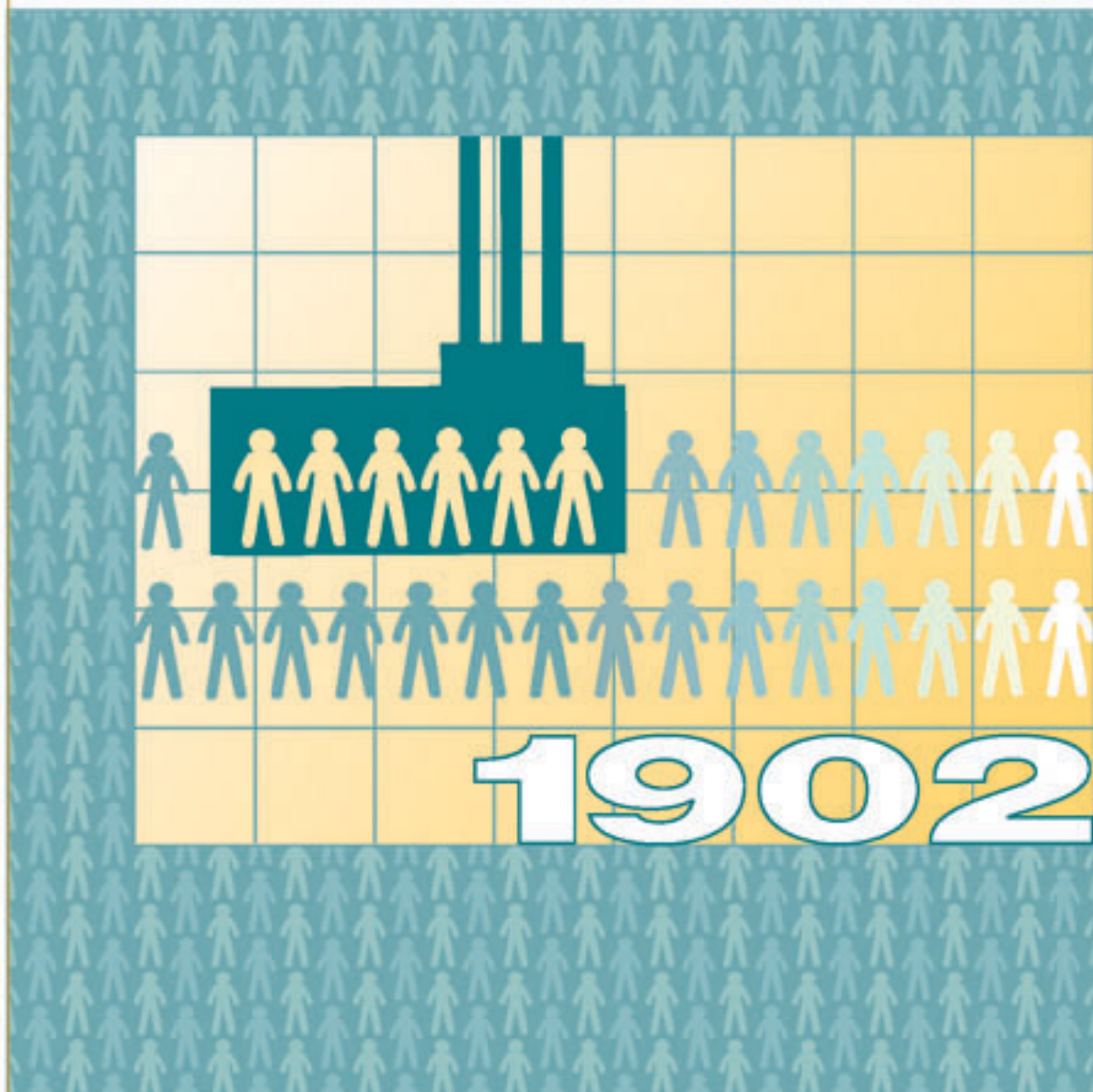


T.R. AND THE COAL STRIKE



A Re-creation of President Teddy Roosevelt's Historical
Intervention in the Coal Strike of 1902

T. R. AND THE COAL STRIKE

A re-creation of President Teddy Roosevelt's historical intervention
between management and labor in the coal strike of 1902

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Why is this presidential decision so important in our economic history?

PURPOSE

The re-creation examines President Theodore Roosevelt's groundbreaking intervention in the Coal Strike of 1902. It re-creates that event's strife, emotion, and turmoil, while Roosevelt struggled to decide if he should involve the federal government in the crisis. It also examines the Coal Commission's attempt to arbitrate the dispute. Through participating in this re-creation students should be able to master the following:

Knowledge

1. Tracing the reasons for the rise of labor unions
2. Explaining the events which led to the Coal Strike of 1902
3. Discussing the issues surrounding Roosevelt's decision to intervene in the strike
4. Explaining how Roosevelt finally forced the two sides to arbitration
5. Analyzing and evaluating the evidence used by the Coal Commission

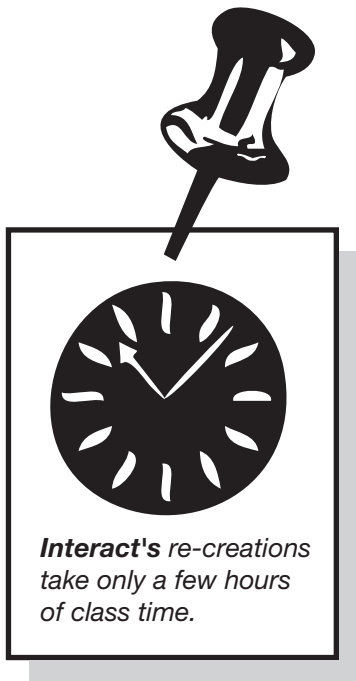
Attitudes

1. Appreciating the reason for differences in points of view
2. Understanding how difficult it may be to help opposing sides reconcile serious differences

Skills

1. Writing paragraphs explaining points of view
2. Defending opinions and question conflicting ideas orally
3. Determining valid points in evidence
4. Analyzing components of a decision
5. Prioritizing issues in a decision

OVERVIEW



During four days students are introduced to the coal strike crisis. They participate in two presidential meetings, an arbitration hearing, and two debriefing activities.

Day 1

Introduce the re-creation with an interest catcher and a survey (optional). The students read the Student Guide. Explain and assign the various roles.

Day 2

After you introduce the first scene, Roosevelt, George Baer, and John Mitchell meet to discuss arbitration possibilities. In Scene 2, the president, Carroll Wright, Philander Knox, and Elihu Root convene to discuss and analyze the alternatives Roosevelt might use.

Day 3

The audience, playing the arbitration committee, hears evidence and establishes points of settlement between the operators and the miners. This scene's participants include Clarence Darrow, Wayne MacVeagh, George Baer, John Mitchell, and John Coll.

Day 4

On the final day, students have two debriefing activities. They discuss several hypothetical case studies, and they retake Day 1's attitude survey (optional).

SETUP DIRECTIONS



Note: You will not need to duplicate the bulleted items the first time you use this re-creation, for Interact has given you different colored handouts for those students playing roles. If you choose to use the recommended optional PRE/POST SURVEY, you will have to duplicate it.

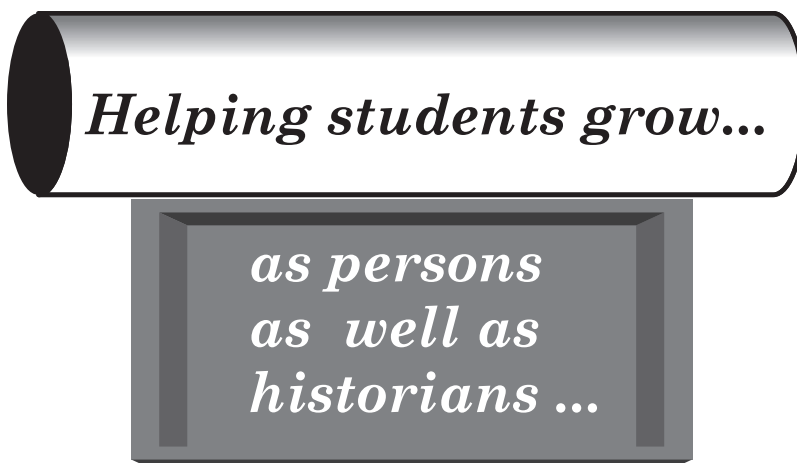
All other items necessary for the re-creation are in the Student Guide.

1. **Handouts** See note at left the first time you use this re-creation. For subsequent classes, duplicate the number in parentheses, using the masters in this Teacher Guide.
 - PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT (one: three pages, back to back)
 - GEORGE BAER (one: two pages, back to back)
 - JOHN MITCHELL (one: two pages, back to back)
 - PHILANDER KNOX (one: one page)
 - ELIHU ROOT (one: one page)
 - CARROLL WRIGHT (one: one page)
 - WAYNE MacVEAGH (one: two pages, back to back)
 - CLARENCE DARROW (one: two pages, back to back)
 - JOHN COLL (one: one page)

Optional:

- * PRE/POST SURVEY (two class sets: one page)

2. **Assigning roles** There are nine roles in this re-creation. Since the moderator's responsibilities are demanding, you should play this role. In assigning the other parts to your students, judiciously select appropriate students of the proper caliber to fill each role. Roles such as President Roosevelt's, Baer's, Mitchell's, Darrow's, and MacVeagh's all require a sound grasp of their requirements and a thorough preparation.



ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Darrow, Clarence, *The Story of My Life*, Universal Library, Grosset and Dunlap, New York, 1932. Darrow's biography provides an arresting overview of his attitudes and his role in the strike.

Grossman, Jonathan, "The Coal Strike of 1902: Turning Point in U.S. Policy," *Monthly Labor Review*, 98:21–28, October 1975. The author's detailed account of the U.S. intervention in the coal strike clearly states the case between the opposing sides and describes Roosevelt's efforts to end the strike.

Lorant, Stefan, *Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*, Doubleday, Garden City, 1959. Lorant reveals Roosevelt's actions after his meeting with Baer and Mitchell collapsed.

Mowry, George E., *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900–1912*, Harper and Row, New York, 1958. Mowry supplies a brief but clear account of the entire coal crisis.

Reynolds, Robert L., "The Coal Kings Come to Judgment," *American Heritage Magazine*, Volume. XI:3, April 1960. This interesting, photo-packed article contains a complete description of the entire coal strike. It has invaluable information about the coal miners' struggle. It also clearly discusses Roosevelt's attempt to end the strike.

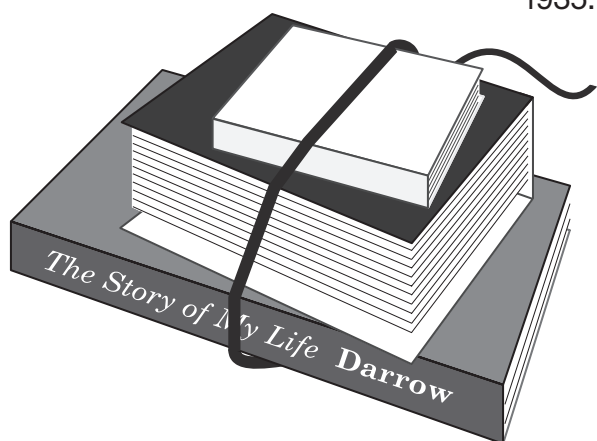
Roosevelt, Theodore, edited by Wayne Andrews, *The Autobiography of Theodore Roosevelt*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1958. Roosevelt's highly readable autobiography explains his views about capital, labor, and the federal government's relationships with each.

Stone, Irving, *Clarence Darrow for the Defense*, Doubleday, Garden City, 1941. This novel-biography's chief value lies in its excellent presentation of Darrow's strategy and talents in representing the United Mine Workers.

Sullivan, Mark, *Our Times: The United States 1900–1925; America Finding Itself*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1935. This easily read and enjoyable book provides a blow-by-blow account of Roosevelt's involvement in the 1902 Coal Strike and the events which brought about the Coal Commission hearing.

Consider seeing your friendly school librarian so that she/he will set up a T. ROOSEVELT AND THE COAL STRIKE RESERVE SHELF just for your class.

Certain students—the one playing Clarence Darrow for example—just might go to Darrow's *The Story of My Life* in order to "flesh out" his/her character.



DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 1



Be certain you have carefully planned how to integrate this re-creation with the early 20th-century history chapters you have had your students read in their textbooks.

Before Day 1 Be sure you have thoroughly examined this Teacher Guide, the various handouts, and the Student Guide.

Day 1

1. Introduce the topic with an interest catcher that will sensitize students to the issues they are going to meet. A lecture, movie, or an appropriate current events discussion would likely achieve this objective.
2. Administer the PRE/POST SURVEY. Have students write the date and their names on this survey so that they can compare the differences in their responses, if any, after taking it a second time.
3. Distribute the Student Guides and have students read the Purpose and Background Essay.
4. Assign the nine roles.
5. Satisfy yourself that everyone understands his/her tasks.
 - a. Separate the role players from the rest of the class and distribute the proper handouts.
 - b. Have the audience prepare both sides of their note-taking sheets.
 - c. Circulate from group to group in order to help students prepare.

Day 2

1. Get the room and participants ready.
 - a. Arrange the desks in a convenient order.
 - b. Make props available (e.g., a presidential seal, writing paper, possibly a wheelchair—Roosevelt had been injured in a carriage accident several weeks before).
 - c. Insure that the role-players are ready.
 - d. Arrange with Roosevelt certain signals telling him/her to “speed up,” “slow down,” or “get more information.”
2. Introduce Scene 1 to the audience. For example: “Caught in the midst of a crippling coal strike, President Roosevelt has decided to bring both the operators and the UMW together to discuss an arbitration settlement. The date is October 3, 1902. The scene is the White House. Present are President Roosevelt, George Baer and John Mitchell.”
3. Scene 1 begins:
 - a. The president opens the meeting.
 - b. Mitchell and Baer express their views.
 - c. The meeting ends in failure.
 - d. Baer and Mitchell leave.

DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 2



Encourage your students to speak passionately. Work to get them truly involved in their characterizations.

If you have a quality class and you are considering using this re-creation next year, record the presidential decision so that you can show portions next year to stimulate students' performance. (Such a video is also useful for open house when you want parents to see the participatory nature of your instruction.)



4. After Baer and Mitchell exit you should briefly comment on what has happened and communicate T.R.'s frustrations.
5. Now set the stage for Scene 2: Roosevelt, Wright, Knox, and Root meet to discuss the president's options.
6. Scene 2 begins:
 - a. Roosevelt comments on his failure to get an agreement.
 - b. He listens to input from his advisers.
 - c. Using the three alternatives provided in the Student Guide, the group evaluates each alternative's strong and weak points.
 - d. Roosevelt then makes and announces his decision to the class.
7. If time permits, ask for students' reactions to Roosevelt's decision.
8. Briefly explain what preparation you expect for Day 3. (The participants should examine their handouts; audience members should read Day 3's description in the Student Guide.)

Day 3

1. Open Day 3 with a summation of yesterday's events.
2. Point out that the audience, playing the Coal Commission, will hear evidence presented by Clarence Darrow, representing the UMW, and by Wayne MacVeagh, representing the mine operators.
3. Tell the audience to listen carefully since they will decide on three issues:
 - **Wages** Should the miners not receive a raise? receive a raise of 10 percent? receive a raise of 20 percent?
 - **Hours** Should miners' daily working hours be reduced to 8 hours? 9 hours? or should they remain at 10 hours?
 - **Union recognition** Should the UMW be recognized as the coal miner's bargaining agent?
4. Introduce the participants to the class: Clarence Darrow, Wayne MacVeagh, George Baer, John Mitchell, and John Coll.
5. Acting as moderator, have the scene begin with both sides' opening statements: Darrow's first, MacVeagh's second.
6. Allow MacVeagh to question his witnesses first.
7. Then have Darrow question his witnesses. Each lawyer may call the other's witnesses.

DAILY TEACHING DIRECTIONS - 3

8. After both lawyers finish, Baer delivers his side's closing statement. Then Darrow delivers his side's closing statement.
9. When the hearing is completed, conduct a discussion of the evidence presented.
10. After the discussion, have the class vote on each issue. You decide whether a plurality or majority is necessary to settle an issue.
11. If time permits after the class has made its decisions, tell the class the terms of the actual settlement: a 10-percent raise; a 9-hour day; but no union recognition.

Day 4



Having students speak about the activity they have experienced will intensify their learning. Such speaking experiences also help students' personal growth.

1. Number off your class 1 to 4 so that you form four groups.
2. Have each group fulfill the debriefing activity as described in the Student Guide. After the groups have had time to discuss the options, have their chairpersons report to the whole class.
3. Distribute new PRE/POST SURVEYS. Have students retake the survey.
4. When the students have completed these surveys, return their first surveys.
5. Ask students to identify factors in this re-creation that contributed to any attitudinal changes.

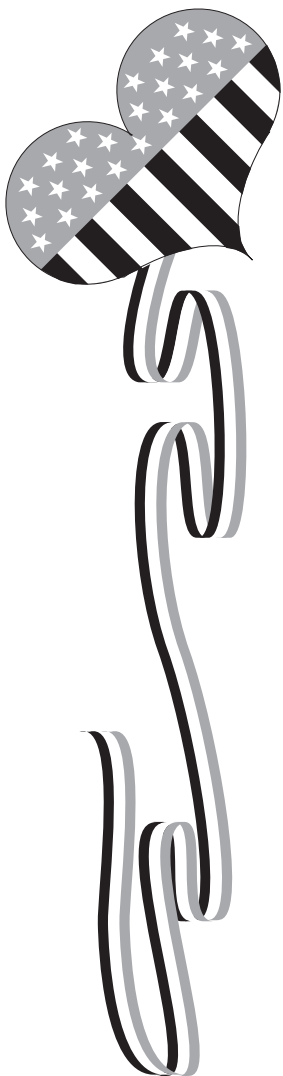
PRE-POST SURVEY

Date _____ Name _____

Directions: Read the following statements. For each statement circle **SA** if you strongly agree; **A** if you agree; **NS** if you are not sure; **D** if you disagree; and **SD** if you strongly disagree.

- | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| 1. Labor unions' demands are often harmful to the general public. | SA | A | NS | D | SD |
| 2. A company's owners have the right to set the working conditions of its business. | SA | A | NS | D | SD |
| 3. Since America's business is business, the federal government should regulate businesses as little as possible. | SA | A | NS | D | SD |
| 4. If a worker doesn't like the working conditions his employer offers him/her, the worker should quit. | SA | A | NS | D | SD |
| 5. The more profits America's companies make the better off all Americans are. | SA | A | NS | D | SD |
| 6. When workers strike, the federal government should force them back to work for the nation's welfare. | SA | A | NS | D | SD |
| 7. Belonging to a union means that a worker is too weak to stand up for his individual rights. | SA | A | NS | D | SD |
| 8. A satisfied group of laborers will produce more goods and profits for their employers. | SA | A | NS | D | SD |
| 9. A corporation's first priority is getting dividends for its stockholders even when the well-being of the nation may be at stake. | SA | A | NS | D | SD |
| 10. A stockholder has the "divine right" to make profits. | SA | A | NS | D | SD |

PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT HANDOUT - 1



You will portray President Theodore Roosevelt in this re-creation by conducting two scenes. After hearing the discussion and weighing the alternatives, you will select and announce your decision, which will end the crippling coal strike of 1902.

While role-playing Roosevelt, you must carry out several tasks:

1. Familiarize yourself with your political career, your progressive viewpoints, and your attitudes toward the presidency.
2. Know the background and issues surrounding the coal strike and your efforts to end it.
3. Prepare yourself thoroughly so that you will be “in character” as you conduct two meetings at the White House.
4. Analyze the strong and weak points of each alternative available to you.
5. Choose and announce your decision to the class.

Background information

Read the Background Essay in your Student Guide to acquaint yourself with your early career, your rise to the presidency, and your efforts to end the coal strike. Here are some basic points to recall:

1. Your political career is characterized by action and accomplishments. You do not shy from controversy.
2. As president you are an activist, get-things-done individual. You take the initiative rather than react to others. This coal strike is no exception.
3. You believe that the government must step in to protect its citizens from the excesses of industrial expansion.
4. You are wary of too much corporate power and accept the workers’ right to form responsible unions to protect their interests.
5. You are concerned about the spreading effects of the coal strike. Ignoring the lack of legal precedent, you are convening both sides at the White House in order to use your influence to settle their differences for the nation’s welfare.

Re-creation participants

Scene 1 The re-creation’s second day has two scenes that you will lead. In the first scene, you will meet with George Baer, spokesman for the mine operators, and John Mitchell, his counterpart for the UMW (United Mine Worker). Your goal here is to attempt to get each side to agree to arbitration. (Arbitration is a process when both sides in a dispute agree to abide by a decision made by a third group of qualified, independent individuals.)

PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT HANDOUT -2

Scene 2 Failing to achieve arbitration during Scene 1, you will then meet with your advisers to weigh your next course of action. Your advisers will be Carroll Wright, commissioner of labor; Philander Knox, your attorney general; and Elihu Root, your secretary of war. In this scene you will summarize your failure in the first scene, analyze the choices available to you, and make a decision which will end the strike.



Approach your role seriously. You might appear to feel uncharacteristically uncomfortable as you open the scene.

Above all: *Never leave any doubt that you are the president.*

You will be much better prepared if you go to a library and get some books on Teddy Roosevelt to read. He was quite a flamboyant person. Figure out how you believe he would have acted under the circumstances. Try your best to “get into the role” and then “to stay in character.”

The re-creation begins

Scene 1 When you convene the first meeting, remember that you are in a unique position. This is the first time a president has sought to mediate a national strike. Use the questions in this handout as a *general* guide. You can adapt the questions’ pace and wording to your own style. Allow Mitchell and Baer to freely express their views. Try to pinpoint vague answers by asking “why” or “how.” Point out their differences on basic issues. Through all this remember to act presidential, even though George Baer is rude and discourteous to you. (You may allow yourself to boil inside, but don’t speak rudely to him.)

Scene 2 After the first meeting collapses in failure, you meet with your advisers to consider your options. Follow the directions described above to start the sessions. Adapt your questions below as you see fit. This session should be more systematic than the first because here you must make a formal decision. Allow the advisers to express their initial viewpoints. Then conduct an analysis of the good and bad points of each alternative. Probe your advisers for their opinions, encouraging them to exchange their ideas. The livelier the discussion you foment, the more interest you will generate in your decision!

PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT HANDOUT -3



As you are asking your questions, occasionally flash your famous teeth and scintillating smile. But...be sure you show your ramrod strength. You are not asking them to make your decision. They are only giving advice.

You are the president!

Alternative 1:

Since the federal government has no legal right to interfere in business-labor disputes, step back and hope that the strike will be resolved without federal meddling.

Alternative 2: *Despite the fact that there is no legal authority for a president to settle the coal strike, the presidency has a moral obligation to end the conflict. Therefore, send troops to the coal mines to run the mines until the strike is resolved.*

Alternative 3:

Threaten to send troops to the mines and also rely on financier J.P. Morgan's influence to force the mine operators to accept an arbitration commission.

Presidential questions

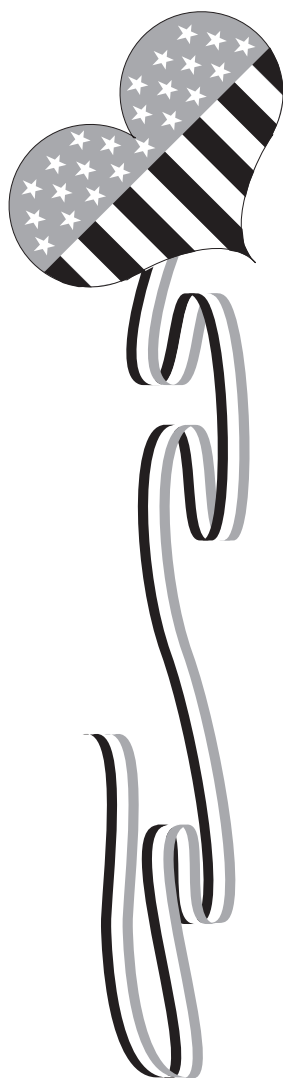
Scene 1

1. Gentlemen, I have no legal authority to force you to a settlement. Yet I have convened this meeting to remind you of your responsibilities to the American nation. This strike has caused much hardship for all our citizens. I appeal to your patriotism to submit your grievances to arbitration. Will you do this?
2. Ask other questions that probe into any hesitancy to accept arbitration. (Allow each side to answer these questions.) Keep trying to persuade both sides to accept arbitration. When the teacher signals you to cut off the meeting, do so, thanking the two for coming. Baer and Mitchell will then exit, but you will remain for Scene 2.

Scene 2

1. Gentlemen, you're aware that my meeting with Baer and Mitchell failed miserably. Mr. Baer did not behave like a gentleman. Why, if it wasn't for this high office I hold I would have taken him by the seat of the breeches and the nape of the neck and chucked him out of that window! Have any of you any suggestions about actions I might now take?
2. Do I have the constitutional right to end this dispute?
3. Can we afford the time to let the two sides reach a private settlement?
4. Let's summarize our situation by examining the pros and cons of each alternative. What about our first alternative? State Alternative 1 at left. Discuss pros and cons.
5. Repeat #4 except concentrate on the second and third alternatives.
6. Which alternative do you each support?
7. Would you like to speculate about what each alternative might mean for future presidents?
8. Here is my decision. (You now should accept Root's proposal to enlist J.P. Morgan's help in forcing the operators to accept arbitration under threat of United States seizure of the mines.)

GEORGE BAER HANDOUT - 1



In this re-creation you portray George Baer, who represents the mine operators' interests in their 1902 conflicts with the UMW (United Mine Workers). First you offer your opinions to President Theodore Roosevelt about his rightful role in labor-management disputes. Next you testify before the Coal Commission as it meets to arbitrate the strike.

To meet this responsibility you have several tasks to fulfill:

1. Know your background and career.
2. Familiarize yourself with your role in the entire coal crisis.
3. Prepare yourself to present your views to Roosevelt about his intervention in the strike.
4. Prepare yourself to testify before the Coal Commission.

Background information

You are only one of several representatives of the mine operators, but you have become their chief spokesman. Convinced that the miners received too much in the 1900 settlement and determined to break the power of the growing United Mine Workers, your group has adamantly refused to bargain with them or to even discuss concessions. When the UMW president, John Mitchell, proposed mediation through a committee of clergymen, you refused. You said, "Anthracite mining is a business and not a religious, sentimental, or academic proposition."

When the UMW struck, you and your colleagues were determined to destroy the union. Your strong stand has only prolonged the strike and aggravated the tension between the two sides. The public, caught in the middle, is suffering from a scarcity of coal. As public feelings have intensified, you have ignored the pressure. For example, in response to a letter from a Mr. Clark who had hoped that the "Holy Spirit might put reason in your heart," you said that "the rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men of property to whom God has given control of the property and rights of the country!"



You should radiate your feeling that you, and only you, know how laboring people should be treated—like children who do not really know how to care for themselves.

The bottom line of your attitude toward the strike is that you are an old-fashioned, laissez-faire capitalist. You believe that America's business is business and that when rich men are left alone to get rich, some of America's wealth will eventually trickle down to help the poor. All of your actions and statements support this attitude. Thus, you view your responsibility as defending the "divine right of stockholders" for their immediate benefit and for the eventual benefit of the *entire* United States.

GEORGE BAER HANDOUT - 2



You will be more effective if you watch some individuals on TV who are moderating panel discussions.

Note that the most effective ones are carefully prepared, speak forcefully and clearly, and communicate how interesting they think the subject of the program is. Therefore, strive to be prepared, forceful, clear, and enthusiastic!

Role in Scene 1

Consider yourself the chief antagonist in the meeting President Roosevelt has convened between you and John Mitchell. You are angry that the president has intervened in the rights of private property and even angrier that he is using his influence to force you to meet Mitchell face to face.

Since you do not recognize the right of the United Mine Workers to bargain for the coal miners, you must studiously ignore Mitchell, even when he addresses you. Turn away from him. Ignore him. Instead direct all your remarks to Roosevelt. Mince no words with him either.

After Roosevelt opens the meeting and Mitchell expresses his opinion, waste no time in berating the president. You should accuse Roosevelt of wasting time in negotiating with “lawless criminals.” Preach to the president about his responsibility to use his power to protect the non-union men who want to and have a right to work. Most importantly, you must angrily reject any form of arbitration with the strikers. End by insisting that the owners’ rights to a fair profit must be protected.

Role in the Coal Commission hearing

The re-creation’s climax takes place during a Coal Commission arbitration hearing. The class will play the commission. Members will listen to and weigh the evidence presented. They will vote on three issues: wages, hours, and union recognition.

While preparing for this hearing, work with your attorney, Wayne MacVeagh. Develop strategies and questions for the witnesses. Be prepared to testify on the operators’ behalf. Stress your beliefs about the strike and the rights of corporations. Emphasize that the union has committed lawless violence and is not entitled to any concessions.

Finally, you’re responsible for delivering a closing statement to the commission. At this moment, you must summarize your basic positions. Discuss the responsibility of the “Captains of Industry” to increase the community’s prosperity by increasing the company’s prosperity. Point out your obligation to the stockholders who deserve a fair return for their investment. Don’t concede that the workers don’t make a fair wage or labor in bad conditions! You once said, “We offer them work and we tell what we will give. They then say what they are willing to take for it, and an agreement is made between man and man. Then they go to work and work honestly on that contract. Is this slavery?”

In summary, you obviously have an important role in this re-creation. Prepare yourself to protect the right of life’s “winners” to get richer.

JOHN MITCHELL HANDOUT - 1

Your job is to portray United Mine Workers' President John Mitchell as you struggle to gain concessions for your workers during the bitter Coal Strike of 1902. You will meet with President Theodore Roosevelt and George Baer; later you will be a key witness before the Coal Commission arbitration hearings.



To meet this responsibility you have several tasks to fulfill:

1. Know your background and career.
2. Know your efforts to secure improvements for the miners' conditions.
3. Be able to represent your union's position in the meeting between yourself, Baer, and Roosevelt.
4. Assist Clarence Darrow in preparing the UMW case to be presented to the Coal Commission.
5. Prepare yourself to testify before the Coal Commission.

Background information

The coal mines were part of your life while you were a young boy. An Illinois-born son of a coal miner, you slaved on the breakers at age 13. You educated yourself through much reading, and by age 28 you had become president of the UMW (United Mine Workers) in 1898. Your tireless efforts unified the many immigrant miners and began giving them real hope that they *could* improve their lives.

You won several gains for the UMW in the 1900 coal strike, but they had been erased by a 30-percent inflation. In 1902 you submitted more demands to the operators. These men, however, were determined to resist any concession to the union; consequently, they refused even to meet with you. When you offered to submit your demands to a neutral party for arbitration, they refused this suggestion, too.

On May 12, 1902, you reluctantly called a strike to gain union recognition, a minimum wage, a 20-percent raise, and fair coal weighing procedures at 60 cents a ton. As hopes for a quick settlement decreased, the pressures of the strike increased. Ever conscious of public opinion, you had constantly warned your men to avoid violence. The great majority of your members complied, but, nevertheless, some did attack the non-union miners and scabs (strikebreakers) who tried to work. The operators accused your men of at least 21 murders and innumerable beatings. Consequently, the governor of Pennsylvania added to the tensions by calling in the National Guard to police the mining region. They were even equipped with an ill-advised order to "shoot-to-kill" if necessary. Members of the dreaded Coal and Iron police spread terror by beating some union members and evicting others from their homes.

JOHN MITCHELL HANDOUT- 2

The strike's effect on the nation has deepened as the cold season approached. President Roosevelt, anxious to end the strike, has invited you to the White House to meet with him and George Baer. You immediately accepted this invitation. You have heard that Roosevelt is an honest, outspoken, outdoorsman—a physical man who is also an intellectual. Since you sense you will get along with him very well, you are eager for the meeting.



Do your best to radiate integrity. (History reveals that President Roosevelt was impressed by how you conducted yourself; he was not impressed by the operators' representative, George Baer.)

Role in Scene 1

The other two participants in the scene will be President Roosevelt, who may be a potential, if silent, ally with your cause, and George Baer, the mine operators' representative. Baer may even be an unwitting ally if he loses his temper at the meeting. Expect him to ignore you, criticize the president, and reject any arbitration.

Knowing what Baer's behavior will likely be, carefully work to have your behavior contrast with Baer's. It's in your interest to cheerfully accept arbitration since this amounts to a silent recognition of your union as the miners' bargaining agent. After all, arbitration is one of your demands. Public opinion, too, will record the fact that you are willing to go to arbitration but the operators are not. Thus, immediately after Roosevelt makes his opening statement, leap to your feet and express your sincere willingness to accept arbitration so these issues can be resolved peacefully. Above all, remember to behave in a dignified and gentlemanly manner.

Role in the Coal Commission hearing

Eventually, Roosevelt will be able to wrestle the operators to the arbitration table. You then will have the opportunity to present your case not only to the Coal Commission but also to the nation. The other participants in this scene will be Clarence Darrow, your union's lawyer; John Coll, a miner; Wayne MacVeagh, the operator's lawyer; and George Baer. The class, playing the Coal Commission, will hear testimony from both sides and then will decide whether the miners are entitled to improvements in hours and wages, and to obtain union recognition.

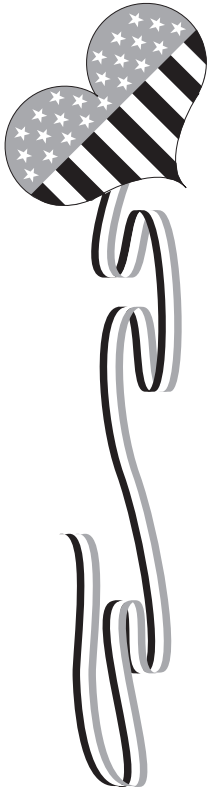


There will be moments when you must speak with the human fire of someone who knows what it means to go down into those frightening coal mines.

You are to assist Darrow in preparing his case for the UMW. Expect to be questioned by Darrow and by MacVeagh. Based on the information from this handout and the Background Essay in the Student Guide, you should provide vivid testimony about the miners' working conditions and problems. When questioned about the violence of your men, counter with the "shoot-to-kill" order given to the National Guard and point to the Coal and Iron police's own violence. (Coll will say more about this violence later.) Above all, speak passionately in an attempt to convince the commission that the operators must give the miners better working conditions.

In summary, your role is a critical one if this re-creation is to succeed. Prepare yourself well and work hard to get your union members their fair share of the American pie.

PHILANDER KNOX HANDOUT



As Theodore Roosevelt's attorney general, you advise the president about the legality of federal intervention in the Coal Strike of 1902.

To meet this responsibility, you have several tasks to fulfill:

1. Know your role in the Coal Strike of 1902.
2. Be able to express your views about Roosevelt's proposed intervention in the coal strike.
3. Prepare yourself to exchange your opinions with differing views.
4. Assist the president in analyzing his alternatives.

Background information

The attorney general is the president's chief legal adviser. That has been your role during the strike. On several occasions you have counseled Roosevelt that he should stand clear of the crisis. For example, you advised him not to comment on Carroll Wright's recommendations about the strike. You feared that the public might interpret this action as presidential approval of Wright's recommendations. Since federal interference in labor-management conflicts has historically and constitutionally been minimal, you believe that Roosevelt should let matters resolve themselves. You are convinced that the federal government has no legal authority to directly intervene.



If you have extra time and a good library nearby, try researching Knox's relationship to Roosevelt. Find out how they related to one another?

The key point to remember as far as acting is this: You represent a cautious, conservative man with a do-nothing-right-away attitude.

Role in Scene 2

After Roosevelt's meeting with George Baer and John Mitchell has failed, the president has called you to a conference with himself and other advisers—Elihu Root and Carroll Wright, secretary of war and commissioner of labor respectively. In light of the operators' refusal to accept arbitration, the scene's purpose is to discuss and examine the remaining alternatives available to the president. Your position remains clear. Continue advising President Roosevelt to avoid direct federal interference. However, you don't expect the president to pay much attention to the legal emphasis in your remarks. Because T.R. is dynamic—a real activist—you have witnessed him frequently paying little or no attention to the specific legality involved in an issue. (Once when you were irritated at him, you even said: "Why be marred by any taint of legality?")

At any rate, although you expect to be ignored, keep stressing your opinion to the president, to Root, and to Wright.

ELIHU ROOT HANDOUT



As President Theodore Roosevelt's secretary of war, you are his adviser as he tries to choose the best alternative to end the Coal Strike of 1902. You offer to use your influence with financier J.P. Morgan to get the coal operators to accept arbitration.

To meet this responsibility, you have several tasks to fulfill:

1. Study the background of the coal strike.
2. Know your relationship to the strike.
3. Be able to clearly state how you think the strike should be resolved.
4. Assist the president in analyzing his alternatives.

Background information

Your position of secretary of war did not have a direct relationship with the coal strike. However, the president values your opinion. Once you studied the situation, you decided that the major obstacle to resolving the strike has become pride. Each side has refused to make the first major concession. What's needed, you believe, is a push from an outside agency to move the impasse off center. You believe you may have the solution to the crisis. You have some influence with J.P. Morgan, one of the wealthiest and most powerful men in the world. He has the clout to persuade his fellow corporate owners to agree to arbitration if he desires.

You know that the president is contemplating sending in the army to take over the mines. The federal government would then act as a federal receivership until a settlement was reached. You feel you can convince Morgan that such a prospect would do little good for the operators. Therefore, you believe you can persuade Morgan to decide to push the operators into the arbitration room.



If you have the time and a good library nearby, try researching the kind of man Elihu Root was. You will likely discover that he was the voice of reason rather than passion in this presidential crisis—and thus a man whom T.R. had learned to trust.

Role in Scene 2

You participate in the second scene of the re-creation. At that time you propose your solution to the other members. The other participants will be President Roosevelt, Philander Knox, and Carroll Wright. Together you will weigh the fine points of the alternatives available to Roosevelt as he struggles to end the coal strike. Be sure to offer and defend your proposal (i.e., you will use your influence with J.P. Morgan to get him to persuade the operators to accept arbitration). As a concession to the operators you might suggest to Roosevelt that he allow the operators to choose the types of people on the commission. Stress how arbitration will not require the operators to deal directly with the UMW. Thus, you will soothe their pride and possibly pave the way to an equitable settlement for all concerned.

CARROLL WRIGHT HANDOUT



As commissioner of labor, your overall role is to report to President Theodore Roosevelt any information you have gathered that will enable him to consider the alternatives he may use to end the coal strike. To meet this responsibility you have several tasks to fulfill:

1. Know your role in investigating the coal strike issues.
2. Be able to express your opinion about federal intervention in the strike.
3. Prepare yourself to exchange and express viewpoints.
4. Assist the president in analyzing his alternatives.

Background information

At this moment in history the federal government has not seen fit to create a cabinet-level Department of Labor. You, therefore, as commissioner of labor are the leading governmental expert about labor matters.

As a result of President Roosevelt's orders, you have been investigating all aspects of the coal strike. Your findings, the results of extensive interviews with John Mitchell, the operators, and many foremen and miners, uncovered several basic issues. The two sides are disputing these issues: "cheating" on coal weigh-ins by the operators, wages, freight costs, and hours. In your report you proposed that each side accept a nine-hour day and protection of non-union workers so that the mines could re-open. You suggested that the remaining differences be resolved by a joint conciliation commission.

The president studied your report and then asked Attorney General Philander Knox to read it. Knox recommended that Roosevelt withhold publishing the report, temporarily, since some persons might misinterpret its conclusions as presidential support for its recommendations. (Remember in 1902 that the federal government avoided direct intervention in labor-management disputes.)

Of course, Roosevelt does not worry too much about precedents. He has already called a meeting (Scene 1) during which he tried to persuade the two sides to accept arbitration. Since it failed miserably, he now faces the prospect of an even longer strike and a considerable loss of prestige. And the nation may have a cold winter without coal!

You are deeply concerned that public outrage against George Baer's stubbornness might spark a call for a radical nationalizing of the mines. Consequently, you recognize a critical need for prompt action.

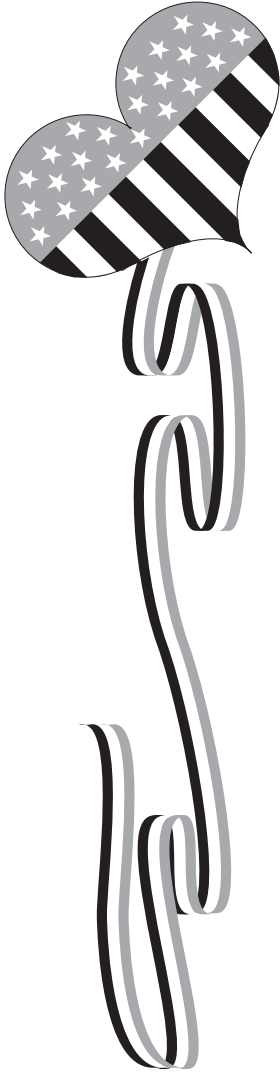


Like Elihu Root, you should strive to be a voice of reason. Be calm but forceful.

Role in Scene 2

The president is going to value your opinions as a participant in Scene 2. He will meet with you, Philander Knox, and Elihu Root to discuss and to analyze the alternatives he could use to end the strike. A reasonable man, you are anxious to settle the conflict. While you believe all the alternatives have some merit, you will support Alternative 3, which advocates enlisting J.P. Morgan's help to bring the operators to arbitration under threat of an army takeover of the mines. Although it certainly smacks of federal strong-arm tactics, the prospect of fuel lines, high coal prices, and civil unrest are more distasteful to you. Therefore, you must speak as eloquently as you can for Alternative 3.

WAYNE MACVEAGH HANDOUT - 1



You head a team of lawyers which will represent the coal mine operators' interests before the Coal Commission set up by Theodore Roosevelt to settle the Coal Strike of 1902.

To meet this responsibility you have several tasks to fulfill:

1. Know your background and early career.
2. Know the circumstances behind the issues involved in the coal strike.
3. Identify the strategies you will use before the Coal Commission.
4. Develop questions you will ask to support the operators' positions.
5. Prepare and deliver an opening speech for the hearing.

Background information

You are a lawyer, diplomat, and political reformer who has served many posts in the federal government, including attorney general under President James A. Garfield. Now a practicing attorney, you have been hired by the operators to help them secure a favorable settlement during the Coal Commission arbitration hearing.

While consulting with George Baer, you developed several issues you wish to highlight. For example, you will argue that union activity is un-American since it destroys the individual's initiative to compete and to achieve for his own well-being. You also believe, as your colleague Baer puts it, that unions interfere "with the divine right of stockholders to gain a profit for their investment." Furthermore, you view the United Mine Workers as unworthy of any concessions. After all, their strike has resulted in lawless violence against non-union and scab workers. Indeed they are responsible for 21 murders! Finally, any raises or improvement in working conditions would result in higher prices for the consumer.

In preparing your case you must develop questions which will support the above points. You must convince the Coal Commission that submitting to the UMW's illegal actions might encourage more lawlessness. Instead, the commission will best serve America if members make no concessions to the UMW and in this way uphold corporate rights.

Role in Scene 3

Opening statement Prepare a coolly logical opening statement indicating to the commission that the United Mine Workers is not entitled to its demands of a 20-percent wage increase, an eight-hour day, and union recognition. Such concessions would have far-ranging implications that would destroy American individualism and appease lawless violence.

WAYNE MacVEAGH HANDOUT - 2



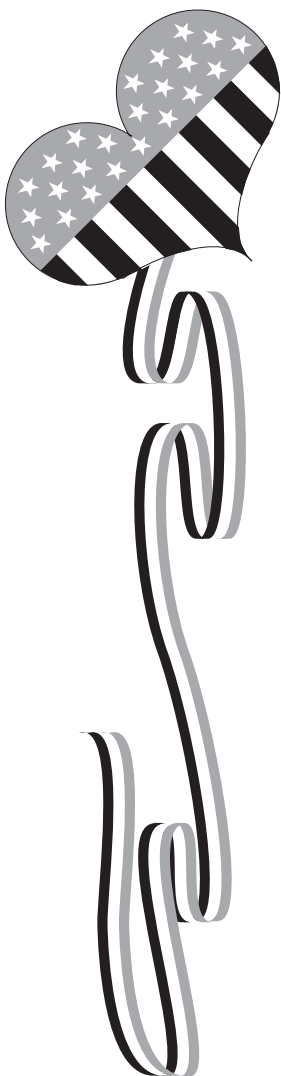
Be dignified yet forceful. Dress to reflect your economic and social success. Never forget whom you are representing—those Americans with wealth and power.

Witnesses You must prepare some questions for John Mitchell designed to show the commission that the UMW has attacked scabs, that it wants something for nothing, and that its actions have hurt the American public. Be ready to challenge John Coll's story of his wife's death. For example, did the operators have the right to evict tenants from company-owned buildings? Allow George Baer to testify so that you can present his opinions about the union demands and the rights of big business to protect its stockholders.

Closing statement Although Baer will deliver your side's closing statement, feel free to suggest important points to him so he can make his best case.

In summary, you have a great responsibility. You must champion the rights of American industry to operate without labor agitation. Sound preparation on your part may save the day for traditional rugged individualism!

CLARENCE DARROW HANDOUT - 1



The UMW (United Mine Workers) has hired you to represent its interests before the Coal Commission which President Theodore Roosevelt has established to settle the Coal Strike of 1902.

To meet this responsibility you have several tasks to fulfill:

1. Know your background and career.
2. Familiarize yourself with the background and issues surrounding the strike.
3. Identify the issues and strategies you will use before the Coal Commission.
4. Develop questions you will ask of the hearing's witnesses.
5. Prepare and deliver opening and closing statements.

Background information

You are one of the ablest lawyers in American history. Your flamboyant, provocative, and eloquent style has saved many a case for grateful clients. Ohio born, you began your career in Chicago as a lawyer for the Chicago and Northwestern Railway. However, a few years later you immersed yourself in helping Eugene Debs' railroad workers in the Pullman Strike of 1892. (Later, after World War I, you will be a key attorney in famous trials such as the Leopold and Loeb case and the Scopes Monkey trial.) But now in 1902, since Roosevelt has established the Coal Commission to settle the coal strike, UMW President John Mitchell has lured you to carry their cause.

After Mitchell hired you, you launched your own investigation of the miners' plight. You journeyed to the mines for a close-up view of the conditions there. *You were shocked by your discoveries!* You came away convinced that coal mining is the most dangerous job in the world. You are incensed about how these hard workers are exploited during every moment of their existence, from the long hours in unsafe conditions, to gouging at the weigh-ins, to their squalid living quarters.

While preparing your case for your client, recognize that more is at stake than getting the miners their just due. You must also educate the commission members and the public about bigger issues such as the wanton excesses of American industry and owners' disregard for the rights of the working man. Remind the commission what corporations have done in the name of business: they have polluted and ravaged our nation's resources; they have manipulated fraudulent stocks, swindling a gullible public; they have practiced monopoly in order to ruthlessly crush competition and exploit the consumer.

CLARENCE DARROW HANDOUT - 2

Of course, you must also point out the coal miners have suffered because of operators' actions. Remind commission members that we must have economic democracy as well as political democracy. Wonder aloud if happier workers might not just produce more for their bosses.

Force the commission to consider if the corporations are really loyal to America if their first loyalty lies with their stockholders instead of with the national welfare of all citizens. After all, is big business entitled to "acceptable profits" if it will not give a living wage to its workers?



If you have time, try to research Darrow—one of the most fascinating characters in American history. This man breathed fire in behalf of persons whom he represented.

Above all, don't be weak. Stand tough and tall against the evil wind coming from those whom you are convinced are exploiting America!

Role in Scene 3

Opening statement Set the tone for your presentation by preparing an opening statement which will detail what you intend to prove:

1. The union deserves a 20-percent wage increase.
2. The workers deserve an eight-hour day.
3. The operators must recognize the United Mine Workers as the miners' representative.
4. All Americans are entitled to a dignified life with a living wage.

Witnesses Consult with John Mitchell and John Coll so that you can develop questions which will prove your case. Mitchell should testify to the needs of his workers. Coll should explain his personal plight (he represents the problems all miners endure). You should question George Baer, too. Prepare yourself to challenge his capitalist beliefs and attitudes toward the working man.

Closing statement You should also prepare a summary to deliver to the commission which will show how you have proven your points. Remember you are a dramatic and flamboyant person. Therefore, use passion and eloquence to drive home your points. For example, ask if they believe our country's prosperity is based on the toil of others. Question whether a slight improvement in working conditions will destroy corporate America. Declare that every American has the right to better himself. In short, highlight the Coal Commission's responsibility not only to the miner alone but to all American workers. How can commission members best meet their responsibility? By supporting the miners' just demands.

JOHN COLL HANDOUT



Your role in this re-creation is to testify before the Coal Commission on the re-creation's third day as members attempt to determine a just settlement between the operators and the miners.

To meet this responsibility you have several tasks to fulfill:

1. Know the working conditions in the coal mines. (Reread the Background Essay to refresh your memory.)
2. Know the particular problems you and your family suffered at the operators' hands during the strike.
3. Prepare yourself to testify to the Coal Commission about your experiences. Use vivid words that create pictures in your listeners' minds.

Background information

You are an anthracite miner and member of the United Mine Workers who has suffered the same kind of grueling conditions that your fellow workers have endured. As a boy you worked the breakers for 12 hours a day. As you got older, you graduated to a miner's job. You saw men sicken and die young, their lungs coated with coal dust. You were present when others were maimed or killed by falling rocks or explosions. Your family eked out its existence in a company-owned shack and was forced to buy its goods from the company-owned store. When the miners formed the United Mine Workers, you were frightened to join at first. However, when you heard John Mitchell speak about the need for unity, you became a member and participated in the 1902 strike. *You worship the ground that John Mitchell walks on.*



If you have time, try to find historical pictures of what it was like to be a miner around 1890–1900. Get into your part. Cough into a handkerchief to show the effects of black lung. Don't be afraid to cry when you answer the questions you are asked, for you have seen life's dark side.

All the strikers have suffered great economic hardship during these months on strike. You have lost even more. In a driving rainstorm, the operators' Coal and Iron police evicted you and your family from the company shack. They loaded your few possessions into a cart and dropped them and your family in a muddy road outside town. More seriously, your wife, already in poor health, caught pneumonia that night. As a result, she died soon after.

Prepare yourself to respond emotionally to Clarence Darrow's questions as he seeks to expose to the Coal Commission the operators' brutality.

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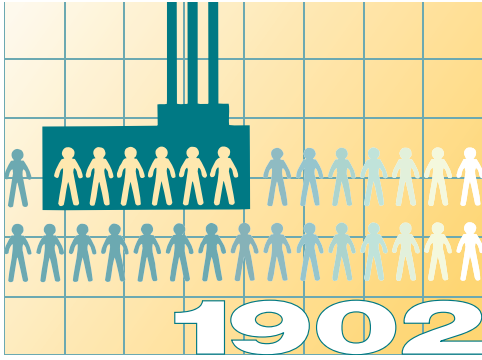
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T. R. AND THE COAL STRIKE

A re-creation of President Teddy Roosevelt's historical intervention between management and labor in the coal strike of 1902

PURPOSE

This re-creation examines an epic struggle taking place in 1902 between the forces of capital and labor. President Theodore Roosevelt had to decide whether, for the first time in American history, a president should bring the powers of the federal government to bear on a labor-management dispute.

Two days will be required to re-create the full settlement of the Coal Strike crisis. During two scenes in this re-creation a group of you will role-play several identities. In Scene 1 Teddy Roosevelt, president of the United States; George Baer, representative of the mine owners; and John Mitchell, United Mine Workers president, will discuss the possibilities of an arbitration settlement. Scene 2 is in Roosevelt's White House office. He will be joined by three other persons: Carroll Wright, the commissioner of labor; Philander Knox, the attorney general; and Elihu Root, the secretary of war. They will discuss his alternatives and advise him about the best decision to make. Finally, during a later class hour, all students will participate in a Coal Commission hearing during which both labor and management will present evidence prior to an attempt to settle the volatile issues.

BACKGROUND ESSAY

Roosevelt's crisis In 1902 a serious conflict between labor and management had placed the White House in a difficult situation. The prolonged, bitter strike of the United Mine Workers against the Coal Mine Operators had begun seriously affecting the nation's citizens. As the strike lengthened, pressure on President Roosevelt increased. He sensed he had to decide whether he should intervene in the conflict in order to represent the public interest. Roosevelt hesitated, wondering if he had the legal authority to intervene. After all, a president had never taken such an action before. To understand the president's hesitation, we must study the crisis' background.

Industrial expansion The 1902 Coal Strike was part of an industrial revolution sweeping across America in the decades after our Civil War ended in 1865. Small, one-person businesses were growing larger. Using America's vast natural resources, they attracted billions of dollars from foreign investors. Large corporations resulted which were run by persons always concerned with profit, but not always concerned with the public good. Large factories and a spider web of railroads were built. Cheap labor was needed. Immigration rates soared as Europeans and Orientals, lured by the promise of economic opportunity, flocked to the United States.

Labor's difficulties When businesses were small, a laborer could deal directly with an employer, but the industrial revolution changed small personal businesses into large impersonal ones. No longer did employees have a chance to speak to a person who employed them. They began



**Question
for you to
consider:**

Can you name other instances in our history where the country's leaders questioned the limits of constitutional authority and presidential power?

feeling like unknown cogs in a giant gear. Workers had complaints other than low wages: their jobs were often dangerous (the government required no safety conditions), and they had no job security (they could be fired at any time). Therefore, the more outspoken laborers began talking about organizing unions.

Organizing unions For many reasons organizing unions was not easy. Workers moved around a great deal. They were also made up of many ethnic groups that distrusted one another. Because the unions' leaders had different goals, they often fought among themselves. Public opinion also distrusted labor unions. The American tradition was that a man climbed the "Golden Ladder of Success" by himself—without the help of others. All that was necessary was that he work hard. Of course, employers stood shoulder to shoulder against the labor organizers. The businesses and corporate leaders had the governmental law enforcement agencies siding with them, too. Whenever violence broke out between workers and management, many persons concluded that foreign agitators had caused the problem. After all, weren't these persons the ones who were trying to organize unions?

Growth of coal mining To understand the specifics of labor's plight, let us examine the coal industry in 1900. In the 1890s and the first decade of 20th-century America, coal was a critical resource. Its cheap energy fueled America's railroads, fired factories, and warmed homes. Consequently, a powerful industry had grown around the mine fields located in a corner of northeastern Pennsylvania. These mines were owned by the coal-carrying railroads, chief of whom was the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company. This company's leaders had one major goal: turning a profit for the stockholders.

The coal miners who worked in this company's mines were a mixture of Irish and southern and eastern European immigrants who spoke as many as 14 different languages. (George Baer, spokesman for the mine operators, once said, "They don't suffer. They don't even speak English!") Often the mine operators transported the workers from Europe for "free" in return for guaranteed work in the mines.

**How much time do you
think the typical breaker
boy spent in school?**

Early start At age 10 a miner began his career as one of the "breakers," earning 35 cents a day. A breaker spent 10–12 hours a day separating by hand the coal ore from the shale stone. He did this with the coal and rocks tumbling incessantly into the bins around him. If he lived long enough, a miner would become a breaker again once he became an old man too weakened to do anything else.

A miner's day lasted 12–14 hours. Holidays were rare. In fact, fire and pump men couldn't even stay home from work on July 4th, Thanksgiving, or Christmas. Coal companies, anxious to keep profits high and costs low, spent little money on safety devices. As a result, injuries and deaths from falling rocks, explosions, or black lung disease were common. Of course, an unfortunate victim received no medical care or death benefits from either his company or his government.

Companies frequently cheated the miners at the weigh-ins. There was no fixed amount on a ton of coal. A miner, therefore, might have to provide an extra 1,000 pounds to meet the owner's definition of a ton of coal. He had no recourse if that happened—the operators' representatives had the final say.

"Mining the miner" Exploitation did not end at the mines. Miners and their families lived in company-owned shacks. These "houses" were poorly built, sparsely furnished, and drafty. Nevertheless, the rent took a major chunk out of skimpy wages which averaged only about \$300 a year. Miners were also forced to buy their food and mining supplies from the company-owned store. These stores sometimes overcharged the beleaguered miner as much as 12 percent to 100 percent. This process was called "mining the miner."

Effort to unionize The United Mine Workers labor union was not the first attempt by miners to gain better working conditions. As early as the 1870s the Molly Maguires, a secret terrorist group, murdered mine superintendents and strikebreakers. The Long Strike of 1874-1875 tried to force concessions from the mine operators. However, this strike failed for several reasons. The owners' Coal and Iron Police terrorized the strikers. Then, too, the miners were divided by nationality, language, and customs. Finally, the miners simply lacked sufficient money to be on strike for any period of time. They had to feed their families. So they gave in. The union movement in the mines was drifting.

John Mitchell The miners needed a man of unusual talents and energy to unite them. They found such a man in 1898: John Mitchell became president of the fledgling UMW (the United Mine Workers). His goal was to break the mine owners' death grip on miners' lives.

In 1900 Mitchell called a strike, demanding a wage increase and union recognition. At first the operators were committed to breaking the union. However, William Hanna, a powerful Ohio senator, interceded with the operators. Pointing out that 1900 was a presidential election year, Hanna told the operators that if they continued holding out against the miners, William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic nominee, might possibly be elected. The mine owners, all good Republicans, regarded electing Bryan as a catastrophe. Consequently, they gave the miners a pay boost and a grievance procedure, although the settlement did not include union recognition.

**Imagine your family has
several members working
in the coal mines in 1902.
The strike is called ...**

What are your hopes?

What are your fears?

Coal strike of 1902 The partial success of the 1900 settlement stimulated the UMW in 1902. A 30 percent cost of living increase sparked the union to newer demands: an eight-hour day; a 20 percent wage raise; a firm definition of a legal ton of coal at 2,240 pounds; a 60-cent-per-ton rate; and union recognition. To all these demands, the operators turned deaf ears, vowing they would break the UMW forever. Therefore, in early May, 147,000 workers walked out, closing the mines. As the strike persisted, pressures on both sides mounted. Attacks on scabs and non-union miners prompted the Pennsylvania governor to call out the National Guard, equipped with a shoot-to-kill order if violence occurred.

The American people closely watched the strike. Comments such as George Baer's (he claimed that "the rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for by the Christian men of property to whom God has given control of the property and rights of the country") only served to rally public support to the miners' side. Soon the public became the unwitting victim as the strike moved into the cold season. Hospitals grew cold. Schools closed. Lines to buy scarce supplies of coal grew longer. The price of coal rose from \$5 per ton to \$25. Mayor Seth Low of New York warned of violence if the strike wasn't settled soon. Government officials then added extra police to quell any riot that might erupt.

There were also other effects. The threat of factory slowdowns endangered Republican political fortunes in the upcoming elections. Henry Cabot Lodge, President Roosevelt's close friend, counseled some sort of action to meet this problem, although he confessed he didn't know what that action should be.

T.R.'s background President Roosevelt, affectionately known as T.R., would need all his political and social instincts to solve this conflict. New York City born and Harvard educated, T.R. had achieved varied and distinguished accomplishments before becoming president in 1901. He had been a New York legislator, police commissioner, assistant secretary of the Navy, New York governor, vice president, author, sportsman, cowboy, and Rough Rider during the Spanish-American War.

A progressive president After William McKinley's assassination, Roosevelt became, at age 43, the nation's youngest president. He rose to that office during an era when many Americans had begun to react to the excesses of industrial growth in the United States. Known as Progressives, these persons looked to the federal government to protect its citizens, since only it had the power to deal with the full spectrum of problems Americans faced in the new industrial age.

Roosevelt took several significant progressive actions. He prevented loggers and miners from ravaging and plundering our nation's natural resources and wonders. Shocked by the description of filth in the meat-packing industry, he sponsored and enforced a new Meat Inspection Act. Disturbed by the ruthless powers of monopolies, he enforced the Sherman Anti-Trust Act to break them up. His views of capital and labor showed that he recognized that union growth was necessary to check corporate powers. He also believed that all interest groups, no matter how separate, must subordinate their will to the common good when the situation demanded it.

The coal strike crisis was certainly in this category. As a crescendo of public suffering buffeted the White House, Roosevelt sought a way to end the strike. Attorney General Knox, however, cautioned the president that he had no real power to interfere. Consequently, for several months Roosevelt chafed in frustration.

Roosevelt acts At wit's end with a cold winter fast approaching, T. R. ignored his lack of authority and took action. He called both sides together. He strove to use his own moral persuasion and the presidency's prestige to force a settlement. Or perhaps such a meeting might get both sides to agree to arbitration. His decision was indeed a momentous one. Never before had the federal government interceded in a strike to force an equitable settlement. The president's action marked a turning point in the history of government-labor relations.

ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Sequence Four days will be required to re-create the Coal Strike of 1902. Your teacher will explain and assign the various roles on the first day and have you read this Student Guide. Scenes 1 and 2 will be enacted on Day 2. The Coal Commission hearing—Scene 3—will take place on Day 3 followed by debriefing activities on Day 4.

Moderator Your teacher will introduce and set the procedure for each day of the re-creation. He/she will set the scene physically and help the participants prepare for their tasks.

President Roosevelt The president's decision is the central focus of the re-creation. Roosevelt will conduct the initial meeting between Baer and Mitchell. Following this session, he will meet with his advisers to analyze the alternatives available to him. Finally, Roosevelt will announce his decision and discuss it with the class.

Role players for Scenes 1 and 2 There are several participants in the first two scenes. Each will receive a handout detailing his biography and offering suggestions about how to contribute to his scene. Students not playing key roles will be Coal Commission members empowered to hear the evidence and to establish the points of settlement.

Scene 1: During the first scene, Roosevelt, John Mitchell, and George Baer will discuss the prospects of arbitration.

Scene 2: The second scene will include the following: Roosevelt; Carroll Wright, commissioner of labor; Philander Knox, attorney general; and Elihu Root, secretary of war. These four men will consider Roosevelt's options to end the crisis.

Role players for Scene 3 The participants will be John Mitchell, representing the UMW, and George Baer, representing the coal mine operators. Another witness will be John Coll, a miner. These witnesses will answer questions from each side's lawyer. Lawyers representing each side will be Clarence Darrow for the UMW and Wayne MacVeagh for the operators.

Note:

If you are not assigned one of these roles, you still have an important responsibility: preparing yourself and the whole class for the debriefing following the re-creation.

See pages 7 and 8 ...

AUDIENCE MEMBERS' RESPONSIBILITIES



Note-taking for Scene 2 During Day 2 of the re-creation, you in the audience will not have major roles. However, you still have several responsibilities:

- listening carefully to the discussion
- identifying the key factors Roosevelt must consider
- differentiating between points of view
- analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of the options available to the president
- developing questions to ask the president about his decision
- evaluating his decision

In order to demonstrate that you are fulfilling the above responsibilities, you should do a thorough job of note-taking.

On the day before the re-creation begins, take out a clean sheet of 8-1/2"x11" paper and prepare it for the next day's note-taking.

Side 1 Divide it into three horizontal columns, one for each of the three advisers whose names you place in the left margin inside the three horizontal columns. The next day, while you are listening to the discussion between Roosevelt and his advisers, you will briefly write down sentence fragments that then will pinpoint the advice each person is giving the president.

Please take considerable notes, writing down what is said during this mini-unit. You will then be prepared for a meaningful debriefing experience. Research shows us that when persons write as they are learning, they retain considerable knowledge—and for a long time period.

President Roosevelt and the Coal Strike	
Scene 2: Suggestions from advisers	
Elihu Root Secretary of War	
Philander Knox Attorney General	
Carroll Wright Commissioner of Labor	

Side 2 Turn over the same sheet of paper and divide it into three horizontal columns, one for each of the alternatives below. Put key words from each alternative in the left margin of each of the horizontal columns. Next divide the three horizontal columns into two vertical columns, one of which you head good points, one of which you head bad points. Then during the time the president and his advisers specifically consider these three alternatives, you will fill in what is good and what is bad about each alternative. Once again use sentence fragments rather than complete sentences.

President Roosevelt's alternatives

Alternative 1: Since the federal government has no legal right to interfere in business-labor disputes, step back and hope that the strike will be resolved without federal meddling.

Alternative 2: Despite the fact that there is no legal authority for a president to settle the coal strike, the presidency has a moral obligation to end the conflict. Therefore, send troops to the coal mines to run the mines until the strike is resolved.

Alternative 3: Threaten to send troops to the mines and also rely on financier J.P. Morgan's influence to force the mine operators to accept an arbitration commission.

Suggestion:

Be certain you take your notes in **sentence fragments** on both the front and back sides of your note sheet.

Do not attempt to write down verbatim—i.e., word for word—what is said. Simply try to get the main point of each idea being presented.



Another idea:

Before the **Debriefing Activities** which end the unit, you may wish to come back to your notes and carefully write in your own opinions of what was said. (If your note sheets are full, use a different sheet of paper.)

Research about writing has also found that if a person writes down personal reactions or relationships to what is being studied, the information becomes increasingly real to the person.

President Roosevelt and the Coal Strike		
Alternatives	Good Points	Bad Points
1 Hope that the strike will be resolved without federal meddling.		
2 Send troops to run the mines until the strike is resolved.		
3 Threaten to send troops; rely on operators to accept an arbitration commission.		

Coal Commission hearing Day 3 will be the Coal Commission arbitration hearing. During Scene 3 both sides—labor and management—will present evidence to the audience for their decision. Following the directions given by the teacher, the audience will weigh the evidence and then discuss and arbitrate some of the basic issues between the miners and the operators:

- **Hours:** 8-hour day ... 9-hour day ... or 10-hour day
- **Wages:** a 0% raise ... a 10% raise ... or a 20% raise
- **Union Recognition:** Yes ... or ... No

DEBRIEFING ACTIVITIES

On Day 4—or possibly several days—you will work on two debriefing tasks. Before you begin, choose a chairperson, who then chooses a recorder. The chairperson leads the discussion while the recorder writes down the group's decision as to what it believes the president should do.

Task 1 Your class will be divided into four activity groups, each of which will analyze one of the four hypothetical case studies below. Each case study concerns a future labor-management problem requiring some type of presidential action. After your group has discussed its case study, your chairperson will report to the entire class what your group believes the president should do.

Case Study 1: Keller Model Trains

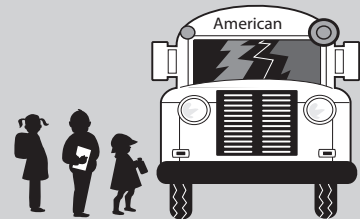


Case Study 1 George "King" Keller, owner of Keller Model Trains Company, has recently closed his plant rather than give in to union demands for increases in wages, fringe benefits, and safety devices. Keller's plant is the chief source of employment for 2,000 workers and of property tax for a small city in your state. Keller states that unless the union lowers its demands, he will close the factory, raze its buildings, and return the land to farming. He also states that as sole owner of this property, he has a right to do with it what he wants and that as a millionaire several times over, he has no personal need of keeping the plant open. In such a case, what should the president do? 1) Nothing. 2) Buy "King" Keller out and sell the plant to the highest bidder. 3) Force Keller to keep his plant open under threat of fine and imprisonment. 4) Buy Keller out and give the plant to the workers. 5) Some other alternative your group creates.

Case Study 2: American School Bus Company

American School Bus

*We have built safety
for American children
for 65 years!*



Case Study 2 The management of ASBC (American School Bus Company) reports the worst has happened: The recent importing of Japanese imports is making it difficult for ASBC to survive. If it is to remain competitive, it must automate its assembly lines and lay off 100,000 assembly line workers within the next 18 months. The bus workers union has called for a strike of the company's plants until its workers are guaranteed jobs. Should ASBC be allowed to

“modernize” if it means workers lose their jobs? What should the president do? 1) Nothing. 2) Force ASBC to hire its workers even if they are not needed. 3) Phase in automation gradually even if it means operating at a loss for a few years. 4) Raise tariffs on imported school buses so that ASBC would not need to automate. 5) Some other alternative your group creates.

Case Study 3: An Army Union?



*Sam Short and the **A. A. U.** (the American Army Union)*

Case Study 3 Sam Short has been in the United States Army for 10 years and has reached only the rank of sergeant first class in that time. Firmly convinced that a bad efficiency rating given him by a superior officer whose wife had carried on an affair with Short has cost him career advancement, Short has started a movement to organize an American Army Union—the AAU. His appeal has been so great that many soldiers have joined. Recently, several commanding officers have received a list of demands from this union. These officers have notified the Pentagon, which, of course, has called the president for action. What should the president do? 1) Nothing. 2) Court-martial (arrest and bring to military trial) any soldier who has joined the union. 3) Recognize the union's right to exist, but deny it the right to strike. 4) Recognize the union's right to exist and allow it to strike, but in peace time only. 5) Some other alternative your group creates.

Case Study 4: No National Union?



*The **I. S. T. U.** for all A M E R I C A*

Case Study 4 “Big Wheeler” Johnson, the popular leader of the Interstate Truckers’ Union of America, has declared that unless all trucking firms nationwide agree to the same labor contract for his drivers, he will call a strike that would immediately halt interstate delivery of most goods. “Only hospitals will be served,” says Johnson. What should the president do? 1) Nothing. 2) Ask Congress to pass a law barring unions of national scope. 3) Have the military take over the trucks of the strikers and run them until the strike is broken. 4) Order Johnson and the trucking firms to accept binding arbitration supplied by the government. 5) Some other alternative your group creates.

Task 2 Your second debriefing task requires you to retake the PRE/POST SURVEY you took at the beginning of the unit. Then you will compare and discuss any changes in your attitudes about big business, labor, and federal regulation of each.