

OMINOUS SPECTER OF REVOLT FADES

Reds Can't Overthrow U. S., Action of Mine Workers Proves

MASSES OF LABOR LOYAL

By CLINTON W. GILBERT
Staff Correspondent of the Evening Public Ledger

Washington, Nov. 11.—President Wilson will probably intervene personally in the coal strike situation with telegrams to Lewis, of the mine workers, and to Brewster, of the operators, offering mediation and arbitration. The telegram to Mr. Lewis will probably praise him for his prompt obedience to the orders of the court.

Out of the President's action it is expected that peace will come, for the obedience of the court order by the mine leaders indicates a disposition to compromise.

The behavior of the miners should do much to dispel the fear of revolution. When this coal strike was going on men in authority here whispered that the purpose of the miners was to bring about a revolution in this country. It was described as a strike against the government.

There are some radicals in the ranks of the United Mine Workers and these radicals have in some measure forced the hand of Lewis, the mine workers' leader, causing him to make extravagant demands and to wage uncompromising demands during negotiations. The radical sentiment compelled Lewis to show a firm front.

Revolution Not Feared
But the truth is that there has been no sign of revolutionary intentions in the strike. It was conducted with exceptional regard for order, and a revolution which mainly obeys court orders is not a dangerous revolution.

Moreover, if the radicals were strong in the mine workers' union, Mr. Lewis would have had the sense of going to jail or losing his leadership. Radicals would have little patience with a leader who would obey injunctions.

The miners' decision to obey the court's order has a direct bearing upon the railroad labor situation. Until the peace treaty is ratified and the Lever law goes out of existence apparently the railroad labor unions will free, if the government that the coal strike faced. It is unlikely that the railway workers will strike while the Lever act remains in force. But even after its expiration the railway unions are likely to proceed with caution. Labor leaders have doubtless learned much from recent experiences.

The temper of the country has been revealed and even without a Lever act the power of a federal administration backed by almost unanimous public opinion is too great for unions, even in so vital an industry as transportation, to fight it.

Both Sides Have Learned
Labor and the public have measured strength and both understand each other better as a consequence. The public will realize that realism in labor is not greatly to be feared and there is likely to be a return to the policy of strengthening the hands of the conservative labor leaders.

The radicals have failed in every important strike they have undertaken, in the Boston police strike, in the steel strike, in the New York city strike, and while there is little reason to believe that the radicals played an important part in the mine strike, the leading features of their policy of tying

Would Destroy Union Rather Than Defy U. S.

Columbus, O., Nov. 11.—(By A. P.)—Declaring they would tear up their union cards before they would strike in defiance of the government, 132 coal miners employed at a stripping mine near Hopedale, Jefferson county, resumed work before news came of the miners' organization decision to recall the strike order, notifying their union officials not to send any further instructions to walk out.

The action followed an address to the men by District Attorney Bolin, of Columbus, who went to Hopedale when informed that officials of the miners' union had given directions to the men contrary to the restraining order issued at Indianapolis.

All the same the country needs a shock absorber in its industrial relations. And one of the first steps the President will take as soon as it is evident that the coal strike is out of the way will be to call his new industrial commission. This conference has been asked by Mr. Stone, of the Locomotive Engineers' Brotherhood. And its meeting will afford a reason for delay on the part of the railway brotherhood in presenting their demands.

The intention is to have the conference create some sort of industrial tribunal to which questions such as those involved in the coal strike will be referred. It is not probable that arbitration can be enforced. But a tribunal such as is proposed would do what Secretary Wilson attempted to do in the earlier stages of the soft coal dispute and it would do this if properly constituted, with much greater authority than Mr. Wilson possessed.

President Wilson wants better numbers. Labor, so far as Mr. Stone expresses his view, wants better numbers. And the air has sufficiently cleared so that the creation of better numbers is not a dangerous revolution.

Mine Chiefs Cancel Coal Strike Order
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The court and in compliance with the court's ruling the strike order has been canceled and withdrawn. It seems to me that good faith on the part of the operators requires them to meet the miners' representatives at once for the purpose of negotiating a settlement of this wage controversy, and that good faith on the part of the government requires it to see that such a resumption of negotiations is had at once and concluded without delay.

This afternoon there will be another session of the conference to decide finally on matters pertaining to the resumption of work. One of the developments during the night session was the openly expressed purpose of several of the extremists to issue the rescinding order and then leave it to the miners themselves whether or not they would recognize and obey it.

"I shall issue the order, but I shall also leave it to the men in my dis-

cretion to decide whether they will go to work. I will not urge it upon them," said one of the officials present.

Indignation was freely expressed, even by the moderates, that they were compelled to abandon the strike under government mandate. There was a general washing of soiled linen, too, which took the form of vigorous attacks on the two officers, John L. Lewis and Frank Farrington, president of the Illinois mine workers, whose squabbles within the order, it was charged, had fostered the belief in the public's mind that it was union politics that had forced the strike and not the desire of the miners themselves.

Anxious to Get to Work
One delegate declared that he voted to accept the order of the court because the 10,000 miners in his district had been opposed to the strike and were anxious to get back to work.

Another topic that aroused animated discussion was the question of a new conference between miners and operators to settle the disputed issues in the coal situation. It was repeatedly urged that the miners should not accept arbitration and that if they did the arbitration board would not give the miners a fair show. It would be composed of outsiders, a layman, not familiar with conditions in the coal business, and, therefore, not competent to decide the issue, it was contended.

The board would insist on having all contracts between men and their employers end in the spring instead of in the fall as at present; an arrangement that would be distinctly to the disadvantage of the miners, and one that had always been favored by the operators, it was declared. Such a board, it was pointed out, would undoubtedly advocate the abolition of the custom of compelling the company to deduct from the miner's pay check his union dues.

There were about a hundred men in the conference. They included international executive board members and district presidents with other district officers. A big raw-boned sergeant-at-arms kept the corridor leading to the assembly room free of intruders.

Thrill of Excitement
One thrill of excitement was experienced by the conference just after it reassembled from the luncheon recess yesterday. When they reached the door of the meeting room they found United States Marshal Mark Storen with three deputy marshals and a clerk waiting for them. The federal officials at once served

thirty-three members with the injunction order by Judge A. B. Anderson on Saturday last.

Frank Farrington was found on the street and served there. John Brophy, of Cleveland; Phillip Murray, of Pittsburgh; Thomas Davis, of Nanticoke, and William Donaldson, of Dubois, were the Pennsylvanians who were served with the order. The men accepted service without any comment whatever.

There was a feature about this conference that marked it above any I have ever attended. It was distinctly an elderly man's convention. None of the members seems to be under forty or forty-five.

Shadows Miners' Chief
President Murray, of the Pittsburgh district, at thirty-three is perhaps one of the youngest in attendance, but his hair is iron gray which adds to his mature appearance. It is well known in Indianapolis that the miners' national leaders have been closely shadowed since November 1 and during their conference yesterday and this morning members of the Department of Justice's bureau of investigation were in constant attendance in the lobby of the hotel. They keep Washington posted as far as possible on developments within the union.

Twice yesterday four professional-looking men appeared and were ushered into the assembly room with a great show of respect. They were the attorneys for the miners headed by Henry Warrum.

The delay in arriving at a conclusion as to what action should be taken on the order of the court was due largely to the number of officials present, some hurrying here from states as far west as Montana. This was a conference unlike any other ordinary gathering of the men in that it could not be hurried.

Deluge of Oratory
No vote was taken till nearly 4 a. m. This was owing to the deluge of oratory. Every man was given full

opportunity to speak as often as he desired.

It was noticed that in another respect this gathering was peculiar. There were no smiles and jokes and laughter after adjournment for meals. The faces of all were sober and thoughtful; not sullen or grim, but the faces of men who know they were up against a stiff problem.

In a talk with one of the officials he told me frankly that the matter of a jail commitment for contempt of court was the least worry any miners' official had. Most of them, he said, never apparently gave it a thought. The one great question was to do that which would be of greatest value, not only to the coal miners, but to other unionists as well. The right of labor to strike when and where it pleases was really the issue involved as most of them saw it.

I am very largely of the opinion that these labor leaders underestimated the strength of public opinion against them. They persistently have regarded this matter of injunction and the order to rescind their action on the strike as a movement by the government in favor of the operators.

There was an apparent inability or lack of vision to discern the greater issue behind Washington's course. The extremists fought bitterly for every inch of ground. The declaration of the Washington officers of the American Federation of Labor, headed by Mr. Gompers, gave them great encouragement. Then, too, the defiant telegram from the representatives of 10,000 miners in the Bellevue, Ill., district denouncing Judge Anderson's order as the "ravings of a maniac" still further encouraged them and confined them in their determination to ignore the order.

Dramatic, Historical Night
It was the most dramatic night possibly in the history of a man of labor. A scant half hour for dinner was permitted and at 7 o'clock the arguments and debate began anew.

During the night the members of the conference would leave the assembly room in pairs and threes and sit around the balcony overlooking the rotunda, talking in undertones with frequent violent gestures.

At 2 o'clock this morning a recess of fifteen minutes was taken to give the members an opportunity to get a cup of coffee and stretch their cramped limbs. At 4:10 adjournment was announced, with the decision to abide by the order of the Federal Court.

It was a historic night for labor for the reason that it saw the end of the greatest industrial strike ever declared in this country, with the greatest number of men involved. It was the first time also that the government, backed by adequate laws, ended in such a summary manner a labor controversy of such magnitude.

The next step in this proceeding is up to the government. It undoubtedly will open negotiations to bring the miners and operators together for a conference and the adjustment of their differences. Just what shape this will assume will rest with the President and the attorney general.

President to Renew Offer of Mediation
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with undisguised relief the news from Indianapolis, labor leaders here, who got their first word through press dispatches, were distinctly surprised by the turn of events—the first big happening on Armistice Day.

Whether the mine workers in reaching their decision to end the strike had in view a request that the President name a board of arbitration, as he had suggested, was not known here. Officials connected with Mr. Palmer's office showed plainly a relaxation from the strain under which they had been laboring for the last few days. The attitude of the American Federation of Labor and labor leaders generally toward the strike and the injunction proceedings had created some doubt, it was said, as to what step the mine workers would take.

Frank Morrison, secretary of the

American Federation of Labor, when told of the announcement by Acting President Lewis, of the miners' organization, refused to say anything.

Edgar Wallace, legislative representative of the miners, who had been waiting for hours to hear what happened, likewise was silent, and other officials at federation headquarters declined to comment on the settlement. Some officials said a statement might be issued later in the day by President Gompers, or the executive council.

There was much discussion among labor leaders as to how the miners themselves might view the action of the scale committee in calling off the strike. One of the spokesmen for the union said large numbers probably would go back to work today and stay out tomorrow, while many idle today would work tomorrow.

Expect Worst Sort of Chaos
"We may expect the worst sort of chaos for a time," he said, "because the men struck for more money and better working conditions, which they have failed to get."

Mr. Wallace thought there would be no difficulty now in negotiating a new wage agreement with the operators.

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