

WE'RE THROUGH THOUSAND MINERS SHOUT AT SIGHT OF TROOPS

here after escaping from Logan, where the four of us had been placed under guard.

Under a shower of bullets from both sides we convinced ourselves that the United States was coming on in West Virginia. Three times a fusillade of bullets poured on us from the Springfield rifles of the State gunmen and three times we were fired on by the mines.

And after it was all over we were taken with our wounded to Logan, under guard.

Boyd Sparks, of the New York Tribune, was shot through the leg and bullet penetrated his scalp. One of the miners, whom we had persuaded to act as a guide was shot in the ankle and is seriously wounded.

When we were able to convince the State police, whose lines we had penetrated, that we were non-combatants merely on a sight-seeing tour, all military operations ceased while officers staid at us in amazement and asked: "What are you doing here?"

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For more than three hours I was subjected to indignities by his guard and other members of the State police.

Only after frantic appeals Mr. Sparks was permitted to communicate with his office in New York in order that his wife might know he was not seriously injured. None of the rest of us was permitted to see his wife or to see any of his family.

General Bandholtz, representative of the War Department and commander of the United States troops now in the war zone, was scolding us for our insolent examination.

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Mildred Morris, Writer, Injured In Mine Battle

By International News Service. LOGAN, W. Va., Sept. 3.—MISS MILDRED MORRIS, International News Service correspondent, was scratched by flying wood from a log behind which she dropped in the face of heavy fire on the Boone-Logan line today.

Miss Morris was crossing the lines in company with other correspondents.

NEW YORK, Sept. 3.—Boyd Sparks, staff correspondent of the New York Tribune, was shot twice but not seriously injured while covering the warfare in the West Virginia hills near St. Albans.

Sparks, according to the city editor of the Tribune, was able to telephone to his office by long distance this morning.

U.S. OFFICIALS HERE GIVE VIEWS ON MINGO

Political Leaders Give Opinions on Miners' War for Times.

West Virginia's warfare has created a sensation of whispering in the National Capital.

The West Virginia situation, it is admitted, is loaded with political dynamite.

The Times herewith presents the following symposium of views of the situation:

Secretary of War Weeks—"Based on the reports which the War Department has in West Virginia I hope and believe the situation there will be adjusted without further serious trouble."

Henning Sees No Excuse. Assistant Secretary of Labor E. J. Henning—"While the situation in West Virginia is bad, peace and good order must be preserved at all cost. There can be no excuse for lawlessness. While it is unfortunate that this trouble should arise at this time of great unemployment, the President has done the logical thing in sending United States troops to quell the lawlessness. Life and property must be preserved at all cost."

Representative Mondell, Republican House Leader—"The present acute situation in West Virginia seems to be the result of long continued discord and dissatisfaction in this coal-mining district, and apparently in all its scope and in its effect and relations. I hope sincerely for an early peaceful adjustment without bloodshed, and a return to the quiet of law and order."

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor—"Against the authority of the Government of the United States the people of West Virginia cannot and must not stand in hostile array, but when the men who obeyed the order of the President and dispersed, that is no remedy of the acute situation as it exists in that State and nothing will be settled."

Representative Oldfield of Arkansas—"The situation in the Mingo coal district is a blot on the State government of West Virginia, and on the present Federal administration. The public is not getting all the facts. The controlling interests—the coal operators—are largely non-residents of the State."

Representative Wingo of Arkansas—"The mine trouble in West Virginia is local and I think conditions are not so bad as reported. There is no national or international significance in the Mingo labor troubles in my opinion."

EINSTEIN'S NEW RIVAL FIGURES UNIVERSE WIDTH

MIDDLETOWN, Conn., Sept. 3.—A feature of the meetings of the American Astronomy Association, at Wesleyan University, is new evidence showing that the universe which has been obtained through recent photographs of heavenly bodies taken at the Mt. Wilson Observatory in California.

After the examination of the photographs, the association gave out figures showing it is estimated that the light, traveling at the rate of 186,000 miles a second, 1,000,000 years to travel from one edge of the universe to the other.

The photographs show that between the earth and the most distant points in space there are dark clouds of some sort of matter suspended in space. No light passes through these clouds, which are opaque. Some scientists believe these are great groups of stars.

The best guess at present seems to be that they are numbers of stars spinning around at a great speed, some of them so large it takes them from 50,000 to 100,000 years to turn around.

WOMAN FUGITIVE BACK IN JAIL AS A BRIDE

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., Sept. 3.—Maud Moore, alleged slayer of Leroy Harth, is again in jail here, having been surrendered by her bondsmen after her capture in a room three weeks ago.

Including the rewards which they paid Tacoma officers, the pursuit and capture has cost her bondsmen \$5,000. They stood to lose \$10,000.

On leaving Tacoma the woman, who after her flight had married there, William H. Stubbs, received, she says, bouquets and letters of encouragement from club women of that city.

At practically every station between Tacoma and Knoxville, she said, scores of people extended best wishes to her, and on route she met the wife of a Chicago millionaire who promised financial assistance if it should be needed.

Coal Operators Rule As Kings of Old, Declares Union Miners' Counsel Here

Civil War Will Not End With Dispersal of Armed Bands, Lawyer Says. Conflict Due to Break-down of State Govt.

By NEIL BURKINSHAW, Of Washington, associate counsel for District 17, United Mine Workers of America.

(Written specially for The Washington Times.)

Civil war in West Virginia will not end with the dispersal of the armed forces on the Logan county border.

The present sanguinary outbreak, deplored by all, is but a manifestation of the complete breakdown of West Virginia's State government.

But it cannot be expected that the mere return of the belligerents to their homes is going to effect an era of peace and tranquility in the mountain State. The festering sores of discontent must be removed if the recrudescence of such disorders as those of the past week is to be avoided.

West Virginia Is Feudal.

The mountaineer State is an anachronism in our group of American commonwealths. There the feudal system flowers under the tender care of the coal kings. Politically, the State is a moral bankrupt. Popular government must be established if West Virginia ever can aspire to a real, and not merely a nominal, place in our American democracy.

For more than a year West Virginia has been a powder mine waiting to be touched off. Now that the explosion has come, the country stands appalled. But the situation could have been averted had either the State or Federal government taken hold in time.

Economic feudalism has persisted so long in that State that the miners have lost all faith in the integrity of their own State officials. They feel, and rightfully, that the coal masters dominate the State government, and that no hope for the re-establishment of constitutional guarantees is possible unless the Federal Government steps in and compels the restoration of civil rights and liberties.

The present industrial strife in Mingo had its origin more than a year ago in the refusal of the coal operators to accord their employees the minimum wages fixed by the National Industrial Conference Board.

During the war the miners had abandoned all thought of wages, hours and working conditions. They had toiled uncomplainingly to produce coal for the country's war needs, relying on the Federal Government's promise to provide after the war a new scale of wages and to guarantee the right of increase in the cost of living.

When the wage award was announced it went into effect promptly in the mines of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and the organized sections of West Virginia. The Mingo miners, however, were denied this increase. Instead they were given a few cents more for each car mined, but the raise was wiped out almost immediately by increases in the price of food stuffs at the company stores.

And, there was practically no opportunity to purchase the necessities of life from independent merchants, if the miners dared to trade anywhere but at the company store he was discriminated against in the mines. So the slight wage increase meant nothing.

The immediate cause of the march is the imprisonment of two score miners in Mingo for periods ranging from ten to sixty days, without trial, arraignment or hearing. These men were arrested under Governor Morgan's martial law proclamation, were thrown into jail, and have been refused a trial or hearing of any sort.

The petitions of habeas corpus addressed to the supreme court of appeals of the State have been refused. Then the recent assassinations of Sid Hatfield and Chambers are to be regarded as supplemental causes.

Armed Guard System

However, the dominant reasons for the outbreak are to be found in the perpetuation of the armed-guard system in the Logan and Boone counties. The parties have repeatedly promised the voters of the State that the vicious practice would be abolished, but it still persists throughout the non-union fields of the State particularly in Logan and Boone counties.

Under this system, each mine owner employs private gunmen, usually furnished by the Baldwin-Felts agency, and also pays the salaries of a certain number of deputy sheriffs who serve as his private henchmen.

During a State investigation of conditions in Logan county two years ago it was developed that \$32,000 was paid annually by Logan Coal Operators' Association as salaries for deputy sheriffs.

These guards patrol the mine properties and railroad stations, armed usually with pistol and rifle. In one case at Matewan, the Baldwin-Felts guards refused permission to enter to let his sick wife stay in the house until other shelter could be procured. They took the bed on which the woman lay, and placed it outside in the rain.

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Brig. Gen. H. H. Bandholtz, U. S. A.

and lived there shelterless for weeks until tents were provided by the union. Some miners found refuge with friends or relatives in the little towns along the Tug River Valley, but most of them took up life as tent dwellers.

With respect to these summary evictions, it always has been claimed by the union that the miners were entitled to at least thirty days' notice before being driven out. The contention was based on the fact that the workers were paying rent by the month, and accordingly were entitled to the usual month in the house after notice of eviction had been served.

But the operators maintained that the landlord and tenant relation did not obtain between the operator and the miner; instead that it was a relation of master and servant and that the miner's right to occupancy of the house ceased with his employment.

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Union Is Organized

The miners, confronted with increasing living costs, found their wages unacceptably low. They petitioned the mine owners for the scale wanted by the Federal Coal Commission. When refused, they held meetings, selected representatives and ordered them to go to Charleston and there solicit the officers of the United Mine Workers for a charter in the union.

After a careful investigation of the facts, President C. F. Keeney, of District 17, commissioned several of the Mingo miners as organizers and sent them to the town of Mingo to organize the miners of Mingo into the union. The field was completely unorganized in a few weeks. No petition or intimation was used since the sentiment of the workers was unanimous in favor of unionization.

In this connection, it has been alleged frequently by the operators that the Mingo miners were organized on an attempt on the part of the union invasion. As a matter of fact, the union went into Mingo, not on its own initiative, but at the direct appeal of the Mingo miners. Moreover, the field was organized, not by outsiders, but by men of Mingo.

The men who joined the union were fired from their jobs and evicted from the company houses. Their only offense consisted in asserting their unquestioned right of American citizens to join such lawful organizations as they saw fit. But for this "crime," they were thrown out of their homes to exist as best they could.

But the governor was insistent that Mingo not be allowed to enjoy civil law. So, he adopted the subterfuge of drafting a company of Mingo citizens into the "militia" of the State, then reissuing his martial law proclamation. This time, the Supreme Court of the State held that the proclamation was effective.

Mingo was placed under martial law. Scores of arrests were made for the most trivial offenses. Men were jailed for having in their possession the Federationist, the newspaper of the State Federation of Labor, or the United Mine Workers Journal, which has a circulation of more than half a million. An assembly of more than two persons on the streets or in any building resulted in the arrest and confinement of all.

Soon the jail at Mingo was loaded to capacity and the incoming prisoners had to be sent to McDowell and

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Operators Use Law

The martial law proclamation was utilized by the coal operators and their friends in office as an effective weapon in breaking up the union movement. Coal operators, mine superintendents—in short, all who were interested in breaking the strike—were deputized as special State policemen.

Then there came about a situation where all one faction in the industrial dispute was clothed with the mantle of State authority so that its every move had the sanction of officialdom and its every act the purport of law and order.

The miners were left in a desperate position. They were afraid to move or speak lest their acts or words fall under the generous scope of the martial law proclamation. Their tent colonies were raided and fired on. State police made frequent inspections of the tents, reviling and insulting both men and women. In effect, the entire force and weight of the State was employed in an effort to break their morals and compel their surrender.

The miners were told they must either abandon their union affiliations or else leave the county. Being so intimidated by the police, they vacated the region in colonial and revolutionary days, being almost entirely of our straight American stock, with scarcely a foreigner among them—they naturally fled to the border and crossed and migrate to other regions in search of work. Suffering in their tent colonies, they saw groups of non-English speaking foreigners brought in day after day by coal operators to take their jobs. But still they clung to their tent colonies, refusing to be driven from their original position.

Situation Today

The same situation obtains today in Mingo. The miners are crushed under a form of despotism never before experienced in this country. In addition to their own economic sufferings, they are being compelled to resist all the pressure of the State authorities, can bring to bear against them.

On June 14 Alex Breedlove, one of the colonists of Lick Creek, was brutally murdered during a raid conducted by the State police and operators' forces. Breedlove fled into the woods at the approach of the troopers. However, he was detected by a policeman, who ordered him to throw up his hands and surrender. He was seized with hands uplifted at the command of the officer. His assailant ran his hands over the miner's body in search of a pistol. Then he stepped back, leveled his rifle at the miner and said: "You've got a minute to live. What have you got to say?"

"God have mercy," whispered Breedlove, with his hands above his head. Then the officer, infuriated, shot him through the chest and he died. The murder was witnessed by two other residents of the colony, who swore to the foregoing facts in affidavits placed recently before the Senate in violation of the law.

Then recently came the assassination of Sid Hatfield, the most picturesque character developed during the controversy. Hatfield was in Washington when he was arrested, announcing that an indictment against him had been returned by the McDowell county grand jury for alleged complicity in the shooting up of Mohawk a year ago. Hatfield was not in Washington when he was arrested, but he had been in McDowell since the beginning of the Mingo industrial conflict, and had a perfect alibi for himself for the day the shooting at Mohawk took place. He told his attorney himself that the indictment was merely a means of getting him into McDowell county, where the Baldwin-Felts men planned to kill him. He knew what he was facing when he was arrested, and he was not afraid. He could not resist arrest and was compelled to take a chance on coming through his trial at Welch unharmed.

Winter in Tents

Tent colonies appeared like mushrooms on the slopes of the ridges. During the summer months of 1920 the lot of the miners and families was tolerable, but when the winter came to the hills they were subjected to sufferings rarely paralleled in American history. The mountains soon were mantled in snow and life in the tent colonies became a hell. The operators had been certain that the horrors of winter life in the tents would break the spirit of the miners and compel their abandonment of the union. But it appeared that their tactics only served to intensify their determination to hold out for their rights.

At the beginning of the present summer the miners still were keeping their ranks intact. The Operators' Association appeared bewildered. It could not understand the extraordinary stamina and determination of the mountaineers. So, it was decided to make one final effort to break up the union. Machine guns were turned on the tent colony at Blackberry City during May, compelling the colonists to flee their canvas villages. Marksmen of the operators on the Kentucky side of Tug River fired the Blackberry City with unflinching shot. They returned from the West Virginia side and soon the battle became general on a ten-mile front.

Governor Morgan shrieked for federal aid, but was firmly refused with the intimation that it was within his power to maintain order without outside assistance.

Martial Law Proclaimed

Then Governor Morgan promulgated his now famous proclamation putting Mingo County under martial law. Harold W. Huston, counsel for District 17, promptly had the martial law proclamation declared invalid by the Supreme Court of Appeals of the State. In passing favorably on petition of habeas corpus, the court declared the release of several men arrested under the terms of the proclamation, the counsel held that martial law was necessarily an incident of military occupation, and in the absence of State military forces, Governor Morgan was exceeding his authority in putting Mingo under martial law.

But the governor was insistent that Mingo not be allowed to enjoy civil law. So, he adopted the subterfuge of drafting a company of Mingo citizens into the "militia" of the State, then reissuing his martial law proclamation. This time, the Supreme Court of the State held that the proclamation was effective.

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