

as deposits, whether used or not, it would not pay at all not to use them, but would entail a continuous and enormous loss.

That double reform would stimulate profitable coal mining, and bring into competition with the mines already opened, every unopened deposit in the whole anthracite region. How long could owners of coal deposits afford to prevent or suspend operations when operation paid and non-operation caused enormous loss? How long would the miners want to remain on strike when new capital had come into the field to work mines instead of closing them down. Not a day. No owners could make their money any longer by monopolizing coal deposits, but only by operating them; and this would make more jobs for miners than there would be miners to respond, which would send wages up with a bound.

Is it replied that outside workmen would come into the anthracite region in droves to get these extraordinary wages? So they might if it were not for the fact, as fact it would be, that the same double reform, operating upon all kinds of business, would produce like results in all callings.

For this method contemplates the application of tax exemption for labor products, and full ad valorem taxation upon natural sources and channels of supply, not only to coal mining but to all other industries. Coal mines are only impressive illustrations of a general principle. The owners of valuable city lots who hold them out of use because they cannot get their price, are doing precisely the same thing as the owners of coal deposits who hold them out of use because they cannot hire labor cheap. The city lot is a natural source of supply as truly as a coal deposit. It supplies the site for a house while the coal deposit supplies fuel to warm the house. If men were exempt from taxation on their buildings, but were taxed the value of their lots, houses would speedily go up on valuable lots that are now given over to weeds, just as exemptions on coal mining but high ad valorem taxes on coal deposits, would cause coal to pour freely out of mines that are now guarded by troops. If the owner of vacant city lots may say "this is mine," and deprive his fellow-men of the shelter they might make, the owner of coal deposits

may quite as justly say, "this is mine," and deprive his fellow-men of the fuel they might procure.

The lesson to be learned from the coal strike goes deep. It is the lesson of "mine, thine, and ours." What I earn is mine; what you earn is thine; but the natural sources of our supply are ours. The pick I shape is mine; you may use it on the terms to which you and I agree. The coal you dig with it is yours; I may have it on the terms to which you and I agree. But the coal deposit is ours, and neither of us may justly withdraw it from the other's use. That is the natural law. That is the universal principle. Nor does it make any difference—the principle still holds—when instead of a pick I have shaped gigantic mining equipments, and instead of digging handfuls of coal you dig millions of tons. The equipments are mine, the extracted coal is yours, but the coal deposit is ours.

It is a gratifying fact that every day this distinguishable difference, which is the basis of all civic morality, is becoming clearer to popular apprehension. And curiously enough, the man who seems to have done most at this juncture to produce that effect, is Mr. Baer. His offensive claim to a God-given right to property in coal deposits has so shocked the moral sense of the community as to lead it to question anew all paper titles to the globe upon which we live, and to its stores from which we draw. To question such titles thoughtfully is to condemn them.

NEWS

President Roosevelt's intercession for the purpose of amicably terminating the portentous coal strike in the anthracite regions (p. 406) has not been successful. The principals of the parties in interest, whom he had invited to call upon him at the White House on the 3d, appeared promptly in response to the invitation. The representatives of the coal trust had arrived in Washington the night before in a luxurious private car which they made their headquarters during their stay. They were E. B. Thomas, for the Erie road; President Baer, for the Reading; President Fowler, for the Ontario & Western; David Willcox, for the Delaware & Hudson; President Truesdale, for the D., L. & W.; and John Markle, an independent coal operator. There

was no representative from the Lehigh Valley, one of the principal coal carrying roads. In rather dramatic contrast with the trust magnates, the representatives of the striking miners arrived on a day car, and at midnight walked to a small hotel near the railroad station. They were President Mitchell and three district presidents—Nicholls, Duffy and Fahy. It was President Roosevelt's expectation that at the conference he had thus assembled the coal strike and the consequent coal famine would be ended simultaneously and at once by mutual concessions. But he was speedily undeceived.

When the contending parties arrived at the White House at 11 o'clock on the morning of the 3d, the President read a brief address in which he declared that he spoke neither for the operators nor the miners, but for the general public. Yet he disclaimed "any right or duty to intervene upon legal grounds" or from his official position, explaining his extraordinary action by referring to the gravity of the situation. "The evil possibilities are so far reaching," he proceeded, "so appalling, that it seems to me that you are not only justified in sinking but required to sink for the time being any tenacity as to your respective claims in the matter at issue between you." In conclusion, he said:

In my judgment the situation requires that you meet upon the common plane of the necessities of the public. With all the earnestness there is in me I ask that there be an immediate resumption of operations in the coal mines in some such way as will without a day's unnecessary delay meet the crying needs of the people. I do not invite a discussion of your respective claims and positions. I appeal to your patriotism, to the spirit that sinks personal claims and makes individual sacrifices for the general good.

As soon as the President had closed his address, Mr. Mitchell expressed sympathy with its sentiment, and proceeded to explain that the strikers felt they were not responsible for the gravity of the situation, as they had all along been willing to meet their adversaries and try to adjust their differences. "If we cannot adjust them that way, Mr. President," he added, "we are willing that you shall name a tribunal who shall terminate the issues that have resulted in the strike, and if the gentlemen representing the operators will accept the

award or decision of such a tribunal the miners will accept it even if it is against our claims." Nothing further was done at the morning session, a recess having been proposed at this point by the President himself.

At the later session, beginning at three in the afternoon, several papers were read by the representatives of the trust. Notwithstanding that the President had indicated his desire that the claims and positions of the conflicting parties should not be discussed, Mr. Baer entered, in his paper, upon a discussion of the merits of the strike. He enlarged upon his assertion that from 15,000 to 20,000 miners were at work, but needed the protection of armed guards, and that the strikers made life and property unsafe; and he admonished the President in these plain terms:

The duty of the hour is not to waste time negotiating with the fomenters of this anarchy and insolent defiance of law, but to do, as was done in the war of the rebellion, restore the majesty of the law, the only guardian of a free people, and to reestablish order and peace at any cost. The government is a contemptible failure if it can only protect the lives and property and secure the comfort of the people by compromising with the violators of law and the instigators of violence and crime.

Baer declined Mitchell's arbitration offer, and proposed instead to continue the wages paid at the time of the strike and to take up at each colliery and adjust any grievance, agreeing that if the employers and employes at any particular colliery could not reach a satisfactory adjustment of any alleged grievance, it should be referred to the judges of the Court of Common Pleas of the district in which the colliery is situated for final determination. The other papers were in the same spirit and to the same effect. Mr. Markle definitely demanded that the President "at once squelch the anarchistic condition of affairs existing in the anthracite coal regions by the strong arm of the military." Mr. Truesdale urged that the government at once institute legal "proceedings against the illegal organization known as the United Mine Workers' association, its well-known officers, agents and members, to enjoin and restrain permanently it and them from continuing this organization," saying that the counsel of his company advised that the government could do this. In the course of the afternoon session

Mr. Mitchell and his associates put his arbitration offer of the morning into formal shape; and in reply to the strictures of the trust magnates he refuted their charges of anarchy and riot.

Nothing further was done by the President, or which there is yet any positive public knowledge, until the 6th, when he sent to Mr. Mitchell, by the hand of Carroll D. Wright, United States Labor Commissioner, the following request:

If Mr. Mitchell will secure the immediate return to work of the miners in the anthracite region the President will at once appoint a commission to investigate thoroughly into all the matters at issue between the operators and miners, and will do all within his power to obtain a settlement of those questions in accordance with the report of the commission.

Promptly upon receiving this communication, Mr. Mitchell issued an address calling upon the local unions to vote upon the question of returning to work. Accordingly, on the 8th, a vote was taken in every lodge throughout the anthracite region. A total of 260 have reported as these words are written (Oct. 9), leaving 40 or 50 still to hear from. All those reporting had voted unanimously against terminating the strike. Mr. Mitchell acted upon these instructions by sending a letter to the President on the evening of the 8th which is understood to be a courteous refusal of the President's request. The letter has not yet been made public.

Meanwhile, Gov. Stone, of Pennsylvania, had ordered out the entire militia force of the State—some 10,000 men. His order, which was issued on the 6th, recites the existence of mob law in the counties of Luzerne, Schuylkill, Carbon, Lackawanna, Susquehanna, Northumberland and Columbia, and orders that all men who desire to work, and their families, have ample military protection," that railroad trains and all other property be protected, and that order be preserved. Every colliery is to be individually guarded by soldiers. All the state troops are now actually in the field.

The governor's order for protection of the operators by military power was supplemented on the same day by an address from the officers

of the miners' union, in which they urged that—

great care should be exercised that those on strike do not permit themselves to be provoked by the coal-and-iron police into the commission of overt acts. The operators, failing to break the strike and deprive you of your well-earned victory, are now attempting to array public sentiment against you by making false claims that a reign of terror exists in the coal fields. Be steadfast and true while this struggle for living wages and American conditions of employment is going on, and we have no hesitancy in saying that victory will be achieved in the not distant future.

The oppressive prices to which all kinds of coal have been raised by the continuance of the strike are now followed by an increase of from 9 to 15 per cent. in the price of standard loaves of bread. Other products of the bakery, though unchanged in price, are being reduced in size.

It is probably the pressure of prices upon the general public more than any peculiar interest in the cause of the strikers, that has aroused the indignation which is being expressed so vigorously all over the country. The most notable demonstration of this feeling is the conference at Detroit (p. 406), which assembled on the 9th. The governor of New Jersey, as well as the governor of Ohio and the mayor of New York, declined to send delegates; but as we write (October 9), the attendance promises to be otherwise widely representative and very large.

Grave fears are evidently felt by Republican leaders regarding the possible effect of the coal strike on the political situation. An extremely significant expression of this feeling is a telegram of the 4th from Congressman Grosvenor, of the Eleventh Ohio district, to Clement A. Griscom, head of the J. Pierpont Morgan ship trust, of Philadelphia. We give it in full:

Chicago, Oct. 4.—To Clement A. Griscom, New York: Public sentiment in this section bitter against coal operators beyond description. If continued will assure Democratic Congress and financial ruin. Mr. Morgan, if he interfered and effected settlement now, would establish himself in a position stronger than any living American. The result would react favorably upon all his great

enterprises. It would be better from a mere selfish standpoint than all the anthracite coal in the country is worth, but from the humanitarian standpoint would be a benefaction. I go home to-morrow to face 9,000 coal miners, and with a miner candidate against me. C. H. Grosvenor.

Senator Hanna's systematic campaign of Ohio began on the 6th (see p. 408), when he left Cleveland in the private railroad car upon which he and his companions are to live while making the tour. In his speech at Steubenville on the 6th Mr. Hanna is reported by the press to have thrown out a challenge to Tom L. Johnson to debate the tariff question, on condition that "the subject must be discussed from a strictly economic standpoint and with no reference to monopolies." The challenge was at once telegraphed to Mayor Johnson, who immediately replied with an unqualified acceptance, agreeing to debate the subject in any way or at any time Senator Hanna might name. But on the 7th, at his Barnesville meeting, Mr. Hanna denied having challenged Mr. Johnson to debate economic questions with him on the same platform. "I did say," he explained, "that I would discuss certain questions with him, referring of course to our respective campaigns." In his Barnesville speech on the 7th, Senator Hanna, who is confining his speeches to the trust question, opposed tariff revision, saying that it "would affect every State in the Union, and nobody would know where it would end. 'But I know,' he added, "where the Republican party would end if revisions were attempted. It would end in the ditch."

From Upper Sandusky, where Mayor Johnson's campaign tent was pitched on the 29th (p. 409), Mr. Johnson, Mr. Bigelow and the rest of the party went down to Kenton for their meeting of the 30th. Kenton is in Hardin county, which is a Republican locality, though close. The attendance was 3,800. They went next to Marion, in the Democratic county of Marion, where an audience of 3,500 greeted them on the 1st, and Mr. Johnson applauded nine Republican members of the legislature for voting against the so-called "curative" measure and exoriated eight Democratic members for voting for it, one of them representing the county where the meet-

ing was held. The significance of all this may be best understood by reference to Mr. Johnson's explanation of the "curative" measure, which he made as follows:

Six years ago a Republican legislature passed the Rogers bill, which allowed town councils to give away franchises in the streets of cities for a term of 50 years. It was so iniquitous that the next legislature repealed it, not daring to let it remain on the statute books. But, meanwhile, the mischief had been done in Cincinnati, and Mr. Foraker and Mr. Cox had bought a council and had secured possession of the streets. Not until this year was the Rogers act tested in the courts and declared unconstitutional. It is to render invalid the decision of this court and to reenact the 50-year franchise that the "curative act" was drafted and forced through the legislature.

Mr. Johnson spoke the same night (October 1) at Columbus before an audience of 5,000. The other speakers here were John H. Clarke, James Kilbourne, John J. Lentz and Judge Badger. At this meeting also Johnson denounced the recreant Democrats of the legislature. The next place for the Johnson-Bigelow meeting was at Galion, in the strongly Democratic county of Crawford, on the 2d, where the tent was packed with 5,500 people, while hundreds stood outside unable to get in. Bigelow is reported to have made at this meeting an exceptionally eloquent speech. Johnson pursued his policy of denouncing the recreant legislators of his party, one of them representing this county. On the 3d the meeting was at Mansfield, in the Democratic county of Richland, 2,000 people attending in a deluge of rain. Recreant Democratic auditors and legislators were not forgotten by Mr. Johnson, while Mr. Bigelow discussed the subject of franchises. Ashland, in the Democratic county of Ashland, was the place of meeting on the 4th. Here also the attendance was enormous, fully 5,500 people being within hearing of the speaking. After a Sunday's rest, the speakers appeared on the 6th at Wooster, in the strong Democratic county of Wayne. Mayor Johnson had been warned by the Democratic legislator from this county that if he were denounced for his vote for the "curative" act the audience would hiss Johnson. Johnson did denounce him, and instead of hissing, the audience—numbering

fully 6,000 both within and around the tent—applauded vociferously.

The Republican convention of Massachusetts met at Boston on the 3d and nominated John L. Bates for governor. The platform pledged the party to support President Roosevelt for another term, and indorsed tariff revision, to be made along the lines laid down by President Roosevelt and in harmony with protection.

What has excited more interest among Massachusetts Republicans than the State convention, is the nomination, not only by the Republican Congressional convention, but in obedience to the result of a contest before the Republican primaries, of Eugene N. Foss, whose platform demands—

Tariff revision along such lines as will give New England industries fair play and every man a fair chance to earn a living.

Reciprocity with Canada, our best foreign customer per capita, and Cuba, our ward, and for such reciprocal treaties with other countries as will build up our home industries and increase our commerce.

The improvement of Boston harbor, the natural port of New England and Canada.

The upbuilding of the American merchant marine, which can never be sustained except upon the principle of reciprocity.

Free coal, free iron, free hides.

On the 4th the first official announcement of the government relative to bank reserves as government deposits (p. 468), was made. After a conference between the President, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency, it was agreed and the banks were notified that the law requiring the banks to hold a reserve against deposits will not be enforced so far as it relates to government deposits.

Since the announcement of a contemplated military expedition against the Moros, in the Philippine islands, (p. 362), two have been made. The first was a reconnoitering expedition under Capt. Pershing, of the Fifteenth infantry. He found the Maciu country strongly protected, and his proposal to the Moro sultans that they surrender was rejected. Returning to Camp Vicars on the 23d, Pershing headed a second expedition, which left camp on the 28th. His