DECEMBER, 1922

Labor Age

Unionizing the "Brain Worker"

Actors, Teachers, Writers and Librarians line up

Volume XI, No. 11 December, 1922

20c per copy

Labor Age

A Monthly Labor Digest

$2.00 per year

Published by Labor Publication Society, Inc., 41 Union Square, New York

Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in the socialization of industry.

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FOUND: A LONG LOST BROTHER

"IT can't be done!"

That is the answer you will get from most folks, when talking about organizing the "brain workers"—actors, teachers, writers, librarians, clerks.

"But it is being done", you can answer.

American Labor has long been thought of as a movement of manual workers only. It is in the mines and garment shops, on the railroads and building operations, that the bitter battle has been fought that has placed our labor movement on a granite foundation.

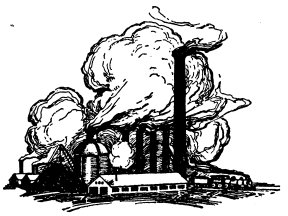
But more and more have workers from the stage, schoolroom, news office and library joined the ranks of the organized. No finer example of unity can be found than in the actors' unions. Take the big Equity Association of New York. There the stars stand solidly with the lesser players and the chorus for better conditions for all. Theirs is one of the most inspiring stories in labor history.

What has been done in their field can be done in other "intellectual" fields. When it is done, as the first article in this issue says, there will be a clear and complete division between those who live by work and those who live by not working—through mere ownership of stocks, bonds and land.

The union of the "head worker" and the "hand worker" as brothers will make both see that together they can run industry without the stockholder. That is the beginning of the end of the Profit Maker.

Entered as second class matter, November 19, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Labor Age



"Unionizing the Brain Worker"

Actors, Teachers, Writers, and Librarians Line Up!

By DAVID J. SAPOSS

Drawn by Art Young *I. P. E. U. 624*

MANUAL WORKER TO BRAIN WORKER: **Bo, you may have more brains than I've got, but you don't know how to use them.**

TO CALL any group of workers "brain workers" does not really mean very much. Everyone who works uses hands and brain. The executive and the poet have their hand-tools, pencils, pens and the like. Even such a simple-looking job as ditch digging, on the other hand, is an art of its own. Anyone who has taken a hand at being a "muck stick artist"—in digging foundations, for example—can tell you that.

But "brain worker" is a word which has come to be commonly used—and no better one has yet appeared. It covers those two sets of workers who do not strain their muscles in doing their jobs. They are the so-called "white-collar slaves"—clerks and other office employes—and the members of professions—doctors, lawyers, engineers.

It has been an old, old charge that "brain workers" of any type would never organize. They would not consider themselves as brothers of the manual workers. It is the latter who have blazed the way in trade unionism. But the charge against the "brain workers" is today only half true. The actors' unions have shown that the job can be done. The Actors' Equity Association is strongly organized—perhaps, one of the strongest unions in its own field, of those belonging to the American Federation of Labor. It links together star and non-star. It enforces its Equity Shop Contract. It has defeated the open shop campaign with the greatest ease. Since its victory of three years ago, it has given the lie year by year, step by step, in all its efforts, to that old charge.

It is not the only group in the theatre which has done as well. On the Jewish stage the players are 100 per cent organized. Among the Polish and Bohemian speaking group the union is also strong. The musicians have an equally good record. Their effective organization goes back farther than that of the actors, to at least two decades ago. They have been able to raise the standards of their profession, by requiring an entrance examination for the candidate for union membership. They have been strong

enough in many places to require that the proprietor of a moving picture show or theatre employ so many musicians for ever so many seats in his house as the union may require. In the battle against the "open shoppers," they have on the whole held their ground well. The membership of the American Federation of Musicians reached 75,000 this year—the highest in its career.

During the War, the clerks, too, heeded the call of unionism. The organized railway and steamship clerks—who belong to the same international union as the manual working freight handlers—increased greatly in number. Their organization is one of the most active and progressive among the rail unions. Their fellow workers, the railway mailers, have a strong little union of their own. Then, there is the important National Federation of Federal Employees, with its membership of 25,000. It extends all through the federal service, with strong locals in the Library of Congress and the Bureau of Standards. In its ranks are men with doctors' titles, specialists of all sorts, types of professional men who would not be thought of as connected in any way with a trade union or the American Federation of Labor. In their battles for changes in the civil service laws and for better salaries, however, these men have found the labor movement a powerful Big Brother.

Why, even the bank clerks of the Jewish east side are union members! In 1920 they went on strike against the United States Bank. The contest was an uneven one. The bank lost. Sad to relate, this movement has not spread to the hard-worked and low-paid bank clerks of non-Jewish institutions. They are much in the same class as the "retail clerks"—salesmen and saleslaadies in retail stores and shops. The International Protective Association of Retail Clerks has 16,000 members—but they are mainly to be found in mining communities and other like places where union cooperative stores flourish. Department store strikes have been rare in American labor history. Perhaps the largest was the strike in St. Louis about five years ago, when 4,000 men and girls came out on the street. But that was due to unusual conditions. It followed a quickly won street-car strike. It had the negative support at least of one of the large newspapers—boycotted for a time by the retail merchants.

In the garment trades, however, both the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have been able to make headway among the salesforces in the retail shops. They have brought these salesmen and saleswomen into their own organizations, which are of course industrial unions, covering the whole of their respective industries. The success that they have had in unionizing these people will beyond doubt in time encourage other strong unions of manual workers to do likewise with clerks and salespeople in their industries.

No band of workers has fought harder or more courageously than the teachers' unions, particularly in New York City. Their story is given in this issue of the LABOR AGE.

Previous issues have told of the help which technical men—lawyers, engineers and researchers—are giving the Unions. Most of these groups of workers have defied unionization.

Yet, when we recall that even the Jewish rabbis in Chicago have formed their own economic organizations and that the "shochets"—with rabbinical functions—are organized in the United Hebrew Trades in that city, the day when technicians of all kinds may be widely organized in the trade unions may not be so far off. The nurses and other attendants of public institutions are also organized. This is the case in Chicago, where several local unions exist. It must be also remembered that the highest trade scientists of the federal service are members of the Federal Employees' Union, and that the highest trained artists of the actors are unionized.

When that time comes the line of cleavage between those who work for a living and those who do not work will be easily seen. The united "intellectual" and manual workers will readily see that they do not need the stockholder and the banker. The two groups of workers can run industry by conducting it themselves. Unionization of the "brain workers," therefore, means much to the manual workers—just as the "brain worker" cannot make much progress toward effective organization without the help of his "hand-working" brothers. Unionization of the "brain workers" means final freedom for both, through the establishment of Service in Industry.

"A Volcano on Manhattan Isle"

The Real Romance of the Stage

By FRANK H. GILMORE

"A VOLCANO on Manhattan Island!" My friend gasped in astonishment.

"Well," I replied, "you cannot be more surprised at such an idea than the theatrical managers were at what happened in 1919. They thought the impossible had come to pass."

The two of us had been discussing the organization of actors' unions. My friend had seemed skeptical about the whole business, until I startled him with the question, "What do you think of the possibility of there being a volcano right under our feet?" He now became interested.

"But you don't mean to tell me that such an individualistic group as the actors—whose very business it is to outdo each other—could get together effectively for their own protection?"

"I mean to tell you just that—and more than that. There was never greater unity shown by any group, it is safe to say, than the members of the Actors' Equity Association showed in the strike of 1919. That strike could not have been won by the lesser players and the chorus alone. It was won through the fact that the stars stood solidly with their fellows, and would not give in until victory had been won for all. Can you think of anything more inspiring than that?"

"No," admitted the other, catching something of the spirit of the thing. "But why was all this necessary."

"Such a movement as that could not have occurred unless there was great reason for it. I have been an actor for 33 years. My parents and grandparents were actors. The profession is a tradition in our family. Our lives are wrapped up in it. That is the story of many other actors—and with all of them the honor and dignity of their work is of much concern. Some years ago a change took place in the theatrical business, bringing conditions which shocked the actors into action."

"Bad conditions?"

Abuses On The Stage

"Yes, new and bad conditions. The theatre underwent much the same changes as occurred in other businesses and industries. In the old days the actor dealt with the individual manager. This manager, being close to the players, was interested in them and their work. Now, a new type of manager appeared, the speculator, **intent on getting the maximum of profit at the minimum of cost.** Individual productions were combined and recombined. A Big Business was built up—and its heads began to break down many of the old methods of employment. There were so many obstacles in the path to their ambition—the making of as much money out of the business as possible."

I then recited some of the abuses that arose out of this situation. A few of these may be repeated here. It was a common practice, for instance, to engage people and rehearse them indefinitely, then discharge them without any pay in the event the play was not produced. **Sometimes a large number of poorly paid chorus girls rehearsed as long as 12 weeks, only to receive less than two weeks' salary.** Another injustice was the condition, which managers often imposed, that actors should work certain full weeks for a half week's pay. One of the managers even went so far as to have his contracts call for 5 weeks at half salary during each season. Actresses, also, no matter what their salaries, were required to buy their own stage gowns.

Oral agreements of employment were the order of the day—and these almost always worked out to the injury of the actor and to the benefit of the manager. When cases came up in court on these agreements, a third party frequently loomed up in the shape of a lawyer, a business representative or hireling of the manager. This person—to the surprise of the actor—"happened to be present" when the agreement was made and remembered distinctly that everything was as the manager said it was. As actors do not generally seek work in pairs, there was no one to offset this double barreled testimony. Result: The manager won the suit.

This state of things existed for some time before anything was done. Finally, a group of earnest and representative actors got together to talk over the situation and consider the possibility of correcting these abuses. The Actors' Equity Association grew out of this movement. It was organized formally in New York on May

26, 1913, Mr. Francis Wilson being elected President. Offices were opened in the heart of the theatrical district, legal counsel appointed and the machinery of the Association set in motion.

No Path of Roses

The road before the new organization was not a path of roses. The managers at first refused to take it seriously. They would not cooperate in the drafting of any written contracts. They openly defied all efforts of the Association to remedy existing conditions. Equity had no alternative but to go ahead and draw up its own contract. This it submitted to the managers. They returned it without comment. Many of them retaliated with even more severe terms of employment. That Equity would ever be able to do anything on a large scale was farthest from their minds.

The Association, however, continued to make headway. Case after case was won for the actors in the courts. Its membership increased, and it continued its persistent efforts to secure some form of equitable contracts. The United Managers' Protective Association "took notice" of this. They delegated Messrs. Samuel Harris and James K. Hackett to meet the Contract Committee of the A. E. A. and come to some terms. At this conference the managers surrendered and agreed to accept the contract, drawn up by the Association. Stage folks greeted this news with enthusiasm. **It was the first time that it had ever occurred before on the stage.** The happy event was celebrated by a large "Ratification Banquet", at the Hotel Astor on November 25, 1917. This was attended by a large majority of the representative managers and actors.

Everything now seemed roseate. The actors had only asked equity and they had now received it. But they still had to learn some hard lessons. In spite of the publicity given the new agreement, some managers began immediately to side-step it. Three months after the publication of the contract we found that only one-fifth of the managers were even issuing it. Three additional months of hard work brought a majority in line. But practically all of these paid no attention to its provisions, after agreeing to it. Many were angry when reminded that it was of no value unless carried out.

The Big Strike

This sort of bickering went on until the spring of 1919. Then a new managers' association appeared instead of the United. It was called the Producing Managers' Association. At first, this new organization said it would meet the demands of Equity. But very shortly it adopted a different policy, refusing to treat with the A. E. A. at all. Instead, it issued its own contract, cutting out any reference to Equity. In order to force this contract on the actors, it started a progressive lockout against our members.

About this time—July, 1919—we joined the American Federation of Labor. The managers stated that this action removed us still further from them. **They declared it a terrible thing that artists should have anything to do with working men.** But the A. E. A. knew well what it was doing. In the hard crises ahead, the A. F. of L. was a mountain of strength. By counsel and advice its leaders showed us the steps to take and the missteps to avoid. They and their organizations were a source of inspiration during the bitter struggle. We can never express fully our gratitude for the help which we received from Organized Labor. We now understood, too, just what to expect from the managers. As a recent statement of ours said in regard to Mr. George Cohan and his efforts to fight Equity, "No matter how attractive as an individual a manager may be, in an economic struggle we must remember that their interests are diametrically opposed to ours and that they will give us nothing we do not force them to give. We refer again to Mr. Brady's historic remark. When asked when he was going to give an Equity contract, he replied, 'When you MAKE me'."

The lockout continued and the leaders of the A. E. A. realized that sooner or later, under those conditions, its members would be starved into submission. We therefore took the bull by the horns and called a strike. The response was splendid. Fully 90 per cent of the profession refused to work or do business with the managers, until Equity was recognized. Stars joined hands with all the others.

The Winning of the Strike—And After

Nothing could withstand this spirit. Four and one-half weeks of strike were enough for the managers. Then, they put up the white flag. They agreed to sign the Equity contract—**and the strike was won.**

Not, however, without some further unpleasant happenings. During the strike the managers produced that well-known device, "the company union", in the form of the Actors' Fidelity

ELSIE FERGUSON

FRANCIS WILSON

FRANCIS WILSON AND JOHN EMERSON

Say a few words on the inspiring history of Equity.

FRANCIS WILSON, the well-known actor, was the first president of the Actors' Equity Association. He was at its head during the big strike that made it. John Emerson has succeeded him, and is also president of the international union to which Equity belongs—the Associated Actors and Artists of America. They have given us the following brief words on the story of Equity:

FRANCIS WILSON: "Nothing is more inspiring than the remembrance of the fine stand taken by the organized actors for their profession. They showed three years ago that they understand the value of strong organization. They have always used this organization fairly. We believe that organized labor everywhere can get a bit of inspiration from what the actors have thus far accomplished."

JOHN EMERSON: "The actors have learned the value of having joined hands with the organized labor movement. The A. F. of L. has been of great help and inspiration to us. The Actors' Equity Association wants not only to better the economic condition of its members bu to improve the standards of the profession. The effort of the Equity Players, Inc., is a move in this latter direction."

(Miss Ethel Barrymore and Miss Elsie Ferguson are vice-president and member of the Council of Equity, respectively.)

JOHN EMMERSON

ETHEL BARRYMORE

League. Of course, it had one purpose and one only—to kill the actors' movement for protection. A large number of its organizers had never in the past interested themselves in the actors as a class.

Good Things From Equity

"But," my friend questioned, "has Equity, after all, really produced results?"

That is easy to answer. Equity has wiped out the abuses mentioned, and many others. It has given the actor a written contract, whose terms are unmistakable. It has protected him from the petty impositions formerly put on him by managers, such as extra matinees without pay, a night lost here and there without cause and the actors docked therefore.

Before the coming of Equity the actor could not afford to pay $200 or $300 in a $30 or $40 law suit. Equity, however, is ready to fight the case no matter how large the costs. This, of course, deters the manager from such impositions. The actress earning less than $150 no longer buys her own gowns. In this, and many other ways, the actors have been saved hundreds of thousands of dollars. Through the Chorus Equity Association, the girls of the chorus are protected from the many abuses that sprang up in that profession, as never before.

And now Equity is realizing another dream—the long cherished project of an actors' theatre. On May 23rd of this year 40 actors and actresses met at the Ambassador Hotel and pledged $130,000 to the Equity Players, Inc.—who are now producing their own plays in their own "home", the Equity 48th Street Theatre. The first play produced was the Spanish drama "Malvaloca", presented by an Equity cast headed by Miss Jane Cowl. This has now been followed by "Hospitality", a charming play by a new American playwright, Leon Cunningham. **The first aim of the Equity Players is to produce works of merit and not of mere box-office value.** But on the other hand they will seek plays with real human interest, which are not based on an appeal to the bizarre. Of this effort the **Christian Science Monitor** says: "It is a great responsibility, but it is also a great opportunity. As the theatre in general will be influenced by their progress, those who have the best interest of the theatre at heart will wish them success."

"That is a splendid story", admitted my friend. "It must be a real privilege to work in such a movement."

I had to tell him in a final word what was on my heart. "It is a continual inspiration. **The members of our Council, no matter how busy they may be, are always willing—more than willing—to come to our meetings and discuss our problems.** They are always full of enthusiasm for what we are doing, and eager to help set things aright. Their spirit of fairness is such that many managers welcome Equity's appearance in a case. Fair dealing and above-board methods are our tradition. These have gained the good conditions which now exist in the profession—much more than could have been obtained any other way."

The Yiddish Stage and Press—A Closed Shop

In Which Two 100% Organizations are Revealed

By MAX D. DANISH

H. A. U.—in huge letters—on the window panes of the second floor of a marble-faced four-story brick building in the heart of the Yiddish Rialto—on Second Avenue—inform the incessant human ebb and flow outside that here is housed the Hebrew Actors' Club. It is an institution as inseparably linked with the East Side as Williamsburg Bridge or Shiff's Parkway, erstwhile Delancey Street. Passing quickly up two short flights of stairs, through the dining and the social rooms of the club, I was admitted instantly into the sanctum of the Hebrew Actors' Union, where Reuben Guskin, the Union's manager, was awaiting my coming.

Guskin, a swarthy, rather stockily built young man, with keen eyes and an active intelligent face, is not only the manager of the Actors' Union. He is a power in the Jewish labor movement, being the President of the United Hebrew Trades and the chairman of the national executive committee of the Workmen's Circle, a benefit society of almost 100,000 Jewish workers and a model organization of its kind. Near him sat Jean Greenfield, a suave, soft-spoken little gentleman, himself not an actor, yet the president of the actors' union.

"Well, we are ready," Guskin swung around in his chair toward me, "fire away."

I extracted a piece of paper from my vest pocket upon which I had jotted down some questions.

"Is the Hebrew Actors' Union affiliated with the national actors' organization or are you going it alone?"

"I should say we are a local of the Associated Actors' and Artists of America," replied Guskin, not without a touch of pride. "We were one of its first locals."

"Tell me something about the history of your organization, Brother Guskin," I asked.

"Well, this Union was organized about twenty-five years ago, more as a mutual aid society in the beginning, to protect the actors against the uncertainties and hazards of the profession and against the greed and avarice of some of the managers. In 1915, however, we became a real trade union and obtained a charter.

Controlling the Stage

"Our union controls practically the entire Jewish stage, which includes about a half dozen theatres in New York City and permanent theatres in Philadelphia, Boston, New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Montreal and Toronto, with regular stock companies. In addition to this, there are several companies who play 'stands' in the smaller towns and composed of members of the Hebrew Actors' Union of New York. And when I say we control the stage, I do not mean the actors only. We have, in our life-time, helped to organize the Ushers and the Theatre Bill-Posters and have cooperated right along with the Choristers' Union. We all together form a Theatrical District Council and have more than once taken up cudgels on behalf of these weaker sisters of ours in the theatrical trade, even to the extent of going out on strike on their behalf, as in 1915."

"Are strikes frequent on the Jewish stage?"

"Oh, no!" he replied with a smile that was both reassuring and definite. **"Strikes on the Jewish stage would be unusually costly luxuries for our managers and would practically mean the giving up of productions.** You cannot substitute a known actor on the East Side even if you should be able to find a 'scab'. The Jewish masses are more keenly interested in their stage than, perhaps, any other section of New York's population and they are unusually keen about their individual stage favorites, their personal achievements and failures. The Jewish stage, from its early beginnings, some thirty-five or forty years ago, has played a very intimate and close part in the cultural and spiritual development of the Jewish masses in America. Our stage today, reflects, to a great extent, this development. Our actors and our outstanding stage figures live with these masses, play for them and respond to their everyday life and problems.

With the Masses Always

"Why, how can it be otherwise? When there is a great strike among the Jewish workers, **the actors are always found to be on the side of the strikers.** During the cloakmakers' strikes, in the past fifteen years, and during the fights of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, our actors have given the workers not only moral and spiritual aid but also generous financial support. Of course, this kind of service counts."

"Then you have a 'closed shop'?"

"Well," Guskin smiled, "call it that, if you will. The present position of the Actors' Union is unchallenged. Of course, we haven't gained it all in a day. It has taken years to conquer. Times there were when $25 a week was a respectable salary for an average Jewish actor. Today our minimum wage on the Jewish stage is $55 while the maximum runs as high as $400 a week.

"Members of the Union usually sign contracts with the managers individually, but every contract must be sanctioned by the Union. The Union has a membership of over 200 active members. We maintain a nice, spacious club house and we act towards each other like members of a big family. And, of course, as you know, like every big family, we have our little quarrels and big spats but we manage to straighten them out.

"When a successful actor decides that he would like to become a manager—and these things occur not infrequently on the Jewish stage—he does not have to drop his membership in the organization. He merely obtains a withdrawal card. This leaves him free to rejoin the Union as an active member,—which also happens quite frequently," Guskin explained.

Another Story: The Press Writers

From the Rialto to Rutgers Square, where the ten-story building of the Jewish Daily Forward, the biggest Jewish daily in America and the champion and spokesman of working class interests, towers over myriads of tenements, is but a short mile. But it is a tortuous way through a bewildering mass of pushcarts and narrow crowded streets, almost impassable during the rush market hours.

I found Harry Rogoff, ex-President of the Jewish Press Writers Club,—the Peretz Verein, —who is an associate-editor of the Forward, on the night floor. Rogoff is a mild-mannered, highly gifted young man, with a national Jewish-American reputation as a journalist and lecturer.

"I shall spare you the trouble of asking me questions," Rogoff said to me as we were seated. "I can tell it to you all in the course of ten minutes and I don't mind telling you, I like to talk about our Writers' Union. I have been with it from the earliest days of its existence and I am pretty much attached to it.

Battles of the "Peretz Verein"

"The Jewish Press Writers' Club (or as it is known today on the East Side, the Peretz Verein, named after that great master of Jewish prose and poetry, Yehudah Leib Peretz), is a full-fledged trade union and we are affiliated with the United Hebrew Trades. It is six years old. We have about two hundred members, one hundred of whom are active journalists, engaged on the staffs of the various Jewish newspapers. The other hundred are either 'social' members or free lances.

"The path of our Union has not been entirely a 'bed of roses'. The Writers' Club had to overcome a great deal of hostility on the part of editors and newspaper managers and more than once its members were on the verge of striking. This hostility still exists here and there, though our Union is today practically in unchallenged control of the newspaper profession as far as the writers are concerned.

"That the Union has been of great value to the newspaper workers can be gleaned from the fact that it had boosted up earnings from 100 to 150 per cent in the editorial offices. Only not so very many years ago, a Jewish newspaper writer was the poorest paid worker. The pressmen, the compositors and the linotypers ranged far above him as money-makers. **Today the newspaper writers are the best paid men in any Jewish newspaper office.**

"The strength of our Union, however, is neither the strength of numbers nor that of a huge treasury. It is the influence that our members have always had upon the readers of the Jewish press that has been more than anything else responsible for winning their battles for them. Remember that the contributors to the Jewish press usually sign their articles. They are, therefore, individually known to their readers. Unlike the workers on any of the big or small English dailies, the Jewish press writers are more than mere pegs in a newspaper machine because of this personal contact with the readers.

Unionization is practically 100 per cent strong on the stage—English, Hebrew, Polish, Bohemian.

No group has benefitted more by the coming of the union than the chorus girls. It has meant a great change in their conditions of work.

Abbe *I. P. E. U. 624*

PART OF ALL-EQUITY CHORUS FROM GREENWICH VILLAGE FOLLIES

"Our Club has regular branches in Philadelphia and Chicago and it also has a number of members at large in other cities where Yiddish newspapers are published, like Cleveland, Montreal and Toronto. You probably know that the International Typographical Union is now voting on this question of affiliation of newspaper writers' locals all over the country. It is quite likely that the printers will vote to release these locals. This might enable the writers' unions eventually to organize independently either as federal locals, under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor or as a separate international. In the latter event, of course, the Jewish Press Writers' Club will join the national organization.

"There can be no doubt that a powerful organization of newspaper men and journalists could be formed, raising the standards of the profession in every sense of the word. There are scores of cities in the country where locals of newspaper men can be formed. Such an international organization would not merely improve the economic well-being of newspaper workers. It would bring it in touch with the great labor movement of the whole country.

A Six-Hour Day—Or Night

"The members of the Jewish Press Writers' Club work only six hours, that is, they have to be in the newspaper offices six hours daily. **The minimum wage is $60 per week, though the great majority receive much more than that.** It is quite interesting to observe that since our Union has been organized, prices paid for novels, short stories, special feature articles and repertorial jobs in general to outsiders or free lances have practically been doubled.

"But this is not all. Among the most active spirits in the Club are literary men, novelists, dramatists, poets, short story writers, etc., whose names are household words among the Jews in this country and in Europe. These, of course, are not employed on regular newspaper work. The Club is also engaged in special cultural work among Jews and has been organizing lectures on literature, the arts and the theater. It is in constant touch with Jewish writers and literary men abroad and **it has raised thousands of dollars to relieve the unfortunate Jewish literati in the countries devastated by war, invasion and plague.** It has raised a permanent fund for that purpose and frequently arranges dances, concerts, and literary evenings for this purpose. The annual ball of our Press Writers has now become the event of the year in ever-widening Jewish circles of New York City."

"Can I say then that you have an honest-to-goodness 'closed shop' in the newspaper offices on the East Side?" I asked upon rising and shaking Brother Rogoff's hand in parting.

"If there ever was one," he replied, without hesitating a second.

Bringing Democracy Into the Schools

The Battle of the Teachers Unions for Freedom and New Ideas

By HENRY R. LINVILLE

WHY there should be a union movement among teachers is not clear to most educators.

Teachers don't need the Union to get jobs. It is easier to get a job if you don't belong to the Union. You hold your job more securely once you have it, if you cease to be a member, or keep still about belonging. It is safest of all if you never heard of the Union.

There are other reasons why joining a union is improper, if not unprofitable. Unions represent special sections of the great public with interests that seem to clash with what is understood by many to be the welfare of that public. Even where there is no serious interference with the existence of trade unions, there is strong objection to teachers' unions.

Calvin Coolidge broke up several teachers' unions in Massachusetts when he crushed the strike of the policemen. For this act in behalf of the public he won the vice-presidency. The Better American Federation in California has represented the public in an attempt to destroy the teachers' unions in that state. But teachers' unions still exist and carry on effective work there.

In the State of Pennslvania the Commissioner of Education, Thomas E. Finnegan, has rendered a decision which has brought about the disbanding of every teachers' union in the State. This decision was rendered on the ground that teachers have no right to ally themselves with a special group against the interests of all the people.

The Supreme Court of Illinois decided that the Board of Education of Chicago was right when it forced the Chicago Teachers' Federation to sever its affiliation with Organized Labor. Here again the interests of the teachers conflicted with those of the public.

Another state where teachers' unions have engaged in activities that have appeared to the authorities to be against the interests of the public is New York. In that state Senator Clayton R. Lusk endeavored to protect the welfare of the people by having his educational bills passed. One of these laws was designed to destroy the Rand School of Social Science and other radical or progressive educational institutions. The other law was intended to bring about the dismissal of public school teachers whose ideas did not conform to those of the general public. Some of the teachers who have these notions are or have been members of the Teachers Union of New York, known in the Union movement as Local No. 5, American Federation of Teachers.

The Department of Education of the City of New York has on many occasions indicated its opposition to the teachers union movement by dismissing certain members, by charging the whole organization with sedition, and by excluding the Union from holding meetings in school buildings. In all this the Board of Education maintains the position of protecting the public.

"Sedition"!

Thus, in the states of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California, teachers who join unions are guilty of various offenses against the public, ranging from "insubordination" to "disloyalty" and "sedition". They are also likely to be called, and have been called, "undignified" and "unprofessional" for joining with organized labor, and "foolish" for not playing the game of education according to the rules.

Although it is a simple matter for a professional educator to show that teachers' unions are unnecessary and that teachers who join unions may be classed with other dangerous persons, this leaves untouched the fact that within the ranks of a timid and docile profession **there is a steadfast body of a few thousand teachers in this country who do belong to teachers' unions.** These maintain their membership rather openly, also they do their work and give publicity to their successes with a measure of confidence in their undertaking.

To a socially-minded person, there is a ready reason for this. Here are some of the facts which give rise to the teachers' unions. It is with these things that the unions are dealing, and are striving to make right.

As a social agency education is in a low state. It is ineffective, vocationally, morally, politically

and intellectually. It is inflexible and machine-like. **There is no need of an intelligent person in the teachers' position.** If he can follow directions and obey orders, if he is moderately literate, if he can maintain a respectful attitude toward men and established institutions, he is a good teacher. Nay, he is a better teacher than an intelligent person would be, because it is possible to predict what he will do.

Education in a Low State

The administration of education is in the hands of Mediocrity. What is needed by the powers-that-control is security for the things and ideas that time have shown are acceptable. **What we get is autocracy, dogma, closed minds.** If experimentation with new plans is tried, it is generally for the purpose of making old ideas work better. Those in control in the schools are bound to stand guard against a new idealism, for that idealism would menace the continuance of the administration itself and of its own idealism. The new ideal is called "disloyal" or "seditious", and really is so.

Little need be said to the socially-minded person brought up in the public schools regarding the attitude of children toward the schools. These institutions operate under a compulsory system. This is to protect the state, but it also protects the educational system. **The system can do what it pleases to the children,** and it does what it pleases rather than put itself out to study the way by which children learn, or develop power and capacities. The community desires to avoid paying heavy taxes—and three score children must be herded under one teacher. The resistance to the demand for saving money on children is not great enough to offset the tendency to skimp on providing funds for education.

Bankruptcy of the Schools

And yet, we must grant the existence of a clumsy wisdom on the part of the reluctant taxpayer who objects to spending endless millions on public education when so little is seen in returns. If he expects children to be trained in the rudiments of knowledge, there is small satisfaction in what is turned out. If he expects good citizens to be produced, they are rare indeed. The schools make no pretense of preparing for adult life. They certainly are not thinking of developing intelligent leadership in the community.

If any city council representing "hard-headed tax-payers" should demand to be shown by the public schools the worth-while work they are doing, or suffer the penalty of a withdrawal of funds, **there would be a terrible panic.**

The panic would be caused as much by the fact that there would be little to show as by the fact that neither the administrators, nor the professional supervisors and the teachers, clearly understand what they are about. Enough has been said to indicate the dire confusion of public education. The fact that the public in general cares little about public education and what happens to it might appear to indicate that little can be done.

But the War gave a new urge to education. We learned then how to use the schools for propaganda purposes. We had always been using them for teaching as best we could our views of good and evil, to the importance of material success, and to the greatness of our country and its heroes. The War stirred the schools and all who controlled them directly and indirectly to far greater activity than they ever had shown before in the teaching of favored ideas of life and duty. The propaganda of the schools seemed at times actually to be in charge of such organizations as the National Security League, the Better America Federation and the National Civic Federation. All of these organizations, however, "represented the public" in everything they did!

Lusk

Out of the state of mind created by these propagandists for things-as-they-are came the Lusk Committee of the New York State Legislature. One of the by-products of the work of this committee was the Lusk educational bills. The position of the Lusk committee on the function of the teacher is thus clearly stated:

> "The public school teacher is a representative and officer of the state as it now exists. He is employed by the state to teach loyalty to its institutions and obedience to its laws. In entering the public school system the teacher assumes certain obligations and must of necessity surrender some of his intellectual freedom. If he does not approve of the present social system or the structure of our government, he is at liberty to entertain those ideas, but must surrender his public office . . . . . ."

The Lusk bills were passed by the Legislature of 1920, but were vetoed by Governor Smith in one of the most enlightened messages of the period. But the bills came before the

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS?

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

List of Teachers submitted by .....

Principal of (Name or number) ..... School, ... N. Y.
in compliance with the provisions of chapter 666 of the Laws of 1921.

Directions

(1) List the name of each teacher under your jurisdiction. (2) Place a check mark in column 1 opposite the name of each teacher for whose morality and loyalty as a citizen you can personally vouch. (3) In column 2 check the name of each teacher whom you can not vouch for from personal knowledge, but can do so on information that you consider thoroughly reliable. (4) In column 3 check the name of each teacher whom you can not vouch for on either personal knowledge or reliable information or whose morality or loyalty to the government of the United States or of New York State you have reasonable doubt. (5) Execute affidavit on the last page and send the report to the Department.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
PERSONALLY KNOWN	RELIABLE INFORMATION	SPECIAL REPORT	NAME	HOME POST OFFICE	GRADE OF CERTIFICATE HELD	DISTRICT WHERE TEACHING 1921-22	
						No.	TOWN

School Principals Were Required to Report Thus on Their Teachers

Legislature of 1921, were passed by both bodies and signed by Governor Miller.

The Lusk law applying to public school teachers has been "enforced" with great severity by the State Department of Education. An oath was required of teachers, although not provided for in the law. The oath, quoting from the law, states:

"That I have not while a citizen of the United States advocated, either by word of mouth, or in writing, a form of government other than the government of the United States and of this state, nor have I advocated, either by word of mouth, or in writing, a change in the form of government of the United States or of this state by force, violence or any unlawful means."

The principals of the schools, or the district superintendents of rural schools, **were asked to give their own opinions of the loyalty and the morality of the teachers under their jurisdiction.** The State Department of Education had given notice of its intention to require an oath, but it made no announcement of requiring a report from the principal. This report thus apparently was to be made as a secret report. It operated as such until the Teachers Union made known to the public its existence. General condemnation followed. The picture on this page indicates the power of a single official over the character and the livelihood of a teacher whose chance for successful defense under the law was small. Especially since the law gives the Commissioner of Education the right to dismiss a teacher without a trial or hearing!

A few months after the reports of the principal were filed an "Advisory Council on the Qualifications of Teachers" was appointed by Commissioner of Education, Frank P. Graves. This Council was composed of five persons, at least four of whom were members of the National Civic Federation. The Lusk law contained no provision for this Council. The Council undertook to summon teachers and to question them in secret, but its authority and methods were challenged by the Teachers Union in a manner so effective that practically every metropolitan newspaper condemned the Advisory Council. The President of the Board of Education of New York advised the teachers that they were not compelled to obey the summons of the Advisory Council.

The movement for the repeal of both Lusk laws has grown strong, especially since Alfred E. Smith will become Governor again on January 1, 1923.

The Teachers' Union

The American Federation of Teachers was organized in 1916. At the present time it consists of barely 5,000 members in a nation of over 800,000 teachers. Yet, no other teachers' organization in this country stands pledged to resist reaction and the control of opinion through special or favored propaganda. No other organization has developed a thoroughgoing purpose to strive for the real improvement of public education along lines which are so necessary.

The union teachers admit the possibility of non-union groups of teachers trying to improve the conditions under which the people try to educate their children. But if non-union teachers do attempt to prepare themselves for this great task, it is certain that they must think of their duty to the **real public that serves** and produces rather than to the fictitious "public" that is only the mask for those who prey upon all of us.

Librarians As Trade Unionists

By FRANK and RACHEL ANDERSON

PUT the blame on that mischievous old boy, High Cost of Living. He caused the librarians to organize their first local union in New York City in May, 1917.

Up to that time the profession had been thought too genteel and "intellectual" to be mixed up in the "sordid" fight for wages, hours and better conditions. **"Trade unionism", even now, is a subject more often looked up for a reader by librarians than seriously considered for themselves.**

But the sharp upward thrust of prices from 1914 to 1917 was more than even the patient librarian could bear. Prices in New York City increased nearly 50 per cent from December, 1914 to December, 1917—44.68 per cent, to be exact. By December, 1919, they had gone to over double 1914 figures. On the other hand, the librarian's salary moved upward very slowly. Its movement was so slight, indeed, as to be nothing when compared with wage raises. Library boards, wound round with "red tape" and other difficulties, would not or could not grant salary increases to meet the rising prices.

No Living Wage

To live below a health and decency standard or to go to other fields were the hard alternatives put up to library workers. You can see this vividly from the following figures: In August and September, 1919, the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics gave the budget necessary for a single woman, "at a level of health and decency", at $1,140.42. In November of that year the beginning salary of grade 1 library assistants, over 18, with a six months' apprenticeship in the New York system was $660. Just $480 below this minimum decent wage found necessary by the Bureau of Labor Statistics!

In desperation hundreds left the Public Library service for better paying business, research and government positions. In 1919, 116 resignations from the New York Circulation Department staff of 442 were received. There were some who saw another way out. They stayed on the job and organized the Library Employees' Union of Greater New York.

"We will not be driven out of our profession", they resolved.

Publicity was their first weapon. Through it, they brought pressure to bear upon the Library Board and the Director of the Library, to do something real for better wages. Favoritism was also charged in the distribution of increases granted by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment—the city granted blanket increases which tended to go to the higher salaried executives rather than the rank and file.

The system of employment, promotion and discharge of library workers was exposed as autocratic. The Board of Trustees of the New York Public Library, you must understand (and of most of the libraries of the country), is responsible in no way to the electorate. They are what is known as "self-perpetuating boards"—that is, when one of their members drops out the others choose his successor. These boards are made up of the representatives of the richest families and the biggest interests. They have all too little sympathy with people who work. The Board of the New York Library, for example is composed of 20 men connected with big corporations, one Bishop and one Judge. It is they who appoint the Director of the Library. **He can hire and fire his assistants at will.** As a rule, this Director—dependent for his own job on Big Business—thinks of his employees just as any Big-Business man does.

The Coming of the Union

The coming of the union gave new hope to New York library workers. A year after its formation a local was started in Boston. In the past, the only organization for the profession had been a technical one—the American Library Association, founded in 1876. In it executives and the library Rank and File—executives and workers—worked together to standardize methods of taking care of books and making the printed word serve the public. But like the teachers' technical society, the National Education Association, the Library Association gave little time and effort to such questions as the cost of living, salaries, promotions, etc.

The union demanded that librarians might see just how they are rated, the results of their examination papers and all other records which were formerly kept secret. Through the efforts of the union the City Federation of Women's Clubs passed a resolution demanding that

the Board of Trustees do not dismiss librarians without notice and without charges or trial. Members of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment (the city's representatives) were also persuaded to attend meetings of the Library Board of Trustees. Formerly, they knew of conditions only as reported to them by the Director.

The American Federation of Labor has backed the union in its fight. The 1920 convention of the A. F. of L., for example, passed a resolution which gave nation-wide publicity to the situation facing library workers. As a result, the American Library Association invited a representative of the union to speak before the A. L. A. convention that year. The union killed the pension bills for library workers, introduced in the state legislatures of 1921. It did this because these bills placed the whole control of the pensions in the hands of the Board of Trustees. The union wants civil service. It does not wish to consent to any pension for librarians, until this is administered under civil service rules.

Can Librarians Be Organized?

These good things have been won by a very small group. The two library local unions have never claimed over a few hundred members. The 1920 Census of Occupations gives a total of 15,297 librarians in the country. The great difference between this total and the small number in the unions raises the question, "Can librarians be organized?"

This is not easy to answer. There are seven times as many women in the profession as men. Until the rise of the garment workers' unions, women were regarded as hard to organize. They made poor trade unionists. But the needle trades have shown that there is as good stuff among them for union purposes as among men. In the library unions it is the women who have borne the brunt of the battle. There are many difficulties of organization, however, that must be frankly faced.

Missionaries of the Book

The first difficulty is a matter of tradition. It is a virtue exaggerated into a vice. Pioneer librarians were "missionaries of the book." They were willing to work for almost nothing to bring books and people together. These missionaries have resented the mention of financial incentives and organization to protect their interests. So directors of libraries and library boards have frowned on unions and kept on expecting librarians to live on starvation wages. If these servants of the public remain willing to die for an ideal, **there are plenty of hard-headed business men on library boards holding open opportunities for martyrdom.**

A "Parasitic Profession"

Besides the missionary spirit, another difficulty is this: To a certain extent the business of making books and magazines available to the public is a "parasitic profession". It draws upon the women living at home, supported largely by their men folk in other professions or business.

The calling has been crowded with those romantic folks who "love books". These regard the occupation as "genteel", coming as they do from middle-class families proud of a tradition of non-manual work. Many women take up librarianship as a stop-gap job between girlhood and wifehood. Carrol Kennicott (the heroine of "Main Street") was a children's librarian until she met the doctor. If the work gives younger women pin money—something for clothes, entertainment and partial self-support —what more can be asked of it? It is "nice clean work", gives opportunity to meet folks, and preserves caste. Only when even those who enter the profession as an avocation realize that they owe a duty to themselves and their fellow-workers, will there be a real demand for organization and a minimum living wage.

Will Professional Workers Be Lost?

"But", someone may say, "professional workers being so small in numbers will become lost in the labor movement."

Some seem afraid that Labor will try to direct these professional forces. But if the professional groups will become aware of what their work really means and will insist on self-fulfillment—and at least the same degrees of self-direction as other groups—then no power on earth can thwart them or bury them. Certainly, the business groups have not been over-anxious to help the professional workers find themselves!

The librarians must drop their "doing good to others" attitude. They should meet working men and women face to face, not looking up to them or down upon them. They have much to give to, and much to receive from the American labor movement.

Together!

*"**DIVIDE and conquer!"** That is an old, old saying. It tells an old, old truth. It has been the game played by shrewd men and forces against their enemies, since men began to think.*

The Profit Makers know its value only too well. They have often played off one group of workers against the other—craft again craft, union against union, one school against another. Unhappily, the workers have sometimes helped their enemies in this little game. In Europe, we see different divisions of the labor movement tearing each other to pieces—often under the banner of "UNITY!"

"LESS DOGMA AND MORE TOLERANCE OF OUR BROTHERS" is a banner that will carry Labor to victory.

***"Divide and conquer"** is a rule that works well for the Profit Maker so far as farmers and workers are concerned. Both are now awakening to this fact—that they have been buncoed for years by the propaganda of their enemy. The farmer has been told that decent wages for labor were to blame for all the ills which came to him. Labor was told that the farmer caused the high costs of food products. They both are coming to know different now.*

So with "brain workers" and manual workers. The wedge between them has hurt them both. The "brain worker" has been injured most, in being blind so long to the value of organization and did from his strongly

WHAT DOES THIS PICTURE MEAN IN LABOR'S FIGHT? A GREAT DEAL!

Scene from "Hospitality," played by Organized Actors in their own Theatre—back of it lies the Big Fight of the Actors against the Profit Makers

organized fellow workers in the manual trades. The idea that many of his group had (and have) that they all could climb to the top by individual effort—each standing alone—has been shown to be false. It is mathematically impossible for everyone to get to the top. At the same time, our education is making it necessary that every one do get to the top. The only way this contradiction can be solved is through group action.

Happily, the "brain workers" are awakening! They are realizing the value of joining hands among themselves, and of working together with their hand-working brothers. The highest class artists among the actors, as David Saposs says, have proved to be the moving spirits in the union. The highest type scientists in the government service have been active in the Federal Employes Union. Technicians of all sorts are placing their services at the disposal of the labor movement. They help it in industrial disputes, in its work of building labor banks, cooperative stores, and in other like ventures.

This alliance—as emphasized in several other places in this issue—means the rout of the Profit Maker. He cannot stand up against such a union. In brief, the effective working together of "brain worker" and manual worker spells the beginning of "Service Industry."

Let us put our shoulder to the wheel, and speed the day when this becomes a Big Reality!

A Farmer-Labor Victory

The A. F. of L. and the Rail Unions Crush Their Foes—What Next?

By THE LABOR PRESS

ORGANIZED LABOR and the organized farmers rose in their wrath and smote. That is the story of November 7, 1922. When the smiting was over, Warren the Golfer and his reactionary friends realized that there was a new Samson abroad in the land. Saddest of all for Warren, he and his friends had furnished this Farmer-Labor giant with Henry Daugherty's jaw bone as the weapon for the slaughter.

Of course, Truman Newberry's pot of gold and the unsuppressed desire of many folks for water substitutes had something to do with the result. But the unanimous and mysterious way in which the enemies of the railroad unions fell by the wayside shows the powerful role played by the Daugherty Injunction and its fellow, the Esch-Cummins law.

"Labor won! It was a knockout," declared the **News Service of the American Federation of Labor** immediately after the election. "One after another of the enemies of Labor went down." It then says:

"Politicians say one thing or another, explaining or excusing, according to their party. Labor is not mystified. Labor knows what happened and why. The rank and file of the American people know what happened and why. Gouged, penalized, punished, 'deflated', stung and exploited, they determined upon a course of action and followed that course. The victory was for Labor and Progress. The defeat was for reaction and exploitation and oppression."

Later, the **National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L.** issued a report stating that at least 158 members of the House of Representatives and 24 Senators owed their election in great measure to the support of Organized Labor. Successful candidates for Governor in Arizona, Colorado, Kansas, New Hampshire, Nevada, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin are hailed as friends of Labor. The result in Kansas is pointed to with particular joy. There the Industrial Court Act was the big issue. In the election "Governor Allen's candidate for Governor was defeated by a bitter opponent of the Act."

Labor, organ of the railroad unions, is equally jubilant. For the first time in their history, these unions have adopted the methods of the A. F. of L. and gone in vigorously to "reward their friends and punish their enemies". "The American people have spoken," **Labor** says, and the predatory interests are trembling at the sound of their voice." It sums up the victory as follows:

"Six months ago the captains of industry and their political puppets were arrogantly exulting that the industrial power of labor was about to be broken. They believed themselves so deeply entrenched in control of government that they could not be shaken.

"Today the Harding administration, which did not hesitate to break the law or violate the Constitution to carry out its masters' will, stands shattered and awaits with fear and trembling the day of reckoning in which its evil deeds are to be sifted and judged."

Then, it pays tribute to the man who has emerged out of this fight **"the strongest political figure in the Nation"—Senator Robert M. La-Follette.**

Locomotive Engineers' Journal. *I. P. E. U. 624*

He Who Laughs Last

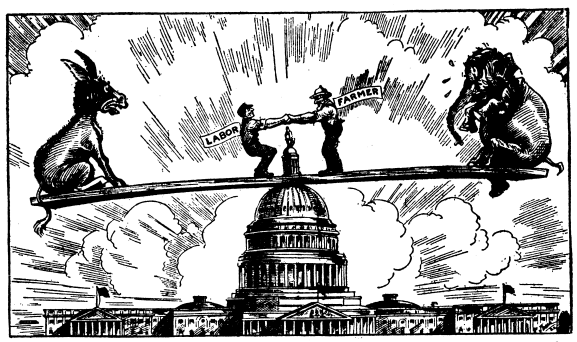
"Five years ago the fires of hatred and maliciously false propaganda," Labor says, "were directed by the cunning hands of wealth and privilege against one man because he dared to stand unflinchingly for the principles he had always advocated. Friends of that man begged him for the sake of his political future to abandon his position. Like the famous 'Iron Brigade' of his own state, he would not yield.

" 'Fighting Bob' LaFollette has not only come back with the unparalleled indorsement of the people of his own state, but by his personal influences has brought back with him from neighboring states strong men who are proud to proclaim that they will stand with him in his battles against the common enemy.

"This great political upheaval which has exalted LaFol-

lette and humbled Harding was no accident, nor was it a mere swing of the partisan pendulum. Reactionaries and fake progressives were bowled over in the Democratic as well as the Republican Party. Its causes are to be found deep in the economic situation and in matters which affect the very fundamentals of human liberty."

This estimate of LaFollette is agreed to by all the labor press. He has been the most consistent and fearless of the successful men in



Labor *I. P. E. U. 624*

THE BALANCE OF POWER

American public life in his fight for the common people. In the war he continued to speak out for what he thought was right. Not daunted by advancing years, he has now placed himself at the front of the attack on the "anti-labor" Supreme Court. Around him have rallied the American Federation of Labor, the railroad unions, and the revolting farmers of the West. He is the connecting link which has welded together an effective Farmer-Labor alliance. In the next Congress, his "radical liberal bloc", as the daily papers call it, will hold the balance of power between the Republican and Democratic parties.

One of the staunchest of Senator LaFollette's allies will undoubtedly be the new Farmer-Labor entry from Minnesota, Dr. Henrik Shipstead. LABOR AGE noted in its last issue the big effort then being made in Gopherdom to defeat Senator Frank B. Kellogg, who stood with the Reactionaries. LaFollette went personally to the aid of Shipstead, although Kellogg was a Republican. The Reactionaries barred him from public speaking places, and attacked him as "unpatriotic".

But the farmers and workers did not fall for that line of bunk. The **Minnesota Daily Star,** the Farmer-Labor paper, was the only daily in the state to support the independent candidate. It now hails the new group in Congress as "the people's bloc"—of which it says:

"One thing is certain, this group will be far bigger than it ever was before. Its chief element of strength will be that it will be independent of the old political party organizations. It will be a terrible thorn in the side of both old political parties. Its whole influence will be to weaken party lines and party affiliations and promote the new alignment between the people and the special interests that dominate finance, industry and the markets. Nothing will tend to bring about this realignment more than the presence of such a group in substantial strength in the national senate."

Of the dentist-Senator it adds:

"Henrik Shipstead will be one of the most interesting and active members of this group. For one thing, he is the youngest man Minnesota will have sent to the senate. He is 41 years old. He is distinguished in another way: He is the first representative, other than a republican, that Minnesota has sent to the United States senate. He will help change the people's bloc to a people's government."

The next day the **Star** reviews at length "the rising Farmer-Labor movement". It calls particular attention to the big sweep of that movement "in these nine northwestern states"—Minnesota and its neighbors. Take Montana, for example, always owned and controlled by the copper trust. The story there is told by the **Billings Searchlight,** the labor paper: **"Montana did not fail to answer the roll call. The copper machine in this state is completely wrecked."**

"B. K. Wheeler, Democratic candidate indorsed by the Conference for Progressive Political Action, the Non-partisan League and organized labor, was carried to the United States Senate by an avalanche of progressive votes," the Searchlight continues, "Carl W. Reddick, Republican candidate who made his campaign as a Harding Republican, was literally lost in the landslide."

But that is not all, we are told. "The house-cleaning was not confined to the national offices. In the state legislative race the copper interests were routed at every point along the battle front. It was the first time in the history of Montana that the copper companies were ever decisively defeated in a general election. Often individual candidates have been elected in spite of the opposition of the companies. But never have the voters taken the bit in their teeth and run away with the national ticket and an overwhelming majority of the state ticket."

Another paper, the **Oklahoma Leader,** is triumphant. It was the chief support of J. C. Walton, Mayor of Oklahoma City, who captured the governorship on the so-called "Shawnee Platform". This was drawn up at a Farmer-Labor convention at Shawnee, Okla. Walton has announced that he will celebrate his inauguration with a two-day barbecue for the farmers and workers of the state instead of a "ball for the 400". The Leader acknowledges that the inspiration for this big movement has come

from the **Non-Partisan League of North Dakota.**

Thus runs the story from state to state. It is interesting to note how party lines were torn asunder and how the lightning went zig-zag to strike down the enemies of Labor. In Ohio, for instance, a democrat (endorsed by Labor) was elected Governor, while Senator Pomerene, democrat, opposed by the rail unions, was snowed under. Albert J. Beveridge was defeated in Indiana by the labor forces, particularly the rail unions. One issue of the **Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine,** for instance, was given over almost entirely to a detailed broadside against Beveridge. **Labor,** the weekly, also went after him hammer and tongs.

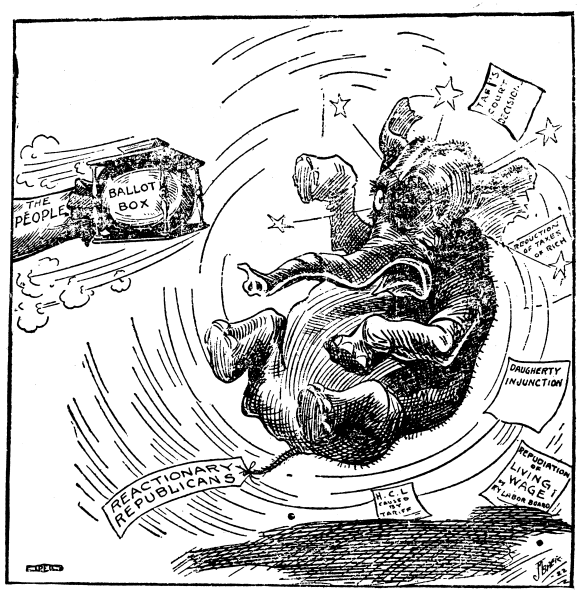
What will this election mean immediately, measured in actual legislation? An inspired report to the **New York Times** a few days after the election, with unconscious humor, tried to answer this question. It said that President Harding would now have a deep change of heart and become a Progressive—adding that "of course, not a radical like LaFollette". The first of the progressive measures which Warren would introduce would be Ship Subsidy! Senator LaFollete, however, announces other plans. In the special session just beginning the President will probably still have a majority with him. He will try to jam through the subsidy bill, a bill giving the Railroad Labor Board the power to stop strikes, and a measure favored by Secretary of the Interior Fall robbing the people of much of the national forest land. These things LaFollette says, must be stopped in this special session. In order to make the opposition effective throughout the country, the **People's Legislative Service** have called a conference in Washington for December 1. This conference will be of great importance in forming an organized movement through the country not alone against reactionary measures but for progressive legislation.

Ten days later the Conference for Progressive Political Action meets again, this time in Cleveland. It will doubtless be influenced by what occurs at the Washington meeting. Will it declare for a new party? The **New York Call** thinks that is the logical outcome of the elections. "The success of the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota," it says, "will give a tremendous impetus everywhere for an out and out cleavage along oconomic lines."

"Eventually," it thinks, "the people will swing to the Farmer-Labor group for the sole but entirely sufficient reason that this is the only party with a program that offers a way out of the economic dilemma to which events have brought the country."

The **Minnesota Union Advocate** is inclined to agree with this view, only to the extent however of saying:

"The time has arrived to launch a new organization into which may be gathered all the progressive elements



who recognize the need for a fundamental change and are willing to support it.

"Next December a national conference will be held in Chicago for the purpose of discussing the advisability of launching such a party. Minnesota will be well represented, because we are well schooled in practical matters, and this new movement must be started along a course that will assure safety and permanency."

President Gompers and the union papers standing for his policy see in the election a vindication for their line of action. In a letter to the editors of the labor press, he says:

"Labor has never participated in a political campaign with such favorable results. There never was such a complete and satisfying vindication of the wisdom of labor's non-partisan political policy. It was proven on November 7 as never before that labor's proper course is to be partisan to principles and not to political organizations."

It is also worthy of note that Senator LaFollette, who has won the whole-hearted support of the A. F. of L., has stated decidedly that his conference in Washington is not for the purpose of forming a new party—but quite to the contrary. It is for the purpose of bringing together all the advance forces of the country, regardless of party, for united action against reaction.

Why We Struck In Somerset

Before the Battle

By H. A. ARMSTRONG

I WAS born in England. I had a friend in America who wrote me I should come to America, as he thought I would "do good." As far as "doing good" is concerned, I will not say. But I will say I like America very much and think there is no place like it, despite the hardships and suffering I have undergone in an endeavor to have conditions changed in these non-union places.

I made up my mind to come out to Joseph Willis, my friend, and crossing the water with my wife and child, Irene, we arrived in America safe and well. We went to Bell, Pennsylvania, where my friend lived, a mining town amid the mountains of Somerset county. We went to board with him. I asked him if there was a union and what the coal Company was. He told me the place was non-union and the Company was the Consolidation Coal Company.

He put me wise to keep quiet about "unionism" and said it was best not to say anything. Not being very well fixed regarding money and being strange to the country, I decided to keep quiet but to think a lot. He told me that if anyone talked union and the officials found it out, that man might as well go, or the officials would see that he did so. I later learned that when a stranger came to these towns the Company inquired who he is and where he comes from.

In the Mountains of Somerset

The morning after arriving I took a walk to have a look around. Bell is in the mountains, and at any angle of approach there is a hill to climb. The roads to and from this town are in bad shape; one does not want to walk far. The people were not very sociable. Therefore, I had to keep myself company while looking around. The next thing I turned my mind to was getting a job. After being there four days, I saw a man walking around. He was dressed in the mountaineer style. I was told that was the "super." I asked him: "How about a job?"

"Where do you come from?" he asked.

"England," I said.

"What kind of a job do you want?"

I told him I would prefer a job outside to begin with.

"See the tipple boss," he said.

I went down to the tipple boss and asked him about a job. He did not say anything to me, but hollered to a man, "Ho! Charlie, can you use a man?"

Charlie came down and talked with him, and between them they decided to give me a job. Charles Knupp, an outside boss, told me to come out in the morning at seven o'clock.

The next morning I went down to the tipple, where a lot of workmen were gathered. I bade one or two good-morning. Though answering me, it struck me that they were averse to talking to a stranger. In a short while Charlie came around and with him I went to a tool boss, where there were three other men ready for work. He gave them all instructions as to what to do and gave each one a mud pick and shovel. "Come on," he said, "I'll show you what you are to do." We proceeded on our way and came to an unfinished ditch. I was to work in that ditch, which I did. This man did not tell me what hour was lunch time, quitting time, or anything else. He left me to dig the ditch. I worked that day and was very tired. I found out from a passing man that quitting time was 3:30. Being told to come out at 7, and that 3:30 was quitting time, I knew I must be working an eight-hour day, the extra half hour being for lunch.

The Unwritten Law

I stayed with Joe Willis one month and then we went to housekeeping. We bought our household goods from the store controlled by the coal company and we certainly had to pay high for everything we bought. It is the unwritten law in these non-union towns that a man employed by the Company will buy his goods at these stores. One finds out from his fellow workmen that it is expected of you that you will buy there. If you do not, you will either lose your job or it will be made pretty mean for you.

Under non-union conditions, for one thing, the boss has it all to say as to what conditions you will work under and what pay you will get. That might be all right, if people would be satisfied with such conditions. But people are not. Even without other enlightenment than their own reasoning, workmen realize that things should be different. In a non-union plant the boss will come

to men to do a certain job; he don't even want to be asked what pay there is for it.

Then again, what is it that interests a working man? Or, what should? His work. A man in a non-union town is not a free agent to discuss his work.

Petty Slavery

Life under non-union conditions is nothing more than petty slavery, because non-union men know that if one of them does try to change conditions he will be quickly got out, at the boss' orders. A man working under such conditions is naturally afraid to trust his fellow man. Eventually there is a feeling of distrust—one against the other.

As time went on and I worked on this labor gang, I finally began to know people. I did not have much trouble because, as stated, I vowed to keep my peace, at least for a time. The outside boss quit and a boss named John Ross took his place. Sometimes this labor gang did not get paid for time worked. A railroad car load of sand was pushed in to the side track and the boss wanted it unloaded. It was a 50-ton car and we began at 2 p. m. There were four men. At 7:30 at night we finished.

I asked the boss next morning, "How many hours have you turned in for yesterday?"

He said, "Eleven."

I said, "I figure it twelve."

He replied, "I thought it was eleven, but will see about it." If he did, I have never seen the hour's pay yet.

The same thing happened about two weeks afterward, only it was a day's work of 11 hours, and instead of getting paid 11 hours we got paid 10.

Is there any wonder men become dissatisfied under such conditions? If a man was to put up any fight for his time in the above cases he would be branded as a troublemaker and fired.

In the course of time, men began to trust me and would voice their dissatisfaction. One morning I was told to work on the tipple, to dump rock cars. A man named Miller was picking the diggers' checks off the coal cars. A car was run in to the rock dump track and I saw Miller take off a check.

I thought that strange. On dumping the car I found out the reason. Miller had noticed some pieces of rock on the top of the car and he had it put into the rock track. The man who loaded the car, therefore, would not get paid for it. Often on the tipple I would hear diggers complaining to the Company weighman about being cars short.

Work up to this time had been steady. I learned there was a man needed on the electrician gang. I applied for the job and got it. The work consisted of hanging wire in and outside the mines for the hauling motors, also repairing these motors and the coal cutting machines. This job took me into the mine and put me in touch with the miners at work. Here I learned of the men being given unfair weight on the cars of coal they loaded. Some men stated that for cars they used to get 2 tons, 10 hundredweight for, they were now only being allowed from 1 ton, 2 hundredweight to 1 ton, 10 hundredweights. The reason they could not do any better was: They were at the mercy of the company weighman. Whereas,

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This is the picture of Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Armstrong and their two children—taken before the chicken coop into which they moved after being evicted.

wherever the union is established, the diggers elect one of their own number, and pay them to check up on the cars as the cars go over the scales.

Working Without Pay

The men complained about "dead work". That is work other than producing or loading coal but which must be done in order that the coal may be loaded. They were generally not paid for this work—though it took much of their time.

Another grievance was, that men had to work in places which were wet. In these places, in a short time, their clothing became all wet and stayed wet all day. They did not get any good pay for such extra bad conditions.

I have known men being fired without any explanation whatever from the boss.

It came time to take inventory at the mines, and of course I thought I would have to measure, to determine how much wire there was. The mine had begun to work slack time. One and two days a week was all we were working. Inventory had to be taken at once. It had to be done on days that the mine was not working. I thought I would be allowed to do the work and measure the wire. But no, another man was put in my place without cause and I was forced to stay at home. I asked the boss his reason for doing this and he could not give me any reason.

I could not stand for this. So I went into the mine looking for a motor-man's job. The mine was only working one day a week.

On the evening of June 30, 1921, when we came out from work, I went into the Company store. To my surprise I saw notices on the walls stating that all accounts had to be paid at once or they would be turned into the office for collection. I asked the reason and was told the mine was closing down. No notice or any official word had been given to the men that such was about to take place. And no one was allowed any credit at the store; cash from all.

This was a hard blow. It meant moving to another town.

I had worked hard to get the garden planted, which was attached to the house, and spent money to have it put in shape. Next day, after Bell mines closed down, I went to Gray mine, which belongs to the same Company, and talked to the mine foreman. He gave me work as a track helper.

The Diggers' Situation

In laying tracks, a man gets around pretty much and sees conditions as they really are. Although the diggers lay their own track, the trackmen have to lay track into rooms that have been driven up and the track taken out, and where new track has to be put in so as the pillars can be "pulled" (taken out). Here I got in touch with the diggers' situation. For work in pillars, there is always more or less "dead work." That means that when the rooms were being driven up, the diggers would shovel all rock and dirt to the sides; then, when the pillars have to be "drawn," this is to move. Then again, in pillar work the roof very often falls in and the diggers are obliged to clear it away. Here was a situation where the men were very much imposed upon, as they declared. They should have been paid for the time worked at clearing away.

A coal digger is paid by the tons of coal he loads into the cars. I repeatedly heard men accuse the Company weighman of unfair weight. I often heard the remark, "It is time something is done."

Another bad thing; the men are always losing loaded cars in transit. I have known of men losing three and four loaded cars in one day. Sometimes they would finally get credit for them and oftentimes not.

And so it went on, and instead of getting better matters got worse for the men. On one occasion the regular weighman was sick and could not work. Another man had to be put in his place. He was weighing coal for a period of two or three days. The weight was much better and the men were surprised that they should have such good luck. However, it was not for long. The sick man came back to his job. The weight again went to the old low standard.

Now, how was that to be explained? The temporary man got hell and the Company gave out the statement that the scales were incorrect. "The weight given to the men for the period mentioned was a good deal in excess of the weight on the railroad cars when weighed on the railroad scales." That was the story handed to the men and they were forced to take it. As they had no union, nothing could be done in any matter of that kind.

The Fate of Arnold Dowe

A few days after this, at starting time one morning, the coal diggers refused to go down the shaft. The mine foreman inquired what the cause was. Arnold Dowe spoke on behalf of the men and said that they refused to work owing to the unfair weight they were getting on the cars they loaded.

The officials of the Company endeavored to get the men to go to work, but they refused. "We will not work," they said, "until we get fair weight," and returned to their homes.

A meeting was called by Company officials and the promise was made that the scales would be tested and the men would get full weight. The men, after two days idleness, returned to work. Arnold Dowe was fired. A scale tester came after a few days and tested the scales. No digger was allowed in to see the test. The weight on the cars was not any better.

The superintendent at the mine was changed soon after this and Dowe came back and asked for a job. He was told by the new man: "There is no job for you and you cannot get a job anywhere with the Consolidation Company again."

One day my buddy and I put in a switch in a room. We did not have the proper stuff to work with. We therefore could not make such a job as should have been. The next day an electric mine motor was passing over the switch and got off the track pulling the switch apart. We had to go and fix it. We started at 12 noon and worked hard all afternoon till quitting time. The next morning the boss asked what we were doing all afternoon, "wasting our time." He said he could put three of those switches in in one day with one hand tied behind his back. Saying this, he walked away and, it was said, in a manner as though he were talking to some dog. Can you wonder that men resent such treatment?

Cutting Wages Without Warning

The slack work continued. It was explained that steady work could be had if the coal could be loaded clean.

Then, when we went for our pay on pay day, we found we had been reduced 34 per cent to 40 per cent in our wages. What was worse, we had worked two weeks before we discovered the new wages. This was in August, 1921.

In this seam of coal, known as the E vein, there are two layers of rock. One is about from 6 to 8 inches from the bottom, the other one from 10 to 18 inches. It was explained by the officials of the company that the coal cutting machine would cut out this top rock, known as binder, and that would produce clean coal. What of the bottom it would leave? The digger would have to dig enough at least to lay down the track for the cars. This was done, and the men as usual did not receive any pay for this extra work. If any rock or dirt was loaded in any man's car the weight on the car would be reduced considerably the first time. If it happened more than once he would be fired. This happened several times.

I have known two men to work 12 hours to get two places in readiness to load coal. That meant working 12 hours for nothing.

Signs of Coming War

It was impossible for the men to stand these conditions. As April, 1922, drew near, the newspapers published the news of the threatened coal strike. A few days previous to April 1st I noticed a man near the mine, with a gun strapped to his side. He was also carrying a club. He seemed to be guarding the road leading into town from the state highway. He had worked in the mines for a few weeks and had come to Gray from West Virginia. Then I noticed a few more men who were watchmen. Rumors went around that gunmen were employed to watch over us non-union men. The men resented this and I heard remarks, that "they would be damned if they would work under guards".

April 1st came. The newspapers carried the news that all the union miners had struck. More watchmen and gunmen were employed. We learned that there were between 35 and 40 gunmen and spotters on night shift, with a couple making rounds to these watchmen to see if everything was O. K. So there was a continuous chain of guards around the town which has about 400 houses. The public highway runs along the upper side of the town, and the watchmen would stop people, in cars, or walking, to see who they were. This was done at the point of a gun.

A change was coming over the men. Word was passed in a day or so that the great mining operations of Windber had struck. The newspapers carried that news the next morning. This was April 3rd. News also reached us that Boswell had come out on strike. That is only 7 miles from Gray. Jenner (which is another Consolidation operation two miles from Boswell), we heard, was expected to be the next place to strike. And it was.

Strike of the Non-Union Miners

Then the diggers at Gray began to strike. More and more, they just didn't go into the mines. Injunctions began to be served on all men not working. About this time a man who worked at Gray was entering the town, and because he did not stop Superintendent Mullen shot at him. The man was in a car, and the shot went through the back window, passing close to the man's head and through the windshield. At this the man stopped, was arrested, taken to Somerset — a distance of eight miles—but was set free. The superintendent left rather hurriedly a week after this affair. Later, Vice-President Lyon of the Consolidation, on the witness stand in Somerset, admitted Mullen did the shooting and was still in their employ, but said he didn't know where. A temporary man was put in his place. I heard this man telling a Polish miner, while giving him an injunction paper, "You must not even talk about the strike". The miner took it all in and went on his way. More and more diggers stayed home from the mine.

Happiness Through Group Action

Workers Can Gain Goal by Joining Hands

By PRINCE HOPKINS

Those who live among this so-called "upper class" know that they get less joy out of life than those who are poorer. They still have financial worries, because even the very rich feel that the only really nice automobiles, apartments, or yachts are those still just beyond their purse. The dwindling circle of persons with whom they think it dignified to be intimate is more and more comprised of rivals in the business and social lists. For the rest, they attract people who wish to court them out of sycophancy or for ulterior ends, and to steal or solicit from them. When a rich person has succeeded in joining incognito a group with whom he could work democratically for some cause, when some one let it out who he was, he often has seen the group turn and fawn on him.

So the souls of the rich become sick with cynicism. Though their lives bring them little satisfaction, they can no more renounce their wealth than an adict can forswear his drug.

According to the new psychology, reason is generally the servant of desire, either showing us how to get what we wish, or finding excuses for our actions. Therefore, those who crave luxury, believe that they are thus serving the poor by providing them employment. **If their tastes ran to incendiarism, they'd feel they deserved praise for helping starving housebuilders and firemen.**

Happiness Through Group Action

We have compared the pleasure-seeker to a man who thinks he can increase the flow of a river by sweeping its water downstream. A wiser man would go into the mountains and divert other natural sources into his river.

The latter corresponds to the worker who interests himself in questions of health and encourages his union to undertake health education among its members, such as described in a recent issue of LABOR AGE; who puts such knowledge into practice; who, moreover, demands wholesome conditions for himself and his mates in home, mine and shop.

Whoever is ambitious to climb out of his class, and be able to buy sensory delights, pursues an illusory happiness. A more profitable aim is to improve the environment under which we live and work.

The members of the unions mentioned in this issue have learned the value of this lesson of group action. Would it be thought at all that such an individualistic profession as the Actors would prove to be one of the strongest members of organized labor? Yet, such is the case. It is also interesting to see—and worth while thinking over—that the higher class players, practically without exception, have joined their "weaker" brothers and sisters in the fight for better conditions. Their effort to establish a theatre of their own—which is now a reality—also speaks volumes for their ability to work together.

Had they, and other unions of their type, followed the rule of mimicing the rich, they would have let the members of the chorus continue to work under the bad conditions which existed before the big actors' strike of 1919.

The same thing applies for the new spirit which is sweeping through the American labor movement. Instead of foolishly seeking to follow the idea of the present system that happiness can be found only through individual effort and through individual luxury, the members of organized labor are going into business on a group basis. They are furnishing the necessities of life to their members, without paying tribute to the profit maker. This is the whole idea which lies behind the labor banks, cooperative stores, shops, creameries, etc., which are now being built up by the movement, particularly in the West and Northwest.

It is certain that though we all wanted it, we cannot all "get to the top" through individual effort—even though the capitalists say we can. We cannot obtain happiness for very many—even though happiness were to really result from luxury—on the luxury basis. The manufacture of luxuries means that the manufacture of necessities is cut down. The secret of the welfare of the individual members of the working class lies in group action and in providing the necessities of life for the members of the group through that action.

Labor History in the Making

In the U. S. A.

(By the Manager, in Cooperation with the Board of Editors.)

FACTS, NOT FANCIES

FACTS are what the miners and the public want on coal. Facts are what the present Federal Coal Commission was created to find. Its name is a "Fact Finding Commission."

The big question is: Will the Commission go after the facts and give them to the people? Or, will its members content themselves merely with making recommendations? If they do the latter, they will have done worse than nothing. They will have only postponed "the evil day" when the operators will have to disclose the real situation. The Commission has been given an unbelievably short time in which to discover what's what. It must have its report completed by January 15th. This may make it inclined to dig rather shallowly into the subject—contenting itself with general recommendations and letting it go at that.

Recommendations are not what is wanted. Facts are. The big facts which the Commission should face, to do its job at all are: 1. The Anthracite Monopoly. 2. Railroad Ownership of Mines, and Interlocking Directorates. 3. The Huge Waste Underground. 4. The Bankruptcy of Private Ownership.

No matter what the Commission might think about the last point, it certainly can make no good plea in avoidance in regard to the first three. If it dodges these sore spots, it will have committed a crime against the public and the workers. For, with these facts uncorrected, the next big coal crisis will be worse than the last. And that is what miners and public wish to avoid.

"PROFITS ABOVE HUMAN LIVES"

"NO, SIR, Mr. American Workingman! You can't receive a living wage. If you did, industry would go to eternal damnation." So spoke those interesting gentlemen of the Railroad Labor Board a few weeks ago. They seem determined to show themselves unfit for their $10,000 jobs.

Being short on facts and figures, the majority of the Board became long on big words. They declared that the living wage theory "if carried to its logical conclusion, would wreck every railroad in the United States, and, if extended to other industries, would carry them into communistic ruin." That theory, they also said, was nothing but a piece of "mellifluous phraseology"—whatever that may mean.

These being the "facts," as the Board saw them, it denied the request of the Maintenance of the Way Men to a rate of 72 cents an hour—and granted them 48 cents per hour! **This is the reward which the former officials of the waymen won for them by not striking with the shopmen!**

Basil Manly, of the People's Legislative Service, rightly says that this decision means that "the government will use compulsion to make the workers accept the lowest wage that outside industry can force the workers to accept, and thereby lend its assistance to drive the workers into a state of wage slavery."

What is Organized Labor's answer? **To demand the wiping out of the Board—nothing more or less!** It agrees with **Advance,** organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, that "the Railroad Labor Board is an interesting curio. It should be removed from the government and put in a museum." And with the Miners' **Panther Creek News** that "every real citizen should get busy and demand the abolition of this board. The world has just gotten rid of a Czar and Kaiser and we want none created under other titles in the United States."

These words are respectfully called to the attention of the new Congress of next year. It can do a big service by putting this Board to sleep forever. Machinery of that kind, not based on the consent of the workers, will always fail. The needle trades, in their conciliation methods, have found another means of adjusting industrial questions—based on the consent of the unions in the industry.

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N. Y. American. *I. P. E. U. 624*

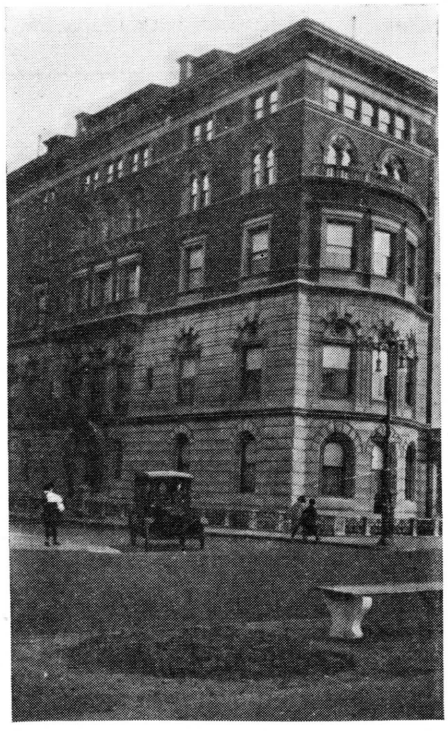
TRYING TO PUSH HIM INTO THE PIT

A STUDY IN CONTRASTS
"Lord" Berwind's Home and the Homes of "His" Men

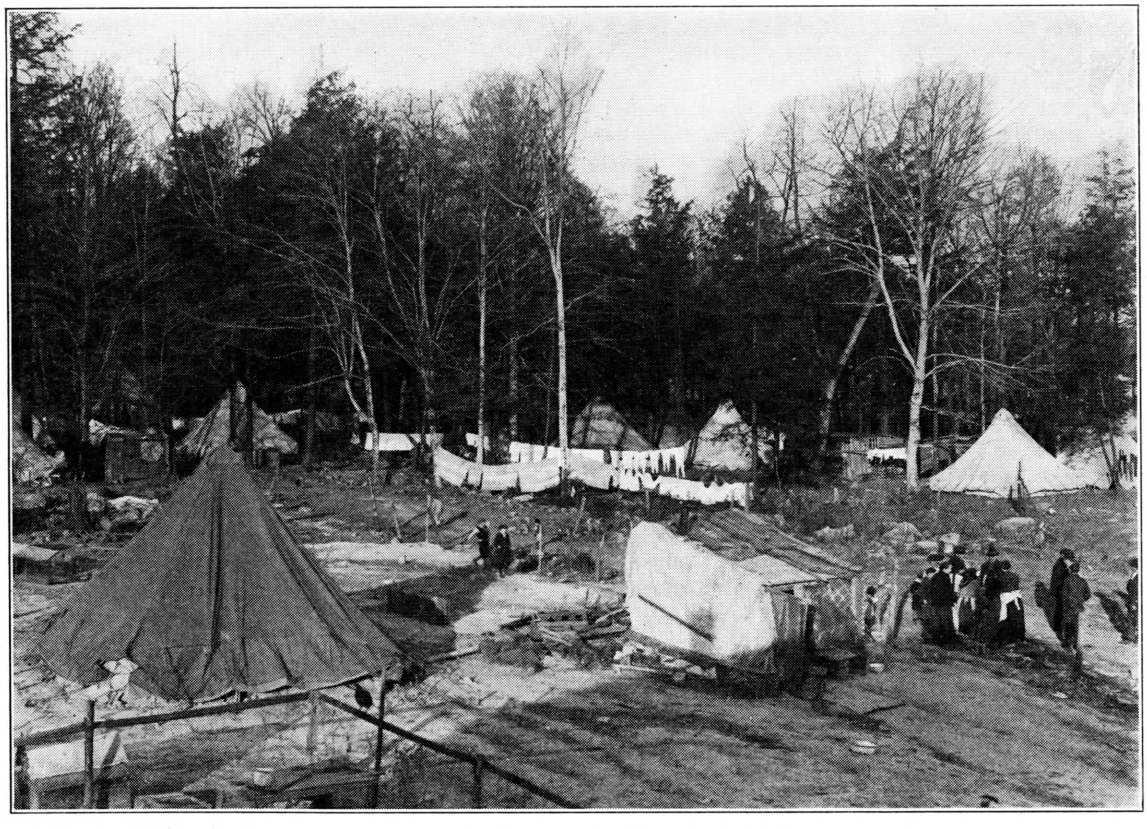
TO the right is the New York home of "Lord" E. J. Berwind, head of the Berwind-White Coal Company. He is also the possessor of one of the finest of the summer homes in Atlantic City.

Below are the "homes" of the former employes of Mr. Berwind—the striking miners of Somerset. They have been evicted by the benevolent coal corporation. Their offense is: "unionism." For the first time in the history of these fields the miners have gone out as a man. They and their families are now living in the shacks and tents shown in the picture.

It was taken when the special committee appointed by Mayor Hylan of New York visited the strike region. Berwind-White, be it known, sell their anti-union coal to the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York City. The conditions imposed on the miners were such as a Pharaoh might impose, Mayor Hylan's committee found.



The men are standing firm, despite the coming of winter. They can win their fight only through your help. Picture yourself in these huts—without fuel, food or clothing. Twelve hundred families, says the **Panther Creek News,** *are "living in these winter barracks." Get the real Christmas spirit and send aid to these fighting men and women through Richard Gilbert, District No. 2, Clearfield, Pa. Nothing can be more urgent! The whole strike hinges on you.*



The Philadelphia Labor Bank

By FRANK BURCH

(Have you ever seen the office of the Secretary-Treasurer of Central Labor Union located in a bank—right next to the President's offices? You can see that in Philadelphia. But the bank belongs to Organized Labor, one of the many which are springing up in the land. We have asked Brother Burch to tell the story of this interesting institution, because he is the Secretary-Treasurer who occupies the office we have mentioned. This is the tale of how the Quaker City workers are holding on to their own money and not putting it into the hands of their enemies.)

LABOR has again shown its ability to manage its finances in the bank it has organized in Philadelphia. The progress it has made is a credit to the progressiveness of the workers of Philadelphia.

In July, 1921, the Central Labor Union authorized its committee on banking to proceed with the organization of the Producers' and Consumers' Bank, and a Board was selected to manage its affairs for the first two and a half years.

The shares in the bank were offered to the workers at $11.50 each and on February 1st, 1922, the doors were opened to receive deposits, which from the first were a surprise to the old time bankers and business men. The business men were interested in it because it was something a little more progressive than the rest of the Philadelphia banks. Many have shown their faith in it by their deposits, which now total nearly a million dollars. These are made up of the accounts of over a thousand workers and many hundred business men.

To be exact, there are now 2700 depositors and 1800 shareholders. The principal feature of the bank, as a cooperative institution, is that it shares its profits with its customers!

The Producers' and Consumers' Bank is managed by a board, three-fifths of whom must always come from the ranks of organized labor. Over 80 per cent of the capital is owned by Union Organizations and their members.

The healthy profits of the bank show that the officers and board of the Producers' and Consumers' Bank are fully capable of the trust that has been reposed in them.

The officers are always ready and glad to meet their friends any time between 10 A. M. and 3:00 P. M. and discuss their financial problems with them. That is something new, surely, in itself!

The workers of Philadelphia in this institution have erected a monument of which they should be justly proud.

THE FIGHTING SHOPMEN

THE anti-"living wage" decision of the Railroad Labor Board reminds us that the shopmen's strike (called against a previous anti-labor decree of that Board) is still on in many places. Early in November the international presidents of the seven shop crafts met in Chicago to survey the field and lay plans for a continuance of the fight. "It must be kept up," they decided.

Labor, organ of the rail unions, says that "more than 200,000 shopmen who suspended work on July 1 are now employed on roads which have made honorable settlements." This means that thousands are still out of work. These thousands, the **Machinists Journal** declares "are dependent upon donations to help feed, clothe and house their families."

"The fight they are making," it adds "is still our fight. It is up to all of us to make every possible sacrifice to assist our brothers still in the trenches and on the firing line. Put yourself in their position. **Would you not think it a poor display of unionism if your brothers who were working failed to come to your relief?"**

Their courageous stand can be even better appreciated when it is understood that at least 16 companies have formed "company unions" composed of strikebreakers. They have wafted this news to the four winds, through their publicity departments. But the **Machinists Journal** points out that "these traitors to the trade union movement" cannot hold out. They "have isolated themselves, and can have no point of contact with men employed on other railroads or in other industries." It is only a question of time until their roads will have to bow to the rail unions.

The **Journal** also calls attention to "the sharp contrast between the service rendered the public on those roads which have adjusted their misunderstandings with the shopcrafts, and those 'die-hards' which have elected to continue the fight." **The Interstate Commerce Commission,** however, is not on the job. If this body "would do its duty and compel the railroads to live up to the inspection laws, the railroads that have determined to fight to a finish would be forced to acknowledge defeat."

At the same time, the eyes of railroad labor are turned toward the meeting of December 9th and 10th in Chicago —the **National Railroad Amalgamation Conference.** It has been called by the National Committee to Amalgamate the 16 Standard Railroad Unions, of which Otto Wangerin of St. Paul is Secretary. Its slogan is, **"Amalgamation or Annihilation."** Its promoters declare that more than ever is the need for amalgamation clear. The shop crafts strike has shown that one union or set of unions cannot beat the roads, alone. Each craft must have the aid of all the Crafts in the industry, striking as one man.

TREASON AND MURDER

WAR still rages in the mine fields, also. The men of Somerset and Fayette are in the open fields—facing the winter. Under cover of the truce in other fields (operative until next year), the miners are under fire from their feudal lords.

Down in West Virginia, President Keeney of District No. 17, will go to trial in January on the charge of "treason" against the operator-owned government. He has succeeded in getting a change of venue from the county in which Allen was tried. The latter, it will be remembered, was found guilty of "treason" and was sentenced to five years imprisonment.

The miners are now fortunate in having the assistance of the **American Civil Liberties Union** in these treason cases. That organization will change the tactics of the "defence" to offence. It announces that it will send well-known men into Logan County to speak in January, at the time Keeney's trial is opened. This is the county ruled by the coal companies and their sheriff, Don Chafin. As a result of this "free speech demonstration," the whole issue of the trial will be made clear. Keeney is being tried for treason because he wants free speech.

The trial of the Herrin miners for murder of mine guards and strikebreakers is also on in full swing at Marion, Ill. The choice of a jury has been a difficult matter. McAllister Coleman, writing in the **New York World** from Marion, says that it is well understood down there that "trade unionism is on trial." That is why the work of getting a jury is so slow. The farmers are anti-union in that neighborhood, because they have been soured by the comparatively high wages paid the miners. The mining population, of course, is strongly union. The flames of class division have been fanned by the **Illinois Chamber of Commerce,** which has worked hard to get the conviction of the men on trial. It is clear, as the **Toledo Union Leader** points out, that they will not be convicted for "murder," if they should be convicted, but for "trade unionism." Frank Farrington, President of the Illinois Miners, has announced that their fight is his fight and the fight of the organization.

"LAND OF THE FREE"

ALL of which brings up the fact that Civil Liberty is still in a weak condition in this "land of the free." The weekly reports of the **American Civil Liberties Union** show that the most popular methods of settling arguments (so far as the forces of "law and order" are concerned) is by mobbing, whipping, and other like uses of force. In one week alone 12 cases of beating and whipping by mobs were reported. A short time ago negroes, even, attacked a white man in Indiana, asserting that they could do this rightly in the North, since the custom of beating and killing negroes by whites was so common in the South!

Governor Parker of Louisiana was forced to make his famous trip to the White House, to ask for Federal co-operation in doing something about the Ku Klux Klan. That organization is becoming increasingly bold and murderous in its attacks. It is interesting to note that Warren was unable to do anything in this case—although he pulled the gun quick enough against the miners and the shopmen. The **Voice of Labor,** organ of the workers party in Chicago, denounces the Klan as the "American Fascisti." The labor press as a whole sees in it an instrument of Reaction, and an enemy to the labor movement.

At the same time, the government is using all its legal machinery to put William Z. Foster in jail. He nd 19 others, alleged to have been at a Communist Conference in Michigan in August, will go on trial on January 15th, at St. Joseph, Mich.

In Other Lands

CHRISTMAS

WAR AND CHAOS are Europe's answer to the Christmas appeal, PEACE ON EARTH. Nations war on each other Capital wars on Labor. What is worse, laboring men war on each other under different labor banners.

Marching hordes of unemployed in England demand redress of the premier—and get a gesture. Striking metal workers at Havre, France,—after 110 days of brilliant fighting—are forced to accept a cut in wages. Fascisti and unemployment rule Italy—the latter exaggerated by the new American immigration law. In Switzerland the Socialists attempt to secure a capital levy by referendum. Capital retaliates by withdrawing millions of dollars from the country, which will probably frighten the electors into defeating the proposal. On Christmas Day the Syndicalists meet in Berlin to form still another International. Labor in many countries is defeated and afraid. In Norway, for example, the labor forces have been so weakened by the general strike of 1921 that the trade unions asked Communist and Social-Democratic representatives in the Parliament to join the anti-labor parties in passing a compulsory arbitration law. These delegates complied.

There are signs of hope in the midst of this black night. British Labor is now the second party in Parliament—"the official opposition." Soviet Russia celebrated its fifth birthday with the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International and with the annual meeting of the Red Trade Union International. It has been able to beat back its foes—though at the expense of the loss of much liberty at home. The International Federation of Trade Unions charges the Soviets with the wholesale denial of the right to strike.

"THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION"

THUS runs in big headlines on the front page of the **London Daily Herald** of November 21 the announcement that the Labour Party had elected 141 members in Parliament at the general elections. This makes that Party the second in Parliament—"His Majesty's Official Opposition." It is the first time that Labour has played so large a role politically in the history of England. The **Herald**—now the official paper of the British trade union movement—is consequently elated at this step forward. Of the election it says:

"Labour is the only Party with principles and a programme: that is the explanation of its success. Its representatives must now show that they are resolved to march solidly towards realization of its aims. This is all that matters.

J. Ramsey MacDonald, later chosen leader of the Party, declares that this hope of the **Herald** will be realized. In his first public statement he said that **"Labour is not out for a mere patching up."** He wants it to do a thorough job.

The first effort of the Party was to secure governmental action "to treat the workless justly." The proposal of the Labour Party to go thoroughly into the question of unemployment was voted down by the new Conservative majority. This, in spite of the fact that thousands of unemployed had marched on London, demanding relief. According to the labor leaders, the proposals of the government for the unemployed are worse than patch work.

The increased strength of the Labour Party will undoubtedly mean much for the workers of other countries. Its stand for peace in the Turkish situation gives hope that it will fight to the last ditch against British Imperialism. If it really does that, it will open up an entirely new era in European history.

In the midst of this black night of Reaction, a small candle shines. It is the recent decision, reported by the **San Diego Labor Leader,** of Judge Edgar A. Luce, of San Diego County, refusing to grant an injunction against the Musicians Union and the Federated Trades of that city. Such action is so rare at this stage of our history as to be noteworthy.

THE THIRD AMERICAN COOPERATIVE CONGRESS

Reported for LABOR AGE by John H. Walker, President Illinois Federation of Labor and one of the earliest of American labor men in the Cooperative Movement.

INSIDE of ninety days, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers will have a bank in New York City. We are going down in among the powers-that-be, and we are going to play the game with them." Coming from Warren S. Stone, this remark carried conviction to the delegates assembled at Chicago the latter part of October in the Third Cooperative Congress. For in the same speech Chief Stone told of the remarkable achievements of the bank in Cleveland with its $19,000.000 assets.

This Congress was attended by seventy-five delegates carrying credentials from cooperative societies with a combined membership of seventy thousand.

No capitalists with their patronizing message of conciliation attended this Congress. It was a convention of workers and farmers.

Dan Hoan, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, reported for the Cooperative Housing Association of that city, which is putting up one thousand workers' homes to be owned collectively by one thousand families. He had charts and architects' plans with him, told the delegates that rents were to be lower in these houses than in any other part of the city, and that the different teams of union labor doing the work were competing among themselves in the building operations. The houses are models in sanitation. They have ample light and air, baths and modern conveniences of all sorts. Union men are benefiting both as workers and renters.

Delegates from the Minneapolis (Franklin) Cooperative Creamery told how they captured the milk business of their city from the open-shop milk trust. The directors of this creamery are all young men, most of them members of the milk drivers' and other unions. The hundreds of employees of this creamery attend a night school throughout the winter, and study Economics, English, the technique of their own business, and many other subjects. These people are now distributing annually one million and a half dollars worth of milk and butter, to more than thirty thousand families.

Andrew P. Bower, Vice-President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, reported that Leighton has saved $11,000 on coal during less than two years. From Staunton, Ill., came word that in eight years the cooperators there had saved $100,000 on coal. Officers and administrators from the Central States Cooperative Wholesale at East St. Louis reported on the progress of the forty coal miners' cooperative stores affiliated with that wholesale. From the Central Pennsylvania district, T. D. Stiles sent in affiliation for twenty-two societies of coal miners, many of whom are still on strike.

Resolutions were passed—demanding the release of political prisoners; condemning the fake "Cooperative" Society of America which has already beguiled the workers of the country into parting with $12,000,000; creating a committee to raise $50,000 for the promotion of Cooperation among farmer and labor groups; recommending the creation of other cooperative schools throughout the country similar to those now organized in Superior and Minneapolis; and advising all state federations of labor to appoint cooperative advisers who will give full time to the promotion of cooperative activity.

W. C. Lansdon, organizer for the Farmers' Cooperative and Education Union of America, gave a ringing challenge to the forces of entrenched privilege. He reported that the organized farmers of the country are now conducting an annual business of five billion dollars—business once done by the Special Interests,—and that they are going a great deal further in the future. He vividly portrayed the wide gap between production costs and selling price of both farm products and factory products, and demanded that the workers of city and country get together to drive the profiteers and grafters out of this **"No Man's Land,"** *so that the producers and consumers can get together. The cooperators, from the mining country and the industrial centers greeted Mr. Lansdon's speech with great applause.*

This was the chief accomplishment of the entire Congress: Unity! A working agreement was effected between the Cooperative Committee of the A. F. of L., the All-American Cooperative Commission, and The Cooperative League. Two or three large organizations which have formerly remained outside The League affiliated with it:—The Central States Wholesale, the Penn Central group of cooperatives, the Nebraska Union Farmers' States Exchange which has more than two hundred stores. The Workers Education Bureau and the Cooperative League have appointed a joint committee for aggressive action. American cooperation, as a result of these alliances, is advancing at a fast pace. It has a year of great progress before it.

TO LABOR AGE READERS

THE Manager leaves New York on December 5th, on a three-week speaking and organizing trip through the West for LABOR AGE. Among the cities he will visit are: Cleveland, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit, Indianapolis and Cincinnati.

Because of this fact, the January issue may be a few days late. We have made special arrangements to prevent this. But the executive editorial work is in the Manager's hands—and there may be a slight delay of a few days as a result of this trip. You will understand therefore that if your January number comes late it is due to only temporary circumstances.

LABOR PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

WHAT TO READ

8. Some Late Books on the Labor Movement

Bennett, C. E., "Employers' Associations in the United States." N. Y.: Macmillan Co., 1922. 594pp.
Budgen, F. S. and Colton, L., "Craft-Unionism versus Industrial Unionism." N. Y.: Socialist Labor Party, 1922. 32pp.
Chase, Stuart, "Challenge of Waste." N. Y.: League for Industrial Democracy, 1922. 31pp.
Delaisi, Francis, "Oil: Its Influence on Politics." London: Labour Pub. Co., 1922. 94pp.
Hobson, J. A., "Incentives in the New Industrial Order." London: Leonard Parsons, 1922. 160pp.
Industrial Workers of the World, "Lumber Industry and Its Workers." Chicago: 1922. 91pp.
Industrial Workers of the World, "Coal Mines and Coal Miners." Chicago: 1922. 108pp.
International Labour Office, Geneva, "International Labour Directory," 2nd ed. Geneva: 1922. 1038pp.
Labour Research Department, London, "Labour and Capital in the Engineering Trades." London: Labour Pub. Co., June, 1922. 48pp.
Labour Research Department, London, "Wages, Prices and Profits," Preface by Sidney Webb. London: Nov. 1921. 110pp.
Monatte, Pierre and Others, "Left Wing Trade Unionism in France." London: Labour Pub. Co., 1922. 129pp.
Morris, William, "Factory Work As It Is and Might Be." N. Y.; N. Y. Labor News Co., 1922. 30pp.
Orton, W. A., "Labour in Transition; A Survey of British Industrial Experience Since 1914. London: Philip Allan & Co., 1921. 286pp.
Robbins, Hayes, "Labour Movement and the Farmer." N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922. 195pp.
Savage, M. D., "Industrial Unionism in America." N. Y.: Ronald Press, 1922. 344pp.
Stockton, F. T., "International Molders Union of North America." Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Pr., 1921. 222pp.
U. S. Children's Bureau, "Child Labor and the Welfare of Children in an Anthracite Coal-Mining District." Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922. 94pp. (Bul. 106).
U. S. Internal Revenue Office, "Statistics of Income." Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922. 113pp.
Walker, C. M., "Steel: The Diary of a Furnace Worker." Boston: Atlantic Mo. Pr., 1922. 157pp.
Watkins, G. S., "Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems." N. Y.: Thos. Y. Crowell Co., 1922. 664pp.

NEW VIEWS OF POLITICS

ANTHROPOLOGY as generally written is too dry to interest most workers, who can't see that it bears upon their problems. But Alexander A. Goldenweiser in his **Human Nature in Politics** (Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y.) has avoided their objections by his simplicity of terms, his references to corresponding modern conditions, and his way of first describing five typical primitive cultures and then proceeding, first to a comparison of types, and then to a criticism of views, sometimes extravagant, that have been advanced by Freud and others.

The Economic Basis of Politics, by Charles A. Beard (Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y.) is a protest against the current fashion of divorcing politics from ethics and economics. He quotes opinions of men of influence, some during ancient times and others in the forming of American institutions. These coincide with his own conclusion from the result of the French and the Russian revolutions, that, except in military autocracies, the basis of power is Property. The deduction is drawn, that a government will be stable at any time only in the degree that is represents contemporary classes, occupations or interests in the ratio of their control over property.

AMERICAN WORKERS' EDUCATION

LAST month saw the reopening for the new season of the workers' colleges. Conspicuous among these was the Workers' University of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. It is therefore appropriate that during the same month the Workers' Education Bureau issued its booklet, "Workers' Education in the United States" —a report of the proceedings of the second national conference on workers' education in the United States. This conference was held in New York City on April 22d and 23d of last year, and has been mentioned before in LABOR AGE.

The booklet contains valuable information on the workers' educational movement in this country. Particularly fine is Dr. Charles A. Beard's address on "The Role of Labor Education." Within the 196 pages of the report are contained a vivid story of how the unions are carrying on the education of their own membership, and the methods being used in this field. It is interesting to note the list of active trade union colleges in the back of the report. Although this is said to be only a partial list, it numbers 73. It is to be hoped that this booklet will receive a wide distribution among the trade unions. Its low price makes this a matter of no great difficulty.