Harding Resolved To Use All Goverment Power To Maintain Transportation

President Declares Right of Men to Work Also Must Be Sustained—In Address to Congress on the Industrial Situation, He Deplores What He Terms "Warfare on the Unions of Labor"-Declares National Investigation for Constructive Recommendations as to Conduct of Coal Industry Imperative.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18 .- President Harding in an address to Congress make it necessary to ask you to con- pensation would be complete 'n today on the industrial situation declared that the right of employes and employers alike to conduct their bus ness must be recognized and he also prices. deplored what he termed "warfare on the unions of labor.

President Harding declared a national investigation for constructive recommendations as to the conduct of the coal industry to be imperative, in this emergency. There were no them to wrk, and leave the dispute and recommended a government commission to advise as to fair wages legal powers for price control. There, about authority to the labor board and conditions of labor

Immediate legislation to establish temporarily a "national coal agency" with necessary capital to purchase, sell and distribute coal also was firged

Other legislative recommendations was for "better protection of allens and enforcement of their treaty rights," a measure to give Federal court to national welfare rather than profit those guilty of violence against jurisdiction in protecting aliens

In discussing the coal situation, the President referred to what he termed recommend immediate provision for tions where vacant, or to like posithe "shocking crime at Herr'n, Ills., which so recently shamed and horri-with needed capital, to purchase, questions of seniority which cannot sied the country" and added the incident was "butchery of human beings, sell, and distribute coal which is be settled between the employer and

Stating that the Esch-Cummins act in establishing, the railroad labor shall be handled by such a federal the carriers proposed to assign jobs was inadequate, being with little or no power to enforce its dec slons, organization; perhaps none will be to workmen on strike only where the the president recommended action to make the board's decisions "enforceable and effective against carriers and employes allke."

Other than the amendment of the Esch-Cummins law to make the railroad labor board's decisions enforceable, the President did not recomment any legislation to deal immediately with the railroad strike.

In asking for coal legislation the President said that the administration had sought earnestly "to restrain profiteering and to secure the rightful the state's own government. In distribution" of coal but was without legal power to control prices.

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rendiners to

it. the anthracite field.

workers refused to

requisite to the country's needs, and

the cost of the barest living. In-

The text of President Harding's address to Congress on the indus- pation, the other with the problems trial situation follows:

Gentlemen of the Congress:

It is manifestly my duty to, bring resentatives of the mine workers, zation of authority during the world and outstanding, disinterested, and war. to your attention the industrial able representatives of the American situation which confronts the coun- public prevailing railway and coal mining strikes is so serious, so menacing to the nation's welfare. HO that I should be remiss if I falled frankly to lay the matter before ou and at the same time acquaint ou and the whole people with such efforts as the executive branch of the government has made by the coluntary exercise of its good of-

mine operators and the posal.

Mine Workers came to an Under these circumstances, having any wrong.

The railroad labor board was cred. Anticipating that expiration no authority to demand compliance. The railroad labor board was crecontracts, which was negotiated the government had no other course ated by Congress for the express and miners in order to facilitate each and every one in his lawful pureither a new or extended agreesults. This face was communicated
inent in order to avoid any suspension of production when April 1 in glates, and with two exceptions workers excusing their decli union officials could have no aunegotiate until after their annual convention

tion of the working agreement the mine workers invited a conference with the operators in the central competitive field, covering the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio. Indiana and Illinois, and in spite of the union declination of the government's informal suggestion for the conference, five months before the government. Informally but sincerely, commended the conference, but it was declined by certain groups of operators, and the heaveeding a settlement, alleging tice, and this decision was promptly competitive field, covering the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio. Inthere was neither grievance nor

It is to be noted that when the suspension began large stocks of oal were on hand, mined at wages higher than those paid during the war, there was only the buying impelled by necessity, and there belief that coal must yield to the post-war readjustment. When the tocks on hand began to reach such diminution as to menace industry transportation, approximately June 1, overtures were intimated by the government in the hope of expediting settlement. None of these availed. Individual and district tenders of settlement en the part of operators-in some instances appeals for settlementwere wholly unavailing. The dominant groups among the opeterrupted transportation, sorely broken employment, the failure to iators were insistent on having district agreements; the dominant name workers were demanding a demands and inadequate carrying untida-wide settlement. The government being without authority ing on righteous wage adjustment. to enforce a strike settlement in and demand constructive solution, the coal industry, could only volunway of adjustment.

rect in Washington on July 1. The lesignation of representation was panizations, and there was nationwide representation, except from the non-union fields of the country. Before the joint meeting I expressed the deep concern of the country and lavited them to meet at a conference table and end the disputes berot develop even a hope. The oprot develop even a hope. The logal referriarding against like
restors were asking for their disroter or territorial conferences; the
roter or territorial conferences; the
roter of semiority. By the wark men those
roter of semiority. orkers demanded national settle- the future. ent on old basis. Appraising coron I again invited both operators tindered a means of settlement so first'y inspired that it was difficult to ee how any one believing in industheir mines, on the mine workers to expiration of the wage contracts tied seniority has been restored which are now being made under the same working conditions which are now being made. cap. In turn, the governmen' was

program so far as it is the public 1terest so to do, but I have an unalauthority by the Congress to search deeply, so that it may advise as to of laws to protect the public in the

The almost total exhaustion of tion of the railways, the distressed situation that has arisen and might grow worse in our great cities due to the shortage of anthracite, the winter needs by lake transportation. sider at once some form of temporary control of distribution and

The administration earnestly has to secure the rightful distribution There have been stances of flat refusal. I rejoice to who preferred to contribute to re-employ all by a nation's distress. -

carried in interstate shipment. I do employes to go ital to the public treasury where pri- posal has been accepted. vate conscience is insensible to a public need.

This proposal does not relate to and equitable distribution in intrastate shipments is a responsibility of impairing interstate commerce. government has endeavored to reestablish the authority and responsi- railway employes, who have Among the commissioners were to bility in the states which was unrepresentatives of the others, rep. dermined in the necessary centrali-

Rail Strike Situation The public menace in the coal The commission was to be try. The situation growing out of instructed to direct its first inquiry staution was made acute and more into the rate of wage to be paid for serious at the beginning of July ny the period ending next April 1, and the strike of the then to enter upon a fact-finding in-crafts in the railroad service-a wounded or killed. Men seeking quiry into every phase of the indus- strike against a wage decision made work and guards attempting to pro-try, and point the wayeto avoid fu- by the railroad labor board, direct- tect lives and property, even officers ture suspensions in production. The ly affecting approximately 400,000 disputants all indersed the sugges- men. The justice of the decision ion o. a fact-finding commission is not for discussion here. The anthracite operators promptly cision has been lost sight of in suba cepted the entire proposal. The sequent developments in any event. to intervent of its good of the workers refused to resume it was always possible to appear to fees to effect a settlement.

Work under the arbitration plan. The rehearing and the submission of the suspension of the coal inmajority of the bituminous operanew evidence, and it is always a dustry dates back to last April 1, tors filed an acceptance, but a consafe assumption that a government resume it was always possible to appeal for siderable minority declined the pro- agency of adjustment deciding un-

of contracts, which was negotiated the government had no other course with the government's sanction in than to invite a resumption of propurpose of hearing and deciding dissought, as early as last October, parties to the controversy, with ascenferences between the operators surance of government protection of need lead to an interruption in incomplete the government protection of the expression of the expression of the expression its support to maintain law and orgunous deciding dissought, as early as last October, parties to the controversy, with ascenferences between the operators surance of government protection of need lead to an interruption in incomplete the present administration duction under the rights of all putes between the carriers and their employes, so that no controversy case has state authority confessed its inability to cope with the situation and asked for federal assistance.

arrived. At that time the mine assurances of maintained law and workers declined to confer, though order were promptly given. In some the operators were agreeable, the instances concrete proof of effective that the higher wages might be paid. that the higher wages might be paid men, strikers nation on the ground that the and non-striking workmen alike, was It was inevitable that some readjustpromptly given. But little or no ments should follow. Naturally, new production followed. The simple but significant truth was reveal. The administrative government but significant truth was reveal. The ed that, except for such coal as neither advocated nor opposed. It comes from the districts worked by non-organized miners, the country is at the mercy of the United Mine Workers.

Government and ministrative government of the lawful as administrative government of the lawful as administrative government of the lawful as administrative government.

tain groups of operators, and the beseeching a settlement, alleging tice, and this decision was promptly continuously and the beseeching a settlement, alleging tice, and this decision was promptly that they knew no grievance, and carried to the courts and has rethe strike of April 1. It was in there is an unending story of appeals, cently been sustained in the federal stantly made nation-wide, so far as for relief where necessity or suffer-court of appeals. The public or the control, and included many discontrol, and included many discontrol many dis cause they did not hinder transpor-At every stage the government tation. dispute, and effected a complete has been a just neutral regarding many of the carriers to abide by de-interest field.

There are fundamental collections of the board were brought There are fundamental evils in our to my attention, I could more fairly present system of producing and appraise the feelings of the strikdistribution which make the wage ers, though they had a remedy with-problem difficult. In the bituminous out seeking to paralyze interstate fields are vastly more mines than are commerce.

there are 200,000 more mine workers than are needed to produce, in has little or no power to enforce its try's normal requirements. By condecisions. It can impose no penaltinuous employment I mean ap-proximately 280 working days in the ties on either party disregarding its decisions. It cannot halt a strike. year. In many instances last year and manifestly Congress deliberately men were employed less than 150 omitted the enactment of computdays, in some cases much fewer than sory arbitration. The decisions of that. In the overmanned sections the board must be made enforceable

bor board is inadequate.

men divide the working time, and and effective against carriers and high wages are necessary to meet employes alike. But the law is new, and no perfection of it by Congress sorely at this moment could be helpful in the present threatened paralysis of flevelop storage against enlarged transportation. Happily, it is always lawful and

-all these present problems bearoft times possible to settle disputes outside of court, so, in a desire to serve public welfare, I ventured Because of these things, because upon an all empt at mediation. teer its good offices in finding a of the impressions of many cases of Those who had preceded in at- dom of a hundred millions is surunjustifiable profits in the industry, tempted settlements had made some Accordingly a conference of the and because public interest demands progress. I submitted to the offi-Accordingly a selections and the investigation, and demands the find- claim of the striking employes and and district officials of the ing of facts be given to the public, the chairman of the Association of reneral and district omeias of the ling of facts of given to the public.
I nited Mine Workers was called, to I am asking at your hands the authority to create a commission to the same day, a tentative proposel gnstion of representation was make a searching investigation into for settlement. Knowing that some to the officials of the various or the whole coa lindustry, with pro- of the carriers had offended by igvision for its lawful activities and noring the decisions of the board the bestowal of authority to reveal and the employes had struck when every phase of coal production, they had a remedy without the sale, and distribution. I am speaking now on behalf of mine workers, over again, resume work, all to agree mine operators and the American to abide faithfully by the board's depublic. It will bring protection to cisions, make it a real tribunal of ers alike

of seniority. By the warkmen these The necessity for such a search, rights are held to be sacred, and gottly the hopelessness of the situa- ing national investigation with con- unsurrendered by a strike. By the structive recommendation is impera- carriers the preservation of seniority and workers to meet with me, and tive. At the moment the coal skies is the weapon of discipline on the are clearing, but unless we find a one hand and the reward of faithful cure for the economic ills which af-employes on the other. It has been fect the industry and therein find a an almost invariable rule that when ree how any one believing in littue. Feet the incustry and therein and a an amount invariance to all con-trial peace and justice to all con-basis for righteous relationship, we strikes have been lost seriority and trial neace and justice.

cerned could decline it In substance shall be faced with a like menac- its advantages have been surrent called on the operators to open in altuation on next April 1 on the deced, when strikes have been set-

In the tehtative proposal which I The need for such investigation sponsored, it was provided that the national government will have and independent consideration is re- everybody should go to work, with tean. In turn, the government was venied by both operators and mine seniority rights unimpaired, that in the rights secured to them under the two of them. If preferred by attraction the provision in the there should be no discrimination by treaties and to deal with crimes the to the dispute so that one Cleveland agreement so recently either workmen or carriers against the with the bluminous it made. The government will gladly workmen who did not strike

cooperate with the industry in this I realized that the proposal must carry a disappointment to employes who had inherited promotion by terable conviction that no lasting staying loyally on the job, and to satisfaction or worth while results such new men as had sought jobs will ensue urless we may have a looking to permanent employment, government commission, indepen- but I wanted the fresh start and dent of the industry, clothed with maintained transportation service, and I appraised the disappointment deeply, so that it may advise as to of the few to be less important than fair wages and as to conditions of la-bor and recommend the enactment nation. It was not what I would ask ordinarily to be considered or conceded, but at that moment of deep anxiety, with the coal shortage stocks of coal, the crippled condi-gravely menacing, I was thinking of tion of the railways, the distressed the pressing demands of the welfare of the whole people. I believed the sacrifice brought to the men involved could be amply compensated for by suffering which might arise in the the carriers in practical ways. In northwest through failure to meet believed that the matter of transcendent importance was the accept all these added to the possibility of ance of the proposal to respect the outrageous price demands in spite labor board's decisions on the ques of the most zealous voluntary efforts tions which formed the issue at the of the government to restrain them, time of the strike. The public com-

guarding by law against recurrence. The proposal was rejected by the carriers. Though the rejection did not end all negotiation, it left the sought to restrain profiteering and government only one course—to call the striking workmen to return to has been cordial co-operation in for decision. When negotiation or many fields, a fine revelation of mediation fails, this is the course business conscience stronger than contemplated by the law and the the temptation to profit by a people's government can have no chart for

n- its course except the law. To this call a majority of the carmake grateful acknowledgment to riers responded favorably, proposing strikers workmen or property, to restore the If it may have your approval, I striking workmen to their old posinot mean that all interstate coal board for decision. The minority of necessary; but it will restore its cap- positions were vacant. Neither pro-

Thus the narrative briles us to included the developments which include dthe developments which any possible employment in intra- have heightene dthe government's state shipments. Price restraint concern. Sympathetic strikes have developed here and there, seriously

Deserted trans-continental trains such voluntary activities as have in the desert regions of the southbeen carried on thus far the federal | west have revealed the cruelty and contempt for law on the part of some spired to paralyze and lawlessness and violence in a hundred places have revealed the failure of the striking unions to hold! their forces to law observance. Men who refused to strike and who have braved insult and assault and risked their lives to serve a public need, shop have been cruelly attacked and tect lives and property, even officers of the federal government, have been assaulted. hindered in their duties. Strikers have armed themselves and gathered in mobs about railroad shops to efer armed violence to any man attempting to go to work. There is a state of lawlessness shocking to ev-ery conception of American law and order and violating the cherished guarantees of American freedom. At no time has the federal government been unready or unwilling to give

mounted upward, necessarily, and such a lack of motive power that the nts of the laws are threatening the breakdown of transportation This very serious menace is magnified by the millions of losses to fruit growers an dother producers of perishable foodstuffs, and comparable losses to farmers who depend or transportation to market their grains at harvest time.

Even worse, it is hindering the ransportation of available coal when industry is on the verge of paralysis of coal shortage, and life and health are menaced by coal famin the great centers of popula ions must impress the Congress and the country that no body of men whether limited in numbers and refor railway management r powerful in numbers and the nec essary forces in railroad operation shall be permitted to choose a course which so imperils public welfare Neither organizations of employers nor workingmen's unions may es-cape responsibility. When related to public service the mere fact of organization magnifies that responsi bility and public interest transcends that of either grouped capital or or-

ganized labor Another development is so significant that the hardships of the moopular attention to necessary It is fundamental to all Hement. freedom that all men have unques tioned rights to lawful pursuits to work and to live and choose their own lawful ways to happiness. In these strikes these rights have been denied by assault and violence, by armed lawlessness. In many com-munities the municipal authorities have winked at these violations, until liber'y is a mockery and the law s matter of community contempt. rganized workmen do not approve These conditions cannot remain in toil according to their own lawful hoosing, all our constitutional guarautees born of democracy are would have no law.

ress to feal with these fundamental problems at this time. No hasty ac tion would contribute to the solution existing law by which to settle the prevailing disputes. There re statutes forbidding conspiracy to hinder inter-state commerce ire laws to assure the highest nossible safety in railway service. It 'nov purnose to invoke these laws civil and criminal, against all offend-

prejudice influences when the whole problem may be appraised and the public welfare may be ascerted against any and every interest which seumes authority beyond that of the government itself

One specific thing I must ask at your hands at the earliest possible moment. There is a pending bill to their treaty rights. It is a measure. hort, to create a jurisdiction for federal courts through which



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