

THE INVESTIGATION.

Proceedings of President Cleveland's Labor Commission.

Light Is Shown Upon the Causes Which Resulted in the Late Strike—Debs' Version Is Given on the Fifth Day.

MANY UNION MEN TESTIFY.

CHICAGO, Aug. 18.—On Thursday was opened the second day's proceedings of President Cleveland's Labor Commission. George W. Lovejoy, former yardmaster at La Salle, Ill., for the Rock Island, testified that he was discharged June 19 for reasons unknown to him. The employees of the Rock Island struck because of a local grievance and the Pullman troubles. The Rock Island people, the witness declared, will not employ a member of the American Railway union. His plan for preventing strikes was government ownership of railroads. He thought compulsory arbitration was a mistake. Sylvester Keller, secretary of the American Railway union, was the next witness. He thought that the cause of the boycott was the grievance of the Pullman employees. The Pullman employees were organized as a lodge of the American Railway union. The committee of the American Railway union, which waited on them Manager Wickes and Mr. Pullman said the grievances would be investigated, and these gentlemen promised that the members of the grievance committee of forty-three should not be arrested. Mr. Keller said that the members of the committee were discharged the next day. Then the Pullman employees went out and the convention of the American Railway union voted to sustain them.

Mr. Keller said he thought the best prevention of strikes on railroads would be government control of all railroads; the next best thing, compulsory arbitration.

B. B. Ray, who was assistant yardmaster for the Rock Island road at Rock Island, Ill., but was discharged previous to the strike, because he joined the American Railway union, was the third witness. He gave the usual account of what led to the strike. The remedy for strikes, he thought, lay in compulsory arbitration.

At the afternoon session T. W. Heathcote, who was chairman of the Pullman strike committee, was the first witness. He presented to the commission the wage scale that obtained at Pullman in 1893 and compared it with that in force at the time the strike was inaugurated. In June, 1893, he said, the Pullman employees who made between \$43 and \$45 in two weeks. A year later he said it was necessary for the men to do four times as much work to get the same pay, there having been a reduction of about 60 per cent. in the pay of the men. While wages were reduced to this remarkable extent, Mr. Heathcote said there was not the slightest reduction in the rents collected by the Pullman company out of the wages of its employees. Mr. Heathcote also presented an official copy of the "black list" prepared by the Pullman company and forwarded to other corporations with the request that the men whose names it contained be not employed.

Jennie Curtis was a seamstress for five years in the repair shops of the Pullman company, president of the girls' local union 296, American Railway union. She was also a member of the committees that called on Mr. Wickes and Mr. Pullman on behalf of the girls employed at the carshops town. In her department, she said, employees made in June, 1893, \$23 a day, and at the time of the strike from 40 to 50 cents a day. "My other work for the company for thirteen years," she said, "and last fall he died. He was a tenant of the Pullman company. He owed \$60 rent, and out of my small wages I had to pay that \$60 or leave the employ of the company."

R. W. Combs has been a car carpenter in the freight department of the Pullman company for ten years. He testified: "A year ago my wages averaged \$23 a day and in March, 1894, they were 68 cents. The cut commenced in November, 1893."

Proceedings of the Third Day. CHICAGO, Aug. 20.—The first witness before the labor commission at the opening of its third day's session was Ray Goodwin, one of the directors of the A. R. U. Mr. Goodwin was somewhat inclined to be uncooperative, and occupied the stand but a short time. He thought the way to prevent strikes was to have a cooperative commonwealth.

Vice President Howard of the A. R. U., again became a witness, and created something of a sensation when he informed the commission that the United States government was boycotting 3,000 of the A. R. U. men and the strikers in the courtroom became interested. The Union Pacific road receivers are United States officers, and they have refused to reemploy the 3,000 men who struck on that road. This, according to Mr. Howard, is a boycott of the men by the United States.

The commission did not consider the statement of Mr. Howard relevant, but heard him on. He proceeded to say that half a dozen roads are engaged in a boycott on the Missouri, Kansas & Texas road. Yet the government had not interfered as it had in the boycott on Pullman cars. It should let the railroads and their employees fight out their differences just as it does not interfere in disputes between one road and another.

There was a volley of hand clapping when Mr. Howard finished. The commission decided, however, that the matters he referred to were not germane to the investigation. E. W. Bemis, associate professor of political economy in the University of Chicago, appeared as a witness. Arbitration, he said, seems to have been worked well in Massachusetts, where there is a state board of conciliation and arbitration. In cases where either side refuses these conciliatory measures, the board may make an investigation. Where the parties consent to arbitrate the commission has the right to compel employers to show the books as to wages, but they cannot be compelled to testify as to profits.

As to railroads, it was likely that some time in the future they would pass under government control and that civil regulations would prevail. But that time is remote, and as a present remedy Prof. Bemis suggested the creation of state courts for the settlement of disputes between company and employees on interstate roads, and of a federal court of inquiry, conciliation and arbitration for the adjustment of labor difficulties on interstate railroads. These courts should have power to make exhaustive inquiry and compliance with their decisions should be obligatory. He thought it would be a good plan to license all railway employees just as lake and river engineers and pilots are licensed.

H. F. Griswold testified in regard to black-listing. He is a switchman, 28 years old, and had been a railroad man about ten years. He was one of the American Railway union organizers for the Northwestern road. "I applied for work less than a week ago at Altoona, O.," he said. "I wrote out my name and then the trainmaster turned to a book, and finding my name there, said I was blacklisted and could not have work on that road. The same experience was met with at Columbus, O."

A. B. Connors, the next witness, also had some experience with the black list. He learned of it for the first time when he applied to the Union Stock Yards & Transit company for work. His name was upon a list, he said, which the company had in the office, and he was turned away because of his participation in the strike.

Rev. William H. Carwardine, of the Pullman Methodist Episcopal church, testified at the afternoon session. After stating briefly the origin of the strike, Mr. Carwardine said:

"After the strike was declared I felt in justice I must state my views on the question, and I discussed the matter in the pulpit. There was dissatisfaction with the local administration and with the abuses of the foreman. The men did not have a reduction of the rent when

the wages were cut, and the men felt that justice could not be received. Mr. Pullman and Mr. Wickes are not so much to blame for the present state of affairs. The difficulty is with the local administration. If Mr. Pullman had been in closer relationship with his men and if rent had been reduced when the wages were the strike would have been averted. I don't know how much the wages have been reduced. The Pullman company starts out with the idea of a system of paternalism and the system was founded to improve the workingmen. I contend that the company should not cut the wages of their employees but act from the standpoint of the paternalistic system."

Mr. Carwardine went on to explain how he had met the committee of the Pullman strikers and had interviewed Mr. Debs and endeavored to have them declare the boycott off. He was not an advocate of strikers, was inclined much in favor of arbitration and the government management of railroads. He had been charged with being an anarchist and a socialist. It was impossible to be both. Anarchy he repudiated entirely; he was what might be called a Christian socialist. Referring to the strike he said he thought the conduct of the strikers had been remarkably good. He said he knew sixty-four families were soon to be evicted at Pullman, and after he left the stand said he was in the city to raise money some way to stop the eviction of the Pullman families.

Eugene V. Debs has telegraphed the commission that he is recovering from his recent illness, but on account of the sickness of his wife, he will not be able to appear for examination before the middle of next week.

Additional Testimony.

CHICAGO, Aug. 21.—The first witness before the labor commission at the opening of the fourth day's session was Thomas W. Heathcote, chairman of the Pullman strike committee, who had been recalled. He said that the Pullman company's statement that the company's books might be looked over by the employees was merely a statement by one of the clerks. When the employees went to investigate the books they were refused. He said that the Pullman branch of the American Railway union was formed during the last of March and the month of April. Nearly all of the 4,000 employees of the company joined the union. Each man paid one dollar for the privileges of membership. Of all the employees between 2,000 and 3,000 lived in the houses of the company.

Miss Mary Abbott Wood, who worked in the electrical department at Pullman, was the next witness. She said she was a member of the American Railway union and was one of the Pullman strikers. Her father had died some time ago in the company's employ. She had to support her mother on the one dollar a day she received from the Pullman company. She lived in one of the Pullman houses and paid \$17.1 a month. Miss Wood showed the commission a notice of eviction, dated May 3, she had received from the company. She testified that she had paid her rent to April 30. The company, by mistake, had credited the rent to her sister. When she asked for a rectification she was refused. She had not yet been evicted.

Frank P. McDonald, a locomotive engineer on the Chicago Great Western was recalled. He said that sometimes he was compelled to remain on continuous service from sixty to seventy-two hours without rest. Mr. McDonald went into an extended account of the trouble on the Chicago and Great Western. It was caused by a refusal of the company to restore wages, which had been cut.

Mr. McDonald said he opposed the recent strike because he thought the American Railway union was not strong enough to fight the general managers in the hard times when so many men were out of work. He did not think the union could be successful. He voted for the strike only because he was so instructed by his local union.

"I am opposed to strikes in general," said Mr. McDonald, "but when the federal government will do nothing for us, and we have no weapon but the strike, we must use it. If it were not for strikes the railroad men in this country would be working for one-half the pay they are now getting."

Asked what he knew about the stoppage of mail trains the witness said that the Chicago & Great Western mail train No. 3 on June 28 had been stopped by the management of that road and its crew was used to take the excursion train to St. Claire. This mail train was obstructed by the railway managers and not by the strikers or the members of the American Railway union.

McDonald told how it was impossible for him to obtain employment after the Burlington strike, when he was blacklisted. The company's influence was used against him, he said, even to the extent of protesting to Gov. Francis of Missouri, against McDonald's appointment as insuperintendent at St. Joseph, Mo.

Miss Jane Adams, superintendent of Hull house and member of the board of conciliation of the civic federation, was next called. She related the efforts of the civic federation to bring about a settlement of the trouble. The employees of the A. R. U. were always willing and anxious to arbitrate, but Pullman and his officials had nothing to arbitrate.

Arthur M. Wilson and Nettie M. West, employees of the Pullman company, testified as to the reduction in wages. H. W. Pearson, a real estate agent who operates at Kensington, Roseland, Southwest Pullman, and other localities adjacent to Pullman, said houses which rented for \$17 in Pullman could be had for \$10 a month in Kensington. In all cases, in his judgment, rents were about 75 to 100 per cent. higher in Pullman than in the adjacent towns.

The commission adjourned to 10 o'clock Monday. Application has been made the commission to hear statements by representatives of unorganized labor. All persons who think they can give the commission any information as to the conditions of labor, organized or unorganized, will be heard.

President Debs' Testimony.

CHICAGO, Aug. 22.—On the fifth day of the proceedings President Debs told his story. After relating the situation as he found it early in May, Mr. Debs said he was satisfied that the employees were justified in striking, and he resolved to do all in his power, under the law and in justice, to help right their wrongs. Mr. Debs then recited the history of the strike, relating the various attempts to induce Pullman to submit to arbitration.

Mr. Debs denied that he had sent or ordered sent any inflammatory telegrams. Explaining the telegram, "Save your money and buy a gun," he said it was written by a clerk named Benedict to a former employer at Butte, Mont., as a joke and nothing whatever to do with the strike. Mr. Debs severely criticized Gen. Miles for calling at the offices of the General Managers' association on the day he came to Chicago as being vulgarly out of place, and maintaining that his only duty here was to maintain order and preserve the peace.

Continuing, Mr. Debs desired the commission to understand that he as president of the American Railway union did not and could not order strikes which were decided on by the local unions themselves. "I am not shirking any portion of my responsibility," said he, "I heartily concurred in the action taken and if I had had a voice in the ordering of the strike I would have ordered it."

"Five days after the strike was declared we had the railroads completely beaten and at our disposal as we believed," continued he. "They were paralyzed. They could not get men to take the places of our men who were out. Then I and my associate officials were served with a sweeping injunction issued by the United States courts as officials of the American Railway union. Similar injunctions were issued at all terminal points. A few days afterward we were arrested for alleged contempt of court. We were unable to direct the men, and that defeated the strike."

"We protested against the presence of the

federal troops. We did not object to state troops or the police. If I am correct, all the trouble, except some minor disturbances, took place after the arrival of the federal troops, the coming of whom angered and inflamed the men. The police have reported to me that our men were entirely law-abiding."

"Did your men intimidate other men not members of the American Railway union?" asked Commissioner Wright.

"We did not. Intimidation is against the policy of the American Railway union. We told our men that we had the right to quit work and there our rights absolutely ceased; that other men had the absolute right to take their places and that anyone interfering with them would be punished by our order and the civil law."

At the afternoon session Mr. Debs opened his testimony with a denunciation of the unfairness shown by some of the Chicago papers in their treatment of himself and the strike generally. He said that some of the papers had purposely misrepresented the facts until, if there had been a revolution, the press of Chicago might properly have been held responsible for it. Said he: "I was persistently misrepresented to the strike by the evident intention of alienating public sympathy from us and organizing our men by discrediting us."

"Do you claim," asked Mr. Wright, "that the railroads were responsible for the strike because they insisted on hauling Pullman cars?" "No, sir. The American Railway union was responsible for it, but under aggravating circumstances. The general managers are united to reduce wages. The employees are united to resist such reductions. In case of a reduction that leads to a strike we think the company is responsible."

"What is your opinion as to methods of averting strikes?" asked Commissioner Worthington.

"Of course submission would avert strikes. That is the plan of the old brotherhoods. If a general manager wants to make a cut of 10 per cent. he gives notice of a cut of 20 per cent., and then they meet and compromise. The history of the organizations shows that their system tends to inevitable and gradual reduction of wages. My own idea, and it is the idea of the American Railway union, is to unify all the railroad men of the country. A power like that prudently managed would avert strikes. The railroad managers would recognize the wisdom of treating it fairly and meeting it in a conciliatory spirit. But even if we had such a unification the men would not win a strike. All the forces of the government would be against them the moment the strike interfered with the convenience of the public."

"Do you believe a strike is justifiable that interferes with public convenience?"

"If there is a strike, it is justifiable, no matter what the result when it is to resist degradation and enslaving conditions. If it were not, the tendency of our civilization would be constantly downward. If railroads and corporations generally treated their employees fairly there would be no labor organizations. Their origin in almost every case is traceable directly to the tyranny of the employing classes."

"Do you believe in government ownership of railroads?" asked Mr. Kernan.

"Yes, sir, I believe the government ownership of railroads is decidedly better than railroad ownership by the government. The reply caused much merriment. Then the witness said compulsory arbitration was a contradiction of terms. To be effective arbitration must be voluntary. In local troubles state courts might be established to conduct an adjudication of troubles, but it would be impossible to enforce an award in a great territory such as the railroads covered. The witness also said that he believed a government license for railroad employees would be a good thing."

R. G. DUN & CO.'S OPINION.

Report on the Business Situation in Many Cities.

R. G. Dun & Co.'s weekly review of trade says:

"The new tariff, if signed by the president as expected, provides a definite basis for business. No supplemental legislation is thought possible until next year at least. Large improvement has been expected from any settlement, the more because of a vast amount of business done during the week in the hope of more definite conditions. The rush of such business, or even a part of it, might easily double transactions for a time. It is not to be overlooked that the effect of new duties upon many branches of industry and trade is not immediately apparent, and may be determined only after some months of experience, and meanwhile the serious injury to corn and some of the conditions exercise a restraining influence. It is too early to look for effects of the new situation in the great industries, but the gradual recovery which has appeared for some time is seen in a better demand for products."

"Resumption by iron and steel works which were stopped by the strikes continues to depress prices of some finished products, but more of these are operating prices of pig iron are not lower. Comparatively little is shown a fall in prices ranging from 10 to 44 per cent. in iron and its products since 1890, which sufficiently accounts for the idleness of more than a third of the works."

"Speculation in corn has been active, the price falling 4 cents, rising 3 cents, and falling 2 cents, with varying reports of injury, which in some of the states is undoubtedly severe. Pork has advanced 50 cents and lard 35 cents per 100 pounds, with justification in the injury to corn. Wheat is about 1 cent lower."

"Liabilities of firms failing in the week ended August 9 are a little larger than of last week, \$3,244,698, of which \$1,041,491 were of manufacturing and \$1,603,198 of trading concerns. Full returns for July show an aggregate of \$11,291,335. The failures this week have been 28 in the United States, against 455 last year, and 45 in Canada, against 27 last year."

FAILURES IN NEW YORK.

Theodore S. Baron & Co. Go to the Wall and Carry Another Firm with Them.

NEW YORK, Aug. 20.—There were two assignments Friday, one the outcome of the other. Theodore S. Baron and Samuel Baron, copartners under the firm name of Theodore S. Baron & Co., manufacturers of knit underwear in this city, and their mill in Clyms street, Brooklyn, assigned. It is said the liabilities will reach \$125,000, with nominal assets to equal that amount. The firm has paid out during the last three years about \$50,000 for improved machinery. This failure forced the firm of S. Baron & Co., comprised of Samuel Baron and Max Straus, manufacturers of knit goods at the same address, to the wall, and they also assigned. The liabilities are said to be about \$150,000; assets, \$125,000. The assignments are attributed to the uncertainty of the tariff legislation, the general financial depression and the inability to make profitable sales.

Mars Has No Atmosphere.

SAN JOSE, Cal., Aug. 20.—Prof. Campbell, of Lick Observatory, has demonstrated with the spectroscope that the planet Mars presents no evidence of having an atmosphere. Prof. Holden says that if any atmospheric pressure exists it is not as great as on our highest mountains and that popular fancies concerning that planet are thus disproved.

Aimed at Alien Anarchists.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18.—The house committee on judiciary has decided to favorably report Senator Hill's bill for the exclusion and deportation of alien anarchists which passed the senate. The anti-anarchist bill will be called up in the house next week, and it is predicted that it will be passed.

Animated by jealousy, William Vogel, of New York, fatally shot his mistress and then killed himself.

THE NEW TARIFF RATES.

Reductions Made by the Senate Bill as Compared with the McKinley Act.

The following is a statement of the average ad valorem rates of duty of the McKinley law and senate bill, with the percentage of reduction made by the senate bill on the under-mentioned articles:

| | McKinley. | Senate. | Per cent. Reduction. |
|---|--------------|-----------|-------------------------|
| phosphor, refined..... | 23.30 | 10. | 18.03 |
| Sumac, extract of..... | 23.24 | 10. | 56.97 |
| Epsom salts..... | 38.34 | 25.52 | 33.46 |
| Castor oil..... | 100.35 | 43.87 | 56.28 |
| Cod liver oil..... | 28.35 | 20. | 30.19 |
| Opium prepared for smoking..... | 169.65 | 84.32 | 50.00 |
| Chromolite colors..... | 80.84 | 20.06 | 33.33 |
| Ochre..... | 19.64 | 16.37 | 16.66 |
| Sienna..... | 21.64 | 17.62 | 16.66 |
| Umber..... | 21.50 | 21.50 | 16.66 |
| Spirits varnishes..... | 69.66 | 39.56 | 14.38 |
| All other varnishes..... | 35.00 | 25.00 | 28.57 |
| Waiting, dry..... | 14.46 | 71.24 | 50 |
| Ground in oil (putty)..... | 139.50 | 94.75 | 50 |
| White lead..... | 59.21 | 29.00 | 50 |
| Nitrate of potash..... | 21.82 | 10.96 | 50 |
| Bicarbonate of soda..... | 40.47 | 30.34 | 50 |
| Bichromate of soda..... | 50. | 25. | 50 |
| Strychnia or strychnine..... | 60.70 | 70.34 | 25 |
| Sulphur, sublimed..... | 28.66 | 20.00 | 25.00 |
| Sumach, ground..... | 19.81 | 10.00 | 49.52 |
| China, painted, etc..... | 60.00 | 60.06 | 41.07 |
| Plating, gold..... | 35.00 | 21.50 | 46.45 |
| Bottles, empty..... | 70.17 | 52.63 | 25 |
| Filled..... | 71.48 | 53.61 | 25 |
| Demijohns, empty..... | 37.91 | 28.43 | 25 |
| Glass, manufactures of..... | 23.23 | 23.23 | |
| Shocks and boxes..... | 60 | 35 | 41.67 |
| Cables..... | 30 | 25 | 16.67 |
| Clocks of wood..... | 35 | 25 | 28.57 |
| Rice, cleaned..... | 11 to 85 | 83 to 89 | 25 |
| Rice, uncleaned..... | 44 to 85 | 41 to 80 | 20 |
| Honey..... | 44 to 85 | 32 to 42 | 40 to 99 |
| Oranges, lemons and limes..... | 12 to 31 | 12 to 32 | |
| Comfits..... | 35 | 30 | 14 to 29 |
| Nuts, not shelled (almonds)..... | 51 to 34 | 39 to 80 | 40 to 61 |
| Nuts, shelled (almonds)..... | 42 to 42 | 28 to 28 | 33 to 33 |
| Filberts, not shelled..... | 52 to 90 | 25 to 82 | 33 to 35 |
| Peanuts, unshelled..... | 72 to 80 | 30 to 72 | 72 to 85 |
| Extract of meat..... | 72 to 95 | 15 to 15 | 10 to 87 |
| Spirits, distilled..... | 91 to 367 | 65 to 294 | 25 to 1. |
| Cottonseed oil, not bleached..... | 35.19 | 25.05 | 37.39 |
| Ditto bleached..... | 38.60 | 26.53 | 31.27 |
| Beeswax..... | 43.37 | 33 | 19.88 |
| Dyed, etc..... | 43.84 | 38.84 | 11.40 |
| Cables, cordage and twine..... | 16 to 31 | 10 to 20 | 40 to 67 |
| Bagging for cotton..... | 32.32 | Free | 100 |
| Woolen yarns..... | 278.66 | 30 | 89.23 |
| Shawls, woolen, not above 48c per lb..... | 150.30 | 35 | 76.71 |
| Knit fabrics not above 40c per lb..... | 129 | 30 | 74.27 |
| Blankets..... | 80 to 105 | 60 to 105 | 60 to 71 |
| Hats of wool..... | 86 to 104.35 | 30 | 72.00 |
| Flannels, not over 50c, per pound..... | 85 to 104.35 | 25 to 65 | 66 to 71 |
| Silk partially manufactured..... | 60 to 100 | 60 to 100 | 66 to 71 |
| Silk webbing, gored..... | 50 | 45 | 10 |
| Silk buttons..... | 50 | 45 | 10 |
| Silk dress goods..... | 50 | 45 | 10 |
| Silk ribbons..... | 50 | 45 | 10 |
| All other silk..... | 50 | 45 | 10 |
| Writing, drawing and other paper..... | 35 | 20 | 25 |
| Dolls and dolls' toys..... | 25.19 | 20.15 | 28.57 |
| Firecrackers..... | 147.32 | 50 | 66.06 |
| Coal, bituminous..... | 22.72 | 12.42 | 46.65 |
| Coal, anthracite..... | 28.68 | 14.34 | 50.65 |
| Coke..... | 10 | 15 | 25 |
| Unbleached muslin..... | 33.93 | 29 | 41.06 |
| Haircloth, known as ermine cloth..... | 27.99 | 20.99 | 26 |
| Haircloth, known as hair seating..... | 23.22 | 15.48 | 33.23 |
| Leather, bend or belting and sole..... | 10 | 10 | |
| Leather, calf..... | 30 | 20 | 33.33 |
| Leather, not special..... | 30 | 20 | 33.33 |
| Leather, provided for..... | 10 | 10 | |
| Leather and shoes..... | 25 | 20 | 20 |
| Manufactures of India rubber..... | 30 | 25 | 14.29 |
| Umbrellas..... | 50 | 25 | 18.18 |
| Burrs, manuf'd..... | 15 | Free | 100 |
| Composition metal, copper..... | 6 to 49 | Free | 100 |
| Plates of copper, not rolled, etc..... | 11 to 80 | Free | 100 |
| Cider..... | 18 to 53 | Free | 100 |
| Binding twine..... | 6.47 | Free | 100 |
| Paintings in oil or water colors..... | 15 | Free | 100 |