

Outline of Knox College
Conference on Labor -
with references which should
be examined for revision
of labor chapter. Some
Excellent.

Consider after narrative written
for reference.

Labr - Galie - v.1. p 1011
1012

Labr - Reply - Hunt et - p 42
Effect - of ~~these~~ nail pol.

Illnesses of Labr to compromise
with malpractice

LABOR

The Labor Movement -- R. T. Ely

Centennial History of Illinois

Vol. IV - Chapters XIX - XX

Vol. V - Chapter VIII

Industrial Commission, Vol. XIX, p.p. 723-947.

Thirty Years of Labor - T. V. Powderly

70 Years of Life and Labor - Samuel Gompers

Industrial Revolution of the

D.S.

Carroll D. Wiggel -

Chapters XXV - XXVI

Bibliography - Labor.

The Labor Movement

R. T. Ely

Centennial Hist. of Ill. &c.

Vol. IV - Chapters XIX - XX

" V - " VII -

Industrial Commission Vol XIX.

pp. 723 - 947.

Thirty years of Labor - T. V. Powderly
70 years of Life & Labor. Samuel Gompers.

12/11 (1)

Depression means organized dissension -
public -

all degrees -

Ampl. of Labor Program
Unreliably opposed to violence
used as the solvent -

Sentiment of southwest -
Public against - Pavane against -
Reaction against April 1888

Ephemeral expression was in
form of international minor - in, wh. P's ^{Genl.}
See Eley - Black - in wh's and red

Red - Socialism - S. L. Paul
Difference - Eley - violence - dynamite -

Chicago - Held up in 1888 at time
of South West strike
Came in 1881 - first - cancelling - Paddy

See Bogart p. 461 Vol. IV
and Manifest. "Passionate - Wilson"

12/11 - 2

Demande - P. 4 & 2

Franchil. Mont-Hy
si
ou
arbitrage
du
d'abord

War on society -

to keep off - Open air policy
P. 4 & 3

International Rifle - Armed Arm
delus -

Radical Trade Union - Chief

the Progress of Civilisation

Central Labor Union - League

for Behaviors - German
and anarchism

~~886 - 2nd P. 5 =~~

Agitation - Organization Education -
K. of C.

Rebellion

Radical
the rebellion in Chicago -
Steel Car maker
Cigar -

Action reble were metal where
 Freight McCormick Harrow plant
 on ways - Ready for use call ^{Bogart} 465
 in piece with mill - introduction
 machinery - ^{2 mfd presser} ~~Compressor~~ in this
 day - in mill to admit - ~~the~~
 the part that - in mill - 2 chains

paid -
 10 beams @ 50 dt each
 Dupond presser end of
 stem to turn out say 12 - 15
 cost to install machinery ch -
 still insisted on 50 dt
 share - still heaver - evidence
 Company in 1885 - still the
 men inculcated - Company around the
 on installment -

2/16 86 - declared a general lockout
 Great bitterness & general

4

Year of Labor Day May 1

Remember that - I first
saw going on L. K. of L all
indeed -

40.000 struck on May 1st ^{Salary} & Home
Day.

Not stopped - night - stopped
remained in procession.

Monday - half M. Cornhill men out
8 - hours giving that - day what took

When 700 men ^{L. 178} ^{what took} ^{men} ^{did} ^{me}

to walk came out - could
then walk - tried to talk down
down - Police - arm down -

Down of crowd wounded -
Russell's description

L. 178

6.
Great business in Chicago
on Police - Mutual "Ints of
Capital" - see Russell's
Bonfield - L. p. 176. --

What happened May 3

p. 178. L.

The answer came quickly -

May 4 - Tuesday -

Meeting of Sympathizers

Displacement of between Lake & Randolph

Haymarket around corner
near river & half mile from
town -

Business on meeting - Public
agency said it - should be stopped

May 4 - it - go on -

Reserve ready with Bonfield
in Chicago

6.

Very about 1500 people -

Spies - Parsons (edit) Fielden 2 spoke
all quiet - may be

Bumped mailed in his veins

As he came in - a bomb hit

Hit - Mangled police ^{men} ⁷⁸
Crown tried upon - 6 ^{7 died} ^{supplied by}

Heard 2 Malte in ducey - Russell
L 1179 ~~lost~~

Anarchist - Conspiracy -

Deely to find ~~him~~ & there

With price ~~him~~ - town saw red

~~State~~ Sleuth everywhere - ~~him~~

Completed - with court -

Mangled the heads leading

up - came down to find that -

Witness had been pleaded

steadily for 5 yrs -

These ~~apt~~ ~~the~~ condemned ~~one~~

spies - etc See R. p 152 - 1

7.
determined to find Stein
pills - things not - and
they found a copy of ad -
I submitted a copy
3 to 4 yr improvement
Appelton - 1811 -
What happened - 182
4 changed - ~~two~~ ^{Boys} - 184 just
Franz Anarchist & piracy
see 182 - 2d ff.
Russell Lumsden -
7 years after Abolished admitted
James Brad Miller to
still a community - any direction
on Europe - alleged
effect in K. of Labor

Income - 160 - 101

General Board call'd - off - April

Result - A. 3. -

In May - Kipler - ~~was~~ see'd a
 slow from which they were
 removed -

Kipler Program - 2 137, XXII -

To gain some of the benefits of labor-saving
 machinery by gradual reduction of the
 amount of labor to 8 per day,

Little Powder

moving ahead in many parts -
~~not in 2 lines~~ - met great resistance

See p 170 - 2.

Labor - Regatt - p 172 - last A -
 Labor

The Western Union

While the railroads were showing in every part of the country the effect or the spirit for combination which was abroad, they gave no such effect of completeness of control as in what was in 1880 the greatest of franchise propositions and the earliest - the telegraph trust it was called, known as the Western Union Telegraph. Its name was derived from a company which had been incorporated in New York back in 1851. As soon as the practicability and convenience of the telegraph had been established, as it was in the 50s, companies began to spring up, exactly as in the case of the railroad. And exactly as in the case of the railroad, these companies frequently failed for the same reason that the short railroad failed. That is, the ignorance and indifference of the promoters to actual operation, actual need of the community they served. A telegraph to them was an easy way of bringing in a large amount of quick money. If it succeeded, well and good. It might succeed if they had been able to bring into their group or into their employ some able, honest man who either knew or were willing to learn the business of operating a telegraph line, who would work and agonize as Jim Hill did, for instance, over his railroads.

And, just as in the case of the railroads, the short, non-connecting lines kept back the object of the telegraph. If you must telegraph from Galesburg to Chicago by one line, and at Chicago send a boy across town to another office and have it transferred to a line which ran to Indianapolis, where it might be transferred across town

to one that connected Indianapolis and Cincinnati, or Indianapolis and Cleveland, where another line took it, - a letter might do as well. And in the early days this is what you had, just as in the early time, in the 50s, you had to make seven transfers of railroad in getting from New York to the Mississippi.

It was inevitable that the small lines began to come together for the purposes of the public and wherever you had a strong centre and one of these little companies turned out to be well managed, by a man who had an aggressive personality, its weaker neighbors soon came into his hands. He possibly bought it out or he might watch his opportunity to put it out of business, which in every condition was not easy. So we began to have an absorption. This early Western Union turned out to be one of the strong units. It absorbed and absorbed until at the beginning of our period, it completed what was called a monopoly by taking in the American Union Telegraph Company and the Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company. At that moment it was practically without a competitor, though one was soon to appear - the company was a little later known as the Postal Telegraph.

An extraordinary man had been fostering this combination for a number of years. This was Norvin Green. Norvin Green knew his business, both operative and financial, and he never had the least scruple about getting anything to increase his power; and it was a very great power as well as a very great service by 1880, when it finished absorbing its rivals. It had upwards of 86,000 miles of poles at the time, 233,000 miles of wire, 9000 offices,

Roll 3
5 K

and it was sending over 29,000,000 messages, at an average cost to the sender of 38 1/2¢ and an average cost to the company of 25¢ - a good margin, you see, between cost and receipts, something like 33%.

One of the most interesting features of the telegraph was its relation to the railroad. (See notes in folder)

The telegraph threatened by the telephone. (See p.381, Moody), for telephone and telegraph combinations.

Chapter II

Vital as the farmer was to ^{the} progress and the nationalization of the economic order in 1880, great as his contributions were to national wealth, he, himself, as well as students of the material life of the Nation realized that he was in danger of losing his ^{share} speed and of becoming more and more a slave rather than his equal of other economic agencies.

The reason was clear. The farmer was by nature and by circumstance an individualist. Each farmer found himself with a special problem on his hands. He preferred to take the risk of solving that problem in his own way rather than to unite with his neighbor for a planned economy. All around him, however, in the railroad, in the world of transportation and communication, in the world of industry, manufacturing, men were combining, submitting by choice or by force their activities to a central direction of a man or a board. A new world was coming into vogue to designate a new type of business organization; ^{the kind} the joint partnership, the limited corporations were common forms of industrial organization. The farmer had known them himself, been a party to them often in the colonization schemes, in ^{reclamation} foreignization schemes, in irrigation projects, in the ^{Ronaga} farm. But rarely had they worked out to his satisfaction. He mistrusted the efforts to control him

convinced that that control in the long run was not in his interest but in the interest of a group which regarded him as little better than a cog in their wheel. ^{If} the cog became rusty or they could throw it aside and put in a new one. But now ⁱⁿ all the agencies which served him, all the agencies to which he was necessary as a contributor of raw materials, as furnishing traffic, as a consumer, there was coming a more wide-spread form of aggregation. The trust had arrived.

To the farmer as he looked on ^{it's hell} he felt monopoly and there was no economic form more dreaded and more hateful to him, more contrary to his conception of the democratic scheme. Now in ~~the~~ 1880 what justifications were there for the farmer's fear that a rival to his place in the economic life had appeared, a rival which proposed to use him, allowing him no more of the profits of their joint activities than would keep him alive?

^{Was there in/sro at}
Now at this period, the return of prosperity, in which the farmer had been so large an element what was there going on which would disturb the equilibrium so desirable to which he was between him and the activities/essential, and on which were essential to him? What was there in this fear that he was being thrown out of balance and that the primary causes was the co-operating combination of men in these/activities?

Digital Image, 2011. The Ida M. Tarbell Collection, 1890-1944, Allegheny College Pelletier Library.

That the combination pretending to complete control in particular forms of business were here, that there being no doubt. *trading defaulter*

They were of two general characters. One, basing themselves on the control of franchises, like the railroad and the telegraph. The other on the control of some vital element in the industry - industrial trust - which *an* had found a way to secure a privilege, an advantage, over competitors contrary to the period of fair play and of the common law. Not only that but frequently of the written law.

The typical franchise trust at the moment was the telegraph.

(See notes - Knox lecture. Digest of L. in folder of Number 2)

see ch. I

Continue from Page 3 of Notes of Chapter II

The typical franchise trust at that moment was in telegraphy - the Western Union Telegraph Company. It had a sufficiently long background and one sufficiently familiar to the public fascinated by the new schemes of communication.

attacks on these privileges granted to the telegraph company by the railroads, but at this time the validity of the arrangements had been generally sustained. It looked very much at this moment as if President Green's contention that the Western Union had attained such magnitude and strength that it was no longer necessary to buy off *opposition* position. "I advise that it shall not do so at any price that will pay a profit to the proprietor. Competition may be the popular demand and it may be good policy on the part of your company to indulge competing lines upon the principle points." It was good policy for in the attacks which continued on the Western Union ~~has~~ the most perfect franchise monopoly that the country had ever seen. Green could point to several competing lines and contend that though the Western Union exceeded all the rest of the lines in the company in its plant and magnitude of its business, it could not be called a monopoly as long as these lines existed.*

Although the growth, which had been so rapid in the early years, from 1880, was tremendously accelerated, it grew with the lengthening of railroads, it grew with the spreading of business. Business in many lines by 1880 was no longer local. There were a multitude of concerns that did business not only in New York, but Chicago, Boston and Pittsburgh. They used the telegraph lines more and more frequently and just as the press and stockbrokers were providing themselves with private wires, interstate business was looking toward the same.

Throughout our period this rapid increase in telegraph business continued. 233,534 miles of wire in 1880 had become 678,997 in 1890 and by 1900 it was 933,153.

* copy by 4 stenographers to Pulceffier et al. R. F.

9
- 3 -

There had been from the start a continuous complaint that the net revenue had been nearly six million dollars which was over eight million. There had been a continuous complaint that the public was not sharing in the prosperity of the Western Union. However, while in 1880 the average cost of a message was 25 $\frac{4}{10}$ ¢ and the average toll 38 $\frac{5}{10}$ ¢ the cost had dropped to 23 $\frac{7}{10}$ ¢ and the toll to 32 $\frac{4}{10}$ ¢. By 1900 the cost of a message was 25 $\frac{1}{10}$ ¢ while the toll had fallen to 30 $\frac{8}{10}$ ¢. There had been, too, an enormous improvement in service. The Western Union had at this time one competitor that had refused to sell, whatever might have been the pressure. This was the Postal Telegraph. The Industrial Commission in a report made in 1897 called attention that there was no longer any competition in charges between the two companies and gave as its opinion that the most important movement that kept them apart was that the fear that consolidation would be unpopular and would lead to hostile attack.

Throughout the period there was a running warfare on the rates. While the final figures show the rates to the public fell faster it is true that the rates between busy points, like between New York and Chicago, were low. Those between long distance points, where there was little business, were high. Another point of attack had always been capitalization of the Company. It looks as if the Company, in making its returns, quoted the cost per mile in wires and poles in the difficult regions and that those who had attacked quoted cost of level free country.

*The Industrial Commission has been to say of
the capitalization in its report of 1902*

The cost of upkeep, of course, was enormous. The necessity of command of large capital forexpansion is apparent. The commerce of the country could only be properly served by instant response to needs. The practical monopoly of the Western Union could only be kept by the instant response to needs and whatever the criticism, it must be said that the need was supplied with amazing promptness.

next - wire

as to competition - see me to write in Green
and send post - wire post in telegraph co

The bank and Western Union
and company. H.B. Chandler total as
Industrial Corp - in the point of
competition: -

see

10-K.

Knox College
Conference

A Tableau of the U. S. in 1880

1794-197

Now 3,000,000 people injected in so short a time into a population of 50,000,000 creates tremendous problems. What are you going to do with them? It was easier to absorb them because about 2,000,000 of them were of the kind which largely takes care of itself. They belonged to Northern Europe. About 700,000 of the 2,000,000 spoke our language; but there were 1,200,000 that did not - Germans, Swedes, Norwegians. It was not the Northerners, however, that worried the country so much as those that were coming from Italy, Russia, Poland, Austria. Their ideas of life were more unfamiliar. They

Gay

Sense of turmoil - violence - Change

Hurry - Innovation - explained as

(1) invention necessary - change -

capital - skill - free - nature of

labor - salary free -

(2) Demand: - Total Abolished - 1832

Population in 1880

" " 1890

1900

Union

1880

N. Central Div - 180

90

1900

Western Div - 180 -

190

1900

When hearing money

Call for calls - mileage in 1880 - abt

93 000

1500 000

200 000

50,153,783

62,822,250 ³⁺

76,303,387 ^{50%}

3,177,821

3,826,351

4,821,550 ^{50%}

17,362,111

22,362,111

26,373,004

1767,697

3102,269 ^{abn.}

41091,349 ⁶⁰

What were we doing

Elect-fol-der

Now the building of railroads demanded labor, and one of the great reasons of allowing 3,000,000 new people to pour into a country of 50,000,000 was that we might get laborers for our railroads. Out of the Pacific coast they felt the need of men to build their railroads so much that they brought in the Chinese by thousands. I hope we shall have time to take up the situation that comes up to bother us still. Probably all of you in your family tradition if not in your own experience have stories of the coming of some strange

people to build your railroads. The railroads of Illinois were largely built by the Irish, and you will remember the numbers in which they came caused disturbance in the country just before the Civil War. It had been the Irish in Illinois that had been so useful in building up the country that the No Nothing movement was largely directed against.

Another thing that encouraged this immigration was the extraordinary rise of manufacturing in this country. The U.S. had set out to make itself the greatest manufacturing country in the world. It made its first great contribution to state socialism in the protection of its manufactures in order to build them. The native population was rather interested in land than commerce; but for many reasons it was not land or commerce that was winning the favor of the Government in the U.S. in 1880, it was manufacturing.

And how we were growing! (p.30) We had, including big and little, some 253,852 manufacturing establishments in the country in 1880. They employed about 2 3/4 million men, and they turned out nearly 5 1/2 billion dollars worth of products. As a matter of fact, these figures were staggering for the time. The important thing about them is the impetus they had in them. Here was the way of wealth men saw, and it certainly proved so because by the end of this 20 years which we are studying, the production of something more than 5,000,000,000 had grown to one of over 13,000,000,000 - the number of men employed had nearly doubled.

Geographically, an interesting exhibit in regard to manufacturing was the way it was traveling West like everything else.