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THE
OFFICIAL HISTORY
OF THE
GREAT STRIKE OF 1886
ON THE
SOUTHWESTERN RAILWAY SYSTEM.

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THE OFFICIAL HISTORY

OF THE

GREAT STRIKE OF 1886

ON THE

SOUTHWESTERN RAILWAY SYSTEM.

COMPILED BY THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS AND
INSPECTION OF MISSOURI.



JEFFERSON CITY :
TRIBUNE PRINTING COMPANY, STATE PRINTERS AND BINDERS,
1886.

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INTRODUCTION.

This history may be of value to the members of the General Assembly and others who are studying the labor problems now monopolizing so much of public attention.

It is simply a compilation of historical facts, official correspondence and important data obtained from the most trustworthy sources. It is intended to be perfectly fair and impartial, and where deductions are drawn at all they are only natural and logical conclusions. As to the merits of the contest between the Knights of Labor and the railways, the reader must form his own opinion.

This, with unimportant eliminations and additions, is the report prepared for the National Bureau of Labor.

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THE GREAT STRIKE OF 1886.

In March, 1886, the Missouri Pacific Railroad and its various branches, commonly known as the Southwestern or Gould system, embraced a vast territory in Missouri, Kansas, Texas, Arkansas, Indian Territory and Nebraska, with a total mileage of four thousand one hundred and fifteen miles, divided as follows:

In Missouri, 1391 miles; in Kansas, 820 miles; in Nebraska, 116 miles; in Indian Territory, 320 miles; in Texas, 1,408 miles; in Arkansas, 460 miles.

This does not include the Texas and Pacific Railway, 1,487 miles long, which was then, as it is now, in the hands of a receiver, appointed by the United States Court.

This vast system employed some 14,000 men in its various departments.

After the voluntary agreement made by the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, at the suggestion of the State officers of Missouri and Kansas, on March 15, 1885, which is as follows:

“THE MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY, LEASED AND OPERATED LINES, AND }
TEXAS PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY. OFFICE OF FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT, }
ST. LOUIS, MO., MARCH 15, 1885. } ”

“The following suggestions have been presented to the undersigned as a solution of the difficulties at present impeding the operations of these railroads:

“To CAPT. R. S. HAYES, *First Vice-President and Chief Executive Officer of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company and associated roads:*

“WHEREAS, On account of the strike among certain of the employes of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company in the States of Missouri and Kansas, resulting in the stoppage and cessation of all freight traffic over said company's lines in said States, to the great detriment of the business interests and rights of the people of said States, and the con-

tinuance of which endangers the public peace and the safety of the company's property; and,

"WHEREAS, The undersigned, representing the two States named above respectively, anxious to restore harmonious relations between the said company and its said employes, and to restore to the public the unobstructed use of said lines of railroad, do recommend and request said company to restore to its striking employes in Missouri and Kansas the same wages paid them in September, 1884, including one and one-half price for extra time worked; and to restore all said striking employes to their several employments without prejudice to them on account of said strike.

"Believing that the foregoing will constitute a just and fair settlement, we recommend their acceptance by the striking employes, as well as by the Missouri Pacific Railway Company.

"Dated St. Louis, Mo., March 15, 1885.

[SIGNED]

"JOHN A. MARTIN,

"Governor of Kansas.

"JOHN S. MARMADUKE,

"Governor of Missouri.

"L. L. Turner, Almerin Gillett, James Humphrey, Railroad Commissioners of Kansas.

"Geo. C. Pratt, James Harding, W. G. Downing, Railroad Commissioners of Missouri.

"B. G. Boone, Attorney-General of Missouri; J. C. Jamison, Adjutant-General; Oscar Koehitzky, Commissioner of Labor Statistics and Inspection.

"With a desire to concur with the recommendations expressed above by State officials, and to open the usual avenues of commerce, and with a spirit of amity and harmony towards the employes of these companies, this is to give notice that the rates of wages and terms above specified will go into effect on Monday morning, March 16 inst., and be in effect from and after that date.

"Hereafter said rates will not be changed except after thirty days' notice thereof, given in the usual way.

"R. S. HAYES,

"First Vice-President.

"Heads of departments to which the above applies will act in accordance with the provisions of the above circular.

"H. M. HONIE,

"Third Vice-President."

It was naturally to be inferred that no further trouble would occur on the Southwest system as long as the Railroad Company abided by the spirit as well as the letter of the agreement, which gave to the employes even more than they demanded; but a spirit of unrest had manifested itself among the employes, nearly all of whom had joined the labor organization known as "Knights of Labor," which organization had grown to large proportion during the strike of 1885, which embraced nearly all railroad employes (excepting locomotive engineers, conductors and firemen), and also included nearly all the trades unions of all kinds. Conscious of their great numbers and formidable strength, it became evident that a pretext or a real cause would soon be found for throwing down the gauntlet and measuring strength with the great railroad corporations of the west, and especially with those controlled by Jay Gould, who, for a reason not altogether explicable, was especially obnoxious to the Knights of Labor. Being strong in numbers and compactly organized, it became apparent that the authorized Committee of Knights of Labor intended to undertake the settlement of all labor questions, the aggrieved submitting his case to his "Assembly" instead of to the railroad officials. This, therefore, involved a demand for the recognition of the "Knights of Labor" *as such*, by the corporations, and is, without doubt, the true cause of the subsequent trouble and protracted struggle.

A convention of Knights of Labor of District Assembly No. 101 was held at St. Louis, commencing January 10th, 1886, being composed of delegates from all the Local Assemblies on the Southwest System, and it was during the sessions of this convention, as it has subsequently transpired, that aggressive measures were first inaugurated. A resolution was submitted by the Executive Committee of District Assembly No. 101, embodying two propositions as follows:

"Will you sustain your Executive Board in making the following demands:

"First—Demand of the Southwestern Railroad System our recognition as 'Knights of Labor.'

"Second—Demand that unskilled labor be paid not less than \$1.50 per day by said railway system."

The Local Assemblies attached to District Assembly No. 101, adopted the foregoing "demands" by a practically unanimous vote. It was by this resolution that the Executive Committee was invested with an authority which was construed by them as power to order a strike at their own will. This constructive power was not immediately exercised, and it is not asserted that any "demands," as set forth in the

resolution, were made upon the officials of the Southwestern System, nor was any grievance of any kind against the Company presented to it prior to the precipitation of the strike itself, and then for an entirely different matter from the "demands" cited in the empowering resolution above.

The principal shops of the Southwestern System, including those of the Texas and Pacific, which, as has been stated before, was in the hands of receivers appointed by the United States Court, are located at St. Louis, Chamois, Sedalia and DeSoto in Missouri; Kansas City, Atchison and Parsons in Kansas; Fort Worth, Marshall, Dallas, Denison, Taylor, Galveston, Palestine and Texarkana in Texas, with smaller repair shops at various localities. On the 18th day of February, 1886, a man named C. A. Hall, a foreman in one of the shops in the car department at Marshall, Texas, on the Texas and Pacific road, was discharged by order of J. A. Crosby, chief of that department.

The receivers of the Texas and Pacific Railway, soon after taking charge of said railway, received a communication from Wm. Moore, Chairman; M. Manning, R. Davidge, Geo. Bibb, J. W. Little and W. W. Miller from Marshall, Texas, dated January 2d, 1886, asking them to endorse an agreement, which was as follows:

"With a desire to have harmonious relations between the Texas and Pacific Railroad Company and the Knights of Labor of said road, we would respectfully request that the following agreement be thus entered into: 1st, That there be no reduction in the rate of wages of any employe of the road unless it be decided by an arbitration committee appointed, the Railroad Company to appoint three and the Knights of Labor three. 2d, That all rolling stock of the Company be repaired on its road, and all foreign rolling stock injured on this road be repaired at the company's shops. 3d, That no employe be discharged without a just cause, said employe having the right to ask for an investigation if he thinks he was unjustly discharged. 4th, That all promotions, such as foremen, be made from the ranks. 5th, That all time work, after the regular working hours, be paid for at the rate of one and one-half time. 6th, If it should become necessary to reduce expenses, the men should be consulted which it shall be—a reduction of hours or a reduction of men. 7th, That should any matter come up between the employes and the company it shall be decided by an arbitrating committee of six, appointed, three from the Company and three from the Knights of Labor, and the Company and the Knights of Labor agree to abide their decision."

Gov. John C. Brown, one of the receivers, in a letter dated Dallas, Texas, February 4th, responded to the committee, declining to sign the agreement because he had no authority to enter into any contracts other than those directed by the court. Subsequently he gave his reasons more specifically as follows: "1st, The power and authority conferred by the court on the receivers to manage and control the property would by that agreement in very many essential and vital respects be delegated to the Knights of Labor, which the receivers had no authority to do. 2d, That it proposes to deprive the receivers of the right to control and operate the property under the well defined rules of law and common sense. 3d, It creates a Board of Arbitration on all questions of reduction of wages, which would never agree, and thus make it impossible to reduce expenses, no matter what the financial emergency might be. 4th, It forbids the receivers from having their own rolling stock or the rolling stock of any other lines, injured on the receivers' lines, repaired in other shops. No matter how badly or negligently the work may be done by employes, they are forbidden to discharge, notwithstanding they may be unable to operate their lines because their own employes will not make the necessary repairs. In other words, the receivers would have to surrender their unquestioned right as well as duty to maintain their rolling stock to a standard equal to the demands of business. 5th, The receivers are required to make all promotions from the ranks, regardless of the question of fitness and merit. 6th, Although more than 50 per cent. of the employes of the Texas and Pacific Railway are not Knights of Labor, no method is proposed for their protection, nor have they reported any grievance or proposed any agreement of guarantee."

The first intimation of trouble was a telegram dated February 24th, 1886, from J. T. Burnett, member of the Executive Board of the Knights of Labor at Marshall, to Col. George Noble, general agent of the receivers, requesting him to "go to Marshall immediately to settle trouble in the shops." He responded that he had heard of no trouble in the shops and was too busy to go.

Under date of February 28th, 1886, Col. Noble received the following message from Martin Irons:

"Gov. Sheldon referred me to Dallas. Cannot control matters here long. If not settled by two o'clock, March 1st, 1886, must call out Texas and Pacific Railroad employes. Answer immediately what action you will take.

[SIGNED]

"MARTIN IRONS,

"Chairman Executive Committee K. of L."

To this telegram no response was sent, Governor Brown giving it as his reason that he knew of no trouble in the shops, and knew of no authority Martin Irons had to represent the employes.

Without warning of any kind, on Monday, at 3 o'clock, March 1, 1886, the greatest and most memorable railroad strike in the history of the United States was inaugurated. At that hour, at a preconcerted signal, the shopmen at Marshall laid down their tools and went out in a body. The shopmen at Fort Worth and Dallas acted simultaneously. Their action was not only a surprise to the railroad officials, but even most of the shopmen could not explain why they had been *ordered* to strike. Some claimed that the strike was for an advance of wages for unskilled labor to \$1.50 a day; others claimed that it was for a reduction of hours; yet it is nowhere of record that any such demands had ever been made. At a meeting between a delegation of citizens, and the Executive Committee of the Knights of Labor at Marshall, to hear the grievances of the employes, against the railroad company, Martin Irons, chairman of the Executive Committee, stated, in substance, "that the strike was not in the interest of one man, but for a principal involved; that the contract between the employes and the railroad made one year ago had been violated; that the contract was that no man should be discharged without due notice and investigation."

This, they charged, had been violated in the discharge of foreman Hall. It was further charged, that Hall had been discharged because he had attended a meeting of the District Assembly of the Knights of Labor the previous week, although it was claimed he had been granted permission to do so by his superior, Mr. Crosby. Mr. Crosby, however, asserted that Hall was discharged for incompetency. However it may be, it seems unreasonable that the Missouri Pacific system should be held responsible for any violation of an agreement on the part of the Texas & Pacific railroad, which was in the hands of the authorities of the United States Court, and which then, as now, constituted no part of Jay Gould's railroad system. Of course ex-Gov. John C. Brown, one of the receivers of the Texas & Pacific railroad, denied any violation of the agreement of March 15, 1885, with the Missouri Pacific, or any responsibility for his road for the provisions of a treaty with the employes and officials of another company.

In the meantime active preparations were being made at all points, by both sides, for the great struggle which was to decide the mastery. Orders were given by the Texas & Pacific Company to "receive no live

stock or perishable freight for points on or reached by the Missouri Pacific and the lines operated by said railroad."

At Fort Worth, on the 3d of March, the following significant circular was issued :

" *To Laboring Men of all Classes :*

" WHEREAS, The Missouri Pacific, leased and operated lines, and the Texas & Pacific railway, are now employing convict and Chinese labor on their different railways in Texas, to the detriment of honest labor ; and,

" WHEREAS, The said railways are continually violating their contract of March 15, 1885, and in fact have never complied with its provisions ; and,

" WHEREAS, We have resolved to come to the rescue of our down-trodden brethren known as ' unskilled laborers ; therefore be it

" *Resolved,* That we call upon all laborers, such as trackmen, engine wipers, coach-cleaners, baggage and freight hands, etc., to lend us their aid in driving convict and Chinese labor from our different roads, and that all laborers receive just and fair remuneration for their services. Trackmen, get clear out of sight of the track till we gain your victory.

[SIGNED]

" KNIGHTS OF LABOR."

Officials of the road emphatically deny the employment of convict labor, and that only about one hundred Chinese were employed, and they at a remote point. Investigation of the facts sustained their assertion.

The committee appointed by the citizens of Marshall on the 3d of March, was composed of Judge W. T. S. Keller, J. H. Vanhook, H. B. Pitts, E. J. Fry and W. C. Pierce, who were to confer both with the Knights of Labor and the receivers, and attempt to arbitrate all differences. The receivers had in the meantime given the striking employes notice that, if they did not resume work by 10 o'clock of the 4th of March, their places would be filled by new men.

The shopmen at Longview, Texas, quit work in a body and general preparation for a strike was made along the entire system, though the signal for a general strike had not been given.

The Committee appointed by the citizens of Marshall to adjust the difficulties between the company and the employes, telegraphed on the 3d of March to Gov. John C. Brown, one of the receivers, asking for a conference with him. His reply was as follows :

"Your message proposing a conference to adjust, if practicable, the strike now existing, has just reached me, without mentioning time or place, but I do not understand how a conference could be had before 10 o'clock to-morrow, the hour fixed by the General Superintendent under instructions from the receivers for the shopmen to return or be discharged. This order was made after careful consideration. We have paid the men promptly the same wages they have received for a year past without a murmur from them. We have not changed the manner nor hours of work, and in no way, as we are aware, have we done the men the slightest injustice. We have given every assurance, both verbally and in writing, that all men in our employ should be treated with the greatest fairness, and we have met our promises and discharged our duty to them. They have complained of no unfair treatment. Notwithstanding this, they left our shops without the slightest cause, so far as we can ascertain. Yet so anxious were we to avoid injustice to any who may have inconsiderately acted on bad advice, that we decided that three days be given them to return. We intend standing inflexibly by that order. We will always take pleasure in conferring with any citizen of Marshall or any other community in the State on any question alone affecting their own, or the interests of their communities, and we would gladly listen to the advice of all good men. But, after all, we must follow the advice of the court, under whose control the railway now is, to whom alone we can look and with perfect confidence, we know, for the protection of the property with which we are charged as the agents of the law.

[SIGNED]

"JOHN C. BROWN, Receiver,

"For the Receivers."

On the 4th day of March the receivers promulgated the following:

NOTICE TO STRIKERS AND OTHERS.

"The receivers of the Texas & Pacific Railway, appointed by the United States Court of the circuit embracing the States of Texas and Louisiana, notified all men in their employ, who left work on Monday last, or since that time, that they could return to work on or before Thursday, the 4th day of March, 1886, at 10 o'clock A. M., and such as did not return by that time were no longer in our employ, and would be paid off. The receivers are now informed that at Fort Worth and other points, men who did not avail themselves of the privilege of returning to duty and are not now their employes, are congregating about

the stations, warehouses and other places of business of said railroad in possession and under control of receivers, to the great inconvenience and annoyance of such as are willing to work, and that such persons and others having no business about said premises, are by words, threats and other means trying to intimidate men who are willing to aid the railway authorities in performing their duties as common carriers. Now, therefore, all such persons are notified immediately to leave the premises of said railway and other property under the control of the receivers, and altogether desist from congregating about the depots, warehouses, round-houses and other places of business of said railway, and to desist from acts of intimidation of the men who are willing to work, and in all other respects to cease all interference of, or embarrassment to, said railway and those controlling or serving it in the prosecution of its duties as common carriers, otherwise the receivers will feel compelled to invoke the aid of the United States Court with all the powers at its command to protect the employes of receivers and the property in their hands and the proper conduct of the business of said railroad.

[SIGNED]

“JOHN C. BROWN,

“LIONEL A. SHELDON,

• “Receivers.”

It appears that Judge Don A. Pardee, of the United States Court, had already been appealed to by the receivers, and on the same day of the issuance of the above circular had made the following order:

“It is ordered that the receivers are authorized to suspend the running of trains and transaction of business upon any part of the line of the Texas & Pacific Railway, or in the shops pertaining to said railway, whenever and wherever their possession or control of the property^s confided to their charge is interfered with by strikers, shopmen or unlawful assemblies to such an extent as to, in their judgment, make the continued movements of trains or transaction of business personally dangerous to their agents and employes, or to such an extent as to jeopardize the property given to their charge, and in case of interference with the property in charge of said receivers, or interference with the agents and employes of the receivers, by mobs, strikers or unlawful assemblies, and beyond the power of the receivers to control, the receivers are directed to at once apply by petition, supported by affidavit, to the judge of the United States Circuit Court, for the district in which the interference occurs, and in the suit of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company vs. Texas & Pacific Railway Company, pending in

the Circuit Court of said district, in said petition setting out the facts of interference and the extent of the same, and praying advice, and an order to the marshal of the district with such force as may be necessary to at once restore possession and control of all the property of the Texas & Pacific Railroad to the receivers, and to protect the said railway property, and arrest and bring before said court to answer for contempt, any and all persons interfering with the possession of said receivers, or in any unlawful manner hindering or obstructing the said receivers in the control, operation and management of said railway property.

[SIGNED]

“DON A. PARDEE.”

NEW ORLEANS, LA., March 4, 1886.

The Citizens' Committee of Marshall were still engaged in an effort to arbitrate the troubles, and to that end submitted a proposition to the Executive Committee of the Knights of Labor that the men resume work the next morning and so continue pending negotiations, and that the Citizens' Committee be furnished with a written copy of grievances. At another meeting a list of grievances was presented. They were that C. A. Hall be reinstated in his old position held by him before he was removed as foreman; that S. O. Bissett, conductor on the New Orleans Pacific, be reinstated to the position from which he was discharged in December, and that a certain bridge gang be paid the same wages as other bridgemen. The Executive Committee at first declined the proposition of the Citizens' Committee for the men to resume work pending negotiations, but subsequently accepted it, whereupon the following telegram was sent to Gov. Brown:

“The men will go to work to-morrow morning if you will agree to confer with the men aggrieved or their committee. Will you grant this conference? If so, when and where?”

“W. T. S. KELLER,

“For Citizens' Committee.”

The answer of Gov. Brown was as follows:

“If the men who were in our service on Monday, the 1st day of March, 1886, desire to go to work for the same rate of pay they were then receiving, the receivers will employ them at that rate to-morrow, and on their proper appearance at the places they left, and if such men have grievances which arose since the appointment of the receivers, we will hear them fairly and justly at Marshall on a day to be named by them after the grievance is fully stated, but we reserve the right to reduce force, as the emergencies of business may require, on proper

notice. The court has authorized the receivers to close any shop, or to cease operating the road, or any part of it, whenever they deem it wise and prudent, but we do not wish to do so if the employes will cooperate with us in the same spirit of fairness that we will deal with them on all questions. It is proper, also, to state that if the places of any men that have quit our employment have since been filled by other men, we cannot dismiss such men as came to our aid to enable us to move the commerce of the country and to serve the public, for the purpose of restoring the original parties to employment.

[SIGNED]

“JOHN C. BROWN, Receiver,

“For both Receivers.”

Thereupon the Citizens' Committee, having exhausted its efforts, sent the following telegram :

“MARSHALL, TEXAS, March 4, 1886.

“GOVERNOR BROWN :

“The men refuse to comply with your telegram on account of the conditions therein. We have earnestly striven, as disinterested parties, to aid in adjusting the difficulties between the company and its employes, but we feel that we have failed and herewith discontinue our services.

“W. T. S. KELLER,

“Chairman Citizens' Committee.”

To this telegram Governor Brown promptly responded :

“I regret you have not succeeded, but am obliged for your earnest efforts. We must have the right to run the road and its shops under the order of the court, or it will be closed. When we pay for service a higher price than is paid by any other industry, we must be permitted to judge for ourselves its fitness for the duty required, or we cannot keep the property in such condition as will enable us to meet the public demands.

[SIGNED]

“JOHN C. BROWN.”

Thus far there had been no violent demonstrations, except at Big Springs, Texas, where about one hundred masked men raided the round-house and disabled several engines by removing and secreting parts of the machinery.

The signal for a general strike of the Knights of Labor on the Southwest system was given by Martin Irons, Chairman of the Executive Committee of District Assembly No. 101, and was communi-

ated to all local assemblies on the Gould lines, and on Saturday morning, March 6, 1886, five thousand men laid down their tools and marched out of the shops, and all traffic on six thousand miles of railroad was suddenly suspended and the commerce of five states paralyzed.

In its earlier stages the strike was characterized by little violence, the only injury done being the "killing" of freight engines, which process consisted of drawing the fires and emptying the engines of water. A strike of such magnitude necessarily affected the commercial interests of the entire country, and especially of those States and Territories west of the Mississippi River, and therefore speedily became a matter of National concern. It was argued by the Knights of Labor that the cause of one brother is the concern of all; while on the part of the business public, who were to suffer most, it was urged that no mere sentimentality should be used to prostrate business and injure the innocent. Thus, unlike the strike of March, 1885, in this strike of 1886 there was but a modicum of public sympathy with the strikers, and even this almost entirely disappeared later on, when violence and the destruction of property became its potent accessories.

In the light of subsequent events, it became a question in the internal affairs of the order of Knights of Labor whether a subordinate body had authority to order a strike without first obtaining permission of the National Executive Committee.

At the outbreak of the strike the following correspondence was had:

"NEW YORK, March 6, 1886.

"T. V. POWDERLY, *Scranton, Pa.*:

"Mr. Hoxie telegraphs that Knights of Labor on our road have struck and refuse to allow any freight trains to be run on our road, saying they have no grievances, but are only striking because ordered to do so. If there is any grievance we would like to talk it over with you. We understood you to promise that no strike should be ordered without consultation.

[SIGNED]

"A. L. HOPKINS."

"PHILADELPHIA, PA., March 8, 1886.

"A. L. HOPKINS, *New York*:

"Have telegraphed West for particulars. Papers say strike caused by discharge of man named Hall. Can he not be reinstated pending investigation?"

[SIGNED]

"T. V. POWDERLY."

“NEW YORK, March 8, 1886.

“T. V. POWDERLY :

“Thanks for your message and suggestion. Hall was employed by the Texas & Pacific and not by us. That property is in the hands of the United States Court, and we have no control whatever over the receivers or their employes. We have carried out the agreement made last spring, in every respect, and the present strike is unjust to us and unwise for you. It is reported here that this movement is the result of Wall street influence on the part of those short of the securities likely to be affected.

[SIGNED]

“A. L. HOPKINS.”

On March 8, 1886, the following address to employes was issued:

“THE MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY, }
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ST. LOUIS, March 8, 1886. }

“*To the Employes of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, Leased and Operated Lines:*

“That all may understand the present condition of affairs whereby some 10,000 men have been thrown out of employment, the operation of about 5,000 miles of railway stopped and the traffic of four States, affecting over 4,000,000 people, partially paralyzed, I desire you to read and carefully consider the following facts, for which abundant evidence can be produced, and which cannot be controverted: On the 15th of March, 1885, the strike then pending over this entire system was settled by the voluntary mediation of the Executives of Kansas and Missouri, and a circular issued which was sufficiently satisfactory to cause an entire resumption of work. During the sixty days subsequent to the above date, committees representing the employes at different points, and also the various labor organizations to which they belonged, were met and all grievances candidly discussed. Satisfactory agreements were then entered into, so that on May 19, 1885, it seemed that perfect harmony existed between us all as co-laborers of these companies. Any infractions of the spirit or letter of the understandings or agreements made between the company and its employes were speedily rectified as soon as brought to the attention of proper authorities. This apparent harmony and good understanding continued until September following, when this company was notified by the Knights of Labor that it must not perform any work for nor interchange any business with the Wabash Railway, with which that organization had difficulties pending.

The Executive Committee of the Knights of Labor stated at that time that no cause of grievance of any nature existed against The Missouri Pacific Railway and its associate companies, but that to force the Wabash, which was in the hands of the United States court, it became necessary to involve the Missouri Pacific Railway on account of the supposed identity of the stockholders' interests. In order that there might be no possible cause for destroying the good feeling then existing between this company and its employes, the order above referred to was acquiesced in, until the Wabash difficulties were adjusted. On December 16, 1885, the United States Court took possession of the Texas and Pacific Railway in Louisiana and Texas for the benefit of its creditors, and from that date the severance of that railway from this system has been as complete as if no amicable relations had ever existed between it and these companies. The employes working upon the Texas and Pacific Railway became the employes of the agents of the United States court, and the Missouri Pacific management ceased to have any control over them. Messrs. Brown and Sheldon, the receivers, took possession of the Texas and Pacific Railway, appointed their own agents and made such arrangements with their employes as they deemed proper and fit, as to which the management of the Missouri Pacific Railway exercised no voice or control whatever. It is learned that on March the 2d inst., the employes of the Texas and Pacific Railway inaugurated a strike, giving as the reason that one C. A. Hall, of the car department of that road in Marshall, Texas, was discharged without due cause. On Thursday, the 4th inst., the Knights of Labor ordered the boycott of Texas and Pacific cars, and traffic over these roads, and such arrangements were thereupon made as not to permit that order to disturb the apparently pleasant relations with our employes. At 10 A. M., Saturday, the 6th inst., without previous notice, all of the shopmen, most of the yardmen and many of the trackmen stopped their work and voluntarily refused to continue as employes of this company, merely stating to their several foremen that they had received orders requiring this from the executive officers of the Knights of Labor, and alleging as their only reason, the discharge of an employe by the receivers of the Texas and Pacific Railway, an alien road in the hands of the United States Court. Since the commencement of this strike, at many points the local committees of the Knights of Labor have notified our foremen and superintendents that they would appoint and place their own watchmen over our property to protect it from loss and damage, and to take care of the same; but as these self-appointed watchmen assume the authority as to who shall or shall not enter upon the grounds and property of

the company, except through their own order, it is virtually dispossessing the company of its property, and contrary to the very basis of all governments.

“This company has for years had satisfactory understandings and agreements with certain labor organizations, which have, in every instance, complied with their promises, and it has always been the object and aim of the management to comply fully with both spirit and letter of all such understandings and agreements.

“I would call your attention to the following conclusions from the above history of the past year:

“This company has made no objections to the existence of organizations and combinations of employes, which the latter consider for their mutual benefit. It has recognized and met the committees of such organizations, and made agreements with the same without any distinction, and carried them out as exactly as possible, promptly adjusting all complaints and differences which have from time to time arisen.

“When loyal employes permit themselves to be governed and controlled by their discontented co-laborers, they necessarily suffer equally with them the consequences of ill-advised acts; therefore the necessity of their individual efforts to restore the proper relations between the company and its employes.

“It must be well known and recognized that the capacity of a corporation to meet its pay-rolls and vouchers depends upon its capacity to earn money, and that when its earning powers cease, its ability to pay the employes and its other creditors ceases at the same time, as its daily and monthly payments are made from its daily and monthly receipts.

“The company is legally required to do all in its power to perform its obligations to the public and to the government, and its management will take every proper measure to comply with these requirements; and I earnestly hope that every independent, free-thinking co-laborer who has been, or is, an employe of these companies, will consider these facts and inform himself upon all sides of the subject, remembering that there has never before been an act so arbitrary, useless and uncalled for as that of last Saturday, whereby a few men, to whom you have voluntarily given the power, are depriving many thousands of their co-laborers of their accustomed wages, divesting this company of the capacity to pay its employes for their services, shutting up the avenues of traffic in four States and preventing some 4,000,000 of people from obtaining their customary supplies and the

necessities of life because it is claimed that one employe of the car department of the Texas & Pacific Railway, at Marshall, Texas, a road over which this company has no control, has been discharged by the agents of the United States Court.

“H. M. HOXIE,

“First Vice-President.”

This was followed by the following circular:

“THE MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILWAY, COMPANY, }
 OFFICE OF GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT, }
 ST. LOUIS, MO., March 9, 1886. } ”

CIRCULAR.

“*To all who were in the employ of this Company, and who have quit work since March 5, 1886:*

“You are hereby notified that your action, as stated above, was a voluntary abandonment of the service of this company, that you are no longer in its employment, your names having been stricken from the rolls. All such who are now on or about the company’s premises are hereby notified that they must immediately leave the same, to the end that this company may resume the traffic of the country.

“WM. KERRIGAN,

“General Superintendent.”

On May 25, 1885, as supplementary to the agreement effected by the State officials of Missouri and Kansas in March, 1885, an agreement in the form of a letter was made by Vice-President Hoxie to Mr. Fitzsimmons, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the employes of the Missouri Pacific Railroad at the Sedalia shops, which now becomes important in view of the fact that as the great strike of 1886, which we are now considering, assumed proportions, many Knights of Labor gave as a technical reason for their present action the *constructive* violation of this supplemental agreement. For this reason we here reproduce this agreement:

“ST. LOUIS, MO., May 25, 1885.

“*To F. W. FITZSIMMONS, Sedalia, Mo.:*

“According to promise made you on Saturday, I advise that we will strictly enforce the provisions of the circular of First Vice-President Hayes, dated March 15, 1885. In the shops, and wherever else it may be practicable, we will reduce the hours of work instead of reduc-

ing the force, whenever the necessity arrives; that whenever an employe believes that he has been unjustly discharged he may make a statement of his case, in writing, to the Superintendent of the road on which he has worked, who will promptly investigate and reinstate if wrongfully discharged. It is believed that the interests of the company and employes are identical, and the management earnestly desires the hearty co-operation of all its employes in the efficient and economical administration of the properties under its charge, to the end that the fullest development of their capabilities may be brought about and work may be given to all under conditions in every way satisfactory.

[SIGNED]

“H. M. HOXIE,

“Third Vice-President.”

On the 8th of March, 1886, the strike became general throughout the entire system, and in many places included not only the shopmen but trackmen, switchmen, wipers and other employes, and all freight traffic came to an absolute stand still. It is estimated that 9,000 men had quit work exclusive of those who were “laid off” in consequence of there being no work for them to do.

The strikers having been discharged from the Missouri Pacific Railroad shops by the order of Mr. Kerrigan, General Superintendent, and the self-constituted guards of the Knights of Labor removed, the shops were placed in charge of a force of detectives under Mr. Thomas Furlong, whereupon the following notice was posted at St. Louis and mailed to all points on the system:

“WANTED.—The Missouri Pacific Railway Company is prepared to furnish employment to a number of machinists, carpenters, car-repairers, car-cleaners, engine-wipers, yardmen, switchmen, trackmen and laborers in its shops and yards at St. Louis, Mo., and other stations on its lines.

“Good and competent men will be employed for the services above specified, without reference to their past or present relations to this company, or their connection with any society or organization, open, secret, secular or otherwise. Such as are accepted will be paid the rate of wages recommended by the Governors and other State officials of Missouri and Kansas, when the labor troubles of March, 1885, were adjusted, the same as have been paid by this company since that date.

“Apply to E. K. Sibley, Superintendent Missouri Pacific Railway, Sedalia, Mo.; H. G. Fleming, Superintendent St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern Railway, St. Louis, Mo.; A. W. Dickenson, Superintendent Terminal Facilities, Union Depot; John Hodge, Master Car-builder, Missouri Pacific shops; L. Bartlett, Master Mechanic, Mis-

Missouri Pacific shops, St. Louis, Mo.; J. Herrin, Superintendent, Palestine, Texas; C. Clarke, Master Mechanic, Denison, Tex.; W. W. Fagan, Superintendent, Atchison, Kan., or to the undersigned.

“WM. KERRIGAN,

“General Superintendent.”

Martin Irons, Chairman of the Executive Committee of District Assembly No. 101, who was the leading spirit of the strike, and whose influence appeared to dominate the entire order throughout the West, having returned to Sedalia, Mo., on the 10th of March, added to the considerable number of authorized statements of grievances and demands, the following, which was forwarded to Vice-President Hoxie:

“In order that the people may understand why the present strike is in existence on the Gould Southwest System, and in order to show to the public the falsity of the circular issued from the executive department of the Missouri Pacific Railway, addressed to the employes of said road but in reality intended for the public for the purpose of eliciting public sympathy, we consider the circular too insignificant to reply to in detail. It is indeed surprising that railroad magnates, who have so long insulted the people with the epithet ‘be damned’ will come down on their knees and cater to them for sympathy.

“The settlement of the strike of March, 1885, in which we had no voice, but which we accepted in good faith, and which has been kept inviolate by us, has been repeatedly violated by the company, viz.: by not restoring to all the employes the wages paid prior to September, 1884, in several places on the Texas and Pacific Railroad, as well as on the Missouri Pacific Railroad and its branches and by the discharge of employes contrary to the spirit and intent of the settlement.

“Now it is the belief of every Knight of Labor on the system that the companies therein mentioned have inaugurated a systematic method for the purpose of breaking up the organization of the Knights of Labor on the system, and that the placing of the Texas and Pacific in the hands of a receiver and under the jurisdiction of the United States court is the main feature of their scheme, and in order to meet and defeat these contemptible and blood-sucking corporations and their governmental allies, and in order to secure redress for the foregoing grievances, and the following demands, we have inaugurated this strike.

“In order to bring about a speedy adjustment of the difficulties now existing between the management of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, leased and operated lines, and the Texas and Pacific Railway Company and all its branches and their employes, the District Executive

Board of District Assembly No. 101, of the Knights of Labor of America, submits the following basis of settlement to the management of the aforesaid roads :

“ First.—A conference to be arranged with the management of the aforesaid Missouri Pacific Railway Company, leased and operated lines, and the Texas and Pacific Railroad and all its branches, as party of the first part, and the District Executive Board of District Assembly No. 101 as party of the second part, for the purpose of settling the following grievances by arbitration :

“ First.—That all unskilled labor employed by the roads previously mentioned, now receiving less than \$1.50 per day, be paid at the rate of \$1.50 per day, the above to include all section laborers, trackmen and crossing switchmen.

“ Second.—The abolishment of convict labor on the above named roads, and that convicts now employed on the Missouri Pacific, leased and operated lines, and Texas and Pacific Railway and all its branches, be immediately discharged.

“ Third.—That the rate of pay of all bridgemen be restored to the rates of September, 1884, viz.: in a gang of ten men, two at \$2.75, four men at \$2.50, two men at \$2.25 and two men at \$2.00.

“ Fourth.—That all home repair men be rated as bridgemen.

“ Fifth.—That all boarding bosses for bridge gangs shall be entitled to half rates of freight on all supplies for the use of bridge outfits. That when outfit cars are moved at night or on Sunday, bridgemen shall be allowed one and one-half time while being so moved.

“ Seventh.—That where bridgemen are compelled to work in water at wash-outs, etc., they shall be allowed double time while so engaged.

“ Eighth.—That when bridgemen are detached from their gangs on special service they shall be allowed time and half time while traveling at night, and straight time for all other time until they return to their respective gangs.

“ Ninth.—That bridgemen having families shall be permitted to travel on their gang passes to and from their homes for the purpose of visiting their families at least twice per month.

“ Tenth.—That a system be established for the government of the employes and wages of apprentices on the Gould Southwest System of railroads as follows: That four years constitute an apprenticeship, and that the scale of wages be fixed as follows: For the first year \$1.00 per day, for the second year \$1.25 per day, for the third year \$1.75 per day, and for the fourth and last year \$2.25 per day, and at the expiration of their term of apprenticeship they are to receive the average

journeymen's wages of the department to which they belong, and that no boys under the age of seventeen years be admitted as apprentices in any department of the above mentioned roads, and that in each case articles of agreement shall be signed by the representative of the railroad company of the first part, and the legal representative of the applicant for the apprenticeship of the second part; and that in no case shall the ratio of apprentices be more than one to every eight mechanics, and that no more apprentices be employed until the number is reduced to the above mentioned ratio.

" Eleventh.—In view of the fact that considerable dissatisfaction and trouble have arisen on account of the discharge of employes without cause first being made known, therefore we demand that, when any employe, who are Knights of Labor, do not give satisfaction in the capacity in which they are engaged, it shall be made known to them in writing, that they may defend themselves in the following manner: The accused party to select two persons to assist in conducting the defense, and the officers of the company in immediate charge of the department in which the accused is employed be allowed to select two persons to assist in conducting the prosecution; and that the accused be tried before three disinterested parties, to be selected in the following manner: The parties assisting in the defense to select one, and the parties assisting in the prosecution one, and the two thus selected choose the third. The accused must be allowed to remain at work until the charges are either disproved or substantiated.

" Twelfth.—We demand that all men be paid the same wages for the same work—in other words, that when a man quits or is taken off a job that pays a certain price, that his successor receive the same rate of pay.

" Thirteenth.—We further demand that all men who have been unjustly discharged from any of the aforesaid roads, be immediately reinstated in their respective positions at the conclusion of the existing difficulties.

" Respectfully submitted,

" PHIL MARTIN IRONS,

" Chairman Executive Board, District Assembly 101, Knights of Labor."

" It will be observed from an examination of the foregoing document that Mr. Irons largely exceeds his brethren in the nature of the grievances, and the number and character of the demands. He refers to the employment of convict labor. This is stoutly denied by the railway officials, and a careful investigation into the facts fails to confirm Mr. Irons' charge.

Efforts were being made to induce the conductors, engineers and firemen to join the strike, but this proved a failure, and no instance appears where they abandoned their posts.

In the meantime engines were being killed as they arrived or attempted to depart from all prominent stations, and at Big Springs, Texas, where the round-house was broken into and engines disabled, a force of Deputy United States marshals had been sent to restore order. No acts of personal violence were resorted to except at Fort Worth, Tex., on the 10th of March, where one man, who belonged to a force of men imported to take the places abandoned by the strikers, was assaulted and badly beaten by the latter.

Thus, early in the strike, so completely was all traffic suspended, the discharge, temporarily, of a large number of office clerks, station agents, etc., became a necessity.

Repeated efforts were made to move freight trains at St. Louis and other points, but a species of argument was invariably resorted to by the strikers which amounted to scarcely less than intimidation, whereby the engineers and firemen were induced to abandon their engines. Whenever a train was made up, and the engineer and fireman were ready to start their train, they were approached by one or more men, who would present either a written or verbal request for them not to take out the train. Sometimes the language was emphatic, and sometimes contained an appeal such as "for the sake of yourself and family do not attempt to take out that engine." Sometimes again these notes of warning were left at engineers' houses or sent to them through the mails, but were always of a character that was significant of danger to the engineer or fireman. These notices invariably had the desired effect and the engine was returned to its stall in the round-house.

Matters were now rapidly growing from bad to worse. Lawlessness began to manifest itself. Not only were engines boldly boarded and "killed," but at DeSoto, Mo., on the Iron Mountain Road, the Knights of Labor, some six hundred strong, marched to the round-house, forced it open, and drew the water from all the boilers. At Kansas City, Atchison and Parsons, Kan., and Sedalia, Pacific, Hannibal and other points in Missouri, a similar condition of affairs existed. At some points, notably at Pacific and DeSoto, Missouri, where the civil authorities were members of the Knights of Labor, they either could not or would not enforce the law against unlawful assemblages and riotous conduct. The people began to be seriously alarmed. Not only was their business being ruined, but society itself was menaced and civil law openly defied. This feeling of alarm can best be illus-

trated by a series of resolutions adopted by a large meeting of the citizens of Sedalia on the night of the 11th of March. They are as follows:

" *Resolved*, That the citizens of Sedalia deplore the condition of affairs brought about by the present strike of a portion of the railway employes as productive of the greatest injury to the interest and general welfare of our city and of citizens, whether or not in any way connected with the railways. We believe that if any grievances exist on the part of employes against the Missouri Pacific Railway Company that such matters could and should have been settled as heretofore, by an appeal to the chief officers of the company, or by arbitration, or at least that an effort should have been made in that direction before inaugurating a strike, the disastrous consequences of which cannot be foreseen, but which can scarcely be exaggerated.

" We do not understand that any grievance has been laid before the railway company, and from all information which has reached the public ear, we are unable to see any just cause for the present strike. To the striking employes we would appeal to put an end to this condition of things. Many of them have been laboring with us shoulder to shoulder for twenty years, striving to build this heretofore prosperous city, in which we, as well as they, have invested our all, putting our money into its real estate, incurring heavy debts to build on and improve property, and so combine our aims and interests that the injury to one is the concern of all.

" We appeal to both parties of this unfortunate controversy, both of whom we are forced to regard more or less in the light of ruling powers to whom we are subject, but to whom we are not quite ready to surrender our rights, to make an effort to a settlement. We believe that much of the present difficulty is due to the ill-advised utterances of a few individuals who seek to turn the necessities and desires of industrious men to their personal profits.

" The condition of affairs here, and the feelings and wishes of our people have been misrepresented in reports telegraphed all over the land. While denying no just rights to any one, we think that the people of Sedalia who are not employes or railway officers have some rights, which they are entitled to have respected. If our trade and commerce are to be broken up every year by these disturbances, can we expect strangers to settle among us, bringing with them their capital, their industry, their families and their household goods, and make their homes with us?

" We wish the country to understand that the people of Sedalia are not anarchists and dynamiters, among whom life is unsafe, but law-

abiding American citizens, who invite among them capital and industry, and will protect them. The mass of the people of Sedalia are neither capitalists nor Knights of Labor, and they do not propose to be tyrannized over by either without urgent protest."

Thus far in the great drama that was being enacted in Missouri, Kansas and Texas, Mr. T. V. Powderly, Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, had not made his appearance. But on the 11th of March he telegraphed Receiver Brown as follows:

"PHILADELPHIA, March 11, 1886.

To JOHN C. BROWN, Receiver of the Texas & Pacific Railway, Dallas, Texas:

"Will you meet with a committee selected by the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor to arbitrate for the settlement of the difficulties with the Texas & Pacific employes?"

[SIGNED]

"T. V. POWDERLY."

To this Governor Brown replied:

"DALLAS, TEXAS, March 11.

To T. V. POWDERLY, Philadelphia:

"Your message received asking me if I will meet a committee selected by the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor to arbitrate for the settlement of difficulties with the Texas & Pacific employes. I beg to say that we have no difficulties with the employes of the Texas & Pacific Railway, and should any arise, we are most willing now, as in the past, to confer with them and right any grievances shown by them to exist. The only issue between the former employes, who are now strikers and not now in our service, and ourselves, is that they have committed depredations upon the property in our possession by disabling and killing engines and interfering, by intimidation and otherwise, with meritorious and honest men now in our service, desiring to perform the duties abandoned by the strikers. This matter we have committed to the United States marshals, and the United States marshals, under writs of assistance from the courts, are settling the trouble for us, so I do not see any good arbitration with a committee of Knights of Labor could accomplish.

[SIGNED]

"JOHN C. BROWN,

"Receiver."

Later in the day Receiver Brown sent a supplemental dispatch as follows:

" DALLAS, TEXAS, March 11, 1886.

" To T. V. POWDERLY, *Philadelphia* :

" I omitted to say in my dispatch this morning that the United States Circuit Court, under the orders of which we hold our appointment as receivers, is open and entirely accessible any day to any complaint of the employes of the Texas & Pacific Railway, who have a real or imaginary grievance since the receivers were appointed, and the court will hear and entertain with impartiality any application made by parties preferring their grievances.

[SIGNED]

" JOHN C. BROWN,

" Receiver Texas & Pacific Railway."

At Little Rock, Arkansas, on the 11th of March, 1886, a party of strikers detached an engine from a passenger train and rapidly following a freight train, which had successfully run the blockade, overtook and killed it. They were in turn followed by another engine with United States Deputy Marshals, who overhauled the strikers, recaptured the engine and returned with both engines to Little Rock. The strikers, when overtaken, attempted to escape to the woods, but were fired upon, and one of their number, Dick Sullivan, was shot in the thigh.

No effort at concealment or subterfuge was now resorted to, and the strikers, boldly, and in the face of marshals, police, detectives, sheriffs and constables, killing engines, side-tracking trains, uncoupling cars and warning engineers and firemen. One day was but a repetition of the events of another, except in the increasing audacity of the maddened mob. In St. Louis chaos reigned. The police force of the city, reinforced by scores of detectives clothed with the powers of peace officers, was utterly powerless.

Vice-President Hoxie determined to ask the intervention of the courts, and accordingly the following proceedings were had in the Circuit Court of St. Louis, on the 13th of March, and the injunction was served upon 470 prominent Knights of Labor :

" Plaintiff states that it is a railroad corporation, duly organized under the laws of the States of ———, for the purpose of carrying on and transacting a general railroad business in the transportation of passengers and freight over its lines of railroads in the States of ——— and elsewhere : that it is the owner in possession and entitled to the exclusive use of its said lines of railway in this and other States, aggregating many miles in length, and extending from the Mississippi river into a through county of ——— in the western boundary of said State of M

ouri, at Kansas City, and there connecting with numerous other railroads, and having branches and lines connecting with its main line at various other points in said State, and extending through the same to and through other States and Territories, and connecting with other roads leading to the Pacific coast, to divers points throughout the United States and the Republic of Mexico, and is the owner of, and has now in its possession and ready for immediate use within the said county of ——, a large number of locomotives, cars, switch engines and all other appliances necessary and proper for running and operating said railroads, and for the transportation of freight and passengers over the same, the transaction of its business generally, and for the proper discharge of its duties to the public as a common carrier.

“Plaintiff further states that the eastern terminus of its said lines of railroad is in the city of St. Louis, State of Missouri, where it connects with many lines of railroad going to various cities and other places north and east of said city of St. Louis, to and from which, when its business is not interrupted, its trains are constantly moving.

“Plaintiff further states that the defendants, most of whom were formerly employes of the plaintiff, are citizens or residents of the said county of ——; that on March 6, 1886, said employes, defendants herein, as plaintiff is informed and believes, and so charges, in obedience to a peremptory order from an organization known as the Knights of Labor, of which said order they are members, without proper or reasonable notice to plaintiff, and without any cause, in a body, abruptly, simultaneously and wrongfully abandoned the service of plaintiff, and arbitrarily and without authority or right, and without the consent and against the wishes of plaintiff, attempted to assume custody and control of plaintiff's said yards, locomotives, switch engines, cars, tracks, machine shops and round-houses in said county of ——, and themselves refused to perform any work or labor for plaintiff, or to permit any one else to do so, except with special permission from them, thus unlawfully and wrongfully stopping within the said county of —— all work in the shops and yards of plaintiff, and also the handling of freight, and the movement of trains for the transportation thereof by plaintiff, and also stopping the plaintiff's passenger trains, except such as they are specially permitted to run, thereby interfering with and obstructing plaintiff's business as a common carrier over all of its said lines of railroad, to the irreparable damage and injury of the plaintiff.

“Plaintiff further states that it is informed and believes, and so charges, that the said organization, known as the “Knights of Labor of North America,” is a secret society with branches and sub-organizations

known as District Assemblies and lodges; that the members of said organization are composed of railroad employes and other persons. Plaintiff is not advised as to all the purposes and objects of said organizations, but is informed and believes, and so charges, that one of the avowed purposes of said organizations is to control the action of their members as to when, how, and upon what terms, they shall enter into the service of this plaintiff, and when, and under what terms, they shall abandon such service, and also as to the mode and manner in which they shall attempt to compel the acquiescence of this plaintiff in any demands they may choose to make. Plaintiff further states that it is informed and believes, and so charges, that one of the said organizations of the "Knights of Labor of North America," known as District Assembly No. 101, is located in the City of St. Louis, of which J. J. McGarry is a general officer and Judge-Advocate, and M. H. Palmer is Grand Worthy Foreman; that another and inferior organization of said Knights of Labor, known as the "—— Assembly Lodge, No. ——," is located in said county of ——, of which said lodge —— is chairman and said —— constitute the Executive Committee of said lodge, and all of the defendants herein are members of said lodge and said District Assembly, and subject to the orders of the officers and executive committees thereof.

"Plaintiff is informed and believes, and so charges, that in pursuance of the secret obligations assumed by each and all of the members of said organizations, including the defendants herein, and of the regulations prescribed for their government, they are required to yield implicit and unquestioning obedience to any and all orders or requests made, given or communicated to them by said officers, executive committee or either of them, directly or indirectly, verbally or in writing, relating to the employment or service of themselves or others by or in connection with this plaintiff.

"And plaintiff further states that it is informed and believes, and so charges, that the members of said organizations located in said county of ——, including the defendants herein, have held frequent meetings, prior and subsequent to said March 6, 1886, for the purpose of unlawfully conspiring and combining together, and that they had so unlawfully combined and conspired together, to dictate to this plaintiff whom it should, and whom it should not employ, to perform the various services necessary for the transactions of its said business. That said defendants, by said unlawful combination and conspiracy, have taken, and are still taking, an unlawful advantage of their position and power to control the actions and business of this plaintiff, and to wrongfully and un-

lawfully oppress and destroy its business and property, and to intimidate and deter by threats and force other persons from entering into the service of plaintiff.

“ Plaintiff charges on information and belief that before and after the defendants herein abandoned its service as hereinbefore stated, the members of said —•— Assembly, Lodge No. ———, and District Assembly No. 101, including the defendants herein, unlawfully and wrongfully combined, confederated and conspired together to prevent this plaintiff from running its trains, using its' shops, operating its switch engines, and from transporting freight and passengers thereon from its depots in the said county of ——— and elsewhere over its said lines of road, and also to prevent by intimidation, threats and force, this plaintiff from retaining or securing the services of such other men, for the purpose of performing its necessary work in its said shops and yards and operating its trains, as are not members of the Knights of Labor aforesaid, and that the officers and Executive Committee of said District Assembly No. 101, and the officers and Executive Committee of said — Assembly, Lodge No. —, in pursuance of the resolution and determination of their respective bodies, have themselves entered, and by their orders and directions have caused the other defendants herein to enter upon the premises and right of way of this plaintiff in said county of ———, for the purpose of ordering, directing and requesting, and by intimidation, threats and force, causing such of plaintiff's employes as are still in the service of plaintiff, and who are willing to continue in its service, to abandon their employment, and to refuse to render such service as they have engaged to render to this plaintiff, and to persuade and intimidate by threats and force such others as are willing, if unmolested, and not interfered with by the defendants, to work for this plaintiff and to handle the freight offered for transportation, and operate and manage the trains of this plaintiff, and thereby enable it to discharge its duty to the public as a common carrier, to abandon plaintiff's service; and all said defendants, including said officers and members of said Executive Committees, have, as ordered, directed and requested as aforesaid, and in pursuance of the said unlawful confederation, combination and conspiracy, repeatedly, wrongfully and unlawfully, and against the orders and protests of this plaintiff, entered upon the premises and right of way of this plaintiff in said county of ———, and have by demand, direction, solicitation, intimidation, threats and force, deterred and prevented the servants of this plaintiff from rendering it any service in its said shops and yards, and in the operation and management of its switch engines

and trains, and in the conduct of its business and the discharge of its duties to the public as a common carrier, and they are now hourly continuing to so trespass upon plaintiff's said premises and right of way, and to so interfere with its servants and business, to the irreparable injury and damage of the plaintiff and to the great detriment of the community at large.

"And the plaintiff, on information and belief, further charges that the said defendants have, in pursuance of the orders, directions and requests of said officers and committee, and in pursuance of the said combinations and conspiracy aforesaid, repeatedly, unlawfully and wrongfully, and against the orders and protests of this plaintiff, entered upon the premises and right of way of this plaintiff in said county of——, and injured, disabled and killed its engines and cars, so as to entirely prevent this plaintiff from lawfully and peacefully pursuing its said business as a common carrier as aforesaid, and the said defendants have threatened, and are still threatening to, and will continue and repeat the said several trespasses and interferences with the employes and said property of plaintiff hereinbefore set out, so as to entirely and indefinitely prevent this plaintiff from running its trains and transacting its business as a common carrier, unless restrained by the orders of this court; and plaintiff avers that without the aid of this court it is utterly powerless to prevent said unlawful and wrongful trespasses and interferences with its said employes and property, and is now and will be utterly unable to transact its business and to discharge its duties to the public as required by law.

"Plaintiff further states that it is informed and believes, and so charges, that for each of the said several trespasses upon its said premises and right of way, and interferences with its said employes and property, done and threatened by the defendants to the injury of this plaintiff, this plaintiff is entitled to maintain an action at law, but to avail itself of such right would occasion a great multiplicity of suits, amounting to many hundreds each and every day, and this plaintiff states, as a further reason for not instituting such action at law; that it is informed and believes, and so charges, that said defendants are wholly irresponsible in damages adequate to the great loss and injury they cause, and threaten to cause daily to this plaintiff, so that actions at law would be wholly unavailing to afford adequate redress to this plaintiff for the said loss and injuries.

"And plaintiff further states that it has, at various points on its lines of road, in the State of Missouri and elsewhere, including said county of ——, a large number of freight trains, composed of cars

loaded with costly and perishable goods, wares and merchandise, which it is under contract to deliver to the consignees thereof in the State of Missouri and elsewhere, within a reasonable time from the receipt of the same, which said freight this plaintiff has been unable to deliver by reason of the said wrongful and unlawful conduct of the defendants herein. and if the threatened interference of these defendants with the business of this plaintiff and its efforts to procure employes and to retain those now in its service is carried into execution, this plaintiff will be wholly unable to perform its said contracts to deliver said freights, to the irreparable injury and damage of this plaintiff and to the great damage to the consignees thereof.

“Wherefore, inasmuch as the plaintiff has no adequate remedy at law by an action for damages, for the said several grievances, and which said damages are likewise incapable of being accurately computed or adequately recompensed in an action at law, and in order to avert a threatened irreparable damage and injury to itself and to its property and business, and to prevent the consummation of grievous, irreparable wrongs and injuries, and to prevent a multiplicity of suits, the plaintiff prays that this Honorable Court will, on the final hearing of this case, grant its writ of injunction, perpetually enjoining and restraining the said defendants, and each and all of them, from entering upon its said premises and right of way, and from committing any of the said trespasses, acts and things threatened as aforesaid. And this plaintiff further prays this Honorable Court that in the meantime, and pending this litigation, a temporary injunction or restraining order be issued, forbidding and commanding said defendants and each of them, from committing any of the said several acts, trespasses and things complained of, and threatened to be repeated as hereinbefore set forth, until the further orders of this Court, and the plaintiff prays for such other and further relief as in equity and good conscience it may be entitled to, on the facts herein stated. And plaintiff will ever pray, etc.

[SIGNED]

“THOS. J. PORTIS,

“Attorney for The Missouri Pacific Railway.

“HOUGH, OVERALL & JUDSON,

“Of Counsel.”

“STATE OF _____ }
COUNTY OF _____ } ss.

“I, H. M. Hoxie, on oath state that I am the First Vice-President of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, plaintiff in the foregoing petition,

that I have read the said petition, and know the contents thereof, and that the matters and things stated as facts are true, and the matters and things stated upon information and belief, I believe to be true.

[SIGNED]

“H. M. HOXIE,

“First Vice-President.”

“Now on this 13th day of March, 1886, comes The Missouri Pacific Railway Company, plaintiff in the above entitled suit, by attorneys, and presents its petition praying relief against the defendants, and also praying that a temporary injunction issue to restrain the said defendants from doing or performing certain acts and things in said petition specified, which said petition being heard and duly considered, and it appearing to the satisfaction of the Court that upon the facts stated in its petition the plaintiff is entitled to the relief prayed, it is hereby ordered that upon the execution by the plaintiff of a bond in the sum of ten thousand dollars, conditioned according to law, with good and sufficient sureties, the defendants, and each of them, be enjoined and restrained from entering upon the premises and right of way of said plaintiff in the City of St. Louis and from ordering, directing, requesting, soliciting and intimidating any of the employes of this plaintiff, while they are upon the premises of plaintiff, for the purpose of inducing them to abandon the service of plaintiff, and from in any manner deterring any persons from entering into or continuing in the service of plaintiff, while such persons are upon its premises, and said defendants, and each of them, are hereby enjoined and restrained from intermeddling with, or in any manner molesting or injuring the property of said plaintiff, and also from hindering or obstructing the plaintiff in the use of its property, and in the running and management of its trains, and the public performance of its duties as a common carrier.

“Bond approved and filed.

“A true copy from the record.

“Attest, with seal of Court.

“CHARLES F. VOGEL, Clerk.”

Similar petitions were thereafter filed, and similar restraining orders were granted, in the Circuit Courts of the counties of Franklin, Osage, Johnson, Cass, Marion, Jackson and Mississippi, in Missouri, and in several counties and also the Federal Court in Kansas; and also in the Chancery Court for the State of Arkansas, and in several courts in Texas.

The following offers of reward and others of similar import were

inserted in the newspapers and posted in public places, at St. Louis and other principal points along the lines:

“\$300 REWARD.

“Three hundred dollars reward will be paid by the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern Railway Company for the arrest and conviction, or for information leading to the arrest and conviction, of each of the persons who have destroyed or injured the property of said company at De Soto, in Jefferson County, or in the City of St. Louis, or elsewhere in the State of Missouri, since the 5th day of March, 1886, and the sum of \$200 will be paid for the arrest and conviction, or for information leading to the arrest and conviction of each person who has agreed, conspired, combined and confederated with any other person or persons, to destroy or injure the property of said company in said State since the 5th day of March, 1886.

“Parties desiring to give information under this notice will communicate the same to Col. Robert S. McDonald, of the City of St. Louis.

“H. M. HOXIE,

“Vice-President.”

The railway officials at all prominent places continually renewed their efforts to move freights, but were invariably unsuccessful, not because of lack of men, but because great crowds would surround the engines and by their peculiar methods “persuade” the willing employes to abandon their tasks. At Pacific, Mo., on the 13th, a passenger train, which had heretofore been permitted to run unmolested, was detained by a force of one hundred bridge men under a contractor. These men were not in the employ of the railway company. On the same day violent demonstrations were made at Sedalia, where the men, in defiance of the police force, with noise and menaces, drove firemen and engineers from their posts. The police made a large number of arrests, including that of Hugh Fitzsimmons, Chairman of the Strikers’ Local Executive Committee. Similar acts of violence and intimidation occurred at Kansas City, Atchison and Parsons, Kansas, and at all the principal points in Texas. But in Texas the potent influence of the Deputy United States Marshals was being felt and many arrests were made for contempt of court. Some few freight trains at principal points were sullenly allowed to arrive and depart.

On March 15 Martin Irons telegraphed to Vice-President Hoxie as follows:

“SEDALIA, MO., March 15, 1886.

“H. M. HOXIE, *First Vice-President Missouri Pacific Railway Company, St. Louis, Mo. :*

“It has been intimated to me that a Committee of Knights of Labor, composed of railroad employes, would be admitted to conference with you in regard to the difficulties now existing with said employes and the railroad companies composing the Gould Southwestern System. If it is your wish, such committee is ready for said conference at such time and place as you may determine. Please answer me at Sedalia.

[SIGNED]

“MARTIN IRONS,

“Chairman K. of L. Executive Committee.”

Mr. Hoxie replied as follows:

“ST. LOUIS, MO., March 16, 1886.

“MARTIN IRONS, *Chairman Executive Committee Knights of Labor, Sedalia, Mo. :*

“I am in receipt of yours of the 15th inst., in which you say it has been intimated to you that a committee of the Knights of Labor, composed of railroad employes, would be admitted to a conference with me in regard to the difficulties now existing with said employes and the railroad companies composing the Southwestern System.

“While I am always ready to confer with and hear the complaints of any employe of the companies I represent, I can not see that a meeting with a committee, such as you propose, would adjust the trouble, as I am informed that the reason for the existing difficulties was the discharge of one C. A. Hall by the Receivers of the Texas & Pacific Railway, a road not under my control, and with the management of which I have no voice or authority.

“I would further say in this connection that the action taken by our late employes has so reduced our traffic that we shall not soon again require as many men in our shops as heretofore, but all good men who desire employment, and are acceptable to our Superintendents, will hereafter, as heretofore, be well and promptly paid for the services rendered, and if they have any complaints I will take pleasure in meeting them for that purpose.

[SIGNED]

“H. M. HOXIE.”

While this state of affairs existed in St. Louis serious troubles, ultimately to result in a tragedy, were brewing among the employes of

the various railways centering at East St. Louis, Illinois, growing out of an alleged difference in the prices paid at East St. Louis and those paid at Chicago for the same kind of work.

Even if the grievance was unfounded, in fact, it was evident that the sympathetic feeling existing between those of either side of the Mississippi river would induce the Knights of Labor of the Illinois side to make common cause with their brethren of the west side on the slightest pretext. From a comparison of contemporaneous newspapers it appears that in St. Louis, March 17, a meeting representing the Wabash, Vandalia, Indianapolis & St. Louis, Ohio & Mississippi, Chicago & Alton, Burlington, Cairo Short Line, Louisville & Nashville, East St. Louis & Carondelet, Bridge & Tunnel and the Gould roads, was held to consider a request from A. C. Caughlan and ——— Berry for an advance in the wages of the East St. Louis switchmen. These men, Caughlan and Berry, not being in the employ of any railroad, the representatives of the roads above mentioned adopted the following resolutions:

“WHEREAS, An application has been made by a committee of the ‘Knights of Labor,’ asking various roads at St. Louis and East St. Louis to increase the pay of certain employes; and

“WHEREAS, We do not believe that non-employes should come between employers and those employed, in the settlement of differences; therefore be it

“*Resolved*, That we say to our employes that we will not consider the question of the increase of wages unless application for such increase is made directly by our employes to their immediate employers, in which case due consideration will be given to the requests and proper action will be taken.”

This action was construed to be a refusal to recognize the Knights of Labor as an organization, and a determination to treat with employes merely as individuals.

Previous to this Messrs. Caughlan and Berry had requested Mr. P. Flanigan, freight agent of the Wabash road, to adopt the following schedule of wages for switchmen in East St. Louis, viz.:

“Night foremen, \$3; night helpers, \$2.75; day foremen, \$2.75; day helpers, \$2.50; also to constitute one foreman and two helpers to each engine, a crew, and ten hours a days work, with over-time to be paid 30 cents per hour for foremen and helpers.”

Mr. Flanigan replied informing the gentlemen that the road was in the hands of the United States Court, and that any grievance would be promptly considered by that tribunal, and that employes understand

that they will be paid the same wages for similar services as are paid by competing roads.

This is only interesting as the initial history of the subsequent troubles in East St. Louis that resulted in so much loss of life and property.

At this time under the active agency of the United States Marshals, business was being gradually resumed and trains were running with some degree of safety and regularity on that part of the Texas and Pacific, south of Sherman, and at Marshall many of the strikers had resumed their former places, and new men were being rapidly imported to take the places of those who still persisted in the strike.

Of course, acts of violence were common, and a number of arrests were made. On the night of the 16th an attempt was made to wreck a passenger train near Marshall by the removal of spikes from the rails, but no serious consequences occurred. Public sentiment against the striking men began to express itself in public meetings, such as at Dallas and Greenville, Texas, where strong condemnatory resolutions were adopted.

It was currently reported, that in a conference with a committee of strikers, Governor Sheldon, one of the receivers of the Texas and Pacific road, had made concessions in the C. A. Hall case, whereby United States Circuit Judge Don A. Pardee should arbitrate the matter. Gov. Brown, the other receiver, in referring to this matter in an authorized interview, says:

“As he understood the matter, Gov. Sheldon made no concession at all, but only saw the committee of the striking employes who called upon him at New Orleans yesterday (March 17th), and asked the question whether or not the receivers would make any opposition to the presentation of the Hall case to Judge Pardee. They were assured by Gov. Sheldon that there would be no opposition on the part of the receivers; on the contrary, it was the course they had marked out as the proper remedy for men who claimed to be aggrieved. * * * * * He was satisfied that Judge Pardee would entertain the application, and would hear all the facts and decide the case fairly, and that the receivers were far from resisting the application, but were pleased that this course should be taken as a solution of the question. Gov. Brown further said, that in his second reply to Mr. Powderly he had indicated that this was the proper course for Mr. Hall, or any other employes feeling themselves aggrieved, to pursue, and that in interviews with the press and through circulars to the men he had indicated this as the proper course to pursue. There will be no discretion if Mr. Hall, or

any other of the discharged employes were reinstated by the court, as the receivers are but officers of the court and are bound by all its mandates."

Mr. T. V. Powderly, Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, arrived in Kansas City on the morning of March 18th, where he was met by a number of the local officials of the order, and after consultation sent this telegram to Mr. Hoxie :

"KANSAS CITY, March 18, 1886.

"H. M. HOXIE, *First Vice-President, Missouri Pacific Railway, St. Louis, Mo.:*

"Will you meet with committee and myself to arrange settlement of pending difficulties? If so, where?

[SIGNED]

"T. V. POWDERLY."

To which Mr. Hoxie made the following reply:

"THE MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY, }
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ST. LOUIS, March 19, 1886. }

"T. V. POWDERLY, *Kansas City, Mo.:*

"I have just received your telegram of the 18th inst., asking if I will meet yourself and committee to arrange settlement of the pending difficulties.

"As this company now has contracts and agreements with various labor unions and organizations, and is not unwilling to continue to make such agreements as circumstances may require with such unions and organizations of its employes as have shown a disposition to carry out, in good faith, their undertakings; and, as it has had in the past contracts with your organization, and its representatives have heretofore had conferences with yourself and other members of your Executive Committee, it is but just and courteous that I should give you the reasons for this company now declining to meet yourself and your Executive Committee, which it would have done before this strike was inaugurated.

"The usual object of such meetings between railway companies, through their representatives, and committees of their employes, is either to discuss such differences as may have arisen, in order that an understanding may be reached of the rights and relations existing between them, and such mutual concessions made as will avoid strikes and the losses resulting therefrom; or on the other hand, to settle and

compromise such differences between the parties, after the grievances of the employes have been presented and redress refused, and after resort has actually been had to the strike as the only remedy.

“ In the present case neither of the above reasons for a conference exists, but the anomaly is presented of a strike which is without a redressable grievance, which was entered upon without notice to the company, and which has resulted in the wanton and malicious destruction of this company's property by violence and incendiarism, and in the almost total stoppage of its business by threats, intimidation and force.

“ A review of the history of the past year is essential to a full understanding of the present conditions.

“ The differences between this company and its employes, resulting in the strike of March, 1885, were settled by the voluntary intercession of the executives and officers of the States of Kansas and Missouri, and not with your organization. The agreements subsequently entered into with the committees of your organization have been faithfully carried out by this company. Minor grievances under these agreements have from time to time been presented, considered by the management and adjusted in a manner apparently satisfactory to the petitioners, and for the sake of peace and harmony this company has repeatedly, on the demands of your organization, made changes in its staff by the removal of officials entirely satisfactory to the company, but objectionable to some of your members.

“ In our meeting with you of last August in New York, your committee then stated that no grievances or complaints existed against the Missouri Pacific Railway on the part of your organization through non-compliance with the contracts then existing, but that it was necessary to utilize your organization upon the Missouri Pacific Road to force an adjustment of the difficulties then pending with another corporation.

“ Similar action has been taken by your organization in three instances within the last eight months.

“ 1. In threatening that the members of your organization upon the Missouri Pacific Railway would strike if it continued to exchange business with the Wabash Road.

“ 2. When the members of your organization compelled a strike of a portion of the employes of this company in carrying out your boycott against the Mallory line, at Galveston, Tex.

“ 3. In the present instance, when the existing strike was forced upon this company by the discharge of one C. A. Hall by the receivers of the Texas & Pacific Railway, a road in the hands of the United

States Court, and in the management of which this company has no voice or control, a fact which your organization fully recognized when your committee made application to the receivers of that road for reinstatement of said employe.

" Instances might be cited where endeavors have been made to use this company for the purpose of boycotting individuals who had incurred the displeasure of your organization.

" An especially aggravated case of the failure of your organization to carry out its agreements, was that of the workmen at the Palestine shops, who, in the last days of February, stopped work on account of an alleged grievance, which was thereupon adjusted in a manner to their entire satisfaction, so that they resumed work with an agreement to continue under the concessions made by the company; but within ten days thereafter again left their work on demand of your organization in ordering the present strike, and without any grievance whatever against this company.

" These continued stoppages of the work of this company without cause have become so frequent that, believing the future will be as unsettled as the past, it cannot consent to renew the agreement voluntarily and arbitrarily abrogated by your organization, and longer submit to it the management of our business.

" This company, through its representatives, is and has always been, willing to meet the public through committees or individuals, on matters of public concern, and if yourself or other intelligent citizens can suggest practical methods whereby the present situation can be changed and traffic permanently resumed, this company will be pleased to meet yourself, or them, as citizens, but not as representatives of your organization, to discuss the pending difficulties, or any other matter of public interest.

" In conclusion, I desire emphatically to state that the responsibility for the further continuance of the present unjustifiable strike will not rest with the management of this company, but inasmuch as your organization has committed the error of striking first and endeavoring to negotiate afterwards, it has the power to, and should end the present troubles by permitting such of our former employes and others as desire to work to do so without fear of threats and intimidation, leaving this company free to resume its operations and adjust with its employes, as it is at all times ready and willing to do, any grievances that they may have.

[SIGNED]

" H. M. HOXIE,

" First Vice-President The Missouri Pacific Railway Company."

Mr. Powderly replied as follows:

" KANSAS CITY, MO., March 20, 1886.

" H. M. HOXIE, *First Vice-President Missouri Pacific Railway, St. Louis, Mo.:*

" Since you will not meet with me as General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, I must decline to meet you in any other capacity, and the responsibility for the future continuance of the strike must not be charged to the Knights of Labor, since the executive officers of that order will not be permitted to meet and co-operate with you in settling the strike. It was my intention, had you consented to meet with me, to effect such a settlement as would prevent impositions being practiced upon the employes of your company by subordinate officials, and put an end to strikes on your lines for the future.

[SIGNED]

" T. V. POWDERLY."

By prearrangement Governor John S. Marmaduke, of Missouri, accompanied by Col. D. W. Marmaduke, Warden of the Missouri Penitentiary, and myself as Labor Commissioner of Missouri, met Governor John A. Martin and Labor Commissioner Frank Betton of Kansas, at the Coats House in Kansas City, Mo., on the morning of March 19, for the purpose of consultation. Mr. Powderly being in the city, at the suggestion of Mr. Betton he called upon the two Governors, and during this time Martin Irons and the full Executive Committee of the Knights of Labor of District Assembly No. 101, were admitted to the conference. Mr. Betton, in speaking of this meeting, which he had much to do in bringing about, says, in his paper, which he read before the National Convention of Bureaus of Labor, at Trenton, N. J.: " A lengthy discussion ensued, which resulted (after several separate conferences) in an agreement on the part of the Committee, that the two Governors should visit St. Louis and endeavor to procure a settlement of the strike upon the basis of the contract of 1885. Within an hour from the time the above conference terminated the Governors were on their way to St. Louis." Upon their arrival in St. Louis, March 20, the following letter was submitted and reply received:

“ ST. LOUIS, March 20.

“ H. M. HOXIE, ESQ., *First Vice-President Missouri Pacific Railway Company* :

“ DEAR SIR: On the 19th inst. the undersigned met at Kansas City to discuss the very serious condition of affairs in the States of Kansas and Missouri, growing out of the late ‘strike’ on the lines of the Missouri Pacific Railway, and the resulting obstruction of the two States.

“ While at Kansas City we were visited by a delegation of your late employes, and after discussing with them various phases of the strike, we consented to visit you and urge a continuation of the terms of agreement made with the management of your road on the 15th of March, 1885, and, if deemed advisable, recommend such modifications of said agreement as might be thought just to all concerned.

“ On the 15th of March, 1885, the undersigned, with other State officers of Missouri and Kansas, presented to Capt. Hayes, First Vice-President of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, the following suggestions :

“ ‘ To CAPT. R. S. HAYES, *First Vice-President and Chief Executive Officer of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company and Associated Roads* :

“ WHEREAS, On account of the strike among certain of the employes of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, in the States of Missouri and Kansas, resulting in the stoppage and cessation of all freight traffic over said company’s lines in said States, to the great detriment of business interests and rights of the people of said States, and the continuance of which endangers the public peace and safety of the company’s property; and,

“ WHEREAS, The undersigned, representing the two States named above, respectively, anxious to restore harmonious relations between the said company and its said employes, and to restore to the public the unobstructed use of said lines of railroad, do recommend and request said company to restore to the striking employes in Missouri and Kansas the same wages paid them in September, 1884, including one and one-half price for extra time worked; and to restore all said striking employes to their several employments without prejudice to them on account of said strike.

“ ‘Believing that the foregoing will constitute a just and fair settlement, we recommend their acceptance by the striking employes as well as the Missouri Pacific Railway Company.

“ ‘Dated, St. Louis, March 15, 1885.

[SIGNED]

“ ‘JOHN A. MARTIN,

“ ‘Governor of Kansas.

“ ‘JOHN S. MARMADUKE,

“ ‘Governor of Missouri.

“ ‘ALMERIN GILLETT,

“ ‘JAMES HUMPHREY,

“ ‘L. L. TURNER,

“ ‘Railroad Commissioners of Kansas.

“ ‘GEO. C. PRATT,

“ ‘JAMES HARDING,

“ ‘W. G. DOWNING,

“ ‘Railroad Commissioners of Missouri.

“ ‘B. G. BOONE,

“ ‘Attorney-General of Missouri.

“ ‘J. C. JAMISON,

“ ‘Adjutant-General.

“ ‘OSCAR KOCHTITZKY,

“ ‘Commissioner of Labor Statistics and Inspection.’

“ Capt. Hayes on the same date issued a circular embodying the suggestion thus made, and giving notice that the rates of wages and terms specified would go into effect on the morning of March 16, 1885, and be in effect from and after that date; and, further, that said rates would not thereafter be changed, except after thirty days’ notice thereof, given in the usual manner.

“ It will be observed that the recommendation of the officers of Kansas and Missouri embodied only two propositions, viz.:

“ ‘First.—That the company restore to its striking employes in Missouri and Kansas the same wages paid them in September, 1884, including one and one-half price for extra time worked; and,

“ ‘Second.—To restore all said striking employes to their several employments without prejudice to them on account of said strike.’

“ To these conditions Capt. Hayes added a third, viz.: That thereafter said rates would not be changed except after thirty days’ notice thereof, given in the usual way.

“ After careful investigation, we are unable to find wherein the Missouri Pacific Railway Company has violated the terms and condi-

tions of the agreement made on the 15th of March, 1885, touching its employes in our respective States. No complaint has ever been made to the Governor of Missouri based on an alleged violation of said agreement, and but one has ever been made to the Governor of Kansas; and that, on investigation, proved to be without foundation, and was withdrawn by the party making it.

“We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that the ‘strike’ of March 6, 1886, could not have been and was not based on a violation of the terms of the agreement of March 15, 1885, by the management of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, in its dealings with its employes in Missouri and Kansas.

“We recognize the fact that the Missouri Pacific Company may justly claim that the strike of March 6, 1886, relieves it of the obligations it assumed in the circular of March 15, 1885; but, nevertheless, anxious that amicable relations be restored between the Missouri Pacific Company and its employes, and especially that the far more important interests involved in the mighty commerce of the States of Missouri and Kansas should not continue to suffer, and that the great highways of business and travel should be at once reopened to the public, we would respectfully but earnestly suggest and recommend that the agreements embodied in the circular of March 15, 1885, be restored and continued in letter and spirit, and that the Missouri Pacific Company re-employ in its service all of its old employes, without prejudice to them on account of the strike, so far as the business of the company will justify their re-employment.

“We make these suggestions and recommendations in the interest, as we believe, alike of the company and its employes, and more especially the greater interests of the commerce and the people of the two States.

[SIGNED]

“JOHN A. MARTIN,

“Governor of Kansas.

“JOHN S. MARMADUKE,

“Governor of Missouri.”

“THE MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY, }
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
ST. LOUIS, MO., March 20. } ”

“HON. JOHN S. MARMADUKE, *Governor of Missouri*, and HON. JOHN A. MARTIN, *Governor of Kansas*:

“DEAR SIR: I beg respectfully to acknowledge receipt of your communication of this date, stating that after a conference at Kansas

Kansas City, with a delegation of our late employes, you consented to visit the undersigned and urge the continuance of the agreement made between yourselves and other State officers and the management of this company on March 15, 1885, and, if deemed advisable, recommend such modifications of said agreement as might be thought just to all concerned.

" I note with pleasure your conclusion after investigation, that the agreement of March 15, 1885, has been kept inviolate by the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, and that the present strike could not have been, and was not based on a violation, by the management of this company, of the terms of said agreement; and I have carefully considered your recommendation that this agreement, which you concede the Missouri Pacific Railway Company is no longer under any obligations to observe towards those of its employes who have abandoned its services since the 5th day of March, 1886, should be restored and continued.

" On March 10, 1886, this company inserted in newspapers on its lines and posted in public places upon its property the following advertisement:

" 'Good and competent men will be employed without reference to their past or present relations to this company or their connection with any society or organization, open, secret, secular or otherwise. Such as are accepted will be paid the rate of wages recommended by the Governors and other State officials of Missouri and Kansas when the labor troubles of March, 1885, were adjusted, the same as have been paid by this company since that date.'

" The above notice was designed as a continuance, so far as the rate of wages is concerned, of the agreement of March 15, 1885, and is still in force, thus anticipating the recommendations which you make as to the amount which employes should be paid.

" In addition to the foregoing action of the company, which is in accord with your recommendations as to wages, this company is further willing to pay its employes a rate of wages equal to that now being paid by other railway companies in the same section of country.

" The further provision of said agreement relative to notice in case of reduction of wages, is not objectionable to this company, and will be continued.

" Your next and final recommendation that this company re-engage in its service all of its old employes, without prejudice to them on account of the existing strike, so far as the business of the company will justify their employment, is acceptable to this company, with these

qualifications : The men who have been engaged under the advertisement of March 10, 1886, will be continued in our employment. We cannot re-engage or continue in our employ any persons who have actually engaged in the destruction or injury of the company's property, or who have advised such destruction or injury. We shall give preference to those of our late employes who have families and own homes on the line of the road. It is to be remembered that the loss of traffic caused by the present strike, will, to a considerable extent, reduce the necessity of employing as many men in our shops as heretofore.

"Thanking you for the consideration you have given the subject, and trusting your action will result in an early resumption of traffic, I am, your excellencies, most obedient servant.

[SIGNED]

"H. M. HOXIE.

"First Vice-President of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company."

One of the curious phases of the difficulty was the repudiation of the mediation of Governors Marmaduke and Martin by the Executive Committee of the Knights of Labor, and the falsification of history. The following was by them published :

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"A statement in reply to H. M. Hoxie's letter to the Governors of Missouri and Kansas :

"In response to the propositions contained in a note written to Mr. Hoxie by the Governors of Kansas and Missouri, and also the reply of Mr. Hoxie to the Governors, we beg to state :

"First.—That while in conference in Kansas City we were sent for by the Governors, and out of respect for them a committee was appointed, consisting of employes of the Gould road only, which met with them, and by request stated the cause of the present withdrawal of active labor from the roads of the Gould Southwest System. On their suggestion these gentlemen agreed to see Mr. Hoxie and attempt a settlement if possible. It was agreed, in deference to their wishes, that we should submit to them all our grievances, with the understanding that they would arrange a meeting between Mr. Hoxie and ourselves. They desired permission to settle as best they could on an understanding that we would abide by their decision. To this we demurred, unless we were first permitted to pass upon the terms of settlement. With this understanding we consented to the interposition between Mr. Hoxie and ourselves. Mr. Hoxie refused to receive a delegation from the

employes or the Knights of Labor, and the Governors received from Mr. Hoxie the document published yesterday, which was given to the press even before we were permitted to see it. Now, in justice to ourselves and the truth of history, we desire to make the following points of fact:

“First.—The interposition of the Governors was voluntary on their part, coming to Kansas City and seeking an interview with our board.

“Second—We refused them the privilege of adjusting our differences or accepting terms of such settlement without first submitting them to this committee for approval, notwithstanding which they received Mr. Hoxie’s ‘proposition,’ qualifications and all, and turned them over to the press and the public to see them.

“Third.—They say to Mr. Hoxie: ‘After careful investigation we are unable to find wherein the Missouri Pacific Railway Company has violated the terms and conditions of the agreement made on the 15th of March, 1885, touching the employes in our respective States.’

“To say the least of such a statement, it is not creditable to the minds and hearts of men to whom has been committed the welfare of a great people to say that they will take advantage of our want of skill in legislative technicalities and wink at gross violations of a sacred agreement in its plainly manifest spirit, because its technical letter gives an apparent advantage to a great corporation.

“The Governors state farther: ‘We recognize the fact that the Missouri Pacific Railway Company may justly claim that the strike of March 6, 1886, relieves it of the obligations it assumed in the circular of March 15, 1885.’ In rendering this verdict the Governors have blindly ignored the fact that the obligations assumed in said circular at that time took effect on all the roads operated and leased by the said Missouri Pacific Railway Company, and was fully understood so to apply, although by oversight but two roads and States were mentioned therein. Evidence is at hand that striking employes of that date were, up to the day of this strike, still working for less pay than before the strike of last year, showing not a restoration of old pay, but really a reduction, in violation of said circular agreement.

“Evidence is at hand that bridgemen have been compelled to work many hours over time without receiving the agreed over-time pay. Evidence is at hand to prove that in order to make it necessary to reduce the force of workingmen, work has been sent to contract shops, and in one instance a whole foundry sub-let in order to bring the men under a new supervision, thus depriving the men of the provisions of the circular agreement. All this done to create dissatisfac-

tion and induce the men to leave the company's employ, after which other men were employed and always at reduced rates. Evidence is at hand that whole gangs of men have been discharged, notwithstanding that Mr. Hoxie agreed on May 18, 1885, that rather than reduce the working force he would reduce the hours of work.

"Every effort to have these men reinstated was refused by the company on the ground that they were not covered by the agreement, which agreement says: "We will reduce the hours of work instead of reducing the force whenever the necessity arises." The outrages on the Texas Pacific Railroad are sought to be made a matter entirely out of the range of the agreement. Men were, out of sheer prejudice, discharged without an effort to reduce the hours of work. The receivers fail to comply with the agreement of the company with the employes, after the institution of the receivership, notwithstanding they do not repudiate the agreements of said officials, showing a clear intent to use the United States Court and its officials for dishonorable purposes. It is charged by Mr. Hoxie in previous statements that the agreement of March 15, 1885, has been violated by the employes. Said agreement is published in the morning papers of March 22, and we ask any intelligent person to read with care and note if it be possible for the employes to violate any provisions of said agreement, be they never so desirous, and that for the sole reason that it is an agreement on the part of the company to do certain things, but requiring nothing whatever of the employes.

"But why should we say more? If Mr. Hoxie does not know that he was guilty of gross wrong and injustice, why would he refuse to listen to our evidence and hear our appeal for redress? Why would he shelter himself behind subterfuges and technicalities? Why would he refuse to treat with the men he has wronged, and with evasive letters to Governors who cannot possibly enter into the merits of the controversy? The truth is simply this: Mr. Hoxie wanted trouble. He has provoked it. He is still inciting it and making an innocent public pay the price of his perfidy. How long will the public consent for Gould and Hoxie thus to rule or ruin? We wait to see.

"By order of the Executive Board of District Assembly 101."

It is an error to charge, that the Governors visited Kansas City to confer with the Knights of Labor. One of them assuredly did not know that Mr. Powderly and the Executive Committee of District Assembly No. 101 were in Kansas City, and the interview was brought about at their own solicitation. Mr. Frank Betton, Labor Commissioner

of Kansas, through whom the interview was obtained, in a paper (heretofore referred to) read before the National Convention of Bureaus of Labor, 1886, says:

“ In answer to the first charge, I will say that the Governor of Kansas visited Kansas City by invitation of the Governor of Missouri to confer with him regarding the strike, and that the interview with the committee was brought about at the request of the committee itself.

“ In answer to the second charge, I will say that the Governors absolutely refused to visit St. Louis unless the committee placed its cause entirely in their hands, and agreed to abide by whatever arrangement they succeeded in making. This the members of the committee finally agreed to do after they had had several private conferences.

“ As to the third charge, the Governor of Kansas received but one complaint of breach of the contract of 1885, and this upon investigation proved to be without foundation.

“ In my judgement, had the Executive Committee kept faith with the Governors, and accepted the terms they succeeded in obtaining, most of the men would have been re-employed, and much misery and want avoided.”

The 18th and 19th of March developed several acts of lawlessness in Texas. Railroad bridges were burned and at least one passenger train was derailed. In all cases of lawlessness the Knights of Labor were the first to denounce them and disclaim any complicity. Nevertheless numbers of strikers were arrested by the United States marshals, charging them with obstructing the execution of the processes of the courts, and armed bodies of citizens, with blood hounds, began active pursuit of the wreckers and bridge burners. In view of this alarming state of affairs, the following circular was issued on the 19th, at Marshall.

“ To the Law-abiding Citizens of Harrison County, Texas.

“ The time has arrived when those who class themselves as included in the above caption, whether members of secret organizations or not, should come promptly forward and by their deeds, not simply words, align themselves with the sworn officers of the government to preserve order, suppress violence and aid in carrying out the mandate of the United States Circuit Court. The indisputable fact that an attempt was made on last Monday night to burn a bridge on the Texas & Pacific Road, just east of Marshall, and again last night the drawing of spikes from the track which caused the derailment of passenger train No. 305 this morning, about one and one-half miles west of Marshall, are acts too diabolical to contemplate. Will the honest workingmen

of Marshall, irrespective of all considerations except the preservation of law and order, stand supinely by and thereby give sanction to such acts which endanger the lives of innocent and defenceless women and children, by fiends who are a disgrace to mankind?

[SIGNED.]

“ E. B. WHEELER,

“ General Agent for the Receivers.”

“ R. B. REAGAN,

“ United States Marshall.”

In the meantime the citizens of Texas in all important towns were holding mass meetings and passing resolutions condemnatory of the strike. These were met by counter-resolutions on the part of the Knights of Labor. Gov. Ireland, of Texas, offered rewards of \$500 each for the arrest and conviction of the persons who removed the rail on the Texas & Pacific Road on the 17th of March and burned two bridges on the night of the 18th. Injunctions were served against the strikers at Atchison and other points in Kansas, and sheriffs were engaged in swearing in and arming of citizens as deputies at the principal places on the Missouri Pacific Railway lines in Missouri.

Mr. Powderly had departed for Canada. During his stay at Kansas City, at his request, he was furnished with a copy of the grievances of the employes of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company. It was as follows:

“The company failed to live up to the terms of the agreement made March 15, 1885, by the Governors of Missouri and Kansas and the railroad company, and the subsequent agreement by the railroad company and the employes, every article of which has been violated to a great extent by the management of the Missouri Pacific. Committees have been sent to Mr. Hoxie by the men to adjust the differences existing between them and the company. These committees were ignored or would not be given a hearing, or when seen would be put off with promises which were never fulfilled. Time and again the men visited Mr. Hoxie without being able to effect a settlement of the difficulties. Men were discharged without notice, in violation of the agreement requiring thirty days' notice to be given, and in violation of the agreement which plainly states: ‘Should the company find it necessary to reduce expenses, said reduction must be in the number of hours, and not by the discharge of employes.’ Mr. Hoxie, when this violation was brought to his notice, said he would do just as he saw fit about that, contract or no contract. An entire force of section men were discharged because they were Knights of Labor. When the matter was

submitted to the officials of the Missouri Pacific they claimed that the shopmen only were covered by the terms of the agreement, which claim is absurd as the agreement includes all the employes of the company. The company refused to treat with any employes other than shopmen. The working hours of the section men were so reduced that they could earn but fifty-five cents per day, and in stormy weather their earnings were reduced still more. Nearly all of these men have families to support on this pittance. They were often compelled to go long distances from home to work and remain some time. Their board bills alone exceeded their earnings from \$1 to \$3 per month. They were not permitted to go home until their work was completed. On one occasion the men were taken 400 miles from home, and were not allowed time going and returning from work. Mr. Hoxie refused to increase the pay of these men as per agreement. Representatives of several railroads held a meeting at St. Louis March 13, 1886, to consider grievances of employes, and agreed to increase the wages of unskilled workmen to \$1.50 per day. Mr. Hoxie was not present at said meeting. On the following Monday, the 15th, another meeting was held, which Mr. Hoxie attended. The action of the previous meeting was reconsidered. Notwithstanding the statement made by the managers on the 13th, that the demands were reasonable and just, it was decided that the railway companies would not confer with or receive any committee nor entertain any requests or demands from other than individual employes.

“In order to build shops at Atchison the wages of the men employed there were reduced. The improvements are to cost \$52,000, and the money comes out of the employes. The Missouri Pacific and the central branch of the Union Pacific had about eighty engines at this place for repairs, but removed them to the Cypress yards at Kansas City, thereby reducing the working hours at Atchison. This was done after the agreement one year ago.

“Bridgemen have been out on the line thirty-six hours, and received pay for ten hours, the balance of the time being consumed in going to and from the work. These men receive \$2.60 per day for the best men, and this is only since the trouble on the Texas & Pacific. The employes being unable to get a hearing at the headquarters of the Missouri Pacific, submitted the matter to the local assemblies of Knights of Labor in the district, and it was unanimously resolved to quit work.

“ Mr. Hoxie has refused to arbitrate or confer with any committee whatever, hence the present trouble on these lines.

“ F. G. ELLS,

“ Secretary District Assembly 107.”

This matter is only alluded to here to illustrate the varied and dissimilar character of the demands made upon the Missouri Pacific road. The allegation that there was an agreement whereby the Missouri Pacific Railway Company bound itself to give thirty days' notice before discharging an employ is not supported by the record. Neither does it appear that the section men alluded to were discharged because they were Knights of Labor. So far as is ascertainable, the bridgemen in the employ of the Missouri Pacific never presented any grievances to the management of that system, and as a class never struck. To add to the complications already existing, the switchmen of the Chicago & Alton; Rock Island; Wabash; Missouri Pacific; Hannibal & St. Joseph; Kansas City, St. Joseph & Council Bluffs; Burlington & Missouri River; Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe; Union Pacific, and Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf Railroads, numbering two hundred and thirty persons, struck at Kansas City on the morning of the 22d of March, and the strike enforced idleness upon one hundred and fifty engineers and as many firemen. No trains were allowed to depart, and all traffic came to a standstill. This strike appears not to have been ordered by the Knights of Labor, but grew out of a misunderstanding whereby switchmen at Kansas City were to receive the same wages as were paid at Chicago.

The round-house at Big Springs, Texas, was fired on the night of the 21st, and about \$60,000 worth of property destroyed. That the strikers were engaged in this outrage is only inferential. While round-houses were broken into and machinery stolen and destroyed, shops burned, bridges burned, tracks torn up and trains forcibly detained, with cruel sarcasm the Knights of Labor at St. Louis were demanding that the railway companies perform their duties according to their charter privileges and resume commerce. It is not to be supposed that during all this time the railroad officials were inactive. On the contrary, they were pertinaciously day after day attempting to move their trains, but with varying success. In many places men were applying for work and were being received in place of the strikers, and in a degree traffic was in some localities being resumed. This only maddened the baffled strikers at points where they were most numerous, and they became bolder in their operations. After the failure of

the two Governors to effect a settlement, and their announcement that there was no just cause for a strike, citizens from Galveston to Kansas, in public meetings, began to express their sympathies with the railroads, and denounce the excesses of the Knights of Labor. Such actions only served to exasperate the men engaged in the strike, and while it would be unfair to charge acts of outrage and violence to the Knights of Labor as an organization, it is safe to say that their constant recurrence could only be attributed to the more lawless individuals among their number. Trains at St. Louis on the 23d were prevented by violence from departing.

At Sedalia on the same afternoon an attempt was made to break the blockade. A freight train, in addition to its usual complement of men, had on board officer Mason and special policeman Neil, started, and had reached a crossing about three miles from the city, when it was boarded by several men. Torpedos were exploded and the train ditched. Mason had an arm and Neil a leg broken; Superintendent Frey and Trainmaster Lyon were badly bruised. Conductor Spangler was hurled through the window of the caboose, but was not dangerously hurt, while detective John DeLong was also injured. Investigation showed that fish-plates and bolts had been removed by skillful hands. At Atchison, Kansas, on the morning of the 23d, a mob of one hundred and fifty masked men entered the Central Branch shops, forced the fifteen watchmen employed there into the oil-house, threw a suggestive piece of crape in after them, and then proceeded to disable all the engines in the round-house by bending the valve-stems and stealing the link-lifters. A freight train was also captured and the fires withdrawn, as was also a switch-engine, which had been heretofore unmolested. At Denison and Sherman, Texas, troubles occurred by large bodies of men uncoupling cars and killing engines.

On the 24th of March scenes of violent excitement occurred in St. Louis. A switch-engine was killed. A freight train under special police protection was, after difficulties, successfully moved. The angry crowd of strikers then made an assault upon the shops of the Missouri Pacific, but was repulsed, one police officer being severely wounded by a stone. But with the moving of the train the backbone of the strike was broken and gradually thereafter traffic was being resumed.

At this stage of proceedings the Knights of Labor at St. Louis endeavored to enlist the sympathy and support of the business men of that city, and for that purpose a meeting of merchants, etc., was called. On the 24th, at a joint meeting of the Board of Directors of the Merchants' Exchange and the Merchants' Transportation Committee, the following paper was submitted and unanimously adopted:

"The Board of Directors and the Transportation Committee of the Merchant's Exchange, in joint meeting assembled, recognizing the immense loss to the trade of this city by the suspension of traffic on the Southwestern System, demand that the strike now throttling the commerce of several States and checking the slowly returning prosperity of the whole country after three years of depression shall cease. We demand this in the interest of labor, because, if continued or extended it must deprive thousands not engaged in the present strike of wages with which they are satisfied.

"It will force merchants and manufacturers, who have prepared for the spring trade, into bankruptcy and enforce the discharge of large numbers of laborers, besides preventing future undertakings, involving the employment of capital and labor. It will, by depriving labor of employment, lessen the ability to buy, and increase the cost of the necessaries of life in the cities, where wage laborers congregate.

"It will ruin such farmers as are dependent on prompt transportation of perishable products, and of fruit trees, seeds, and tools required at this season. It will suspend mining and deprive the country of the direct collateral benefits thereof. These are some of the material damages of a continuance of the strike. The moral effect will be to fill the country with tramps and outlaws ready at all times to take advantage of the disturbed conditions to disgrace the name of labor. While we believe in the right to quit work, we do not concede the right to prevent others from working, and the ability and right to employ must include the right to discharge; under free government, whether labor or employment can be compelled. The strike has been conceded by some of the principals to have been a blunder. The Governors of two States, after investigation, declare it was without cause. It has led to lawless acts, by which property has been damaged and blood spilled, and established a veritable reign of terror. The continuance can only lead to further crime and destruction of life and property.

"With this view of existing and prospective conditions we demand of the strikers to resume work or to keep out of the way and cease intimidating others who may be willing to work, and we invoke the civil and military powers of the cities, counties and State, and, if necessary, of the United States, to preserve law and order, which will put an end to the present unbearable conditions.

"While expressing these plain sentiments on the present situation, we desire to express our sympathy with all wageworkers, and our willingness to do anything in our power to improve their condition. Let the prosperity of the country return, and then, if labor does not fairly

participate in the improvement, we will be ready to help in the extent of all the influence and power we can exercise. While these plain words are addressed to the strikers, we must say to the managers of the railroads involved: Treat your late employes with consideration. Make them satisfied to work faithfully for your interests, and more disposed to strike for than against you. Consider fairly all their grievances. Let them feel that they are participating in your prosperity, and then do your part towards protecting the community against further calamity.

On the same day a monster mass-meeting of merchants and manufacturers was held at the Mercantile Club, and was presided over by Mr. M. J. Lippman, with Mr. John R. Holmes as secretary. Upon taking the chair the presiding officer used this language:

"The meeting has been called for the purpose of expressing our views in the most emphatic manner, and declaring that the blockade on the commerce of the city shall and must be raised—peaceably, if possible, forcibly, if necessary. We do not propose to discuss the causes of the strike, nor to take sides, but we will not submit to terrorism and anarchy. The trains must run."

Resolutions which had been previously prepared and circulated for signatures were taken up, discussed and unanimously adopted. They were as follows:

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of the merchants and manufacturers of St. Louis the strike on the Missouri Pacific System has ceased to be merely a question between employers and employed, and has become a matter of national importance, involving great questions of right and wrong, in the settlement of which four States are vitally interested, and on the right solution of which may depend the very integrity of the republic, and certainly the maintenance of the principle of freedom and the rights of persons and property upon which our government is founded. In view of this, we believe it to be the duty of all good citizens to refuse to be silent when justice, peace, order and liberty of action are threatened, and that it is peculiarly the duty of the mercantile and manufacturing communities to protest against a state of affairs which is working ruin to the commercial, industrial and laboring interests of St. Louis and of the southwest.

"*Resolved*, That while we recognize to the fullest extent the right of all men to organize for mutual protection and all legitimate and lawful purposes, and to unitedly abandon employment when they see fit, we denounce as tyrannical, unjust and illegal any attempt to interfere with the rights of others to such employment, or to prevent by vio-

lence or secret or open intimidation, the exercise of their rights, and we denounce also any and all interference with the rights of property, with the rights of the public to the unrestricted use of the railways of the country, and any unlawful dictation from any source as to how the business of citizens or corporations shall be conducted, and all similar efforts to destroy the freedom of action, or to control the property of others, believing them to be subversive of every principle upon which free government and free institutions are founded, and to be equally destructive to the rights of rich and poor, employers and employed, and to threaten the very foundations of society.

Resolved, That in this crisis, as we esteem it, we call upon all good citizens, all business exchanges and business organizations, and especially upon all wageworkers, to rally to the support of law and order, and to express their convictions fearlessly on the question at issue, which is: Shall the laws be enforced which guarantee to owners of property that they may control it, and to those who seek work, that they may accept it?

Resolved, That we demand of the Missouri Pacific Railway System that freight traffic be resumed at once, and that we demand also of the municipal and State authorities that protection to the full extent of the power of the city and the State be afforded in such resumption.

Resolved, That we pledge to the authorities our support in upholding law and order, and in the protection of life and property."

Notwithstanding these emphatic utterances of business men all over the system, the work of destruction and intimidation was continued, no less than five engines being killed on that day, the 24th, in the yards at St. Louis alone. Engines were also killed at Omaha, Nebraska.

Governor Marmaduke, of Missouri, issued the following proclamation:

“ PROCLAMATION.

“ EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
CITY OF JEFFERSON, March 24, 1886. }

“The internal commerce of the State of Missouri is carried on almost entirely by railroad. These roads are owned by private corporations belonging to that class of persons whose property is subject to a public use, and that use is, in this case, as a thoroughfare or public highway, as defined in section 14, article 12 of our State Constitution. Railroad

companies are declared by the same section of the Constitution to be 'common carriers.' As such it is their duty to receive all passengers and freight that are offered, transport the same with reasonable dispatch, and, in general terms, to deliver them uninjured at their point of destination. In order that these public highways may be opened and these common carriers established in business upon them, the State has granted to these companies the privileges of incorporation, whereby their stockholders, after paying in the par value of their stock, are exempt from any further pecuniary liability to the company or to its creditors, no matter what amount of debt may be incurred by it. They are also authorized to issue stock to the full amount of the cost of their property and a bonded debt to an equal amount more. In addition, the State and its lesser public corporations, such as cities, counties and townships, have subsidized these companies so liberally that in some localities debts were created therefor, to pay which generations to come will have to be taxed. To crown all, the State has exerted in their favor its right of eminent domain by condemning private property for their use, which act alone stamps their property with an indelible mark signifying DEVOTED TO A PUBLIC USE.

"In return for all these privileges, immunities and favors, the State claims nothing, except that her people shall have the use of the transportation facilities thus created and provided, in the manner indicated by their constitutional and other legal rights. The right to the enjoyment of this use by the people is paramount, ought to be, and shall be respected. The railroad companies themselves have, by accepting these conditions, assumed the responsibility of securing to the people this enjoyment. Every stockholder in these companies has knowingly assumed his share of that responsibility, and every employe, from president to trackmen, has knowingly entered a service on which this responsibility rests, and has voluntarily assumed the actual performance of a part of the duties incident thereto.

"The lines operated by the Missouri Pacific Railway Company carry nearly one-third of the railroad traffic of the State of Missouri. On these lines no freight has been moved during the last seventeen days. Thousands of tons are stopped in transit, and the people are consequently suffering enormous inconvenience, damage and loss. This is caused by a refusal of a part of the employes of said company to perform their duties or to allow others to take their places. It is alleged that there are unsettled grievances of some sort between them and the chief executive officers, which is to say, that there is some dis-

agreement between two classes of the employes of the same company. In the eye of the law they are all component parts of the same organization, and they must settle whatever differences there may be among themselves in some other way than by inflicting upon the people of the State the incalculable injury which this stoppage of the freight traffic involves.

“Wherefore, I, John S. Marmaduke, Governor of the State of Missouri, by virtue of the authority in me vested, do hereby call upon the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, and upon all its officers, agents and employes of every grade, each in their several capacities, to assist in resuming traffic of all kinds, in the usual way, on all railroad lines operated by said company in Missouri, and I warn all persons, whether they be employes or not, against interposing any obstacle whatever in the way of said resumption; and with a firm reliance upon the courage, good sense and law-abiding spirit of the people, I hereby call upon all good citizens to assist in carrying out the purposes of this proclamation; and I also hereby pledge the whole power of the State, so far as it may be lawfully wielded by its chief executive officer, to sustain said company and its servants in said resumption, and to restrain and punish all that may oppose it.

“In testimony whereof, I hereunto set my hand and cause to be affixed the great seal of the State of Missouri. Done at the City of Jefferson, this 24th day of March, A. D. 1886.

“JOHN S. MARMADUKE.

“By the Governor:

“MICHL. K. McGRATH,

“Secretary of State.”

The proclamation issued by Governor Marmaduke is significant in this: That it clearly points out and defines the duties of all employes of corporations. No distinction is made between the president and directors of the railway corporation and the sub-employes. Under their charter individuality ceases, and all, in whatever degree, become employes of the corporation, and are alike responsible to the State. The proclamation simply declares that because of a dispute between two classes of employes the State and the public shall not suffer.

On the 25th of March Governor Martin, of Kansas, issued the following proclamation:

“ STATE OF KANSAS. }
 EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT. }
 TOPEKA, March 25, 1886. }

“ To the Sheriffs, County Attorneys and other Peace Officers of the State of Kansas :

“ Kansas has no waterways within in its borders; its interstate and internal commerce is carried by its railways. The railways are common carriers, and the prosperity of the State and the interests and welfare of its people, farmers, mechanics, merchants, manufacturers, laborers and all others are dependent upon the uninterrupted operation of the railway lines of the State. The interruption of these great arteries of commerce is a disaster to all, and hence is the concern of all. The operation is vitally essential to every commercial, industrial and agricultural interest of the people, and hence not only the greatest good to the greatest number, but the greatest good to each individual citizen, is subserved by their uninterrupted operation.

“ We are now in the third week of the most serious business disaster that has ever befallen our State. The forcible stoppage of transportation along the lines of railroads touches the interests of a third of the people of Kansas, several hundred thousand in number. Supplies of food and fuel are cut off in many localities. Farmers, mechanics and manufacturers are prevented from selling and shipping their stock and goods, and from paying thousands of laborers hitherto in their employ. Thus the strike of a few railroad men cripples and stops the business and industry of great masses of our people.

“ The cause of the difficulty it is not our province to determine. We live in a law-abiding State, and are the servants of law; corporations and the people must alike obey the law. As new grievances arise new legislative remedies will be found and adopted, but we must act under, and obey and enforce the laws we have. Those who violate the laws should be arrested and brought before the courts for trial and punishment.

“ The stopping of transportation and the stagnation of business have endured long enough. The wheels of industry must be put in motion. No one class of men have any right in law or equity, common sense or justice, to paralyze the business of the country, to work disaster to the tiller of the soil, to close the mills and factories of the State, and to throw thousands of workingmen engaged in every department of human activity out of employment. The rights of the many cannot be yielded to the claims of the few. The men engaged in this ‘strike’ may have just grievances; they may be the victims of cor-

porate greed and power, but this fact does not justify lawlessness or turbulence, or the destruction of property, or the forcible stoppage of the transportation lines of the State, and the resulting loss or wrong to hundreds of thousands of people in no wise responsible for the controversy between the railway company and its employes.

"The people of Kansas, acting through their representatives, can be relied on to see that the just grievances of any class of citizens, or any wrongs done by corporate power, are redressed and prevented by law. The laws of Kansas, in so far as the interests of her workingmen are involved, are more liberal than those of any other State in the Union. The Legislature at its last session enacted a law, the object of which was to settle conflicts between employers and employes by peaceful and honorable arbitration. Kansas has taken the lead on many great questions affecting the rights or interests of her workingmen.

"I therefore call upon all sheriffs, county attorneys, and other peace officers to discharge their duties under the law, to preserve the peace, to protect the property, to see that the commerce of the State is not interrupted by violence or lawless acts, and to arrest and bring before the courts for trial and punishment all who are guilty of any violation of law. In the discharge of this duty you have power to call upon every citizen to aid you, and I appeal to all law-respecting citizens to support your authority, to the end that order may be restored, that commerce of the State may be resumed, and that industry and prosperity may take the place of unseemly feud, business stagnation, and industrial paralysis. All the lawful authority of the State will be exerted to support local officers in the discharge of the duties thus enjoined upon them, and all persons are hereby warned against interposing any obstacles in the way of the officers of the law, or obstructing the lines of transportation on which the commerce of the State is carried.

"In testimony whereof, I hereunto set my hand, and cause to be affixed the great seal of the State of Kansas. Done at the city of Topeka, this 25th day of March, A. D. 1886

"By the Governor.

"JOHN A. MARTIN.

"E. B. ALLEN, Secretary of State."

On the same day, March 25, Governor Ireland, of Texas, issued his proclamation as follows:

"WHEREAS, it has been made known to me that disturbances, irregularities and violations of law are of frequent occurrence on various

railroads in this State; that trains carrying freight and passengers are interfered with by persons having no connection with said roads; that bridges have been burned, spikes have been withdrawn, and trains derailed, to the great detriment of commerce and travel and the placing of life in great peril. It is said that this condition of affairs on the railway lines has been brought about by the organization known as the Knights of Labor, and that the persons engaged in these lawless deeds are members of that order.

“Whether this is true or not, it is hardly credible that this order, or the best element of it, can countenance the violation of the law mentioned. Employes have the unquestioned moral and legal right to quit the service of their employers whenever their employment is not remunerative and satisfactory, provided such action does not violate their contract; but when they quit and sever their relations it is the duty of those quitting to get out of the way, and leave any others who may wish to take the service abandoned free to do so. Intimidation of, or interference with, persons desiring to work is a gross violation of the rights of freemen and cannot be tolerated in a free government.

“Now, therefore, I, John Ireland, Governor of Texas, do hereby issue this, my proclamation, warning all persons, whoever they may be, engaged in any of said unlawful acts, that they are entailing on themselves disaster and ruin, and that offended and outraged justice must sooner or later overtake and punish them unless they promptly cease their lawlessness. I appeal to the law-abiding people throughout the State to aid the civil officers in restoring order and in executing the laws and in discountenancing in every way possible this abnormal condition. I especially appeal to all civil officers, judges, sheriffs, constables, and city officials to make use of all means given them by law to restore order with the assurance that every power of the State, if lawfully invoked, will be used to enforce the law.

[SIGNED]

“JOHN IRELAND,

“Governor.”

On the same day Governor Hughes, of Arkansas, issued a proclamation to like effect.

The proclamation of Governor Marmaduke being telegraphed to New York, the next day he received the following telegraphic message:

“NEW YORK, March 25, 1886.

“*To his Excellency, GOVERNOR MARMADUKE, Jefferson City, Mo.*

“At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company, held in New York, March 25, 1886, at 2 P. M., the

proclamation of his Excellency, Governor Marmaduke, of Missouri, was read, and on motion duly seconded, it was

“ *Resolved*, That this company will in the future, as it has sought to do in the past, make every effort to secure the earliest possible full and regular resumption of the operation of its trains, and it pledges itself to perform and comply on its part with all the requisitions of the Governor in said proclamation.

“ *Resolved*, That the second assistant secretary transmit a copy of the foregoing to his Excellency, the Governor of Missouri.

“ By order of the Board.

[SIGNED]

“ GUY PHILLIPS.

“ Second Assistant Secretary.”

The switchmen's strike at Kansas City terminated satisfactorily on the 25th, but in East St. Louis, Illinois, on the same date, about eighty switchmen, representing the several terminal railways at that point, at the instance of J. J. McGarry, Judge Advocate of the Knights of Labor, quit work. The strike appears to have been sympathetic with the strikers of St. Louis and the Gould system, though it was claimed that there was a discrimination in wages in East St. Louis and Chicago for the same character of work. Martin Irons and J. J. McGarry appeared to be the leading spirits in this strike, which was ultimately to result in tragedy and disaster.

During this time, freight trains, under difficulties, had begun to move, irregularly, and new men had begun to be employed in the various departments of railroad business. This only served to incense the strikers and acts of violence became more frequent, but the undeniable fact remained that the roads were gradually resuming their business.

On the 25th a freight train passing through Pacific, Mo., was raided by a large number of Knights of Labor and their wives, who flocked from the Assembly Hall, and pelted the trainmen and guards with all sorts of missiles, including gun and pistol shots. These shots were returned by the guards, but fortunately no one was seriously injured. This affair, however, subsequently resulted in the indictment, arrest and conviction of the leader of the mob, who after serving a few months in the Missouri Penitentiary was released and soon after died.

A mass-meeting was held at Jefferson City, irrespective of party, at which resolutions were adopted, endorsing the Governor's proclamation and denouncing the strikers. On the same date, the strikers and Knights of Labor at Holden, Mo., held a meeting, declared they had

no grievance, and announced their determination to go to work. At the same time the Knights of Labor at Fort Worth, Texas, in a public meeting, asked a "suspension of judgment," etc.

Immediately upon receiving the news of the trouble at Pacific, which is some thirty-six miles west of St. Louis, on the main line of the Missouri Pacific, and St. Louis & San Francisco Railroads, Governor Marmaduke, by special train, dispatched Adjutant-General Jamison, with a select party of fourteen men and seventy-five stands of arms and ammunition to that place. Upon arriving there, the sheriff swore in as special deputies about fifty citizens. It is worthy of note that this action of the Governor was by telegraphic request of the Mayor of Pacific, himself a Knight of Labor. While in conference with General Jamison and others a passenger train passed through Pacific going west, and when only a few miles out, strikers, who had previously boarded the train, "demoralized" the conductor and killed the engine. However, after the deputies were armed, there was no further trouble at Pacific.

While these events were transpiring on the west side of the river, troubles of even a more serious nature were being enacted on the east side, at East St. Louis. Acts of violence were frequent and all trains were impeded in their movements.

The gradual and partial resumption of railroad traffic in Missouri, Kansas and Texas portended the end of the strike, and Mr. Powderly again became prominent. On the 27th, he indited the following letter to Mr. Jay Gould:

" NOBLE ORDER OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR OF
AMERICA, OFFICE OF GENERAL SECRETARY, }
PHILADELPHIA, March 27, 1886. }

" MR. JAY GOULD :

" SIR: The General Executive Board would be pleased to have an interview with you at your convenience to-day for the purpose of submitting the Southwest difficulties to a committee of seven (7) for arbitration, three of the committee to be appointed by yourself and three by the General Executive Board; the six to select the seventh member of the committee, their decision in the matter to be final. Should this proposition be acceptable we will at once issue an order for the men to return to work.

" By order of the General Executive Board,

" FREDERICK TURNER,
" Secretary of Board."

To which Mr. Gould responded as follows:

“THE MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY, }
NEW YORK, March 27, 1886. }

“FREDERICK TURNER, ESQ., *Secretary, etc., Philadelphia, Pa.:*

“DEAR SIR: I have your note of this date proposing an interview between your Executive Committee and the officers of this company, for the purpose of submitting to arbitration by a committee of seven what you term the ‘Southwestern difficulties.’ You are doubtless aware that in the negotiations which took place here last August between Mr. T. V. Powderly, Grand Master Workman, and associates, and the officers of this company, it was agreed that in future no strikes would be ordered on The Missouri Pacific road until after a conference with the officers of the company and an opportunity to adjust any alleged grievances. In view of this fact, attention is drawn to the following correspondence between Mr. A. L. Hopkins, Vice-President, acting for this company in my absence, and Mr. Powderly:

“NEW YORK, March 6, 1886.

“T. V. POWDERLY, *Scranton, Pa.:*

“Mr. Hoxie telegraphes that the Knights of Labor on our road have struck and refuse to allow any freight trains to run on our road, saying they have no grievance, but are only striking because they are ordered to do so. If there is any grievance we would like to talk it over with you. We understood you to promise that no strike should be ordered without consultation.

“A. L. HOPKINS.

“PHILADELPHIA, PA., March 8, 1886.

“A. L. HOPKINS, *Secretary Missouri Pacific Railroad, 195 Broadway, New York:*

“Have telegraphed West for particulars. Papers say strike caused by discharge of man named Hall. Can he be reinstated pending investigation?

“T. V. POWDERLY.

“NEW YORK, March 8, 1886.

“T. V. POWDERLY:

“Thanks for your message and suggestion. Hall was employed by the Texas & Pacific and not by us. That property is in the hands of the United States Court and we have no control whatever over the re-

ceivers or over the employes. We have carried out the agreements made last spring in every respect, and the present strike is unjust to us and unwise for you. It is reported here that this movement is the result of Wall street influence on the part of those short of the securities likely to be affected.

“A. L. HOPKINS.”

“No reply to this message was received, but this company's request for a conference was ignored and its premises at once invaded and its property destroyed by the men of your order in great numbers, who also seized and disabled its trains, as they have since continued to do, whenever attempting to run. The Board of Directors of this company thereupon had a copy of the correspondence above given made and transmitted to Mr. H. M. Hoxie, the First Vice-President and General Manager at St. Louis, with instructions to use every endeavor to continue the operation of the road, and committed the whole matter to his hands.

“Mr. Hoxie's overtures, made through the Governors of Missouri and Kansas, who stated that they found no cause for the strike, were rejected by your order. These and the subsequent correspondence between him and Mr. Powderly are well known to you, and Mr. Hoxie's course has been confirmed by the board and the matter is still in his hands. I am, therefore, instructed by the board to refer you to him as its continuing representative in the premises.

“I am directed to add in behalf of the board, that in its judgment so long as this company is forcibly kept from the control of its property and from performing its charter duties, its business is done, if at all, not under the conditions of law, which are common to all citizens, but only at the will of a law-breaking force. Any negotiations with such a force would be unwise and useless. Terms made with it would not be a settlement of difficulties, but a triumph of force over the law of the land. It would mean nothing in their judgment but new troubles and worse. This is the result of their experience.

“In the meantime, the Governor's proclamation enjoins upon your men to return to duty, and this company's continued advertisement offers them employment on the same terms as heretofore. The board further suggests that inasmuch as your order assuming in your communication responsibility for these men and power and control over them, the following from the proclamation of the Governor of Missouri is expressive of their duty and of your own:

“ I warn all persons, whether they be employes or not, against interposing any obstacle whatever in the way of said resumption, and with a firm reliance upon the courage, good sense and law-abiding spirit of the public, I hereby call upon all good citizens to assist in carrying out the purposes of this proclamation; and I also hereby pledge the whole power of the State, so far as it may be lawfully wielded by its chief executive officer, to sustain the company and its servants in said resumption, and to restrain and punish all that may oppose it.”

“ When this proclamation shall be obeyed and when the company’s late employes shall desist from violence and interference with its trains, the board hereby assure them that they will find themselves met by Mr. Hoxie in the spirit in which he has heretofore successfully avoided rupture and cause for just complaint, and in that just and liberal spirit which should always exist between the employer and the employed. By order of the board.

“ Very respectfully yours,

“ JAY GOULD,

“ President Missouri Pacific Railway Company.”

To this Mr. Powderly made the following reply :

“ NEW YORK, March 27, 1886.

“ JAY GOULD, *President* :

“ DEAR SIR—We have received your reply to our communication of this morning. The statements made in your reply are worthy of more consideration than can be given to them at this moment. We are not in possession here of the telegrams or communications or copies of the same, referred to in your letter. We came here unprepared, with no thought of using them here. The field that would be opened up for discussion would be so broad that it would take a good deal of time and space to cover it as contained in your reply. This would necessitate a review of the transactions of last year, beginning with the strike of March, 1885, continuing through the Wabash troubles, which brought on our meeting with you in August, down to the strike on the Texas Pacific, and its extension to the Missouri river lines.

“ We consider that all this is unnecessary at this time. Public interest, the interest of both parties to this controversy, will not be served by a longer continuance of the strike if there is a shadow of a chance to bring it to a speedy termination. With that idea in view, we prefer to let this discussion go, and allow this matter to be decided upon its merits by an impartial committee, selected as indicated in our communication of this morning. Let them proceed to adjust the differences,

and having settled that matter and set in motion the idle wheels and hands, we have no objections to the same committee reviewing our actions in the matter, and we are willing to be judged, to receive censure at their hands if necessary, for any short-comings they may deem us guilty of. The needs of the hour require that this strike terminate speedily; if that is done the other matters can be very readily attended to.

“Very truly yours,

“T. V. POWDERLY.”

Mr. Gould's reply to this letter was as follows:

“PRESIDENT'S OFFICE,
THE MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILWAY CO., }
NEW YORK, March 28, 1886.”

“T. V. POWDERLY, ESQ., *G. M., Etc.* :

“DEAR SIR—Replying to your letter of 27th inst., I write to say that I will to-morrow morning send the following telegraphic instructions:

“‘H. M. HOXIE, *General Manager, St. Louis* :

“‘In resuming the movement of trains on the Missouri Pacific and in the re-employment of labor in the several departments of the company you will give preference to our late employes whether they are members of the Knights of Labor or not, except that you will not re-employ any person who has injured the company's property during the late strike nor will we discharge any person who has taken service with us during said strike. We see no objection to arbitrating any differences between the employes and the company, past or future.’

“‘Hoping the above will be satisfactory, I remain,

“‘Yours truly,

“‘JAY GOULD, President.’”

On the 28th Mr. Powderly sent the following telegrams:

“NEW YORK, March 28, 1886.

‘MARTIN IRONS, *Chairman Executive Board, District Assembly No. 101, St. Louis, Mo.*:

“President Jay Gould has consented to our proposition for arbitration, and so telegraphs Vice-President Hoxie. Order men to resume work at once. By order of the Executive Board.

[SIGNED]

“T. V. POWDERLY,

“G. M. W., K. of L.”

“NEW YORK, March 28, 1886.

“*To the Knights of Labor now on strike in the Southwest:*

Pursuant to telegraphic instructions sent to the chairman of the Executive Board, District Assembly 101, you are directed to resume work at once. By order of the Executive Board.

[SIGNED]

“T. V. POWDERLY,

“G. M. W.”

The situation in East St. Louis at this time was becoming serious. The strikers were violent and aggressive, and speedily all traffic was in a measure suspended. This strike in East St. Louis appears to have been purely sympathetic, and was therefore more violent. It is not of record that they even presented their grievances, real or imaginary, to all the railway companies of which they complained; yet reinforced by boys and women, they assailed and stopped nearly all trains, assaulting trainmen, pulling coupling pins, etc.

In the meantime, while negotiations were pending in New York; looking to a settlement of the difficulties, various acts of violence were being perpetrated in Missouri, Texas and Kansas.

The history of the diplomatic controversy between Mr. Powderly and Mr. Gould is interesting, if not valuable. The “fence” of each is admirable.

On the 26th of March the St. Louis Globe-Democrat printed the following secret circular from Mr. Powderly, which will explain some things heretofore unaccountable for in the history of the great strike:

“[Secret Circular.]

“NOBLE ORDER OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR OF AMERICA, PHILADELPHIA, PA., March 13, 1886.—The recording secretary will, on receipt of this circular, place it in the hands of the Master Workman, whose duty it shall be to issue a red letter call for a full meeting either regular or special, have a full attendance, and read it. Its extreme length must be excused, for I cannot go to each assembly to speak on the present crisis, and take this method of reaching them.

“An order was recently issued to suspend organization of new assemblies for forty days. It did not go out until a careful review of the field had been taken. Had I not been convinced that it was absolutely necessary for the salvation of the order, my vote would not be cast in favor of a cessation of the work.

“One of the gravest emergencies that ever faced a human being stands squarely before the head of this order to-day. It is not coming—

it is here—and must be firmly dealt with. Before taking another step in any direction, I want to go before the great mass of our membership through the medium of this circular, ask of them to speak to me as frankly as I now talk to them, and tell me what is best to be done. If the order is to perform its mission as intended by its founders and those who have worked with it from the beginning, a radical change must be effected. A stop must be called and the ship brought back to her moorings. It has always been, and is at the present time, my policy to advocate conciliation and arbitration in the settlements of disputes between employer and employe. The law of knighthood demands at the hands of our members an adherence to that policy. Thousands of men who have become disgusted with the ruinous policy of the strike, as the only remedy for ills we complain of were drawn to us because we proclaimed to mankind that we had discarded the strike until all else had failed. The men and women who flocked to our standard have a knowledge of their wrongs. They have endured these wrongs for years and in reason are in duty bound to learn how to right these wrongs by the least expensive and most satisfactory, as well as lasting, remedy.

“Six months will not teach men our principles and proper methods, yet men are impressed with the idea that they can learn them in six weeks or six days, and before the groundwork for a proper education is laid, we find our assemblies on a strike or locked out; and in too many cases the provocation comes from their own hasty and inconsiderate action. No matter what advantage we gain by the strike, it is only medicating the symptoms; it does not penetrate the system, and therefore fails in effecting a cure. The only natural sequence is a relapse, and a relapse always means more medicine and a weaker patient than before. You must bear with me and read this letter to the end, for it may be the last one I will ever write to you. My duties to the order and humanity must not be measured by the standard of dollars and cents. My policy must no longer be misunderstood.

“While I, as the chosen mouth-piece of the order, am proclaiming to the world that the Knights of Labor do not advocate or countenance strikes until every other remedy has failed, the wires from a thousand cities and towns are bearing the news of as many strikes by Knights of Labor in which arbitration and conciliation were never hinted at. Not that alone, but they were in many cases scorned and rejected by our own members. In some cases these strikes were entered upon against the advice of the general Executive Board. It is claimed by our members that arbitration is one-sided. That may be true of the

past, but the voluntary concessions made to us within the last three months prove most conclusively that the just claims of labor will be listened to if we go forward in the way we started out. It is claimed that this is a year for concessions and advances. Be that as it may, we can not force them by striking. I am aware that the machinery is not capable of performing the work required by the large gains in membership, and this fact must have a restraining influence on our members until the next General Assembly meets. Five hundred assemblies were added to the roll in February—as many as were organized in the first eight years of the order's existence. It is not within the bounds of human possibility to expect that all of these new recruits can be properly trained before the assemblies are founded. The organizers seldom visit them for instruction but once, and this is not enough. They must devote their spare moments to educating those already organized, before adding any more new assemblies to the order. To attempt to coin concessions or gains with our present raw, undisciplined membership, would be like hurling an unorganized mob against a well drilled regular army. Again, it is not fair to the older assemblies to bring in new members, pick up their quarrels as soon as organized, and have them expect pecuniary aid from those who helped build the order up for a noble purpose. It is not wise to give men and women a premium for joining us. It is wrong to encourage them in the idea that they have nothing to do themselves, that they are to lean upon others; they must depend upon themselves, and in any case cannot receive assistance inside of six months, and I will hold out no inducements that will encourage them in the belief that they will receive assistance even then. We have built up a moral force that will command a hearing for us before any tribunal in the country. We must not fritter away our strength and miss the golden opportunity to crown every effort with success by rushing into useless strikes.

“To the cardinal principles of the order we must add another — patience. You have had patience for years; and had not the Knights of Labor appeared upon the scene you would still be waiting. Your scales of prices must stand as they are for the present if you can not raise them by any other process than a strike. You must submit to injustice at the hands of the employer in patience for a while longer. Bide well your time. Make no display of organization or strength until you have every man and woman in your department of industry organized, and then do not strike, but study, not only your own condition, but that of your employer. Find out how much you are justly entitled to, and the tribunal of arbitration will settle the rest. Organizers who

publish an account of their work to the world, assemblies that publish an account of their strength to the world, and members, whether public or private, who speak boastingly of our strength to the world, are very indiscreet. Mind your own business, keep your own counsel. If the world wishes to learn anything concerning us let it ask for information. If it is proper to give the information we may do it. When we can win a victory let us be magnanimous, and not boast of it or speak slightly of the vanquished: he who does so is a coward. Each district assembly, each local assembly must appoint a committee on instructions to teach our members what our order was intended for. I have no advise as to how much they should be taught: let them learn all they can.

"The Knights of Labor are not opposed to the employer of labor, but it was not intended that the order should harbor unjust employers. In many assemblies the employer and manufacturer have a controlling influence. The men who work for them will express themselves as they feel, and, in my opinion, it would be best to treat with an employer as he is rather than as a brother Knight. We can deal with him just as fairly beyond the veils as within the sanctuary. Take in as few employers as possible.

"The name of this order and its principles are published everywhere, and men who stood openly arrayed against us two years ago are now our friends; beware of them. Take them in if you will, but watch them. The politician is planning night and day how to catch the Knights of Labor for the advantages of himself or party, and, rest assured, he has his emissaries in our ranks. We must expect this and we must stamp out every effort of the party man—it matters not of which party—who attempts to use us for political purposes. To those assemblies which drag the name of the order into the political action of any party, I say: We are greater than any party on American soil to-day, and we must remain so. Every reform that could possibly come through the organization of a new party can be obtained with one. We are every day gaining concessions from State and Nation: thus the lie is given to those who urge the formation of a new party. To use the name of the order in a political contest is criminal, and must not occur again. It is evident that our members are not properly instructed, else we would not find them passing resolutions approving of the action of our executive officers in fixing the first of May as the day to strike for eight hours! The executive officers of the Knights of Labor have never fixed upon the first of May for a strike of any kind. Assemblies of the Knights of Labor must not strike for the eight hour system on May first under

the impression that they are obeying orders from headquarters—for such an order was not and will not be given.

“Neither employer nor employe are educated to the needs and necessities of the eight-hour plan. If one branch of trade or one assembly is in such a condition, remember that there are many who are in total ignorance of the movement. Out of 60,000,000 of people in the United States and Canada our order has possibly 300,000. Can we mould the sentiments of the millions in favor of the short-hour plan before May first? It is nonsense to think of it. Let us learn why our hours of labor should be reduced, then teach others.

“Nearly every State Assembly that has been formed since the General Assembly met has been organized among discord and contention. I fear that the struggle is not to serve the order so much as to serve personal ends. Nearly every assembly in the States of Kansas and Michigan has complained to me about the attempts being made to organize State Assemblies. To attempt to elevate labor by starting out an assembly of any kind with a fight is folly. It would be far better to stop work in these States now and begin work in a practical way than to carry the work forward under the prejudices and animosities now resting in the breasts of the disappointed ones. Our order is a business institution. It must be run on business principles, and if it is not managed in this way it will go the road of all mismanaged concerns. In selecting officers to manage a banking concern the best qualified are chosen. The rash, inconsiderate man is set aside; the man who is quick of temper and hasty of speech is passed over and the man of mature judgment and business qualities is selected. I am pained to witness the quality of men some parts of our order select for important work.

“These words of mine must be heeded or this order goes down as surely as night follows day. Elect no man because of his fine speech or impetuosity, put none but the coolest men in positions of any kind. Keep them there and uphold them in their work. It is not the duty of an officer to picture the wrongs of a man until he excites his assembly to fever heat. Heaven knows the indignities which labor complains of are grievance enough, and require no painting. We must look to them as they really exist, and settle them as best we can. While I write, a dispatch is handed me in which I read these words: They discharged our brother and we struck, for you know our motto is: An injury to one is the concern of all! Yes, an injury to one is the concern of all! but it is not wise to injure all for the sake of one.

“It would have been far better to continue at work and investigate the matter, bringing it before every known tribunal, than to have struck.

The thousands of men now earning nothing could have given ten cents apiece to support the brother for a few weeks much easier than to spend weeks and months in idleness. Many of them will never be restored to their former positions. In this case the injury to one was not repaired, and all concerned will be more or less injured.

We could have prevented our brother from being injured by assisting him in a far different way. Zeal in a cause sometimes brings on the discharge of a member. Sometimes a too open expression of opinion does it. It is not necessary to indulge in the latter. Now, recurring to another subject: the Church has been watching our order for years. In our infancy we had but little power for good or evil: to-day we are the strongest as well as the weakest labor organization on earth: strong in numbers and principles: strong in justice of our demands if properly made: we are weak in the methods we use to set our claims before the world. Strikes are often the forerunners of lawless actions. One blow brings on another, and if a single act of ours encourages the anarchist element we must meet with the antagonism of the Church. I warn our members against hasty, ill-considered action. The Church will not interfere with us so long as we maintain the law. If the law is wrong it is our duty to change it. I am ashamed to meet with clergymen and others to tell them that our order is composed of law-abiding, intelligent men, while the next dispatch brings the news of some petty boycott or strike.

"The daily papers have a column devoted to strikes and boycotts every day, and some of the causes are ridiculous. I write this circular to lay before the order the exact condition of things. I am neither physically nor mentally capable of performing the work required of me. I am willing to do my part but must not be asked to maintain a false position before the world any longer. One of two things must take place: Either the local and district assemblies of the order must obey its laws or I must be permitted to resign from a position which obliges me to play one part before the public and another to our members. I say to the world that the Knights of Labor do not approve of or encourage strikes, and in one day dispatches came to me to come to Troy, N. Y., Manchester, N. H., Chicago, Ill., Cincinnati, O., Lynchburg, Va., Springfield, O., and Montreal, Canada. It is impossible for human nature to stand the strain any longer. I must have the assistance of the order or my most earnest efforts will fail.

"Will I have it? If so, strikes must be avoided, boycotts must be avoided. Those who boast most must be checked by their assemblies.

No move must be made until the court of last resort has been appealed to. Threats of violence must not be made.

“Politicians must be hushed up or driven out.

“Obedience to the laws of knighthood must have preference over those of any other order. If these things are done the next five years will witness the complete emancipation of mankind from the curse of monopoly. In our members we require secrecy, obedience, assistance, patience and courage. If, with these aids, you strengthen my hands I will continue in the work. If you do not desire to assist me in this way, then select a man better qualified to obey your will, and I will retire in his favor.

“T. V. POWDERLY,

“Grand Master Workman.”

Traffic was being gradually resumed on the 28th at St. Louis, Sedalia, Atchison and various points in Texas. Freight trains, with police protection, began to move and new men in sufficient numbers assumed the places of the strikers. But the end was not yet, for pending the diplomacy going on between the officers of the Knights of Labor and the railroad officials, violence of more or less serious character was frequent. This was notably so at DeSoto, Mo., the location of the most extensive shops on the Iron Mountain Railway. A passing freight train in charge of Conductor Nelson was delayed, Nelson assaulted, and Yardmaster Todd, who attempted to interfere on behalf of the conductor, was assaulted and driven to his boarding-house by an infuriated mob, and his life probably only saved by the heroism of a Mrs. Duffy—the boarding-house keeper—who, with pistol in hand, braved the mob and prevented their entrance.

It appears that a misunderstanding between Mr. Gould and Mr. Powderly regarding the telegram to Mr. Hoxie was brought about, which the following correspondence will explain, and which is necessary to be recited:

“Personal:”

“MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY, March 29, 1886.

“T. V. POWDERLY, Esq.

“DEAR SIR—The papers this morning published the following:

“‘Jay Gould has consented to our proposition for arbitration, and so telegraphed Vice-President Hoxie. Order the men to resume work at once.—T. V. POWDERLY, G. M. W.’

“They published an interview with you which leads one to think

that the officers of your order in St. Louis may construe your message into a consent on the part of this company to conform to the requirements contained in the letter from the Secretary of your order, dated Philadelphia, March 27, which in my letter to you of the same date I declined to consider.

"You will remember that at our conference of Sunday I said to you that the position of this company was unchanged in this respect, and that the whole matter was left in the hands of the First Vice-President and General Manager of the road with the instructions contained in my telegram to him, which was written before my interview with you, and read to you at the time. This telegram stated, 'We see no objection to arbitrate any differences between the employes and the company, past or future.' I feel confident that your understanding of this matter is the same as my own. I write this in the hope that there may be no ground for future misunderstanding.

"Very respectfully yours,

"JAY GOULD,

"President Missouri Pacific Railway Company."

To this Mr. Powderly simply replied by asking:

"Do I understand you from your personal letter of this date that your company refuse arbitration, and must I so telegraph Martin Irons?"

To which question Vice-President Hopkins, in the absence of Mr. Gould, made answer as follows:

"You may say distinctly to him: No, we do not. He is not so to understand that letter. He is simply referred to Mr. Gould's written communication to him, which he is prepared to carry out in every particular."

Then Mr. Powderly wrote the following:

"ASTOR HOUSE, NEW YORK, March 29, 1886.

"MR. JAY GOULD, *President Missouri Pacific Railway Company*:

"DEAR SIR—I regret exceedingly that my sickness to-day has prevented me from keeping the engagement made by my associates with you for 3 o'clock this afternoon. Our proposition that the men should return at once to work on the agreement that any complaints that they might have should be submitted to arbitration, was made in perfect good faith, and when after the receipt by you of our letter of Saturday night, and our conference on Sunday, you made the telegraphic order to General Manager Hoxie, contained in your letter to me of the same date, in which was used the following language: 'We see no objection to arbitrating any differences between the employes

and the company, past or future,' we accepted your approval to the general principles of arbitration in equal good faith, and at once issued an order for the men to return to work.

"We are not particular in the adjustment of the present difficulties whether the arbitrators appointed by your company shall be named by the general managers or yourself, or whether their number shall consist of three, five or seven. In case they consist of three, my associates have named me, or if sickness prevents, one of the other members of the board will take my place; in case they consist of five, Mr. W. O. McDowell would be associated with me; in case of seven, we would add a third name.

"We can imagine no greater misfortune for your company than that the impression should go forth, not only to the members of our organization, but the community at large, whose interests are suffering as the result of the present condition of affairs, that a break has occurred between the interests which you represent and which I represent, by reason of a technicality.

"The gentleman who waited upon you informs me that in case I was unable to meet with you this afternoon at 3 o'clock I was to meet you to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock. I hope to be able to keep the engagement at that time. After the receipt of your personal letter to me, and reading the interviews with you published in the papers this evening, the following telegram was sent to each of the following gentlemen—Messrs. Daly, Irons and Houx, at Sedalia, St. Louis and Fort Worth:

"NEW YORK, March 29.—Complications have arisen since this morning as to the number of arbitrators. Another conference will be held to-morrow.—T. V. POWDERLY."

"T. V. POWDERLY,

"Grand Master Workman."

While these proceedings were pending quite a different state of affairs were existing and being enacted in the west. At East St. Louis passenger as well as freight trains were boldly stopped, and no effectual resistance was made, but it was evident that the resumption of traffic was at hand. On that day, the 28th of March, one hundred and fifty freight trains were moved on the Missouri Pacific system. The end was only a battle of skirmishers.

On March the 30th a conference was held between the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor and the officials of the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company in New York, the substance of which is embodied in the following correspondence:

"NEW YORK, March 30, 1886.

"H. M. HOXIE, *General Manager, St. Louis:*

"Mr. Powderly wishes to know if you will meet the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor or a committee of your employes from the Knights of Labor for the purpose of hearing what their cause of complaint was and for the purpose of making a settlement of present difficulties alike honorable to both parties, either on the basis of arbitration or by mutual agreement, the same to be binding on all parties.

[SIGNED]

"A. L. HOPKINS."

"ST. LOUIS, March 30, 1886.

"A. L. HOPKINS, *New York:*

"Replying to your inquiry from Mr. Powderly of this date, I have to say that yesterday I received from Mr. Gould the following message:

"In resuming the movement of trains on the Missouri Pacific, and in the employment of labor in the several departments of this company, you will give preference to our late employes, whether they are Knights of Labor or not, except that you will not employ any person who has injured the company's property during the late strike, nor will we discharge any person who has taken service with the company during said strike. We see no objection to arbitrating any differences between the employes and the company, past or future."

To which I sent the following reply:

"JAY GOULD, *President, New York:*

"I have your message in relation to your interview with Mr. Powderly, and also the letter of instructions, and will carry out the same to the best of my ability.

[SIGNED]

"H. M. HOXIE."

"I am, therefore, willing to meet a committee of our employes without discrimination, who are actually at work in the service of the company at the time such committee is appointed, to adjust with them any grievances that they may have.

[SIGNED]

"H. M. HOXIE."

"NEW YORK, March 30, 1886.

"MARTIN IRONS, *St. Louis:*

"Have been in conference all day with the result that Vice-President Hoxie agrees to the following:

“Willing to meet a committee of our employes without discrimination who are actually at work in the service of the company at the time such committee is appointed to adjust with them any grievances that they may have.

“H. M. HOXIE.”

“Have your Executive Committee order the men to return to work and also select a special committee from the employes of the Missouri Pacific to wait on Mr. Hoxie to adjust any difference. Do this as quickly as possible. Board will leave for St. Louis to-morrow.

“FREDERICK TURNER, Secretary.”

“*Master Workmen Local Assemblies District 101:*

“You are ordered by the General Executive Board to go to work. Honor demands that you see that those who came out to support you go to work first.

[SIGNED]

“MARTIN IRONS, Chairman.”

“St. Louis, March 31, 1886.”

Then came the following order:

“NOBLE ORDER OF KNIGHTS OF LABOR: PEACE AND PROSPERITY TO THE FAITHFUL. SANCTUARY OF LOCAL ASSEMBLY No. 4242. EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., March 31, 4 o'clock P. M.	}
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To Members of Local Executive Board, Greeting:

You are hereby ordered to return to work in your former positions if received. If not, report back to this Joint Board of District Assemblies 17, 101 and 93.

[SIGNED]

M. IRONS, Chairman 101.

[SEAL 101]

A. C. CAUGHLIN, Chairman 93.

[SEAL 93]

E. F. McKEON, Secretary 93.

How this order was received and executed the following statement which was published in the newspapers of April 1, 1886, will show:

“*To the Public:*

“As showing the sincerity of the railroad managers in their treatment of the Knights of Labor we respectfully state that, pursuant to the order of our General Executive Board, we this day sent committees to the managers of the several railroads, offering to return the men to work. In no instance would they be received or treated with, each official in turn either refusing them a hearing or evading them with

specious subterfuges for direct answers, or refusing them employment. Mr. Hoxie has agreed to receive a committee of employes to adjust any grievances which may exist. He refuses personally and through his subordinates to recognize any of us as employes, and refuses to receive any but such as he calls employes. In short, after himself and Mr. Gould have conveyed the impression to the world that they are willing to settle, they refuse to settle. Now we appeal to a candid and suffering public, on whom is falling all the weight of this great conflict, if we have not been deceived enough? How much is long-suffering labor to bear? This great strike never would have been had Mr. Hoxie condescended months ago to hear our complaints. We do not claim to be more than human. It should not be expected of us to be more than human. In this country position makes no man king or slave, and imperious refusal on the part of one citizen to confer with other citizens with whom he may have business connections when such refusal begets great business and social revolution, is not only a mistake, but a crime against the public. Mr. Gould is invoking the law against little criminals who are made desperate by his poiley of duplicity and oppression. Yet a terrorized public does not invoke the law against the arch criminal of the land. If we can not be allowed to return to work the strike must go on.

“By order of Executive Boards District Assemblies 101, 93 and 17.”

The complications which were caused by the misunderstanding on the part of the General Executive Committee of the Knights of Labor regarding arbitration tended to demoralize the heretofore acknowledged leaders of the strike, whose absolute control of the strikers began to weaken, and united action no longer prevailed, and in its place turbulence and viciousness obtained the mastery. To such an extent did this state of affairs prevail that it became evident that the round-house and machine shops at DeSoto were in immediate danger of destruction, and accordingly Governor Marmaduke ordered to that place two special officers—T. W. Park and John T. Clark—who were armed with plenary power. They reasoned and remonstrated with the desperate strikers—over seven hundred strong—drew the citizens and officials, the latter of whom were mostly Knights of Labor, into public meeting, and by the exercise of a moral influence prevented the necessity of the service of a military force. Order was restored and a collision prevented, which would have involved both blood and treasure. A large number of deputy sheriffs were sworn in and many arrests were made and the catastrophe averted. One attempt to derail a passenger

train was ineffectually made, but nothing further occurred of this character after the advent of the officials. Thus it was generally throughout Missouri. Governor Marmaduke's wise, conservative and impartial conduct obtained the respect of all, and although Missouri was the heart and seat of the strike, the occasion did not come when a resort had to be made to the military power of the State.

At Parsons, Kansas, quite a different order of things prevailed. The situation can best be described as given in the *Topeka Capital* of April 3:

" THE SITUATION AT PARSONS.

" We give below the facts in relation to affairs at Parsons and the ordering out of the militia :

" On Monday evening, March 28, the Governor received dispatches from the Sheriff of Labette County and the Mayor of Parsons, stating that the strikers were acting outside of the pale law ; that the sheriff had eighty deputies and the mayor a posse of two hundred citizens ; that every appeal to respect the law was met with shouts of derision ; that forcible attempts were made to pull the sheriff from his position on the engine ; and that the situation was such that the use of firearms would have resulted in killing or wounding a number of people. They declare that the presence of a military force, acting under State authority, would enable the railroad company to move its trains without bloodshed, while a successful effort to move a train under civil authority would unquestionably be accompanied by a collision and bloodshed. They therefore called upon the Governor, as Chief Executive, to afford the protection which, they stated, they were powerless to give, and suggested that five hundred militia be ordered there at once.

" Senator Kimball telegraphed the same evening that the facts stated in the dispatch of the mayor and sheriff were true, and that, in his opinion, the presence of troops would put an end to the trouble without bloodshed. Representative Kelso telegraphed on the same evening that there was in that city an organized body of men who appeared determined to override the civil authorities and to trample under foot the loyal sentiment of law-abiding citizens, and that a military force was necessary.

" The papers of that morning and evening indicated that the strike was over, and the Governor so informed the mayor by telegraph, declining for this reason to send troops.

"On the morning of the 30th Sheriff Woodford and Mayor Brown telegraphed that they could not furnish the necessary assistance to protect the moving of freight trains; that an engine was disabled at 10:30 o'clock that morning; and they renewed their demand that the Governor give them the requested military assistance at once. Mayor Brown also telegraphed, at a later hour, that a passenger train approaching the city on the previous evening was ditched by removing fish plates; that great loss of property had ensued; that other outrages were threatened, and would be attempted; that the civil authorities were powerless to enforce the law; and he renewed the request for troops at once. Senator Kimball and representative Kelso sent dispatches of a similar nature.

"Still anxious to avoid the use of military force, the Governor telegraphed that it was the universal opinion here that the strike would be settled that day; that order was being restored at other points; and that it was better to wait twenty-four hours than to have trouble just as the strike seemed approaching an end. He however sent the Adjutant-General to Parsons on the afternoon train to ascertain the situation, and to endeavor to effect a peaceful settlement.

"Colonel Campbell arrived there on Tuesday night, and remained until Thursday evening. He had conference with the officers and citizens, and with the strikers. He was unable to persuade the strikers to desist from their unlawful proceedings. On Wednesday attacks were again made on trains, and again on Thursday, and on the last mentioned date Colonel Campbell telegraphed the Governor that all authority was deliberately trampled upon and set at defiance. On the first instant Representative H. C. Cook also telegraphed the Governor that he concurred in the opinion that prompt efforts must be made to enforce respect for the law at Parsons, and that all good citizens of Labette county were anxious that it be done.

"During the four days of the week, commencing with Monday last, orders were issued by the National Committee of the Knights of Labor, and also by District Assembly committees, to the effect that terms for an amicable settlement of the strike had been arranged by the conference between Jay Gould and Mr. Powderly. All advices during the whole of the time indicated a harmonious and satisfactory adjustment of the trouble. But the Parsons strikers never for a moment suspended their lawless and violent demonstrations.

"On Thursday night the Governor telegraphed Adjutant-General Campbell to order Colonel Patrick to move to Parsons as many companies of his regiment as might be necessary to sustain the civil officers

in the performance of their duties, acting at all times only in support of the civil authorities in preserving order and enforcing the law. The First Regiment of the Kansas National Guard, in accordance with these instructions, started to Parsons yesterday morning. Major-General Thos. M. Carroll will also go to Parsons, in person, to command the forces.

“ In addition to the telegrams above referred to, the Governor has also received a petition, signed by a number of prominent citizens of Parsons, appealing for the presence of a military force as the only means of enforcing law and preserving peace.”

Governor Martin expresses himself as to his reasons for ordering the militia to Parsons, as follows :

“ When I received a call from the local authorities Monday I thought that the strike was about over, and it was so reported in all the newspapers. The next day the call from the authorities at Parsons was repeated, the report saying that the mob of strikers defied the officers, having dragged the mayor off the trains and perpetrated other acts of violence. The authorities were constantly importuning me for troops, so on Wednesday I sent Adjutant-General Campbell to Parsons to preserve order, if possible. General Campbell talked to the strikers for an hour or more in a hall, but without perceptible effect. The strikers acted like madmen, and, undisguised, threw rotten eggs at Senator Kimball, and created general havoc about the city. There was general alarm, and as the court authorities, assisted by the Adjutant-General, seemed helpless, late last evening I telegraphed to General Campbell to call out the militia. I think that the presence of an armed force will have the desired effect on the men and have a quieting influence.”

Governor Martin was correct in his opinion as to the results of ordering troops to Parsons. No further violent demonstrations were made, and after a few days the troops were ordered home.

On the 29th and 30th of March traffic had been generally resumed everywhere, men had either returned to work in the shops and the yards, or their places filled by new men. The strike, as a power to interfere with traffic, was practically a thing of the past. It is true that when Mr. Powderly's telegrams came, announcing his disagreement with Mr. Gould, the frenzy that follows disappointment was let loose. Trains were broken up and officers of the law were assailed by mobs of hooting men, woman and boys in East St. Louis. At Texarkana, Arkansas, Atchison and Parsons, Kansas. Palestine, Texas, and Sedalia, Missouri, there were riotous proceedings, and in some in-

stances trains were stopped, but still no delay came from a lack of working force, but simply from the irresponsibility of disorganized violence.

The situation in East St. Louis became more serious day after day. On the 30th Adjutant-General Vance, of Illinois, under the direction of the Governor, visited that place for the purpose of making a personal investigation into the condition of affairs and reporting as to the necessity of military intervention. Orders had already been issued for the National Guard to hold itself in readiness for immediate duty. The situation can best be summed up in the following telegram:

“ EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., March 30, 1886.

“ To GOVERNOR OGLESBY, *Springfield, Ill.*:

“ Your dispatch was received too late for me to come to Springfield, and my state of health is impaired so much by late vigils that it is out of the question for me to go far from home. I called the posse at East St. Louis when the emergency occurred. Few persons responded and few will. There are nine yards here. There are fully 1,500 men determined that no freight trains shall move. They respect no authority, and seem to hold the State of Illinois in contempt. It is folly to think of moving freight trains here unless the State sends a strong force. All attempts to do so would result in failure and bring the authorities into further contempt. Engines have been killed this morning, and the freight blockade is complete, except as to the road in the hands of United States marshals. The strikers seem to have a strong respect for the United States, but none for this State.

“ FRED ROPIQUET,

“ Sheriff St. Clair County, Ill.”

Just exactly what was the cause of the strike in East St. Louis has not been, and probably will never be known, no two men giving the same reason. Its apparent cause was because they were receiving, as they claimed, less wages than were paid in Chicago for similar work. Yet no complaint was ever made nor demands presented. The more plausible reason probably was that it was sympathetic with the strike on the Southwest System and an attempt to force the recognition of the order of the Knights of Labor by the railway officials.

At Parsons, Kansas, a passenger train was wrecked on the 30th and mail agent Moore was seriously injured. At Atchison, Kansas, the strikers served notice upon the men who had accepted work with the railway company to quit work at the peril of their lives. At Kan-

sas City, Missouri, a freight train under the protection of the police was thrown from the track by the sudden throwing of a switch, and eleven cars were wrecked.

Police officer Nugent and five policemen who were on the wrecked train gave pursuit to the fleeing wreckers. Martin Leon was quickly arrested, but D. J. Noonan was shot and seriously wounded before his capture was effected. Both men were identified as ex-railroad employes and as Knights of Labor. At nearly all other points on the Southwest System trains were moved without opposition, and with something of former regularity.

Exciting scenes on the last day of March and the following days of April were being enacted at Fort Worth, Texas. At 1:30 p. m. an engine carrying a posse of officers intended to guard a train into Alvarado, Texas, was suddenly approached by six men and killed. Later in the day a train of thirty cars was assailed by a howling mob "who climbed up the sides of the cars like ants." The officers in heavy force did all that men could do to restrain the mob, except actually killing, but the brakes were set, pins removed, and when the engine departed it bore only six of the thirty cars with which it entered the yards. One striker was knocked down by a revolver in the hands of a United States marshal, and several arrests were made. The "hoodlum" element of the town had come to the assistance of the strikers, and saturated with intoxicants, all restraint was abandoned. At ten o'clock the next day another effort was made by the officers to move a train, but it was equally unsuccessful, some 2,000 or 3,000 men attacking it and succeeding in pulling all the coupling pins.

On the morning of the next day an engine loaded with armed officers pulled out and steamed to the Missouri Pacific yards. It was hooted at and hissed, but was permitted to attach a caboose and back up to a station named "Hodges," from which it was to pull a freight train into the city. At 11:35 a. m. it returned with the train and proceeded on its way south. At this time it was unmolested except by the wild demonstrations of three women with a red flag. A local report says that when the train left the depot it was under the protection of a posse of twelve officers commanded by J. Courtright, a special deputy marshal. Some of these officers were deputy marshals and others were regular police. We now quote, in preference to the conflicting accounts of excited men, from a special dispatch to the St. Louis Republican, which is about as correct as any account we can gather:

"The train proceeded slowly to the crossing of the Fort Worth & New Orleans Railroad about a mile and a half south from town, where it stopped as is customary before crossing. The switch was found open, and two men stood near the crossing. The officers approached the switch and as they did so they discovered five men with Winchester rifles, partly concealed in the weeds a few yards distant. The entire party advanced towards the men in ambush. They had reached the switch, when the chief of the posse of deputies called out for the fellows to throw up their hands. Instead of complying the men in ambush suddenly sprang to their feet, and bringing their Winchesters to bear, fired a volley at the officers. The fire was returned several times, but their aim must have been bad, judging from the results. As the firing proceeded the men retreated in very bad order to a rank of tie timber, ensconced behind which they were comparatively out of danger. They made a momentary stand there, but were dislodged and broke on a wild run for the sycamore bottoms and were soon lost sight of. The deputy sheriffs did not follow them but gave their attention to the victims. It was found that Richard Townsend, a special deputy sheriff, was shot in the back as he stood on the engine, the ball passing through his left lung and coming out on his left side. Charles Sneed, another deputy sheriff, was shot near the car, the ball coming out on the opposite side of his head near his mouth. Both these men will die. Police officer John Fulford was shot in both thighs, one of the balls ranging upward into his body. His wounds are dangerous. Jim Courtright is claimed to have received two bullets through his hat, but escaped unharmed.

"The wounded men were put in the caboose of the train and brought back to the city. Fulford, after having his wounds dressed, was taken to his home, and the other two men to the Missouri Pacific hospital.

"About two o'clock this afternoon one of the strikers, who was in the attacking party, was brought to the city shot through the thigh. His name is Tom Nace. He was a switchman here at the time the strike began. * * * It is stated by parties who were on the train when the trouble occurred that three of the strikers fell beneath the fire of the officers, two of whom did not rise after falling.

"A lady, who lives near the spot where the fight occurred, recognized one of the men who ran off into the river bottom, and says that he carried a Winchester rifle in each hand. He had been engaged in the carpentering business in this city, and is regarded as an out-and-out communist."

As to the number of men engaged on the part of the strikers much uncertainty exists. Probably their number was twelve or fifteen. Townsend died of his wounds, and Sneed and Fulford subsequently recovered. This tragedy, so near the conclusion of the strike, and while trains were moving everywhere, produced an excitement that foreboded trouble everywhere. The prompt response of Governor Ireland to a call for military aid gave some assurance of the restoration of order. He rapidly ordered militia to Fort Worth.

On April 3, 1886, Messrs. Turner and Bailey, members of the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor, arrived in St. Louis and held an informal interview with Mr. Hoxie at his office.

Mr. Hoxie frankly stated that he could not receive them in their official capacity as officers of the Knights of Labor, but would talk to them as private citizens. In this meeting Mr. Hoxie stated that he would, as he had many times previously expressed himself, meet a committee of workmen who at the time were actually employed in his service to hear grievances, but he would not meet a committee of men who were not in his service; while Messrs. Turner and Bailey insisted such a committee should be selected by the Executive Committee of Knights of Labor.

After deliberating upon this interview wherein to the unprejudiced observer the technical difference between Mr. Hoxie and the representatives of the General Executive Board consisted merely in the fact that while Mr. Hoxie was willing to meet a committee of his employes at work for him, the Executive Board held that the striking Knights of Labor should be recognized through their chosen representatives, the following was promulgated:

“ST. LOUIS, MO., April 5, 1886.

“At the conference held in New York with Jay Gould and his associates, and the General Executive Board, the following was mutually agreed upon with Mr. Hoxie:

“That he was willing to meet a committee of his employes without discrimination, who were at work in the service of the company at the time such Committee is appointed to adjust with them any grievances that they may have. The General Executive Board, upon its arrival in St. Louis, having been informed that Mr. Hoxie has refused to comply with the agreement as all parties to the conference understood it, waited upon him to ascertain his intention of carrying out the same, and received the following as his intentions: That only fifty per cent. of his former force would be needed and that he would consider personal applications

only, and use his own pleasure as to their employment, without the dictation of any society or committee. This being in direct violation of the agreement, the General Executive Board still further believes the refusal to carry out said agreement is done for the purpose of stock-jobbing speculation in New York by using our organization as a bid to further those ends.

"They, therefore, recall the order issued by us for the men to return to work, the company having made it impossible for its execution and the proper fulfillment of the same. The matter now stands as it did previous to the order being issued to resume work, in the hands of those districts interested, and the general executive board will render all possible assistance in carrying out the demands of the men for justice.

"FREDERICK TURNER, Secretary.

"JOHN W. HAYES,

"W. H. BAILEY,

"For the Executive Board."

This was quickly followed by the proclamation of the district Assemblies :

"To the Working Men of the World:

"Friends and brothers, hear us, for we plead for our right ; men of equity, look upon us, for we struggle against giants of wrong.

"Mad with the frenzy of pride and self-adulation, begotten, as it is, of the success of outrage and infamy, there stands before us a giant of aggregated and incorporated wealth, every dollar of which is built upon blood, injustice and outrage. That giant of corporate wealth has centralized its power in and is impersonated by the eager fiend who gloats as he grinds the life out of his fellow-men, and grimaces and dances as they writhe upon his instruments of torture.

"Oh! ye workingmen of America, who love your liberty and your native land ; ye great creators of wealth, who stand as the foundation of all national good, look upon your brothers to-day ! Gould, the giant fiend ; Gould, the money monarch, is dancing, as he claims, over the grave of our order, over the ruin of our homes and the blight of our lives. Before him the world has smiled in beauty, but his wake is a graveyard of hopes, a cyclone's path of devastation and death. Our strong arms have grown weary in building the tower of his strength and yet he bids us build on or die. Our young lives have grown gray too soon beneath the strain of unrequiting, constant toil. Our loved ones at home are hollow-checked and pale with long and weary waiting

for better days to come: nay, more than this, the graveyards are hiding his victims from our longing eyes.

"Brother Workmen, this monster fiend has compelled some of us to toil in cold and rain for five and fifty cents a day. Others have been compelled to yield their time to him for seventeen and thirty-six hours for the pittance of nine hours' pay. Others, who had dared to assert their manhood and rebel against his tyranny, are blacklisted and boycotted all over the land.

"He has made solemn compacts with the highest authority in our order and then has basely refused to fulfill his pledges.

"He lives under and enjoys all the benefits of a republican form of government, and yet advocates and perpetuates the most debasing form of white slavery.

"He robs the rich and poor, the high and low, with ruthless hand, and then appeals to corrupt and purchased courts to help him to take our little homes away.

"He breaks our limbs and maims our bodies and demands that we shall release him from every claim for damages or be blacklisted forever.

"He goes to our grocers and persuades them not to give us credit, because we refuse to be ground in his human mill.

"He turns upon us a horde of lawless thugs who shoot among our wives and children with deadly intent, and then he howls for government help when he gets his pay in coin alike.

"Fellow-workmen, Gould must be overthrown: his giant power must be broken, or you and I must be slaves forever. The Knights of Labor alone have dared to be a David to this Goliath. The battle is not for to-day; the battle is not for to-morrow, but for the trooping generations behind us in the coming ages of the world: for our children and our children's children. 'Tis the great question of the age. Shall we in this coming age be a nation of freemen, or a nation of slaves? This question must be decided now. The chains are already forged that are to bind us. Shall we wait until they are riveted upon our limbs? May God forbid!

"Workmen of the world, marshal yourselves upon the battle-field; workmen of the world, of every trade and clime, on to the fray. Gould and his monopolies must go down, or your children must be slaves. Think of the little olive plants around your hearth stones that will be blighted by his course. Think of the little home he is seeking to rob you of. Think of the wife from whose eyes he has wrung floods of tears and from whose heart he has tortured drops of blood.

"Who can look upon his perfidy, his outrage and his crimes, for he has sought to incite felony among our rank and file; he has brought the perfidy of vile men to entrap the unwary that he might stain our fair name and gloat over our misfortunes.

"Once for all, fellow-workmen, arouse! Let every hand that toils be lifted to heaven and swear by Him that liveth forever, that these outrages must close.

"Let every breast and brow be trained toward our common foe, and let no man grow weary until, like Goliath, our giant is dead at our feet.

"By order of Executive Boards 101, 93 and 17."

The strike, if such it could now be called, dragged its weary length along through the month of April without incident of any graver character than petty annoyances, such as the occasional killing of an engine, the derailment of a train, the marching of troops and the amending issuance of orders and passage of resolutions and correspondence of all kinds. The quantity of this peculiar mass of matter, some useful, but most of it trivial, would fill a volume. Only that part of this correspondence, necessary to a historical sequence to the narrative, is here given. Trains were running over all the roads of the Southwestern System, freight was being everywhere received and transmitted, and the shops and yards were manned with a complement of new men and large numbers of those who had returned to work.

On the 11th of April Grand Master Workman Powderly addressed the following letter to Mr. Jay Gould:

"SCRANTON, PA., April 11, 1886.

"JAY GOULD, ESQ., *President Missouri Pacific Railroad*:

"DEAR SIR—The events of the past forty-eight hours must have demonstrated to you the absolute necessity of bringing this terrible struggle in the Southwest to a speedy termination. You have the power, the authority, and the means to bring the strike to an end. I have done everything in my power to end the strife. The gentlemen associated with me on the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor have done the same. Everything consistent with honor and manhood has been done in the interest of peace. No false notions of pride or dignity have swayed us in our dealings with you or the gentlemen associated with you.

"In that conference with you on Sunday, March 28, I understood you to mean that arbitration would be agreed to; the only method of arbitration that was discussed was in line with that suggested in the

letter which I sent to you in the name of our board the day previous; there was nothing particular agreed upon, as you well know. You said that in arbitrating the matter, the damages sustained by the company during the strike ought to receive consideration. I said too that it would not be the part of wisdom to bring that question up in the settlement of the strike. When I called upon you again that evening you had prepared, as the result of your understanding of the morning's interview, a letter which you intended to give me. That letter included a telegram to be sent to Mr. Hoxie, and in that telegram you said that the damages sustained by the company would be a proper subject for the arbitration board to discuss. This latter part of the letter or telegram you agreed to strike off after we had talked the matter over for some time, and I left you as you were about to go to your room to rewrite the letter which you afterwards placed in the hands of Mr. McDowell to be given to me, for I had to leave at that time in order to keep an appointment at the hotel where I stopped. The statement which you have since then made to the effect that you had prepared that letter before I called is not quite correct, or if you did have it prepared you changed it after we talked the matter over for some time. This I believe you will admit to be true. In the conference held between the members of our Executive Board and the directors of the Missouri Pacific Company at No. 195 Broadway on March 30, you said to me that you understood me to say that the men along your lines would be ordered back to work at once, they having violated the rules of our organization.

"I then reiterated the statement which I have made to you and now repeat it: 'The men out along the lines of your railways can be ordered back to work, but if they are given to understand that they are deserted, that we do not take any interest in them, it will not in any way mend matters; on the contrary, it will make things worse. There are, all along the roads out there, a great many men who have no regard for organization or law, men of hardy spirit, energy and daring. Such men as have left the East and have taken up their homes out in a wild country such as that is will not submit as quietly as the men they have left behind in the East; they are apt to do rasher things than they could do elsewhere, and I have no doubt we have some in our order, in fact my experience with the men of that vast section leads me to think that the men on both sides out there are more daredevilish than they are in the East. Even the business men of that country are of that stamp of character.'

"Both you and Mr. Hopkins heard me make that statement, and I

believe the latter agreed that that was his experience also. The danger of the strike spreading was also discussed, and I said to you that it would not spread, that an effort had been made to have the men of the Union Pacific take a part in it, but that the Knights of Labor on that road had a standing agreement with the management of the road that there was to be no trouble or strike until the last effort to effect a settlement had failed; and not then until the court of last resort had been reached. When I made that statement Mr. Hopkins remarked that they had better strike then, for if they did not the Union Pacific would not much longer have sufficient money to pay their employes. The impression made on me was that you would be pleased to see a strike take place on the Union Pacific.

"This, I believe, covers the chief points of discussion. I did not hear either you or Hopkins say that the present trouble out along your road would not be arbitrated with the men who were not at work. It was my firm belief when I left you that night that you meant to have the entire affairs submitted to arbitration at the first possible moment. That belief is shared by Mr. McDowell, who was present during the entire interview.

"When you sent the telegram to Mr. Hoxie you sent it as President of The Missouri Pacific Railroad Company. You sent it as the chief sends his message to an inferior officer, and it meant as much to a sensible man as the most imperative order could possibly mean. When I, as the chief officer of the Knights of Labor, send a message such as that, it is understood to be my wishes and those wishes are respected by the subordinate officer to whom they are sent. It is not his place to put a different construction on them and give them his own interpretation. His duty is to obey the spirit of the instruction. The man in power need not be an autocrat in order to have his wishes respected. 'I would like to see it done,' comes with as great a force from the man in authority as 'I must have it done.' That was the idea that I entertained when I left your house that night. I also explained to you at your house that night that the men who had entered upon the strike had not violated any law of the order in so doing; that while I thought it would have been better if they had laid their grievances before the General Executive Board before striking, yet there was nothing in our laws to command them to do so. I said that a District Assembly of the Knights of Labor bore the same relation to the General Assembly, of which I was the chief officer, that one of the States of the American Union had to the general Government of the United States, and that while I could interfere, it was under the law which

gave me jurisdiction over the entire order, and not under any particular law. I furthermore explained to you that the spirit of our organization, its genius, was opposed to strikes, and that was the reason why our general convention never enacted any particular legislation for the government of them. I also said that the occasion had never before called for any interference from the general officers, but that this strike would show the necessity of the passage at our next convention of laws that would place the subject of strikes under the control of the General Executive Board of the general order.

"When on Monday, March 29, you sent me the letter marked 'Personal,' you at the same time told a newspaper correspondent that you had done so. What your motive was in marking your letter 'Personal,' and at the same time informing a representative of the press that you so addressed me, I do not know, nor do I question your motive. I felt it to be my duty to let the public see the letter, which contained nothing of a personal nature whatever. There are people who might be uncharitable enough to say that your intention was to give out the impression that there was something between you and me which would not bear the light of public scrutiny. I have had no such dealings with any man since this trouble began, nor previous to that time. I am quite willing to allow the fullest light possible to shine upon my every transaction. I have nothing to conceal.

"You can settle this strike. Its longer continuance rests with you and you alone. Every act of violence, every drop of blood that may be shed from this time forth must be laid at your door. The Knights of Labor were not founded to promote or shield wrong-doing, and to-day the Order of the Knights of Labor stands between your property and ruin. We are willing to absolve the men along your railways from their allegiance to our order. We leave that to themselves. We will not allow any claims which the order may have on them to stand between them and their restoration to their former positions. The Order of the Knights of Labor asks of no man to remain a member if it is not to his interest to do so. You may deal with them as citizens if you will. We will surrender our right to claim these men as members if they wish, but we will not surrender our right to see this affair thoroughly investigated.

"You have said that the Order of the Knights of Labor was a conspiracy, a secret menace, etc. I am willing, as the chief officer, to lay everything connected with our order bare to the world, if you will, on the other hand, lay open to the public the means and methods whereby you have piled up the wealth which you control, and allow the tribunal

of public opinion to pass in judgment on the two and say which is the conspiracy. Do you accept the challenge?

"You have instructed your legal adviser to proceed against every man connected with the Knights of Labor for the damages sustained since the strike began. Two weeks ago I said: 'Do not do this.' To-day I say begin at once, lay claims for damages in every court within whose jurisdiction a Knight exists. Proceed at once, and in every State where you can recover damages do so if the law will sustain you in it. Let the majesty of the law be vindicated; it is just and right that it should be so. We are willing to face you before the law. We will fight you with no other weapon. For every violation of the law of State or Nation we will enter suit against you, and in this crusade against you do not understand that we mean to persecute you. On the contrary, we wish to see the law vindicated. If you have at all times obeyed the law in your dealings, in the methods by which you have acquired your immense fortune, then it is time that the many offenses with which you are charged should be refuted. You have remained silent under many a damaging charge of injuring the State. We will be your avengers. If you have been wronged we will let it be known to the world through the medium of the courts of justice. And let me say right here that no money will buy a verdict at the hands of these courts.

"There are people who say that this struggle is the beginning of the war between capital and labor. That statement is false. This certainly means war; but it is a war between legitimate capital, honest enterprise and honest labor on the one hand, and illegitimate wealth on the other hand. This is a war in which we court the fullest investigation of our acts. Do you dare to do the same? This war means no further strike, no shedding of blood; it is a war in which every business man, every commercial man, every professional man, every workman will be invited to enlist. It will not be a war upon the innocent, and the battle-field upon which it will be fought out will be before the two courts—of law and that which makes law, public opinion. There will be no mobs in this supreme hour to silence any man's opinion. No converts will be made by physical force. 'That flag that floats over press or mansion at the bidding of a mob, disgraces both victor and victim,' and under such a flag as that we will not wage the battle; but this battle of the people against monopoly may as well be fought out now as ten years from now, and what field so eminently proper in which to fight it out as before the courts? Let us know whether laws were made to be obeyed or not; and if they were not so framed, then

the people must make laws that will be obeyed. No man, whether he be rich or whether he be the poorest of the poor, shall in future shirk the responsibility of his acts and shield himself behind the courts. It was to see that the laws were obeyed that the Order of the Knights of Labor was founded, and if the day has come to make the trial, so let it be.

“I do not write this letter to you either in the spirit of anger or revenge. For you personally I have no dislike. I believe if allowed to follow your own impulses in this matter you would have had the strike ended ere this. Those who advise you do not mingle with the people, they do not care for the people. You have been warned that your life is in danger. Pay no attention to such talk; no man who has the interest of his country at heart would harm a hair of your head. But the system which reaches out on all sides, gathering in the millions of dollars of treasure and keeping them out of the legitimate channels of trade and commerce, must die, and the men whose money is invested in the enterprises which stock-gambling has throttled, must make common cause with those who have been denied the right to earn enough to provide the merest necessaries of life for home and family. When I say to you that we will meet you in the courts, I do not speak rashly or ill-advisedly. I have taken counsel from the best legal minds of the United States. We are prepared to face you before the courts and now await your action in the matter. This is no threat. I play no game of bluff or chance. I speak for 500,000 organized men who are ready to pay out the last farthing in order that justice may prevail. You have it in your power to make friends of these men by acting the part of the man, by taking this matter in your own hands. Will you do so, and end this strife in the interest of humanity and our common country? It is your duty to brush aside every obstacle, assert your authority and take this matter in your hands, settle every grievance, restore every man to his place, except those who have been engaged in the destruction of property or who have broken the laws. Will you do this? You can then make rules and agreements with your men which will forever preclude the possibility of another such disastrous conflict as this one has proved itself to be.

“I remain yours very truly,

“T. V. POWDERLY, G. M. W., K. of L.”

Mr. Gould replied to this letter as follows :

“ NEW YORK, April 14, 1886. . .

“ T. V. POWDERLY, ESQ., *G. M. W., K. of L.* :

DEAR SIR—At 12 o'clock to-day I received from Mr. William O. McDowell, whom you brought with you to our recent conferences, a letter in which he says :

“ By yesterday's mail I received a letter written by Mr. Powderly addressed to you, inclosed in a letter addressed to me. With this, I hand you the letter addressed to you by Mr. Powderly, and a copy of Mr. Powderly's letter to me enclosing the same.”

“ The following is a copy of the letter Mr. McDowell sent me as coming from you :

“ GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ORDER OF K. OF L. OF AMERICA, }
 OFFICE OF GENERAL MASTER WORKMAN, }
 SCRANTON, PA., April 13, 1886. }

“ MY DEAR MR. McDOWELL: I inclose you a letter which you are to read and deliver to the man for whom it is intended. I do not care whether you deliver it in person or through the medium of another, only ask that it be placed in his hands. If you have succeeded in effecting a settlement with him do not give it to him. If you think there is a prospect of an immediate settlement do not give it to him ; but if such is not the case, then I want it placed in his hands. Allow him to either consent or to make a reply. If he consents to an honorable settlement, then the letter will never see the light of day, but if he does not so act, then it will be published to the world, and from the time he opens up the ball in a legal way we will continue to wage the battle with him. His wealth cannot save him if this fight is begun. Let no one know of the existence of this letter until after five o'clock of the day you deliver it ; then if he makes no reply let it go to the world. Let him know the limit of time allowed. I sincerely hope that there will be no necessity for its publication. Hoping for the best, I remain,

“ Very truly yours,

“ T. V. POWDERLY.”

“ I have received your letter to me dated ‘Scranton, Pa., April 11, 1886,’ at the same time and by the same agency that I received your foregoing letter of instructions to Mr. McDowell. The animus and purpose of your letter to me cannot be fully understood without knowing the contents of that one. I was peremptorily notified at the same time that I must answer your letter by 5 o'clock to-day and I was graci-

ously given until that hour to respond. Your letter to me embraces two subjects, one relating to me personally and the other to the relation of the Knights of Labor to a railroad company of which I am the president, and in some degree the representative of its public and private duties. I shall refer to the first subject very briefly. The circumstances above given, under which your letter was delivered, as well as its tenor and spirit, place the purpose in writing it beyond any fair doubt. It would seem to be an official declaration that the Knights of Labor had determined to pursue me personally unless the Missouri Pacific Company should yield to its demands in what you call the strike on that road.

" In answer to these personal threats, I beg to say that I am yet a free American citizen. I am past forty-nine years of age, was born at Roxbury, Delaware county, in this State. I began life in a lowly way, and by industry, temperance and attention to my own business have been successful, perhaps beyond the measure of my deserts. If, as you say, I am now to be destroyed by the Knights of Labor unless I will sink my manhood, so be it. Fortunately, I have retained my early habits of industry. My friends, neighbors and business associates know me well, and I am quite content to leave my personal record in their hands. If any of them have aught to complain of, I will be only too glad to submit to any arbitration. If such parties or any of them wish to appoint the Knights of Labor or you as their attorney, such appointment is quite agreeable to me, but until such an election is made it will naturally occur to you that any interference on your part in my personal affairs is, to say the least, quite gratuitous. Since I was nineteen years of age I have been in the habit of employing in my various enterprises large numbers of persons, probably at times as high as 50,000, distributing three or four million dollars per month to different pay-rolls. It would seem a little strange that during all these years the difficulty with the Knights of Labor should be my first. Any attempt to connect me personally with the late strike on the southwestern roads, or any responsibility therefor, is equally gratuitous, as you well know. It is true I am the President of the Missouri Pacific, but when this strike occurred I was far away on the ocean and beyond the reach of telegrams. I went away relying on your promise made to me last August that there should be no strike on that road, and that if any difficulties should arise you would come frankly to me with them. Mr. Hopkins, the Vice-President of this company, who was present and cognizant of this

arrangement with you, in my absence sent you promptly, when the present strike broke out, the following telegrams:

“NEW YORK, March 6, 1886.

“T. V. POWDERLY, *Scranton, Pa.*:

“Mr. Hoxie telegraphs that Knights of Labor on our road have struck and refuse to allow any freight trains to run, saying they have no grievances, but are only striking because ordered to do so. If there is any grievance we would like to talk it over with you. We understood you to promise that no strike would be ordered without consultation.

“A. L. HOPKINS.’

“PHILADELPHIA, PA., March 8, 1886.

“A. L. HOPKINS, *Secretary Missouri Pacific Railroad, New York*:

“Have telegraphed west for particulars. Papers say strike caused by discharge of man named Hall. Can he be reinstated pending investigation?

“T. V. POWDERLY.’

“NEW YORK, March 8, 1886.

“T. V. POWDERLY:

“Thanks for your message and suggestion. Hall was employed by the Texas & Pacific, and not by us. That property is in the hands of the United States court, and we have no control whatever over the receivers or over employes. We have carried out the agreements made last spring in every respect, and the present strike is unjust to us and unwise for you. It is reported here that this movement is the result of Wall street influence on the part of those short of the securities likely to be affected.

“A. L. HOPKINS.’

“This dispatch you never answered. This correspondence places the continuance of this strike on your shoulders. You sat still and were silent after Mr. Hopkins’ appeal, and allowed the strike to go on—allowed the company’s property to be forcibly seized and the citizens of four States and one territory to be deprived of their rightful railway facilities. Thus forced the Board of Directors, prior to my return, placed the matter in Mr. Hoxie’s hands by a formal resolution, and that disposition of it has never been changed. You knew this well, because you had a correspondence with him on this subject. Hence it was

that when Mr. Turner, Secretary of your order, wrote to me on the subject, I fully advised him in my letter of March 27, that the matter had been placed by the Board in the hands of Mr. Hoxie, and that I must refer you to him as its continuing representative. At the same time I reminded you that a standing advertisement of this company was at that moment inviting its former employes to return to their accustomed posts, and that regardless of their being or not being members of your order, and regardless also of their individual participation in the strike which your order has recently inaugurated. When, in spite of all this, you desired to see me personally, I cordially met you, and having put myself in communication with Mr. Hoxie, arranged with him for you the following, which was widely published by you at the time :

“NEW YORK, March 30, 1886.

“MARTIN IRONS, *St. Louis* :

“Have been in conference all day with the result that Vice-President Hoxie agrees to the following: Willing to meet a committee of our employes without discrimination, *who are actually at work in the service of the company at the time such committee is appointed, to adjudicate with them any grievances that they may have.* Have your Executive Committee order the men to return to work, and also *select a special committee from the employes of the Missouri Pacific to wait on Mr. Hoxie to adjust any difference.* Do this as quickly as possible. Board will leave for St. Louis to-morrow.

“FREDERICK TURNER,

“Secretary.”

“Ever since then Mr. Hoxie has stood ready to receive any and all persons in the actual employ of this company as a committee or otherwise, and confer upon or arbitrate any matter of difference or complaint, either between the company and themselves or between the company and its late employes, and, for that matter, between the company and anybody else. No such committee or individual employe has, so far as known to me, ever made any such application. In this connection it will be remembered that they left not because of any complaint whatever of this company's treatment of themselves, but only because of this company's refusal to comply with their demand that this company refuse to do what the law requires in the way of interchange of business with another company, with which some of your order had a quarrel.

“In the meantime this company has of necessity gone on to extend

employment to such of those persons who recently, and without even alleged provocation, left its service, as saw fit to return. These returning employes have been very many, and in this way its rolls are already nearly if not quite as full as its shops and equipment, crippled by acts of violence attendant upon recent action of your order can employ. Mr. Hoxie advises that every such person applying to be received back, has been employed, unless believed to have taken part in recent acts of violence. This company still stands ready to make good in the fullest sense its agreement as expressly set forth.

“In the face of all this you notify me that unless by 5 o’clock I personally consent to something, precisely what, I do not see, then personal consequences of a sort vaguely expressed, but not hard to understand, will at the hand of your order be visited upon me. Let me again remind you that it is an American citizen whom you and your order thus propose to destroy. The contest is not between your order and me, but between your order and the laws of the land. Your order has already defied those laws in preventing, by violence, this company from operating its road. You held then that this company should not operate its road under conditions prescribed by law, but only under conditions prescribed by you. You now declare in effect that I hold my individual property and rights, not as other men hold theirs, but only at the peril of your letting loose irrevocably after 5 o’clock your order upon me. If this is true of this company and of me, it is true of all other men and companies. If so, you and your secret order are the law, and an American citizen is such only in name.

“Already for weeks your order, in your attack upon this company, has not hesitated to disable it by violence from rendering its duty to the public, and from giving work and paying wages to men at least three times your own number, who, working as they were by your side, were at least deserving of your sympathy. Having pushed this violence beyond even the greatest forbearance of the public, and found in this direction cause to hesitate, you now turn upon me and propose that the wrongs you have hitherto inflicted on the public shall now culminate in an attack upon an individual.

“In this, as I have said, the real issue is between you and the law of the land. It may be, before you are through, those laws will efficiently advise you that even I, as an individual citizen, am not beyond their care.

“Very respectfully,
“JAY GOULD.”

After the publication of the foregoing correspondence the following communication by the General Master Workman appeared in the newspapers:

“SCRANTON, PA., April 14, 1886.

“FREDERICK TURNER, *Secretary Executive Board, Knights of Labor*:

“A spirited circular should go out at once to the order, asking the members to turn every dollar they can raise into the hands of the men in support of their fight against the Gould System. No matter whether they acted wisely or not, they should now have the sympathy of the order, and that which is more substantial than sympathy — dollars. If you think as I do, telegraph the members of the board at St. Louis, and have them select the proper party to take charge of the funds. Then let me know, and I will draw up a circular. There is no use in ordering any more men out on a strike along these roads. Let us back up the men now out with the money they so much need to provide themselves and families with necessary supplies. This seems to me to be the need of the hour.

“[SIGNED]

“T. V. POWDERLY.”

It does not appear that the lurid exhortation of Messrs. Irons, Caughlan and McKeon, had any effect upon the strike, unless it may have been in the death of a few unfortunate people in East St. Louis a few days later.

In East St. Louis, on the 7th of April, large bodies of rioters, composed not only of strikers, but also of the hoodlum element which had never been in the employment of the railroads, to the number of about 300 persons, formed in procession and marched to the various yards and freight-houses, demanding that the laborers cease their work and attempted to take forcible possession, but they were generally confronted by deputy sheriffs, armed with rifles and revolvers, and turned back. The sheriff the next day increased his force of deputies by 130, the men being from Belleville and vicinity. These men and others had volunteered — many of them — in response to the following notice posted in the adjacent towns:

“Wanted.—Good men to act as deputy marshals, and to protect the property of this (the Louisville and Nashville Railroad) at East St. Louis. Five dollars a day paid and board furnished. None but men of grit need apply.”

We now approach the terrible tragedy of April 9th, at East St. Louis, the bloody culmination of riots and the strike.

The Broadway crossing and the Dike avenue bridge in East St. Louis was and had been a favorite resort for the strikers, and here they were on this fatal day assembled in large numbers. At the east end of the bridge spanning Cahokia creek, Broadway is crossed by the Louisville & Nashville, the Indianapolis & St. Louis and the Cairo Short Line railroads. The crossing is about fifty yards wide. About twenty yards south of the crossing the two former roads turn to the west and cross the creek on a high trestle, which is about eighty feet only from the Dike avenue bridge, and from it is obtained a full view of the bridge, the crossing and the intervening ground. Here every movement in the yards could be noted and all arriving and departing trains observed. It is impossible to arrive at the exact facts of the tragedy, because no two narratives agree in essential particulars, whether these detailed reports come from newspaper reporters and eye witnesses or from the fighting deputies. A close comparison of contemporaneous reports and a prudent elimination of much apparent exaggeration in the statements, public and private, of those who were present, and which were evidently colored by their respective sympathies and heated imaginations, gives about this result: The Louisville & Nashville road had determined to run its trains at all hazards, and for that purpose had at its service a considerable force of deputy sheriffs and marshals. At 10 o'clock A. M. the first effort was made by a coal train. When the train reached the crossing where the alert strikers and the usual number of idlers and sightseers had congregated, the engineer and fireman were stoned, the train stopped and forced back to its starting point. A second effort resulted in no better success. In the afternoon the company resolved to send a posse of deputies to clear the crossing. For this purpose nine men, armed with rifles and revolvers, were selected; their names were: J. G. Hewlett, the leader, a special detective of the road; William Lester, a switchman; John Hague, an Englishman; Charles Kinsler, a fireman; W. P. Laird, a bill poster; George Burnett, a switchman; John T. Williams, a farmer; Samuel Jones, a school teacher, and Stewart Martin, a liveryman.

When the posse approached the trestle over the creek it was greeted by jeers, yells, hooting and profane and approbrious epithets. Hewlett commanded the mob to disperse and attempted to arrest a man who was in the act of throwing a stone. The squad of deputies were then furiously assailed with stones from both sides of the crossing, several of them being struck. One of the men, it cannot be ascertained certainly which one, raised his rifle and fired, and a man was seen to fall. The showers of stone and pistol shots from all directions

began to rain upon the officers, who simultaneously returned the fire, with deadly effect, into the promiscuous crowd. The firing was kept up until the crossing was cleared, the people fleeing, panic stricken, and rushing into houses for safety. The deputies retreated westward on the track of the Louisville & Nashville road to the freight house, and after a brief parley started on their retreat to St. Louis. Proceeding up the bridge approach, they were met by Mayor Joyce, City Clerk Canty and two policemen, who attempted to place them under arrest. They protested and continued their flight over the bridge, being followed by the officers and a constantly increasing crowd of excited men. The mayor and other parties grabbed several of the deputies and attempted to drag them back by force, and then the firing again began and one man in the ranks of the pursuing party fell. This checked the crowd and the deputies were enabled to make their escape to St. Louis, where they surrendered themselves to the authorities.

The scene at East St. Louis after the fight was harrowing. The victims of the affray who were killed were Oscar Washington, John Boner, Patrick Driscoll, Richard Ryekman, Mrs. L. Pfeuffer, and on the bridge C. E. Thompson. A man named Jones was seriously, and others, whose names were not reported, more or less wounded. But the end had not come yet. Bloodshed was succeeded by incendiarism. At an early hour in the night of this memorable day a car loaded with baled hay on the Louisville & Nashville road was discovered to be on fire. An alarm was sent to the fire department of St. Louis, which quickly responded and soon subdued the fire, but another fire was at once discovered on the Cairo Short Line, where four cars were burned. Next on the same road a passenger coach, five box cars and an oil and machine house were consumed, as was also a scale house. At 1:30 o'clock A. M. two loaded cars and one empty one on the Pittsburg track, and two cars on the Vicksburg track of the same road, were consumed. Still a sixth fire occurred among a long string of box cars on one of the sidings of the main track of the Cairo Short Line, and fifteen cars were destroyed.

While these conflagrations were going on the populace of East St. Louis, excepting the police force, was not only passive but in various ways, as by cutting hose, etc., prevented the St. Louis fire department from rendering efficient aid in preventing the destruction of property. The six fires resulted in the loss of property amounting in all to about \$75,000.

Upon the request of Sheriff Robiequet and other officials Governor Oglesby immediately ordered the State militia to East St. Louis.

They arrived on the night of April 9, and relieving many of the deputies, assumed control of affairs. At first eight companies arrived, which were soon reinforced by several more companies, including a Gatling gun company, and order was soon restored.

The subsequent history of this tragic affair is briefly told. The coroner's inquest developed no new facts outside of those heretofore summarized. The deputies were held in durance for a few weeks, then sent to East St. Louis in obedience to a requisition, and were finally released and disappeared from sight.

It is not the province of this chronicle to say who was at fault. Perhaps if inflammatory appeals had not been made to the more violent passions, the guilty would have not been prone to violence and the innocent would not have suffered.

In Missouri matters were progressing more peaceably, and to a message concerning the East St. Louis affair from J. L. Blair, Vice-President of the St. Louis police board, Gov. Marmaduke responded the same night:

“JAMES L. BLAIR, *Vice-President Board of Police* :

“I have just learned of excitement in St. Louis growing out of troubles in East St. Louis. I have labored to settle these differences in our State through civil authorities, instead of military force, and am steadily achieving success in that way, fully justifying my proclamation, which says: The courage, good sense and law-abiding spirit of the people can be firmly relied upon to carry out such peaceful settlement. I still hope to reach a prompt solution of this question without resort to the bullet and bayonet, and think, if serious trouble is anticipated in your city, it would be wise for Mayor Francis to issue at once a proclamation saying such are his views also and calling upon the people to crush out all lawlessness, and I believe that the great mass of the people, rich and poor, will rally to the support of this sentiment and purpose.

“JOHN S. MARMADUKE.”

“JEFFERSON CITY, April 9, 1886.”

The succeeding days were passed without particular incident. The Illinois militia, 700 strong, held East St. Louis, protected property and re-opened suspended commerce. In St. Louis, as well as over the whole Southwest System, commerce had already been fully resumed; yet some of the citizens of St. Louis, appealed to by the Knights of Labor, in view of the constant recurrence of crime, outlawry and anarchy and the depression of business affecting all alike, after a series

meetings and the appointment of committees, determined to intercede between the contending factions. The result of their deliberations is best told in the following correspondence :

" ST. LOUIS, April 14, 1886.

" H. M. HOXIE, *Esq.*, *First Vice-President of the Missouri Pacific Railroad and Leased Lines* :

" SIR—At a mass meeting of the citizens of St. Louis, on the 13th instant, the enclosed preamble and resolution were adopted, and we respectfully request you, in conformity therewith, to appoint, or cause the proper authority to appoint, a committee of three resident directors of the Southwestern Railroad System, and cause the names of the same to be immediately reported to Dr. THOS. O'REILLY, president of said meeting.

" Very respectfully,

" DR. THOS. O'REILLY,

" THOMAS MARVIN,

" President.

" Secretary."

" THE MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY,)
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,)
ST. LOUIS, April 16, 1886.)

" DR. THOMAS O'REILLY, *Chairman, etc., St. Louis* :

" DEAR SIR—I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, enclosing copy of preamble and resolution adopted at a citizens' meeting held at the court house in this city on the 13th instant, and requesting me 'to appoint, or cause the proper authority to appoint, a committee of three of the resident directors of the Southwestern Railroad System, in conformity with said resolution, and cause the names of the same to be immediately reported to Dr. Thomas O'Reilly, president of said meeting.'

"The substance of this resolution seems to be the appointment of 'a committee of nine citizens of St. Louis, three from the resident directors of the railways in interest, three from the resident labor interests, present or recent employes of the railways, to be selected by the unemployed, and three discreet and recognized representatives of the mercantile, manufacturing and professional elements of the city, in no wise connected or interested with the railway or labor organizations, who shall be authorized by their respective interests to meet, confer and arrange with binding effect the existing troubles.'

"The premise upon which the proposition for the appointment of such a committee rests is the statement in the preamble to the resolu-

tion, that, 'The trade and commerce of the city of St. Louis, and the inter-State commerce through St. Louis to and from all of the trade points of the Missouri Pacific and of the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railways, has been for over a month, and still is, obstructed, with no immediate sign of said roads complying with, or being able to comply with, their duty to the public as common carriers.'

"I must respectfully call your attention, and through you the attention of the citizens participating in the meeting of the 13th instant, of which you were chairman, to the fact that the railways constituting the Southwestern System are now in full operation, and were, in fact, at the time the resolution was presented by the managers of that meeting for the approval of the citizens there present. This fact can be attested by any one desiring to travel or forward freight, express matter or mail over these railways. So far, then, as either the public or this company are concerned, the need of resumption of traffic can not be urged as a reason for the appointment of the committee suggested. The action of such a committee would necessarily relate entirely to the methods by which the ex-employees might be restored to the places they have voluntarily abandoned.

"After the serious interruption which the business of St. Louis has already suffered, and at a time when, through the protection of the civil authorities and through extraordinary exertions in procuring suitable labor, this company has re-opened its lines and fully established its traffic, it is to me a matter of sincere regret that any portion of its citizens should send broadcast over the land, to the detriment of the city, a statement in regard to the obstruction of traffic over two of its principal roads, which I am satisfied the great body of the business men of this city would decline to indorse. Whatever may have been the difficulties for solution last month in relation to the resumption of traffic, they do not exist to-day. The railway companies, as one party, are expending their time, energies and money to keep open the avenues of commerce for the public benefit, are succeeding in so doing, and are solvent citizens, amenable as such through the courts to the State and to individuals. Another party to be affected by the proposed conference is avowedly expending its time, energy and money for the purpose of blockading the avenues of commerce, and is not a legally constituted solvent citizen and can not be so reached.

"In conclusion, I desire to call your attention to the reply of the president of this company to the communication of Mr. Powderly, published since the date of your meeting, which fully sets forth the position

of this company, and which no words of mine could render more explicit.

“Very respectfully,

[SIGNED]

“H. M. HOXIE,
“Vice-President.”

The subjoined correspondence in reference to the same matter explains itself:

“ST. LOUIS, MO., April 28, 1886.

“MR. JOHN W. HAYES, *Executive Board Noble Order of the Knights of Labor*:

“SIR—The Committee of Arrangements upon the part of the citizens of St. Louis, and in behalf of the local and inter-State commerce, have continued the effort to secure an amicable understanding and ending of the disturbance and wide-spread suffering resulting from the inability of the railways of The Missouri Pacific and St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Companies for several weeks past, and now, to fully meet the demands of the public, and to execute their duty to the public as common carriers, we have taken the matter up where the citizens' committee left off, after failing to secure from the railways the appointment of their share of the proper arbitration committee. We find in the files of the correspondence this letter:

“‘NOBLE ORDER OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR OF
AMERICA, OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD.
ST. LOUIS, MO., April 15, 1886. } ”

“‘THOMAS MORRIS, ESQ., *Secretary of Citizens' Meeting*:

“‘DEAR SIR—Yours with preamble and resolutions received. In reply will say we will comply with the sentiment therein expressed, appoint a committee of three and agree to abide by any decision that may be reached.

“‘Very truly yours,

“‘JOHN W. HAYES,

“‘General Executive Board, Knights of Labor.’ ”

“We must say that this letter gave our committee much encouragement. It showed no fear of the full and complete presentation of the facts, and of the merits and demerits of the whole question at issue, were they many, few, or but one. The letter was, too, in accord with the spirit manifested in the interview of Grand Master Workman Powderly with President Gould, and also in accord with the same

spirit of conciliation and purpose to do right of the Grand Master Workman's order directing the strike off.

"With the continued purpose of the origin and the intent of the citizens' organization and meeting, we shall continue our efforts in behalf of the public interests and push our work to the end that an amicable adjustment may be secured, and to the further end that further troubles may be avoided. We seek no surrender of any principle or right hitherto or now maintained. We do, however, seek, as mediators in behalf of the long-suffering public from those who have heretofore responded to our call, the Knights of Labor as above shown, that they in the spirit hitherto manifested to this committee of the citizens' mass meeting, go one step further—and this in view of the arrival to-morrow of the Curtin Committee, which can secure, through the power of Congress and its official investigation, for which latter the Curtin Committee visit St. Louis, the full and complete statement of facts, that both Congress and the public can judge of and act intelligently upon the same. Therefore, with no purpose to abate our work, and that the public may have the continued evidence and proof of the fairness and disposition of the Knights of Labor to relieve the public inconvenience and to rely upon the facts and future work and legislation, we do submit to you, and at the same time respectfully ask you to consider the propriety of an immediate executive order to declare the strike at an end, and direct or request that Knights do return to their work as though no strike had occurred, and this for the public interest and to relieve as well the individual embarrassment resulting therefrom to innocent sufferers of all classes.

"Very respectfully,

"THOMAS O'REILLY,

"Chairman.

"THOMAS MORRIS,

"Secretary."

On April 13, what is known as the Curtin Congressional Resolution, was adopted by the lower house of Congress:

"WHEREAS, A disturbed condition in the relations between labor and certain railroad corporations carrying on inter-State commerce, is reported to exist in several of the States, menacing and obstructing inter-State transportation of freight and passengers; involving to a greater or less extent the commerce and business of the country and the general welfare of the people, and hence, becoming a matter of national concern; therefore, be it

Resolved, That a select committee, to consist of seven members, be appointed by the Speaker to investigate the cause and extent of the disturbed conditions now existing between railroad corporations engaged in carrying on inter-State commerce, and their employes, in the States of Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas and Texas. Such committee shall have power to send for persons and papers, to examine witnesses under oath, to sit during the session of the house, and may visit or send sub-committees to such points, in such States as may be necessary, in order to facilitate such investigation. It shall report to the House during the pending session, with such recommendations as it shall deem proper to make; and the expense incurred, not to exceed the sum of \$3,000, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House upon vouchers certified by the chairman and one member of the committee."

Under this resolution the following committee was appointed: Hons. A. G. Curtin, Pennsylvania; W. H. Crain, Texas; J. H. Outhwaite, Ohio; James Buchanan, New Jersey; J. W. Stewart, Vermont; A. X. Parker, New York; and James N. Burnes, Missouri.

On the 30th of April, this committee visited St. Louis and proceeded to the discharge of its duties. Its appearance appeared to have a most favorable effect upon all classes, and this gained strength when on May 1, the following correspondence was begun:

"ST. LOUIS, MO., May 1, 1886.

To the Central Executive Board of the Knights of Labor of America:

"The testimony taken to-day by the Congressional Investigating Committee shows conclusively that very serious losses to the commercial, agricultural and other interests of the entire country have resulted from the labor trouble upon the lines of railroads belonging to the Southwestern System and other railroads in the States of Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas and Texas, and that by reason of said troubles a large number of persons not directly connected therewith have been thrown out of employment. Unwilling at this time to express any opinion in regard to the cause which produced this lamentable condition of affairs, or to indicate where the blame lies for its continuance, and animated solely by a desire to render all the assistance in our power in the endeavor to restore peace, individual happiness and commercial prosperity to the citizens of the country, and particularly of the five States above named, we do hereby respectfully but earnestly request you, as American citizens having the welfare of our common country at heart, to advise, through the proper official chan-

nels, a discontinuance of the strike upon the railways hereinbefore mentioned, and to leave the question whether the employes or the officers of the corporation were justifiable, to the decision that public opinion may form when the Congressional Committee, which has the matter under investigation, shall have completed its work. Feeling assured that a compliance with the request will merit for your boards and for those who may act in conformity with your counsel the approbation of the people of the United States, we remain,

Your obedient servants,

[SIGNED]

“ A. G. CURTIN,
 “ W. H. CRAIN,
 “ JAS. H. OUTHWAITE,
 “ A. X. PARKER,
 “ JAMES BUCHANAN,
 “ J. W. STEWART.”

HURST'S HOTEL, ST. LOUIS, May 3, 1886.

To Hon. A. G. Curtin, W. H. Crane, James H. Outhwaite, A. X. Parker, James Buchanan and J. W. Stewart:

GENTLEMAN—Your communication of May 1st was placed before the joint executive boards, and the following resolution adopted:

Resolved, That the request embodied in the communication from the Congressional Committee be granted—the time for calling the strike off to be left to the General Executive Board. In view of the fact that the business interests of the country are suffering, and the Knights of Labor having the interests of the whole people at heart, we willingly comply with the request of the Nation's representatives, and that of the citizens' committee of St. Louis, and declare this strike at an end; to take effect Tuesday morning, May 4.

Trusting this action will meet with the approval of the public, and assist in bringing capital and labor in closer relationship, we remain,

Truly yours,

The General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor.

[SIGNED]

JOHN W. HAYES.

ST. LOUIS, May 3, 1886.

“THOS. O'REILLY, *Chairman*, THOS. MORRIS, *Secretary*, *Citizens' Meeting:*

“GENTLEMEN: Your communication of April 28 was placed before the Joint Executive Boards with the following result:

“That we accept your proposition and leave the matter in the hands of the General Executive Board to fix the date for compliance with the same.

“The citizens whom you have the honor to represent deserve the appreciation of the whole community for the efforts made to amicably adjust and settle the difficulty existing upon the Southwest system of railroads in behalf of local and inter-State commerce, and for the restoration of peace and harmony between labor and capital. We have selected Tuesday morning, May 4, 1886, as the time when this strike shall be declared at an end.

Very truly yours,

JOHN W. HAYES,

“General Executive Board, Knights of Labor.”

“OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, }
ST. LOUIS, MO., May 3, 1886. } ”

“*To the members of D. A. 17, 93 and 101 and of the General Assembly and non-members, or persons affected by the present strike upon the Gould Southwest System of Railways—Greeting:*

“On April 28th the citizens of St. Louis requested of this board that in the interest of the business community of St. Louis and that of the United States in general, the strike upon the Gould Southwest system of railways be declared at an end. While this request was under consideration (May 1st) by the joint boards of D. A. 17, 93 and 101, the committee appointed by Congress to investigate the cause of the trouble between the railroad company and its employes made a similar request, in which they say:

“The testimony taken by the Congressional Investigating Committee shows conclusively that very serious losses to the commercial interests of the entire country have resulted from these troubles, and that a large number of persons not connected therewith have been thrown out of employment. Therefore we do respectfully but earnestly ask you to discontinue this strike and leave the justice of your cause to the decision that public opinion may form when we make our report.”

“The documents were fully considered and the following conclusion arrived at: That the matter be left in the hands of the General Executive Board, they to set a time and declare the strike at an end. We have therefore selected Tuesday Morning, May 4, 1886, as the time when this strike shall end. You will make application to your former

employers for re-employment on the above date (Tuesday morning, May 4th).

“By order of the General Executive Board,
“JOHN W. HAYES.”

The following letter of instructions was thereupon issued by the First Vice-President of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company:

ST. LOUIS, MO., May 4, 1886.

“WM. KERRIGAN, ESQ., *General Superintendent* :

“DEAR SIR—The morning papers of to-day contain an order from the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor, unconditionally terminating the strike which has existed on the part of certain of our former employes since March 6 last, to take effect this date. In engaging the men we need in the service of the company you will be governed by the following conditions contained in our offers of employment which have heretofore been made and repeated from time to time :

“From the advertisement of March 10, 1886:

‘Good and competent men will be employed without reference to their past or present relations to the company, or their connection with any society or organization, open, secret, secular or otherwise. Such as are accepted will be paid the rate of wages recommended by the Governors and other State officials of Missouri and Kansas, when the labor troubles of March, 1885, were adjusted, the same as have been paid by the company since that date.’

“Also the following, contained in the letter to the Governors of Missouri and Kansas, in reply to their communication of March 20, in which the above advertisement was repeated with the following additions :

‘This company is further willing to pay to its employes a rate of wages equal to that now being paid by other railroad companies in the same section of country.

‘The men who have been engaged under the advertisement of March 10, 1886, will be continued in our employ; we can not re-engage or continue in our employ any persons who have actually engaged in the destruction or injury of the company’s property, or who have advised such destruction or injury.’

“In the interview with Messrs. Turner and Bailey on April 1, 1886, I stated that this company desired to re-engage in its service such of its late employes as it needed who might apply individually for employment and were not objectionable to the management by reason of their

acts during the late strike. While this offer was not accepted, but, on the contrary, an order for the further continuance of the strike was afterwards issued, the position of the company in this matter remains unchanged, although its requirements for additional men have since been greatly diminished.

"I learn from your reports that about 600 of the employes who struck on March 6th have resumed their places since the first order to resume work was issued by the General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor on March 28, 1886, and that many new men have been employed under the advertisement for help above referred to, so that the present force is nearly adequate for the needs of the company, and entirely sufficient for the present requirements in the shops at Atchison, Kansas City, Parsons, Sedalia and Palestine. I also note your recommendation that the shops at DeSoto remain closed for the present.

"In complying with the above instructions you will see that the applications for re-employment of those of our former employes who have families and own homes upon the line of the road are first considered.

"Yours truly,

"H. M. HONIE,

"First Vice-President."

As tragedy begets tragedy, so in the expiring throes of this great strike more blood was yet destined to flow. Wm. E. Withers, a non-union switchman and private watchman in the employ of the Bridge and Tunnel Company in St. Louis, being assailed by three strikers on April 28th, shot and killed, in self-defense, one of them, John Gibbons. Withers was arrested, but soon afterwards discharged.

But the most outrageous of all the misdoings of these two months was the dastardly wrecking of a freight train on the Missouri Pacific near Wyandotte, Kansas, on the night of the 26th, on the bluffs of the Kaw river. Spikes were pulled, and the engine and part of the train plunged down the declivity and into the river. The engineer jumped and saved his life, but the fireman, William Carlisle, and a brakeman, John Horton, were buried beneath the wreck in the water and mud of the Kaw river.

The Knights of Labor disclaimed all complicity in this outrage, but subsequently three of their number were arrested on strong circumstantial evidence of guilt, and they are at this writing held for trial.

This closes a volume of horrors. Record of scores of lesser crimes is necessarily omitted. The military had been withdrawn from turbulent

points everywhere, except only those of Illinois were held at East St. Louis, when on the 4th day of May, 1886, the great strike was officially declared "off."

As to the cause of the strike, if cause there was, from a patient reading of this chronicle, it cannot be definitely ascertained. Reasons were absent before its inauguration, and, as circumstances demanded, were multiplied afterwards. It was apparently useless, and will go down in history as the most expensive and prolonged strike of its size on record. It can scarcely be attributed to a conflict between labor and capital, because such a conflict can never exist. It cannot be attributed to the oppression of a great corporation, for it is of record that it paid its employes more liberally than employes of any other class of business was paid. It cannot be attributed alone to the obstinacy of employers, for the record shows they were always willing to treat with the employes in their actual service. It may possibly be attributed to the ambition and bad advice of smart and unscrupulous men, who for selfish purposes procured for themselves the leadership of the more easily duped masses of workingmen.

However it may be, the public, the producing classes, the mercantile population, everybody, was caused to suffer even more than the strikers or the railroads, though their losses were beyond computation. The loss to the strikers alone—about 9,000—for fifty days' loss of wages, at the low average of two dollars per day, would amount to the enormous sum of \$900,000. The loss to other non-striking employes, necessarily deprived of employment pending the strike, is roughly estimated at \$500,000. The loss of property, destruction of engines, cars, bridges, machinery, etc., cannot be estimated with anything like close proximity even by the railway companies themselves. The loss to the general public certainly amounted to millions of dollars. To an agent of this Bureau Mr. Wm. Kerrigan, General Superintendent of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company, in reply to a written request, has courteously furnished the following summary:

"DEAR SIR—Replying to your favor of November 20, requesting certain information regarding the extent of the late labor troubles, have to say that I give you below the information desired, as far as I am enabled to, from the records in this office:

NUMBER OF MEN EMPLOYED MARCH 6, 1886.

Transportation department.....	3,527
Machinery department.....	1,996
Engineers and firemen.....	1,455
Car department.....	1,067
Road department.....	4,057
Bridge and building department.....	777
Terminal facilities.....	514
Total.....	13,393

Of this number the figures below given will show you the number of men who voluntarily left the service of the company and those who were suspended from duty temporarily by reason of the strike :

	Strikers.	Suspended.
Mo. Pac. Division ..	1,295	1,776
C. B., U. Pac. Division ..	188	343
M., K. & T. Division ..	856	1,754
I. & G. N. Division.....	614	662
I. M. & S. Division ..	764	1,560
Totals.....	3,717	6,095
Grand total.....		9,812

The majority of the men who struck were employed in the machinery and car departments, a few being road, bridge and building department men, with a sprinkling of transportation department men.

Replying to that part of your letter relative to the extent of damage to properties of this company at various points, have to say that such damage is incalculable. However, I give you below :

STATEMENT showing cost of guarding company property since the inauguration of the strike, March 6, 1886:

Mo. Pac. Division, March 6 to April 20.....	\$27,185 04
Mo., Kan. & Texas Division, March 6 to April 18.....	6,503 52
Mo., Kan. & Texas, N. Division, March 6 to April 19.....	4,885 12
Central Branch, U. P. Division, March 6 to April 20.....	4,128 35
St. L., I. M. & S. Division, March 6 to April 26.....	12,300 19
Int. & Gt. Northern Division, March 6 to April 18.....	6,503 52
Total.....	\$58,727 97

“From these figures you will see that for a period from March 6 to April 20, this company paid out, simply on account of wages for guarding property alone, the sum of \$58,727.97, and that on the 20th day of April the average daily amount paid out for guarding property was \$1,055. This does not include large amount of money paid out for boarding guards, for arms and other miscellaneous expenses. The loss of revenue to this company, taking the earnings of 1885 as a comparison, was about \$2,500,000. The actual damage to buildings, bridges, engines, etc., at all points, and expenses rendered necessary by reason of the strike other than the above, have not been ascertained, but it will be fair to say that \$300,000 would hardly cover it.

“Yours truly,

“WM. KERRIGAN,

“General Superintendent.”

It will be observed that Mr. Kerrigan's estimate of losses from official records is only for the Missouri Pacific road and leased and operated lines, and does not include the strikers and damage done and loss of business on the Texas & Pacific Railway, nor the strikers on the Bridge & Tunnel Company in St. Louis, nor the number of strikers and loss of property in East St. Louis. Therefore the estimate of this Bureau is doubtless less in every respect than it should be.

When the strike was officially declared off there were but few who were affected by the proclamation, for a large majority of the strikers had returned to work, while the leaders and a few of the more violent were all that were left of the magnificent army of two months before. In a few days these disappeared from sight, scattered all over the land, some seeking other employment, some re-entering railroad service

under assumed names, and a few continuing the more profitable business of lecturers and organizers for the Knights of Labor.

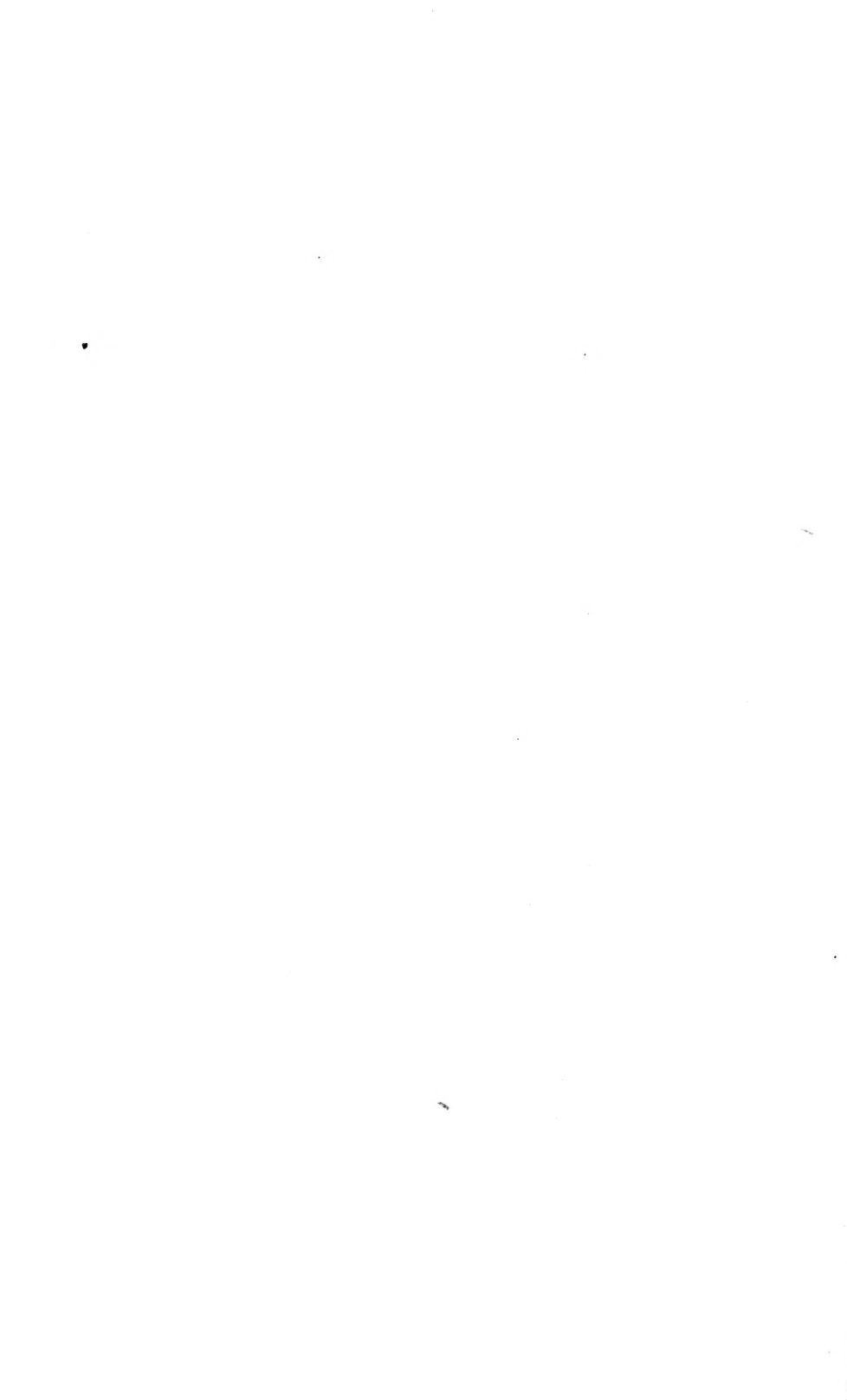
There was in the struggle something that attracted the attention of all the world. There was the grim, unswerving fixedness of purpose of H. M. Hoxie. The time had come, he said, when the question had to be decided whether he should run his own railroad or have the Knights of Labor run it. He never forgot the issue and never relaxed his determination to "fight it out on that line."

On the other hand, there was an army of desperate and determined men struggling for a something they themselves scarcely knew what, or at least could not agree upon. They had been made to feel that they were oppressed. The precise acts of oppression could not well be defined, yet they must have believed that they were the victims of the greed of corporations, otherwise their desperate efforts to win a something that was intangible and visionary could not have lasted so long and cost so much of wealth, comfort and human life.

It is fashionable to condemn everything that has proven unsuccessful, but in the great strike it is more than probable that the strike would have had much of public sympathy and moral support, even if they had no sufficient cause, had not the vicious element become dominant and deeds been enacted that shocked and alarmed the people. The disregard for the conveniences and necessities of the public and the losses they were forced to sustain, were potent influences in eliminating a moral support, without which no cause can succeed.

Every right-thinking man necessarily desires the elevation of labor and the betterment of the condition of the laborer, but this must not warrant an encroachment on the vested rights of others.

The strike, as senseless as it appears to have been, will not have been without its good effects if it speedily brings about the enactment of laws that will give greater protection to labor and greater security to property against vandalism.



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