words, I understood you to say that you made an estimate cutting the wages down so as to see if you could make those bids?—Ans. Then the company contributed in the case of the Long Island cars nearly \$400 a car of absolute loss beyond that.

249 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Beyond the reduction in the wages?—Ans. Oh, certainly. After we had got the figures which covered the reduced wages, then the company took \$400, or about that, off each car, and lost that amount of money in order to secure an opportunity to the men to earn the money they did earn. Suppose we had not got the 55 cars, the men, instead of having the wages—which were about \$2 a day, or something like that—the men would have had nothing to do.

250 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understand that; but let us keep to the questions and answers as well as we can. Did you reach the amount of reduction on the wages of the men on a single car?—Ans. I can't tell that. That is a matter of detail.

251 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). About how much did the wages amount to in the building of the 400 cars, or in the building of a single car?—Ans. I am entirely unable to tell that.

252 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then, in the opinion you expressed just before, that the company lost so much over and above the wages, how are you able to tell that, if you are not able to tell the amount of wages in building a car?—Ans. Because an estimate including the wages was laid before me, which showed that the cars would cost to build a certain amount of money.

253 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But you do not remember that amount now?—Ans. I do not remember what proportion the labor bore to it, but I took off from that somewhere between \$300 and \$400, knowing that I was losing, or that I would contribute that money in order to get those cars to keep our people at Pullman at work.

254 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes, I know, we have had that several times. During the year 1893, what was about the average wages of a skilled workman in car building?—Ans. That I am unable to say, but Mr. Wickes will give that to you.

255 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know about what the average wages were prior to the strike?—Ans. No, I do not.

256 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then how do you say that the reduction was only 20 or 25 per cent?—Ans. I happened to say that. I heard it discussed in a statement that Mr. Wickes was preparing. I do not remember the details of the other, but I remember that.

257 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You did not make a computation?—Ans. I did not; I saw a statement.

258 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is it not the fact that in 1892 and 1893 your skilled workmen, or a majority of them, were paid by the day and not by piecework?—Ans. No, sir; that is not the fact.

259 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have they always been paid by piecework?—Ans. That is a matter of detail also that I should refer to the second vice-president; but my recollection is that a very large number of our skilled workmen have been paid by piecework for a very long time.

260 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You don't remember of any marked change being made in that respect during 1893 and 1894?—Ans. No, sir; the general tendency is to put as much as possible to piecework; that is, to have as much as possible of the work that is done done by the piece.

261 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you think of any particular policy that was determined upon in changing from day work to piecework?—Ans. No, sir.

262 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I want to ask you if any of the railroad companies, or if their officers or representatives either said to you, or in any way conveyed to you any suggestion, that if you took any steps toward arbitration, they would boycott the Pullman cars?—Ans. They did not in any way whatever.

263 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did any of the railway companies in any way, either directly or indirectly, attempt to influence you against submitting the question to arbitration?—Ans. They did not.

264 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). They did not interfere with you in one direction or another?—Ans. Not in the slightest degree.

265 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you ever given any advice, or did you receive any suggestion, from any of the officers of any of the railway companies with reference to arbitrating or refusing to arbitrate?—Ans. I did not.

266 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Any charges in the press or otherwise to this effect are untrue, are they?—Ans. They are untrue. I have discussed and did discuss during the strike occasionally with such railroad men as I happened to meet the subject of arbitration, but

only as two gentlemen would discuss it. No railroad men sought to influence me in one way or the other.

267 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Were you present at the meeting of any railway presidents, or the General Managers' Association, either in Chicago or New York, where this matter was discussed?—  
Ans. I was not.

268 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know yourself of any action taken at any railway meeting of railroad officers or of the managers' association with reference to ending the strike, or allowing it to continue, or anything of that kind?—Ans. Not personally. You refer to the pamphlet, I suppose, where it speaks of a meeting of the managers' association. Do you have reference to that?

269 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes, among other things.—  
Ans. I was not present at that meeting. Will you state that again?

270 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was there any meeting of either presidents or general managers held either at Chicago or New York during the late strike at which you were present?—Ans. There was not.

271 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And you know nothing about anything that may have been done there with reference to crushing the strike, or with reference to arbitration between yourself and others?—  
Ans. No, sir; I do not.

272 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I think you said that you stated to the grievance committee that your books might be examined—or what was it you said in reference to that—in order to show the wages and the condition of the company in taking those contracts?—Ans. I did not undertake to show the condition of the company. I said that the books and contracts relating to those particular lots of cars which I had—

273 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes; the 250 and the 55.—Ans. Well, there are more than that.

274 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Those are all that are referred to in your pamphlet?—Ans. I think not. You will see, I think—

275 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What page do you refer to?—  
Ans. I refer to the second page.

276 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes; 25 cars for the Lake Street Elevated Railroad.—Ans. And the 55, and 250 stock cars built for the Northwestern road, and the refrigerator cars now under construction for the same company will result in a loss of \$12 on each car.

277 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is the 250 cars, and the 25 for the Lake Street Elevated road, and the 55 cars you referred to. That is all that you were referring to?—Ans. Yes, sir; that is what I was referring to.

278 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And that was all the reason that you gave the grievance committee for the reduction of wages, was it not?—Ans. The reason is already expressed in this paragraph. That was all the reason that I was giving for the reduction of wages—that I was endeavoring to get cars to build in competition, and I was showing to the men what the company was sacrificing and what we were ready to do.

279 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). They were approaching you and asking for some kind of peaceable adjustment of this matter?—Ans. They simply asked—I beg you will allow me the privilege of stating it—they asked a restoring of the wages of 1893. That was all that was said in this meeting to me. The question of an adjustment of grievances had already been considered, and Mr. Wickes and Mr. Brown had already taken that up.

280 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). On the question of wages, the

only excuse you offered for not restoring the wages of 1893 was the loss sustained in the construction of these cars that have been referred to?—Ans. If you will allow me—

281 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is that true, or is not?—Ans. Not quite true.

282 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What other matter did you refer to or propose to explain to them beyond that?—Ans. My language on page 3 is:

I can only assure you that if this company now restores the wages of the first half of 1893 that you have asked, it would be a most unfortunate thing for the men, because there is less than sixty days of contract work in the shops on all orders, and there is absolutely no possibility in the present condition of affairs throughout the country of getting any more orders for work at prices measured by the wages of May, 1893. Under such a scale the works would necessarily close down, and the great majority of the employees be put in idleness, a contingency I am using my best efforts to avoid.

283 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). That is already in evidence. But the only loss you called their attention to was the loss on these 55 cars?—Ans. Those are what I happened to have in my mind at the time.

284 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And that was the only explanation you proposed to give them in regard to the prospect of their being out of employment in sixty days?—Ans. Yes, sir. I was going to let them see the books in regard to the contracts on those cars.

285 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). This form of lease handed to the commission seems to be prepared for the year 1894; is it substantially the form that has been used heretofore?—Ans. Yes, sir; I think it is.

286 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Just that date put in for convenience?—Ans. Yes, sir.

287 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I call your attention to this clause:

That the party of the second part has received the said premises in good condition and repair, and that the same shall be kept in that condition during said term, and especially that he will keep in good condition and repair all water pipes and plumbing of every sort and replace all broken glass, and that the first party shall not be called upon to incur any expense on account of any of the matters aforesaid, and that he will observe and require the members of his household to observe the rules, etc., and at the end of said demise, occurring by lapse of time or otherwise, he will surrender the premises in good repair to the party of the first part.

It is not true, then, that the Pullman company keeps these houses in repair?—Ans. The tenant does that kind of repair. The roofs, the general outside repairs, the plumbing—

288 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). This is the only contract you have with the tenant, is it not?—Ans. That contains nothing about the roofs. I want to say to you about that, that I am not familiar with that.

289 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). It says: "Has received the said premises in good condition and repair and will return the same in good condition and repair," does it not?—Ans. I would be unable to answer about that, because my attention has not been called to it. I know as a matter of fact that the roofs are certainly repaired by the company.

290 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I ask you this because it has been stated to the commission during the examination that under the leases the company was obliged to keep the premises in repair.—Ans. A large amount of repairs are done by the company. I know the roofs are done by the company.

291 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But I do not ask you what has been done. I am asking you what the business contract with the tenant is. This expresses it, does it not?—Ans. Not as to the roofs. The roofs would be repaired under the lease by the company. I suppose the lease is like all other leases of property.

292 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Don't you know, or do you know, that under the law the landlord is not bound to repair unless he covenants to repair?—Ans. Well, I am not familiar with details of leases. I will give you any evidence on that subject through other officers.

293 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). The reason of inquiring was because we have had some other evidence that the company under the leases was bound to repair, and this is the first opportunity we have had to see the leases.—Ans. I know as a matter of fact that the tenants do not repair the roofs and do not repair the brickwork.

294 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Let me call your attention to this part: "In case the party of the first part shall advance"—that is, the Pullman company, of course?—Ans. Yes, sir.

295 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON, reading): "Or expend any money to put or keep the said demised premises, or any part thereof, or any of the aforesaid appurtenances thereto in a clean and healthy condition, as hereinbefore specified, or in repair of said premises or any part thereof, then and in such case said sum or sums of money so advanced or expended shall be taken and deemed to be so much additional rent for the said demised premises due and payable to the party of the first part when the next installment of rent falls due, after any such advance or payment," etc. That is a clause by which, if the company pays out any money for repairs in any shape, the tenant promises to repay it to the company, is it not?—Ans. That is repairs that belong to the tenant to do.

296 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). No; it don't say anything about that. "In case the party of the first part shall advance or expend any money in repairs," that the tenant shall repay it.—Ans. Well, I should have to refer that to the officer who deals with that subject. I am not familiar with it.

297 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, the commission only cared to have what the lease is, and they can put their construction upon it.—Ans. I shall furnish evidence as to what is done under that lease, and that I will do by the proper officer of the company who is familiar with it.

298 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I will ask you if this is not the language—you have stated that this is the lease (reading):

The party of the second part expressly covenants and agrees that his rent may be deducted monthly from his wages by his employer, and he hereby authorizes his employer to pay over said monthly rent so deducted to the party of the first part.

This is the form of lease with reference to that matter that is entered into with all tenants, is it not?—Ans. I am unable myself to identify that lease; therefore I would prefer that the testimony with reference to that should be given to the commission by an officer who is fully posted as to the workings of it.

299 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, your understanding is that this is the form of lease that is used by the company?—Ans. I presume it is, but it is a matter that I have not examined.

300 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). By whom was it furnished to you?—Ans. My secretary handed it to me, and I suppose it is the lease that is in use now, but I should prefer that the testimony with reference to that should be given by an officer competent to give it, Mr. Doty, perhaps.



301 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Mr. Doty?—Ans. Yes, sir; Mr. Doty furnished the lease.

302 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, he testified to what his duties were. If you desire to say anything now, you may. I interrupted you once or twice in order to get at what I wanted. If you want to say anything in explanation of your answers, you have now the privilege of doing so.—Ans. I appreciate that—

303 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). There is one question suggested to me. When I was inquiring if you had been present at any of the meetings of the railroad officers or the managers of the railway association—had any conversation with reference to arbitration—you stated that you had not been present, but you had had some talk with some railroad men, as I understood.—Ans. Oh, a casual conversation in the club with some railroad men.

304 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did they in those conversations advise for or against arbitration?—Ans. Their opinion on arbitration agreed with my own.

305 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did they advise you not to arbitrate?—Ans. Well, I don't know that they advised me not to arbitrate. The discussion was not of that character.

306 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What was the discussion?—Ans. It was between two or three men who agreed upon the subject.

307 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Was that the general subject of arbitration or the question of an arbitration of the Pullman company with its employees?—Ans. They considered that the question of arbitration so far as the Pullman company was concerned was not to be thought of. It was regarded as an absurd proposition.

308 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who were those railroad men?—Ans. I remember a discussion on that subject with H. H. Porter and Mr. Newell, since deceased.

309 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Mr. Newell is the gentleman just deceased?—Ans. Yes, sir. It was a casual conversation, as I met them in the club.

310 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). He was the president of the Lake Shore?—Ans. Yes, sir.

311 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who is Mr. Porter?—Ans. Chairman of the board of the Eastern Illinois road.

312 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You do not remember any similar conversation with any other railway officers, do you?—Ans. I do not recall any now.

313 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). There is one other question that refers generally to the character of the men who had lived in Pullman; that is, what the effect of the influences of such an establishment as you helped to bring up there was. How did the character of those men for industry, frugality, economy, and temperance compare with the body of men engaged in the same kind of work at other places?—Ans. Well, it was my estimate about a year ago, when the subject-matter was being written up, about the time of the World's Fair, that the Pullman men were about 40 per cent better than the men—that is, I mean when I say "men" I mean the men and families—than people in ordinary manufacturing towns or districts that did not have the advantages of the cleanliness and order and the elimination of bad influences that Pullman had. That was my careful calculation at that time, judging from my personal knowledge, of course, which is not very extensive; but by the appearance of the people in the streets,

and by visiting the houses, as I had occasion to do often, especially during the World's Fair, when foreigners were here that were interested in what they call "the Pullman experiment." We visited some of the houses of the people. The general expression of people, as far as I heard it, was in the direction of a higher class of people than you would ordinarily find in a manufacturing town.

314 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You still think those influences were good, do you not?—Ans. I do, certainly. I think on that subject that outside influences were brought to bear. If the American Railway Union had not commenced the formation of lodges among the people who were idle, because in 1893, while we were preparing for the World's Fair travel, we had a very large number of men—we had 5,800 altogether in Pullman, and a great many had come there very recently and they had not had an opportunity to get forehanded, to get any money ahead, and when they were laid off by the depression of 1894 they were not in a very good condition. They were in such a condition that they could be easily influenced.

315 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Did you not aim to retain your old employees in preference to those who had been employed on account of the extra business of 1893?—Ans. When?

316 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). After the demand for their labor ceased?—Ans. Did we aim to retain them?

317 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I say, did you not aim to retain the old employees after the demand for extra labor had ceased, rather than those who had been employed on account of that extra labor?—Ans. Naturally; yes, sir.

318 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Then is it not true that the men who were working for you at the time of the strike were principally your old employees?—Ans. That is a matter of detail that I would not be able to answer. I would assume that the old employees would be retained, or the best workmen would be retained, but the people had not moved away from Pullman. The people who were influenced to join the lodges of the railway union were not all working in the Pullman shops at the time they joined the lodges, and I think if those lodges had not been formed, that when I made this statement to the people, showing them the efforts that I was making, I believe that our old employees would have been convinced that their interests lay in the direction of working with me to get this work. I was not thinking about getting the work for the Pullman company. I was thinking about getting the work for the employees down at Pullman, for the people there. I was thinking about the disbursements of the several hundred thousand dollars involved in it for the town of Pullman, and I believe the old employees of the company would have been able to see that as I did and would have continued to work but for the influence of the railway union upon them.

319 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, let me ask you, does not the company now make it a condition, in taking back any of those men who were on the strike, that they shall surrender their card of membership in the American Railway Union?—Ans. We do. That is the only union, however. We have never discriminated against any labor union whatever, except the American Railway Union.

320 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Have you had any other labor organization in Pullman?—Ans. I do not know as to that. We have never made any question whatever on that in the hiring of the men.

321 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Has there ever been one that

you know of?—Ans. Do you mean an organization having its home there?

322 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes.—Ans. I presume they have, although I am not able to say definitely about it.

323 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Do you know definitely whether or not there has been anyone there?—Ans. I know as a matter of common report that a great many of our men working in the shops belong to labor organizations.

324 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). What labor organizations do they belong to?—Ans. I am not able to give names, but I remember to have had men—

325 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Is not this American Railway Union the first labor organization that your employees as employees have belonged to that has come to your knowledge?—Ans. That has come to my direct knowledge?

326 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Yes.—Ans. I have no recollection of any contact with labor organizations other than the railway union.

327 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And the policy now, as I understand it, of the Pullman Palace Car Company is that it will retain no one in its employ that belongs to this branch of organized labor?—Ans. The policy is that it will retain no one that belongs to the American Railway Union. It has not discriminated against any other labor organizations.

328 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). And you do not know that there is any other one out there to discriminate against?—Ans. I don't know as a fact, but I presume there is.

329 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But if there was one you would not have discriminated against it?—Ans. I say we have never discriminated against other labor organizations. If I should desire to make any further statement hereafter I may make it, I suppose. You asked me whether I might desire to make some statements after looking over the testimony.

330 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I apprehend there will be no objection to your coming in either to correct or add to your testimony.

331 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Who has the power to reduce rents at Pullman?—Ans. Any question of that kind would come to me.

332 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It would come to you?—Ans. Yes, sir; it would come to me—a question of that kind.

333 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was the question of reducing rents when wages were reduced one that came under discussion at all?—Ans. No, sir; the question of reducing rents did not come under discussion between the officers of the company. The income from the rent was so low that there was no room for reducing the rent and bringing any income from it; and, as I explained to the men, there was no necessary connection between the employment of men and the renting of homes; that they had the privilege of living where they chose. As a matter of fact, only one-third of the men who struck lived in Pullman tenements at the time. There were 560-odd of them that lived in their own houses at the time of the strike, so that the rent question did not seem to me to be an important one as bearing on the strike, because two-thirds of the people lived outside of Pullman.

334 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). I understood you to say that in considering the question of wages you would not have any right to take the stockholders' money to give to the men in increasing wages,

when you could obtain their labor for less or when it would be at a loss to the company to do so?—Ans. I would have no right to take the stockholders' money to give one set of mechanics a higher rate than the market price, or higher than we were paying other men—that is, to give them a contribution, as I understand you to say that if we had made profits, why, divide them. We can only divide profits in a corporation to its stockholders.

335 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Let me ask you, then, what right you had to take these contracts at a loss of \$400 on a car in order to keep the men at work, if that does not involve exactly the same principle?—Ans. No; because there is a business element in that that you will readily understand, that there would be damage resulting to the property of the Pullman company as well as to the men and as to everybody living in that vicinity. If I could by a contribution of money in that way secure the disbursement of \$500,000 or \$1,000,000, my excuse for it to my stockholders would be that it would save that amount that would otherwise be lost indirectly.

336 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). A disbursement to whom do you mean?—Ans. I mean a disbursement to the wage earners, the supply dealers, and to all the people. I mean that the amount of money involved in those contracts amounted to several hundred thousand dollars. Now, whether the Pullman company got that, or whether it went to Wilmington, Del., or Dayton, Ohio, made a difference with the people living at Pullman, and the disbursement of that money or having no money disbursed—

337 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, the stockholders would not be interested in the disbursement of money to the wage earners?—Ans. The stockholders of the Pullman company would be interested in anything that affected directly or indirectly the value of its property at Pullman.

338 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Now, acting upon that principle, would it not have been a good business investment to have paid those men a little more wages and had the works continue, although for the time being the company might have been losing money—exactly upon the same principle upon which you took those contracts?—Ans. No; the wages had been fixed, and when I talked with the men—

339 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Who had fixed them?—Ans. The wages had been fixed between the managers at the shops and the men. They were to work at an agreed scale.

340 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had the men agreed to work at those reduced prices?—Ans. They were working at them; yes, sir.

341 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Well, they were forced to?—Ans. No; they were not forced.

342 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). They had to take that or quit?—Ans. Exactly.

343 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Had they agreed to work at those reduced prices, I mean?—Ans. Wouldn't you regard it as agreeing if they were all at work?

344 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). No; just answer my question—because a lack of bread and meat might compel a man to work at a lower price.—Ans. Then I would say it was agreed, where men are at work after a scale of wages has been presented to them and they are at work upon it. They were at work upon it, and they came to the office in Chicago and asked that, instead of working at that price, they should have the scale of 1893, and I explained why they could not have

the scale of 1893. Now, I expected when they left the office that day that they were going to continue to work until we could have further discussion of this matter—that is, that the grievances should be adjusted. And, without any further notice to me, without accepting my offer to examine the books or further discuss it, they voluntarily left the services of the company, and then there was no further discussion with them. They were not in our service, and they have come into the service again in the same manner that they would if they had never been in our employment.

345 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). They claimed to you, did they not, that at those wages they could not support themselves and pay their rent? Was not that the claim; or, in other words, that it was below what is known to workmen as the living wage?—Ans. No, sir; I can say they did not claim that to me. They had been in session with Mr. Wickes some two hours when I went in.

346 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You understood that to be the claim, did you not?—Ans. No, sir; they said only that they wanted the wages of 1893, and, in fact, the claim that they were not working at a living wage is not true, because they are working for it now, and so are the people all over the country. I would be very glad to pay the men very much higher wages if the conditions of business warranted it. I do not know now where I am going to get cars enough to be built to keep the people at work at these present wages. That is a problem I have now.

347 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). But it would be to the interest of the company to keep the works running, would it not?—Ans. But we can't keep them running unless we get work to do, unless the railroad companies want cars and will pay for them. This is as serious a question as it was a year ago. I should be very glad if I could guarantee the men work at Pullman now, that they could be kept on at the wages they are working for now.

348 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). Provided they do not join the American Railway Union?—Ans. I do not think they will, because I think they have had all of the American Railway Union they want. If they had accepted my advice at that time and stayed with us they would have had \$350,000 wages paid to them between that time and this, and, as I understand by the papers, between \$19,000 and \$20,000 have been contributed in a charitable way. That would have been their condition between then and now.

349 (Commissioner KERNAN). The stopping of such large works as yours involves a very great loss to stockholders, does it not?—Ans. As a matter of course. This strike has been—

350 (Commissioner KERNAN). No; I mean the shutting down and the stopping of the works is an injury to the stockholders?—Ans. Well, of course it means that when the works are shut down they are not earning interest on their cost, and it means the cost of watchmen—

351 (Commissioner KERNAN). I mean, it is an injury in this, that the plant itself deteriorates?—Ans. No, sir; not especially.

352 (Commissioner KERNAN). That the cost of keeping up the machinery in repair and taking care of it is a dead loss during the time that it is idle?—Ans. Yes; but it does not cost us much to keep the machinery in repair.

353 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes; but it is a loss for which there is no return?—Ans. Yes, sir.

354 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the scattering of the force of help

involves a loss in getting them to work again systematically, and so that work is done economically and well; is not that true?—Ans. Yes, sir; that is true.

355 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, then, when you offered to make a reduction on those contracts, as you have stated, did you not have in view the saving of that loss to the stockholders as one of the motives that influenced you?—Ans. Yes, sir; I had in view—

356 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you also had in view the natural desire to keep the help at work?—Ans. Yes, sir; that appealed to me very strongly. I felt that I wanted, if it was a possible thing, to keep half or two-thirds of the people employed at Pullman during this depression.

357 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, both of the motives that I have stated appealed to you in deciding to take some contracts at less than cost?—Ans. Yes, sir.

358 (Commissioner KERNAN). When this reduction of wages was made was your salary reduced and that of the other officers?—Ans. No, sir.

359 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were the salaries of the superintendents and foremen reduced?—Ans. No, sir.

360 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, let me ask you why, in this general reduction, that was not done?—Ans. Because it is not easy for the manager of a corporation to find men to fill the positions. Men that have been with a corporation for twenty-five years, it don't lie with me to go to him and say to him, "I am going to reduce your salary \$1,000," because he will say, "Very well; you will find somebody else to take my place." And there are very few officers of a corporation, comparatively, to the number of employees, and they are able to command their salaries. It would be a matter of agreement whether they would take less, and it is a matter, then, whether a corporation could afford to dispense with their services.

361 (Commissioner KERNAN). In other words, a corporation could not afford to make a reduction of their salaries?—Ans. It would be impossible for me, as the president of a corporation, to reduce the salaries of my officers arbitrarily, because I would find myself possibly without them.

362 (Commissioner KERNAN). You might reduce your own, perhaps, but not theirs.—Ans. I might, if I chose, but the difference that it would make on the cost of a car would be so infinitesimal and fractional that it would not be worth considering.

363 (Commissioner KERNAN). And yet those salaries enter into the cost of cars?—Ans. The salaries of the people directly connected with the works?

364 (Commissioner KERNAN). The superintendents and foremen.—Ans. Yes, sir; the salaries of some of the officers that are connected with the manufacturing department would, of course, affect that.

365 (Commissioner KERNAN). Under the circumstances, don't you think that you ought to have, fairly and in justice to the other classes, attempted to reduce those salaries?—Ans. That might come; we can not do everything at once, and we can not tell how long this depression is going to last. The thing I had to deal with was this: In August we had no invitation to bid, and in September and October we were beaten in a large-majority of bids. These other people underbid us. It was a thing to be dealt with immediately. I did not have two or three months to deal with this, as you can see. It had to be taken up at

once, because the invitation to bid on lots of work was before us. The question was, Can we bid and get that work? and every effort of the company was made to that end.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If there is any representative of the American Railway Union present who desires to cross-examine Mr. Pullman he may do so now.

(No response. Witness excused.)

## EXHIBIT 13.

ANNUAL STATEMENT OF FULLMAN'S PALACE CAR COMPANY FOR THE FISCAL YEAR  
ENDING JULY 31, 1894.*Income account.*

## REVENUE.

From earnings of cars .....	\$3,761,934.98	
From patents .....	6,385.92	
From rentals, dividends, interest, etc. (including loss in manufacturing department) .....	826,746.25	
		<u>\$9,595,067.15</u>

## DISBURSEMENTS.

Operating expenses, including maintenance of interior furnishings of cars, legal expenses, general taxes, and insurance .....	\$3,497,298.00	
Proportion of net earnings paid other interests in sleep- ing-car associations controlled and operated by this company .....	897,352.25	
Dividends on capital stock .....	2,880,000.00	
		<u>7,274,650.25</u>
Surplus for the year, being excess of revenue over ordinary disburse- ments, carried to credit of income account .....		<u>2,320,416.90</u>

*Financial statement.*

## ASSETS.

1,650 cars and equipments, including franchises .....	\$24,248,793.22	
Amount invested in car associations controlled and operated by this company (a) .....	5,273,331.32	
Real estate and plant, 505 acres of land, car works, homes for work- men, and other improvements at Pullman, Ill. ....	7,500,413.61	
Real estate and Pullman building, Chicago .....	993,023.74	
Real estate and plant, Detroit shops .....	401,184.95	
Real estate and plant, St. Louis shops .....	218,613.07	
Real estate and plant, Wilmington shops .....	167,889.08	
Other real estate .....	15,909.38	
Lumber and other construction material and operating supplies, including cars in process of construction, etc .....	3,672,062.91	
Patents .....	108,863.74	
Furniture and fixtures in the several offices of the company .....	113,606.63	
Bonds and other securities .....	\$7,242,194.55	
Cash .....	1,313,573.06	
Balance of accounts receivable and payable:		
Car-lease warrants .....	\$7,928,016.83	
Miscellaneous .....	2,817,800.07	
Receivers' certificates .....	27,330.97	
		<u>10,773,147.87</u>
		<u>19,328,915.48</u>
Total assets .....		<u>62,042,606.13</u>

a Total number of cars owned or controlled, 2,588.

LIABILITIES.

Capital stock issued, 360,000 shares, par value, \$100 each.....	\$36,000,000.00	
Surplus—invested in the assets of the company .....	\$28,112,060.04	
Less written off during the year:		
For loss on cars sold or destroyed, replaced by new cars.....	\$20,231.41	
For balance of account for rebuilding and remodeling cars into latest standard Pullman cars.....	23,193.72	
For balance of taxes prior to August 1, 1891 .....	90,288.80	
For depreciation in market value of securities.....	380,611.37	
For depreciation in sundry properties.....	515,128.61	
For doubtful accounts.....	100,000.00	
For estimated depreciation of cars not in regular service, but used for temporary purposes.....	1,000,000.00	
	2,069,453.91	
Embraced in the following accounts:		26,042,606.13
Contingency reserve.....	1,155,310.49	
Depreciation account (franchisees, patents, etc.)..	1,100,000.00	
Income account.....	23,787,295.64	
	26,042,606.13	
		62,042,606.13

EXHIBIT 14.

PULLMAN'S PALACE CAR COMPANY,  
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,  
Chicago, September 19, 1894.

Hon. CARROLL D. WRIGHT,  
Chairman United States Strike Commission, Washington, D. C.

SIR: In the course of my examination as a witness before the United States Strike Commission, I was requested to furnish to the Commission a statement of the dividends declared by Pullman's Palace Car Company since its organization, and also a statement of the total amount of wages paid out by the company from year to year, and also a copy of the standard contract between Pullman's Palace Car Company and railway companies. In consequence I have the honor to inclose to you:

(1) A statement of the total amount of dividends paid by Pullman's Palace Car Company during the twenty-seven years from 1867 to 1894, amounting in all to \$28,554,347.50.

(2) A statement by years of the pay rolls of the company for the same period (excluding salaries of officials), the total amount being \$67,632,646.11.

(3) A printed copy of the standard contract between Pullman's Palace Car Company and railways relating to the operation of the cars of the company.

I request permission to correct my testimony on one point, as to which, in consequence of my failing to remember a transaction of the year 1870, I volunteered to the commission a statement, to which my attention has been called in my office, and which I find to be erroneous. I stated that the Pullman company had never made any extra or stock dividend, but I find that in 1870, when the company was comparatively small, we made an agreement to take over the business of an Eastern sleeping-car company, which was a matter of so much relative importance that it compelled an increase of our capital stock; and because the agreement required the sale, at par, to stockholders of the Eastern company of 2,000 shares of the new Pullman stock, there became necessary an adjustment of our own affairs by first dividing our then undivided earnings among our then existing shareholders, so that they would not stand on an inequality with the new shareholders. We accordingly increased our capital, and 2,450 shares (representing a part of the then accumulated earnings of the company) were distributed pro rata to our shareholders, the remainder of the accumulated earnings being at the same time distributed to our shareholders by an extra cash dividend of 7 per cent. We then, in accordance with our agreement, sold to the shareholders of the Eastern company, at par, 2,000 shares of our new issue. The stock dividend thus made to capitalize our earnings then undivided is the only one made, and is an insignificant part of our present capital, being sixty-eight one hundredths of 1 per cent of the present capital stock of the company.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE M. PULLMAN.



## TESTIMONY OF THOMAS H. WICKES.

August 27, 1894, Thomas H. Wickes, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Please state your full name.—Ans. Thomas H. Wickes.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And your residence.—Ans. Chicago.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is your position in the Pullman company?—Ans. Second vice-president.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been in that position?—Ans. Since January, 1889.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is your line of duty in that company?—Ans. My duties are of a general character.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). As one of the executive officers, do you have charge of the general details of the business of the Pullman company?—Ans. In a general way, I, with the other officers of the various departments, who have charge of the special details of those departments.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What has been the general course of wages in the Pullman shops, say for the past five years?—Ans. I am not familiar with the shops previous to about a year and a half ago. My special duties at that time were in charge of the operating department as second vice-president, and a year and a half or two years ago my duties were extended over other branches, and I gradually withdrew from the operating department.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But can you not give the commission some information as to the course of wages, from the books of the company?—Ans. Yes, sir. The wages paid by the Pullman company in its various shops are about the same as are paid in the same lines of business in other shops, and possibly range a little higher. I think we do pay more.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). They are adjusted on the basis of piecework, are they?—Ans. Piecework and day work.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is the proportion of piecework compared with the whole work?—Ans. In the construction department the majority of the work is piecework.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And in the repair work of your own cars?—Ans. In the repair department there is not so much piecework. I couldn't tell you the exact division of it.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is all the repair work on the Pullman cars done at Pullman?—Ans. No, sir.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What other shops does the company operate?—Ans. There is about an equal amount of work done at Wilmington, as compared with Pullman.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Wilmington, Del.?—Ans. Yes, sir. We have shops at St. Louis that employ some 360 men. That is a little less than one-half the capacity of the the size of Pullman in respect to the number of men employed. Then we have another shop—a small one—at Ludlow, Ky., that employs 125 to 130 men. These three shops are exclusively on repairs, with the exception of a few years ago, when, I think, we built a few sleeping cars at Wilmington and St. Louis, respectively.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you do any repair work upon cars other than your own?—Ans. Sometimes.

16 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is, if the cars of the Rock Island

road needed repairing, and they should make a contract with your company to do it, you would take that work?—Ans. Do you have reference to the passenger equipment of the Rock Island road, or its palace car equipment.

17 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Its passenger equipment, independent of the palace car equipment?—Ans. Yes, sir; we would do the work.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has it not been the policy of the Pullman Palace Car Company, in its construction shops, to reduce the price per piece constantly during the past few years?—Ans. No, sir; I do not think it has. The principle upon which piecework is based is on a fair day's wage for a competent mechanic. In other words, we select a competent man, not an expert, and not an inferior man. We determine the amount of work that man can do in a day, and base the piecework price upon that, so that the expert will get the benefit of his superior skill, and the man who is not so expert—and inferior, or you might say a slow workman—would simply get what he earned.

19 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you any table showing those reductions and changes?—Ans. Yes, sir; I have a statement with me that contains all that.

20 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Just state in general what it shows, and then you can put in the document.—Ans. It will be impossible for me to give you accurate information from memory. I do not think that is within the power of anyone.

21 (Commissioner WRIGHT). No; I wouldn't ask you to do that on a statistical piece of work; but looking through it, state from the document itself what it shows, in general terms, and then file the document as part of your evidence.—Ans. This document [producing paper] contains answers to a good deal of the evidence that has already been produced before the commission, and in order for a proper understanding of it I think it should be read by myself.

22 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Well, there is no harm in reading it; go ahead and read it.—Ans. I will commence, then—you have asked me a few questions that will be really answered in this statement.

(Whereupon Mr. Wickes read the statement in the words and figures following, to wit:)

We have thought that, in considering the relations of the Pullman company to the recent strike, the commission would deem pertinent a statement, as brief as possible, of the situation of the manufacturing affairs of the company for a short period prior to last May, to precede what we shall think it of consequence to say respecting the strike itself and any other matters which have been alluded to before the commission.

The commission no doubt is aware that the principal business of the company is the operation of its sleeping-car service, which covers about 125,000 miles of railway, being about three-fourths of the railway system of the country. Its manufacturing business consists primarily of the manufacturing and repairing of the company's own cars, to which is added the manufacture for sale of railway cars of every sort.

The company has shops which are operated exclusively for the repairs of its own cars at Wilmington, Del., where there are ordinarily engaged about 700 employees; at St. Louis, Mo., where there are ordinarily engaged about 360 employees, and at Ludlow, Ky., where there are ordinarily engaged about 130 employees. It has also a large manufacturing plant at Detroit, Mich., which has been operated until about a year ago, for the manufacture of passenger and sleeping cars. The Detroit shops were closed in August, 1893, in consequence of the great

depression in business, and in order to concentrate all car building at Pullman, and they have not been reopened. The number of employees ordinarily engaged at the Detroit shops was 800 or 900.

The principal manufacturing and repair shops of the company are located at Pullman, and have been in operation about twelve years. The largest number of employees engaged at any one time in those shops alone was about 4,800.

Besides the employees of the car shops at Pullman there are about 1,000 other employees of the company at Pullman who have been included in some of the totals given in the published statements of the company. There is no occasion to refer to them at this time, and all the statements I am about to make refer to the car-shop employees only, and, unless otherwise stated, to those employed at Pullman.

The average number of names on the pay roll for the shops at Pullman for our fiscal year ending July 31, 1893, was 4,497, and the amount of earnings paid was \$2,760,548.99, making an average amount of each employee for the year of \$613.86.

On July 1, 1893, 2,425 employees of the company at Pullman, including some employees outside of the shops, were depositors in the savings department of the Pullman Loan and Savings Bank at Pullman, the aggregate of the amounts to their credit being \$582,380.39, or nearly nine-tenths of the total savings deposits then on hand—\$657,347.64. On May 1, 1894, such depositors numbered 1,679, and their aggregate credits were \$422,834.34, or nearly nine-tenths of the total savings deposits then on hand—\$489,028.18.

It has been stated before the commission that nine-tenths of the work at the shops is Pullman work, leaving only one-tenth for contract work. If such a statement happened to be true for any given period it would be because practically no contract work was obtainable. The facts are that Pullman car repair work requires a force of about 800 at the Pullman shops. In a normal year like 1891 about the same number in addition would be kept at work building Pullman cars, but that work has come to a practical stop, as the company has about 400 Pullman cars in storage, for which there is no need under existing conditions of travel. In such a normal year, also, there would be about 2,800 employed on contract work. Therefore, instead of 10 per cent of the force being employed normally on contract work, the proportion should be about 64 per cent. Of course the percentage of those employed on contract work would keep running down as fast as contract work was finished, if the company was prevented by the scale of wages from making acceptable proposals for new work to railway companies, or in the absence of any demand for new work. This is practically illustrated by the figures which Mr. Pullman, the president of the company, gave the committee of employees last May.

The great business depression of the summer of 1893 affected us at once. We closed our Detroit shops; we stopped building new cars for ourselves, for we had a large surplus of them, and that fact laid off a great many employees. Negotiations with intending purchasers of railway equipment, that were pending for new contract work, were stopped by them, orders already given by others were canceled, and during the month of August, 1893, the company was not invited to make a bid on a single proposal for new work, large or small. By October 1 we had the opportunity of making six bids for new work at prices aggregating \$211,465.50, and these bids showed an aggregate net loss of nearly \$1,700 over the shop cost, one of them being made at a loss of over \$3,200. Only three of our six bids were accepted. On the bid

showing the greatest loss, which was for 300 freight cars, constituting three-fourths of all the work we bid for, we were underbid, and the contract was awarded elsewhere.

In giving these figures and the figures which I am going on to give, I desire to say, distinctly and explicitly, that by "shop cost" I mean the cost of any work spoken of, excluding any element of charge for depreciation of machinery or plant, or for interest on the value of machinery or plant, or for interest on the capital invested or employed in any way. The estimated shop cost, or the shop cost ascertained after the completion of any work, contains no such element, in any case, in this statement.

During October the experience of the company was similar. Only eleven chances for bidding occurred, and they aggregated \$253,804.34. Among them were 100 cars bid for at an estimated loss over shop cost of \$1,966, and 100 cars bid for at cost, the bids aggregating \$142,875, all of which went to lower bidders. In all, we got in that month seven contracts under our bids, showing an aggregate net profit of only \$1,141.94 over shop cost.

We had thus in six weeks been underbid on \$300,000 worth of freight-car work in three lots, besides other work of less importance. Of passenger-car work, only 10 street cars had been offered, on all of which we were underbid. The result was that, including our employees engaged on repairs, there were, on November 1, not 1,100 employees in all departments of the shops. The president of the company realized the necessity for the most strenuous exertions to procure work immediately, without which there would be great embarrassment, not only to the employees and their families at Pullman, but also to those living in the immediate vicinity, including between 500 and 600 employees who had purchased homes, and to whom employment was actually necessary to enable them to complete their payments.

He canvassed the matter thoroughly with the manager of the works, and instructed him to cause the men to be assured that the company would do everything in its power to meet the competition which was sure to occur because of the great number of large car manufacturers who were in the same condition, and who were exceedingly anxious to keep their men employed. We knew that if there was any work to be let bids for it would be made upon a much lower basis than ever before. The result of this discussion was a revision in the day rate of wages, and consequently, also, in piecework prices, making reductions which, in the absence of any information to the contrary, were supposed to be acceptable to the employees under the circumstances. Under these conditions, and with lower prices upon all materials, Mr. Pullman personally undertook the work of getting contracts for building cars, and by making lower bids than other manufacturers we secured work enough to gradually increase our force from 1,100 up to nearly 3,300, the number employed according to the April pay rolls in all capacities at the shops.

Under what difficulties this was done may be seen from a further generalization of the statement which we have made from our records, showing for the period beginning August 1, 1893, every work offered the company, its estimated (and, where possible, the actual) cost, our bid thereon, and the profit or loss over shop cost in each case. This table I present to the commission. It shows the effort the company was making to keep its employees at work, and it shows at a mere glance that for the period beginning February 13 and ending April 12 every bid (except as to one insignificant job) was made by the company at a loss, often very large.

Statement of contracts made by Pullman's Palace Car Company between August 1, 1893, and May 1, 1894, and bids for work made by the company, but not accepted.

[In this statement the shop cost, estimated or ascertained, does not include in any case any element of charge for depreciation of machinery or plant, or for interest on the value of machinery or plant, or for interest on the capital invested or employed in any way.]

Date.	Num. ber of cars.	Kind.	Road.	Per car.			Aggregate.	
				Estimate on proposal.	Ascertained shop cost after completion.	Bid or contract price.	Profit.	Loss.
1893.								
Sept. 13	300	Ventilated box	Florida Central and Peninsular	a \$527.71		a \$517.00		a \$3,213.00
14	2	Express	Toledo, St. Louis, and Kansas City	a 2,671.16		a 2,575.00		a 192.32
21	40	Provision	Provision Dealers' Dispatch.	757.37	\$723.72	\$958.00		
21	10	Beef	Provision Dealers' Dispatch.	814.17		378.00		
23	1	Set trucks	Chicago and West Michigan		1,181.73	805.67		
26	6	Street.	Wyanotte and Detroit River	a 1,947.15		a 1,975.00		34.95
Oct. 3	5	Closed street.	South Chicago City Rwy.	840.34	822.61	815.62		
10	30	Snowplows	Brooklyn City Rwy.	601.16	587.68	591.00		
14	100	Beef	Armour & Co.	a 849.66		a 830.00		a 1,966.00
14	5	Closed street	Calumet Electric Rwy. Co.		912.60	939.00		
24	1	Set trucks	Mexican Central.		726.60	799.15		
24	2	Postal	Western Rwy. of Alabama		4,935.42	4,712.12		298.84
25	147	Box	Illinois Central	4,763.40	4,723.35	4,712.12		
25	100	Furniture	Lake Shore and Michigan Southern	a 598.76		a 608.00		a 1.00
26	1	Street	Craighead Engineering Co.	a 637.67		a 607.00		
26	3	Street	Craighead Engineering Co.	a 770.27		1,711.45		
31	1	Set trucks	St. Louis and San Francisco		1,541.37	a 999.00		
Nov. 1	7	Refrigerator	Nelson, Morris & Co.	a 698.96		a 656.08		a 28
10	25	Elevated	Lake Street		2,734.42	2,656.08		1,958.50
13	100	Provision.	Armour & Co.	a 559.45		a 539.00		a 2,045.00
20	250	Refrigerator	Archison, Topeka and Santa Fe	784.61	750.71	788.00		9,322.50
20	300	Stock	Chicago and Northwestern	386.22	400.33	388.00		3,693.00
14	100	Stock	Swartzchild & Sulzburger	a 518.47		a 518.00		
18	4	Horse.	Arms Palace Horse Car Co.	a 2,402.81		a 2,300.00		a 47.00
20	55	Coaches.	Long Island	3,081.29	3,081.29	3,081.29		a 411.24
26	2	Parlor	Toledo and Ohio Central.	3,714.33		3,282.00		9,982.25
27	2	Coaches.	Macon, Dublin and Savannah.	6,300.98	6,249.90	5,660.00		11,978.70
28	10	Open street.	Patterson Rwy. Co.	a 2,991.46		a 2,991.87		779.80
1894.				a 603.67		a 600.00		a 36.26
Jan. 4	100	Refrigerator	Swartzchild & Sulzburger	a 999.52		a 983.00		a 3,652.00
8	100	Provision.	Armour & Co.	a 531.46		a 513.00		a 1,846.00
11	40	Closed street.	Electric Traction Co., of Philadelphia.	848.84	792.63	731.00		2,895.20
11	2	Set truck.	Provision Dealers' Dispatch.		148.87	148.87		

Date	Item	Quantity	Unit Price	Total	Remarks	
Jan.	2	Set track	787 98	148 26		
	2	Obstruction	8,000 00	1,066 56		
	19	Baggage	1,965 00	285 20		
	20	10	Citizens' Street Rwy., of Memphis	511 00		
	21	5	Knoxville and Ohio	3,700 00		
	22	2	Coaches	2,900 00		
	23	2	Baggage	790 00		
	31	100	Ice refrigerator	2,300 00		
	Feb.	1	4	Open street	24 36	
		2	30	Flat	398 00	
3		20	Open street	592 00		
7		6	Open street	650 00		
13		13	Open street	842 50		
13		15	Open street	942 50		
20		100	Refrigerator	375 00		
20		100	Refrigerator	960 00		
20		100	Refrigerator	1,904 00		
24		1	Refrigerator	4,200 00		
Mar.	19	10	Coaches	4,750 95		
	19	10	Goodell refrigerator	653 85		
	12	150	Standard refrigerator	551 00		
	12	15	Provision	870 00		
	12	15	Refrigerator	399 50		
	13	60	Flat	297 50		
	16	16	Open street	205 80		
	16	40	Open street	593 00		
	19	1	Combination	12,421 00		
	21	1	Coaches	2,473 00		
Apr.	26	100	Flat	8,645 00		
	26	100	Open street	3,340 00		
	26	100	Open street	3,201 32		
	26	100	Open street	3,293 00		
	30	9	D. B. open	715 00		
	4	5	Coaches	570 00		
	12	15	Closed street	1,223 50		
	13	10	Closed street	4,615 00		
	13	10	Closed street	4,900 00		
	14	70	Closed street	870 00		
May.	10	10	Open street	1,242 00		
	10	125	Closed street	634 00		
	16	10	Open street	121 50		
	17	10	Closed street	414 50		
	17	1	Set track	53 00		
	18	1	Combination	12,905 25		
	18	1	Coaches	650 00		
	20	2	Combination	1,761 80		
	20	2	Coaches	3,094 00		
	20	2	Combination	5,468 00		
June.	20	2	Passenger and baggage	2,316 00		
	20	100	Beef	2,170 00		
	21	100	Passenger	4,401 00		
	21	100	Passenger	4,401 00		
	24	1	Provision	8,174 00		
	24	1	Provision	3,945 00		
	30	30	Closed street	2,504 70		
	30	30	Closed street	775 00		
	30	30	Closed street	683 00		
	30	30	Closed street	392 50		
30	30	Closed street	800 00			
30	30	Closed street	7,081 00			
30	30	Closed street	82 46			
30	30	Closed street	1,530 56			
30	30	Closed street	2,500 00			
30	30	Closed street	868 80			
30	30	Closed street	310 43			
30	30	Closed street	135 24			
30	30	Closed street	560 55			
30	30	Closed street	88 00			
30	30	Closed street	71 00			
30	30	Closed street	23 00			
30	30	Closed street	775 00			

g Bid not accepted.

CHICAGO STRIKE.

Date.	Num. ber of cars.	Kind.	Road.	Per car.		Aggregate.	
				Estimate on proposal.	Ascertained shop cost after completion.	Profit.	Loss.
1894. Apr. 30	50	Open street	Bridgeport Traction Co.	α \$847.28	α \$648.00	α \$96.00	α \$496.00
May 1	5	Closed street	Dallas and Oak Cliff	α 1,824.00	α 1,725.00	16,008.80	88,077.83
			Net loss on contracts			52,069.03	88,077.83
			Net estimated loss on unaccepted bids			88,077.83	88,077.83
						14,641.91	32,945.47
						18,308.56	32,945.47
						32,945.47	32,945.47

α Bid not accepted.

In November we got an order for 250 cars at an estimated profit of less than \$1,000 on the job; and for 25 passenger cars at a loss of nearly \$2,000. We were underbid on 100 provision cars although our bid was at a loss of over \$2,000.

In December we got an order for 300 stock cars at an estimated loss of \$8 per car, which on completion showed an actual loss of \$12 per car. We got also an order for 55 passenger cars, of which 25 had been completed just before the strike, showing an actual loss of \$399 per car. We were underbid on 103 freight cars, and on 10 street cars offered by us at less than shop cost. It is to be remembered that these things occurred on bids based upon the reduced scale of wages.

In January, 1894, we were underbid on 200 refrigerator cars and 100 provision cars, although each of our bids was at a loss, the aggregate loss being \$5,893. In that month we took orders, some at a loss, some at a profit, but the net loss was \$3,584.66 over the shop cost.

In February we were underbid on 51 street cars, bid for by us at a loss of \$37 per car; and on 100 refrigerator cars bid for by us at a loss of \$66 per car; and we got only three orders, two of them showing a profit of \$927.48, and the other for 100 elevated-road cars, showing a loss of \$148 per car.

Our bids for March were all at a loss, excepting in one case, where the estimated profit is \$37.74. The aggregate loss on all the other bids was \$23,061.11, and the contracts taken show a loss of \$15,044.92. We were underbid on 100 street cars, where our bid showed a loss of over \$70 per car.

In April we were underbid on 272 street cars, and got contracts for 75 at a loss of over \$1,500. We were underbid on 6 passenger cars, and got contracts for 6 at an aggregate loss of \$1,759.99.

To sum up: From August 1, 1893, to May 1, 1894, our net loss on accepted bids was \$52,069.03, and the net estimated loss on unaccepted bids was \$18,303.56. We had tried to get work for our employees by bidding for work, the estimated shop cost of which was \$2,775,481.81, and we only got contracts for work the estimated shop cost of which is \$1,421,205.75. We had been underbid on work, the estimated shop cost of which was \$1,354,276.06, notwithstanding that our bids on \$1,057,355.97 of that amount not only excluded all profit, but showed a loss, based though they were on the reduced scale of wages, as shown by the following table:

*Summary of contracts made by Pullman's Palace Car Company and of bids made by the company, but not accepted, from August 1, 1893, to May 1, 1894.*

<b>Contracts made:</b>	
Total number of contracts or bids .....	44
Total number of cars .....	1,537
Aggregate cost or estimate .....	\$1,421,205.75
Aggregate net loss .....	\$52,069.03
Percentage of loss .....	3.663
<b>Unaccepted bids:</b>	
Total number of contracts or bids .....	39
Total number of cars .....	1,920
Aggregate cost or estimate .....	\$1,354,276.06
Aggregate net loss .....	\$18,303.56
Percentage of loss .....	1.35

The irregularity of business was such that during this period we could keep no constant force employed, and we could not possibly keep all employed who had become used to looking to us for work. It was hoped that affairs would improve, and therefore rather than discharge absolutely a large number of men, we tried to give all of them some work. The



result is one portion of the complaints that have been laid before the commission.

Take the case of the witness, Coombs, for example. By a table, which I will present to the commission later in another connection, it will be seen that his rate of earnings in April, 1893, was 25 cents per hour, and for the last four months he worked it was 21½ cents per hour. It will be seen, however, that for the year ending April 30, 1894, the number of hours in which he was employed was scarcely more than half working time; so that his earnings in gross were \$345.68, an amount which, of course, is not to be judged as though he had been working full time. Such things were impossible to be avoided. There was simply not work enough to go around.

In this condition of affairs on the 7th of May last, a committee of the workmen had an interview by arrangement with myself. This committee numbered about forty, and was understood to embrace representatives from all departments of the shops. The principal subject presented by the committee for discussion was that of the existing scale of wages, but minor grievances, as to shop administration, were also presented, and it was agreed that another meeting should be held two days later, at which all the shop grievances should be presented in writing. At the second meeting it was arranged that as to the complaints on all matters except wages, a formal and thorough investigation should be made by myself, to be begun the next day, and full redress was assured to the committee as to all complaints proved to be well founded. I had explained to the committee the absolute necessity of the reductions in wages under the existing conditions of the business of car manufacture, and they were insisting upon a general restoration of the wage scale of the first half of the year 1893, when the president of the company entered the room and addressed the committee in terms, the substance of which was published at the time, and is a part of the statement at page 1 of the compilation of statements of the company, a copy of which I present to the commission, to show what was said and published by authority of the company during the strike.

#### THE STRIKE AT PULLMAN.

##### PUBLISHED STATEMENTS OF THE COMPANY MADE DURING ITS CONTINUANCE.

[From the Chicago Herald, June 26, 1894.]

##### PULLMAN COMPANY'S STATEMENT.

In view of the proposed attempt of the American Railway Union to interfere with public travel on railway lines using Pullman cars, in consequence of a controversy as to the wages of employees of the manufacturing department of the company, the Pullman company requests the publication of the following statement of the facts, in face of which the attempt is to be made:

In the first week of May last there were employed in the car manufacturing department at Pullman, Ill., about 3,100 persons. On May 7, a committee of the workmen had an interview by arrangement with Mr. Wickes, vice-president, at which the principal subject of discussion related to wages, but minor grievances as to shop administration were also presented, and it was agreed that another meeting should be held on the 9th of May, at which all the grievances should be presented in writing. The second meeting was held. As to the complaints on all matters except wages, it was arranged that a formal and thorough investigation should be made by Mr. Wickes, to be begun the next day, and full redress was assured to the committee as to all complaints proved to be well founded.

The absolute necessity of the last reduction in wages, under the existing condition of the business of car manufacturing, had been explained to the committee, and they were insisting upon a restoration of the wage scale of the first half of 1893, when Mr. Pullman entered the room and addressed the committee, speaking in substance as follows:

"At the commencement of the very serious depression last year, we were employing at Pullman 5,816 men, and paying out in wages there \$305,000 a month. Negotiations with intending purchasers of railway equipment that were then pending for new work were stopped by them, orders already given by others were canceled, and we were obliged to lay off, as you are aware, a large number of men in every department, so that by November 1, 1893, there were only about 2,000 men in all departments, or about one-third of the normal number. I realized the necessity for the most strenuous exertions to procure work immediately, without which there would be great embarrassment, not only to the employees and their families at Pullman, but also to those living in the immediate vicinity, including between 700 and 800 employees who had purchased homes and to whom employment was actually necessary to enable them to complete their payments.

"I canvassed the matter thoroughly with the manager of the works and instructed him to cause the men to be assured that the company would do everything in its power to meet the competition which was sure to occur because of the great number of large car manufacturers that were in the same condition, and that were exceedingly anxious to keep their men employed. I knew that if there was any work to be let, bids for it would be made upon a much lower basis than ever before.

(NOTE.—The selling prices of passenger, baggage, box, refrigerator and street cars in the last two years have fallen by percentages, varying in the separate classes, from 17 to 28, the average reduction, taking the five classes together, being 24 per cent.)

"The result of this discussion was a revision in piecework prices, which, in the absence of any information to the contrary, I supposed to be acceptable to the men under the circumstances. Under these conditions, and with lower prices upon all materials, I personally undertook the work of the lettings of cars, and by making lower bids than other manufacturers I secured work enough to gradually increase our force from 2,000 up to about 4,200, the number employed, according to the April pay rolls, in all capacities at Pullman.

*Says company bears its share.*

"This result has not been accomplished merely by reduction in wages, but the company has borne its full share by eliminating from its estimates the use of capital and machinery, and in many cases going even below that and taking work at considerable loss, notably the 55 Long Island cars, which was the first large order of passenger cars let since the great depression and which was sought for by practically all the leading car builders in the country. My anxiety to secure that order, so as to put as many men at work as possible, was such that I put in a bid at more than \$300 per car less than the actual cost to the company. The 300 stock cars built for the Northwestern road and the 250 refrigerator cars now under construction for the same company will result in a loss of at least \$12 per car, and the 25 cars just built for the Lake Street elevated road show a loss of \$79 per car. I mention these particulars so that you may understand what the company has done for the mutual interests and to secure for the people at Pullman and vicinity the benefit of the disbursement of the large sums of money involved in these and similar contracts, which can be kept up only by the procurement of new orders for cars, for, as you know, about three-fourths of the men must depend upon contract work for employment.

"I can only assure you that if this company now restores the wages of the first half of 1893, as you have asked, it would be a most unfortunate thing for the men, because there is less than sixty days of contract work in sight in the shops under all orders and there is absolutely no possibility, in the present condition of affairs throughout the country, of getting any more orders for work at prices measured by the wages of May, 1893. Under such a scale the works would necessarily close down and the great majority of the employees be put in idleness, a contingency I am using my best efforts to avoid.

"To further benefit the people of Pullman and vicinity we concentrated all the work that we could command at that point, by closing our Detroit shops entirely and laying off a large number of men at our other repair shops, and gave to Pullman the repair of all cars that could be taken care of there.

"Also, for the further benefit of our people at Pullman we have carried on a large system of internal improvements, having expended nearly \$160,000 since August last in work which, under normal conditions, would have been spread over one or two years. The policy would be to continue this class of work to as great an extent as possible, provided, of course, the Pullman men show a proper appreciation of the situation by doing whatever they can to help themselves to tide over the hard times which are so seriously felt in every part of the country.

"There has been some complaint made about rents. As to this I would say that

the return to this company on the capital invested in the Pullman tenements for the last year and the year before was 3.82 per cent. There are hundreds of tenements in Pullman renting for from \$6 to \$9 per month, and the tenants are relieved from the usual expenses of exterior cleaning and the removal of garbage, which is done by the company. The average amount collected from employees for gas consumed is about \$2 a month. To ascertain the exact amount of water used by tenants, separate from the amount consumed by the works, we have recently put in meters, by which we find that the water consumed by the tenants, if paid for at the rate of 4 cents per 1,000 gallons, in accordance with our original contract with the village of Hyde Park, would amount to about \$1,000 a month, almost exactly the rate which we have charged the tenants, this company assuming the expense of pumping. At the increased rate the city is now charging us for water we are paying about \$500 a month in excess of the amount charged to the tenants. The present pay rolls at Pullman amount to about \$7,000 a day.

On the question of rents, while, as stated above, they make a manifestly inadequate return upon the investment, so that it is clear they are not, in fact, at an arbitrarily high figure, it may be added that it would not be possible in a business sense so to deal with them.

The renting of the dwellings and the employment of workmen at Pullman are in no way tied together. The dwellings and apartments are offered for rent in competition with those of the immediately adjacent towns of Kensington, Roseland, and Gano. They are let alike to Pullman employees and to very many others in no way connected with the company, and, on the other hand, many Pullman employees rent or own their homes in those adjacent towns. The average rental at Pullman is at the rate of \$3 per room per month. There are 1,200 tenements, of varying numbers of rooms, the average monthly rental of which is \$10; of these there are 600 the average monthly rental of which is \$8. In very many cases men with families pay a rent seemingly large for a workman, but which is in fact reduced in part, and often wholly repaid, by the subrents paid by single men as lodgers.

#### *Why the shops shut down.*

On May 10, the day after the second conference above mentioned, work went on at Pullman as usual, and the only incident of note was the beginning by Mr. Wickes, assisted by Mr. Brown, the general manager of the company, of the promised formal investigation at Pullman of the shop complaints.

A large meeting of employees had been held the night before at Kensington, which, as was understood by the company, accepted the necessity of the situation preventing an increase of wages; but at a meeting of the local committee held during the night of May 10 a strike was decided upon, and accordingly the next day about 2,500 of the employees quit their work, leaving about 600 at work, of whom very few were skilled workmen. As it was found impracticable to keep the shops in operation with a force thus diminished and disorganized, the next day those remaining were necessarily laid off, and no work has since been done in the shops.

The pay rolls at the time amounted to about \$7,000 a day, and were reduced \$5,500 by the strike, so that during the period of a little more than six weeks which has elapsed the employees who quit their work have deprived themselves and their comrades of earnings of more than \$200,000.

It is an element of the whole situation worthy of note that at the beginning of the strike the Pullman Savings Bank had on deposit in its savings department \$488,000, of which about nine-tenths belonged to employees at Pullman, and that this amount has since been reduced by the sum of \$32,000.

While deploring the possibility of annoyance to the public by the threats of irresponsible organizations to interrupt the orderly ministration to the comfort of travelers on railway lines, aggregating 125,000 miles in length, the Pullman company can do no more than explain its situation to the public. It has two separate branches of business, essentially distinct from each other. One is to provide sleeping cars, which are delivered by it under contract to the various railway companies, to be run by them on their lines as a part of their trains for the carriage of their passengers, over the movements of which this company has no control. Contract arrangements provide for the making of all repairs to such cars by the railway companies using them—as to certain repairs absolutely, and as to all others upon the request of the Pullman company, which ordinarily finds it most convenient to use its own manufacturing facilities to make such repairs. The other, and a distinct branch of the business of the Pullman company, is the manufacture of sleeping cars for the above-mentioned use of railway companies and the manufacture for sale to railway companies of freight cars and ordinary passenger cars, and of street cars, and this business is almost at a standstill throughout the United States.

The business of manufacturing cars for sale gives employment to about 70 per cent of the shop employees. The manufacture of sleeping cars for use by railway

companies under contract, and which, under normal conditions, gives employment to about 15 per cent of the shop employees, can not be resumed by the company to an important extent for a very long time, for out of the provision made for the abnormal travel last year the company now has about 400 sleeping cars in store ready for use, but for which there is no need in the existing conditions of public travel.

It is now threatened by the American Railway Union officials that railway companies using Pullman sleeping cars shall be compelled to deprive their passengers of sleeping-car accommodations, unless the Pullman company will agree to submit to arbitration the question as to whether or not it shall open its manufacturing shops at Pullman and operate them under a scale of wages which would cause a daily loss to it of one-fourth the wages paid.

#### WILL FIGHT THE PULLMAN BOYCOTT.

##### *General managers of all Chicago terminal lines adopt resolutions.*

At a fully represented meeting of the General Managers' Association, held yesterday afternoon, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas we learn through the public press that the American Railway Union will declare a boycott on all Pullman palace cars; and

"Whereas said boycott is in relation to matters over which we have no control and in which we have no interest whatever; and

"Whereas it is stated that the object and intent of the said boycott is to discommode the traveling public and embarrass the railroads, in the belief that the public and railroads affected will influence the settlement of the question as the American Railway Union desires; and

"Whereas it is necessary that these companies determine for themselves what cars they shall or shall not handle; and

"Whereas it is important that the traveling public should understand the position of the railroads in this matter: Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, 1. That it is the sense of this meeting that the said proposed boycott, being confessedly not in the interest of any employees of said railroad companies or on account of any grievance between said railroad companies and said employees, is unjustifiable and unwarranted.

"2. That the employees of said railroad companies can not, nor can any of them, with propriety, embarrass said companies or discommode the traveling public because of their sympathy with the supposed wrongs of employees engaged in a wholly different class of labor.

"3. That we hereby declare it to be the lawful right and duty of the said railway companies to protest against said proposed boycott; to resist the same in the interest of their existing contracts and for the benefit of the traveling public, and that we will act unitedly to that end."

Every railway system in Chicago was represented at the meeting which adopted the foregoing resolutions without a dissenting vote; not only the general managers, but presidents, vice-presidents and other general officers attested the importance of the occasion by their presence.

Sitting in the assembly, by direct invitation, was Thomas H. Wickes, the second vice-president of the Pullman company, who was throughout an interested listener. Mr. Wickes said afterwards that he viewed the result obtained by the meeting as affording the only possible solution of the difficulty, which threatened not the Pullman company so much as the right of the railroads to govern themselves.

[From the New York Sun, July 5, 1894.]

#### MR. PULLMAN TALKS FREELY.

The efforts he made to keep the shops running—Orders taken at a loss in the interest of his workmen—The present situation entirely outside of his control—His relationship to the workmen at Pullman described in a letter written to a friend.

A Sun reporter visited Mr. George M. Pullman at his Long Branch cottage yesterday. When he was seen by the same reporter on Tuesday evening Mr. Pullman was not disposed to talk at all for publication, but yesterday he talked freely about the strike. Only on one point did he decline to speak. That was the social and political meaning of such a situation as has been developed in so short a time in Chicago.

"Of course," said Mr. Pullman, "this frightful state of affairs is portentous with meaning to the social and political philosopher, and must come to be considered from that point of view by all, sooner or later. But I have been so engrossed with

the details of the affair that I have not had time to philosophize about it yet. The Sun must excuse me on that point. Those who are watching this with no personal interest, or with much less personal interest than I have in it, are better able to discuss what the big meaning of it is."

But Mr. Pullman has, at least in one instance, given a calm and well-considered opinion on some of the questions involved in this controversy. During the course of his talk with the writer he referred to a letter he wrote to a prominent resident of Chicago in answer to a letter concerning the strike at Pullman. The reporter saw a copy of Mr. Pullman's reply, and persuaded Mr. Pullman to permit it to be published, as in it he plainly gives his views of the situation as it is affected by his relation to Pullman workmen as employer and landlord. He also logically discussed in it some other important matters involved which were referred to by his correspondent. The Pullman strike began on May 11, and Mr. Pullman's letter was written after the strike had been on six weeks. Mr. Pullman declined permission to have the name of the correspondent published, as he had not obtained the correspondent's consent, but the name, it can be stated, is well known throughout the United States. The reply was as follows:

"PULLMAN'S PALACE CAR COMPANY,  
"OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,  
"Chicago, June 22, 1894.

"MY DEAR ———: Your note of the 20th instant reaches me only this morning. I have read it with interest, and of course concur with you in wishing a termination of the present condition of affairs at Pullman, but I must frankly say to you that the solution suggested by you is not practicable.

"You are perhaps not aware that the renting of houses at Pullman has no relation to the work in the shops. Employees may, and very many do, own or rent their houses outside of the town; and the buildings and business places in the town are rented to employees or to others in competition with neighboring property. In short, the renting business of the Pullman company is governed by the same conditions which govern you, for instance, or any other large owner of real estate, except that the company itself does directly some things which in Chicago are assumed by the city. If, therefore, it is not admitted that the rents of any landlord are to be fixed by arbitration, and that those of the adjoining towns of Kensington and Roseland should also be so fixed, it can hardly be asked that the Pullman company alone should abandon the ordinary rules which govern persons in that relation.

"I notice that you lay much stress on the fact that there has been no violence or destruction of property at Pullman. I should be sorry to think that such things could in any event be the outcome of all that has been done there since the establishment of the town, thirteen years ago, the welfare of which in every aspect has always been, as I think you know, the most constant object of my solicitude as president of this company. If the fact you note is really to be deemed remarkable, may not, perhaps, some credit be given to the administration of the company, which prohibits drinking saloons, and provides various sources of elevation of character?

"I regret very much that the employees of the company have permitted themselves, under the instigation of persons almost unknown to them, and wholly ignoring essential facts in their desire to make their places of seeming importance, to be subjected to the distress and loss of wages (now amounting to about a quarter of a million dollars) which have occurred; and I am especially sorry for those who, themselves willing to continue in their useful work, are compelled to be idle by the inaction of their comrades.

"I am afraid that I can not encourage you to look for any solution except as a result of those who wish to be employed at the Pullman shops realizing and acting upon the rule of business that the aggregate cost of a piece of work must not exceed its selling price. A continuous violation of that rule must wreck the Pullman shops, or any other shop, and permanently stop all work of its employees. This company can not control the selling price of cars, and it can not pay more for making them than it can contract to sell them for. It is impossible to submit to arbitration whether or not it shall do so, and that it shall do so is the only demand made upon the company.

"This consideration must govern the opening of the shops for the manufacturing of cars for sale to other companies, employing normally about four-fifths of the employees.

"Believe me, very sincerely yours,

"GEORGE M. PULLMAN.

"P. S.—I inclose the Tribune's report of the facts I gave to the employees two days before they quit work and which you may not have seen. [This report was reprinted in the Sun on July 3.]

The reporter then said to Mr. Pullman:

"This morning's dispatches report that Mr. Studebaker will be present at the proposed compromise conference, representing the Pullman company; is that so?"

"Mr. Stndebaker's action in this matter is entirely unauthorized by anyone connected with the Pullman company," replied Mr. Pullman. "The Pullman company has not been asked by any railway manager or other person to participate in any conference."

"Would the Pullman company send a representative to such a conference?"

To this question Mr. Pullman replied:

"The original cause of the boycott bears no relation to the principles involved in the state of affairs as they have now been developed. The questions to be considered by any conference are now entirely under the control of the railway companies, and could not be influenced by the action of the Pullman company in any way."

The reporter next asked: "Has there been any suggestion from any of the railway companies concerning a suspension or modification of their contracts with your company pending the settlement of the strike?"

"No request or suggestion of such a nature has been received by us," said Mr. Pullman. "Our contracts are not the question involved now, either, for the American Railway Union not only seeks to dictate to the railway systems of this country what cars they shall use, or rather what kind of cars they shall not use, but they have even gone beyond that, and stopped the operations of railway companies which have no contract with the Pullman company, and no business relations with us of any nature."

"It has been repeatedly charged that you refused to receive a committee of Pullman workmen at their request."

"That is not true," said Mr. Pullman. "These are the facts: At the time of the American Railway Union convention we were asked to receive a joint committee of members of the union and of our workmen. We declined to receive any committee from the American Railway Union, but said we would, of course, receive a committee composed of our workmen. We did, in fact, then receive a committee of our workmen, and the manner of their resuming relations with us was discussed and fully understood."

"What was the result of your refusal to arbitrate with a committee from the American Railway Union?"

"We were notified that unless we consented to arbitrate with the American Railway Union they would boycott railways using our cars."

"What had the American Railway Union to arbitrate with the Pullman company?"

Mr. Pullman replied, laconically, "Nothing, that I am aware of."

Concerning the events preceding the strike Mr. Pullman said:

"There were two causes which combined to suddenly and greatly reduce the amount of work at the Pullman shops. A great many railways placed extra orders with us for rolling stock to accommodate their World's Fair business, and consequently, with those orders filled, we could not expect more orders from those roads soon, as they were well stocked; and then came the financial panic, and I realized that even those roads which had not recently contracted for new rolling stock, and in the natural order of events would soon place new orders, would not under the existing financial conditions do so. They simply could not pay for new stock. I knew that here and there throughout the United States there would be roads which would place small orders for absolutely necessary stock, and that those orders, small in each case, but aggregating a considerable amount, might, if we could secure them, enable us to keep our shops running. I said to our managers: 'We will make a strong effort to secure this scattered work. Our bids will be based on the lowest possible estimates, eliminating the question of profit and the interest on investment, and if the workmen will contribute some help in the way of accepting some reduction of wages while the conditions remain in the state described, we can hope to keep running.'

"On one order for 250 refrigerator cars we had prepared a bid which was figured down to actual cost, and then I told the manager before sending in the bid to cut off \$10 on the price of each car, as I was willing to contribute \$2,500 to get the work and keep the shops running. As the manager was leaving the room I said: 'Make that cut \$15 on each car.' Then we secured the order, and were only \$1 below the next highest bidder. We had to meet competition at points which had a great advantage over us in the matter of the cost of transportation to the point where the cars were to be delivered. For instance, on the order for 55 cars for the Long Island Railroad, it cost us \$90 a car to deliver them, and our bid was \$24 lower than the next highest bidder, who could deliver at much less cost. I mention these things to show the effort the company was making to secure work, and it was just about the time these orders were completed, and we were eagerly searching the whole country for more work, even under such conditions, that the strike occurred."

[From the New York Tribune, July 14, 1894.]

## MR. PULLMAN'S STATEMENT.

He explains the position of his company—There was nothing to arbitrate—Demands made by the workmen were unreasonable—Charges against the company answered.

There is hardly anything new to be said as to the position of the Pullman company, but I have so many indications of the facility with which my expressions and those authorized by me have become distorted, and thus misleading to the public, and of an entire forgetting of my earnest efforts to prevent the strike, that perhaps it is well that I should again make a public assurance that the deplorable events of the last few weeks have not been caused by the Pullman company taking an obstinate stand in a debatable matter, and refusing to listen to reason. The leaders of disorder have not hesitated to harass the public by all means in their power, because, as they say, the Pullman company would not submit to arbitration, and, now that disorder seems to be quelled, they are reinforced in their clamor for arbitration by some prominent newspapers, but, so far as I know, by very few, if any, business men in the country.

*Why wages were reduced.*

What is the demand concealed under the innocently sounding word arbitration? A little more than a year ago the car shops at Pullman were in a most prosperous condition, work was plenty, wages were high, and the condition of the employees was indicated by the fact that the local savings bank had of savings deposits nearly \$700,000, of which nearly all was the property of the employees. Our pay rolls for that year show an average earning of over \$600 per annum for every person—man, woman, or youth—on the roll. Then came the great panic and depression of last summer. Many customers stopped negotiations and canceled orders, and our working force had to be diminished from nearly 6,000 to about 2,000 in November, 1893. The great business depression existing throughout the country had naturally resulted in a wage depression, and the only hope of getting orders was by bidding for work at prices as low as, or lower than, could be made by other shops, and this, of course, necessitated a reduction in the wages of the employees at Pullman. This was arranged satisfactorily, as I supposed, and in close competitions, disregarding all account of capital and machinery, I secured enough work to gradually increase our force to 4,200—the number on the rolls last April.

Nine weeks ago the car shops at Pullman were working with car-building contracts on hand enough to keep them going for about sixty days, and with all business forecasts leading to the belief that no considerable new orders could soon be had. The most important of the work in hand had been taken by me in competition at prices which were less than the actual cost to the company of delivering the cars, without any reckoning for the use of capital and plant. This work was taken to keep the large force of men employed and to postpone, and with the hope of avoiding, the numberless embarrassments to all classes of people at Pullman and its vicinity of a closing down of the works, to prevent which the company considered it a wise policy to operate the shops temporarily at an actual loss.

In this condition of things came the agitation seeking to create a labor organization embracing all railway employees and apparently other industries. It is my belief that the controversy excited at Pullman was merely a move in the greater scheme, those shops being selected, not on account of discontent in them, but because of their prominence in various ways, and because of the chance of justification for a simultaneous and causeless attack upon the railways of the country, for the use under long-time contracts, by three-fourths of them, of the Pullman sleeping-car system—a branch of the company's business totally distinct from its manufacturing of cars for sale.

*Affairs explained to the employees.*

In the early part of May a committee of the employees demanded a restoration of the wages of a year ago. I explained to this committee minutely and laboriously the facts showing that the company was already paying them more than it was receiving for their contract work, and I offered them, for complete assurance, and to end all question, an inspection of our books and contracts in hand. This, and the beginning at once at Pullman of a promised careful investigation of a number of shop complaints, seemed to end all trouble; but a day later, under the excitement of their recruiting into the new organization, the workmen closed the shops by abandoning their work, thus themselves doing what I was strenuously trying to prevent being done by the depression of the car-building business, and the employees who

quit their work have deprived themselves and their comrades of earnings of more than \$300,000 up to this time.

The demand made before quitting work was that the wages should be restored to the scale of last year, or, in effect that the actual outgoing money losses then being daily incurred by the company in car building should be deliberately increased to an amount equal to about one-fourth of the wages of the employees. It must be clear to every business man, and to every thinking workman, that no prudent employer could submit to arbitration the question whether he should commit such a piece of business folly. Arbitration always implies acquiescence in the decision of the arbitrator, whether favorable or adverse. How could I, as president of the Pullman company, consent to agree that if any body of men not concerned with the interests of the company's shareholders should, as arbitrators, for any reason seeming good to them so decree, I would open the shops, employ workmen at wages greater than their work could be sold for, and continue this ruinous policy indefinitely; or be accused of a breach of faith? Who will deny that such a question is plainly not a subject of arbitration? Is it not, then, unreasonable that the company should be asked to arbitrate whether or not it should submit such a question to arbitration? Removing the original and fundamental question one stage does not help the matter; the question would still remain: Can I, as a business man, knowing the truth of the facts which I have stated, bind myself that I will, in any contingency, open and operate the Pullman car shops at whatever loss, if it should happen to be the opinion of some third party that I should do so? The answer seems to be plain.

The public should not permit the real question which has been before it to be obscured. That question was as to the possibility of the creation and duration of a dictatorship which could make all the industries of the United States and the daily comfort of the millions dependent upon them, hostages for the granting of any fantastic whim of such a dictator. Any submission to him would have been a long step in that direction, and in the interest of every law-abiding citizen of the United States was not to be considered for a moment.

#### *Charges met and answered.*

A few words are pertinent as to some industriously spread charges against the company.

One of these charges is that rents are exorbitant, and it is implied that the Pullman employees have no choice but to submit. The answer is simple. The average rental of tenements at Pullman is at the rate of \$3 a room a month, and the renting of houses at Pullman has no relation to the work in the shops. Employees may, and very many do, own or rent their homes outside of the town, and the buildings and business places in the town are rented to employes or to others in competition with neighboring properties. In short, the renting business of the Pullman company is governed by the same conditions which govern any other large owner of real estate, except that the company itself does directly some things which in Chicago are assumed by the city. If, therefore, it is not admitted that the rents of any landlord are to be fixed by arbitration, and that those of the adjoining towns of Kensington and Roseland should also be so fixed, it can hardly be asked that the Pullman company alone should abandon the ordinary rules which govern persons in that relation.

As to the charges for water, the company until lately had a contract with the village of Hyde Park, under which it paid 4 cents a 1,000 gallons, and pumped the water itself. The gross amount paid the village monthly for the water consumed by the tenants was almost exactly the gross sum paid by the tenants therefor.

Since the inclusion of Hyde Park and Pullman within the city of Chicago the company pays the city about 7 cents a 1,000 gallons, and not having increased the charge to the tenants, is paying for the water consumed by them about \$500 a month more than is charged to them. The company has made repeated efforts to dissociate itself from the supplying of water to tenants, but the city of Chicago has as yet failed to apply the ordinary frontage rates to the houses and shops in Pullman, although it is done in the adjacent towns.

Strenuous efforts have also been made to create a prejudice against the Pullman company by charges that its stock is heavily watered.

The Pullman company was organized twenty-seven years ago with a capital of \$1,000,000, of which two-thirds represented the appraised value of its cars, then held by three owners, and one-third represented the appraised value of its franchises and existing contracts. The company has grown until its sleeping-car service covers 125,000 miles of railway, or about three-fourths of the railway system of the country, and that increase of service has necessitated increase of its capital from time to time until it is now \$36,000,000. Every share of this increase has been offered to stockholders, and sold to them or to others in the ordinary course of business at not less than par in cash, so that for every share of increase outstanding the company has received \$100 in cash. There are over 4,000 stockholders of the com-



pany, of whom more than one-half are women and trustees of estates, and the average holding of each stockholder is now 86 shares, one-fifth of them holding less than six shares each.

*Notice posted on the gates of the Pullman shops, at Pullman, July 18, 1894.*

These shops will be opened as soon as the number of operatives taken on is sufficient to make a working force in all departments.

I may observe here that the president of the company wishes me to say emphatically that there is no foundation for the statements made before the commission that he in any way repudiated the offer he made to the men in addressing them, that to satisfy themselves as to the condition of affairs which he presented to them they might have an inspection of our contracts in hand and the books relating to them. This would have been cheerfully given, but the subject was never brought up afterwards by our workmen, in consequence of the strike being almost immediately declared.

On the 10th of May, the day after the second conference, work went on as usual at the shops, and I, assisted by Mr. Brown, the general manager of the company, began at Pullman the promised formal investigation of the shop complaints, and we devoted a half of that day to the work, and we there publicly stated our intention to so continue from day to day, devoting a half of each working day to that business until completed.

A large meeting of the employees had been held at Kensington the night before, which, as was understood by the officers of the company, accepted the necessity of the situation as preventing any increase in wages, but at a meeting of the local committee of the American Railway Union held during the night of May 10, a strike was decided upon, and accordingly, early the next day, about 2,500 of the shop employees quitted their work, leaving, besides the supervising and clerical force, about 600 at work, among whom very few were skilled workmen. As it was found impracticable to keep the shops in operation with a force thus disorganized, the workmen remaining were the same day necessarily laid off, and the shops remained idle until August 2, instant.

We took the necessary steps at once to provide for ourselves the protection for the company's property usual under such circumstances. We do not know of guards for the works having been put on by the strikers, as has been testified by several witnesses, but we would understand that any of their men claiming to be so acting would really be engaged in what is called picketing against the employment of new men. As we did not try to get new men, that work, if performed, was useless.

Testimony has been given before the commission that the immediate cause of the strike was the discharge of three employees contrary to the assurance I had given to the committee of workmen that none of them should be affected by their serving on the committee. I gave such an assurance upon request, and with entire willingness, and it was not violated, and no such complaint was ever made, I think, to any official of the company. There were forty-three members of the committee at the conference on May 9, and on May 10 it happened that in temporarily "laying off" men for whom there was no immediate work three men were included who are said to have been on the committee, as to each of whom the subordinate officials concerned deny that they at the time knew he was on the committee, and say that the laying off was caused by nothing but the ordinary course of busi-

ness. I present the sworn statements of the subordinate officials on the subject, and they are themselves present for such examination as the commission may desire to make.

*Statement of W. C. Philpott, acting superintendent of the iron department, in reference to the report of the alleged discharge of Hasty, Watson, and Peterson, three of the committeemen from the iron department.*

Work in the iron department had, for some time prior to the strike, been running low, and of the 150 men usually employed in that department only 30 remained the day of the strike, May 11, 1894. The other 120 men had been gradually laid off as they finished the particular kinds of work which they performed for orders in hand. Hasty was engaged in keeping in repair the tools of the bolt room. On May 10 the bolt room was entirely shut down, no work being then done in it; its tools were in good order, and consequently there was no work in the tool room necessitated by the bolt room. Hasty was employed for that particular purpose, and, being incompetent to perform any other class of work in hand, was laid off until the following Monday.

Watson, another employee of the tool room, worked until 8 a. m. Thursday, May 10, in making a die for the hammer shop, and, there being no other work for him in sight that day, he was laid off, as was Peterson, an employee of the iron machine shop, for similar reasons, and numerous others whose names have not been mentioned in this controversy.

In times when the shops are not running in their full capacity it becomes necessary to lay off men in all departments according to the requirements of the work in hand; a fact well known among the employees. The foremen in direct charge of the various departments regulate their several forces of men, and when it becomes necessary to lay any of them off on account of lack of work it was explained to the men, and never was before construed as a discharge from the service of the company. In the case of a discharge the action would have to bear my approval and even the approval of the manager of the works. This fact is also well known to the employees. Moreover, the employee would be given his pay check, which would bear my personal signature.

I did not know at the time the three men mentioned were laid off that any one of them had served as a member of the committee who waited upon Mr. Wickes Monday or Wednesday of the week of the strike.

Neither Hasty nor Watson spoke to me when leaving the shop about having been laid off, but Peterson did. I happened to see him passing out of the shop, and asked him where he was going, and he replied that he had been laid off because there was no work to do, but that he had been pretty fortunate in the past and had no kick coming.

Peter A. Carlson, an employee of the iron department, informs me that Peterson was requested at a meeting of the committee Thursday night, May 10, to state that he had been discharged by the company for having served as a committeeman, and that Peterson refused to make the statement for the reason, as he expressed himself, "It would be a lie." Carlson also said that Peterson told him that he resigned from the committee that very evening on this account.

Peterson has since told me that he understood at the time he was laid off from work that it was temporary only, and Hasty must have known it, because he was distinctly told by his foreman to report again for duty the following Monday morning, by which time it was expected that work would be resumed in the bolt room.

Peterson said to me on Saturday last, the 11th instant, that he would like to have employment, and when I told him that the work upon which he was engaged at the time of the strike was in the same state now, he said to me that he had never made the statement to the effect that the strike was the result of his being discharged along with Hasty and Watson, but that the cause of the strike was the report made at the meeting of committeemen Thursday night, May 10, that the shops would be closed at noon the following day and the men locked out.

I had instructed all the sub-foremen the week previous that they must keep their working force down as low as possible, and it was acting on these instructions that the men mentioned herein were laid off. The foremen had no specific instructions from me to lay off any one man or number of men.

I was not acting under any specific instructions from the manager in regard to the treatment of any particular man or set of men, but understood that the men who had served as a committee had been promised that it should not prejudice them with the company nor interfere with their being given steady employment if there was work to give them.

W. C. PHILPOTT.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22d day of August, A. D. 1894.

[SEAL.]

EDGAR R. CURTIS,  
Notary Public.

*Statement of A. B. Chapman, of the iron department, in reference to the alleged discharge of C. E. Hasty and L. P. Watson, two of the committeemen from the iron department.*

On the 11th of May, 1894, and for some time previous thereto, I was the assistant foreman in charge of the tool room. Some days before the strike occurred on the 11th of May, I think during the previous week, the acting superintendent of the iron department, Mr. Philpott, called my attention to the fact that the work in hand was getting very low and instructed me to temporarily lay off the men in the tool room as fast as the work we had in hand was completed. Neither then nor at any other time did he directly or indirectly instruct or request me to lay off either Hasty or Watson, or any other particular man or men.

On the 10th of May the bolt room was entirely shut down on account of the work in hand being completed, and as the tools were in good order there was no more work in the tool room necessitated by the bolt room until we were ready to begin on a new lot of cars.

Hasty was employed in making tools for the bolt room, and was not skilled in any other class of work.

On Thursday morning, May 10, when Hasty reported for duty, I explained to him what he already knew, that the work he had in hand was finished, and I further told him that we should probably be able to resume work on a new lot of cars within two or three days, probably not later than the following Monday, and advised him to call Monday morning. Hasty made no complaint or criticism whatever, but simply remarked, "All right," and went away.

The next morning, May 11, Hasty called me to the office and asked what authority I had for laying him off. I told him that he well understood that the work in hand in his line was finished and that there would be nothing more to do probably before Monday. His answer was, "That is enough," and he pointed his finger at me to emphasize his words.

Hasty did not say to me at the time he was laid off, or at any time afterwards, that he was laid off on account of his being on the committee.

L. P. Watson was employed in the tool room, making dies for the hammer shop. He finished up the work in hand and all the work we had for him to do at 8 o'clock the morning of Thursday, May 10. I told him, what he well knew, that there was no more work to be done just then, but I said we should no doubt be ready to start on a new order within a very few days, and advised him to come around again on the following Monday. Neither then nor since has he stated to me that he believed he was laid off because he was on the committee.

I would further state that not until the day of the strike, May 11, had I any knowledge or suspicion that either Hasty or Watson were on the committee that called at the general offices of the company either on Monday, May 7, or Wednesday, May 9.

Monday morning, May 7, Hasty asked to be off during the day, but assigned no reason, and I asked him for none. He was at work on Tuesday and up to Wednesday noon, but was absent Wednesday afternoon. I thought nothing of that, as his work was finished. When he called Thursday morning, May 10, he made no intimation whatever that he was on the committee, and, as before stated, I did not hear of his being on the committee or of his calling at the general offices until the following day, Friday, after the strike had occurred.

Watson was on duty during the whole of Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday and up until 8 o'clock on the morning of Thursday, May 10, and therefore he could not have been one of the men who called at the general offices either on Monday or Wednesday. I did not hear until Friday, May 11, after the strike had occurred, that Watson was even a member of the committee.

After the strike occurred I went to work at Earldale, on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, and worked for a couple of weeks.

On Monday morning, May 14, Watson came to my house and said, "Chapman, I want you to make a statement again about discharging me," and I said, "Watson, I did not discharge you, and you know that I had no authority to discharge a man, as only the superintendent could discharge men." He replied, "You know it was a Pullman discharge." I said, "I don't know any such a thing. I told you there was no more work for a few days for you to do, and I can not tell you anything but the truth."

As I understand that Mr. Hasty has made the statement that on the day he was laid off some of his work was left unfinished, I wish to say emphatically that such was not the case.

I may add that at no time did I receive any instructions or any intimation of any kind from the acting superintendent, Mr. Philpott; the manager, Mr. Middleton; or any other person in authority over me, to lay off either Hasty or Watson. On the contrary, as before stated, Hasty and Watson, in common with several other men, were laid off for the sole reason that the work in hand was completed.

I may further state that neither Hasty nor Watson were in any sense discharged. Whenever a man is discharged he is at once given his time, which was not done either in the case of Hasty or Watson.

A. B. CHAPMAN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 22d day of August, 1894.

[SEAL.]

EDGAR R. CURTISS,  
*Notary Public.*

We have heard in a vague way of another or different alleged cause for the strike. The rumor as to this was, that some of the leaders in the agitation claimed to have learned from a telegraph operator that in the night of May 10 he overheard passing on the wire a telegraphic order from an officer of the company in Chicago to the local manager at Pullman, ordering a "lock out" at noon the next day; that this information was circulated, and that the strikers went out the next morning in order to establish the status of a "strike" instead of a "lock out."

As to this rumor I can only say that no such order was ever made or thought of by any officer of the company.

We learned in various ways that soon after the beginning of the strike at Pullman the American Railway Union officials sent emissaries to our shops at Wilmington, Del., at St. Louis, Mo., and at Ludlow, Ky., to recruit our employees at those places, so far as possible, into the American Railway Union organization, our information being that it was the intention of those officials to cause strikes to be declared at each of those places as soon as the strength of their local organizations at those shops, which they were endeavoring to create, should be sufficient. The results were as follows:

According to our information only about fifty of our employees at Wilmington joined the American Railway Union, and the body of our employees apparently took very little interest in the matter, and the prosecution of our ordinary business was not in any way interrupted. The rates of wages are substantially the same at our Wilmington and other shops as at the Pullman shops.

At our St. Louis shops the recruiting of the American Railway Union was more successful, and a strike took place on June 25. There were then 371 men at work, and of this number 291 went out, it being our information that about 275 of them had become members of the American Railway Union. The work at these shops continued with the reduced force, and we began immediately to recruit it, and secured all the employees we needed within about two weeks. About 60 of the striking employees were reemployed. No disorder occurred about our shops there, and we have no information of any assaults or indignities upon those who entered or remained in our employment.

At our Ludlow shops a strike took place on the same date, June 25, under the auspices of the American Railway Union, 72 men going out of our force of 126 men. These shops are adjacent to the yards of the Cincinnati Southern Railway Company. We recruited our force somewhat and continued operations there until July 3, at which time there was a strike in progress in those yards, also under the auspices of the American Railway Union.

We had then about 100 men at work, but in consequence of the intimidation of our men, and owing to the lack of public protection, it was decided to close the shops on July 3, and they remained closed until July 16, when work was resumed with a force of 100 men, which was almost immediately increased to the full complement by the engagement of new men. If any of the striking employees afterwards applied for reemployment there was no room for them.

To revert to the strike at the Pullman shops on May 11. The only incidents which occurred thereafter which I consider worthy of note were as follows: On June 1 two members of the Civic Federation called upon me to consider some methods of conciliation and arbitration. I explained the situation to them and informed them that we did not consider there was any proper subject for arbitration. On the next day two other members of the Civic Federation called and we had a similar discussion.

On the 15th of June 12 persons, calling themselves a committee from the American Railway Union, called upon me to request that there should be an arbitration. I informed them, in reply, that the company declined to consider any communication from the American Railway Union as representing the former employees of the company.

On the next day a committee of six of our former employees called upon me and requested that there should be an arbitration. I informed them that we did not consider that there was any proper subject for arbitration.

On the 22d of June Messrs. F. E. Pollans, B. W. Lovejoy, and C. A. Timlin, claiming to be a committee of three of the American Railway Union, called upon me and stated that they were instructed to notify the Pullman Company that, unless it agreed to arbitration, a boycott would be declared to stop the running of Pullman cars, taking effect at 12 o'clock noon, Tuesday, the 26th day of June. I replied to this statement that the company declined to consider any communication from the American Railway Union on the subject.

This threatened action by the American Railway Union was made known widely through the public press, and Mr. Pullman deemed it proper to make public a statement of all the circumstances. Accordingly, such a statement was published in the daily newspapers of Chicago on the morning of June 26, the day set by the American Railway Union delegates for the making of their threatened attempt. This statement is the first paper in the compilation of statements, a copy of which I have already presented to the commission.

It may be said here that the General Managers' Association had met on the day before in consequence of the public knowledge of the threatened attempt of the American Railway Union, and had adopted the resolutions which are shown on page 6 of the compilation of statements which I have mentioned. I happened to have, after June 22, a conference on an ordinary matter of business with one of the members of the General Managers' Association, and he told me of the intended meeting and invited me to be present at the meeting. I was therefore present, but of course without taking any part in it.

I may say here that from the beginning to the end of the strike the General Managers' Association acted throughout in entire independence of our company, as we did in entire independence of the association, and that there was at no time any conference or suggestion as to the matter from the association to our company, or from our company to the association.

From this time on public attention was chiefly attracted by the conflict of the American Railway Union with the railways of the country attacked by it.

On July 5 there appeared in the New York Sun an authorized "interview" with Mr. Pullman, a copy of which is at page 7 of the compilation of statements, to which I have referred.

On July 7 Mr. Lawrence, a director of the First National Bank, Chicago, called upon me to confer as to bringing about a meeting at

my office between myself and a committee of the former employees of the company. I told him that I would be very glad to receive such a committee, but I never heard of the matter afterwards.

Two days later, Aldermen McGillen, Marrener, Mulhoeffler, and Powers, with three delegates from labor unions, called upon me to discuss the matter of arbitration. I told them that we were not able to consider the question of arbitration.

On the 11th of July Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, and Mayor Hopkins and Mr. Erskine Phelps, of Chicago, called upon me also to discuss the matter of arbitration. A protracted friendly discussion of the matter followed between us, in which I set forth to these gentlemen our reasons for believing that the question at issue, which was simply that of reopening the shops at Pullman and carrying them on at a ruinous loss, was not a proper subject for arbitration.

On July 14 the principal newspapers of the country published a statement by Mr. Pullman, of which a copy is at page 11 of the compilation of the statements to which I have referred.

By this time the measures taken to restore public order, had put an end to all serious disturbance of railway travel, and the disorders which had been so violent in different parts of Chicago for more than two weeks had so far come to an end that the propriety of making an effort to end the abnormal situation at Pullman, by resuming work at the car shops, was taken up and considered, and in consequence, on July 18, the management caused to be posted on the gates of the Pullman shops the following notice:

These shops will be opened as soon as the number of operatives taken on is sufficient to make a working force in all departments.

The receiving of applications for employment proceeded gradually from that time on until the 24th of August, at which time the number of employees on the rolls at the shops was 2,337, of whom 1,778 were former employees of the company and 559 were new employees. The first opening for work was August 2 in the repair department; the other departments of the shops were opened gradually, as the respective forces became sufficient.

It is proper that I should say that no injury of any sort was done or attempted upon the company's property at Pullman during the strike. For a few days after the opening of the shops there were personal indignities and assaults committed upon a number of our employees, but a quiet condition of affairs was soon brought about by the efficient action of the police, under the command of Inspector Hunt, Captain Powers, and Lieutenant Bassett, supported by the presence of several companies of the First Regiment of the National Guard of Illinois.

I will now add to this statement of general facts some statements upon some details of the affairs of the company, upon which the commission has heard testimony.

It is clearly an economical impossibility that the manufacturing of any given class of cars for sale can be carried on at Pullman for any length of time, if the wages of car builders there are such that the actual cost of labor and material for that class of cars is higher than at reputable competing shops. It is idle to talk of the company carrying on the business of building and selling cars at a loss, and paying the losses out of the income from a distinct business. The bidding for, and taking of, contracts at a loss, which I have detailed, were done in the hope that we could bridge over an emergency, and keep our force together until work could be had at prices based upon ordinary business principles. The company can not long go on making proposals for

less than cost. If, by the rate of wages, the cost is kept too high for successful competition in car building, the result is inevitable; contracts are not made, work ceases, and the men must be laid off indefinitely. The economic law is inexorable, and on a falling market producers must do one of two things—lower their prices or cease to produce, which means simply that plants must lie idle, and workmen go without work.

To show the general reduction in the selling prices of various kinds of cars in recent years, I present a statement showing such prices, from which it will be seen that there has been a reduction in every class, which varies from more than 28 per cent down to 18 per cent, the average reduction on all classes, taken together, being 24 per cent.

*Memorandum of selling price of various kinds of cars prior to May 1, 1893, as compared with selling price since August 1, 1893.*

Kind of cars.	Prior to May 1, 1893.	Since August 1, 1893.	Reduction.	
			Per car.	Per cent.
Passenger coach .....	\$4,930	\$3,700	\$1,230	25
Baggage .....	2,500	1,965	535	22½
Street (closed) .....	875	625	250	28½
Street (open) .....	685	525	160	23
Refrigerator .....	900	735	165	18½
Box .....	500	375	125	25
	10,390	7,925	2,465	23½

The average reduction in wages has not been so much. I present two statements—one for the month of April, 1893, and the other for the month of April, 1894—showing for each class of journeymen mechanics the number of men employed, the number of hours employed, and the actual wages earned and paid.

*Statement showing average earnings of journeymen mechanics at the Pullman car works April, 1893, and April, 1894.*

Department.	April, 1893.				April, 1894.			
	Num-ber of men.	Hours worked.	Amount earned.	Average earnings per day.	Num-ber of men.	Hours worked.	Amount earned.	Average earnings per day.
Mill .....	37	7,796	\$2,022.65	\$2.59	24	4,315	\$908.85	\$2.10
Wood machine .....	97	21,553	5,645.70	2.62	52	10,929	2,411.83	2.20
Cabinet .....	292	64,514	16,207.92	2.51	187	31,022	5,855.82	1.89
Carving .....	99	22,526	7,436.37	3.30	12	2,208	517.03	2.34
Blacksmith and hammer .....	92	20,705	6,581.15	3.18	99	20,070	4,799.72	2.39
Bolt .....	29	6,381	1,730.65	2.71	20	3,627	709.49	1.96
Iron machine .....	122	30,630	7,340.95	2.40	97	18,127	3,488.78	1.92
Car builders .....	631	140,826	38,254.02	2.73	513	107,843	20,237.08	1.88
Electricians .....	21	5,504	1,227.65	2.23	14	3,408	649.58	1.90
Truck builders .....	13	3,155	783.26	2.48	9	2,005	394.20	1.96
Tinners .....	71	15,715	3,825.68	2.43	94	17,315	3,606.95	2.08
Steam fitters .....	62	14,621	3,830.58	2.62	66	13,251	3,047.17	2.30
Upholsterers .....	114	26,817	7,022.63	2.62	80	17,415	3,639.61	2.09
Brass finishers .....	76	20,665	5,094.68	2.46	54	10,351	2,263.32	2.21
Glass .....	11	2,709	733.01	2.71	10	2,144	460.84	2.15
Painters .....	343	79,359	20,352.92	2.56	312	65,940	13,223.24	2.11
Millwright and pattern .....	48	11,417	3,099.22	2.71	27	6,615	1,599.84	2.43
Shop carpenters .....	33	5,883	1,208.94	2.05½	11	2,428	510.27	2.10
Freight mill .....	42	9,507	2,077.55	2.29	28	4,820	994.04	2.06
Freight-car builders .....	147	29,882	7,800.37	2.61	101	9,136	1,408.07	1.54
Street car .....	245	52,494	13,586.08	2.59	140	31,925	6,850.51	2.06
Total .....	2,625	592,159	155,861.98	2.63	1,950	384,892	78,306.24	2.08

From this it will be seen that for the month of April, 1893, the average pay of all the journeymen mechanics in the shops was at the rate of \$2.63 per day of ten hours, and that for the month of April,

1894, the average pay per day of ten hours to each journeyman mechanic was \$2.03, and not \$1.50, as testified by the witness Heath-coate. This statement shows that the reduction of the average daily rate of earnings of journeymen mechanics, between April, 1893, and April, 1894, was 22.8 per cent.

I present, also, similar tables for all other shop employees, excluding superintendents, foremen, and the shop office force, showing an average reduction, between April, 1893, and April, 1894, of 11½ per cent.

*Statement showing earnings of employees, excluding journeymen mechanics, superintendents, foremen, and clerical force at the Pullman car works April, 1893, and April, 1894.*

Department.	April, 1893.				April, 1894.			
	Number of men.	Hours worked.	Amount earned.	Average earnings per day.	Number of men.	Hours worked.	Amount earned.	Average earnings per day.
Store .....	87	21,918	\$3,386.03	\$1.54	63	14,564	\$2,363.82	\$1.63
Lumber .....	245	45,965	7,362.49	1.60	145	34,654	4,945.23	1.43
Corliss .....	81	20,493	3,632.81	1.77	59	13,957	2,431.95	1.98
Mill .....	62	14,452	1,903.74	1.82	31	5,683	657.98	1.16
Wood machine .....	57	13,965	1,877.31	1.34	22	4,539	561.85	1.24
Cabinet .....	62	17,651	3,188.50	1.82	28	6,279	902.55	1.44
Carving apprentices .....	13	3,812	696.39	2.10				
Blacksmith and hammer.	219	46,065	9,018.78	1.96	136	26,927	4,132.62	1.54
Bolt .....	29	6,153	1,088.59	1.69	11	1,848	265.77	1.44
Iron machine .....	87	19,515	3,305.22	1.70	43	8,001	1,126.00	1.41
Car builders .....	116	31,662	5,313.80	1.67	109	24,652	3,645.05	1.48
Electricians .....	20	3,976	556.46	1.40	11	2,235	377.64	1.69
Truck .....	1	270	43.12	1.60	2	491	78.90	1.90
Tinners .....	27	7,279	1,322.73	1.82	35	5,299	849.37	1.80
Steam fitters .....	59	14,040	2,480.30	1.77	93	15,705	2,447.90	1.56
Upholsterers .....	152	36,392	4,979.94	1.37	144	30,700	4,085.55	1.33
Brass finishers .....	24	6,473	1,277.88	1.97	20	4,631	678.37	1.47
Glass .....	26	5,932	1,731.43	1.23	13	2,243	249.15	1.11
Painters .....	102	26,759	5,807.61	2.17	90	17,974	3,021.56	1.68
Millwright and pattern .....	14	5,632	952.30	1.69	14	3,783	679.56	1.82
Yard .....	83	19,779	3,281.01	1.60	66	18,263	2,732.59	1.50
Shop carpenters .....	7	1,373	209.15	1.52	34	5,147	564.71	1.10
Freight mill .....	82	14,821	2,427.01	1.64	40	8,835	523.28	1.26
Freight car .....	61	13,550	1,908.80	1.41	37	10,254	1,148.14	1.12
Street car .....	55	13,033	1,911.07	1.47	33	6,095	987.34	1.54
Laborers .....	37	8,350	1,107.90	1.33	33	7,589	995.65	1.31
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>1,808</b>	<b>418,790</b>	<b>69,720.37</b>	<b>1.66½</b>	<b>1,311</b>	<b>275,278</b>	<b>40,602.33</b>	<b>1.47½</b>

Considering all the shop workmen together, that is, excluding from the pay roll all the superintendents, foremen, and shop office force, the reduction of the average daily rate of earnings between April, 1893, and April, 1894, was 19 per cent, as shown by the following table:

*Statement showing earnings of all shop workmen, excluding superintendents, foremen, and shop office force at the Pullman car works April, 1893, and April, 1894.*

	April, 1893.				April, 1894.			
	Number of men.	Hours worked.	Amount earned.	Average earnings per day of 10 hours.	Number of men.	Hours worked.	Amount earned.	Average earnings per day of 10 hours.
Journeymen mechanics ..	2,625	592,159	\$155,961.98	\$2.63	1,950	384,892	\$78,306.24	\$2.03
Other employees, (including 146 boys, but not including superintendents, foremen, and clerical force) .....	1,808	418,790	69,720.37	1.66½	1,311	275,278	40,602.33	1.47½
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>4,433</b>	<b>1,010,949</b>	<b>225,582.35</b>	<b>2.23½</b>	<b>3,261</b>	<b>660,170</b>	<b>118,908.57</b>	<b>1.80½</b>

Average reduction, 19 per cent.

Superintendents, foremen, and clerical force April, 1893..... \$2.59  
 Superintendents, foremen, and clerical force April, 1894..... 2.32



Miss Curtis, as a representative of the sewing women, has made especial complaint before the commission in respect to the reduction in the piece price on carpets for sleeping cars, the proportionate reduction in the piece price for that work being very large. She complains that a carpet, for the making of which the piece price in 1893 was \$8.10, was so reduced that in 1894 it was \$1.80.

The explanation is this: Piece prices are based upon a reasonable rate per hour for work done. It was discovered and admitted by Miss Curtis herself, in an interview with an officer of the company, that she is a slow worker, but could make one of these carpets in sixteen hours' work, which at a piece price of \$8.10, would give earnings at the rate of 50 cents per hour. This showed a manifest error in the price assigned, and the piece price was reduced so as to make the rate of wage on that work correspond to the reasonable rate of wages in that department, \$1 per day.

In establishing the rate of wages for piecework, over so large a force of workmen, the principle adopted is that the day's wage is to be a reasonable wage for ten hours at that particular work for a competent workman, not an expert; and by experience it is ascertained what a faithful, competent workman can do on a given kind of work as to quantity in a given time; the piece price is thereupon based upon that performance. The competent, faithful workman will earn the reasonable day's wage at it; the less competent or less industrious workman will necessarily make, less than the reasonable day's wage; on the other hand, the expert and more industrious workman will earn more than the reasonable day's wage; he gets the just benefit of his superior energy and skill. If by experience in operation it is discovered that at the piece price fixed the known less competent and less industrious workmen are regularly making an unreasonable day's wage, it becomes apparent that the piece price allotted is too large. It is not the less apparent, although at the same time the most competent workmen are not making a very excessive wage, because it is well known that this matter is watched by them, so that they themselves limit their own output upon a piece of work excessively priced, in order to prevent an amount of wages accruing which would attract special attention and cause a reduction of the piece price to a proper amount.

As another illustration of the propriety and reasonableness of changes in what is called piecework, the following instance may be given:

In 1893 the piece price for remaking an elliptic spring was \$1.12½. It was found that this had been rated too high, it being observed that the amount habitually earned at that work at that price made an excessive day's rate, and such reductions were made in the piece price that in May, 1894, it was 81 cents. The striking workman on this job did not apply again for his job until after his place had been filled by a stranger. This new employee was first given this work at day's wages of \$2.80; after working six days he asked that it be made piecework, and it was given to him at 80 cents per spring, and in the next six days he made twenty-nine springs, so that by day's wages for the first six days he made \$16.80, and for the next six days at piecework, on the same job, he made \$23.20, or at the rate of 38.7 cents an hour. At the old excessive rate his pay would have been over 54 cents an hour.

If I understand the record correctly, the commission accepted as evidence of the reduction of wages at our shops the schedules and isolated statements made by Mr. Carwardine in his pamphlet, he stating that he had compiled them from information given him by "two or three gentlemen." I shall not attempt to enumerate all the errors and

incorrect statements in respect to wages in his book, but they are sufficient in number and character to make it wholly and utterly untrustworthy. Originating as it does it could not be otherwise. Perhaps a few examples will be sufficient to show this.

At page 70 he says that the average cut in wages was 33½ per cent. As I have shown, by the tables from our actual payments made, the average reduction of wages between April, 1893, and April, 1894, for journeymen mechanics, was 22.8 per cent, and the average reduction for all other shop employees, excluding all the superintendents, foremen, and shop office force, was 11½ per cent. The average reduction for all shop employees, excluding all the superintendents, foremen, and shop office force, was, as I have already said, 19 per cent.

At page 85 it is stated that just before the strike blacksmiths were receiving between \$1.50 and \$2.50 per day. There were ninety-nine blacksmiths on the roll in April, 1894, and the average daily wages earned and paid them in that month was \$2.39. On page 74 it is stated that strippers were reduced to 20 cents and painters to 19 cents per hour. In fact, the average rate paid strippers and other ornamental painters during the first four months of 1894 was 25 cents an hour for strippers and 23 cents an hour for ornamental painters. The remarks of the book on reductions in the street-car department show the following misstatements:

	Alleged reductions.	Actual reductions.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Body builders, inside finishers, and trimmers .....	33	20
Cabinetmakers .....	50	29
Blacksmiths .....	60	25
Iron machinists .....	85	21

On page 85 it is stated that the female employees working in the carpet department, the linen room, the glass-embossing department, and the laundry were all paid before May, 1893, at the rate of 22½ cents per hour, and that the company reduced this to 10 cents per hour.

Our records show that the average wages earned and paid female employees per hour, for the month of April, 1893, were as follows:

Carpet, upholstery, and linen department .....	Cents. 14
Glass-embossing department .....	10
Laundry .....	9½

For the month of April, 1894, the average wages earned and paid female employees per hour were as follows:

Carpet, upholstery, and linen department .....	Cents. 12½
Glass-embossing department .....	11
Laundry .....	11½

The book says of workmen in the wood machine shops that they suffered in some instances a cut of 40 per cent, and that in no case has it fallen below 33½ per cent. The actual average hourly wages paid the wood machine men in April, 1894, is less than 16 per cent reduction from the actual average hourly wages paid them in April, 1893. At page 90 the book speaks of a fireman laboring 428 hours per month, or about 16 hours per day, and receiving therefor \$40 per month pay. The truth is that the firemen, from the nature of their occupation, work 12 hours per day at monthly wages, and there is not, and has not been,

a fireman whose monthly wages are less than \$50 per month. The firemen sometimes work overtime, but if so it is by arrangement of their own, to divide among themselves the work of an absent man, and the wages which he would have received, if on duty; they divide among themselves, by arrangement between themselves. At page 69 of the book Mr. Carwardine states that he knows of a man who had worked as a skilled mechanic for 10 hours a day for 12 days and earned \$9.07, of which \$9 was paid for a half month's rent, the check for his pay being dated September, 1893.

T. R. Davis, a painter on the shop rolls, received in the month of September, 1893, checks for his earnings, at a semimonthly pay day, amounting to \$9.07, and there is no other workman on our rolls the amount of whose earnings were the same, paid in that month, and the half month's rent of T. R. Davis was \$9. He must, therefore, be the man described in the book, but instead of his earnings being the result of 12 days labor at 10 hours a day, as stated by Mr. Carwardine, his wages were the result of 43½ hours labor at 20.73 cents per hour. At page 82 Mr. Carwardine's book gives the average of earnings in 1889 at \$2 per day, and the average of earnings in 1894 as 91 cents per day. The absurdity of this statement needs no comment.

It would be tedious to go into the numerous inaccuracies of a number of the witnesses who have testified as to their earnings in the Pullman shops, but I present to the commission a table in respect to the witnesses Heathcoate, Rhodie, Coombs, and Curtis, for the period beginning May, 1893, and ending April, 1894; that is, one year, up to the strike, showing, for each month for each person, the number of hours employed and the wages earned and paid. The table shows, what is of course true, that the number of hours of employment which the company was able to give in the early part of the year was in excess of the number of hours of employment which it was able to give in the latter part of the year; and it shows the variance in the rate of wages at the beginning of the year and at the end of the year for each of these persons.

*Earnings of certain employees of the Pullman shops, May, 1893, to April, 1894, inclusive.*

Month.	T. W. Heathcoate, inside finisher.		T. Rhodie, painter.		R. W. Coombs, car builder.		Jennie Curtis, seamstress.	
	Hours.	Amount.	Hours.	Amount.	Hours.	Amount.	Hours.	Amount.
1893.								
May .....	252½	\$78. 00	244½	\$65. 06	196½	\$47. 42	235½	\$39. 85
June .....	280½	96. 85	241½	65. 28	92	21. 00	212½	31. 24
July .....	233½	69. 12	216	57. 05	170	38. 75	181	27. 72
August .....	244½	62. 75	242	65. 14	173	36. 91	197½	30. 18
September .....	177½	44. 77	232	62. 62	94	21. 50	147½	23. 90
October .....	114	26. 92	230½	62. 04	42½	7. 39	230½	34. 62
November .....	119	29. 05	125½	33. 58	91	20. 54	151	24. 30
December .....	229½	43. 85	52½	12. 52	140½	18. 37	180½	26 18
1894.								
January .....	261	49. 30	279½	66. 84	192½	34. 00	216	34. 21
February .....	238½	44. 95	237½	61. 00	240	60. 00	184	25. 47
March .....	262½	51. 53	254	51. 12	125	30. 80	212	24. 92
April .....	185½	37. 77	226½	48. 65	60	9. 00	197½	22. 14
	2, 588½	634. 86	2, 572	642. 19	1, 616½	345. 68.	2, 345½	346. 82

I will only specify, for examples of the recklessness of many statements made to the commission, that the witness Heathcoate is reported as testifying that he had no employment whatever in the month of October, 1893. He had, in fact, 114 hours employment, for which he

was paid \$26.92. The witness Coombs is reported as testifying that for the month of February he had only \$3.50 on which to support his wife and two children, after paying his rent. His rent is \$15, and the water charge is 71 cents. It will be seen by the table, that in the month of February he had nearly full employment, 240 hours, and was paid \$60. He is reported as testifying that in March, 1894, piecework prices had been cut so that he could not make more than 68 cents a day. The table shows that in March, 1894, he worked 125 hours, and was paid therefor \$30.80, or at the rate of \$2.46 per day, nearly four times the amount stated by him.

The witness Rhodie is reported as testifying as to his wages substantially as follows:

Then the cuts came, and work for which we used to get \$9 we got \$4.25. We can not make \$1.25 a day. My wages in April were \$12 to \$15 each two weeks.

The table shows that for the four months ending April 30, 1894, Rhodie was almost fully employed, and in that time he earned and was paid \$218.30, making his average earnings \$2.21 per day. Instead of his getting, as he says, from \$12 to \$15 for each two weeks for his wages in April, he got for the whole month of April \$48.65, more than double the sum of \$12 each two weeks mentioned by him.

It will also be seen from the same table that the impression easily to be derived from the fragmentary statements of the witnesses Heathcoate and Rhodie as to their earnings during a part of the last year is wholly incorrect. The former earned and was paid in the year ending April 30, 1894, \$634.86, and the latter \$642.19. Miss Curtis earned in the year \$346.82.

It may be added as to Miss Curtis that her reported testimony that she was forced to pay \$45 of an indebtedness of \$60 of her deceased father is not borne out by our records. Her father died September 9, 1893, and his indebtedness was \$17.52, and not \$60. She herself, after her father's death, incurred an indebtedness of \$32.14. I am told that she volunteered to pay her father's debt, but however that may be, our records show that her total payments since her father's death are \$32, a trifle less than her own indebtedness; so that instead of paying \$45 for her father's debt she has paid nothing, and has not quite paid her own personal debt.

The statements made to the commission that at the shops workmen are made to suffer the loss of labor expended in the removal and replacing of defective materials are wholly without foundation. If such a necessity occurs in work done by the day the time spent in such work is merely a part of the ordinary earnings of the workmen and is paid for as such. If it occurs in a job paid for as piecework the time spent in removing and replacing defective material is paid for by an allowance for the time so spent, in addition to the piecework price. In every such case the loss of the value of the workman's labor falls wholly upon the company.

There has been a good deal said before the commission about what is called blacklisting. If by that term is meant receiving from other employers the names or lists of names of workmen considered by them undesirable, or, on the other hand, the sending such names or lists to any other employers, no such thing is done by the Pullman company. Of course, we do not employ undesirable workmen, known to us to be undesirable by our own experience of them, but we do not receive or seek information in such matters from other employers, or give it to them.

I will not go into shop complaints at this time, unless it is desired by the commission. The only presentation of them ever made was just

before the strike, and I at once began in person the investigation of them on the spot, in conjunction with the general manager of the company. We were prevented from going on by the sudden strike, as I have already related. I think it probable that as a result of that investigation I should have found some cases of local administration in which the action of local subordinates had not been in accordance with the policy of the company, and I would have applied the necessary correction. It is not the policy of the company that men shall not have access for the redress of grievances, and I have never refused to see any of our workmen.

In the matter of rents comparisons have been made before the commission between the rent of houses in Pullman and the rent of houses in the adjacent towns of Kensington and Roseland, it being made to appear that the rents at Pullman are slightly higher than they are in those adjacent towns.

As to this it is to be said that the Pullman houses are built of brick, with a thorough system of drainage, with modern improvements, such as gas, water-closets, faucets, and sinks in every house; and that these houses are situated on broad, paved, and shaded streets, with sidewalks, parks, and lawns, all of which are cared for by the company, the whole town being kept in thorough cleanliness. The dwellings in the adjacent towns with which they are compared are almost wholly frame structures, on streets which have sidewalks, but are not paved or cleaned, and are without sewers; and the houses themselves are without water-closets or drainage provision therefor. They are no doubt to be had at a lower rent than dwellings in Pullman, because they could not compete with dwellings in Pullman except at a lower rent.

I may call the attention of the commission to the fact that at the time of the strike less than one-third of the shop employees were tenants of the company.

There were 3,284 shop employees on April 30, 1894, and of these, 563 owned their own houses, and 560 others lived outside of the town of Pullman; 1,026 were tenants in the town, and 1,135 were lodgers in the town.

Of the force of 2,337 now employed in the shops, 461 own their own homes, and 871 others live outside of the town of Pullman; 466 are tenants in the town, and 539 are lodgers in the town.

These facts serve also to make a sufficient answer to the statement made to the commission by the witness Heathcoate that living in the town of Pullman has now or at any time been made a condition of getting employment. This was not and has not ever been the case.

The chairman of the commission interrogated Mr. Carwardine as to the statement made by him in his book that the company paid 4 cents per 1,000 gallons for water and retailed it to the tenants for 10 cents per 1,000 gallons, to which Mr. Carwardine replied that the statement was true so far as he could find out; and in response to an inquiry whether the cost to the Pullman company was not now 6 cents instead of 4, Mr. Carwardine added that he believed the city's charge was now higher, and that he believes Mr. Pullman is not making as much on water as he had done, but that no change had been made in the water rates since the readjustment with the city.

The witness Heathcoate, "from hearsay," makes the profit on water supplied the tenants \$32,000 a year.

The facts in the matter are as follows: Until last January the company took its water from the works of the village of Hyde Park, paying therefor 4 cents per 1,000 gallons, and distributing it through the mains of the company. Water meters were put in the town last March,

and it has since been practicable to ascertain accurately the amount of water consumed by tenants in Pullman, and this consumption has been ascertained to be for the period which has since elapsed at the average rate of 22,211,842 gallons per month. In negotiating with the city as to the charge the city should make under the new arrangement, an accurate statement was made of the amount paid to the village and the amount charged to tenants by the company for water for the period beginning with August, 1889, and ending with July, 1893. The amount charged to the tenants is almost exactly the same for each month (the rate being unvarying, and the trifling differences arising from the varying number of empty houses), which shows a substantially unvarying consumption, and the average monthly charge for the period is \$1,006.04 per month. In connection with this matter of water consumption, I present to the commission the following statements, and make them a part of my testimony:

PULLMAN'S PALACE CAR COMPANY,  
OFFICE OF THE TOWN OF PULLMAN,  
Pullman, Ill., August 18, 1894.

DEAR SIR: Herewith I hand you a statement of the consumption of water by our tenants for the months of April, May, June, and July, 1894. These figures are obtained in the following manner:

The water supply, as received from the city, comes through two 10-inch meters located in front of the car works and just north of Lake Vista, and passes into the car-works premises. Water mains leave north and south for the supply of the town, and as these mains leave the car-works premises at One hundred and eighth and One hundred and eleventh streets, respectively, the water is measured.

In March, 1894, we put in two large "Gem" water meters, one being a 6-inch and located on One hundred and eighth street which registers all the water consumed at the north end of town, and the other a 10-inch located on One hundred and eleventh street which registers all the water consumed at the south end of town. There are submeters at each of the various industries which receive water through these meters, and we are therefore enabled to ascertain what water is consumed by other than tenants, and consequently what the tenants consume.

There are a few items of consumption which are a matter of estimate, as follows:

*Hotel Florence.*—We make a monthly charge against the hotel of \$23 for water. This would indicate a consumption 220,000 gallons per month. I do not know what the basis was for this estimate, and in order to be on the safe side I have increased the estimate to 400,000 in the inclosed statement, and for the month of July, when there was a large crowd at the hotel, I have doubled this.

*Arcade.*—We make a monthly charge for the water consumed in the theater, the library, the various offices of the company, and for general uses, of \$12.26, which indicates a consumption of 122,600 gallons per month. This is a large estimate.

*Market.*—The estimate of 15,000 gallons per month as consumed for the company's purposes at the market is very large.

*Casino.*—The estimate of 15,000 gallons per month for the company's uses is very large.

*Street sprinkling.*—Our street sprinklers hold 477 gallons each. We keep an accurate record of every time they are filled, and therefore know exactly how much is consumed for this purpose.

*Watering lawns and plants.*—We keep an accurate record of the time consumed in this kind of work, and the size of hose used. We find that through a 2½-inch hose, with a 1-inch nozzle, 150 gallons passes per minute (as per tests through a 3-inch meter), and we have used that as our basis of calculation. When we have used a half-inch nozzle with this size hose, we have calculated on 50 gallons per minute. When using a three-fourths-inch hose with "sprinkler," we have calculated on 4½ gallons per minute, and without sprinkler on 5 gallons per minute. This calculation is based on tests, which, while not claimed to be strictly accurate, are considered about right.

In July there was a fire on the Illinois Central tracks north of One hundred and fourth street, and one of the city fire engines used water from one of our hydrants, the estimated quantity being 241,000 gallons, for which we have asked an allowance from the city.

Yours, truly,

W. P. HOORNBEK,  
Second Assistant Auditor and Acting Agent.

T. H. WICKES, Esq.,  
Second Vice-President.

## Statement of water consumed by tenants during April, May, June, and July, 1894.

	March 30 to April 30.	April 30 to May 31.	May 31 to June 29.	June 29 to July 30.
6-inch meter, north end of town .....	Gallons. 12, 488, 025	Gallons. 11, 398, 650	Gallons. 9, 790, 950	Gallons. 11, 149, 875
Less consumption of following industries:				
Freight shops (metered) .....	854, 325	56, 250	6, 600	1, 260
Roundhouse (metered) .....	854, 000	214, 500	565, 800	874, 850
Pullman iron and steel (metered) .....	628, 315	120	785	180
Union Foundry and C. S. Co. (metered) .....	1, 998, 700	1, 415, 475	901, 125	1, 182, 000
Allen Works (metered) .....	148, 025	171, 675	75, 300	44, 625
Sundries, fires, etc. (metered) .....				241, 000
	3, 748, 385	1, 858, 020	1, 549, 500	2, 344, 106
	8, 739, 690	9, 540, 630	8, 241, 390	8, 805, 770
10-inch meter, south end of town .....	14, 120, 250	15, 250, 575	15, 641, 550	17, 124, 450
Less consumption of following industries:				
Calumet Paint Co. (metered) .....	262, 488	184, 417	183, 653	120, 023
Drop forge (metered) .....	194, 573	234, 735	93, 338	38, 480
Brick works (metered) .....	660, 863	416, 870	4, 950	4, 935
Terra cotta (metered) .....	87, 000	63, 450	205, 725	204, 750
Street car department (metered) .....	17, 417	7, 716	17, 233	20, 820
Greenhouse (metered) .....	21, 165	16, 102	63, 960	115, 260
Sonneveld's laundry (metered) .....	56, 740	71, 378	63, 623	48, 908
Pullman stables (metered) .....	146, 603	159, 376	141, 368	156, 683
Streets and alleys (estimated) .....		16, 000	237, 500	270, 000
Park system (estimated) .....		5, 000	150, 000	1, 256, 850
Hotel Florence (estimated) .....	400, 000	400, 000	400, 000	800, 000
Arcade (apart from that charged tenants, esti- mated) .....	122, 600	122, 600	122, 600	122, 600
Market (apart from that charged tenants, esti- mated) .....	15, 000	15, 000	15, 000	15, 000
Casino, (apart from that charged tenants, esti- mated) .....	15, 000	15, 000	15, 000	15, 000
Sundries, fires, etc. ....				
	1, 988, 449	1, 727, 138	1, 713, 950	3, 187, 309
	12, 131, 801	13, 523, 437	13, 927, 600	13, 937, 081
Consumed by tenants .....	20, 871, 461	23, 064, 067	22, 168, 990	22, 742, 851
Average consumption per capita per day, based on an estimated population of 10,000 .....	67½	74½	76½	79½

At 4 cents per 1,000 gallons, the cost to the company for the 22,211,842 gallons per month, paid to the village of Hyde Park, was \$888.47. To this must be added the expense to the company of distributing the water, which is arrived at as follows:

## Expenses and charges to tenants of the town of Pullman waterworks, August 1, 1889, to July 31, 1893.

	Year ending—				Total.
	July 31, 1890.	July 31, 1891.	July 31, 1892.	July 31, 1893.	
<b>EXPENSES.</b>					
Paid village of Hyde Park for water for whole town .....	\$23, 526. 48	\$19, 357. 50	\$21, 714. 28	\$22, 790. 20	\$87, 388. 46
Maintenance and operation of distributing system .....	2, 842. 60	2, 315. 07	1, 495. 08	1, 877. 63	8, 530. 38
Total expenses .....	26, 369. 08	21, 672. 57	23, 209. 36	24, 667. 83	95, 918. 84
Charges to tenants of dwellings. Less rebates, etc. ....	11, 809. 29 177. 56	12, 415. 32 173. 11	12, 431. 42 264. 13	12, 536. 69 288. 87	49, 192. 72 903. 16
Total .....	11, 631. 73	12, 242. 21	12, 167. 30	12, 248. 32	48, 289. 56
Percentage of expenses of main- tenance and operation to amount paid for water .....					9. 76

The statement above mentioned shows for the same period beginning August, 1889, and ending with July, 1893, during which period the water was supplied under the arrangement with the village of Hyde Park, that the average annual amount paid to the village for the water was \$21,847.11, and that the average annual expense to the company in maintaining and operating the distributing system of the town was \$2,132.60. This shows the percentage of the cost of maintenance and operation of the distributing system to be 9.76 per cent on the cost of the water. This percentage, \$86.71, added to the amount paid the village for the water supply to the tenants per month, brings the cost to the company to \$975.18 per month, which is less than the average amount, \$1,006.04, charged to tenants, by the insignificant sum of \$30.86. It would be difficult to have a more exact agreement, and the facts thus show that Mr. Carwardine's statement, that the company was charging the tenants two and one-half times the cost of the water, was utterly reckless and untrue.

Under the new arrangement, which went into effect with the city of Chicago in January last, the company takes from the city all the water for its works and the town of Pullman, except the water used for steam boilers and mechanical purposes (which is drawn by the company from Calumet Lake). The rate paid for the monthly supply is graduated from 10 cents per 1,000 gallons down to 6½ cents per 1,000 gallons for all over 5,000,000 gallons per month. The average rate paid by the company is about 6.8 cents per 1,000 gallons. As above stated, the amount consumed by the tenants is 22,211,842 gallons per month. At the rate now paid the city, the average cost of this per month to the company is \$1,510.40, to which must be added the average monthly cost of distribution, \$86.71, making the total monthly cost to the company for water supplied the tenants, \$1,597.11, and, as above stated, the average monthly charge to tenants being \$1,006.04, there is an average excess of cost monthly to the Pullman company of \$591.05.

The house water rates charged in the town of Pullman were fixed by the civil engineer of the company, upon the completion of the houses and street improvements, in exact agreement with the scale of water rates prescribed by the ordinance of the village of Hyde Park, of which the town of Pullman was legally a part, and they have never been changed.

The amount of gas used by all tenants at Pullman is not quite one-fifth of the output of the works. Only 228 house tenants use gas, and of these only 122 are wage workers, out of over 1,000 tenant wage workers living in Pullman. The average revenue to the company from each wage worker using gas, including foremen, is, approximately, \$1.67 per month, so the question is not of interest to many people, and of slight consequence to those who have any interest in it.

The company's gas works were erected primarily for the use of the works, and could in any event have but a small clientage; and the price to be charged for gas by such a plant is not to be compared with the price at which a company having the population of the city of Chicago for a clientage can afford to furnish it. It should be compared with the gas rates of country towns, and it is believed that upon such comparison the Pullman rate will be found to be less than their rates. It can not be compared with Kensington or Roseland, for gas is not supplied there.

As a mention has been made of the library at Pullman, it is perhaps worth while to say that it is a circulating library, consisting of about 8,000 books, a gift to the association. A charge of 25 cents a month



for adults, and one-third that amount for young persons, is made for membership, not for profit, but to give subscribers a sense of ownership. The fund thus created is currently exhausted in buying the regular issues of about a hundred magazines and papers, and in partly repairing bookbinding. All other expenses are paid by the company.

It is quite true that building lots are not offered for sale in Pullman. The town is of restricted area, and designedly so, in order that workmen can, if they wish, live outside of it, and still be near their work, and the buying by them of homes near by has been hoped for and always encouraged.

The purpose of the town was to give such employees as chose to live in it dwellings of varying sizes and accommodations, well built and kept in good repair, and with perfect sanitary arrangements; with streets well paved and kept in perfect order as to repair and cleanliness, and proper open spaces, with trees and grass; with the other requisites of civilization, a church, a market and an arcade for shops, schools, and a library, and a place for amusement, all to be so arranged and built under the most competent architectural and engineering skill as to be not only comfortable and healthy, but as to have as high a character for beauty as was practicable. This could only be accomplished under a single control of plan and expenditure, which would have failed if a single lot had been sold. Such a sale would also have opened the way to dramshops and other disreputable places which are excluded from the town.

No paternalism has ever been in the plan. Reasonable rents were fixed, which were not increased in times of increased wages, nor have they been lowered to the level of those in unpleasant parts of Chicago, or to the level of those charged in the adjacent country for cheaply built houses without sewerage, and on street unpaved and uncleaned.

It was the hope and belief of the management that the character of the buildings and houses and streets at Pullman, and the order in which they are kept, would raise the standard of desire of working people for such surroundings; and that such surroundings would improve their character as citizens, and the quality of their work; and whatever has happened, there is great satisfaction at so much of a result as was shown by the ease with which order was maintained there during the recent deplorable disturbances, so violent in many other places.

August 28, 1894, examination of Thomas H. Wickes resumed:

23 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In your testimony yesterday you stated that the shop costs of the recent contracts taken by the Pullman company at a loss were in round numbers \$1,400,000.—Ans. It would be necessary for me to have those papers to give figures accurately.

24 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I am only using round numbers. [Papers are handed to witness.]—Ans. The figures I mentioned yesterday were correct, so far as I know.

25 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Please state what you mean by the "shop cost" of those contracts.—Ans. I mean the cost of labor and material, the fuel, etc., and what would be termed general or unproductive help.

26 (Commissioner WRIGHT). All the elements of building those cars taken under those contracts are included in your term of "shop cost?"—Ans. Yes, sir.

27 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How much of that shop cost was labor?—Ans. Well, that would depend upon the class of the cars that were built.

28 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Well, the very cars that you did build under those contracts which you accepted?—Ans. We built various kinds of cars. The difference in the percentages of both freight, passenger, and street cars all differ.

29 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What I wished to know was the total in the different contracts which could be chargeable to labor in that \$1,400,000 in round numbers?—Ans. The percentage of labor to material on passenger cars is about 25 per cent, and on freight cars it is about 12½; on street cars it is about 39. Of course the different grades of cars would make this vary; that is, on a high-grade passenger car the percentage of labor would be higher than on a cheaper grade of car, and so following through all classes of cars.

30 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Well, now, on those percentages on each contract for different classes of cars, can you not make a statement of the total of the labor involved in the \$1,400,000 in round numbers?—Ans. That, of course, could be separated. It is not given separately in that statement, but the various classes of cars are mentioned, so that it could be arrived at approximately in a few minutes.

31 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Would it be in the whole amount named an average of 20 per cent on the contracts which you actually worked under?—Ans. Would the labor be an average of 20 per cent?

32 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Yes.—Ans. Oh, yes; it would be considerably more than that. On passenger cars it is 25; on street cars 39, and on freight 12½.

33 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Of course the average will depend on the proportion of each kind to the whole?—Ans. Yes, sir; I should think it would be more than 20 per cent.

34 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Well, 25 or 30?—Ans. It could not be 30, because the highest is 39 and the average on passenger cars is 25. I should think it would probably be 21 or 22 per cent, but that is only a guess.

35 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Well, call it 22 per cent as an estimate.—Ans. Yes, sir.

36 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then the labor on the whole amount would be about \$240,000, would it not?—Ans. If that is about 22 per cent of the total amount, yes, sir.

37 (Commissioner WRIGHT). About \$280,000?—Ans. Yes, sir.

38 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The labor involved in the total amount of those contracts, amounting to \$1,400,000, in round numbers, would be in the vicinity of \$280,000?—Ans. Yes, sir.

39 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Now, those contracts were taken on a reduction in the wages at Pullman of in the vicinity of 20 per cent, as it has been stated?—Ans. Yes, sir; as stated. That is what our books show.

40 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The labor in these very contracts without the reduction of wages, then, would have been, instead of \$280,000, about \$340,000? That is about correct. I am just giving mental calculations. The company, as you testified yesterday, made a contribution toward securing those contracts of \$52,000 in round numbers?—Ans. Yes, sir.

41 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And that \$52,000, as you stated yesterday, did not include any charges for profits or interest or anything of that kind?—Ans. It did not.

42 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What would have been the contribution of the company had those charges been added to the \$52,000?—Ans. I really couldn't tell you what the percentage would be.

43 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Well, we can arrive at that, perhaps, if you are willing to state the ordinary profit on those cars under normal conditions.—Ans. The profit on cars depends entirely upon the competitive bids that are made. We go into the market in competition with other car builders; therefore, our bids must be made about on the same basis as theirs are, or we can not secure the work. There might be a profit of 2 per cent, 5 per cent, or 10 per cent, as the case may be. That is controlled by circumstances and general conditions.

44 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Well, leave it as it is. The proposition now is this: The company contributed \$52,000 in round numbers for the purpose of securing those accepted contracts. The wage earners at Pullman contributed about \$60,000 for the same purpose. That is about the statement?—Ans. It is impossible for me to make those mental calculations, Mr. Commissioner. I don't know whether the figures you state are right or not; I presume they are.

45 (Commissioner WRIGHT). We showed that had wages not been reduced they would have received about \$340,000 instead of \$280,000 in wages. That means loss to labor on those contracts of \$60,000?—Ans. Yes, sir.

46 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Therefore, labor contributed \$60,000 toward the securing of those contracts, while the company contributed \$52,000 in losses for the same purpose.

(No answer.)

47 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Now, Mr. Wickes, let me ask you a question of policy just in relation to these points that we have brought out. Taking it for granted that the amounts which we have just used are rough estimates instead of accurate calculations, would it not have been better for the Pullman Palace Car Company to have lost the \$60,000 plus the \$52,000 than to have allowed the strike to have occurred?—Ans. Possibly; but we could not anticipate the result of the strike. There was a principle involved there that the company felt in justice to itself it was bound to maintain; that was the control of its own business. When our workmen made the demand upon the company for a restoration of the wage scale to that of 1893 the company said that it could not accede to any such terms; that it could not go into the market in competition with other car builders and get any work at all unless it did its business on the same basis that they did, so far as wages were concerned.

48 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I understand the purely business aspect of the case, but I am trying to get at what would have been and what would be, under similar circumstances, a good policy, because this commission has to make some recommendations as well as to report the facts.—Ans. Yes, sir.

49 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And the point I wish to ask about is, if the policy of losing \$52,000 was a good one, would it not have been still a good policy to have lost the other \$60,000 in labor?—Ans. I do not think so. In the first place, if the company had allowed its employees to dictate upon what terms it should do its business, while the present loss would not have been very large or serious, the putting out of its own power the control of its business would have been a very serious matter for years to come.

50 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I am not speaking with particular reference to the strike itself, but as to the policy of a great manufacturing concern to make a few additional losses rather than to get its people into the condition which the trouble at Pullman did result in.—Ans. We were prepared to continue those losses if the men were willing to

continue at work. We thought we were treating our men the same as other people did theirs—at least as good as other people did—and we were paying as high wages as any other car builders; in fact, I believe we paid a little higher. The wages paid at Pullman are the same as are paid at Wilmington, where we have about 800 men; the same as paid at St. Louis and Ludlow. We have had no trouble at Wilmington. We have had no complaints from our men that they are unable to live upon the wages paid them there.

51 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But the point in my mind is practically this, that \$52,000 contribution on the one side and the \$60,000 on the other might not appear to be a fair division of contributions toward the losses.—Ans. Perhaps not; but the contribution on the part of the men was brought about by the general declination in wages throughout the country. There is not any good reason that we have been able to ascertain why the Pullman company should pay more for the same class of labor than anyone else. At any rate, we were paying higher wages than were paid in the immediate vicinity of Pullman at that time, and furnishing our people with more work.

52 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The reduction was the result of general conditions, as I understand you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

53 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And not from any desire to adjust the contributions as between the two parties to the contribution?—Ans. That is it, exactly.

54 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then that leads us to another branch of the subject. You paid 2 per cent quarterly dividends on your stock?—Ans. Yes, sir.

55 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That has not been impaired. That is 8 per cent per annum. There has been no loss, then, on account of the depression, to stockholders. It has appeared in the evidence of Mr. Pullman that there has been no loss to the managing elements of the company—the higher officers. There was a loss in the contracts of \$52,000 and a loss in wages to the men of \$60,000 in round numbers. Would it not have been a fair thing to have allowed the stockholders to have contributed something to this state of affairs, as a matter of good policy?—Ans. The manufacturing branch of the business is entirely separate from the sleeping-car business.

56 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And the dividends, am I to understand, are paid out of the operating side of your company?—Ans. The dividends are paid from the profits of both sides, of course, because the manufacturing department belongs to the same stockholders; but it is a separate and distinct branch of business. We build sleeping cars for the Pullman company at our construction works, and we repair the cars of that company, but we do a great deal of outside or contract work.

57 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And if there is a profit on that outside or contract work it is a part of the dividend paid to the stockholder?—Ans. Yes, sir.

58 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And if there is no profit, and a loss, upon that part of the construction business for outside parties, would it not be fair for the stockholders to lose a pro rata share of their dividends?—Ans. They do lose a pro rata share of their dividends when they make no profits on the work that is being done.

59 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But they get 8 per cent just the same?—Ans. They are getting 8 per cent because that is already earned. It is earned in another branch of the business that those men are not interested in at all.

60 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The recent dividend is something of the past. You do not know what the result will be of the present conditions?—Ans. I do not.

61 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I want to ask you relative to the owning of homes in Pullman. We understand the theory and the plan of the company very perfectly in this matter. Now, with your experience of the affairs at Pullman, do you not think it would have been a better policy to have allowed people to purchase homes and to become directly interested from an individual point of view in the prosperity of the place?—Ans. I do not think it would have been wise to have sold property in the immediate vicinity of the works indiscriminately; but, while a great deal of property was acquired around the present property owned by the Pullman Car Company proper, still other property was available within easy walking distance of the works, where men could purchase homes, and many of them have done so, I believe between 500 and 600, if I remember aright; that is, within walking distance, where the men can go home to their meals, that is, to lunch; and I think they make it in about forty-five minutes, or within the noon hour.

62 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But don't you think that if people to any extent owned their homes in Pullman, in the vicinity of the works, that there would have grown up a condition and a sentiment in the place which would have tended to an avoidance of the recent troubles?—Ans. I think if the country where the works are now situated had been more built up at the time the works were put there, and improvements on the property that would indicate the character of the people that were to live there, that suggestion would be a good one; but where a lot of wild land was taken up and large car works planted there within a short time that would probably employ 4,000 men, I do not think it would have been wise to have sold out those lots indiscriminately to such employees. They would have passed then out of our control altogether, and we could not regulate them.

63 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That is to say, if the company had no control over the houses, tenements, and business blocks of Pullman your idea is that evil tendencies would have come in—liquor saloons, brothels, and such things?—Ans. Naturally; like you will find in any Western town that springs up suddenly. Those men were carried to Pullman by train every day for several months, and hundreds of them, I believe, were lodged in cars there until houses were put up for them—boarding houses, etc., to take care of them while the town was being built.

64 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you suppose that the policy which the company has carried on relative to the exclusion of liquor saloons and disreputable places has prevented any of the citizens of Pullman from obtaining accommodations, everything that they would like in every direction?—Ans. No; because I believe in the surrounding country towns, particularly in Kensington—I don't know much about Roseland, having been there only once or twice—there are a number of saloons.

65 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then the policy has not prevented the results of liquor saloons, brothels, or disreputable places generally from appearing in Pullman?—Ans. I don't know anything about what may exist in Kensington, further than I understand that there are quite a large percentage of saloons, and I imagine that that is because there are none in Pullman. If there were some distributed through Pullman probably there would be less in Kensington, but as to the policy

in that direction, that is determined by the president and board of directors.

66 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The wages of a car-manufacturing concern, as I understand it, are distributed between two parties. The capitalist gets his wages in the shape of dividends and the mechanic gets his in the shape of earnings paid to him at stipulated prices and times?—Ans. Yes, sir.

67 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It has appeared in evidence that the company has done all it can to keep its standard of wages to each party intact. Now, was the cut recently made to avoid an encroachment upon the wages of capital, or as the result of general conditions over which the company had no control?—Ans. It was done as the result of the reduction in the selling price in cars in order to meet the competition of other car builders.

68 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It had no relation to the encroachment upon the surplus which you had?—Ans. Not that I am aware of, sir.

69 (Commissioner WRIGHT). That surplus, as testified to, is about \$25,000,000?—Ans. It is \$25,000,000; yes, sir.

70 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And if I remember correctly, that is an actuality and not a fiction in any sense?—Ans. Well, it is an actuality to this extent: Of course that surplus is invested in assets of the company, which include a lot of surplus cars, something, I believe, upward of 400, that are carried on our books at the cost price. That is what we call the book value. Those cars today, of course, are not worth anything like what they were years ago when they were built. There are some of them quite old, and they are necessary to the general conduct of our business, to handle large bodies of people, such as the Knights Templar, the Grand Army, or any large body of people. We sometimes have 500 or 600 cars extra centered at a certain point to handle these people. It is necessary in order to meet our contract obligations with the railroads.

71 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The earnings of an old car are just the same as the earnings of a new car?—Ans. Yes, sir; that is true, but the earnings of an old car are not very large. For example, when the Knights Templar held their triennial conclave in Denver, I recollect that out of 83 or 84 cars—old cars, what we call emergency cars—on the side track nearly all the time, we expended \$87,000 in repairs on the old cars, and I think they earned between \$300 and \$400 each that year. Now those cars are standing on the side track, deteriorating all the time. There is very little difference in the repairs of a car standing on the side track and running on the railroad, with the exception of what is known as the running repairs; that is, the wheelage and repairs to running gear. The body of the car outside, externally, deteriorates as fast, and sometimes more rapidly than one that is in service from the action of the elements.

72 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How many cars does the Pullman company operate, including palace and sleeping cars?—Ans. It has got about 2,600.

73 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And they are all borne upon the assets of the company at their cost, without reference to their present condition, are they?—Ans. Yes, sir.

74 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And in that way there are some elements of fiction in the surplus which you carry?—Ans. To some extent; yes, sir.

75 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Does that apply in any other direction, that deterioration?—Ans. Yes; the deterioration in our plant is usually written down, I believe—that is, reduced—but it applies to our manufacturing and repair plants as well as to our rolling stock.

76 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is that a part of the capital or in addition to the capital? Is the capital involved in this surplus?—Ans. These, together with the franchises, constitute the property which is represented by the capital and surplus.

77 (Commissioner WRIGHT). So you don't want to add \$25,000,000 to \$36,000,000 as the property of the company, do you?—Ans. Yes, sir; \$25,000,000 surplus. The capital is \$36,000,000, and the property of the company would represent the capital and the surplus.

78 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You consider your stock a liability and the surplus assets?—Ans. Yes, sir.

79 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The effects of the World's Fair have been touched upon in this hearing. Will you kindly give the commission your views of the results of the World's Fair as to the present condition of business, especially in your own line and railroad companies?—Ans. So far as relates to the Pullman company? I don't know that I could express any opinion that would be of value relating to the railroad companies.

80 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Then confine it to your own company.—Ans. So far as the Pullman company is concerned I don't think the World's Fair was of any benefit to it. I think the large expenditure of money incurred in building upward of 300 cars at a cost of probably four millions and a half, has not been a very good investment. In the first place, as we all know, the attendance at the World's Fair was much smaller than was expected up to the middle of August. We had extra cars lying at Pullman up to that time that we had no use for. We expected, commencing about the 1st of May, that all our rolling stock would be in requisition, that is, would be required. Instead of that it was not required until the middle of August. So for two months and a half we had quite a large business, and about as much as we could handle with our cars. It was necessary, however, for the company to incur the expense of building those cars in order to meet the requirements of this travel, but, as I have already explained, there are some 400 cars lying on the side tracks as the result of that, where we only should have probably about 150.

81 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Well, in your opinion are the effects of the World's Fair to any extent a cause of the recent strike at Pullman?—Ans. It had its influence, I think, for this reason, that the Pullman men were making very large wages when they were working on the World's Fair cars. These men made overtime as much as they wanted; that is, they could work as long as they saw fit. The company was desirous of turning out as many cars as it could within a given time, and the men were allowed to work overtime, and as much, I think, as they wanted to. At any rate, I know that on occasions when we wanted them to work some of them have declined; that is, I suppose, they were fatigued; wanted some rest. Under those conditions our men made very large wages. After the World's Fair was over, and when the depression of business came, I suppose the men found it very difficult to adjust themselves to the depressed conditions.

82 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has the company ever of its own motion increased wages along general lines?—Ans. Well, so far as our shop men are concerned it has adjusted wages from time to time. I presume there have been some increases. As far as our other men are concerned, it has increased wages of our men throughout the country in various employment voluntarily. I have done it myself many times.

83 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has that extended to any class of employees like those who work on freight cars, or in repair shops gen-

erally, or only in individual cases?—Ans. Our freight work is all contract work. The Pullman company owns no freight cars, excepting probably 20 or so that we use around our works. It does all contract work, and most of that work, I believe, is done by the piece, and I think it has been, generally, for some years. Such is my understanding.

84 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you not think that employers of labor, those who have large numbers under their employment, could avoid—I am speaking of productive industries, not railroads—could avoid labor troubles, especially in relation to wages, if when times were prosperous they did of their own accord give some increase in general in the wages of their men?—Ans. Practically, the Pullman company has done that in the manner I spoke of a short time ago.

85 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Yes, but that was not a general rise.—Ans. The rate of wages is usually governed by the law of supply and demand. We go into the market for men, just as we go into the market for anything else, and the Pullman company as car manufactures would be expected to pay the market price for labor, the same as any other manufacturer.

86 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, supply and demand, you know, Mr. Wickes, are very often entirely controlled by advertising.—Ans. Sometimes.

87 (Commissioner KERNAN). A demand would be created which did not exist. Couldn't car manufacturers, large employers of labor, secure a general raise by voluntary action at times without waiting for a demand from other people?—Ans. If all the manufacturers in the same line of business in the country would agree to charge a certain price for its product, then I think we could raise the price of labor.

88 (Commissioner KERNAN). There would be no objection to raising the price of labor then?—Ans. None whatever. I like to see the men making good wages.

89 (Commissioner WRIGHT). I didn't have reference to any such general movement, of course, because it would be futile; but I had more particular reference to individual cases where a concern was prosperous. Take, for instance, a large manufacturing concern, which this year is making money, making a much larger profit than ever before, and yet does it not, as a rule, keep silent until such times as business is depressed and profits are smaller, then reduce wages as the margin decreases?—Ans. You are speaking now, Mr. Commissioner, exceptionally.

90 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Yes.—Ans. A manufacturer who, by reason of improved machinery, of special facilities, or greater ability in securing supplies or disposing of product, or by more effective handling of men, should be making larger profits than his competitors, should he increase wages would deprive himself of all the benefits of these advantages which are his, and to which his employees do not contribute, and would make no more than the manufacturer who conducted his business in a shiftless manner, or without ability, energy, or enterprise. We are willing to pay our mechanics the price of their expert skill. Should not the Pullman company be benefited by the investment that it puts into exceptional facilities for producing these cars and by its business management? Were it otherwise the able business man would always be on a par with the poor fellow who probably ran things in a slipshod manner.

91 (Commissioner WRIGHT). As a general proposition; but the point I wish to get evidence upon is this: Would not the company secure more faithful work, a cheaper product, more careful attention to waste



and all that, by taking some such voluntary action, and thereby not impairing its profits on the whole while it did give to the men, voluntarily, a larger share in the increased profits of the concern?—Ans. I hardly think that that principle would be a good one, Mr. Commissioner. I think it would have a tendency to make men less independent than they are now. It does not occur to me that the mechanics who have been working for the Pullman company for several years, and who are among the best in this country (or any other country, as far as that goes), would want to be put on an exceptionally favorable basis. They would want to get there themselves, by their own efforts.

92 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If the principle involved in my question is not a good one, as you say, may I ask if the present principle is a good one? Does it work well?—Ans. I think it has worked very well until about last May; yes, sir. For the last twenty-six years I have been in very close touch, personally, with labor men—that is, mechanics and others on railroads—and at one time I gave especial attention to our shops in St. Louis, where I was located for about seventeen years, and probably knew most of the men personally, there. I got around amongst the workmen a great deal, and I had good opportunities for observing them.

When we purchased our Wilmington plant I had charge of that indirectly as general superintendent of the company. I spent a great deal of time there. That plant is operated by our operating department separate and distinct from the manufacturing department. There has never been the slightest trouble there. We have had an exceptionally good lot of men there always. We have tried to treat them properly, and we believe we have. At any rate they showed no dissatisfaction last May when the men at Pullman went out, none whatever. And I think that if our men had been left free from outside influences there would have been no trouble. While, no doubt, there were abuses that might exist in a large shop like Pullman, if they had been brought to the attention of the officers of the company they would have been remedied; and, as I explained yesterday, we were proceeding to do it at the time the men went out; it is not the policy of the company to abuse its men. It is not the policy of the company to work any hardship upon them, but, I presume, among the large number of men we have we have a good many so-called bosses, subordinate bosses, some of whom may be a little arbitrary in their dealings with the men. When such a thing is reported it is investigated. If it was found to be the case it was corrected; and, I believe, that if the men had remained at work and allowed that investigation to proceed there would not have been any serious trouble. And I don't think the trouble originated among our best men, those men who had been in the employ of the company the longest time.

93 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you proposing at that time, as the result of the investigation, to give the men who made complaints practically the statements as to contracts, losses, wages, etc., which you have furnished this commission?—Ans. The statement which we have furnished this commission would have been the figures shown the men—that is, it would have been with reference to the contract work that they were interested in.

94 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And your belief is that had they received those statements there would have been no strike?—Ans. If they had acted deliberately, as we expected they would after that interview, I don't think the men would have gone out. I know on that afternoon of the second interview with the committee, at least I felt, that the

men were fairly well satisfied with the explanation that the company made, as far as it had gone, and I know that they were advised by the vice-president of the American Railway Union not to strike. That gentleman was present during both interviews I had with that committee. I have known him for a good many years, and we had no objection to his being present. He did not represent the men.

We treat with our men in their individual capacity. As a matter of fact, I did not know the chairman of the committee until nearly the time it adjourned the first day; I did not know his name; I did not know the man's name who was talking with me. Mr. Howard sat there, and after the second meeting of this committee he asked me if the men would be affected in any way by their serving on the committee, and I said, "No." I intended to see that was carried out, and it would have been rectified if I had known it.

95 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Mr. Wickes, what is the amount of back rent now due the company on account of the striking of employees?—Ans. I really could not give you that information, but I should think it was in the neighborhood of \$100,000.

96 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What has been the effort of the company to collect that back rent?—Ans. I don't think there has been very much effort made since the strike.

97 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Has there been any eviction list prepared by the company?—Ans. An eviction list?

98 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Yes, sir.—Ans. No, sir.

99 (Commissioner WRIGHT). No orders for eviction?—Ans. There have been no orders for eviction.

100 (Commissioner KERNAN). I notice in the statement you submit that it is said "That the principal business of the company is the operation of its sleeping-car service, which covers about 125,000 miles of railway, being about three-fourths of the railway system of the country." Now, as to that three-fourths of the railway system of the country, has the company contracts with that mileage which give it control of the furnishing of sleeping cars to the extent that they are needed?—Ans. About that, I think, yes, sir; approximately that.

101 (Commissioner KERNAN). And upon that mileage of the country the roads under the contracts with them are not at liberty to use other cars?—Ans. They are at liberty to use other cars in connection with the Pullman cars in forming through lines over various railroads.

102 (Commissioner KERNAN). I mean other sleeping cars?—Ans. Yes, sir; other sleeping cars. In other words, we run from Chicago to the Pacific coast in connection with the Wagner company. It has a contract with the Northwestern. We have a contract with the Union Pacific, and each company furnishes its pro rata of cars. We have done the same with the Milwaukee and St. Paul, which owns its own sleeping cars running in connection with the Northern Pacific. The St. Paul furnishes the cars required to represent the mileage east of St. Paul, and we west of there.

103 (Commissioner KERNAN). I mean as to the mileage that is secured to you under these contracts; there your cars are a monopoly?—Ans. Yes, sir; on the territory covered by the contract.

104 (Commissioner KERNAN). Under the contract?—Ans. Yes, sir.

105 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you got one of those car leases?—Ans. I have not one with me, but I think our president yesterday promised to submit one.

106 (Commissioner KERNAN). He did, and I did not know whether you had it or not.—Ans. No, sir.

107 (Commissioner KERNAN). I think they have been published, have they not, in the papers?—Ans. The contract with the Illinois Central was published.

108 (Commissioner KERNAN). We would like that, of course, and I presume it will be furnished. Now, what is the rest of the mileage of the railways of the country which operate sleeping cars and parlor cars?—Ans. Upward of 40,000 miles. It states there it is three-quarters of the railway system of the country.

109 (Commissioner KERNAN). That don't necessarily imply that sleeping cars are used upon the other quarter?—Ans. The Wagner Palace Car Company furnishes cars to the so-called Vanderbilt lines, that is, the New York Central, Michigan Central, Lake Shore, Hoosac Tunnel, and down through that section of the country, and the Wabash lines east of St. Louis; the Pullman cars are on the Wabash lines west of St. Louis, and the Wagner on the Northwestern.

110 (Commissioner KERNAN). What I wanted to know was whether upon the other quarter of the railway system of the country sleeping cars were used as a rule?—Ans. I should judge so. Yes, sir.

111 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you think that it has now become so that the entire railway system of the country uses them?—Ans. Not the entire railway system of the country, for the reason that there are short lines upon which sleeping cars are not required, but on all the important lines, through lines, and lines between cities of fair size, sleeping cars are pretty generally used.

112 (Commissioner KERNAN). About what proportion of the other quarter use sleeping cars?—Ans. I could not tell you, sir.

113 (Commissioner KERNAN). Who are your competitors in car building?—Ans. There are quite a number of them.

114 (Commissioner KERNAN). Take the Wagner company. Is that a competitor?—Ans. Well, that is in the sleeping and parlor car business, not in the car building; they don't build cars for other people, I think.

115 (Commissioner KERNAN). They don't build cars?—Ans. Not many, at any rate; that is, they don't go into the contract business, as a business.

116 (Commissioner KERNAN). And they are your only competitors in furnishing the railway system of the country with their own cars?—Ans. Yes, sir; the same class of cars.

117 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, what other competitors have you?—Ans. In car construction contracts?

118 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes, sir.—Ans. There are quite a number.

119 (Commissioner KERNAN). What other competitors have you in the first place, before going into that, except the Wagner, in furnishing sleepers?—Ans. Any of these contract shops can build sleeping cars.

120 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are there any of them of any account that furnish them?—Ans. Yes, sir; Barney & Smith have a plant in Dayton, Ohio. They build a large number of sleeping cars; built a great many for this company years ago before we had our shops.

121 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are they run under mileage agreement, or are they sold?—Ans. They are built by the contract shops, and sold to the parties they are built for.

122 (Commissioner KERNAN). These you speak of—are they sold to the railroads who use them, or are they let under this contract for mileage?—Ans. They are sold.

123 (Commissioner KERNAN). And about what is their production compared with yours?—Ans. In sleeping cars?

124 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes, sir.—Ans. I really could not say, but I believe that Barney & Smith, of Daytou, have built nearly all, at any rate the majority, of the sleeping cars used by the Canadian Pacific. They have built some for the Wagner company; they have built them for the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, and, I believe, for the Great Northern.

125 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, what other competitor have you?—Ans. Excuse me; they have built them for the Southern Pacific years ago, and we purchased an interest in a lot of cars built by Barney & Smith in 1883, when we extended our service over the Southern Pacific lines.

126 (Commissioner KERNAN). What other competitors have you besides them?—Ans. In building sleeping cars?

127 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes, sir.—Ans. Jackson & Sharp, of Wilmington, Del.; Hollingsworth, of the same place; the Ohio Falls, Jeffersonville, Ind., and the Wasson company, I believe, of Massachusetts. That is about all I can think of just now.

128 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the capacity of all of these concerns as compared with yours?—Ans. I could not tell; I have not the slightest idea.

129 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, could you tell about what proportion your concern has manufactured, say during the last five years, of the cars?—Ans. Sleeping cars?

130 (Commissioner KERNAN). Sleeping cars, yes, sir, I am speaking of now.—Ans. Well, I am not in a position to know the number of cars that are built by our competitors, or when they build them.

131 (Commissioner KERNAN). I did not know but what, knowing the works, you might be able to give me the capacity as compared with yours.—Ans. No, sir; I can not.

132 (Commissioner KERNAN). In making up the shop cost have you got, in each of these cases that you have given here, the figures in detail from which this sheet is made?—Ans. No, sir; those figures are the results of the details that are made up in our accountant's office.

133 (Commissioner KERNAN). I was asking whether you had those details?—Ans. We have, of course, the details from which the report is made.

134 (Commissioner KERNAN). So you could give us as to each of these contracts, which were either taken, or rejected, or lost, the details from which this sheet was made?—Ans. Yes, sir.

135 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that would show us how the shop cost was ascertained as to each detail of material and labor involved?—Ans. Yes, sir.

136 (Commissioner KERNAN). Could you furnish them in say half a dozen instances that we might select here for the purpose of showing just how you get at the details?—Ans. Yes, sir; if you will make a memorandum of the instances.

137 (Commissioner KERNAN). I will just call your attention here to some of the different kinds. On September 21 I see forty provision cars for the Provision Dealers' Dispatch. Take that as one instance.—Ans. I will do so.

138 (Commissioner KERNAN). September 21 forty provision cars for the Provision Dealers' Dispatch.—Ans. Yes, sir.

139 (Commissioner KERNAN). November 20, two hundred and fifty refrigerators for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe?—Ans. Yes, sir.

140 (Commissioner KERNAN). February 20, one hundred elevated for the Metropolitan "L"?—Ans. Yes, sir.

141 (Commissioner KERNAN). April 12, fifty closed street cars for the Milwaukee Street Railway?—Yes, sir.

142 (Commissioner KERNAN). April 30, one hundred provision for Armour & Co.?—Ans. Yes, sir.

143 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that fifty-five?—Ans. Fifty-five Long Island.

144 (Commissioner KERNAN). If you will kindly furnish us the details of those, so we can see how you arrive at the shop cost, we will be obliged to you (a). Now, after having made these estimates based upon a reduction of wages, such as you have mentioned, were the wages paid in their manufacture that had been estimated upon?—Ans. Yes, sir; the estimates were based on the scale of wages in existence at that time.

145 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have stated that; but what I wanted to know was whether the wages that had been estimated were paid in the construction?—Ans. To the best of my knowledge they were.

146 (Commissioner KERNAN). There has been some testimony about a number of successive cuts?—Ans. Yes, sir.

147 (Commissioner KERNAN). And what I wanted to direct your attention to was whether, after having taken a contract at an estimated basis of wages, a cut was made in the wages during the construction of such cars.—Ans. I know of no such instance. The only cut that was made that I know anything about was last November. I was present at the shops myself and took part in it. The general manager and myself and the manager of the works and the foreman of every department discussed the subject, and the day scale was agreed upon at that time. I know of no cut since that. There might have been an adjustment of piecework prices since that. That is, if the price allowed for piecework was too high, it naturally would be lowered, and for the same reason if it was too low, it should have been raised.

148 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you add to these additional details you were going to give us any adjustment in the way you speak of which resulted in a change in the construction of those cars in the wages paid?—Ans. That is, in the piece work prices?

149 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes, sir.—Ans. Why, that could hardly be determined. A contract is made or a price set upon a certain amount of work to be done. That is agreed upon there. A man must produce so much; that is, if he was making equalizers, we will say, and they cost 30 cents apiece, and he is getting 30 cents an hour, he should make ten equalizers a day on that basis. I could not give you the details of it.

150 (Commissioner KERNAN). It has been claimed here that you not only cut the wages in the way you have suggested, but that subsequently during the course of construction of cars, by a readjustment of the prices paid for piecework, a further substantial reduction was made in the cost.—Ans. I know of no such instance, but there are always two parties to a contract in piecework; one party is the workmen themselves, and the other is the foreman, or whoever is in charge. It is a contract made between our company and the workmen.

151 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you mean that the foreman was in a position where he might have himself, by a readjustment of piece prices, reduced the cost of these cars?—Ans. Possibly.

152 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, is his action in that respect taken of his own motion and without consultation directly with the officers?—Ans. The foreman of a shop is supposed to be competent to fix the piecework prices; to make all piecework prices.

153 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, now, is it not possible under a system permitting him to do that, that his arbitrary action might result in some injustice being done?—Ans. There is a possibility of that; yes, sir; that is one of the matters that would have been investigated.

154 (Commissioner KERNAN). That was one of the matters complained of, was it not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

155 (Commissioner KERNAN). You did not carry your investigations to the point of ascertaining what proof there was in that because the strike came?—Ans. We were not allowed to.

156 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you since then?—Ans. No, sir.

157 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why not since then, having been advised that there was that abuse; why since that has not the investigation gone on to ascertain it?—Ans. There was no work going on at all in our shops since this strike. We have been very busily engaged in other matters. These men went out on the 11th of May and severed their connection with the company; therefore there was no further investigation as far as they were concerned, but with the men now in the works these matters will be now adjusted.

158 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, in these cases I have spoken of, could you give me in that table the actual cost of the contracts?—Ans. Those will be based upon the actual cost.

159 (Commissioner KERNAN). I understand you to say these figures were based on the estimated cost.—Ans. That is, on cars not built by us. Those cars represented in red ink are those upon which we bid and did not build. The cars in black ink are those we built. Therefore we know the actual cost.

160 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then the shop cost you have given here in the cases where you got the contracts are the actual costs?—Ans. Yes, sir.

161 (Commissioner KERNAN). Prior to May, 1893, your concern was fully active, pressed with orders which needed to be filled as soon as possible, employing about the maximum number of help and paying about the maximum rate of wages that had occurred in your history?—Ans. Yes, sir.

162 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you attribute this difficulty to the fact that the depression called for a cutting down of those rates?—Ans. Yes, sir.

163 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that that cutting down imposed upon men who had been accustomed to living at better rates hardships in reducing their expenses?—Ans. Yes, sir.

164 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, inasmuch as those conditions suggested the necessity or forced the necessity, as you choose to put it, of a reduction in wages, why was it not equitable that it should cause some reduction in rents charged?—Ans. We never regarded that there was any connection at all between the renting of houses and the employment of workmen in the shops. As shown by that statement, there are less than one-third of the workmen in the shops tenants of the company. Now, whatever bearing the rent question may have, it could only affect less than one-third of the men employed. The Pullman company does not rent the houses outside of the town of Pullman. Therefore, on the theory of the men, only those who were tenants of the Pullman company have any right to complain on the subject of rents. Still, it is a general complaint.

165 (Commissioner KERNAN). Very well. Assuming that to be so; now, as to the one-third, please answer my question.—Ans. That there should have been a reduction in rents?

166 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why would it not have been equitable that the same consideration should have operated to make some reduction in rents?—Ans. The people outside did not make any reduction in rents, as far as we are advised, to our men.

167 (Commissioner KERNAN). But the evidence is that the rents are lower outside; about 20 or 25 per cent.—Ans. Very properly, too; because the houses are not nearly as good.

168 (Commissioner KERNAN). But the rents are lower as a matter of fact?—Ans. Our men had the privilege of moving somewhere else if they were not satisfied living in Pullman and paying the rent of these houses. There is certainly an advantage aside from the superior character of the houses; there is certainly an advantage in men living close to their work. Some of the men employed at the works of necessity take the train back and forth. That is expensive to them. Others walk some long distance. That takes time. Men living in our houses, therefore, have the advantage of being close to their work, to go home to their meals anyhow, and it is a saving of expense.

169 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, these advantages operate in favor of the company to some extent in compelling a large portion of the men to live at Pullman. Now, inasmuch as that was so, why was it not equitable that the general depression should be regarded in the matter of rents as requiring or suggesting some reduction?—Ans. If the rents had been advanced during the good times, probably it might be so, but they were not.

170 (Commissioner KERNAN). The rents during the good times were fixed at good-time rates, were they not?—Ans. They were fixed, I believe, as soon as the town was built.

171 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, now, isn't it fair to assume that they were fixed on the basis of the good-time rates that were going at the time they were fixed?—Ans. Well, they were fixed on, I believe, the basis of the investment; that is my information; but since that time improvements have been made to the town which have added to the cost of them and improved the general condition of things there, the surroundings and everything else, and still there has been no advance in the rent. We all know that living in a city, if you live on a street that is of a superior kind, superior class of houses, improvements, surroundings, etc., you have to pay a higher rent. Your house may be no better than the one on the next street or three or four blocks away.

172 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assuming all that to be so, the town was fully completed and everything was in working order, say, during the year 1893 and 1892?—Ans. It is not completed yet.

173 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, it was completed then as much as it has been at any time?—Ans. Oh, yes; certainly.

174 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the rents then fixed were fixed upon a business basis, were they not, by the corporation as a fair rental of the property at that time and under those conditions?—Ans. Last year?

175 (Commissioner KERNAN). 1892, 1893, and 1891.—Ans. I don't think the rents have been adjusted for some years. I have not heard of it.

176 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, they were either adjusted, or else the rents that had existed were accepted as fair rents for those conditions?—Ans. Yes, sir.

177 (Commissioner KERNAN). Those rents were not based on panic conditions?—Ans. They were not.

178 (Commissioner KERNAN). When a panic came why shouldn't the

rents be adjusted to a panic condition?—Ans. Because we do not consider there is any relation between the town and the shops.

179 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you think the Pullman company can quite occupy that position, inasmuch as all of its revenue goes into one fund for the payment of dividends; that it can quite treat this question as though each part of its business was a separate and distinct one?—Ans. I think, Mr. Commissioner, that the position you take would be correct if the Pullman company required its men to live in its houses.

180 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, you have stated some reasons which operate to compel them to live there.—Ans. It being desirable.

181 (Commissioner KERNAN). And that operates in your favor?—Ans. There is no compulsion.

182 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, it has been said in reference to that before us, that in case of slack work the tenants of the Pullman houses get the first chance, and those owning homes outside get the second chance, and those renting outside get the third chance for work. Now, isn't that quite business like and natural, and isn't that the rule?—Ans. I don't think that that rule prevails; it certainly does not to my knowledge.

183 (Commissioner KERNAN). What excuse would you have, as a business man, for not putting that rule into operation?—Ans. Well, probably if I consulted my own interests I might put it in operation, but if I consulted the company's interests I should not. I should retain the best workmen. I would not care where they lived.

184 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you think that has been the policy and that this evidence is incorrect?—Ans. I think the best workmen, sir, are among those who own their homes; I think so; that is my information; therefore they have been pretty steadily employed. They have bought their homes from the wages they have got from the Pullman company.

185 (Commissioner KERNAN). It has been stated here by all of the witnesses who came from Pullman at the suggestion of the company that the company made all of its repairs, and that there was no agreement between the tenant and the company that the company might take the rent out of the wages. How do you explain that, in view of the fact that under the terms of this written lease the tenant binds himself to pay all repairs, and he further agrees that if the company make any repairs to any part of the premises that it can be added to his rent, and in the third place that he expressly agrees that his rent may be deducted monthly from his wages and authorizes the company to do so? How could that misunderstanding have arisen under the terms of that lease?—Ans. I have never read one of those leases; but I should imagine they are like other leases that I have read and signed. Don't the repairs referred to in that lease cover anything except ordinary wear and tear? If the tenant should damage the building in any way he would be expected to repair it; but I know of my own knowledge that the company keeps those houses in repair, because I have approved the bills for it.

186 (Commissioner KERNAN). No. The term usually in leases is that a party shall return the premises in good condition and repair, ordinary wear and tear excepted?—Ans. Yes.

187 (Commissioner KERNAN). In these leases the tenant agrees that he receives the premises in good condition and repair; that he shall keep them in that condition during the term of the lease, and surrender them in good repair to the party of the first part. The words "ordinary wear



and tear" are not in this lease, as usual.—Ans. As I remarked a little while ago, I have never read the lease, but I would venture to say that that clause in the lease has never been operative. I do not believe that any of our people have been required to repair their premises unless they damaged them.

188 (Commissioner KERNAN). As a matter of fact, under that lease any tenant who has signed it has been in the legal position those terms imply?—Ans. Yes.

189 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you think, as a matter of fact, that the company has made the ordinary repairs and has not sought to enforce these conditions of the lease?—Ans. I have never heard of its doing so, and we have kept a large corps of men on the ground making repairs. Does that refer to the inside or outside of the houses, Mr. Commissioner?

190 (Commissioner KERNAN). That in case "the party of the first part shall advance or expend any money to put or keep the said demised premises or any part thereof or any of the aforesaid appurtenances thereto in a clean and healthy condition as hereinbefore specified, or in repair of said premises or any part thereof, then and in such case the sum or sums of money so advanced or expended shall be taken and deemed to be so much additional rent for the said demised premises, due and payable to the party of the first part when the next instalment of rent falls due after any such advance or payment." I do not see any exception to any kind of repair, inside or outside. There is a further provision above that he agrees to do that.—Ans. It certainly has never been enforced to my knowledge.

191 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you not regard that lease conditioned in those terms as more arbitrary and binding upon a tenant, and compelling him to do that which really ought to be done by the Pullman company?—Ans. I really don't know the difference between that and an ordinary lease. It is some years since I signed a lease myself, but I do not remember that clause in any lease that I did sign. I think I should not have agreed to it if it had been my case.

192 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, hasn't it been your experience that a long lease of this kind with conditions of that sort interwoven through it is very apt to be signed without much examination by employees?—Ans. Possibly. But the clause, as I remarked before, has never been enforced, I think. I don't know of any of our men being required to keep the company's property in repair.

193 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you think men ought to be compelled to sign leases agreeing to do so?—Ans. I don't know that they are compelled to sign them. I don't know anything about the lease of my own knowledge, and I am not prepared to testify about it.

194 (Commissioner KERNAN). It has been handed to us by Mr. Pullman as the lease in force.—Ans. I don't know that it is our lease.

195 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assuming that it is, don't you think those terms are rather harsher than tenants ought to be required to sign?—Ans. I don't think tenants should be required to keep the houses in repair.

196 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think that they ought not to be compelled to do it? Ought they to be compelled to sign an agreement to do it?—Ans. I am not prepared to offer any opinion on that.

197 (Commissioner KERNAN). The revision of piecework prices and the reductions made were made upon a discussion between yourself and the foremen and superintendents?—Ans. Myself, the general manager, the manager of the works, and all our people interested down there, including the foreman of each department.

198 (Commissioner KERNAN). By all your people interested down there you do not mean the employees affected?—Ans. No; I mean the management—the management of the works.

199 (Commissioner KERNAN). I presume it never is usual to make those reductions or changes upon any consultation with the employees themselves?—Ans. The foremen were instructed to explain the conditions to the employees in their respective departments.

200 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, it was after the change had been determined upon?—Ans. After it had been determined upon. The Pullman company officials decided what they could afford to pay in comparison with the wages of other shops.

201 (Commissioner KERNAN). As a business proposition, they determine what they would pay and then advise the men of it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

202 (Commissioner KERNAN). In all attempts by anybody to discuss with you the advisability of adjusting these matters, you took the position that the company had nothing to arbitrate, did you not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

203 (Commissioner KERNAN). And your reason, as I understand, for that is that the position of an employer is such as to make him the sole judge of what he can pay his help?—Ans. What he can afford to pay; yes, sir.

204 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you do not recognize that there are any conditions under which an arbitration of those questions can consistently, with principle, be made by an employer?—Ans. Not with the question of wages; no, sir.

205 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you recognize that there are any other questions connected with the employment which can be so arbitrated by the principal, consistent with his position?—Ans. Yes; I think that if a contract was made between employer and employee, and there is a difference of opinion as to the construction of that contract, it would be a proper subject for arbitration.

206 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, because it is a proper subject for the courts?—Ans. Yes, sir.

207 (Commissioner KERNAN). And in other words, any question which is a proper question for the courts is a proper question for arbitration, you think?—Ans. A difference of opinion.

208 (Commissioner KERNAN). Beyond that you don't think the principle of arbitration applies?—Ans. So far as the wages are concerned, no. The Pullman company, as any other company, must be governed by the market price at which it is able to sell its product. And they can not afford to pay any higher wages than any other company in the same line of business. If it was compelled to pay a higher rate of wages it could not go into the market in competition with any other car shop for work. It would be impossible for it to do it.

209 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, don't you think that the growing concentration of capital in large corporations has tended to make the rule that the laborer must depend upon the operation of the law of demand and supply, one which can be used for the purpose by the corporation, because of its power, for his abuse?—Ans. Well, I hardly think it has got to that extent as far as the Pullman company is concerned. A great many car builders are not large corporations—that is, other car builders in competition—and that rule would not apply that you speak of. These car builders would go into competition with the Pullman company for building cars for a railroad, and would either raise or reduce wages as they saw fit, entirely independent of

us. If you can control that thing everywhere probably arbitration might be practicable.

210 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, you have eliminated that element to a large extent, have you not? I mean, it has been eliminated to a large extent by the concentration of car building in a few hands, comparatively.—Ans. It is not concentrated in a few hands.

211 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have not mentioned over half a dozen or a dozen that are engaged in the business.—Ans. But there are many small ones that I have not mentioned in various parts of the country. There is one at St. Charles that I have thought of since. Then there is the Madison Car Works, near St. Louis, and then there are car works in Huntington, W. Va.; there are some in Hegewisch, near Pullman, and some down South. There are various car works, lots of them. There are some at York, Pa. It is not possible for me to say offhand how many car shops there are in the country. But the larger ones—that is, those that come in competition with us more frequently—are those that I mentioned first.

212 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think that the tendency, as I said, of the concentration of capital in large corporations has a tendency to make the strict application of the rule of supply and demand somewhat unjust and harsh upon the laborer?—Ans. No; I do not see that it does. I should sell my labor for the highest price I could get for it if I were a mechanic. I think every man has the same right.

213 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then you don't think that the concentration of capital has a tendency towards making the law of supply and demand as to the laborer one that operates harshly upon him?—Ans. I don't think it operates harshly; no, sir.

214 (Commissioner KERNAN). Let me carry it one step farther. Assuming that all the car manufacturing concerns of the country should consolidate into one, would you then say that the laborer would be amply protected by the law of supply and demand, and as long as you could hire a man cheaper than he had nothing more to say?—Ans. It might work harshly in that case, but then he would have to seek some other line of business if he was not satisfied with it.

215 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assuming that in other lines of business the same policy obtains?—Ans. I don't think that would be probable. I don't think all the car shops in the country would ever come under one management.

216 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have succeeded in a few years in getting three-fourths of the mileage, have you not?—Ans. Well, that is in the operation of the cars.

217 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why can't that succeed in any other direction?—Ans. There must be some good reason for that or we would not have got it. It is generally conceded, I think, that railways are managed by pretty able men, as able as any, and unless they thought it was to the advantage of their company to make a contract with the Pullman company I don't think they would have done it.

218 (Commissioner KERNAN). I do not question that. I assume that the reason you got control of the mileage was because you made the best cars?—Ans. There was a large field open for someone else to go into the same line of business, but they did not do it.

219 (Commissioner KERNAN). Isn't it a field which it is difficult now to enter, in view of the fact that so much capital has been concentrated in a few hands in that direction?—Ans. There is plenty of capital in the country, I believe, Mr. Commissioner, that could go into any line of business if an opening was found for the investment. Contracts with

the different sleeping-car companies are expiring from time to time, and there is an open field for others if they can compete.

220 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think you have a great advantage in that field over any new capital that could enter?—Ans. I think we have an advantage, and I think justly so.

221 (Commissioner KERNAN). I am not questioning that; I only want the facts.—Ans. Yes, sir; it is a business that has been fostered from a very small beginning. Years ago I personally had charge of the operation of cars along to the end of new roads as they were constructed in this Western country connecting with stage lines. If it had not been for that the development would not have been as great as it is today.

222 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has the company had any policy with reference to labor unions among its help?—Ans. No; we have never objected to unions except in one instance. I presume that there are quite a number of unions in our shops now.

223 (Commissioner KERNAN). What are they?—Ans. I couldn't tell you, but I have heard of some of them. I suppose the cabinetmakers have a union, and I suppose the car builders have a union, and the carvers and the painters and other classes of men. We do not inquire into that at all.

224 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, unions among themselves in the works?—Ans. Members of the craft, belonging to other unions; that is, the cabinet union might have its headquarters in Chicago and our men would be members of it; but we did not object to anything of that kind.

225 (Commissioner KERNAN). The only objection you ever made was to the American Railway Union, wasn't it?—Ans. Yes, sir.

226 (Commissioner KERNAN). What is the basis of your objection to that union?—Ans. Our objection to that was that we would not treat with our men as members of the American Railway Union, and we would not treat with them as members of any union. We treat with them as individuals and as men.

227 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is, each man as an individual, do you mean that?—Ans. Yes, sir.

228 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think, Mr. Wickes, that would give the corporation a very great advantage over those men if it could take them up one at a time and discuss the question with him. With the ability that you have got, for instance, where do you think the man would stand in such a discussion?—Ans. The man has got probably more ability than I have.

229 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think that it would be fair to your men for each one of them to come before you and take up the question of his grievances and attempt to maintain his end of the discussion, do you?—Ans. I think so; yes. If he is not able to do that that is his misfortune.

230 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think that the fact that you represent a vast concentration of capital, and are selected for that because of your ability to represent it, entitles him if he pleases to unite with all of the men of his craft and select the ablest one they have got to represent the cause?—Ans. As a union?

231 (Commissioner KERNAN). As a union.—Ans. They have the right; yes, sir. We have the right to say whether we will receive them or not.

232 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you think you have any right to refuse to recognize that right in treating with the men?—Ans. Yes, sir; if we chose to.

233 (Commissioner KERNAN). If you chose to. Is it your policy to do that?—Ans. Yes, sir.

234 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then you think that you have the right to refuse to recognize a union of the men designed for the purpose of presenting, through the ablest of their members, to your company the grievances which all complain of or which any complain of?—Ans. That is the policy of the company; yes, sir. If we were to receive these men as representatives of the unions they could probably force us to pay any wages which they saw fit, and get the Pullman company in the same shape that some of the railroads are by making concessions which ought not to be made.

235 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you think that the opposite policy, to wit, that all your dealings with the men, as individuals, in case you were one who sought to abuse your power, might enable you to pay to the men, on the other hand, just what you saw fit?—Ans. Well, of course a man in an official position, if he is arbitrary and unfair, could work a great deal of injustice to the men; no doubt about that. But then it is a man's privilege to go to work somewhere else.

236 (Commissioner KERNAN). Don't you recognize as to many men, after they had become settled in a place at work of that kind, that really that privilege does not amount to much?—Ans. We find that the best men usually come to the front; the best of our men don't give us any trouble with unions or anything else. It is only the inferior men—that is, the least competent—that give us the trouble as a general thing.

237 (Commissioner KERNAN). As a rule, then, the least competent men make the most trouble, do they?—Ans. Yes, sir; if these gentlemen allow themselves to be led by the incompetent men that is their misfortune.

238 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you kept track of the testimony given before the commission in reference to Pullman matters?—Ans. Some of it.

239 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you had it reported to you?—Ans. I have read the daily papers. I get most of my information from them.

240 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you endeavored to keep yourself informed as to the evidence given affecting the Pullman company?—Ans. Yes, sir; to as great an extent as practicable in connection with my other duties.

241 (Commissioner KERNAN). In this statement which you have rendered to the commission you have undertaken to answer what you regarded as the points made?—Ans. Yes, sir.

242 (Commissioner KERNAN). You said that on July 7 Mr. Lawrence, of the First National Bank of Chicago, called upon you with reference to the affairs of the company and your employees, and you told him that you would be very glad to receive such a committee, and you have said in your statement that you never heard of the matter afterwards. I assume by that that you do not mean to indicate that you have changed your position as to the arbitration question?—Ans. Not at all, sir; but I have always expressed a desire, or willingness, I might say, to meet any of our men at any time, or any of the ex-employees as individuals. I have met them as committees since the strike.

243 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you give me an idea of what the gross earnings of 1893 were from the different sources? I have some memoranda here, but I have not my hand on it—the statement of the earnings of 1893 and the operating expenses.—Ans. Do you mean for the entire company?

244 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes, I mean including the sleeping-car branch, the land branch, the rent branch, and the operation of the works.—Ans. I could give you the gross revenue of the company, if that is what you want.

245 (Commissioner KERNAN). We have got that, I think, but I wanted it divided so as to give it to us from the different sources.—Ans. No, sir; I can not.

246 (Commissioner KERNAN). That I presume you have so it can be given?—Ans. Yes, sir; I presume so.

247 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the expense of each, showing the net from each?—Ans. You mean the operation of sleeping cars, the manufacture of cars, and the rents from the town of Pullman?

248 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes.—Ans. That is, revenue derived from real estate?

249 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes.—Ans. And what else?

250 (Commissioner KERNAN). That is all; that covers it. There are no other sources substantially, except, I presume, from its investments?—Ans. Its investments in car trusts, etc.

251 (Commissioner KERNAN). I would like those, if you can give them to us. Taking the sources of the gross revenue, dividing it into its classes and the amount for each, about what is the capacity of your works under normal conditions?—Ans. For men?

252 (Commissioner KERNAN). Capacity of turning out cars.—Ans. I suppose we could turn out, probably, in the passenger department five cars a week.

253 (Commissioner KERNAN). And in the freight?—Ans. Freight—we have a capacity of forty cars a day.

254 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did the reduction of November last, which was made, include a reduction in the repair department?—Ans. Yes, sir.

255 (Commissioner KERNAN). And those repairs of cars are made under the contracts with the different companies over which they operate?—Ans. Yes, sir.

256 (Commissioner KERNAN). Under this contract you receive a mileage of so much, and then the receipts from the sale of berths?—Ans. Yes, sir.

257 (Commissioner KERNAN). And does the mileage and receipts that you receive impose upon you the obligation of keeping them in repair?—Ans. We agree to keep them in repair, and the railway companies also agree to make the repairs at our expense if we ask them to; that is, if our shops should be overtaxed, or in case of fire we are unable to carry out our agreement with them, they agree to put them in their own shops and repair them at our expense.

258 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, then, your pay for keeping them in repair is covered by the mileage rate which the railroads pay you?—Ans. Yes, sir.

259 (Commissioner KERNAN). And by your receipts from the sale of accommodations in the cars?—Ans. No, sir; that does not apply to repairs at all, except to the interior of the car. The railroad company pays us a mileage rate which provides for the maintenance of the car bodies and trucks. That is, what would be essential to a first-class railroad coach that they agree to maintain for the use of it. We put the cars on the road and they carry the railroad companies' passengers, from whom they receive the same ticket fare as they do in the ordinary coaches, and in consideration of that they agree to keep the cars in repair. Some of them repair them at their own shops, and others pay

us a mileage rate for doing the work, in lieu of maintaining the cars themselves. But in all cases they agree to make the repairs of those cars upon our request, and they have a right, without our request, to make such repairs as may be necessary to render them safe to run.

260 (Commissioner KERNAN). Now, the inside repairs you have to make?—Ans. The interior repairs that are incidental to a sleeping car or parlor car and not essential to a first-class coach.

261 (Commissioner KERNAN). You make?—Ans. Yes, sir.

262 (Commissioner KERNAN). So that, getting back to my question—Ans. If you will permit me, I will explain a little further, Mr. Commissioner.

263 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes.—Ans. The repairs to the interior of the car incidental to a sleeping car are charged against the revenue derived from the sale of seats and berths. The mileage charge applies only to that part of the car which is essential to a first-class coach.

264 (Commissioner KERNAN). Coming back to my question. It is true, isn't it, that the mileage rate and the revenue derived from the sale of inside accommodations are a fund out of which the car is kept in repair?—Ans. Yes, sir; but they are both kept separate; mileage is not regarded as revenue at all.

265 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is not regarded as revenue?—Ans. No, sir; it is not regarded as revenue; it is applied on the repairs of the cars.

266 (Commissioner KERNAN). Isn't there a revenue from the mileage rates?—Ans. No, sir; there is a deficit.

267 (Commissioner KERNAN). So that the net revenue is derived from the sale of the accommodations inside?—Ans. Yes, sir; the mileage revenue does not maintain all the equipment of the company.

268 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was there any change under your contracts in the mileage rate or in your service to the public, or was there any other change in the prices for accommodations up to the time that this reduction was made at your shops?—Ans. From what time?

269 (Commissioner KERNAN). For the year prior, say?—Ans. There has been a reduction in the mileage rate. First, years ago the mileage rate was 4 cents, and then it was reduced to 3 cents per mile.

270 (Commissioner KERNAN). That was in 1887?—Ans. No; previous to that time. I think it was in 1874 or 1875 that it was 4 cents, and then it was reduced to 3 cents.

271 (Commissioner KERNAN). In 1887?—Ans. Well, not then; no. Further back than that. I think it was in the seventies. I can not recall the exact time. In 1887 we made our first contracts at 2 cents a mile. We have made quite a number since that.

272 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was there any reduction in the mileage rate in 1893?—Ans. There was no general reduction in the mileage rate. There might have been a reduction made in one or two cases where a contract terminated.

273 (Commissioner KERNAN). Assuming that there was no change of the mileage rate of 3 cents a mile under contracts which had not expired, and there was no change in the new contracts below the 2-cent rate established prior to 1893, except, as you say, in one or two instances.—Ans. I don't recall any.

274 (Commissioner KERNAN). If that be true, inasmuch as there was no reduction by your company in its mileage rate or in its rates charged to the public, why was a reduction made in the repair department?—Ans. At Pullman, as a matter of course, it was necessary to have the wages the same in the repair shop as in the construction department.

275 (Commissioner KERNAN). Practically, you have got them uniform?—Ans. You must have them uniform. There is no good reason why we should pay a man more at Pullman than we pay elsewhere and other people pay elsewhere, and there is no reason why we should pay our men at Wilmington any more than at Pullman, or vice versa.

276 (Commissioner KERNAN). By reason of the reduction in wages of those engaged in car repairing, the company profited so far as cars ran; I mean it profited, except for the reduction in mileage and use, because of the panic, upon the actual mileage run; it profited, did it not?—Ans. Yes. Had the conditions all been equal or unchanged, I might say, from the good times, that theory would be all right; but as a matter of fact the Pullman company, out of the mileage earnings, had to maintain a large surplus of cars that it did not prior to that time. And then quite an amount of mileage has been lost to the company by failure of the roads to pay it. There has been a loss in revenue in that direction. Many of the roads have gone into the hands of receivers within the last year, as you are probably aware, and in such cases some get very much behind in their payments, and sometimes quite an amount of money has to be sacrificed altogether.

277 (Commissioner KERNAN). A fair statement of it would be that upon the actual mileage made by cars the company was favored by the reduction in wages?—Ans. To some extent.

278 (Commissioner KERNAN). But because of the general disuse of cars, owing to the panic, and because of the failure of roads to meet payments, owing to their financial difficulties, the company suffered a severe loss as a net result?—Ans. Yes; I think so.

279 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you have any conference with the general managers during the strike?—Ans. No, sir.

280 (Commissioner KERNAN). Were you present at any of their meetings?—Ans. I was present at one meeting.

281 (Commissioner KERNAN). On invitation?—Ans. Yes, sir.

282 (Commissioner KERNAN). Of whom?—Ans. I was in General Manager St. John's office a day or two previous to that and he invited me to be present. I took no part in the proceedings.

283 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you listen to the discussions?—Ans. It was not very much of a discussion.

284 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, to whatever discussion there was?—Ans. I listened to what was said, what is contained in that pamphlet there, those resolutions that they adopted.

285 (Commissioner KERNAN). By the general managers?—Ans. By the general managers; yes, sir.

286 (Commissioner KERNAN). You did not assist in the preparation of those in any way?—Ans. In no way whatever.

287 (Commissioner KERNAN). And had nothing to say about them?—Ans. No, sir; I was a listener, that is all.

288 (Commissioner KERNAN). You did not dissent from them or approve them?—Ans. No, sir; I had no right to do either.

289 (Commissioner KERNAN). You did not, as a matter of fact?—Ans. No, sir.

290 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did any of the men concerned in the General Managers' Association come to you at any time during the strike in reference to the position of the Pullman company and of the railroads?—Ans. I had some conversation with some of the general managers. The extent of the talk that I ever had with any of them was they asked me how the strike was getting along with us; just a casual conversation, that is all.



291 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did they ask you as to what your policy was?—Ans. They knew the policy.

292 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did they discuss the advisability of its continuance with you?—Ans. No; I had no discussion with the general managers on the subject after the boycott. We were entirely independent of them, and acted entirely independent of them, and I, in fact, very seldom left my office.

293 (Commissioner KERNAN). So far as you knew, they approved of your position and you approved of theirs?—Ans. They never intimated anything to the contrary and we certainly did not to them. It was an affair of theirs.

294 (Commissioner KERNAN). Had there been any reason to do that, is it not likely that you would have taken steps to do so; if you had disapproved of their policy, would you not have so advised them, and felt at liberty to do it?—Ans. I should not. The contracts between the railroads and the Pullman company set forth the obligations of the parties very plainly, and I would, therefore, have no right to go to the general managers and say that they must adopt a certain policy.

295 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there any provision in that contract that in the event of a strike, either party is to be relieved from its provisions?—Ans. No, sir; we are under contract to furnish cars to the railroad companies and it was their business to run them. We furnished the cars and our obligations ceased there; that is the way we regarded it.

296 (Commissioner KERNAN). Was it originally the plan at Pullman to sell lots at any time in the future?—Ans. In the town proper?

297 (Commissioner KERNAN). Yes.—Ans. I couldn't tell you, sir.

298 (Commissioner KERNAN). Has it since become any part of the policy of the company at any time hereafter to sell houses and lots to their employees?—Ans. I have never discussed the matter with any of the Pullman people. That is a matter which the president and board of directors control, and I have never made any inquiries about it. I have attended to my legitimate duties as I understood them, and left those matters to the chief executive and directors.

299 (Commissioner KERNAN). As far as you know, have the president and board of directors adopted any policy in that direction?—Ans. I am not a director in the company, and I am not present at their meetings.

300 (Commissioner KERNAN). I didn't quite ask that. I only ask you as far as you know.—Ans. I don't know, sir.

301 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, that is covered. Can you give me the capital of the land company?—Ans. I know nothing about the land company, sir. I heard more about the land company here yesterday than I have ever heard before.

302 (Commissioner KERNAN). You don't know its capital stock?—Ans. No, sir.

303 (Commissioner KERNAN). Nor what it was issued for?—Ans. No, sir.

304 (Commissioner KERNAN). There is one suggestion as to the rents which I want to call your attention to. It has been testified to before the commission that there has been a falling off owing to the depression of the past year of from 12 to 15 per cent in the rents of property in the adjoining towns to Pullman, and that there has been a depreciation generally in the same class of property in and about Chicago. If that be true, would that, in your judgment, furnish any reason for the readjustment of rents on a lower basis?—Ans. I do not see that that would change my opinion on it individually. There are a great many

houses in Pullman that are rented by others than the employees of our shops, and I presume that if they considered the rents excessive, they would not remain there, and our employees have the same opportunity for leaving. As I said a little while ago, the houses are superior in Pullman to those in the surrounding towns, and the difference in the rent is not considered great. Personally, I think it is hardly sufficient, considering the comparison between them. I do not mean by that that the rents in Pullman are too low, but I think there should be even a greater difference existing between the rent of houses in Roseland as they are described to me, and around the vicinity of Grand Crossing, Burnside, etc., that is, which is in force there, and now exists, considering the surroundings. The Pullman company takes care of the streets and keeps everything in a cleanly condition and in good shape, while that is not done in the outlying districts.

305 (Commissioner KERNAN). Then you do not consider from the facts as I have mentioned them that the surrounding property has been affected or depreciated by the panic and its results is any reason why the rents of Pullman ought to be reduced?—Ans. I think if our rents had been higher during flush times it would have been proper, probably, to have brought them down.

306 (Commissioner KERNAN). And you assume that they were low during the flush times, and hence ought not to be reduced during times of panic?—Ans. Yes, sir.

307 (Commissioner KERNAN). Isn't it true that they were placed as high as you thought you could get?—Ans. No, sir; I don't think so, considering the rental of similar houses in the town.

308 (Commissioner KERNAN). Why, as a business proposition, didn't you put the rents as high as you could get them?—Ans. I did not control that.

309 (Commissioner KERNAN). It is said the rents were reasonable, etc. Now, if that is true, why, as a business proposition, didn't you put the rents as high as you could get them?—Ans. Probably we might have done that, but I doubt the wisdom of such a policy aside from the justice of it. Sometimes people are in a position to enforce a certain condition of things which it is not always wise to take advantage of.

310 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you think the Pullman company had at any time been in condition to do that?—Ans. Possibly on the start, before these houses were put up around Roseland, Kensington, and other places, but they did not take advantage of that situation.

311 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think it might have been in a position to have compelled tenants to have paid exorbitant rents before there were surrounding accommodations which tenants could occupy?—Ans. It certainly had the power to do that if it had exercised it, but that was not its policy.

312 (Commissioner KERNAN). You think it has not even got the power now to do so, if it had the desire?—Ans. I know it has not the desire to do so if it had the power.

313 (Commissioner KERNAN). You don't think it has now the power, inasmuch as there are surrounding accommodations?—Ans. No, sir; it has not the power.

314 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was any demand made on the company for a reduction of rents at the time or before the strike occurred?—Ans. There was no demand made for a reduction of rents as I recollect; but the matter was mentioned.

315 (Commissioner WRIGHT). As one of the grievances?—Ans. As one of the grievances.

316 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What, in your opinion, would have been the result of a fair reduction of rents, say, 10 or 15 per cent—would that have prevented the strike?—Ans. No, sir; not in my judgment.

317 (Commissioner WRIGHT). There has been a good deal said in the papers about the salaries of the officers of the Pullman Palace Car Company entering into the cost of the production of cars, etc., and that the directors are highly paid; what have you to say relative to the salaries of the general officers and directors?—Ans. I don't think the directors receive any salary in the first place. And as to the salaries of the officers of the company I don't think they are as large as those officers in other corporations receive—not even that of our president.

318 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What does he receive?—Ans. I am not at liberty to state. I know that a few years ago it was only \$10,000 a year. I don't know what he receives now.

319 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you at liberty to give the salaries of the other general officers?—Ans. I should rather be excused from doing so.

320 (Commissioner KERNAN). You said something about depreciation in the plant being written off, or depreciation being written off either as to the plant or machinery; what do you mean by that?—Ans. There has none been written off in these estimates—that is so stated; but what is meant by that, every year, of course, there is a certain depreciation in the plant, that is, in the buildings and machinery, which is wearing out and will have to be renewed at certain periods. It is customary in all manufacturing business to write a certain percentage off in this way every year.

321 (Commissioner KERNAN). What has been the rule of your company about that?—Ans. That has been written off, I believe.

322 (Commissioner KERNAN). About how much per cent a year do you write off?—Ans. I couldn't tell you.

323 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, the usual percentage of about 10 per cent a year?—Ans. I hardly think it is as much as 10 per cent a year, but could not tell you from my own knowledge, because that does not come within my jurisdiction.

324 (Commissioner KERNAN). So that the inventory of the company made up each year to ascertain the surplus profits has in it a certain percentage which is deducted as depreciation from the assets?—Ans. That is, from the machinery especially, as the machinery is wearing out rapidly all the time, and must be replaced. That must be written off. For example, if a machine would wear out in ten years, it would be proper to write off 10 per cent a year to replace that machine at the end of that time.

325 (Commissioner KERNAN). So that the profits of your company have been ascertained by including in the inventory every year a certain percentage for depreciation?—Ans. Ordinarily; yes, sir.

326 (Commissioner KERNAN). The surplus, then, is not ascertained by charging as the cost of plant, etc., the original cost in full?—Ans. The original cost of the buildings?

327 (Commissioner KERNAN). Of the buildings, machinery, and everything in full.—Ans. Not as to the machinery. I can not say positively as to the buildings.

328 (Commissioner KERNAN). I understood from Mr. Pullman to the contrary.—Ans. He would undoubtedly give it to you correctly.

329 (Commissioner KERNAN). Mr. Pullman's position, as I understood

him to say here, was that the original cost was taken in ascertaining the surplus.—Ans. That is from the cars, I think, but whatever Mr. Pullman said on that subject is undoubtedly correct, as he is more familiar with it than I am.

330 (Commissioner KERNAN). Well, as to the machinery; you are familiar with that?—Ans. As to the machinery, of course, the depreciation is written off.

331 (Commissioner KERNAN). But whether it is as to the balance of the plant or not, you don't know?—Ans. I don't know.

332 (Commissioner KERNAN). And as to the cars, how is that?—Ans. The cars stand on the books at their original cost.

333 (Commissioner KERNAN). Figuring them into the assets in the inventory there is no reduction made for wear and tear or depreciation?—Ans. Not from the capital; no.

Commissioner WRIGHT. If there is any one present who desires to cross-examine Mr. Wickes he will now be given an opportunity.

(No response. Witness excused.)

EXHIBIT 15.

*Analysis of estimate on 40 provision cars, Provision Dealers' Dispatch.*

	Materials.	Labor.	Shop expenses.	Total.
Trucks .....	\$140.87	\$6.19	\$3.66	\$150.74
Body .....	402.01	121.53	13.03	536.57
First estimate .....	542.88	127.72	16.71	687.31
Changes made in specifications .....	70.06			70.06
	612.94	127.72	16.71	757.37

EXHIBIT 16.

*Analysis of estimate on 250 refrigerator cars, Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad.*

	Materials.	Labor.	Shop expenses.	Total.
Trucks .....	\$146.28	\$9.28	\$3.89	\$159.45
Body .....	450.67	142.60	14.78	608.05
First estimate .....	596.95	151.88	18.67	767.50
Change in specifications:				
Additions .....	56.20			56.20
	653.15			823.70
Deductions .....	35.38	3.71		39.09
	617.77	148.17	18.67	784.61

EXHIBIT 17.

*Analysis of estimate on 100 elevated coaches, Metropolitan "L" Railway.*

	Materials.	Labor.	Shop expenses.	Total.
Trucks .....	\$223.19	\$15.31	\$26.24	\$264.74
Body .....	1,191.18	513.45	187.29	1,891.92
First estimate .....	1,414.37	528.76	213.53	2,156.66
Changes made in specifications:				
Additions .....	151.01			151.01
	1,565.38			2,307.67
Deductions .....	149.50	16.17		165.67
	1,415.88	512.59	213.53	2,142.00

EXHIBIT 18.

*Analysis of estimate on 50 closed street cars, Milwaukee Street Railway.*

	Materials.	Labor.	Shop expenses.	Total.
Trucks (applying only).....	\$8.53	\$13.09	\$2.27	\$23.89
Bodies.....	464.58	305.94	80.17	850.69
	473.11	319.03	82.44	874.58

EXHIBIT 19.

*Analysis of estimate on 100 provision cars, Armour & Co.*

	Materials	Labor.	Shop expenses.	Total.
Trucks.....	\$126.99	\$5.51	\$3.31	\$135.81
Body.....	272.95	87.06	8.95	368.96
	399.94	92.57	12.26	504.77

EXHIBIT 20.

*Analysis of estimate on 55 coaches, Long Island Railroad Company.*

	Materials.	Labor.	Shop expenses.	Total.
Trucks.....	\$434.36	\$30.48	\$51.13	\$515.97
Body.....	2,251.44	884.42	344.72	3,480.58
First estimate.....	2,685.80	914.90	395.85	3,996.55
Changes made in specifications—deduction.....	148.93	116.90	16.39	282.22
	2,536.87	798.00	379.46	3,714.33

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY ENOCH HARPOLE.

At the close of Mr. Wickes' testimony on Tuesday, August 28, Commissioner Wright stated that the commission had received a petition requesting that Mr. George M. Pullman be recalled and that the petitioner be allowed to examine him. Mr. Enoch Harpole then appeared before the commission and was questioned as follows:

Commissioner KERNAN. You are the gentleman who conferred with the commission this morning as to cross-examining Mr. Pullman?

Mr. ENOCH HARPOLE. Yes, sir.

Commissioner KERNAN. And you stated that you desired to do it as an individual attorney, did you not?

Mr. HARPOLE. I made the inquiry this morning of the commission as to the practice here of examination and I was asked whom I represented, and I stated that I was a private individual, an attorney of the Cook County bar, and the commission informed me that I would have to represent a labor union.

Commissioner KERNAN. I called your attention to the law, that under the law the provision is that the commission shall permit each party to the controversy to appear in person or by counsel and examine or cross-examine witnesses, and hence, the right of cross-examination by the law was one given to parties.

Mr. HARPOLE. Yes; I did not understand at the time that it was a suit between any particular parties; I thought it was an informal investigation. Mr. Howard, one of the managing officers of the American Railway Union, has engaged me as attorney for the union to cross-examine Mr. Pullman.

Commissioner KERNAN. Was that engagement made this morning after your conference with the commission?

Mr. HARPOLE. Yes, sir.

Commissioner KERNAN. You were not heretofore in the employ of the American Railway Union, were you?

Mr. HARPOLE. Not this morning; I am now, and I have been asked to appear before the commission and cross-examine Mr. Pullman; I appear especially for that purpose. As I understand the law, it is discretionary with the court to recall a witness for cross-examination. I ask that Mr. Pullman may be recalled for that purpose.

Commissioner KERNAN. At the close of the examination of Mr. Pullman, which was quite lengthy, the chairman stated that the American Railway Union was at liberty to cross-examine him, and no response was made to that at that time; and if Mr. Pullman should be upon the stand again, then the right of cross-examination would exist; but inasmuch as the commission has fully completed the examination and cross-examination, or at least requested cross-examination, and has on its hands more witnesses than it can reasonably get through with in the time at its command, it does not feel at liberty to recall Mr. Pullman.

Mr. HARPOLE. Mr. Howard stated that Mr. Pullman came in unexpectedly, and that they had no regular attorney here to cross-examine him as they wished to do. Mr. Pullman has expressed, as I understand it, in his direct examination, a readiness to give everything connected with the reduction of the wages of those men. The cross-examination would not occupy thirty minutes if he was on the stand, and would be right in line with his direct-examination, and as to why the wages of the men were reduced.

Commissioner KERNAN. The commission went into all that question very fully.

Mr. HARPOLE. I submit to the decision of the commissioners.

Commissioner KERNAN. We do not desire to overrule any reasonable request about it, but we do think that full opportunity was given for cross-examination when the witness was on the stand, and that we have got to adopt a rule that when we do that that then we can not recall witnesses merely for the purpose of permitting cross-examination thereafter, otherwise it would be quite difficult for us to see how we could complete our labors here.

Mr. HARPOLE. As I understand, Greenleaf says whenever a witness is called—when a party is once entitled to cross-examine a witness—this right continues through all the subsequent stages of the cause. I made the request that at some time during the hearing I might be allowed to cross-examine Mr. Pullman.

Commissioner KERNAN. Does it not state that the right continues so long as the witness is on the stand, or if he is recalled by the court?

Mr. HARPOLE. It states, "So that if the party should afterwards recall the same witness to prove a part of his own case, he may interrogate him by leading questions and treat him as the witness of the party who first adduced him."

Commissioner KERNAN. If Mr. Pullman should be recalled you would have the right to cross-examine him, and he would not be regarded as your witness, of course; but the only point with the com-

missioners is whether they ought to go back and recall witnesses for cross-examination after they have been examined thoroughly and leave given to the American Railway Union to cross-examine if they desire so to do. The commission does not feel that it has time at its disposal to adopt the course of procedure that you suggest, and, therefore, it is inclined to decline the request to recall Mr. Pullman merely for the purpose of this further cross-examination. I will ask you, further, did Mr. Howard apply to you to employ you, or did you suggest to him that you desired to cross-examine Mr. Pullman?

Mr. HARPOLE. I can give the commission the full details of that, of course. Mr. Howard engaged me for this particular purpose and offered to engage me in the hearing before the commission and asked me about my time. I told him I would not consider myself bound except in the matter of the cross-examination of Mr. Pullman, as I was busy, but that was left open; my duties terminate here if this is overruled unless I am employed—

Commissioner KERNAN. The commission does not question your right to appear as counsel and that you are retained, but it puts its decision on the ground that I have stated, to wit: That inasmuch as the witness was fully examined and full opportunity given for cross-examination, that his being recalled is a matter of discretion with the commission, and that the time at its disposal does not permit it to adopt the policy of permitting witnesses to be recalled in that way for cross-examination, and therefore the application, for the present, is denied. If you desire to present to the commission any questions which you desire to have answered by Mr. Pullman, and the commission should see in them a materiality, and that they have not been covered by the examination of Mr. Pullman, then, perhaps, it might change its view of the situation.

Mr. HARPOLE. I will submit about six or seven questions with a view that you may recall him, and put those questions to him.

Commissioner KERNAN. We should be glad to have you do that in case we should recall him, and you understand also, that if we do recall him you will have the right to cross-examine him in addition to having those questions answered.

Mr. HARPOLE. I understand that the questions will not be put unless he happens to be recalled. Well, I will submit the questions.

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QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY MR. HARPOLE.

*To the Labor Commission:*

The American Railway Union having requested the commission to recall witness George M. Pullman that it might cross-examine him, and being requested by the commission to submit written interrogatories to be propounded to said witness, in case he should be recalled, respectfully submit the following:

1. Did you, at any time during the last Presidential campaign, in the town of Pullman, make an address or speech to the employees of the Pullman Palace Car Company, or a part of them, in which you, in substance, told them that their wages would be affected favorably or unfavorably depending upon its result?
2. Did you not, in substance, tell them that the result was "a question of bread and butter" to them?
3. Did you not at the same time, or during the campaign, say to some of the employees of the Pullman Palace Car Company, in substance, that while you, meaning yourself, did not desire to dictate how they should vote, but that their wages would be reduced should the political party to which you do not belong succeed in the coming election?
4. Is it, or not, a fact that the wages of some of the employees have been reduced because of threats made by yourself to the employees during the late Presidential campaign and because they opposed your political views at the last Presidential election?

5. Do the Pullman Palace Car Company and the Wagner Palace Car Company confer with each other and agree between them what rate of wages they shall pay their employees, or a part of them?

ENOCH HARPOLE,  
*Attorney for American Railway Union.*

## TESTIMONY OF CHARLES E. WEBB.

August 28, 1894, Charles E. Webb, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Charles E. Webb; 27; Pullman, Ill.; chief clerk of the Pullman Bank.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State what you know of the collection of rents from Miss Jennie Curtis, either on her own account, or on account of her father's estate. Give your interview with Miss Curtis, if you had any on the subject, after her father's death.—Ans. Miss Curtis called at the bank and said she wished to occupy the house until her sister's coming marriage, which would occur very soon, and then they would vacate. In the meantime they would continue to pay rent and she wished it to stand just as it was; that they would pay her father's rent and the rent after his death without making any distinction between the two; that herself, her sister, and younger brother were all alike responsible for the rent, one as much as the other, but she was employed by the company and she would be the channel through which rent would be paid, and she would call on pay days and make payments on the rent on the account that stood in the name of her father; and she did so.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). These statements were made to you, were they?—Ans. Yes, sir.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What did you say to Miss Curtis in reply?—Ans. I said that would be satisfactory, and she gave me the department in which she and her brother worked.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was any effort made on your part to collect that back rent due from her father?—Ans. No effort was made any more than to collect the account. She still occupied the house, and it was understood that she, her sister, and brother would be responsible for the rent.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was she not called upon in the first instance by you for the rent due from her father?—Ans. The rent of her father had become in arrears, and they were called upon for the rent before we knew the father had died, and in response to that call Miss Curtis called at the bank and made the arrangement I have spoken of.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you stated, now, everything which occurred between you and Miss Curtis on this matter?—Ans. I think I stated everything that is important on the subject; of course I have not stated the entire conversation or the words used; I have stated everything that bears pointedly on the subject.

## TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM P. HOORNBECK.

August 29, 1894, William P. Hoornbeek, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner KERNAN). State your name, where you reside, and your business?—Ans. My name is William P. Hoornbeek; I reside at Pullman, and am acting agent for the Pullman Palace Car Company—acting agent of the town of Pullman for the Pullman company.



2 (Commissioner KERNAN). For the Pullman Palace Car Company?—Ans. Yes, sir; for the Pullman Palace Car Company.

3 (Commissioner KERNAN). Are you agent for the Pullman Land Improvement Company?—Ans. I simply have a power of attorney to sign leases, but I do not have their records or accounts; there are trustees in charge of their business and their office is not at Pullman.

4 (Commissioner KERNAN). Who are the trustees in charge of their business?—Ans. I think they are Messrs. Lyman & Jackson, of Chicago; I don't remember their first names, they are a firm of attorneys here.

5 (Commissioner KERNAN). Where is their office?—Ans. I think it is on Washington street; I never was in their office but once and I don't know the number, but I think it is in the Title and Trust Building—a very tall building on Washington street.

6 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you make and sign the leases of the tenement property in Pullman?—Ans. I sign them; yes, sir. The letting of the houses is done by clerks under me, but the signatures are put on the leases by me after the tenant has signed.

7 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is the form of lease which has been put in evidence by Mr. Pullman the form in use there?—Ans. I have not seen that. I have with me such a form as I am using. I presume it is the same thing. It can be easily seen. [Produces form of lease.]

8 (Commissioner KERNAN). I think this is the same as the one we have. This is the 1894 lease. Is it the same form that was in use prior to the adoption of this form?—Ans. I could not say just how long this present form has been in use but I think it has been in use for an indefinite period; just when any changes have been made in it I could not say, but I don't imagine there have been any serious changes in it for a long time.

9 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you got one of the forms which you used before this new form came out?—Ans. No; because I don't think there are any on hand. Those forms have been in use for a long time; they have been in use prior to my taking my present position, so that I have no personal knowledge of any other form but that one.

10 (Commissioner KERNAN). In each case of renting you sign and give to the tenant a lease of this kind and the tenant signs and gives to you a duplicate. Is that correct?—Ans. He signs two, then they are brought to me and I sign both, and we keep one and send the other to the tenant.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you been in the real estate business otherwise than as the agent of the Pullman company?—Ans. Never; my present position is purely an acting position; I have only been in the place since last October.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). Can you explain to me why it is that the Pullman Palace Car Company makes the lease? We have understood that the Pullman Palace Car Company did not own the property, but that it was a stockholder in the corporation that did own the property. Now, if that is so, why does the Pullman Palace Car Company make the lease of all this tenant property?—Ans. I don't quite follow you. I never knew that the Pullman Palace Car Company, as such, made any lease for anything but their own property. That is a Pullman Palace Car lease.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). This lease is made upon the assumption that the Pullman Palace Car Company owns all the tenement property?—Ans. No; the assumption is that that company owns the particular property that lease would have covered.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). This lease, or similar leases, cover all the property that is rented in Pullman, does it not?—Ans. No, sir; that would only cover Pullman Palace Car Company property.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). What does that consist of?—Ans. It consisted of nearly all the residences that are in Pullman.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Nearly all. What does it not cover?—Ans. Whatever tenements there are there that are not the property of the Pullman company.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). What are those, and how many of them are there?—Ans. About 400, I think.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Who makes the leases for those?—Ans. I do—that is, my office does—but I don't sign them as representing the Pullman Palace Car Company.

19 (Commissioner KERNAN). Whom do you represent in signing those?—Ans. The Pullman Land Association.

20 (Commissioner KERNAN). And what form of lease is used there?—Ans. Substantially, I think, exactly that form, although I would not say without a careful comparison, except the signature.

21 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know as to whether the Pullman Palace Car Company owns all the stock of the Pullman Land Company?—Ans. I have no knowledge on that subject whatever. We treat them as though they were total outsiders. Whatever money is expended on behalf of the Pullman Land Association is charged to them.

22 (Commissioner KERNAN). You have been advised of the evidence given in reference to this lease and the rentals, and you may make such a statement as you desire in reference to the same.—Ans. The only points in connection with the lease for rentals that I was asked to come here and speak about, and the only ones I really know much about, are in regard to the repairs.

23 (Commissioner KERNAN). State anything in regard to that feature of the lease that you desire to state.—Ans. The repairs to the houses at Pullman are made by the Pullman company and are charged to the property—that is, the company pays for them; the repairs are made at their own expense. The repairs for the last year averaged about \$3,600 per month—all at the expense of the Pullman company. There are no repairs (so-called) that are made at the expense of the tenant—none whatever. The only things that would, under any circumstances, be charged to the tenant would be such little matters as malicious breakage and gross carelessness, and they are so few and cut such a very small figure that they are hardly worth mentioning. Our superintendent of repairs is here, and he is more familiar with the particular cases and the number of them than I am. I only know in a general way that the amount of the repairs for the last year was about \$42,000. The figures this year, thus far, are not completed; I do not get them for three or four months after the close of the month, for they only come to me from the head auditor in the city; I have not seen them since May 31, but I imagine the repairs will not exceed what they were last year, and they may be a little less. They undoubtedly will be a little less, considering the fact that we have not been able to make many repairs during the summer.

24 (Commissioner KERNAN). If it be true that the company makes the repairs and does not charge them to the tenant, why do you require a tenant to sign an agreement that he will keep the premises in good repair, and if the company pays out any money in the way of making repairs to any part of the premises that it can be charged to the ten-

ant and added to the rent, etc.?—Ans. I can't say. That is a blank that is put in my hands for use. I will say, however, that that feature of it is a dead letter. I don't know who prepared the blank form.

25 (Commissioner KERNAN). You understand that these provisions place it in the power of the company at any time to charge up repairs to the tenant, do you not?—Ans. Yes, sir.

26 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the fact that they do not do so is owing simply to the leniency of the company in executing that provision?—Ans. That is what it looks like. I have never had any instructions to charge repairs to tenants.

27 (Commissioner KERNAN). In the making of repairs I suppose an account is kept as to each house and tenant, and the cost of the repairs?—Ans. We have the data that we can at any time ascertain it from, but we do not, as a matter of fact, employ a large number of clerks to collate that each month; it can be done at any time; we can go back and tell the cost of any job at any time.

28 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you know why it was that the clause was omitted exempting the tenant from responsibility for ordinary wear and tear?—Ans. I have no knowledge as the reasons that obtained in the making up of that paper.

29 (Commissioner KERNAN). Under the terms of this lease the tenant would be bound to make good the ordinary wear and tear, would he not, at the termination of the lease?—Ans. I am not sufficiently familiar with leases to know. That is the lease that is put in my hands to be executed, but, as a matter of fact, we don't ask the tenants to pay those things.

30 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there anything further in regard to it that you desire to state?—Ans. I know of nothing unless you have some questions to ask.

31 (Commissioner KERNAN). Do you have anything to do with fixing the basis of the rents?—Ans. No, sir; they were fixed many years ago, before my connection with the company. I have only been connected with the company in this capacity since last October.

32 (Commissioner KERNAN). Prior to that you had no connection with this department of renting?—Ans. I had nothing to do with the renting prior to last October; prior to that I was connected with the accounting department in the city, although, of course, being in the accounting department, I had something to do with that department, as well as with all others, but not to have any executive authority over it.

33 (Commissioner KERNAN). You speak of these rentals having been fixed many years ago. Can you tell me just when they were fixed?—Ans. No, sir. I presume they were fixed as rapidly as they were ready for occupancy.

#### TESTIMONY OF JAMES L. WALKER.

August 29, 1894, James L. Walker, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence and occupation.—Ans. James L. Walker; I reside at Pullman, Ill., and am superintendent of repairs of the town of Pullman. I have occupied that position more than two years now; I am employed by the Pullman Palace Car Comany.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You may make any statement that you desire to in reference to the subject of repairs under these leases.—Ans.

The repairs, with very few exceptions, are made free of charge to the tenants by the company; the company make all the repairs to the houses. Broken glass is usually charged to the tenants, though there are exceptions to the rule. For instance, if a skylight should blow off a house the tenant would not be charged for renewing the glass in the skylight; if a window cord broke and allowed the sash to drop down and smash the glass the tenant would not be charged for that. All other kinds of repairs, except that and any wilful damage that is traced directly to the tenant, are made free of charge to the tenant by the company.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Who determines whether it is proper to charge the tenant or not? You say that certain repairs are chargeable to the tenant when they are the result of his fault or wilfulness. Who determines whether he is to be charged with those repairs on those grounds or not?—Ans. That is generally determined in my office by me, and every case is very thoroughly investigated before any decision is reached. For instance, take the case of a closet bowl (which is an expensive matter). If a tenant dropped a scrubbing brush or anything into that and ruined it the tenant would be charged with a portion of the cost of putting in a new bowl.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). If the tenant denies that it is his fault then you investigate?—Ans. If he is the only tenant in that house where that closet is it must have been done by him or by persons belonging to his family; there is no other way for it. I would hear his statement about it, and if he denied his responsibility about it I would look it all over and conclude whether he ought to be charged with it or not and do what I thought just about it.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Suppose he did not like your decision, could he do anything more?—Ans. He has every chance to take the matter up with the officials that are above me.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Who is above you, directly?—Ans. The agent of the town.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The gentleman who has just testified?—Ans. Yes, sir; he is my superior officer.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are his office and yours together?—Ans. No, sir; they are separate.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The tenant can take the matter up with him and have it reviewed?—Ans. Yes, sir.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Supposing that his decision is unsatisfactory to the tenant, what then?—Ans. He can go still higher, going through the different grades of authority; and because they can do that we are very careful that the charge is perfectly correct and just before it is made, apart from any other reason.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). About what do the repairs average there per year on the tenant property?—Ans. Though I have a fair general idea, you can get that information a good deal more correctly from the proper officers of the company; the orders for repairs are left at my office and the work is done through my department, but the charges for the work are passed up to the accounting department, and after the work is once done I have nothing to do with the cost of it.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). The last gentleman upon the stand said he thought it was about \$3,600 per month. Is that a fair average?—Ans. Yes, sir; from that to \$4,000. That would be a fair average per month, I think.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And that covers all the tenement property in the town?—Ans. Yes, sir.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And does that include repairs to sidewalks and streets outside?—Ans. No, sir; not repairs to streets, but repairs to dwellings proper; it does not include the repairs to the hotel or to the Arcade or market building, it is simply the repairs to the dwellings; it does not include the repairs to the stores either; the repairs to the stores are included in the repairs to the Arcade and market where they are located.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Is there anything further that you desire to state?—Ans. I have nothing further to say.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY O. LINDEBLAD.

August 29, 1894, Henry O. Lindeblad, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, place of residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is Henry O. Lindeblad; I reside at Pullman, Ill.; and am a minister of the gospel, preaching at Pullman.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you been located there?—Ans. I have been settled there since the 1st day of October of last year.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Over what society?—Ans. Over the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you conversant with the causes and the conditions surrounding them of the late strike at Pullman?—Ans. Well, I have been trying to study that pretty near night and day for about four months and pondering over it, because I have been quite interested, because all of my people, or most of them, anyway, are working in Pullman for the Pullman company. They are all of them Swedes.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State, in your own way, the facts, as you know them yourself, relative to the causes of the strike and the conditions.—Ans. The causes of the strike. Well, it would perhaps be easier to say what were not the causes. I have tried to inquire of my people, and find that none of them want to admit that they have any cause whatever in the strike. A good many of them—nine out of ten, anyway—say that they would never have gone on the strike if they had been let alone; I believe nine out of ten say that they did not see fit to go on a strike or have really reasons for it just now. One of the reasons for the strike was, I believe, the hard times and the thoughtlessness of the people; the people did not think; they did not know that the factories, etc., were paralyzed all over the country and the wages were low all over. When I came there I heard there was a great deal of complaint because they could not get work; there were a few men that complained of low wages, but most of them complained that they could not get work at all. For instance, there was one man who had been living there for thirteen weeks and a half, and he had had only nineteen days' work. He went to the shops almost every day to inquire for work and he could not get work; and that was the case with a good many. Then the American Railway Union came in, and I believe they were, of course, the active cause for the strike. I also believe that the many saloons in Kensington had something to do with it; and I do think that one reason of the strike was that the people, as I may say, one class of the people, lived together too much.

I have learned to know the people of Pullman to be very intelligent and to be a good class of people, better than I ever expected before I

came there; but I do not think it is the very best plan to have them live together, house by house and street by street. I think if the people had owned their houses and there had been other people, merchants, and other classes of people living among them, like it is in other parts of the city, it would not have become as bad as it is. I rather think, too, that perhaps politics had something to do with it; and then there were some of them complaining of not getting the very best treatment from some of the bosses—that is, some of the foremen of different departments. I don't know that I ever heard a single one complain of Mr. Pullman, or of the Pullman company as such; they think that whatever grievance there is that the Pullman company, as a company, does not know of it. I spoke to one man that I invited to dinner one Sunday, and I found his wages had been reduced from \$3.50 to \$3.25, and he was up toward 65 years of age, and he has earned lots of money out there. Well, he did not complain because he had been cut down the 25 cents, but he said that some of them who got the very lowest wages had had their wages cut down, and he thought that was not right.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You have studied this matter of the workmen owning homes in other places, have you?—Ans. Yes, sir; I have. I was pastor in the city of Moline for thirteen years, and I am acquainted with the Deere Plow Company and the Moline Plow Company and all the factories there, and I know that the people there own their homes and take a great deal of interest in them, and I do believe that if the people in Pullman had owned their own homes it would all have been different; but of course a good many of them the company owns—the whole thing—as you all can see.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You think that if they had owned their homes in Pullman, as well as some of them owned homes outside, that the troubles would not have existed to such an extent as they have?—Ans. I do not think that they would. I think it is in the heart of everybody to have their homes, and it is a pride to have a home, and everybody loves his home, however poor it is; he thinks it is the best spot on earth, and I see that with the people living up in Roseland, where they have got their own homes.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How does the moral condition of the people in Pullman town compare with that of the people living in the places surrounding it, so far as your observation warrants you in stating?—Ans. Well, I think the moral standing is pretty good. I have tried to compare it with that of other places, with Moline and other towns where I have had a chance to get acquainted, and I think it is pretty good. Of course there is some rough element there, as there is everywhere, but I did not see anything of it until after the strike had occurred and commenced.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are there any liquor saloons in Pullman?—Ans. Not that I know of; I don't know whether they sell liquor at the hotel or not; if they do, I am not aware of it, but there is no saloon in the town.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It is said they do sell liquor at the hotel the same as at any hotel; how is that?—Ans. I don't know anything about it; in fact, I have not seen them drive loads of beer or anything through the town until after the strike commenced.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are there any other facts in connection with the matter that you would like to state?—Ans. Well, I saw last winter considerable poverty. For instance, there was one family that came down from Chicago here; the man walked down there and we had to help him, and there are some that are with us there, and there is

poverty there the same as any place else, but I believe the greatest cause of the destitution has been that the people have not had steady work.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you reside in Pullman?—Ans. I reside in Pullman, but I reside west of the Illinois Central Railway, where there are only two houses built on the Pullman land—that is, our church and the Catholic church. I do not live in a Pullman house. I have been also thinking about a remedy for the strike.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Give us any views you have on that subject.—Ans. I lately went down to Texas to try to study that, and I have come to the conclusion, in my estimation, there are three remedies. If you can get laws to control capitalists on one hand and working men on the other hand, so that it will be a penitentiary offense for any man to kill another one when he wants to obtain his bread by honest work—

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). You know the laws of the different States are full of provisions forbidding that under heavy penalties now. The laws of Illinois and the laws of all the other States forbid a man, either alone or conspiring with others, to interfere with or prevent anybody from working. We have got that law and have got heavy penalties for its violation. What more can we do in that direction?—Ans. That may all be so; but after the commencement of one of my services I reminded my congregation of the hard times last winter, when I saw crowds of people standing shivering on the street, waiting to get a bowl of soup or a little bread and coffee, and I told them that in my estimation the coming winter would be still worse. I told them that I did not dictate to them whether they should go to work or not, because they could decide that for themselves, as they were intelligent enough; but I told them that I understood that the company was intending to open the shops and there would be danger, and I warned all my people to abstain from any kind of trouble, and I said, "If you don't want to work you must not hinder anybody from working that wants to work," and I said, "I deplore very much that so much property has been destroyed," and I said that, "as long as the Pullman people behaved well they had the sympathy of all of America and the whole world."

Somebody reported me to the headquarters of the strikers, and in the afternoon there was a committee appointed to see if they could not have the chairman of the strike committee set things right in my church in the evening. I said, no; he could not do it; and then a committee that Sunday afternoon of the American Railway Union was appointed to come and see me, and they wanted me to retract what I had said in the forenoon. And they were there at the service, and I asked them before the whole congregation if they wanted me to retract what I said when I said that as long as the Pullman people behaved well they had the sympathy of the whole world, and if they wanted me to take back that I deplored that so much property had been destroyed, etc., and finally the committee claimed that they were satisfied, and that they would report things to be all right. I told them that I was under no discipline of the American Railway Union, and that when I preached the gospel I did not even get the consent of my wife and children, or anybody; that I preached according to the dictates of my conscience and for the welfare of my fellow-men, and did not care for the consequences.

Then I understand that I was called at the strikers' meeting the "scab minister," and that they said my church ought to be leveled with the ground, and that after the strike was over and they had glori-

ously got the victory I was not to be there. Of course, I did not hear this, but many of my own people told it to me, and I was asked to go before that committee, or before that meeting, and try to show them that they had misunderstood me. I told them I could not do it, and they asked me to go there and say a few words, and the people would stand shoulder to shoulder. I could not do it, because when winter came they would have come and blamed me because they did not have coal or anything to eat. This morning there have been five people called on me to assist them in getting back to work at their old wages, and before I get up in the morning sometimes they are there to see me. There was one man who was getting \$2.40 a day; he was asked three times to come back to work, but he did not do it, and now he wants to, and they have asked me to help him to get back, even at lower wages, if I could have any influence with the company.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). What class of work do your people do generally?—Ans. Some are in the repair shops, and some are in the constructing department, in the street car department, etc. But excuse me. I was going to say that one of the best remedies against all strikes—although I think we never will have one again—the best remedy will be for the people to move out into the country and cultivate the land. There are too many people in the city.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). And become agriculturists?—Ans. Yes, sir.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). But the farmers are striking now days, you know.—Ans. Oh, they sell their horses for a dollar apiece.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). Is there anything else that you can suggest?—Ans. Not unless you have some questions to ask me.

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MISCELLANEOUS TESTIMONY; ALSO PROCEEDINGS AT  
ADJOURNED MEETING AT WASHINGTON, D. C., SEP-  
TEMBER 26, 1894.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD W. BEMIS.

August 17, 1894, Edward W. Bemis, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name and occupation.—Ans. Edward W. Bemis; an assistant professor of political economy in the University of Chicago.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). How long have you occupied that position?—Ans. Since the organization of the university in October, 1892.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Much has been said in the testimony before us relative to arbitration in the settlement of labor difficulties, and the commission desires you to give it the result of your examination of that question and also any suggestions which you have to make relative to the form of arbitration which should be established. Please state the matter in your own way.—Ans. In regard to that question I think experience shows that we have to separate industry into what is ordinarily called private industries, such as ordinary manufacturing, and industries of a quasi public nature, like railroads, telegraphs, and things of that kind. Now, in regard to the first, I do not think that compulsory arbitration would be desirable; from what I can judge after a very careful study of the last nine reports of the



Massachusetts board of conciliation and arbitration, it seems to me that is rather better for the settlement of disputes in what I call private business than any other system that is operating on so large a scale anywhere else. The Massachusetts plan is embodied in their law—but which I have not here with me at this moment, it can easily be procured—which provides, in substance, for a State board of three men on good salaries, appointed by the governor and confirmed by the council—an official body of the State; one of these men must come from the ranks of organized labor, one from the employing class, and those two unite, if possible, in suggesting a third, but, if they can not unite, the governor appoints independently.

It is the duty of these three men to appear in any case of industrial dispute and aright—at least, they may be called on to come in any case of dispute by the mayor and aldermen or any body of citizens of a place concerned, if it involves over twenty-five men. They first try to bring both parties together by methods of conciliation, and in this regard they are more successful than in any other line of their work; they settle a considerable portion of the difficulties that way. They come before a strike has occurred—often when there is simply a rumor of one; they ask both parties to agree not to strike pending the consideration of the question, or, if they have struck, to go back to work and continue at work during the consideration of the question. In case, however, the two parties will not agree to patch matters up by ordinary conciliation, the board tries to have the matter left to itself as a board of arbitration, and in many cases has succeeded in settling difficulties in that way. In case that is done the board asks each side to agree in writing to abide by the decision for six months, and in a careful study of the reports I have found no case where that was done that the agreement was broken, but in a good many cases one side or the other refused to arbitrate; I think it is more often the employing side, but sometimes the employees; in that case the board has no power to compel arbitration, but it has accomplished a great deal; in the other cases, which are very numerous, where it brings the parties together, for frequently one side or the other, it is found, desire to back down after a little, but its pride is at stake—it don't like to own up to being a weaker party or in the wrong, but it can very gracefully yield to the advice of a board that commands public confidence.

In case, however, that the parties refuse to adopt conciliatory methods or arbitrate, or if they arbitrate they may call in some other board; they are not obliged to take the State board; then the board can make an inquiry. I should have added that if the board itself arbitrates either side has a right to nominate an expert, understanding the business, who shall sit with the board, and be paid by the State, and in that way inform the board on technicalities, which the board might not know about; and the board has a right to select other technical experts to assist it, aside from the one each side may nominate. In case they do not arbitrate the board may make an investigation, get all the facts it can, publish them broadcast with its opinion of the merits of the controversy, something I understand that is to be done by this commission appointed for this special occasion by the Government. I do not know that the board is obliged to make this inquiry, but may make it and has, in a very few cases; but in the vast majority of cases, if the parties refuse to arbitrate, the board does nothing more except to report the fact and the reasons alleged in its annual report.

In case the parties decide to arbitrate, the board can compel the employer to produce his books with reference to wages and other mat-

ters in dispute, compel sworn testimony from the men, the foreman, etc.; it has a right to find what the wages and conditions are in rival establishments, but it does not have the right, as many think it ought to have, to examine the employer in regard to his profit. A board like this constituted very much in the same way in New York State has not done much; it publishes a report five times as bulky, covering only five or six cases a year, publishing an immense mass of testimony, but very little of its own judgment on the question, and does not seem to accomplish a great deal, though once in a while it has done good, apparently.

In Massachusetts they publish a small report, covering a great many cases every year, and settle a good many. It shows, it seems to me, the question is not merely one of machinery, but it is a question of public opinion supporting such a board; there is a demand for a pure and high-minded class of commissioners or arbitrators whose opinion shall command public confidence. The moment you let it get into politics and make it a political football, as is claimed by many is the case in some of the States in the East, you do not accomplish much; but it is evident that the Massachusetts system, even carried out as well as it is, has not got entirely to the root of the question even in private business, where parties absolutely refuse to arbitrate.

And it seems to me we might take one step in advance, and that would be for a State board to have the duty, where a certain number of men are engaged, perhaps 500 or so, so it became a serious social question, the board should have a right to take testimony instead of having it optional with the board whether it would do so or not. In the second place, I think that the board should have the power and duty to take testimony not only on wages, but profits and past conditions of the business, etc. It would not seem to me wise for the board even then to have any power of compulsion in its decision unless the parties had agreed in writing to abide by it. But it seems to me that very full testimony as to all the facts in the case, published broadcast with the opinion of the commission on it, would go a good ways toward giving the public the facts, and people, to a considerable degree, both employees and employers, hate the antipathy of public opinion. Of course that is not always a sufficient factor, but it has a good deal of an influence. Public opinion now operates, but the public are not always well informed, and it knows it is not; one side or the other says it can not afford to accept the terms offered. I would therefore like to see the facts more fully unearthed in all cases involving a large number of men than is possible now, or can be accomplished, even in the face of a commission like this sitting here, because I do not understand that even this commission assumes the power of exacting testimony as to profits and other matters unless the witnesses are willing to give it. In other words, it seems to me the power of State commissioners in getting information in regard to life insurance companies, building and loan associations, and railroads should be extended to cases of dispute involving a large number of men, and that is as far, it seems to me, as we are prepared to go at the present time in these questions, not exactly with quasi public business.

I notice in the last number of the Review of Reviews that the labor commissioner of New Zealand is proposing to go a step further in this cause beyond what has already been done there. I think the best State board in existence is the Massachusetts board; there is nothing in Europe apparently as good or efficient. The French board; the Council of Wisemen, are more like our courts of law, adjudicating the

difficulties as to the past. What is needed is something to arbitrate questions as to the future, not the interpretation of past contracts. They have just begun in France a system of arbitrating future contracts quite on a voluntary principle, though I think it somewhat of a State national board, as I understand it. From the reports I get from England everything is voluntary there, but I think we are prepared to go a little further in getting information than these courts have thus far gone.

As to railroads it seems to me the principle changes. There are a hundred people interested in using railroads to one employer or manager. The statistics would indicate that there were not in the United States, excluding Canada and Mexico, over 900,000 railroad employees, while there are probably 65,000,000 to 70,000,000 people—that is, 70 to 1—in the United States that use railroads, and therefore it seems to me it is going to become necessary to keep the railroads running, but if we do that it becomes necessary to secure fair play to both sides in a strike on a railroad; something must be done to give both sides justice.

Now, the important thing needed—I suppose it will not settle the matter, it looks as if, whether people believed in it or not, the time is coming when people will have a better idea of civil service and all that than they have now. I think the time is coming when experiments in Government ownership of railroads will be tried, but yet that is not likely, I suppose, to be tried on any large scale immediately unless it be in the case of the Union Pacific, and I suppose you are interested in what is needed immediately. I would think that a national court might be devised for interstate commerce, perhaps State courts for state commerce, though I think almost all difficulties will be interstate pretty soon on railroads, and that that court might be accompanied by a license system such as was indicated by the witnesses yesterday; providing, that no man could get a license to work on a railroad if he could not pass a good examination as to competency. It seems to me that if the United States licenses, as it does, engineers on steamboats engaged in interstate commerce on the Mississippi River, and the lakes, that it is just about as important to the public interest that the locomotive engineers should be licensed and switchmen to prevent danger to life from incompetent men. And having a license system, which I don't think the men would object to, we could provide that they must submit their difficulties to this court or lose their licenses, and the employers must submit their difficulties to the court in case they can not adjust them voluntarily or through any board of arbitration they might personally select. In case they could not do that, that the employers must submit to this court for adjudication, and of course the employers could be reached if they violated it by some fine or forfeiture of charter, or something of that kind, just as the men could be reached in the matter of license.

It may be it would be better to require the men to put up two or three weeks' pay in advance and have that kept back, not by the railroads, but subject to the control of the court, and to be forfeited if they violated the decision of the court. But perhaps the license system would be better. I am inclined to look with approval on that. In other words, it seems to me that the great third party, the public, has a right to be heard on this question, not with the idea of injuring the employee or employer, but to prevent our railroads from being tied up. I recognize that there would be some difficulties about having a court of that kind. The workingmen are suspicious of the courts and would be afraid

they would not get fair play; but, still it seems to me the best thing in sight at present to lead the way to something further—better than the present system, to say the least. I do not know that I have anything further to say unless you desire to ask some questions.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). As I understand it, you suggest for the settlement of industrial difficulties a board of arbitration having power to compel the attendance of witnesses and to make searching investigation, but not power to compel or enforce its decrees?—Ans. Except railroad matters of a quasi public nature; there I would have it enforce its decree.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). There you would have compulsory arbitration in a broad sense?—Ans. Yes, sir.

Prof. Edward W. Bemis subsequently forwarded to the chairman of the commission the following letter to be attached to his testimony:

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,  
Chicago, Ill., September 24, 1894.

DEAR SIR: I desire, if not too late, to supplement my suggestion before the strike commission in this way: I advised that where 500 or more men are involved in a strike or lockout in a so-called private business, and conciliation or arbitration is refused by one or both parties, then the State board of arbitration, organized on the Massachusetts plan, should have both the right and duty of making full inquiry and publishing broadcast all facts germane to the issue, with the comments of the board.

I suggested that even profits be included in the investigation. I now wish to restrict the inquiry into profits to corporations where the employers themselves allege lack of profits as the reason for not granting what labor may ask. Where, as so often, inability to grant labor's demands is directly alleged, and where, in consequence, in a corporation employing large numbers of hands public interests are involved, the public has a right to know the facts. Nothing in the testimony taken after I left the stand leads me to change my other suggestion relative to the licensing system, and a compulsory court, or series of courts, for railroad troubles; but I would not have disobedience to this court in all cases punished by permanent loss of license. In some cases temporary deprivation of it for a few months might suffice.

Very respectfully,

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

Hon. CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

#### TESTIMONY OF JANE ADDAMS.

August 18, 1894, Jane Addams, being first duly sworn, testified as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, residence, and occupation.—Ans. Jane Addams; live at No. 335 South Halsted street; am superintendent of the Hull House.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Are you a member of the Civic Federation?—Ans. Yes, sir; I am a member of the board of conciliation of the Civic Federation.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State briefly what your experience has been during the recent strike relative to the action of that board of which you are a member toward securing an adjustment of the difficulties.—Ans. The board met at the Auditorium during the early stages of the strike, before the convention of the American Railway Union in Chicago. I was asked by the gentlemen on the board to find out as near as I could the attitude of the strikers toward arbitration. The object of the board was to arrange for arbitration, not to be itself an arbitration committee, but arrange for a board of conciliation. My first intercourse with the strikers was when Mr. Heathcoate presented the case before the labor assembly committee, and I made an arrangement with him to go down to Pullman. While there I took supper with some of the girls working there, and went around to see the houses

with members of the relief committee; also investigated as best I could the rentals, as compared with the tenement-house rentals elsewhere; the general committee there felt that I had better deal through the members of the American Railway Union and referred me to Mr. Howard; I saw him and found he was very friendly toward the notion of arbitration, and I reported that back to our board of conciliation. Mr. Bartlett, president of the board of conciliation, and one or two other gentlemen had promised to see the Pullman committee. We found it impossible to go further with the men until we knew more about the attitude of the company.

I made arrangements with the general secretary of the association and Mr. Bartlett, the president, to go and see the company, but through a mistake in the telephone message Mr. Bartlett failed to be present; but Mr. Estley, the secretary, and myself saw the representatives of the company. By this time the railway convention had assembled in Chicago, and the next time I saw Mr. Debs, Mrs. Henrotin went with me. This was our second call. We found Mr. Debs not only ready for arbitration, but he seemed to be eager to have the matter arbitrated. This was before the Pullman matter had been formally considered by the convention, although much discussed, and Mr. Debs arranged with our committee to meet the general strike committee at Pullman that same evening. He asked one of the Pullman men to go down and arrange to have a general session of the strike committee at Turner Hall, in Pullman. Mrs. Henrotin was unable to go down, and I was the only member of the committee that went to Pullman. That evening they had a meeting, at which there were present between fifty and sixty delegates from the local union, Mr. Heathcoate presiding. Some of the men at first were rather suspicious—did not know but what this attempt at arbitration was an attempt on the part of the company, and that the American Railway Union would not take up their cause—but their suspicions were quickly allayed, and after the case was presented they voted that they were ready to arbitrate any and all points, and that resolution was spread upon the minutes.

The proposition I made was the suggestions of Mr. Lyman Gage, president of the Civic Federation, and also president of the First National Bank of Chicago. I had talked with him, and also with the other members of the committee. His proposition was only as to the settlement of rents. The suggestion was that three men be appointed by the real-estate board, who knew more or less about suburban rents; that they make an estimate of the Pullman rents as to whether or not they were exorbitant; that that estimate be submitted to the company and to the men, and a readjustment be made on that basis. That was the proposition I made to the general strike committee at Pullman. They were anxious to have that done, but they did not wish it to appear that the rent was the only grievance, so they made their resolution general—that they were ready to arbitrate any and all points. I then came back to the city, feeling that we had made a beginning toward conciliation, and the other members of the committee went to see Mr. Pullman, I believe.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Who were they?—Ans. The members of the committee were Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Butler, Professor Henderson, Mr. Carroll, and Mr. Ryerson, I think.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What was the business of the men on this committee?—Ans. Mr. Ryerson is a capitalist. I don't know that he himself went to Mr. Pullman.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were the other men business men in

Chicago?—Ans. Yes, sir. Mr. Butler is an extensive dealer in general store supplies; Professor Henderson is connected with the university; Mr. Bartlett is in the wholesale hardware business; Mr. Carroll is editor of a labor paper and a very fair-minded man. It was impossible to come to any understanding with the Pullman company on that proposition, and it was dropped. We considered the effort a failure.

7 (Commissioner WORTHINGTON). You say it was impossible to come to an understanding. Do you mean it was impossible to secure any arbitration or conference with them?—Ans. It was always possible to see them. They were always very courteous to me, but they insisted there was nothing to arbitrate.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was it the view of your committee that they ought to arbitrate the question of rents?—Ans. We hoped they would agree to the appointment of this committee of three men from the real-estate board to arbitrate the rents alone; then we hoped, after getting that settled, other matters would be settled, and the affair would be adjusted. We knew the rent was not the only grievance.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Was it the idea of your committee that on account of a reduction in wages there should be a reduction of rents?—Ans. No. Our first notion was that the rents were higher than the rents in other suburbs around in the vicinity, and we wished to take that question by itself, irrespective of the question of wages. We held that the company had applied strong competition to wages and had cut down wages, but had had no competition on rent, and the rents had been held up, and we wished to apply competition to the rents. Let these real-estate men say what the rent would be if subject to the ordinary competition.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). It was not a question, then, of wages and rents, altogether?—Ans. No; but we hoped it would lead to that. Our proposition was to put the rents on a competitive basis.

11 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And bring them to the basis of rents in other localities?—Ans. Yes, similar localities.

12 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Did the question of the reduction in rents at Kensington and Roseland in the last few years to some extent form part of your plan?—Ans. We hoped it would, but the investigation was not taken up.

13 (Commissioner WRIGHT). But it would have been part of the plan if carried out?—Ans. Yes, sir.

14 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know anything about the relation of rents in Pullman to those in other localities where a similar class of people live?—Ans. I know very well in the neighborhood of Polk and Halsted streets in the locality of the Hull House, and it seems to me the rents at Pullman are higher than the rents in that vicinity, which is a mile west. You can get two rooms in that vicinity for \$6, while the cheapest two rooms I saw at Pullman were \$7.50, and most of them \$8.50. They were cleaner there because the surroundings were cleaner, but other facilities were no better.

15 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What has been the result of your investigation in Pullman and other places relative to the health of the people, the condition of sewage and such matters?—Ans. No doubt the town of Pullman is much better plumbed than the neighborhood of the Hull House and Halsted street, but I don't know how it compares with Roseland and Kensington.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Did you make any comparison as to other houses with more than two rooms?—Ans. Yes, sir; the rent seemed to be high for the cottages at Pullman, although I am not so

familiar with the rents of people who have houses all to themselves, but they are high in proportion to other localities.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). You did not carry your inquiries so far as to go yourself and see cottages of similar dimensions, etc?—Ans. Yes, sir; I did.

18 (Commissioner KERNAN). State what you did about that to satisfy yourself?—Ans. A number of cottages in Pullman that were renting for \$18 per month and some of them for \$22, it seems to me could have been rented cheaper than that in the city near Halsted street, or Polk and Loomis streets, such streets as that. I should say an \$18 cottage at Pullman could have been rented for perhaps \$15 in the thickly populated parts of the city.

At the close of the testimony, on the 30th day of August, Commissioner Wright made the following public announcement:

This commission has now heard all the witnesses which have been suggested by the various parties interested in this controversy, except a few whose testimony would be simply cumulative of points that have been covered.

At the opening of the hearing it was stated that the commission would decide at its close whether it had time at its disposal to listen to parties, orally, who had remedies for labor questions to offer, or suggestions as to legislation, and matters of that character. So much time has been taken up in hearing testimony on the facts relating to the late difficulties that the commission can not at present take up the secondary branch of the investigation. The commission will adjourn to meet in Washington, D. C., Wednesday, September 26, 1894, at which time it will be glad to receive, in writing, any suggestions as to the solution of questions involved in the late controversies. It will at that time hear any parties who may desire to be heard relative to the facts involved, and it may, after a careful examination of the testimony which has been offered at this hearing, conclude to call further witnesses to supplement any testimony which has been given on either side. The hearing stands adjourned till Wednesday, September 26, 1894, at Washington, D. C.

Pursuant to adjournment at Chicago, the commission met in the Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., at 11 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, September 26, 1894, all the commissioners being present.

Commissioner WRIGHT. As announced at the close of the hearings in Chicago, the commission is now ready to hear any further testimony relative to the causes of and the conditions surrounding the recent controversy between the Illinois Central Railroad Company, and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company and their employees, and any solutions or remedies for the prevention of such trouble in the future that may be offered.

#### STATEMENTS OF A. I. AMBLER.

Mr. A. I. Ambler, of Washington, D. C., said that he would like to submit to the commission a statement bearing upon the right of Mr.

Pullman in certain patents granted by the United States Patent Office. After consideration the chairman of the commission stated to Mr. Ambler that he might outline what he desired to bring before the commission, and if the commission decided it was germane to the investigation he would be sworn and the statement included as a part of the official record.

Mr. AMBLER. I understand that the commission has been appointed to investigate all matters relating to the strike. In the investigation there must undoubtedly be covered the leading features characteristic of Mr. Pullman's rights as well as his resources. If a foundation of those rights had been predicated upon the infringements of patents, then that seems to me to be a subject proper for the investigation of this commission.

Commissioner WRIGHT. That is the matter you would like to have the commission consider, the question of the infringement of patents?

Mr. AMBLER. No; that would be for the court to decide.

Commissioner WRIGHT. That is the suggestion you make.

Mr. AMBLER. The suggestion I make is that the foundation of his rights depends upon two things: First, the franchise of the Government, and, second, the charter based upon that franchise and the right to proceed in the State of Illinois in relation to all these matters. Now, if the foundation of that right is predicated upon a great wrong and injustice to the people, the people of the United States have a direct interest.

Commissioner WRIGHT. This suggestion which you make is what you want us to consider. We will now see whether or not the commission will consider the question you bring before it.

Mr. AMBLER. It seems to me more broad than I have stated. It covers all the legitimate right of Mr. Pullman to proceed in these matters and therefore to resist the claims of the strikers.

Commissioner WRIGHT. We will consider that matter and see whether or not it is a point we wish to go into. (Addressing Mr. Ambler.) What is your idea relative to the question of Mr. Pullman's patent rights and the causes of this particular strike which we have been investigating?

Mr. AMBLER. Indirectly it has a very great interest in it. The patents were granted to Mr. Allen, his former master mechanic, and the master mechanic at the time the invention was created and the patents obtained.

Commissioner WRIGHT. We won't go into that. What has all this to do with the cause of this particular strike?

Mr. AMBLER. As the foundation upon which Mr. Pullman has made his vast fortune.

Commissioner KERNAN. Now, assuming he has made his vast fortune by misuse of patents, or by getting patents from somebody wrongfully, what has that got to do with our ascertaining the cause of the late strike?

Mr. AMBLER. I do not understand, gentlemen, that this commission was appointed simply to investigate the causes as they existed at the time of the strike, but the primary causes and principles that led to that strike.

Commissioner WRIGHT. I will read the law to you, and then you can see where we are. The law states:

That the President may select two commissioners, one of whom at least shall be a resident of the State or Territory in which the controversy arises, who, together



with the Commissioner of Labor, shall constitute a temporary commission for the purpose of examining the causes of the controversy, the conditions accompanying, and the best means for adjusting it.

That is all we have a right to do. The President's commission authorizes this board, temporarily created, "to visit the State of Illinois and the city of Chicago and such other places in the United States as may appear proper in the judgment of the commission, to the end that it may make careful inquiry into the causes of any pending dispute or existing controversies and hear all persons interested therein," relating to the Illinois Central Railroad Company and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company. That is all we are authorized to investigate.

Mr. AMBLER. The ground upon which I predicate my views is that the foundation of his fortune and the building of his property in the State of Illinois were based upon these patents. There can be no question about that, for no such bodies could have been carried upon any other trucks.

Commissioner KERNAN. Then you claim the facts are that in some way or other he had no right to these patents?

Mr. AMBLER. I state that as a fact, and that is a matter of public record in the Patent Office of the United States.

Commissioner KERNAN. Assuming that to be so, assuming it all to be just as you state, what has that got to do with the cause of the strike between the employees and the company as to the amount of wages they were to receive?

Mr. AMBLER. One of the strong causes is that they have been in possession of the franchise of the Government, for which he pays nothing, and therefore he could very well have afforded to increase the product of his labor and given his men larger salaries than he did give, in my opinion. He has no patent rights even for his valuable trucks, the only trucks that could have carried such bodies, and upon which he has made his fortune off the brain of Mr. Allen, and I may say your humble servant, because I have protected him in an indirect manner in holding these patents, and the evidence is complete and overwhelming that that was the great question. I do not bring these matters before this commission as a court to investigate the infringement of patents.

Commissioner KERNAN. Don't you see that we can not as a commission go beyond our powers, and that, assuming that Mr. Pullman is the owner of any patents he has got, we can not enter into the question of determining whether he has wrongfully or rightfully obtained them; that we have no power to determine whether they are wrongfully or rightfully his? Don't you see that it would be difficult for us to go into the question of determining whether your claim is right or wrong and that we can not pass upon that? As to the other question you suggest, about the invalidity of his corporation, that is not a question we can treat. We have got to treat it as a valid corporation until the courts of Illinois determine otherwise. We can not go into this question.

Mr. AMBLER. I bring to the consideration of the commission a prima facie fact that the records of the Patent Office stand in the name of Mrs. Ambler, and that prima facie evidence is sufficient for all practical purposes, except for final recovery and for payment of the damages incident to the infringement, which can be determined only by the courts. These are questions I have examined for a great many years.

Commissioner KERNAN. What connection have these patents with the question of the cause of the strike, the question whether he was paying all the wages he ought to pay?

Mr. AMBLER. If a man steals a piece of property and is able thereby to do more business and to increase profits, and he uses parties to assist him in it, he ought at least to divide a part of the proceeds.

Commissioner KERNAN. You would not claim that was a matter of investigation?

Mr. AMBLER. It would seem to be.

Commissioner KERNAN. You would hardly claim, for instance, that a man who has stolen \$100 in money was bound, for that reason, to pay a higher price to a man he employed to do a piece of work?

Mr. AMBLER. There is no regular price upon the protection of a patent. It depends upon conditions over which this commission would have no control, but the prima facie evidence exists that the patents stand against him, and these are recorded in the Patent Office of the United States, and that is prima facie evidence.

On the above statements the commission decided that Mr. Ambler's views were not germane to the subject under investigation, and he was not therefore sworn.

#### TESTIMONY OF GUSTAV AUGERSTEIN.

Mr. Gustav Augerstein was sworn and examined as follows:

1 (Commissioner WRIGHT). State your name, age, residence, and occupation.—Ans. My name is Gustav Augerstein; my age is 45; my residence is temporarily at 708 Eleventh street NW., Washington, D. C. I am the representative of a society which is known as the International Cromwellian League, and also the representative of the Ideal Aluminum Money League, which is an auxiliary of the International Cromwellian League.

2 (Commissioner WRIGHT). What is your occupation?—Ans. I am the agent of that concern.

3 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Have you no calling in life, no profession or trade?—Ans. I have no regular profession. I have been almost everything you might name. I have been a farmer, a seafaring man, a professional trained nurse, have studied medicine, have worked in coal mines and stone quarries, etc., if that is sufficient for you. I may state that I am at present the agent of this society, which pays my salary. I work for that society to promulgate the principle of humanitarian doctrines.

4 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Were you in Chicago at the time of the strike which occurred on the Illinois Central Railroad Company and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company?—Ans. Yes, sir.

5 (Commissioner WRIGHT). In what capacity were you in Chicago at that time?—Ans. I was there as the agent of the International Cromwellian League to investigate the causes of the strike, to investigate the condition of affairs in Chicago during the World's Fair, as well as during the strike.

6 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And you are familiar with the causes of the strike that occurred at that time?—Ans. Yes, sir.

7 (Commissioner WRIGHT). And you also understand the conditions which surrounded this strike?—Ans. Yes, sir.

8 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Will you state in your own way, in brief, narrative form, what you know of the origin of those difficulties which occurred in Chicago this last season?—Ans. Well, to start with, I believe that it has been a general conception that the main cause was that Mr. Pullman refused to pay so-called living wages to his men.

9 (Commissioner WRIGHT). You must state what you know. You must state of your own knowledge what you know of the causes of the strike.—Ans. That was the beginning of the strike, and the employees were not willing to submit to the reduction of wages, and they found fault with Mr. Pullman because he reduced wages and was not willing to reduce the rents of the tenement houses in which the employees were living at that time. I personally went to Pullman and investigated the condition of affairs there, and had interviews with several members of the labor organizations and the employees of Mr. Pullman. They said to me that Mr. Pullman had reduced the wages and did not reduce the expense of rent, and so on, and that the cost of subsistence, and so on, was not reduced comparatively, and that they were in a plight. They could not, as they claimed, support their families decently, and of course they were compelled to strike. These were the reasons given to me why they did strike. Later on, of course, I had opportunities to find out that the members and officials of the American Railway Union were in sympathy with the Pullman strikers, and they believed in their frenzy that the time had come when a general strike should be proclaimed by the railroad employees, and they believed that the time had arrived when they could successfully carry the strike to an end, with the result of gaining, as they termed it, a victory over capital.

The minds of the leaders and the minds of the employees of the railroads and of those at Pullman were excited to the highest pitch; they were imaginative and certain that the result would finally be to their advantage. I noticed that the people were in such a frenzied and excited condition and in such a state of mind that they claimed it was necessary to make a fight to better their condition, and they thought it was right for them to strike. You know that the members of the American Railway Union struck only in sympathy with the Pullman strikers. My conception and my idea, from what I learned by interviews and considering the general state of affairs and the excited condition of the people, is that the trouble is of deeper origin than that which is generally understood as the cause of the strike, and of course I claim and assert that the real cause of the Pullman strike and that of the American Railway Union was that of intemperance.

10 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Do you know that to be a fact?—Ans. I do. The minds of those people were influenced by former indulgence in intoxicants. I am positive of that. The men, the leaders, from Mr. Debs down to his subordinates or his co-workers, have been under the influence of liquor for many, many years.

11 (Commissioner KERNAN). Your view of a remedy would be to stop the liquor traffic?—Ans. Of course.

12 (Commissioner KERNAN). That would end all the trouble?—Ans. That would, in my opinion, end it to a certain extent.

13 (Commissioner KERNAN). Have you any other remedy?—Ans. I have, but I would prefer to put it down in writing, if I may ask that privilege.

14 (Commissioner KERNAN). You may submit anything.—Ans. Of course, I claim that unless the people become sober-minded and abstain from intoxicating drinks in any shape, manner, or form they can never realize real happiness in this world.

15 (Commissioner KERNAN). And the object of your league is to promulgate these views?—Ans. To a certain extent we do.

16 (Commissioner KERNAN). Does that cover substantially the cause of the strike, in your judgment, and the remedy for it?—Ans. Well, I

would say so, unless I can have an opportunity to be by myself and put my thoughts in writing, because I had the misfortune of being born on the other side of the water, and am not able to state my views fully and comprehensively in speaking or talk unprepared.

17 (Commissioner KERNAN). If you prefer you may submit in writing, within ten days or so, anything further you desire.—Ans. The fact that the people everywhere were so excited that it was necessary to call in the troops of the United States and the militia of Illinois was, in my estimation, sufficient to prove that the people in general were in sympathy with the strikers, although the rabble, or the mob—as they may be termed, the multitude of Chicago—were uniformly the ones who were the disturbers, the destructors of property belonging to railroads. That fact can not be denied, because I saw strikers, so-called—but they were not strikers; they were bums and toughs, sympathizers and rowdies—firing property on certain occasions. This is a fact known to myself by my own observation. It can not be denied that these people were under the influence of liquor, and consequently it was the cause of their mischievousness and their doings. They caused all the excitement at Chicago, and I assert here that if at the time there had been some one else than Mr. Debs who had assumed the leadership of the mob, some one who had been willing to make a sacrifice at that time, he could have started a social revolution which could never have been put down by the authorities of the United States Government and all, because the military forces of the State of Illinois and all the adjoining States would have been insufficient to quell the disturbance in Chicago.

The minds of the people of Chicago were a volcano, you might say. It only needed some one to throw the spark into the volcano to cause a social revolution, and all the grand power of the United States could not have avoided it, because it was in the minds and spirit of the people. The people are now restless; they are dissatisfied with conditions, and labor cries out against capital as the one who is the chief wrong-doer. I think it must be the common people who must bring the remedy and must bring about a condition of affairs which shall finally be the remedy of the cause of evil.

18 (Commissioner WRIGHT). Your idea crystallized, then, is that with the temperance movement advanced and the abolition of alcohol secured, these troubles will cease?—Ans. It is.

Commissioner WRIGHT. Any statement you have to make as to remedies you may file in writing.

After the examination of Mr. Augerstein the chairman announced that as there were no more witnesses present, after full and timely public notice, the commission would close its public hearings, and that all future sessions would be executive. The commission then adjourned sine die.



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**APPENDIX B.**

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**RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE COMMISSION.**

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## APPENDIX B.

### RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE COMMISSION.

Appendix B consists of a brief digest of various communications received by the commission, embodying recommendations of remedies for strikes, boycotts, etc., and means for their prevention. The original letters to be published in full would make a volume altogether too large to warrant such a course. The particular features of each letter, however, are embodied in the digest.

### ARBITRATION, COMPULSORY OR OTHERWISE.

*Charles Francis Adams, Boston, Mass.*—The law should make it obligatory on some public tribunal promptly to intervene by means of investigation and report whenever a difficulty occurs of a character which causes the community to suffer grave inconvenience, if asked so to do. It should further be in the power of such tribunal when asked so to do by either party to the difficulty, and it should be its right to intervene after a difficulty arose and was matter of general knowledge, whether invited so to do by the parties thereto or not. The latter "right" should not be exercised save in cases where the public peace or convenience are clearly involved. If the parties declined to appear, which act in itself would fix their responsibility, the board should, on the best obtainable information, proceed to investigate and report, setting forth the facts as clearly as was in their power. Such action would not come under the head of "compulsory arbitration," which phrase it is submitted is a contradiction in terms, but might properly be called compulsory intervention.

Does any reasonable man doubt that if the intervening tribunal was able, honest, and of established character, commanding public confidence, that public opinion would settle the question within twenty-four hours after its report was made public. One party or the other would feel that it was carrying a load which rendered successful persistence on its part an impossibility.

*S. F. Sellers, Eureka, Kans.*—Railroad company and employees' notice of grievance, with specifications, having been filed by the latter, each to name an arbitrator; governor of State where trouble arises to name third man; President of United States to name fourth man to preside over deliberations; each arbitrator to be paid by party naming him; Congress to enact laws for enforcement of decision; sheriff to have power to see decisions are enforced, with right to call on State or National Government to assist him where necessary.

*W. E. Patterson, Bismarck, N. Dak.*—Suggests general court of arbitration to settle all labor disputes, and sets out at some length proposed composition and powers of same, with provisions for subordinate



branches of such court and powers and jurisdiction thereof; tenders services to draft a bill of above nature fully and completely covering every point if commission desires such a bill to be submitted as a part of its report.

*I. J. Mouser, Harvey, Ill.*—National courts of arbitration; judges to be appointed by President, with appeal from same to United States Supreme Court; pending such appeal decision of court of arbitration to be obeyed; suggests certain prescribed penalties for both parties in event of failure to obey decision; query as to whether such courts could now be constitutionally created; if not, then let there be an amendment to Constitution.

*P. S. Curry, Lynn, Mass.*—Suggests courts of arbitration in the several States, same, however, to be under Federal control, will afford remedy for strikes.

*John Phillips, secretary International Trade Association Hat Finishers of America, 477 Park avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.*—Arbitration the true method of settling labor difficulties. Compulsory arbitration should be established if it can be constitutionally done. Discusses quite calmly some of the faults of both employer and employees, but declares that after all a mutual spirit of fairness and calm discussion is the essential element necessary to avoid or adjust the difficulties from time to time arising between labor and capital.

*F. G. Jordan, financial secretary Fargo Typographical Union; John Cooner, president Trade and Labor Protective Union, Fargo, N. Dak.*—Compulsory arbitration might prove satisfactory if (1) arbitrators were representatives from the different States, or smaller localities affected by the trouble in question; (2) arbitrators should consist of disinterested parties; (3) all parties should be allowed to plead their case by attorney or in person; (4) decision of arbitrators to be appealed from only upon evidence of undue influence on the part of parties interested. (a)

*George E. Detweiler, editor of the Rights of Labor, Chicago, Ill.*—If boards for industrial arbitration should be established by the General Government as to interstate matters and by the several States for local issues with provisions that each side should be liable to the other in damages for refusal to abide by decree of the court, "the problem would be solved as nearly as it is possible for the Government to solve it."

As to how "unions" can be made to respond in damages, suggests that trade unions be chartered by the Government and compelled to have a fixed capital, paid in, with such statutory supervision of the finances of the unions as to secure a permanent fund, from out which the payment of any award against the unions by such courts could be enforced. (b)

*Albert P. Schack, Denver, Colo.*—Labor troubles, especially in mining districts or in connection with transportation companies, affect not merely parties engaged in controversy, but the entire community, hence the necessity of wise legislation on the matter in the interests of the public at large.

Suggests that courts of arbitration, the creation of State governments for local questions and of the National Government, so far as interstate business is involved, seem to be the only practical remedy.

*D. M. Frederiksen, Chicago, Ill.*—Writer takes issue with Mr. Springer, of Illinois, that compulsory arbitration seems impossible and "incon-

<sup>a</sup> See same writers, "Comments and general suggestions;" also "Wages, statutory regulation of."

<sup>b</sup> See same writer, "Comments and general suggestions."

sistent with our theory of government," and that only "arbitration possible" is so-called voluntary arbitration. Writer asserts voluntary arbitration furnishes no remedy unless both sides consent to resort thereto, which is rarely the case. The best solution will probably be that employment questions shall be settled in court exactly as property questions are now disposed of. The laws of property have been gradually, and some quite recently, developed, some of the radical changes which have been effected since the days of the old feudal system discussed, and argument made to show that out of customs and acts originally unlawful have sprung legislation and judicial decisions of vital benefit to the world. Asserts that "the American Constitution is the historical outcome of the 'Boston Tea Party,' an act entirely lawless in itself." As the business life of the nation develops and trusts and combinations increase and gain strength, it becomes a matter of necessity that the courts shall have increased power to deal with what are apparently private vested rights. Trusts are both necessary and useful, but they must be regulated. The testimony of employees before proper courts of arbitration given to show their own wages to be too low, would furnish, in part, the very information necessary for the regulation of such trusts and combinations. Calls attention to such legislation as has already been had as to child and female labor, sweat shops, sanitary conditions of places of labor, etc., and suggests that legislation as to wages is but one degree removed from such enactments.

Claims the whole question is a practical rather than an ethical one, and that it is useless to ignore the growing demand for some radical law making in the existing condition of unrest among the laboring classes and, in fact, the entire community as to the rights of labor as opposed to capital. Asks if it would not be better to jump in than be pushed in, and suggests that the sooner legal recognition is given to existing conditions the better for all concerned.

*D. J. Shaw, president National Retail Butchers' Protective Association, Fort Wayne, Ind.*—Favors courts of arbitration to settle disagreements as to wages; decisions to be final and enforceable by law, and should apply to all parties working for firm or corporation for a fixed period, say one or two years; failure to obey decision of court to be punished as contempt.

*J. S. McLain, editor Minneapolis Journal.*—Sends on a brief synopsis of the final report of the British Royal Commission on Labor, and among the conclusions arrived at is one that compulsory arbitration is found impracticable. (a)

*S. M. Massey, secretary Amalgamated Association Street Railway Employees of America, St. Paul, Minn.*—United States should establish an arbitration commission with full power to attend to all differences arising from any causes which might conflict with the provisions of the interstate commerce act, with further power to compel parties to obey its mandates, and each State should enact similar laws to govern in all matters of labor difficulties not properly coming under the jurisdiction of the United States commission.

*Norman T. Mason, Deadwood, S. Dak.*—Advocates a State board chosen equally from employers and workmen with a Government official having a deciding vote; board to have judicial power as to all labor controversies; strikes and lockouts to be declared illegal; tribunal to fix for a definite ensuing period terms of employment in dispute; decrees to be enforced by fine, injunction, or both; fine employer who fails to pay

a See same writer, "Divers proposed measures of legislation for the benefit of labor."

decreed wages amount equal to difference between rates fixed and those actually paid; fine workman who accepts more than decreed wages on the same basis; enjoin employer from employing anyone during period fixed on any other terms than those fixed by decree; enjoin workmen from receiving from their old employer any other wages than those decreed. Compulsory arbitration is no worse than compulsory starvation or ruin, even leaving out of sight the public's interest in the matter. And laws admitting of wages theretofore agreed upon does not differ in principle from laws fixing and limiting the number of hours that a man can work.

*Edward S. Richards, Chicago, Ill.*—Arbitration fails when all the elements of a controversy are not fully and voluntarily submitted; neither party can be forced to arbitrate or submit facts or evidence in the absence of a specific agreement so to do. In questions arising between capital and labor these conditions are impossible for the reason that neither side will, nor is it proper that it should, be compelled to give up its secrets to outside parties. (a)

*Frank J. Tuttle (no address given).*—Growing antipathy to railroad company apparent; suggests that among other remedies courts of arbitration should be established, both parties to be represented in the makeup thereof; decision to be final and compulsory. (b)

*Charles M. Moore, Chicago, Ill.*—Writer states, among other things, when and under what circumstances arbitration becomes practical—that is, between a party of equals or in the case of the violation of some specific contract or agreement—and having suggested that railroad employees be hired each year under a specific written agreement, holds that in the event of the alleged violation of such contract, a court of arbitration should step in and decide the controversy. (c)

*M. Barton, Spring Valley, Ill.*—Calls attention to a bill introduced by him in the general assembly of Illinois, January, 1893, "For an act in relation to arbitration between employers and employees," and incloses copy of the bill. The bill provides for a species of arbitration not compulsory in its inception, its decrees to be binding, however, but writer says he personally favors the introduction of a clause therein making it possible for the compelling of such arbitration by those whose business is affected by any labor difficulty.

*E. L. Hews, jr., New Orleans, La.*—Boards of arbitration should be named in every State, three to be named by labor, three by capital, the seventh man to be the governor of the State or Territory; an appeal from any State decision to lie to a national commission; its rulings to be final. Writer strongly urges legal restriction of foreign immigration; also suggests that each State or Territorial board should compile an equitable scale of wages.

*William J. Gilthorpe, treasurer Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders of America, Kansas City, Kans.*—Suggests the arbitration of all difficulties between labor and capital before a United States commission, with ample powers to compel presence of parties and production of papers; and also that such commission prepare and furnish proper forms of contracts to be entered into by employer and employee.

*W. Hampton Smith, Astoria, Oreg.*—The concentration of organization of capital renders it impossible for the individual to successfully

<sup>a</sup> See same writer, "Comments and general suggestions."

<sup>b</sup> See same writer, "Wages, statutory regulation of;" also "Comments and general suggestions."

<sup>c</sup> See same writer, "Governmental ownership or control of railroads;" also "To license railroad employees."

contest with it. Labor unions should therefore be permitted and be subject to legislative control through charter privileges granted them by law. Then a court of arbitration, vested by law with large equity powers, should investigate and decide all disputes arising between capital and labor, its decisions to be enforceable by law. (a)

*Hugh McKay, corresponding secretary General Council of Engineers of the State of New York, Brooklyn, N. Y.*—Trusts that commission will find after full deliberation that arbitration is the workingman's salvation.

*John T. Wilson, International Brotherhood of Railway Track Foremen of America, St. Louis, Mo.*—Any plan of arbitration honestly conducted would be of advantage to employees, employers, and the public; plan suggested would be one member to be chosen by employees, another by company involved, they to choose a third. Their published findings of facts and opinions, even if same could not be enforced by legal process, would prove a powerful factor in forming public opinion, which, when intelligently directed, would prove potent in settling difficulties. (b)

*L. A. Booth, Oakland, Cal.*—Certain officers appointed by law at the call of either party to fully investigate the facts in relation to any strike which may occur and submit findings and decision, which, while it did not carry the weight of a judicial determination, would tend to settle in the public mind the merits of the case, and through the force of public opinion a settlement would be likely to be brought about.

*W. C. Warren, Chicago, Ill.*—Advocates the interference of an authorized mediator in case of controversies between labor and capital, and the adjustment of difficulties by same through methods of conciliation; a species of voluntary arbitration, as it were.

#### COMMENTS AND GENERAL SUGGESTIONS.

*G. P. Lord, Elgin, Ill.*—Events at Pullman demonstrate that "paternalism is a failure. Make every wage earner a property owner and there will be an end of strikes."

*J. B. Edwards (no address).*—Land on which Pullman stands bought at average of \$130 per acre; same capitalized at an enormous value and made to pay 6 per cent revenue thereon. This enables car company to take contracts under cost, and its profits come from rentals. This matter is just what Pullman didn't want arbitrated.

*C. G. Hassett, Utica, Minn.*—Restrictions should be placed on immigration, and a sum of money put up by all comers as security for good behavior. Some action should be had to put an end to dilatory legislation, and compel prompt discussion of an action upon all bills of public moment. (c)

*F. G. Jordan and John Cooner, Fargo, N. Dak.*—Strict immigration laws to be enacted; the right of franchise not to be given unless applicant can read and write the English language. (d)

*D. H. Nevins, Minneapolis, Minn.*—Remedies suggested: (1) A continuation of protection of American industries; (2) compulsory apprentice system for the youth of the country; (3) State and national corporate laws to be modified so that unlawful combinations may not interfere with open and free business competition; (4) no class legislation; (5) Government should not own, but should control, the railroads by proper commissions, the railroad employees to be subject to Govern-

<sup>a</sup> See same writer, "Wages, statutory regulation of."

<sup>b</sup> See same writer, "Comments and general suggestions."

<sup>c</sup> See same writer, "Governmental ownership or control of railroads."

<sup>d</sup> See same writers, "Arbitration, compulsory;" also "Wages, statutory regulation of."

ment and commission requirements; no watered stock or dividend on same to be allowed; if employees' pay has to be reduced, then freight and passenger rates must also be reduced; (6) no bounty or premiums to be paid by the Government to any syndicate, corporation, or business; (7) in periods of business stagnation General Government to engage in internal improvements; (8) revenues to be raised from importations and tax on home luxuries and net incomes of individuals and corporations; (9) United States Senators to be chosen by popular vote; (10) all labor organizations to be disbanded, leaving each man to better his own condition as best his natural ability befits him to do.

*George E. Detwiler, editor Rights of Labor, Chicago, Ill.*—Writer states he was reliably informed by both a deputy sheriff and a deputy United States marshal that labor disturbances at Blue Island could have been readily handled without military aid; also, that cars destroyed by fire, notably at Danville, were "out-of-service cars," and that the railroad companies were benefited by their destruction, and that it was openly alleged that they connived at such destruction. (a)

*Edward Koby, attorney, etc., Chicago, Ill.*—Quotes various passages from Mr. Debs' testimony as published by the press. Argues therefrom that the American Railway Union appears to be a government of which Debs is president, with limited powers, with subordinate or coordinate governments with power to declare war, and argues such organizations are constituted for war and governmental purposes, much like the Indian tribes. Where strikes are carried on, the government to which Debs refers makes war upon the persons who are not of that government, who are at work or wish to work, resorting to proscription, destruction, and sometimes death.

Under this state of facts it becomes apparent that section 4, Article IV, of the United States Constitution, comes into action, viz, "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government," in connection with Amendment XIII, "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

The writer then considers the nature of railroad corporations, and the peculiar powers, privileges, and liabilities thereof, and concludes that they are part of the national life, essentials of national existence; hence, Debs' statement, "We had the railroads completely beaten and and at our mercy; they were paralyzed," could very properly be paraphrased thus: "We had the governments, State, Federal, and municipal, completely beaten and at our mercy; they were paralyzed."

*Thomas Brownlee, Tacoma, Wash.*—A prominent cause of trouble is the fact that in railroad service there is a vast gulf between original beneficiaries of product of such labor and the laborer. Men illy qualified by nature or temperament for their duties too often attain positions of power, of which they make an upwise and evil use, oftentimes for selfish and sordid purposes. Among other evils, promotion through favoritism rather than merit works great harm. To protect itself labor has been compelled to organize, and strikes and boycotts have necessarily resulted, but same have not resulted in benefit, but rather in harm to the employee. Time, however, works wondrous changes, and the day may come when labor in its might may win. Whether such a result would effect any lasting good to the community at large is questionable. He who can provide a power by which the wage earner will obtain the justice that is due him will prove the savior of the nation. (a)

*Carl Pankopf, Jersey City.*—Writer offers no specifically defined plan for correction of labor troubles, asserts generally that as "Government is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants" (Burke) we ought to look to the Government for the elimination of social evils and exert all our strength in making it a Government of, for, and by the people.

*Alice Webster, in Household Realm of July, 1894. (b)*—No denying that labor men have a grievance. Men of money have combined in every way to gather the reins in the hands of the few, and then thought to rule labor by the crack of the whip. No action has ever been taken by the Government to demand justice for labor at the hands of great corporations. While destruction of property can never set a wrong right, still it is as reasonable to expect men to sit idle while want hovers near and do no act of violence as to expect capital to extend its investments in a losing channel. As a fact, however, irresponsible mobs are chargeable with most of the violence, while actual strikers are innocent thereof.

Enact laws for the control of capital. Compel Pullman and all his kind to lend a hand in adjusting a part of the expense to which they have put the nation. Were the cost of sending an army to protect a rich man's property charged up to his hoarded millions he would be slower in saying: "Thus much will I give for a day's work, and no more."

It should be as much the business of the Government to compel the man of money to keep the peace by giving no cause for disturbance as it is its business to compel idle men to respect the law.

*John T. Wilson, International Brotherhood of Railway Track Foremen of America, St. Louis, Mo.*—Railway strikes are often precipitated by despotic officials who know neither practice nor theory, and who hound their subordinates because they belong to unions. A law inflicting penalties upon employers and their agents for interfering with workingmen's belonging to a union would serve a good purpose; calls attention to the fact that track laborers, receiving on an average but 90 cents per day, are first to be cut in wages whenever any depression in business occurs, by reason of the fact that they are practically unorganized, and incapable of offering an effectual resistance to such cutting of their wages.(c)

*Lorenzo M. Johnson, Winnetka, Cook County, Ill.*—Asks that commission take such evidence as may be necessary to determine if unrestricted immigration, the neglect of jury duty and primary politics by the better class of citizens, and the use of intoxicants and tobacco are not the primary causes of existing labor troubles.

*C. A. Lounsberry, president North Dakota Press Association, Fargo, N. Dak.*—Calls attention to the oft made assertion that the Associated Press and its competitor, the United Press, were influenced or controlled by monopoly in the interest of capital against labor in gathering and presenting news during the strike; claims that such assertion has no foundation whatever in fact, and thinks it would be a matter of public interest that this commission should inquire fully into the methods and purposes of said press associations.(a)

a See same writer, "Judicial methods of various kinds suggested."

b Mrs. Augustus Wilson, editor of Wilosnton Journal, Kansas, also sends communication containing a clipping of the article of Miss Webster, and an editorial of her own approving and indorsing Miss Webster's views.

c See same writer, "Arbitration, compulsory."

*N. C. A. Rayhouser, La Crosse, Wis.*—After a discussion of the relations between them for the best interests of both, and deploring the seeming growing antagonism which is more and more frequently displaying itself, growing out of an increasing suspicion the one of the other from a lack of the exercise of thought and mutual consideration of the true rights of each. The writer concludes that legislation offers little or no prospect of any remedy. That relief must principally be afforded by both parties, calmly and dispassionately, considering their mutual rights and obligations, and each in a spirit of brotherly kindness, so adjusting and arranging their business relations that neither party shall suffer injustice at the hands of the other. He also suggests cooperation as a beneficial source of adjustment, and claims that the only practical legislation that can be had in the premises is the passing of efficient laws to restrict and regulate foreign immigration.

*Frank S. Billings, M. D., Grafton, Mass.*—Two communications. Suggests that "causes of cataclysm in Chicago" are probably deeper than the commissioners may care to go, but not than they may think; suggests that it would be wise to show the proportion of real union strikers in comparison with the floating population of Huns, Bohemians, Greeks, and general scoundrels engaged in acts of violence and destruction of property; also the proportion of actual strikers born and educated here. Good men seldom strike, though undoubtedly they at times have cause so to do.

In a subsequent communication writer holds the primary cause of strikes to be the natural inequality of men. The inciting cause is, however, the false ideas of equality taught by all altruists and supported by the church, making the equality due to a common Father, and hence common brotherhood. This teaching inspires inequality or inability to assume its due rights to the earnings of ability, which it has not done, as it can steal them by massed might. Commission can, if it desires, show three things: (1) The church as a cause of labor wars; (2) the church as a check on labor wars; (3) that those who do the fighting have broken from the traditions of the church, so far as obeying them is concerned, while they still adhere to and try to put in practice the doctrine of equal brotherhood, though they, for the most part, deny God the Father, on which that doctrine is founded.

*G. H. B., Peoria, Ill.*—Writer asserts one great reason why railroad companies have to reduce wages is the fact that the gross mismanagement of the financial affairs of the company, the watering of capital, and the speculating in stocks and securities with the funds of the companies, keep many companies continually on the verge of bankruptcy, and calls attention to an article in the August Forum for 1894, entitled "Legalized plunder of railway property," by Isaac L. Rice. Writer insists stringent legislation should be had looking to the prevention of and punishment for such action on the part of the managers of railway companies; writer also inquires why railway companies in recent strikes were so anxious to carry out their alleged contracts for the hauling of Pullman cars and so indifferent to the performance of their contracts for the carrying of United States mails, which latter contracts they could have fulfilled without any hindrance; also asks why the efforts of the United States troops were not first made to get out a mail train instead of a meat train.

*Edward S. Richards, Chicago, Ill.*—The strong arm of the Government should provide ways and means for settling differences of labor and capital outside of arbitration. Labor organizations should differ

from what they are under present conditions, and the present laxity in corporation laws should be remedied. The writer, while claiming that both capital and labor can be reorganized to advantage, does not offer any specific legislation which would tend to bring about the desired ends.

*Frank J. Tuttle (no address given).*—The growing antipathy to railroad companies arises in no small degree from apparent sympathy of our courts toward such corporations, growing out of the fact that our judges are under obligations for passes, etc. To remedy this evil, make it financially profitable to our judges to pay their fare. (a)

*Isaac Reed, Cannelton, Ind.*—Comments with much approval upon the care and consideration had for the lives of their employees by employers in England, notably in the mining industries, as compared with that extended to employees in America, and incloses printed articles from English and American journals bearing on this point.

*S. E. Fulton, Goodland, Kans.*—The introduction of labor-saving machinery has driven out the workman in all trades, while hours of labor and wages paid the fewer number required remain substantially the same. Increase of wages or, better still, reduction of hours of labor, presents the only relief attainable.

*David Zeigler, Baltimore, Md.*—Contends that sleeping-car service should be furnished by the railroad companies themselves and not by a separate concern; criticises the present sleeping and drawing-room car service; insists that the "pass" system should be entirely done away with.

*William G. Clark, Chelsea, Mass.*—All who are not disposed to work for wages should take up unoccupied lands and produce what they want.

*Helen M. Gougar, La Fayette, Ind.*—Asserts that the use of intoxicants is at the bottom of most of the want and consequent discontent about low wages at Pullman, and in fact generally; asks that the commission bring out the fact as to many of the strikers asserting that such statement will be found to be true; incloses printed tabulation giving amount alleged to have been spent in Chicago alone by the lower classes for intoxicants and of the destitution resulting therefrom.

*A. F. F. Jensen, Commander of Post No. 168, G. A. R., Department of Wisconsin.*—The Bible gives all the information needed on the subject. We should not be the slaves of the money power. By following Scripture doctrine there would be no strikes in the United States, for we would then be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

*E. W. Miner, publisher Garrett Republican and Hudson World, Garrett, Ind.*—Writer asserts that he is personally knowing to the fact that there was no violence or disturbance at Garrett among the strikers when United States marshal came from Indianapolis with blank injunctions to serve; that he had a personal interview with the marshal, who admitted such to be the fact, but stated he was under imperative orders to serve same. He also avers that the expenses of the United States officials were borne by the Baltimore and Ohio Railway Company, and that that company's officials furnished the names to fill into the blank papers, and that, in fact, the said Government authorities were under the control of and acted on the suggestion of said railway company rather than from any overt act on the part of the strikers which called for action on the part of such Government officers. (b)

a See same writer, "Arbitration, compulsory;" also "Wages, statutory regulation of."

b See same writer, "Governmental ownership or control of railroads."



*William Hemstreet, Brooklyn, N. Y.*—More hands than work; more mouths than food; more of our population must be induced to till soil in a small way for personal subsistence. Tariffing and public work only aggravation of evil in the long run. We have got "to come to farms or bombs."

*F. H. Floyd (no address given).*—Inordinate greed for wealth throughout the country, illegitimate speculation at the West, greed of employers at the East, reduction of wages, thereby curtailing the purchasing power of the vast mass of consumers, and the failure of our so-called statesmen to investigate causes and enact wise laws in behalf of the laboring classes account for present financial depression and consequent strikes. Among other sources of relief, cooperation and sharing of profits between employer and employee is essential to future peace and prosperity.

*F. Livesey, Sykesville, Md.*—This gentleman presents a lengthy written communication; also several printed clippings of articles heretofore furnished by him to the "press." Space can scarcely be given to a close and exhaustive synopsis of these papers. Their general trend, however, is to the effect that education, under the present false and erroneous systems thereof, is largely responsible for the present status of depression and distress; that our young people, filled with false notions by the persistent teachings of the press, the pulpit, and so-called educational teachers as to the importance and necessity of "higher education," are in vast numbers endeavoring to force places for themselves in the already overcrowded professions, or in the mercantile world, for neither of which ranks by far the larger part of them are in any wise naturally fitted, and that each succeeding year only intensifies and aggravates the evil consequences of such a course. He contends that, by educating and inducing the coming generations to, for the most part, devote their attention to lines of manual labor and toil, notably in the field of agriculture, relief from our difficulties is alone to be found.

*John A. Peran, San Diego, Cal.*—A striking similarity in social conditions in free-trade England and protected Germany, in monarchical Austria and republican America, in sparsely settled Australia and densely populated Belgium, indicates some common cause of difficulty outside of political principles characteristic to each country. Too rapid increase of population, either by the birth rate or by immigration, is the primary cause of the trouble. Excess of supply over demand leads to reduction of wages; this in turn compels the wage earner, who is also a consumer, to retrench in buying, and thus the difficulty, instead of being relieved, is aggravated. Remedies suggested (among others): A total prohibition of immigration; a protective tariff, since America with her vast resources can practically supply all her own wants. (a)

*Franklin Ford, Dundee, Mich.*—To get at merits, wages of both sides must be taken into account. Events show that the Pullman company has had exceedingly hard times to keep up its wages, viz, the 8 per cent dividend to its stockholders. It was to this end wages of employees were unduly cut down.

*Thomas Coram, in Boston Commonwealth of August 25, 1894.*—The important thing to determine is not what things were said or done by this professional agitator, or by that large manufacturer or general manager, but how we can in future keep our people employed, and if this can not be done, how we can so distribute our unemployed through

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a See same writer, "Governmental ownership or control of railroads."

the country that each part may do its share in caring for them. The only resource for the "unemployed"—and it seems to most of us a hard one—is to go back to Mother Earth and ask from her the bread they need.

### COMMISSION TO BE CREATED BY UNITED STATES STATUTES.

*Frank D. Sears, Lewiston, Idaho.*—Commission to be created by Congress, one from East, one from Middle, and one from Western States, details as to salary, etc., with power to settle all disputes between employer and employees where 100 or more are employed at time of strike; Congress to enact laws to enforce the findings of such commission.

*A Sympathizer, Alma, Wis.*—In view of the fact that the Government gives protection to certain industries and patent-right privileges to others, the people have a right to insist that all extra profits arising from such privileges belong to and should go to the employees. To that end suggest the appointment of a United States commission to make personal investigation both here and abroad to ascertain and accurately report just what proportion of the earning of a concern can be properly charged up to the above-named causes, and the enactment of laws compelling the employer to pay over such profits to his employees.

### DEFECTS IN OUR FINANCIAL SYSTEM A SOURCE OF PRESENT DEPRESSION.

*George W. Hopkins, president Bear Lake and Eastern Railroad, Bear Lake, Mich.*—Labor does not receive just share of its products, rich growing richer and the poor poorer. Principal reason for this condition is "monopoly," and the greatest monopoly is "money." Money can not be used to make it productive without labor. Increase volume of money until supply of labor is exhausted and labor will make its price. It is the duty of the Government to supply money direct to the people, and not through the banks, as now.

*O. W. Bean, Wichita Falls, Tex.*—Honest money simply a tool—the symbol of commercial value and the medium of exchange. Present financial methods a failure. Under the present system the "Jew, the Bank of England," can substantially take every dollar out of circulation by simply "making his call." The Government should make money the same as it does postage stamps and ship it to every business town, to be at the command of any and all who will put up the commodity he has to dispose of in exchange therefor on a fair basis of value.

*F. H. Floyd (no address given).*—Laws must be so shaped that money, our present medium of trade, shall be so circulated and controlled that it shall be for the benefit of the people as a whole beyond the power of the individual to prevent. (a)

*T. H. Rowe (no address given).*—Volume of money should be increased; worship of gold dollar must cease. Banks to pay no interest on deposits and to be permitted to issue 100 cents on every dollar of security put up. Such action, coupled with the removal of all trade restrictions, would restore prosperity, and, per consequence, do away with strikes.

*Martin Kagny, Somerset, Ohio.*—For relief, suggests Government bank to every 25,000 inhabitants, deposits therein to be guaranteed

<sup>a</sup> See same writer, "Comments and general suggestions."

and 3 per cent interest paid thereon; money to be loaned to everyone producing security for 4 per cent; profits to go into the National Treasury. The writer also suggests ownership of land to be limited to not exceeding 640 acres, all mineral and other substances beneath the ground to be reserved for public, not private, use, land improvements got to be taxed.

**DIVERS PROPOSED MEASURES OF LEGISLATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF LABOR.**

*Joseph R. Jarvis, Cobden, Union County, Ill.*—All laws to be repealed that discriminate in favor of organized capital. Corporations to give employees sixty days' notice of any reduction of wages and thirty days' notice of discharge, except for cause. Employees to give thirty days' notice of intention to quit, under penalty pay, railroad company to hold thirty days' wages in its hand as a surety, same to be finally paid over to employee on his lawfully leaving company's employ.

*E. Gaylord, Topeka, Kans.*—Restrict immigration to such an extent that undesirable persons can not reach our shores. Protection for all American industries. Government employment for all idle men. Settlement of all labor questions by voluntary submission to boards of arbitration, each State to have a board of arbitration; also a national board, chairman thereof to be a cabinet officer. Labor organizations to be fraternal only.

*Donald A. Cormack, Brookings, S. Dak.*—Claims that certain capitalists, in their attempt to reduce the wages of operatives in certain lines, "locked out" American employees and introduced pauper labor from abroad, and as these learned to resist cuts in wages, replaced them with others from abroad until the country was filled with an ignorant and dangerous lot of laborers, resorting to violence and destruction of property when labor disputes arose. Recommends enactment of laws: (1) For the rounding up and expatriation of all anarchists; (2) stringent provisions against the employment of foreign laborers; (3) for the suppression of organized corporate political power; (4) for the suppression of trusts and combinations organized for the purpose of raising the price of the necessaries of life; (5) for the settlement of all labor disputes by arbitration; (6) no person to be allowed to vote who can not speak, read, and write the English language.

*H. L. Hershberg, secretary Titusville Board of Trade, Titusville, Pa.*—Mankind generally has to be forced by law or the fear of law to do right; railroad officials and labor leaders no exception to the rule. Laws should be enacted that no railroad employee should leave employ except on thirty days' notice, one month's wages to be held and forfeited as a penalty. Railroad companies not to discharge without thirty days' notice, save only for drunkenness, repeated violation of rules, or gross incompetency. If discharged without thirty days' notice, company to pay all wages due and one month's additional wage as a penalty.

*William J. Meyers, Fort Collins, Colo.*—Proposed "Act for the regulation of interstate commerce:"

SECTION 1. No person from company or corporation conveying persons, property, and intelligence from any point in one State to any point in another State, to be subject to act.

SEC. 2. Employees to be hired under written contract only, signed by both parties, kind of service and rate of pay to be specified, and exact date on which contract is to cease. Any provision requiring either party to do any act contrary to the Statutes of the United States, or

any State, or relieving either party from any claims for damages the other party might have, or restricting the right of either party to combine with others for mutual aid and support, subjects party proposing it to the penalties prescribed for a misdemeanor.

SEC. 3. Provisions as to hiring without written contract for an undetermined period, but shall not, in such case, discharge any employee except for failure to perform duty without at least thirty days' notice, same to be filed with clerk of United States district court; rate of pay not to be diminished without thirty days' notice; employee to give like notice of intention to quit, naming exact day services shall end.

SEC. 4. Statement of cause of discharge shall be made by affidavit; false statements to constitute perjury.

SEC. 5. Provisions for payment of annual tax to United States and how same shall be applied.

SEC. 6. Suits for infringement of this act to be brought in United States district court.

SEC. 7. Copy of this act, printed in type not smaller than pica, to be conspicuously posted in all railroad offices where employees are engaged.

SEC. 8. Penalties for violation of act.

*George W. Wolf, Baltimore, Md.*—Trouble between capital and labor for most part arises primarily from the selfishness and ambition of the employer and his disregard for the welfare of others. The application of the principles of the golden rule, the true solution, but to the end that existing evils may be remedied, trust and combines should be legally restricted. Laws providing for increased rates of wages should be enacted, and arbitration, through commissions appointed by the Government, should be provided for.

*I. N. Gates, Bushnell, Ill.*—Holds that the history of the world shows that wherever large masses are deprived of direct recourse to nature's bounties and dependent upon their masters for subsistence there is ever an increasing tendency to anarchy. In former days when men were thrown out of work through strikes they went West, took up land, and grew up with the country. This source of relief has now been practically cut off. Large tracts of land still unoccupied are, however, held under grants to railroad companies or have been taken up by foreigners or by syndicates. Suggests the enactment of laws, not immediately confiscating these lands, but under the laws of descent gradually taking the lands away from these large owners, prohibiting foreigners from taking up any more lands, or holding or acquiring mining or manufacturing interests in the United States, and limiting holders to a maximum of not to exceed 160 acres, holders in all cases to be actual and bona fide occupants; also compelling railroads to open up all lands to actual settlers.

*D. Clifford (no address given).*—Suggests the enactment of bills by the several States substantially of the nature of an act proposed some years ago by C. C. Bonney, of the Chicago bar, a copy of which the writer incloses. Act proposes a commission of five persons named by governor and confirmed by senate, three of the number to be representatives of wage workers. This body to be clothed with authority to inquire into the relations of employer and employee in any business carried on in the State, with ample powers as to persons and papers, right of entering on premises, etc. (set forth in bill in detail); with power to investigate any cases of fraud, extortion, or oppression brought before it in the manner detailed in act and render such decision as the circumstances shall show to be proper in the opinion of the commission;

and all persons to abide by and obey its decisions until relieved therefrom by the executive or the judicial decrees of a court of equity. Commission to have the right to fix and regulate hours of labor and fix wages, subject to the executive order or judicial decree as above provided, the rule of quantum meruit to govern the commission in passing on questions of wages, any special contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any questions brought before the courts under the proceedings of this commission to take precedence of all other civil business. Various other details and particulars are provided for in the proposed bill, and the entire act is decidedly stringent and sweeping in its character.

*Alexander Whelan, Washington, D. C.*—Suggests the general organization of cooperative associations of workmen, outlines plan of organization, and adduces arguments to show the beneficent and wise character of such organizations properly organized and competently operated.

*J. S. McLain, editor Minneapolis Journal.*—Calls attention to the findings of the British Royal Commission on Labor, as set forth in its final report. Among them, that formal collective agreements between organized trades unions and employers, in place of individual agreements of employer and employee, are more reasonable and practicable and are taking the place of other adjustments. Trades unions to be legally authorized to contract with employers so that they can sue and be sued for breach of contract, damages against workmen to be paid out of the funds of the union. Breaches of contract by either party would go under the jurisdiction of the courts, and pending settlement work would go on as usual and no man would lose any time. (a)

*H. M. Chittenden, Elgin, Ill.*—Causes of strike are primarily the fact that employees have the desire, common to all civilized men, to better their condition, while employers having certain advantages, either justly or unjustly, are, like all men in possession, unwilling either to surrender or share them, hence the conflicts between them; secondarily, the severe competition for work, making it practicable for the employer to generally succeed when conflicts do arise.

To enable labor to benefit its condition writer claims that "protection" is essential but not sufficient in itself, the necessity of the restriction and possibly temporary prohibition of immigration is apparent, as it is a well-known fact that, notably, in the mining industries, inferior and undesirable labor brought in from abroad has driven out the better classes, and evidences of the same condition of affairs at Pullman are not wanting. Further, labor organizations should not only be encouraged but chartered, and so regulated and conducted by one process of law as to make it possible to enforce the decrees of proper courts of arbitration against employees as well as employers.

*William Herrmann, Chicago, Ill.*—The use of labor-saving machinery has so increased the power of production, with a diminished number of employees, that labor itself has been greatly injured thereby. Machinery should therefore be taxed. A day's labor should also be fixed at not to exceed eight hours; girls should be excluded from work, as by their employment heads of families are thrown out of work or compelled to work at unremunerative rates, while at the same time the girls are unfitting themselves for their true sphere in life, viz, that of wives and mothers.

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a See same writer, "Arbitration, compulsory."

*Stewart McKay, Truckee, Cal.*—The use of machinery to a certain extent to be prohibited, the present general and extensive use of same being an injury to the masses; it should, where used, be well taxed toward supporting the Government.

Marriage should also be wisely regulated by statute, with a view to the improvement of the human species.

*N. W. Gunn, La Salle, Ill.*—(1) Employer to be compelled by statute to pay living wages, otherwise to shut down until he can do so; (2) labor organizations must be compelled to incorporate; (3) when wages of employees are cut down, salaries of all officers and foremen to be cut down in an equal ratio; (4) stockholders owning controlling shares of stock not to receive any compensation for official management to the extent of their own stock, and to be compelled to advertise percentage charged by him on stock of other holders for looking after the interests of such other holders. The above only temporary relief, however; the moral elevation of the laborer, which is the work of generations and can only be gradually effected, the only permanent remedy.

*D. O. Kellogg, Vineland, N. J.*—Compel receivers of bankrupt corporations to reduce their book liabilities or to put up the cash to make them solvent, just as the Government does with insolvent banks. Compel corporations to make semiannual returns and cover into the State treasury all their excessive expansions of debt. Compel them to raise money by sale of stock without preferences. Embody in every industrial charter the principle that a franchise is a public trust, and whatever its owners gain beyond a fair return belongs to the State. Result, incorporated employers of labor will not try to extort out of labor's wages the means to pay dividends on fictitious stock.

*Oren B. Taft, Chicago, Ill.*—Three interests involved in consideration of the labor problem, viz: The Commonwealth or social fabric, capital, and labor. Capital has already an existence in the statutes enabling it to enforce and defend its rights. Labor itself must have a legal standing of like importance and for the same reasons. It is, therefore, urged as the only solution of the labor problem, "that labor should use its best intelligence and utmost energy in formulating law and securing legislation admitting it to a place in law and the courts by the side of and equal to capital."

## GOVERNMENTAL OWNERSHIP OR CONTROL OF RAILROADS.

*C. G. Hassett, Utica, Minn.*—Government to own and control all railroads. (a)

*Robert Larmour, Chicago, Ill.*—Competition, in case of State ownership, would be interfered with. Political influence would also be a great factor in their management. The ownership of railroads by Government in Canada not a fair case to be cited to sustain the wisdom of such control, as such roads were originally built and equipped by the Government and not taken or acquired from private owners. (b)

*E. E. Findeisen, Chicago, Ill.*—Employers, notably railroad companies, too thoroughly organized to permit of any redress being obtained by employees, either by strikes, boycotts or arbitration. To prevent all further trouble, Government of the United States should operate and control all railroads.

a See same writer, "Comments and general suggestions."

b See same writer, "Methods of prevention of labor troubles, not statutory."

*Leslie C. Wead, Boston, Mass.*—Too much truth in the inflammatory utterances of certain labor agitators and in their charge that the gulf dividing the rich from the poor is steadily growing wider. The fact remains that there is widespread discontent, and thousands can not find honest employment to supply even the necessities of life. Benevolent persons have made great efforts to alleviate suffering, but men want work at living wages, not charity. The theories of the socialists while, as a whole, impracticable, have some lessons of use to us. The prompt action of the President in the late strike is a step in advance of any previous action under similar circumstances, and meets with general approval. Taking this into consideration, the fact that the United States has, by law, already undertaken to regulate in some degree the operation of interstate roads, it is but a step to regulate the employment of the men whom we have to trust every time we enter a car. The problem presents serious questions, but would it not be practicable to place a proportion of the employees at least on a basis of permanent service, providing for proper examinations, assignment to special service, provisions for promotion, and advance in wages as a reward for faithful service, with provision for a moderate pension for those maimed or who have grown old in the service, and other provisions which might suggest themselves to one giving the matter proper study? If such a system proved wise for the General Government, like legislation could readily be enacted in the several States as to all local quasi public corporations, or even to such private corporations as by reason of their enormous capital have undue advantage over individual competitors.

*R. A. Wilder, Cressona, Pa.*—In view of the frequent disturbance in the mail and interstate traffic and the inability of managers to control the turbulent elements among employees, a necessity will arise to place all railway lines under national authority. In no other way can the great business interests of the country be conducted if railway managers fail to devise some system which will give permanency to carrier service. (a)

*H. P. Chandler, Portland, Oreg.*—Hitherto relations existing between railway companies and their employees have been generally regarded in which the public had a remote, if any, interest. Recent events have clearly indicated the utter fallacy of such a doctrine. If the railroad lines are subject to reasonable control by Congress as to charges, connections, traffic arrangements with other lines, and appliances for the comfort and security of patrons, why should they not be also brought under proper rules as to the employment of those servants to whom the actual labor of conducting such business is confided. Let Congress enact a law declaring all interstate commerce to be in the nature of a public service, subject to such regulations as may be prescribed by national legislation. Further, let it be enacted that employment of all servants of railway corporations, except day laborers, shall be by specific contracts signed by both parties thereto stating details of agreement, same to be continuous from month to month, ten days' notice of expiration to be given. Penalty for violation of contract to be specified. In case of disagreement dispute to be submitted to arbitration; decision of arbitrators to be final and binding. In case employee should abandon the service for which he was engaged during term of his engagement he is to be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. If company requires unusual extra hazardous or extra laborious service of employee and refuses to compensate employee therefor, it shall be liable to him

a. See same writer, "Methods of prevention of labor troubles, not statutory."

in damages to be determined by arbitrators or collected by an action at law.

*Charles M. Moore, Chicago, Ill.*—While the Government ownership of our railroads would be an unwise thing and subject to great abuses, still the supervision of the roads by the Government would be productive of great good to the public, and the writer details at some length just what legislation of this point would, in his judgment, be wise and efficacious. He also suggests that stringent laws be passed to prevent public officials from receiving passes. (a)

*E. H. Diehl, general secretary and treasurer Pattern Makers' National League of North America, Flushing, N. Y.*—Advocates the nationalization of telephone and telegraph lines, railroads, and mines, and the collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution.

*E. W. Miner, publisher of Garrett Republican and Hudson World, Garrett, Ind.*—After a detailed account of the nature and character of the labor difficulties at Garrett, Ind., the writer suggests that the only permanent preventative against future railroad strikes is the Government ownership of railroads. (b)

*Clipping from Chicago Inter Ocean of December 2, 1893 (sender unknown).*—American telegraph compared with England's Government telegraph. Interview had with general superintendent of Western Union Company, in which certain data are given and statements made as to the management of telegraph lines in both countries, which would seem to lead to the inevitable conclusion that private ownership and management has furnished and is furnishing a much more satisfactory service in America than that furnished under governmental control in England.

*John A. Peran, San Diego, Cal.*—Recommends among other measures for relief the acquisition by the Government of all businesses of a semipublic character. Also the undertaking of various public works by the Government for temporary relief of labor in the present depressed condition of general business. (b)

*Clipping from New York Evening Post, October 1, 1894 (sender unknown).*—Article as to "Australian experience," with the contention that the alleged unfortunate results of Government ownership of railroads in that country "should be a warning to all those who would have the Federal Government take possession of our American lines."

*Eugene D. Mann.*—Printed pamphlet entitled "Shall the Government own our railways?" Claims it may be assumed as a general proposition "that our Government in its perfect development should possess and operate whatever instruments are essential to its capacity as a strictly public benefactor." This principle was unequivocally recognized in respect to all waterways; also by long ago taking our mail service from private hands and converting it into a Government department. No more propriety in the Government undertaking conveyance and delivery of our letters "than there would be in performing the same service for our persons, our goods, or our telegrams." Writer suggests plan for the gradual acquirement of railroad property by the Government and discusses the whole subject pro and con.

a See same writer, "Arbitration, compulsory;" also "To license railroad employees."

b See same writer, "Comments and general suggestions."



## JURY METHODS OF VARIOUS KINDS SUGGESTED.

*Thos. s Brownlee, Tacoma, Wash.*—Suggests a duly constituted tribunal wherein a jury of workmen presided over by a fair-minded official to hear and pass upon the grievances and determine the rights of all parties to the controversy would be a safe experiment. (a)

*John P. Kearns, Reynoldsville, Pa.*—Questions of rights and duties between labor and capital should be settled through the United States district courts, which should have power to appoint committees to investigate on the demand of either party, and on coming in of report court to render its decision, and laws for the enforcement of decrees with suitable penalties should be enacted.

*O. A. Lounsberry, president North Dakota Press Association, Fargo, N. Dak.*—Cause the people to feel that our courts are as ready to protect them in their legal rights as they are to protect capital, and provide for hearing before final action in the matter of reducing wages, and long strides will have been made toward preventing a repetition of strike difficulties. Courts of conciliation, even if only with power to hear and suggest, before which cases might be brought before final action, would develop and correct the wrong and promote the right. (a)

*C. M. Cott, Columbus, Ohio.*—Suggests that the courts as now constituted or, if it be deemed advisable, a newly created court have the power conferred on them by law on petition of employees aggrieved to hear and determine the questions at issue between employer and employee, and its decision to be final, and its decrees to be enforced as in other cases.

*W. A. Varcoe, Los Angeles, Cal.*—Proposes United States circuit court of arbitration—one employer, one employee, and one lawyer—to be appointed by Chief Justice of the United States Court, with unanimous approval of his associates; its decrees to be imperative, subject, however, to appeal to United States supreme court of arbitration, appointed as above—two employers, two employees, and one lawyer. Its decisions to be final.

Profits of all concerns employing not less than 100 persons, over and above 12 per cent, to be equally divided between employers and employees each year. Necessary legislation to be had to ascertain true annual profits.

Labor organizations to be incorporated.

*Fr. Schaube, Omaha.*—United States district court to be notified of a difficulty between the employees of a railroad and the company by either party. Summary appearance of parties before the court to be ordered. Complainant to hand up list of six names, respondent a list of four names; from these lists court to name three and two jurors, respectively, the other seven jurors to be drawn from the regular panel. Case to be heard before the jury of twelve. A majority verdict, with recommendations, to be returned; same to be final and decree thereon to be entered. Violation of decree by either party to be punished as contempt of court.

## TO LICENSE RAILROAD EMPLOYEES.

*T. C. Hughes, St. Louis, Mo.*—Transportation bureau to be created in each State to grant license to everyone engaged in transportation business; strict examination to be required; license to be revoked if holder subsequently proves incapable. Common carriers to employ only

a See same writer, "Comments and general suggestions."

licensed persons, except in event of strike, when unlicensed men may be taken on, same to be examined and licensed as soon as possible; any striker guilty of overt act of violence to forfeit license.

*A. K. Pearce, Galesburg, Ill.*—Engineers, conductors, and firemen to be licensed. This would drive out a large number of incompetent and ill prepared men now constantly on the lookout to step in and take the places of competent men whenever any differences arise between them and their employers. (a)

*H. H. Porter, chairman Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad Company, Chicago.*—"One of the improvements that should be considered is the licensing and uniforming of all locomotive engineers, firemen, trainmen, and switchmen;" cites the rules governing water transportation as having proven highly beneficial. Also calls attention to fact that stationary engineers are for the most part required to procure license from proper authorities after due examination, while railroad engineers are permitted to run a locomotive without any examination whatever.

*W. L. Webber, president Saginaw, Tuscola and Huron Railroad Company, Saginaw, East Side, Mich.*—Relation of employer and employee must be personal and individual. Labor unions, as such, are voluntary organizations, and as a body can not be held responsible for acts of its individual members. Arbitration must, therefore, fail to provide any remedy, as award can not be enforced. As a business proposition it is impracticable to have rate of wages governed by any law. Comments upon the United States mail service and Government regulations as to transportation by water. Sees no way in which the regulation of railroad service can be made effectual, except upon like principles. The same power which gives Congress right to pass laws governing commerce by water between Buffalo and Chicago implies the right to make laws as to the commerce by rail. Such legislation should be not for the benefit of either employer or employee, as such, but for the benefit of the whole people of the United States.

*Charles M. Moore, Chicago, Ill.*—In connection with other legislation and regulations writer thinks employees thereon should be licensed and that Governmental inspection of cars and roads should be made thorough and imperative. (b)

*John D. Smith, Toledo, Ohio.*—Interstate commission for interstate roads and State commissions for local lines to license employees and make annual adjustment of wages to be paid.

*Thomas Ooram, article in Boston Commonwealth, July 14, 1894.*—"Before, then, we try the very inconvenient expedient of Government ownership, with or without Government control, why not arrange that Uncle Sam issue licenses?" This to cover engineers, firemen, and conductors.

*Sidney C. Eastman, Chicago, Ill.*—Submits an elaborate and carefully drawn series of sections to amend "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, having for their object the establishment, regulation, duties, etc., of proper board of examiners, to examine and license railroad employees, and to govern and control the actions of such licensed employees, and also the action of all common carriers as to the employment, discharge, etc., of such licensed employees.

a See same writer, "Wages, statutory regulation of."

b See same writer, "Arbitration, compulsory"; also "Governmental ownership or control of railroads."

## MATTERS RELATING SOLELY TO THE CONDITIONS AT PULLMAN.

*Edmund F. Bard, Chicago, Ill.*—Calls attention to Mr. Pullman's testimony as to land company's investments at Pullman, and the basis upon which the rentals of the dwellings therein were fixed, and criticises Mr. Pullman's statements and conclusions. Claims that unprejudiced persons are impressed with the belief that in the system of landlordism practiced by the Pullman company is to be found the real cause of all the difficulty at Pullman, which precipitated, if it was not in fact the immediate cause of, the strike and all its attendant developments. The writer then goes on to develop a plan by which the property could have been sold in parcels to such employees as wished to purchase, and they thereby have been made interested in the preservation of quiet and consequent prosperity of the community. The writer asserts that possibly the rentals paid may have been but a fair return on the money actually invested in the property, which was in itself the subject of rent, but intimates that nobody believes such to be the fact.

*From the Chicago Evening Post (sender's name not given).*—Advocates the legal demolition of the town of Pullman, on the ground that the maintenance of same is "a crime against the commonwealth and an insult to humanity." Writer claims that this, the attempt to graft this "feudal city" on the municipality (Chicago), is a distinct offense against the Constitution.

## METHODS OF PREVENTION OF LABOR TROUBLES, NOT STATUTORY.

*Robert Larmour, Chicago, Ill.*—Employees in operating department divided into three classes; transfer from lower class, after due and satisfactory service therein and proper examination, to a higher class, as the exigencies of the case permit, with corresponding increase in pay; schedule of rates of pay and terms of promotion arranged yearly or oftener, if necessary, between company's officers and representatives sent from each class. If difficulties arise not to be adjusted at such conference, then arbitration is to be resorted to. Grounds for dismissal or other punishment are published. Men not debarred from joining "unions" if they desire so to do.

Writer concedes such a system must be based on the maintenance of mutual friendly relations between employer and employee, but that such system, which has, to the writer's knowledge, been in operation for some time on a leading railway in the country, tends to develop and inculcate a mutual spirit of tolerance, which effectually avoids all conflict between employer and employee. (a)

*J. S. McMinn, Greenvale, Tenn.*—An observance of the principles laid down in Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, vi, 5-9 inclusive, would be an effectual preventive of all labor disputes.

*James L. Lynch, Wanamaker, Mo.*—Aggressions usually are made by men who hold the purse. Since the world at large suffers materially when capital and labor are at odds, capital, which in the long run must be the greatest sufferer, should view the matter dispassionately and attempt a solution at once fair to itself and to labor. Among other

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a See same writer, "Governmental ownership or control of railroads."

things employee should be paid in current money and not in shop-orders; the compensation should be adequate to the responsibility of the employment. Too many hard bargains are driven, taking advantage of circumstances. Pay the laborer the value of his work, promote him when he deserves promotion, never make a cut in wages unless a clean-cut reason can be given, be friendly with all, and such treatment will result in faithful service and contented employees.

*A. J. Waid, Monmouth, Ill.*—Suggests that a contract system be adopted, agreement in detail being drawn up and subscribed by both parties, containing mutual covenants satisfactory to parties at time of signing that if lived up to and fairly carried out would materially lessen tendency to strikes and misunderstandings. Submits a printed form of such an agreement as in writer's opinion would be just and fair.

*R. A. Wilder, Oressona, Pa.*—The best probable method of securing uninterrupted service of employees on railroads in present condition of affairs would be to enlist men in each branch of service after careful examination for fitness; contracts embracing everything necessary to a clear understanding of mutual duties and relations to be executed; terms of enlistment in each class to be divided into one, two, and three year men, so as to have experienced men at all times. Such agreements could be enforced under the laws governing contracts. Writer intimates, however, that events indicate the necessity of Governmental control of railroads in the near future. (a)

*L. C. Hunt, St. Paul, Minn.*—Employees to be employed under contract. Employees to wear a prescribed dress and distinctive badge. Certain percentage of monthly wages to be held until aggregate amounts to not less than \$100 to secure faithful performance of contract, to be forfeited for willful violation of contract. If not forfeited, to be paid employee on his discharge, or in case of death to his heirs or assigns. No employee to be discharged before expiration of his contract term except for good cause, the reasons for which must be given in writing, if required. Every employee to be paid 10 per cent of his current yearly pay for each five years of faithful service in any one company, total of such increase in no case to exceed 40 per cent of current yearly pay. Employee, after thirty years' service, to be retired on half pay. Pecuniary liability of companies to employees for injuries to be regulated by law.

*Richard Dallam, editor Quincy Labor News, Quincy, Ill.*—Suggests a national association, with State and local branches, to be known as the "Labor and capital guild," the membership to consist of as many labor and capital organizations as can be induced to join. The representatives to meet from time to time and discuss the industrial and commercial outlook, and yearly to agree upon scale of wages for ensuing year and determine salaries to be paid, and settle any matters of dispute that may have arisen.

*Rev. Henry C. Kinney, rector Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Stock Yards, Chicago.*—After presenting a mass of statistics bearing on the question of the earnings and expenditures of the wage earners of the United States, as set forth in reports made by the Labor Commissioner and the censuses of 1880 and 1890, the writer claims such figures enforce the practical teaching of a more equitable adjustment of wages, the advocacy of some wage which nothing can touch—the advocacy of the principle that as all producers are consumers of everything else it is the best policy for capital not to cut wages, but through syndicates and

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a See same writer, "Governmental ownership or control of railroads."

associations to keep up wages, even at a temporary loss, that being the best way to keep up the purchasing power of their customers.

"*Employee*," (no address given). (a)—Suggests that railroad companies join with their employees, take matters in their own hands, and inaugurate on each road a department of justice. The president of the road to name a number of level-headed men, old in the service, and the employees to choose one of this number to preside over the department, this man not to have power to discharge or retain men, or raise or lower wages, but to have power to go to general manager or superintendent in behalf of a discharged employee who requests an investigation of his case. The party dismissed to have thirty days' notice of his proposed dismissal, so as to permit him time to appeal to department of justice. If culprit is proven to have done wrong, he must be told that the matter, if adjusted at all, must be so settled by him and his immediate superior officer only. If his case has merit, in the mind of the head of the justice department, the case to be carried up through all the officers to the president of company for final determination. This would place each man on a secure individual basis of settlement with the company after full consideration of his case, and not at the mercy of a hasty and perhaps incompetent immediately superior officer.

#### RAILROAD EMPLOYEES TO BE PENSIONED.

*M. J. Robinson, Mulberry Grove, Ill.*—Railroad employees who have been in continuous service for twenty to twenty-five years to be retired on pension, roads assessing each active employee 1 or 2 per cent of his wages to establish pension fund.

#### SINGLE-TAX THEORY.

*C. P. Cooper, Brooklyn, N. Y.*—Cause of strikes: The denial of the right of labor which is the active factor in the production of all wealth. Natural opportunities, which Creator abundantly supplies, the passive factor.

Remedies suggested: Concentration of all taxes on land values would compel those holding valuable natural opportunities either to use them by employment of labor or permit others to do so. Such a system would make land cheap and wages high. It would also prevent the need of people herding in tenement houses, thereby diminishing intemperance and other kindred vices. Such results would do away with all reasons for strikes.

*J. Hagerty, Burlington, Iowa (inclosing printed address of L. G. Booth, of Cedar Rapids).*—Discusses at length the vast capabilities of this country, its wealth-producing resources, the energy and ability of its laboring classes, the blind adherence of its people to ancient customs and superstitions in business matters; declares rent to be the robber of the many for the enrichment of the few, and insists that the only true relief is to be found in the adoption of the "single-tax" theory, viz, a tax upon land value, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes.

*J. Nedell, secretary United Cloak and Suit Cutters' Association, of New York City and vicinity, New York City.*—(1) Demand for labor kept in

a Another communication dated Chicago, August 17, 1894, also signed "Employee," inclosing the identical clipping from Chicago Tribune from which this synopsis is compiled.

check by taxation of labor products and (2) by excessive prices for land, which tends to check legitimate business by imposing a greater burden for land required than the advantages it offers would yield. For relief—transfer taxation from labor and business to land, taxing landowners only, not on area owned, but on value. Taxes on unused land would then be so high it would of necessity come rapidly into market.

*James P. Kohler, New York City.*—Strikes are the result of "hard times," and hard times are the result of real-estate booms, which occur in this country with almost perfect regularity every eight to ten years.

It is conceded that business depends upon the law of supply and demand. Supply depends upon demand. Demand rests upon the ability to buy. A very rich man with very great purchasing power requires but little of the products of labor. A million men, with no more purchasing power combined than the one rich man, desire many of the products of labor and capital, but for want of purchasing power can not buy. The true policy should be so to arrange for an equitable distribution of the purchasing power that each man's power to buy may equal his desire. The fundamental error in canvassing the facts as to disputes between capital and labor is the omission to consider how much of the yearly product of both goes as rent to the owners of land, the rent receivers, who produce nothing, and yearly receive a larger share than either the laborer or capitalist, who are the real wealth producers.

As a remedy, the first step should be to discover exactly what percentage of the population are owners of land to determine what proportion are likely to receive any benefit from land booms. Taxes should be removed from all wealth-producing capital, that is, from buildings, machinery, railroads and equipment, except tax upon right of way to be determined by value of adjoining lands, from the interchange of production (by abolishing all tariffs), and concentrating the burdens of taxation upon the rent receivers. In other words, absorb for public use the enormous sums which the few derive from ground or land rentals.

#### VIEWS OF NON-UNION EMPLOYEES AND OTHERS ADVOCATING NON-UNIONISM.

*Signed "Many Employees."*—Intimates that "union" men shirk. Avers that an honest non-union man is worth a dozen union men who won't work nor let others work; advocates honest individual action between employer and employee, rather than subserviency to unprincipled and unscrupulous union leaders.

*William Wood, Fremont avenue, Baltimore.*—Labor organizations are the primary cause of strikes, and to abolish these associations will solve the difficulty; advocates the enactment of laws which will accomplish this object.

*A. Churchill, M. D., Nevada, Mo.*—Two communications. Contends contemplated consolidation of so-called labor organizations is a menace to the Government, and drastic measures must be taken to prevent it. Labor organizations, as at present constituted and under present unscrupulous leaders, constitute a dangerous element in the community. If so-called labor organizations are to be permitted in the future they must be organized under statutes imposing stringent rules and restrictions, with such provisions as would compel them to respond in

pecuniary damage for their wrongdoing as well as subject them to other punishment for violation of the law and injury to the property of corporations in case of difficulties arising between labor and capital.

*George M. Hoitchkiss, Chicago, Ill.*—The acknowledged backbone of a strike is the boycott and the forcible deprivation by unionists of those not belonging to a union of their inherent right to labor. My remedy for strikes would be freedom of trade and enforcement of laws.

*H. W. Durrant, Seattle, Wash.*—Every person has the right to quit at any time, if not under contract, on giving notice; but no person or organization has the right, either legal or moral, to try to prevent any person from working, either by force, ridicule, or undue persuasion.

A few other communications were received from non-union men deploring the action of union men toward those not belonging to their unions, but the writers thereof did not desire the publication of their articles.

#### WAGES, STATUTORY REGULATION OF.

*C. M. Zengerle, Detroit, Mich.*—Nine-tenths of entire population dependent on daily earnings for support. Any reduction of wages in case of business depression only aggravates evil by diminishing the purchasing power of the vast mass of consumers.

Suggestions as to relief: A minimum rate of wages per day to be established by law; eight hours to be fixed as a day's labor. If amendment of Constitution necessary to bring about such legislation, let the question be at once submitted to the people.

*L. Rank, Oswego, Ill.*—Advocates regulation of wages by law. Calls attention to fact that legislation by tariff and internal-revenue enactments and laws governing manufacture of certain articles practically fixes price of many articles. All official wages fixed by law. General labor alone left to fend for itself, without any legislative assistance or protection.

*A. K. Pearce, Galesburg, Ill.*—Minimum scale of wages to be fixed by law; also time of service fixed before allowed to be transferred from one grade of work to a higher; also some kind of insurance provided by companies for men injured, disabled, or killed in the service.(a)

*F. G. Jordan and John Cooner, Fargo, N. Dak.*—Laws compelling employers to pay to employees a fair and just proportion of the earnings of their labor.(b)

*W. Hampton Smith, Astoria, Oreg.*—Government should not only fix minimum scale of wages but should also regulate price of commodities produced by such labor.(c)

*Rev. S. Frister, Nashville, Tenn.*—Experience has taught us that labor and capital will never adjust their difficulties without legislation. Each party in its selfishness seeks to gain the advantage. The only remedy in sight is that the Government should step in and fix all wages by statute.

*L. L. Sawyer, Meriden, Conn.*—Any legislation tending to advance the interests of the laboring masses and to correct the false notion that labor is to be treated like mere dead matter, to be bought and sold at the current-going rates, is to be welcomed, but primarily wise legislation should be at once had looking to the statutory adjustment and fixing of wages.

a See same writer, "To license railroad employees."

b See same writers, "Arbitration, compulsory;" also "Comments and general suggestions."

c See same writer, "Arbitration, compulsory."

*R. M. Benjamin, Bloomington, Ill.*—Submits a printed pamphlet, in which he discusses, with much calmness and logical skill, and at considerable length, the necessity, advantages, propriety, feasibility, and constitutionality of legislation limiting the power to cut wages and of enactments regulating the same as to miners and railroad employees.

*William Howard, Washington, D. C.*—Advocates the establishment by law of a "national unit of value for labor," based upon the cost of living to the laborer who furnishes the least skilled manual labor, all higher grades to be paid for in the ratio recognized as existing between the various degrees of skilled labor as at present existing between the various classes of employees.

*Frank J. Tuttle (no address given).*—Let Congress establish minimum scale of wages, same to be sliding or subject to adjustment at stated periods to meet changed conditions; claims this can be done under clause of Constitution, "To provide for the general welfare." (a)

#### COMMUNICATIONS BEARING UPON THE RELATIONS OF CAPITAL TO LABOR.

In addition to the above communications suggesting remedies for the difficulties arising between employers and employees, brief digests of which are hereinbefore attempted, the commission would mention that it received the following communications having a bearing upon the relations of capital to labor, which can scarcely be abstracted into concise form with any justice to the writers and the merits of the articles themselves. They, however, received the careful consideration of the commission, and their general character may to some extent be inferred from the the titles thereof given below.

*H. H. Porter, chairman Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad Company.*—"The relations of organized labor to the railroads and the relations of the public to organized labor and the railroads," published at Chicago, March 1, 1893.

"Remarks of H. H. Porter at a meeting of the Chicago Commercial Club, held on February 24, 1894, when the subject for discussion was, 'Has the interstate-commerce law proved beneficial to the business interests of the country?'"

"Instructions to the president of the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad Company, Mr. M. J. Carpenter" (issued June 25, 1894), relative to the proposed "boycott" of Pullman cars by the American Railway Union; same to be promulgated to the employees of the company, insisting that all the company's trains must be run with such cars attached "as we have a right to haul" and "no cutting out of cars should be permitted."

*James A. Skelton, general secretary World's Congress of Evolutionists.*—A carefully written article of some considerable length, treating upon the following question: "Does the doctrine of evolution in its sociological aspects offer wise suggestion for the solution of the grave social and economic problems of our time?"

What, in accordance with such suggestion, should be the next step taken in our own country looking toward the solution of these problems?

*Joseph Nimmo, jr.*—"The commercial and political considerations involved in the Ann Arbor cases."

<sup>a</sup> See same writer, "Arbitration, compulsory;" also "Comments and general suggestions."





