WILLIAM B. WILSON, MASTER WORKMAN

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Pennsylvanians who recall the labor situation of World War I, may remember that a word from William B. Wilson, the federal Secretary of Labor, was sufficient guarantee for coal miners to remain at work. Yet, even in 1917, few knew how Wilson had gained his labor experiences and the confidence of the miners, or that he had had any labor background at all. In the years immediately preceding the war he was marked as a leader of labor forces in Congress and the organizer of the "Young Democrats" who had captured the Pennsylvania arm of the party and made possible the nomination of Woodrow Wilson at Baltimore. But the miners of World War I knew William B. Wilson's labor background, a short portion of which is portrayed on the following pages.¹ The setting for the story is North Central Pennsylvania, its beautiful tree-clad hills, pock-marked with coal pits and ribboned with market-bound rails whose cold steel remotely connected the black-faced miner and absentee owner.

In January, 1887, the officers of National Trades Assembly 135, Knights of Labor, grouped the various local assemblies of the mining regions of the United States into districts, or divisions, as they were often designated. Boundaries were marked to follow competitive trade lines, as far as practicable, so that there could be unity of action in collective bargaining. The anthracite area

¹ This article is a revised portion of a University of Pennsylvania doctoral dissertation, William B. Wilson, the Evolution of a Central Pennsylvania Mine Union Leader, and a part of Mr. Wilson's biography, now in preparation.
was designated as District One. The second division included the mines of South Central Pennsylvania and Maryland, which shipped coal to the eastern seaboard markets. District Four embraced the mines of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, coke producers for the most part, shipping their coal to the East. The Pittsburgh area was named District Five, and the mines of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and other states formed additional divisions.

District Three, the scene of Wilson's activities for some years, comprised the mines of North Central Pennsylvania from Bradford County on the East to Mercer County in the West, including Lycoming, Bradford, Tioga, Clinton, Elk, McKean, and Butler counties, as well as those parts of Jefferson and Clearfield counties which were traversed by the Allegheny Valley (Low Grade) division of the Pennsylvania Railroad and by the Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburgh Railroad. This division lay to the north of District Two; the boundary between the two divisions was not always clearly defined. The coal from this area was shipped to Buffalo, Canada, and the seaboard cities, meeting in the last named market competition from the "black diamonds" of Districts Two and Four, and from the unorganized mines of Maryland and the Virginias.

The railroads competing for the coal carrying trade of District Three were the New York Central, the Erie, the B. R. and P., and the Pennsylvania. These roads used a large amount of coal for driving their own engines, but they carried the bulk of it to market.

The formation of National Trades Assembly 135 and the development of the district system coincided with the attempts of the railroads of Pennsylvania to bring order out of chaos in the coal trade. Attempting to put an end to rebating and discrimination which had demoralized freight rates, the coal carriers formed traffic associations which were able to stabilize rates, but not to control allotments. Seaboard coal from Central Pennsylvania was partially regulated by the Seaboard Steam Coal Association, an organization of shippers, big and small, but dominated by the

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^Coal Trade Journal, January 12, 19, 1887, pp. 22, 30.
^There is an excellent brief discussion of this situation in Suffern, A. E., Conciliation and Arbitration in the Coal Industry of America (Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1915), p. 79 et seq., hereinafter referred to as Suffern, Conciliation.
Pennsylvania Railroad, which sometimes used the Association as a means of throttling competition.4

The so-called independent mine operators were often at the mercy of the coal carrying railroads, who distributed cars as they saw fit and thereby kept the independents in line.5 Naturally there were exceptions to the rule; for example, the firm of R. B. Wigton and Sons, one of the large independent operators, whose Clearfield County mines were so located that they could ship coal on either the Beech Creek, later a branch of the New York Central, or the Pennsylvania. The Wigtons even dared to bring suit against the latter road for discrimination in freight rates.

After the hard times of 1884-1885 coal might have advanced in price had it not been for the continual opening of new mines and the railroads' interest in maintaining low fuel costs.6 Independent operators, often willing to raise the miners' wage, and pass the increased cost on to the consumer, found the way blocked by the railroads.

The failure of the pools or associations to supervise allotments led the railroads to secure control of their competitors by the purchase of stock. The New York Central and the Pennsylvania, dominant figures in the Eastern bituminous scene, soon acquired sufficient shares to control the Chesapeake and Ohio, the Baltimore and Ohio, and the Reading systems. By 1900 the New York Central furnished a good example of a vertical trust. It owned the capital stock of the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation, one of the largest mining companies in Central Pennsylvania, and controlled the Fall Brook (Tioga County) and the Beech Creek Railroads by lease, later by purchase. Through the latter road, the New York Central controlled the Beech Creek Coal and Coke Company with 29,000 acres of coal land and twenty-one mines in operation. Under its thumb was the North River Coal and Wharf Company, a tide water delivery organization. Thus, by

4 Coal Trade Journal, 1887-1888, passim. One example was the partial shutting out of the Beech Creek mines from the seaboard markets.

5 The Coal Trade Journal, April 20, 1887, p. 196 discussed this question under an article, "The Carriers Govern Coal Situation." There was a large degree of truth in the statement of Suffern, Conciliation, p. 91, that "the real powers with which [mine] labor has to contend" are the railroads.

6 In 1890 the average cost of production for a ton of 2,000 pounds in 47 "run of mine" mines of Pennsylvania was 78 cents, of which 68.4 cents was for Labor, U. S. Commissioner of Labor, Sixth Annual Report, 1890 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1891), pp. 224-225.
either ownership, lease, or some other control of management, the New York Central governed a large quantity of coal from digging to delivery. Such was the power of the system that Wilson and other leaders of Central Pennsylvania mine workers had to face in their struggle for a higher standard of living.

The Blossburg region, the home-place of the Wilson family, was not an exception to the increased coal and rail development which followed 1885. While little change had taken place there in the early eighties, the latter part of the decade witnessed an expansion in both coal and its transportation. In 1885 the Erie Railroad purchased the Blossburg Coal Company at a price stated, under oath, to be more than three million dollars. They used Arnot coal to stoke their own engines and make coke, or shipped it all over the United States as blacksmiths were willing to pay a premium for its quality. The Erie extended its rails beyond Arnot to open new mines at Bear Run and Landrus, while competition loomed as the New York Central ran surveys to join Elmira with Williamsport, and furnish another outlet to the Buffalo, Canadian and New England markets. The Blossburg Advertiser prematurely and rather optimistically rejoiced, “Glory Hallelujah! But won’t freight rates take a drop?”

The Tioga County coal business boomed as the Arnot mines ran full time and the coke ovens, which Wilson had helped to erect, could not fill all their orders. The wheels of industry turned rapidly in Blossburg with three saw mills, a tannery, one glass factory, a car shop, and a machine and boiler shop in full operation. The saw mills and tanneries demanded timber and bark, so Wilson was able to find seasonal work in the woods when the mine owners refused him a job.

After Wilson left the Arnot mines in 1887, he worked a few days for a big coal company. For the next thirteen years, while he dug coal in a small country mine, which employed only one

7 Suffern, Conciliation, pp. 79-90.
8 Wellsboro (Pa.), Gazette, Jan. 23, 1890.
10 Most of the details of coal and rail development in Central Pennsylvania have been gleaned from the files of the Blossburg Advertiser and the Coal Trade Journal, the latter being the more fruitful source for the period under discussion. One should not overlook the Coal Trade Journal as a source for local history as it often featured community developments, even though the scope of the magazine was national.
person in addition to himself, he spent most of his time tramping the hills of Pennsylvania on behalf of the miners, or in the woods, cutting or peeling bark, or at farming. After the bark peeling season had ended and the logs had been sawed and skidded, ready for hauling when the winter snows came, he went to work in Sandy Hutchinson's little mine, digging house coal to warm the homes of Blossburg. Some winter days he swung a pick; on others, he hitched up a team of horses and filled the coal bins of the community.

During the summer time Wilson was only one of a thousand men who worked in the woods near Blossburg, so he could leave the forest when union responsibilities called. The mine work of the winter was irregular, and the ventilation poor, but it helped to pay the store bills. In addition to the job, Sandy Hutchinson provided a house at five dollars a month, and milk at six cents a quart for a steadily increasing number of Wilson children. All was on credit, if necessary.

In between jobs Wilson picked up a day's wages, a dollar and a half, wherever he could find some one to use his physical might. He dug ditches, prospected for coal, or tended his crudely constructed greenhouse, from which he sold cabbage and tomato plants. A garden, the source of much that went on the table, required his attention in the spring and early summer; the children were too young at that time, and his wife was too busy caring for them, to do much hoeing.

Meanwhile Wilson continued to serve as a member of the district executive board of the Knights of Labor, N. T. A. 135 (miners' division), even when not actually employed at mining. He had one advantage not shared with other mine leaders in that he need no longer fear the blacklist nor worry about being victimized; he was beyond the jurisdiction of a corporate mining company. Because he was available and willing, and because he had proved his leadership and integrity, the Knights of Labor miners made Wilson the Master Workman of the district in December, 1887—an important step in the young labor leader's career.

The remuneration attached to the office was fifty dollars a month, a substantial income for a miner, and expenses, for the Master.

Statement of Mrs. Jessie Wilson Milsom.
Workman was supposed to devote all his time to the responsibilities and duties of the position. While he held the office for some years, he never drew any salary as the district income never sufficed to pay even his travelling expenses. Financially, the organization remained a weak affair, having only two or three thousand members who paid the tax of two cents a month for the support of the district activities.

The Master Workman, like "Doc" Waters of Arnot, was on call at all times. Not only did he attend conventions, district and national, and board meetings, but he helped to negotiate district, regional and local agreements, and often had to return and interpret the clauses for both operator and miner. In less crowded minutes he preached the doctrines of the order, establishing local assemblies here and there. Never once, in the eight years that followed his election, did Wilson fail to respond to the call for assistance when troubles arose at some mine, even though his income stopped when he left Blossburg. After the difficulty was settled, he returned home and went to work in order to pay off the bills which had accumulated during his absence, and to be ready for the next trip.

During these lean years the Wilsons lived in a most humble manner; none other was possible, for the bottom of the flour barrel was constantly in sight. Even though Mrs. Wilson was a frugal housewife they were often pinched for the necessities of life. Afterwards Wilson often remarked that whatever good he may have accomplished during these strenuous times was "in a great measure due to the loyalty and devotion" of his wife, her unflattering courage, and faith in the work he was doing.

At the time of Wilson's selection as Master Workman a strike was in progress at Jackson Center in Mercer County. As the chief officer of the district, his duty was to assume charge of the strike and bring it to a successful conclusion, if possible. The district treasury was empty and Wilson had no cash, so he borrowed enough to pay his fare as far as Reynolds ville, where he was to

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12 William B. Wilson carefully entered each item in a pocket notebook. Two of these, covering, in part, from 1888 to 1896, are in the possession of the writer.

13 "Notes for Annals of an Immigrant," p. 30; hereinafter referred to as "Annals." This fifty-three page typed manuscript represents the beginning of an autobiography. Unfortunately Mr. Wilson never finished the work. Yet it is the most important source on his activities prior to 1890.
meet the local assembly, and receive their per capita tax. By an exchange of receipts and bookkeeping arrangements, the local was to receive credit in the accounts of the district secretary-treasurer.\textsuperscript{14} The B. R. and P. train, on which Wilson was a passenger, was stalled behind a wreck, so he did not reach Reynoldsville until after midnight, too late to meet the members of the local assembly which already had adjourned. Having made an engagement at Jackson Center, he could not wait another day, so he decided to go out to Hilliards, where Patrick Monaghan, the district secretary-treasurer, lived and get some money from him. After a few hours sleep on the hard bench in the station waiting-room he boarded the morning train for Red Bank, the nearest station to Hilliards. After paying the fare his cash on hand was reduced to sixteen cents. From Red Bank he started walking to Hilliards, paying three of his sixteen cents for bridge toll. Snow covered the ground, for it was early January. It grew dark and he lost his way, wandering all night and not reaching Hilliards until six o'clock in the morning.

At a little store which had just opened Wilson inquired for Monaghan, only to learn that his fellow Knight had already left for Jackson Center, expecting to meet the Master Workman at that point. Having had nothing to eat for twenty-four hours, he spent his last thirteen cents for cheese and crackers and sat down by the side of a little creek to enjoy his breakfast in solitude. After resting for a few minutes he resumed his trek, headed for Jackson Center and followed the railroad for fear he might lose the way again.

He had not gone far when he met a section crew preparing to go to work. He "threw" a Knights of Labor recognition sign which was answered by the foreman. It turned out that the foreman boarded with Monaghan and knew that Wilson was expected, so he asked, "Why don't you take the train for Mercer, which leaves in a few minutes?" When the Master Workman replied that he was broke, the foreman reached down in his pocket, pulled out all that he had, two dollars and forty cents, and gave it to Wilson, who soon was on the train headed in the right direction with his fare paid.

\textsuperscript{14} The story of the first trip as Master Workman is taken from "Annals," pp. 29-30, and from Mr. Wilson's note book.
Upon arrival at Jackson Center Wilson secured an interview with the operator and soon made a satisfactory settlement of the strike. In reality he had had more difficulty in getting to his destination than in settling the trouble after he arrived there. Had the railroads been as liberal in issuing passes to labor leaders as they were to political leaders, Wilson's path as Master Workman would have been smoother.

From Jackson Center he started homeward, on foot, stopping at the different mines along the way and organizing local assemblies of the Knights of Labor wherever he could induce the miners to unite. With little or nothing for travelling expenses, he stayed with whomever offered a bed for the night and who was willing to take risk of being fired for harboring a labor leader. The Mollihan family of Crenshaw, among others, always kept their door open to Wilson, even when others turned their backs on him for fear an acknowledgment of his presence would bring disfavor with the management. On one occasion, while organizing in the Kiskiminetas Valley, he arranged with a teacher to sleep in the school house.15

While organizing at New Bethlehem, Wilson received a telegram stating that a strike had taken place at Sandy Creek, north of Pittsburgh, and requesting his presence at once. With just enough money to pay his fare from Kittanning, he decided to walk the first part of the journey. On the way he came to a stream, recalled as Pine Creek. A January thaw had brought down flood waters which had washed away the bridge. Numerous cakes of ice were still floating down the swollen stream. He had to cross at that point or lose considerable time in looking for another bridge. Picking out the shallowest place he stripped off all his clothes, tied them in a bundle, and, holding it above his head, stepped into the turbulent stream. The depth of the water and the swiftness of the current almost swept him off his feet, as he tried to steer clear of the floating cakes of ice and keep the bundle dry. He was thoroughly chilled by the time he reached the opposite bank, but after putting on the dry clothes and walking briskly for awhile, he felt none the worse for his icy immersion.

The adjustment of the strike at Sandy Creek proved rather difficult. Although the operator had been a member of the joint

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15 Statement of Adam B. Wilson.
conference, even of the scale committee, and had signed the agree-
ment, he had never lived up to it. The miners, after some delay,
had struck to enforce the regional mining price as agreed to by
the operator. Wilson went to the office several times before he
obtained an interview with the mine owner, only to be cut off
with the statement that there was nothing to adjust. An appeal
to other operators who had been members of the scale committee
had no effect. The strike lasted several more weeks before Wilson
finally obtained a settlement on the basis of the joint scale, just
what the miners had been demanding.

A small remittance from the district secretary-treasurer enabled
the Master Workman to return to New Bethlehem and take up
the work of organizing where he had left off on receipt of the
call from Sandy Creek. Soon he reached St. Marys, on foot as
usual, organizing as he traveled. There he boarded a train for
home.

Wilson had been absent from home for two months, during
which time the family had been living on credit established before
leaving. It was time to earn something and reduce the obligations,
so as to be ready to leave again when duty called. This first trip
as Master Workman was typical of many to follow.

The Master Workman often wore gunny sacks around his only
pair of shoes as he tramped the snow covered hills of Central
Pennsylvania to carry the message to his fellow miners. While he
was attempting to organize the Berwind-White mines at Houtz-
dale, a sympathizer took up a collection and presented him with
a badly needed pair. After election to Congress in 1906, so many
claimed to have furnished his footwear that Wilson remarked, “I
should have enough shoes for the rest of my life.” On another
occasion Wilson stopped at a humble miner’s shack and told the
good housewife that he needed something to eat. After the repast,
which had been gladly set forth, he asked the woman for a short
length of rope. Fearing that the haggard looking miner was con-
templating suicide, she questioned him, only to discover that he
wished to tie the rope around his shoes so the rough roads would
not cut his feet. Some years later when he was campaigning for

Woodrow Wilson, that same miner's wife recognized the speaker as the man with the sole-less shoes.\textsuperscript{17}

No other man would have suffered such hardships and denied his family so much for the glory of being at the head of a district organization. Financially Wilson paid dearly for the honor of being the Master Workman, for his expenses were paid only in part, to say nothing of the salary which was not forthcoming. Why did he devote so much of his time and energy to the cause of the union? Wilson felt that he was doing what he was called to do. He was not the kind of person who could witness an injustice to humanity and do nothing about it. Like his Grandmother Wilson, he could not turn away a beggar or a stray dog. As a fourteen year old lad in the debating room at Arnot, he had vowed that his life would be devoted to improving the lot of the miner, and he was carrying out that resolve.

The organization of a local assembly often required many visits of the Master Workman. First of all, he had to find a few men who were willing to risk their jobs in enlisting others. With success, the numbers grew with each visit of the district leader. Finally, when a majority was in the fold, the leaders called a public meeting which Wilson usually attended, preaching the gospel of trade unionism.

Secrecy was often a necessity in the early stages of organization, as witness this entry in his notebook: "Wrote to a large number of men in Walston, changed handwriting and used different envelopes so as not to attract attention."\textsuperscript{18} The postoffice was often in the company store and the mail clerk in the employ of the company, so it was necessary "not to attract attention." Just a few days before he made the notation, Wilson had quietly slipped into Walston, conferred with several faithfule, among whom was Thomas Haggerty, the Worthy Foreman of District Three, and agreed to write these letters. Upon this occasion it was safer to write than to visit.

After the local had grown beyond a few in numbers, a spy or two, often referred to as "sucks" by the miners, usually crept into the ranks of the order. In this way the operator knew what was

\textsuperscript{17} Statement of the late Hugh L. Kerwin, Chief of the Bureau of Conciliation, U. S. Department of Labor, and a native of Tioga County.

\textsuperscript{18} Entry of March 6, 1890.
happening and was able to plan his campaign which often included victimizing or discharging the leaders. The owner had to proceed with caution, especially where the miners were nursing some unsettled grievances. Hasty action might make heroes of the leaders, throw the majority into the arms of the local assembly, and precipitate a strike. Wisdom often dictated the slower process of victimizing rather than the sudden action of a discharge.

Sometimes the operator tried to prevent an organizer from gaining entrance to a mining town. At DuBois the Rochester and Pittsburgh Coal and Iron Company, a subsidiary of the B. R. and P. Railroad, bought a public road in order to keep out agitators who dared approach their workmen. Confronted with the situation where entry into the town was trespassing, Billy Wilson remarked to his co-worker, "I think, Brother Evans, we will have to get a balloon the next time we come to DuBois." Even though Superintendent Robinson ordered the arrest of Wilson and Evans, they got to the mines, posted a notice for a meeting, and succeeded in obtaining a few members for the local assembly. Incidentally, Evans noticed that blood was oozing from Wilson's fingers at the time, from peeling bark in the Blossburg woods. On another occasion Evans and Wilson organized a Knights of Labor local assembly at Grove City while the constable, with a trespass warrant, was looking for them to lock them up.19

The Master Workman was often called in to settle disputes between a foreman and a miner, especially where the latter was one of the local leaders and victimizing was suspected. Because of their more or less independent natures, the leaders got into difficulty more often than others. The union could not permit an active member to be singled out for victimizing, as one victim meant more victims, and a consequent weakening of the leadership in the local.

Whenever a miner was let out on the charge of repeatedly sending out dirty coal and thereby causing the operator to lose trade, the Knights of Labor took up the miner's defense if they felt the accusation was false or merely an excuse for getting rid

19 "Henry Evans Letters," United Mine Workers Journal, Dec. 13, 1906; Jan. 7, 1909. Henry Evans was active in the mine union movement in the United States in the 1880's and 1890's. He returned to England and became a correspondent for the U.M.W. Journal. In 1940 he was still living although unable to read or write because of blindness.
of a free-thinking workman. Where the miner was let out for drunkenness in the mines, for neglect, for failure to perform his duties in a workmanlike manner, or for any other good cause, neither the local officials nor the Master Workman would interfere. This was carrying out the principle that a miner was entitled to his job as long as he properly performed his work. There were to be no discharges without cause; in dull times, the work was to be shared. The philosophy of the miner was that a man had a right to work, if he respected that right.

There were district conventions and countless meetings for the Master Workman to attend. Wilson endeavored to have some semblance of parliamentary procedure in the meetings, but confidence in the leaders was of more importance to the miners than the paragraphs of Cushing’s *Manual*. Where the leader was trusted, the miners followed. One night, in company with Thomas Haggerty, he attended a meeting at Morris Run, where a strike was planned in cooperation with the men at Arnot and nearby. The meeting was conducted by a local Scotsman who certainly had the confidence of his fellow workers, and who just as definitely knew what they wanted when he announced from the platform, before any motion had been put, that they were going to make a demand of the operator. At the same time he appointed a committee to call on Mr. W. S. Nearing, the superintendent. Then Wilson took the floor and suggested that perhaps the men themselves would like to select the committee. No sooner had the Master Workman taken his seat than one of the miners jumped to his feet and moved to send the committee selected by the chairman. The motion was carried without a dissenting vote even though no one had yet brought up the question of making or not making a demand. The chair knew that the men were ready to make the demand, so why bother with a motion?

The miners often had difficulty in securing a hall for their meetings during the cold weather; none was necessary during the warmer months. In time some of the locals solved the problem by erecting their own buildings. At Arnot the company permitted

21 Statement of Thomas Haggerty.
very few miners' meetings in the hall until the advent of R. T. Dodson, a manager more liberal than the average mine official.\textsuperscript{22}

As the immigrant miners from Central and Southern Europe increased in numbers and importance, Wilson provided speakers who could make addresses in Polish, Italian and other languages. No meeting was complete without a speech in a foreign tongue as the cooperation of the non-English speaking miners was necessary for success.

Sometimes the attendance at a meeting was rather discouraging. During the summer of 1890 Wilson went to Lonaconing on "a mission calculated to improve the condition of the Maryland miners [competitors of those from Central Pennsylvania] by having them become members" of the order. One beautiful Sunday afternoon he held a meeting in a cool shady grove on the outskirts of the town, where he was greeted by a grand total of fourteen persons, and not all of these were miners.\textsuperscript{23}

As Master Workman, Wilson failed to solve one problem, that of financing the district. Since 1883, when the Amalgamated Association had first placed an officer in the field permanently, the Central Pennsylvania district of the union had been constantly in debt. As a result many miners had lost confidence in the district union, arguing that an organization which could not pay its ordinary running expenses was in no condition to help working men when serious trouble arose. At the district convention of 1890 Wilson advised the delegates that paying the debts of the organization was the most serious problem for consideration. He suggested that they adopt a method used by some churches in financing their needs. On his recommendation, the convention decided to sell fifty-cent chances on a fifty dollar watch, the proceeds to be used in paying off the district debt.\textsuperscript{24} To keep down expenses, the Master Workman was to withdraw from the field for the next six weeks, in the hope that the national office of the newly organized United Mine Workers would underwrite his maintenance.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{22} Statement of Adam B. Wilson.
\textsuperscript{23} Evans, Chris, \textit{History of the United Mine Workers of America} (2 Vol., Indianapolis, Ind., 1918, 1920), II, 41.
\textsuperscript{24} The writer has no evidence to show that the plan was executed.
Financing the district was largely a matter of paying the salary and expenses of the Master Workman, as the miners of Central Pennsylvania had not yet begun to accumulate large defense funds. In August, 1890, the district debt was $473.87, three-fourths of which was owed to Wilson. The amount that the Master Workman received from the secretary-treasurer was invariably less than his expenses, and Wilson could not have continued the work had it not been for occasional contributions from some of the local assemblies, principally Arnot, Crenshaw and Reynolds ville, and the willingness of friends to make loans or grant him credit. Some years later when the Central Pennsylvania district was strong financially, he requested the payment of the account and submitted a statement showing just what he had received and spent on behalf of the miners of Central Pennsylvania.\footnote{William B. Wilson to Richard Gilbert, Secretary-Treasurer of District Two, U.M.W.A., April 22, 1904.} The district never settled the account.

Wilson maintained this work from 1888 to 1896, or eight years in all. Every alternate year there was another mouth to feed, for the Wilson children arrived with amazing regularity. With three youngsters under five as a start, Nellie arrived in 1888, William Bauchop, Jr. in 1890, Thomas in 1892, Mary Ellen in 1894, and Joseph, named for his uncle, in 1896. More were to come. "Doc" Waters of Arnot was kept busy playing the stork, fighting measles, scarlet fever, and other childhood troubles in the Wilson household.

As Master Workman of Central Pennsylvania Wilson found that the permanency of the district union depended upon the establishment of what was then known as the "checkweigh association." Whenever a group of workers at one mine, or several groups at neighboring mines, banded together and hired a checkweighman to verify the accounts of the company's weighmaster, the organization took on the name of "checkweigh association" or "checkweigh fund."

During the 1880's many mines of Central Pennsylvania still used the standard weight car. The miners objected to this system for they felt that it was unfair to be paid a fixed amount for a car of coal which might be several hundred pounds overweight, or docked if the car were under the standard weight. The mine
workers complained that the extra coal went to swell the profits of the company.

As the miner's underground working place was usually some distance from the mouth of the mine, it was impossible for him to check the weight of each car sent up. In the absence of other proof, the testimony of the company weighmaster as to the weight of coal had to be accepted. Unfortunately there were dishonest men among coal operators, as among all classes, who took advantage of the weighing system. Unless the union was strong enough to object to the practice, it was usual for a dishonest operator to take 2,500 to 3,000 pounds for a ton of coal while his honest competitor was paying on a basis of 2,240 pounds. The malpractices of the weighing system not only robbed the miner, but also put the honest operator in a position where he could not compete with his dishonest neighbor. Cheating the miner was so prevalent that mine owners who were perfectly fair in everything else accepted the situation as a trade condition and took the extra weight as a matter of course. Therefore, the correction of the abuses of the weighing system was naturally a key objective of the union when it became strong enough to enforce its wishes. The miners came to insist on placing a checkweighman at the scales to see that their coal was honestly weighed and properly credited.

One of the earliest attempts to install a checkweighman at a Central Pennsylvania mine was made at Morrisdale. In 1879 the miners organized and elected Billy Bond to represent them at the scales, even though they doubted that the company would permit a checkweighman. It was agreed that all the miners were to approach W. H. Wigton, the superintendent, in a body, so that the leaders could not be singled out for dismissal. While many gathered for the important occasion, only twenty-three men were willing to cross the cleared space around the company office; the others hid in the protective bushes and watched their more fearless comrades. When the men broached the subject of placing a checkweighman on the tipple, Mr. Wigton replied, "I don't give a damn if you put on twenty checkweighmen." Bond was placed on the tipple but the twenty-three courageous miners were discharged.

27 W. B. Wilson, "The Check-off."
During the 1880's many strikes were won or lost over the question of the checkweighmen. Under the guidance of the Knights of Labor the subject was brought before the legislature in several bills. One of these passed the House in 1887 by a unanimous vote but "got lost" in the Senate. The bill called for the erection of scales, a checkweighman, and a weighbook, open for inspection. A year later another unsuccessful bill would have installed checkweighmen, appointed by the county courts, and paid jointly by the operators and the miners.

It was easier to place a checkweighman on the tipple than to provide for his support. Each miner was expected to contribute his share toward paying the wages of the checkweighman. At first a committee customarily stood at the pay office and solicited contributions. However, experience soon demonstrated that some were willing to accept the benefit of having their coal honestly weighed but were unwilling to share the expense of the service. Others were negligent, but the greatest number of non-contributors were men who had no cash to draw; the company had checked-off all their wages for the payment of bills.

As checkweighman the miners selected one who had their confidence and who could "figger." Often the same person served as secretary of the local union. He usually possessed a better than average education, often obtained in the British Isles. William Slee, of Morrisdale, was typical in that respect. After attending school in England for a longer period than the average boy, he migrated to Pennsylvania and secured work in the mines. Shortly afterwards he was elected checkweighman and secretary of the union. In addition he served the community as secretary of the school board and as justice of the peace, a position which he still held at the advanced age of eighty-eight.

William B. Wilson was a checkweighman for several years in the Tioga County mines. Richard Gilbert, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Central Pennsylvania district of the United Mine Workers from 1899 to his death in 1939, began his union career checking weights on a tipple at South Fork, near Johnstown. An unusual


Coal Trade Journal, Jan. 11, 1888, p. 139.

The writer has spent many pleasant hours listening to the late Mr. Slee's reminiscences.
case was that of Edwin Lloyd who, when elected checkweighman at a mine, was already employed as the company's weighmaster. So great was the confidence of the company in Lloyd's ability and integrity that they did not select a weighmaster to succeed him; both the company and the union accepted Edwin Lloyd's accounts. All these men were co-workers and close friends of Wilson throughout the formative years of the union in Central Pennsylvania.

The miners at Arnot were not so fortunate in the selection of their first checkweighman, established as the result of a strike for that purpose early in 1887. The miner elected was near-sighted, and as fourteen hundred tons of coal a day poured over the tipple, it was impossible for him to check on all the weights. As a result he came to rely on the word of the weighmaster, which created so much dissatisfaction that the miners called a meeting and asked for the checkweighman's resignation.

In order to insure the maintenance of a checkweighman, once he was installed, the miners at each mine established a fund for the payment of his salary and expenses. The small mines did not employ enough miners to support a checkweighman and often went unorganized, becoming unfair competitors of the larger mines. Experience taught the miners to consolidate the various funds into a regional treasury so that the strong could support the weak. In this way the Tioga County Checkweigh Fund, the Beech Creek Checkweigh Association, which covered the Morrisdale region, later the home of the Wilson family, and other powerful groups came into existence in Central Pennsylvania.

These associations, while not a part of the Knights of Labor, were closely affiliated with that organization. The same officers, who labored as miners, often served both groups. The Tioga County Checkweigh Association, while not a part of the Knights of Labor, was organized by Master Workman Wilson, and its members were knights in the various locals of the community. The Beech Creek society coincided, geographically, with District Assembly 229, a division of the National Trades Assembly 135, and most of its members belonged to the Knights of Labor. Even to one living in that day the relationship was confusing; one miner named the Association a sideshow of the Knights of Labor.

The Beech Creek Association had risen from the ashes of the
1886 strike, when the miners believed that Ed Hughes, an official of the Amalgamated Association, had "sold out" to the operators. It was large enough to be effective in collective bargaining, but not too extensive for democratic control. They had an agreement with the operators, providing for fifty cents a ton, semi-monthly pay days, the abolishment of the store order system, and the placing of checkweighmen on all tipples. The association employed a full time "miners' agent" to settle disputes with the operators and look after the interests of the organization. The acts of the agent were subject to review at the monthly meeting of the association. In time they accumulated quite a surplus, even after building halls and making sizable donations to miners on strike in other regions. After the organization of the United Mine Workers in 1890, the Beech Creek Association had the distinction of being designated "District A," until it was incorporated into District Two. It was a tower of strength in Central Pennsylvania unionism until its decline after the disastrous strike in 1894.

As Master Workman, Wilson endeavored to see that a checkweighman was on each tipple. A Pennsylvania act of 1883 legalized the checkweighman's presence, regardless of the operator's wishes, and regulated his duties, but made no provision for his support. According to the act, the miners were authorized, but not compelled, to elect a checkweighman; the operator could not legally interfere in the performance of his duties. The weakness of many unions, or their non-existence, during the slack times of 1884-86, was not conducive to the election of many checkweighmen in Central Pennsylvania, for opposing an operator under such circumstances was difficult and dangerous. The trade revival of 1887, and the consequent increase in the number and strength of unions, resulted in the placing of many men on the tipples. It was significant that, even though the law permitted checkweighmen, many operators barred them until forced to do otherwise by a strike. Even after the checkweighman was on the tipple, the operator found ways of preventing him from carrying out his duties. The penalty for violation of the act was light and the miners had little confidence in the courts. Before long the men found that they could get quicker results by sending for Wilson

[32] Coal Trade Journal, Aug. 22, 1888, p. 446. The agreement was referred to as the "Tyrone Scale."
to come and settle the difficulty. Thus the checkweigh question became an important feature in the negotiations with the operator.

Through these years of ephemeral organizations, Wilson constantly preached, sometimes to closed ears, the doctrine of collective bargaining—that the operators and miners should gather around the conference table and peaceably iron out their differences, both small and large. Only when all possible means of settlement had been exhausted was a strike defensible, in his opinion.

The Pittsburgh wage scale conference of 1888, at which Wilson represented his district, was a comparatively successful attempt at national collective bargaining. The price of mining was set for Pittsburgh, Hocking Valley, Ohio, DuBois and other key points in the bituminous regions of the United States, as agreed upon by the scale committee of which Wilson was a member. Incidentally, this was Wilson's first appearance on the national scene where he remained a familiar figure until his death in 1934.

The next step in the collective bargaining process was the district meeting with the Central Pennsylvania coal operators. At this joint conference the miners and operators considered situations peculiar to the district and agreed upon some variations in the price of mining; coal was easier to mine at some places than at others. Miners who were not members of the Knights of Labor were permitted a voice and vote in the proceedings.

What to do about the operators who did not attend the conference and who were unwilling to abide by the district agreement was a main subject for discussion at all joint conferences. The standard solution for the problem was for the miners' organization to call a strike and force the recalcitrant operators into line, if possible. At these conferences mine owners often chided Wilson for his failure to organize the miners of a certain company and make the operator come to terms. If a mine was organized the threat of a strike, especially when business was active, was often enough to force the operator to cooperate.

The most important strikes were those centering around the agreement. In the spring and summer of 1888 many operators of Central Pennsylvania refused to pay the district price, giving as a reason, the dull times. The Master Workman was kept busy;

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33 Evans, Chris, op. cit., I, Chapter XXVII.
he spent few days at home. But by the end of the summer the miners had compromised with many operators by taking a five cents reduction in the price of mining, so industrial relations were more peaceful, and Wilson found time to make a brief but unsuccessful campaign for the state legislature as the candidate of the Union Labor Party.

Wilson was especially fitted for the type of work he was doing, the promotion of industrial peace. He was fair, outspoken, yet conservative, in his dealings with both the operators and his fellow miners. He knew mining and was able to understand, but not necessarily agree with, the operators' point of view. He was reasonable in his arguments, but strong in defense of what he considered the miners' rights. The operators found that they could depend on his word and trust his judgment. He was the antithesis of the rabble-rousing agitator, so often characterized by an unfriendly press.

Various conditions retarded the orderly progress of collective bargaining in Central Pennsylvania. Many operators believed in Wilson's collective bargaining preachments and would have been glad to carry out his suggestions as to bettering the lot of the miner, but competition from other mines selling in the same markets precluded their compliance. The mine owners of Southern Pennsylvania and Maryland paid their workmen less than the Central Pennsylvania operators paid the miners, yet both sections shipped coal to the same seaboard terminals. There was little hope for a material rise in the wages of Central Pennsylvania miners until the Southern operations were unionized, something neither the Knights of Labor nor the Federation was able to accomplish. Profits from a company store holding a monopoly on the miners' trade gave the mine owner an advantage over the operator who permitted his workmen to purchase goods where they desired. As mentioned previously, the railroads were not above making lower rates to favored mines. In the midst of keen competition, operators interested in the welfare of their men had to curb their humanitarian impulses in order to remain solvent.

Had there not been a surplus of labor the operators would have been unable to employ men at low wages, for the miners naturally would have gravitated to the better paying mines. A large share of the overcrowding of the mines at this time was due
to the increase in immigration from East-Central and Southern Europe. These immigrants eventually became strong union members, but in their first years in the United States they accepted jobs at whatever wages were offered.  

Wilson and other union officials of liberal thought were advocating measures for improving the lot of the miner, most of which, however, were dependent on the success of collective bargaining. Sharing the work in dull times had been almost universally accepted by both operator and miner for some time. The idea of the living wage based on the American standard of living, which Wilson later urged as a World War labor policy, was heard only faintly in the trade union press. More often one met the argument that if there was too much coal going to market and too many miners, why not restrict the output of the mines by reducing the hours of labor and limiting the miner's daily tonnage. Most reforms had to wait until a stronger union had firmly established the principle of collective bargaining among both miners and operators.

In spite of the failure of collective bargaining at some mines, it was working at others. Events at Punxsutawney in the late summer of 1889 illustrated the manner in which collective bargaining worked successfully under Wilson's leadership.

On a hot July day Wilson was presiding over the annual district convention at DuBois. The miners had just re-elected him Master Workman in appreciation of his hard work and loyalty to the cause. It seemed to them that his enthusiasm and industry were beginning to produce results for the increase in membership was encouraging. His optimism was infectious, and the delegates were filled with expansive ideas and hopes that the coming year was to see their organization firmly established.

What to do about the Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburgh Railroad mines was the most important topic of discussion at the

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34 Further, see Warne, Frank J., The Slav Invasion and the Mine Workers: A Study in Immigration (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1904); contra, see Hourwich, Isaac A., Immigration and Labor: The Economic Aspects of European Immigration to the United States (New York, L. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912); Chapter XII, "Effect of Immigration on Wages," and Chapter XXI, "The Coal Miners."


36 The story of the convention and the Punxsutawney strike of 1889 is based on "Annals," pp. 31-32, Wilson's expense account books, and statements of Thomas Haggerty.
convention. At Punxsutawney the operating concern was the Rochester and Pittsburgh Coal and Iron Company; in the DuBois-Reynoldsville area, it was the Bell, Lewis and Yates Company. They had some of the largest and best equipped mines in the United States, and, since they were paying only forty cents a ton, the most dangerous to the safety of the union. If they could be organized and brought up to the district price the union could be doubled in strength. Unorganized, they were a distinct threat to the district.

Some of the delegates favored immediate and decisive action, knowing that Haggerty, the district Worthy Foreman, had secretly pledged the drivers at several of the Rochester and Pittsburgh mines to suspend work in case a strike was called. But Wilson urged caution, feeling that more was to be gained by deliberate negotiations with the operators. Besides, he understood that the men at the mines of the Berwind-White Coal Mining Company, near Punxsutawney, were about to demand fifty cents a ton, and if they won, the chances for success at the R. and P. mines would be enhanced.

The most important mines of the Berwind-White company were located at Houtzdale, Clearfield County, in District Two. However they had two large mines near Punxsutawney, which were geographically in District Three but were under the jurisdiction of District Two. Even though Billy Wilson had no authority over the negotiations of the Berwind-White miners at Punxsutawney he was greatly interested in what they were doing. Any action of theirs would materially affect the situation at the R. and P. Mines in District Three.

The convention accepted the plan of delaying action until the outcome at the Berwind-White operations was known. Immediately after adjournment, Haggerty and Wilson made tracks for Punxsutawney to see just what was happening.

Thomas Haggerty was an interesting person. Born of Irish parents who had migrated to the industrial part of Scotland, he was "Irish-Scotch," rather than Scotch-Irish. Coming to America at the age of sixteen, he had found work in the mines of Clarion County. He preferred to work in the thick veins of coal near Reynoldsville, for he measured six feet two inches and carried two hundred pounds of bone and muscle. He possessed the sol-
dierly bearing of a Potsdam giant. Onlookers, seeing him lead a parade, stared in astonishment; they dubbed him "the field marshal," a moniker that has stayed with him to this day. He was a man of action, different in movement from his conservative co-worker, Wilson, yet the two men made a splendid team during their twenty years of association, which had begun in 1888 under the banner of the Knights of Labor.

A committee of miners from Houtzdale had visited Punxsutawney to induce the Berwind-White men at the Horatio mine to demand the district price of fifty cents a ton, an increase of ten cents. The operator had refused the demand and the men had gone on a strike. The outlook for the miners was better than ordinary for most of the large mines in Central Pennsylvania, including those at Houtzdale, were already paying the district price and many organized miners at work had voted to pay five cents a ton from their own wages to aid those on strike.

The strike had already started when Wilson and Haggerty reached Punxsutawney. The strikers, some of whom knew the District Three leaders personally or by reputation, were glad to have the advice and counsel of experienced union officials. Many of the Italians in the group recalled that Wilson had gotten them an increase in 1886. Both men made speeches, after which, by resolution, the miners requested Wilson and Haggerty to accompany the committee when it called on the operator.

In due course the miners' representatives met Mr. Berwind of the Berwind-White Coal Mining Company in the Panatella Hotel in Punxsutawney. In guiding the negotiations Wilson was interested not only in assisting the men to secure the advance in wages, but also in writing into the agreement features that would reasonably secure the permanency of the local unions involved. He knew from experience that an agreement was no stronger than the union behind it. Therefore, before entering into conference with the operator, he persuaded the miners' committee to agree on a demand that the wages of the checkweighman were to be collected through the company office.

The one industry of most mining towns was the extraction of coal from the ground. Everyone worked for the same company; there was only one paymaster. Since the coal company controlled the business activity of the community it was only natural that
financial affairs were centered in its hands. For example, when the community Protestant church was erected at Morrisdale, Clearfield County, in 1871, the miners donated their wages of a designated day to the building fund. On payday R. B. Wigton and Company, the operator, deducted, or “checked-off,” the amount from the wages of each miner and paid the total sum to the church trustees.37 By the same method, which became known as the check-off system, the miners at Morrisdale paid church dues of twenty-five cents a month. No one objected to the method until 1879, when an Irishman, named Keenan, complained that the coal company was doing just what his ancestors had fought against in Ireland, compelling persons to support a church not of their faith. W. H. Wigton, the superintendent and paymaster, appreciated the situation for he was a Presbyterian. Reaching into his pocket he gave Keenan twenty-five cents and made sure that the Irishman was released from church dues in the future. Although a Catholic, Keenan later gave twenty-five dollars to the community church and often attended its services.38

In the typical mining community the coal company checked-off not only mining supplies, groceries, clothing, furniture and household goods, but also for the blacksmith, the doctor, the druggist, the hospital, the church, taxes, charitable subscriptions, and a host of other accounts including the saloon bill.39 The debt which had been incurred in bringing the Wilson family to America was repaid by the check-off system. On paydays, a large number of men received no cash; perhaps they owed the company a small amount. For more than ten years one employee of the Morrisdale Coal Company never drew one cent in cash.40 On one occasion a Philipsburg coal company, with a payroll of $17,000.00 over a fifteen day period, paid out in cash only $170.00.41 The Morrisdale and Philipsburg illustrations were exceptional, but they did illustrate the extent to which the check-off was used on occasion.

The Berwind-White negotiations were unusually successful from the miners’ point of view. The agreement that was signed repre-

37 Statement of Lewis A. Pritchard, a trustee of the church for many years.
38 Statement of Charles F. Keenan, Portage, Pa., a son of the one referred to.
40 Statement of L. A. Pritchard, formerly the paymaster of the company.
41 Coal Trade Journal, Sept. 11, 1889, p. 424.
sent the greatest progress that had ever been made in the Punx-
sutawney field; further, in one respect, the agreement surpassed
any contract that Wilson had helped to negotiate. The second
clause read:

Checkweighmen allowed on all tipples; wages to be col-
lected through the office, provided men sign the book in
the presence of a representative of the Company.\textsuperscript{42}

For the first time in the mine union history of Central Pennsyl-
vania, as far as the records show, a coal company had agreed to
use the check-off in this way. The signing of the agreement was
a monument to the diplomacy of Wilson, Haggerty, and the
Berwind-White miners who were members of the committee,
and an important step in building the foundation upon which
the United Mine Workers grew to power. If properly executed
this check-off feature meant the financial security of the local
union. It was the most important step in the development of
unionism among the miners since the beginning of the point wage
scale conference.

Yet this was just a beginning, for only one company, although
one of the largest, had agreed to use the check-off for the pay-
ment of the checkweighmen’s wages. Before long the men dis-
covered that miners could avoid paying their share by refusing
to “sign the book in the presence of a representative of the Com-
pany.” After collecting for the rent, mining supplies, the store,
the doctor, and others, the company had little for the checkweigh
fund. However, the clause, wherever adopted, did result in greater
financial support for the checkweighman, the hub of local union
strength.

The Horatio Checkweighman’s Association, formed after the
Berwind-White agreement, became one of the main supports of
District Two activities. When the local unions supporting it col-
lapsed in the strike of 1894, the district treasury lost six hundred
dollars a year in revenue.\textsuperscript{43} Besides, the association contributed
morally and financially to the United Mine Workers during its
early critical years.

\textsuperscript{42} See \textit{infra}.

The agreement also provided for the maintenance of a full time miners' agent "to settle all disputes arising between the company and the men." This was in line with a practice that the Beech Creek Association had found beneficial in its relations with operators.

As soon as the Horatio strike was settled, Wilson and Haggerty turned their attention to securing a similar agreement for the Rochester and Pittsburgh miners at Walston and Adrian, two large mining villages just outside of Punxsutawney. These miners were unorganized, but considerable spade work had been done and the men were now receptive to the Knights of Labor. On August 24 Wilson succeeded in installing a local assembly at Adrian and another at Walston on September 3. The stage was set for the formal demand. The strike lasted only a few days, the Rochester and Pittsburgh Coal and Iron Company granting the same concessions as found in the Horatio agreement, excepting that a concession had to be made in the price of mining.

Very few original contracts between the operator and the union, or copies thereof, have managed to survive the ravages of time, but Haggerty has resurrected one of the copies of the Walston-Adrian agreement. Because of its significant check-off feature, it is recorded here:

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT.

Made between the
ROCHESTER & PITTSBURGH COAL & IRON CO.,

And Committees of Employees of
WALSTON AND ADRIAN MINERS.

1st—45 cents per net ton for mining.
2nd—Checkweighmen allowed on all tipples, if desired, wages to be collected through the office, provided men sign the book in the presence of a representative of the Company.
3rd—Drivers $2.00 per day.
4th—Coke drawers 75 cents per oven.
5th—Coke forkers $1.25 per car.
6th—No man to be discharged on account of this strike.

44 The K. of L. sent Wilson receipts for the Charter fees.
7th—In future, when either party of this agreement wishes to change the rate of wages, they shall give fourteen days notice, and no strike shall occur without fourteen days notice.

8th—Dumpers and mine laborers to have a proportionate increase of wages.

9th—Company to allow a Miner's Agent to settle all disputes arising between the Company and the men.

The Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal & Iron Co.

J. A. Haskell, Gen. Manager
Joseph Virign,
R. J. McDonald,
T. J. Costello,
Adrian Committee
George Croft,
James Pyne,
John O'Connor,
Walston Committee

September, 14th, 1889.

Compared to present day scale agreements its clauses were meager and rather vague. Contracts of that time "left much to be misunderstood," partly because of their brevity.

While the various Punxsutawney strikes and negotiations were in progress, Wilson was running back and forth to Reynoldsville and DuBois lining up the Bell, Lewis and Yates miners, who secured a new agreement shortly after the Walston and Adrian contract was signed.

Under the name of the Northwestern Mining and Exchange Company, the Erie Railroad was producing coal in the Tobyhanna Valley to the north and east of DuBois. Wilson now focused his attention on these mines. The seeds the Master Workman had been sowing there for two years were bearing fruit and the "Toby" Valley men were ready to act. As the local superintendents lacked the authority to agree to the demands of the miners, Wilson took the train to Wilkes-Barre and spent four days negotiating with the Erie officials. He secured an advance of five cents a ton in the mining price, offsetting a reduction of the same amount suffered during the previous year.

After a few more days at Punxsutawney, cementing the organization, Wilson hurried home to negotiate successfully for a five cents advance in the Blossburg mines. On Thanksgiving Day...
he had ample reason for entering into the spirit of the occasion, for the losses of the previous year had been regained, every important mine in the district was organized, and Central Pennsylvania had enrolled under the banner of the Knights of Labor in larger numbers and on a firmer basis than ever before. In December, for the first time since he had become Master Workman, Wilson received more than the sum of his salary and expenses; he must have felt rich. At last District Three seemed to be a going concern.

The next month marked the birth of the United Mine Workers of America, now powerful, but in its first decade just as weak as its predecessors. Organized unionism faded among the mine workers of District Three, and for four years after the disastrous strikes of 1894 was non-existent, except for the survival of several of the Wilson-organized checkweigh associations. The last two years of the old century saw the revival of the district, now joined with and designated District Two, to meet expanding markets and stretching rails. Its offices were located at Clearfield and its president and chief organizer was Wilson.

In 1900 Wilson was called to Indianapolis as National Secretary-Treasurer, where, as one of the “big three” of the union, he wielded a guiding hand for eight years. In 1906 the people of Tioga and neighboring counties sent him to Congress for the first of three terms, the first Democrat from the district since the days of David Wilmot. In March, 1913, he stepped from Congress to the President’s Cabinet as the first Secretary of Labor, where he remained for eight stormy years preaching collective bargaining. His last days were spent as arbiter for the Illinois miners and operators. He lived long enough to see the beginning of the Roosevelt revival of unionism and his doctrine of collective bargaining made the law of the land.