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PENN'S WOODS
Key to Industrial America

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.

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Contributors to This Issue

- F. W. BURGESS. Secretary, Fraternal Cooperative Society; Member, Carpenters' Union.
- M. W. CHEEL. District Adviser, Cooperative League of America.
- CLINTON GOLDEN. Business Agent, International Association of Machinists, Philadelphia.
- RAYMOND S. HOFSES. Treasurer, People's Printing Company, Reading, Pa.
- A. M. JENNINGS. President, Local Lodge, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Granite City, Illinois.
- JAMES H. MAURER. President, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.
- FRANK MCGARIGLE. Secretary, Local 8, United Brotherhood of Carpenters.
- H. SNELL. Labor Member, British Parliament.

PENN'S WOODS: Key to Industrial America

IT IS the 9th wonder of the world that William Penn has not risen from his grave. He has all the reasons possible for doing so.

He came to his "Woods"—Pennsylvania—for the purpose of securing freedom. This was not to be a "freedom" merely for himself and his Quakers, but for all men. He welcomed the oppressed of every color and creed to his city and state of "Brotherly Love."

His followers carried on this fine tradition. When the American Revolution came, Pennsylvania struck for freedom. Philadelphia—the first capital of this country—has been well known as the "Cradle of Liberty." There the Declaration of Independence was born. When the Abolitionists proclaimed the freedom of the negro slave, the Pennsylvania Quakers were in the forefront of the movement. They contributed some of the first leaders to the woman's freedom movement. One of them, John Woolman, even hazily foresaw the Labor Struggle.

But evil days followed. Industrial Autocracy planted itself in this great state. Its oil and coal and steel proved blessings—and also curses. "Foreigners" were invited in—not to become free, but to be enslaved. (And the 20th Century Quakers produced such a petty tyrant as A. Mitchell Palmer!)

Against this Autocracy, the miners first revolted—and won. They forced all the companies to organize, but those in the Fayette and Somerset regions. In these districts, the hand of U. S. Steel and Standard Oil is still too strong. But their unionization is now only a matter of time—and a short time at that. Their men came out in the last big strike, and showed a spirit that cannot long be kept down.

Pennsylvania Labor has created a fighting force, to battle with the Steel-Coal-Railroad Juggernaut, that has ruled the state. Under the leadership of "Jim" Maurer, the State Federation has cleaned itself of the enemies within its ranks. It has made big inroads against the

enemy without. It has been, and is, a pioneering body. It has encouraged Cooperation. It has stood for Independent Political Action. It has endorsed Amalgamation. It is planning a big piece of work in Workers' Education—in which field it has already been in van. It has gone so far as to consider the use of the radio for labor propaganda. It believes in the workers thinking for themselves and acting for themselves. And, at the same time, it has placed on Pennsylvania's statute books humane labor legislation that many another state might well be proud of.

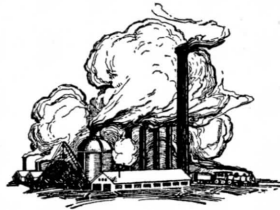
It has not done any of these things as a result of any infallible doctrine that it thinks will save the world. It has accomplished them on the field of battle—advancing step by step in its grapple with the Enemy.

An industrial map of this country will show the great importance of Pennsylvania to the Labor Movement. It is the key to Industrial America. It is the state where exists the huge mills and roads and mines which are necessary for the rest of the country. Take away Pennsylvania, and America would be industrially paralyzed for many a week. Its steel production—so necessary on railroads, in building, and in a thousand other ways—would be shot to pieces. Its hard coal supply would almost entirely be cut off. Its largest soft coal field would be wiped out. The source of much of its oil would be stopped. Its largest railroad would cease to function. "The Keystone State" well deserves the name.

Pennsylvania has two messages for the American Labor Movement: 1. Of inspiration, in the great fight it has made, and of education, in the new steps it has taken to beat the enemy in his own territory; 2. Of the need for striking home for the freedom of the workers in the most important of our industries—Steel.

If these messages can be heeded, William Penn can remain peacefully in his grave. The great tradition of freedom which he established will be continued as a reality.

Labor Age

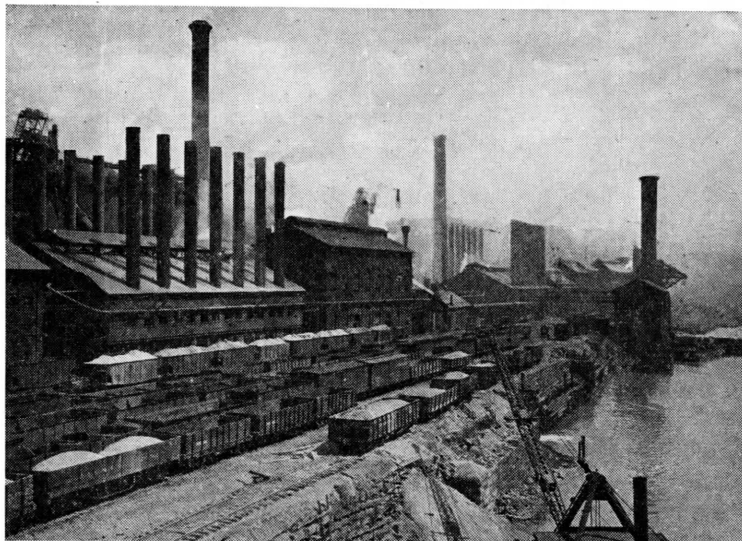


A Challenge to Industrial Autocracy

The Fighting Pennsylvania Federation

By JAMES H. MAURER

STEEL MILLS—
SEAT OF
AMERICAN
“KAISERDOM”



Pennsylvania's
Problem:
To Win Mills
For Democracy

I. P. E. U. 624

SPEAK of Pennsylvania and you think of Coal and Steel. You think of Pittsburgh, to the far west, belching out smoke from its thousand mills and factories. You think of Philadelphia, to the far east, center of locomotive manufacturing and of textiles, home of the giant Pennsylvania Railroad. You think of the mountains in between, dotted with hard and soft coal mines—making this the greatest source of fuel on the globe. You think of the oil, which first burst forth at Tarentum and then at Oil City and Titusville—which is now our big motive power, and threatens to become the cause of the next world war. In other words, it is an Industrial Kingdom—the “workshop of the world,” as Minnesota has been called “the granary of the world.”

You also think of other things. There is the

Steel Trust and its 12-hour day. There is the Pennsylvania Railroad and its company unions and scores of spies and gunmen. There is the state police, whose brutality has become classic in American Labor History. There are the countless struggles of the miners, enacted anew of late in Somerset and Fayette counties. That spells Industrial Struggle and Industrial Autocracy.

That is a picture of the disappearing Past—and it is a true picture. Penn's Woods—all through its early days the refuge of oppressed peoples of all climes and creeds—came later to be the Oppressor of incoming groups from every country. Immigrant of one nation was used to beat down the immigrant of another. The workshop of the world became the sweatshop of the world.

LABOR AGE

I want to present a view of the Picture of the Future, based on what is happening in the Present. This Industrial Autocracy has not been left unanswered. A challenge has been hurled in its very teeth. That challenge is the liveliest and most aggressive State Federation of Labor in the American Movement.

The Federation is only 21 years old—just “of age.” During the first 10 years of its existence, it amounted to little more than a means by which resolutions could be passed. The annual convention was merely an opportunity for the “old guard” to wash their dirty linen.

The Federation's Growth

In the convention of 1912 a change took place. The progressive element in the Federation determined to take hold. I was chosen as their candidate, and in the election which followed was successful. Since then, the Federation has grown by leaps and bounds. In 1912 it could boast only 267 affiliations. In 1922, ten years later, the affiliations totaled 1,300, with a membership totaling nearly 500,000.

As might be expected, the new president met with considerable opposition. This came not merely from the employing interests, but from the reactionaries in the movement itself. Year after year efforts were made to unseat both myself and our secretary, Brother Charles Quinn. On at least two occasions part of the Philadelphia delegation, headed and controlled at that time by Frank Feeney, came to the convention in special Pullman cars. They hoped, by a show of numbers, to overawe the convention. But the delegates refused to be stampeded by such methods. Defeat after defeat was dealt the Feeneyites, and their ally, Francis Feehan of Pittsburgh—until 3 years ago they gave up the fight, utterly discredited and unable to find men to run against Maurer and Quinn.

Feeney, it must be remembered, was the man who openly boasted on numerous occasions of his friendship for Senator Boies Penrose. The revived Federation was, of course, a thorn in the side of Penrose and the interests he represented. In 1914 came the famous Mulhall exposures. They brought out the fact that Feeney was a lieutenant of Colonel Mulhall, the self-confessed undercover man and lobbyist of the National Manufacturers Association.

There is, of course, still opposition of a big enough size to the Federation and its work. But it no longer comes from the ranks of Labor. It is the opposition of Big Business and the poli-

ticians who fear its power. Their fear is justified. **For, during the last 10 years there has been more human and progressive labor legislation enacted in this state than ever before in its previous history.**

A Great Record

Child and women labor laws, mothers' pensions, workmen's compensation, and old age pensions have been passed. The old, useless Department of Labor has been superseded by a new and efficient Department of Labor and Industry. This means factory inspection and the creation of safety standards and rulings. It means the expenditure of many millions of dollars for safety devices and sanitation measures. It means, also, the saving of many thousands of human lives. Aid to industrial accident victims and more than 100 other laws of every-day interest to the workers have been passed.

During the war many other states repealed labor laws and standards, under the pretense that this was part of the program to win the war. The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor succeeded in defeating every proposed repealer, and not one labor law was wiped off the books. Of course, we were denounced as “un-American” and all that. But we stuck to our guns; in the face, too, of the heaviest artillery of Reaction anywhere in this country. And, as I had occasion to write elsewhere just lately, “the war was won anyway.”

After the war, the Luskers broke loose. They moved heaven and earth to gain their ends. They tried to rally all the enormous corporate power that exists in the state. But, again, not one of their bills was successful in Pennsylvania, due to the Federation's opposition. The nearest to success that they came was in the state sedition act; but that, as passed, is absolutely harmless. To make assurance doubly sure, we recently had stricken out of it the only word which was likely to make it dangerous. This legislative record would be remarkable in any state. When the enormous odds against us are considered, the power and efficiency of the State Federation will be appreciated.

'Grundy Votes Me'

A little incident in our child labor law fight will show this more clearly. It shows how brazen has been the ownership of public men by private interests in Pennsylvania. This was in 1915. The Federation had conducted a hot campaign for the bill. Governor Brumbaugh was for it, and called a conference at the State

Capitol of a few of the Senate leaders—8 in all. They agreed that the agitation was so great that the bill had to be passed. Then up spoke State Senator Sproul (afterward Governor). Pounding the table, he said: "I want you to know that Grundy will vote me on this bill." Now, "Grundy" was none other than Joseph Grundy, head of the bitterly anti-union Manufacturers Association of Pennsylvania, one of the worst labor haters ever let loose on an innocent public. Can it be wondered at that Governor Sproul could not "see" the brutalities of the State Cossacks in the Steel Strike?

Its legislative activities has led the Federation to engage in political activity. Experience has shown that the election of so-called good men, or friends of Labor, has been a mistake. As a matter of fact, most of these self-styled puritans turn against Labor after being honored with their votes. The Federation has repeatedly gone on record in favor of a Labor party. Until the common people can be persuaded to move in that direction as a whole, however, we have to proceed practically with the means now at hand, to do the best we can. The Federation was responsible, more than any other non-political agency, for the election of Gifford Pinchot for the Governorship. That means that the State Police will not be used as they were in the Steel Strike. An investigation of the Cossacks is going on now, through a commission appointed by the Governor.

Cooperation and Education

This year's convention also created a special department to aid and promote cooperative enterprises. This will make certain that cooperation will be carried on safely and successfully in our state. During the past 4 years, \$15,000,000 of workers' money has been lost in this country through cooperative failures. The promoters of these failures were honest but poorly informed workers; or they were impractical dreamers or glib-tongued schemers, out to fleece the workers. Our bureau will protect the unions from taking steps leading to failure, and will push forward ideas and ventures that will secure success.

Most encouraging of all is the Federation's deep interest in workers' education. Nothing will bring Labor further along the road to control of industry than education for that purpose. For years the Socialists talked of public ownership of production, without the ability and knowledge in many cases in our ranks to run a

local union. Education, as the Federation realizes, will train men and women for our cooperative stores and shops, labor banks, research work, and an appreciation of the value of expert advice. Our last convention laid the foundation for aggressive work all over the state. This will shortly take the form of a state director or secretary of workers' education, under the control of myself. He will go about the state, bringing to the local unions the message of workers' education and how classes can be carried on successfully.

We do not neglect, either; to fight with every new weapon that comes to hand. We are planning to establish a permanent publicity bureau at headquarters in Harrisburg, which can carry on an aggressive campaign of information, especially about legislative matters. We are also considering the use of the radio—to broadcast Labor's message from our headquarters all through Pennsylvania and beyond. A special committee is at work on that proposal now.

Amalgamation was endorsed unanimously at our recent convention as the principle toward which the unions must work. One fraternal delegate chose to vote against it—but he had no vote, and came from Ohio, which has already O. K'd this idea! Our delegate to the A. F. of L. was instructed to bring this subject up on the floor of the Portland convention. This was not done as the result of any preconceived ideas. The "Open Shop" fight has taught the unions the necessity for a closer form of organization.

Against the Steel Autocracy

At the present time the steel industry demands our attention. We feel that there was never a better hour to strike against Autocracy in Steel than at this very moment. The men in the Federation keenly realize that this big unorganized industry is a menace to the other unions in the state. We have, accordingly, called upon the American Federation of Labor to take active steps toward freeing the steel slaves. Our cooperation in such an effort is assured. Nothing could mean more to American Labor than the conquest of the steel mills for unionization. **It would mean the death knell of the 12-hour day, and the complete finish of the "Open Shop."**

In its past fights, for organization and legislation, the State Federation has stood as a bulwark against the most hostile of Labor's Enemies. With education and other new weapons added, the Future will see it march forward to big offensive gains.

Three Tales of Adventure

Concerning "A Little Cooperative Commonwealth" And Other Things

By M. W. CHEEL, F. W. BURGESS and FRANK McGARIGLE

"SOME DAY, perhaps, when more of our story-readers have learned that there are things in the world quite as important as the frets, follies, and loves of boys and girls half-grown," our story-tellers will hold their magic mirror up to the later and laboring life of the people.

Thus wished Henry Demarest Lloyd a long time ago in his book, "Wealth Against Commonwealth." This book, you will recall, dealt in a vivid and entertaining way with the evil story of the rise of the Standard Oil Company.

The great novel of the fight of the American worker for freedom still remains to be written. Even in stories and plays with a social message—such as "The Fool"—it is the middle class "savior" of the workers who gets the limelight. The struggle of the worker himself, the sufferings of his wife, and his hopes and aspirations have not yet fired our literature.

A high tale of group adventure could be told—and many of them. Not merely with strikes could these deal, but with constructive efforts to defeat the Profit Maker in his own field of work.

From Clearfield County

Can you picture, for example, what courage and sacrifice have been necessary to keep alive the 18 cooperative stores in District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers, during their long series of general and local strikes? Rare heroism, such as the miners always show, could alone have kept these stores on their feet, in the face of the big drain on them.

"Cooperative stores in Pennsylvania," writes Mrs. M. W. Cheel of the Cooperative League of America, "have passed gloriously through a most trying period of discouragement." She has just returned from a long trip through the West, and spent some time among the cooperators of central Pennsylvania. "Unemployment and strikes have pulled hard at these stores in the mining region. In District No. 2 the federation of societies called the Penn Central, under the management of T. D. Stiles, is doing joint buying for 18 of the stores there. With the exception of two or three instances, the stores in the vicinity of Clearfield County are holding their own. Where work is picking up, it is certain

that stores will be able, not only to meet their local obligations, but to increase their business."

Then she tells us just what all this has meant.

"The biggest difficulty has been that people have had to eat and have had no money to buy food. Wherever private stores would give credit, there the miners have gone. Until—well, you can picture what happens—until in some cases they find themselves in debt to all the private stores in town.

"This has weakened the cooperative stores, of course. When the cooperative store gives credit it cannot exist long. Its capital is too limited. Then, the local strikes mean that the unions give no relief, and this makes it even harder for the cooperative store.

"The present situation in the central Pennsylvania district seems to be in the hands of one man, who is making an effort to show the 18 local societies that they must not expect help from union funds. They must rally to their own central organization, building it soundly into a real wholesale eventually, step by step. Without a central unit, many of the small local stores will find it impossible to compete with private and chain stores scattered through Pennsylvania.

"Let me tell you the fine story of the cooperative at Clearfield. It has had to contend with a series of so-called cooperative stores, 'The Workmen's Cash Stores.' These stores are owned by only a few people, but pretend to be cooperative. It is hard for the real 'coop' to explain wherein the difference lies, and to hold the trade. It has also had the discouraging experience of employing one dishonest manager—who took the stock out of the back door and set up his own private store with it.

"These things have not discouraged the miners and railway men in the least. Not only are they not giving up, but they are increasing their business weekly. They have just organized a women's guild, to keep the members happy and loyal. Monthly picnics, entertainments, socials, etc., are being planned—and the women will undoubtedly win, as they have in dozens of other cooperative societies throughout the country. Their store is located in a fine building—the local labor temple."

The "Little Cooperative Commonwealth"

Have you ever heard of the "little cooperative commonwealth" of America? It is Berks County, Pennsylvania. Mrs. Cheel went from the mining region to that county, to see how it got its name.

"The name is well deserved," she reports. "During the last 10 or 12 years, 11 separate societies have been established. Among these are several successful cooperative producers' associations. In Reading, perhaps the outstanding example is the People's Cooperative Printing Co.—whose story is told elsewhere in this issue. Then, the Cooperative Cigar Association has done a good and thriving business for many years.

"You should know particularly, however, of the unique men's furnishing store called the Keystone Cooperative Association. It is owned by 130 trade unions and was organized in 1912. The amount of business has increased greatly during the last few months. On May 26th, President Andrew P. Bower told me, the income had been the greatest since the organization of the society. This, he felt, was due to a new scheme of advertising. It is the establishment of a Patron's Club, with membership dues of one dollar per year, to which 600 now belong. The store is a beautiful one, well located, and well managed. Members of unions from far and near may find at the Keystone, union label clothing at fair prices. It deserves their fullest support, for its one purpose is service without profit.

"West Reading has a cooperative society which has accomplished almost the impossible. It started without one cent of capital, with only a bag of corn meal. It has now reached the point where it owns a handsome building of two stories—a large, attractive store, with a social hall above. The Homebuilders' Cooperative Society grew out of this West Reading association, and has the remarkable distinction of doing \$50,000 business last year—on \$3,000 debt! Several fine homes have been built and are being paid for on a monthly basis by members."

A "People's Bank"

This does not end the roll of Quakerdom's cooperative enterprises, by any means. Philadelphia's contribution is a labor bank. F. W. Burgess of the Fraternal Cooperative Society of that city gives us the story of this interesting venture.

"The Producers and Consumers Bank of Philadelphia calls itself 'a Bank of the People, for the People and by the People.' It grew out of the idea of the late Wharton Barker, a financial expert and economist of liberal views. For years he had planned a people's bank, which would have



LABOR AGE Photos

I. P. E. U. 624

A "PEOPLE'S BANK"

That is the idea bank of the bank owned by the Philadelphia Central Labor Union. It is the center building, with the flag hanging close to the sidewalk.

a large number of stockholders. This idea was presented to the Central Labor Union in 1920. One year later a committee of that body reported favorably on the project.

"The public announcement of the launching of the bank brought forth an interesting offer. Seeing the possibilities of the venture, an enterprising real estate manager volunteered to give the board of trustees the use of a banking building for the bank's promotion. This building, in the heart of the business district, had been occupied by the Federal Reserve Bank—now next door. It is the present headquarters of the bank, and it did much to inspire confidence in the workers as to the bank's success.

"The years 1921-22 were the years of big attack of the 'open shop' forces on the unions of our city. Probably half of the members of organized labor were walking the streets, and labor's money was scarce. This condition added force to our argument for the need of a labor bank. After seven months' strenuous campaigning, the bank opened its doors on February 1, 1923, with 1,500 subscribers and a paid-in capital of \$100,000.

"One Man—One Vote"

"Under the state banking law, it is impossible to establish a bank on the Borchdale cooperative



Keystone Photos

I. P. E. U. 624

"THE CAUSE OF FUTURE WARS?"

Ready to "blow up" an oil well. Pennsylvania was the first American state to produce this product—and was the scene of the fight of the Standard Oil Co. for oil's monopoly.

principle. This principle is, of course, that one shareholder should have one vote only, regardless of the amount of his stock. The law, also, makes \$60.00 the lowest possible price for a share of stock. In order to bring our stock down to a value that could be purchased by the workers, the bank was organized under a deed of trust. This allows our stock to sell for \$10.00 per share. It also allows the members to vote on the adoption of the Rochdale plan at the second annual meeting of the shareholders. This will take place in January, 1924. It will mean that we will have the nearest approach to a cooperative bank in America.

"The institution has had a healthy growth. It now has nearly 2,200 subscribers, with 3,000 depositors and \$1,400,000 in resources. When the subscriptions to the stock reach \$300,000, the Producers and Consumers Trust Company will be organized. A foreign exchange department has already been established.

"Shortly after its opening, Labor got a good lesson in the value of the bank. The local Garment Workers had need for funds to continue their strike. The first \$5,000 was readily granted them; but before that sum was exhausted, the

employers came to terms. The bank has also partially financed the cooperative construction of nine houses for nearly \$50,000, and stands ready to support similar ventures."

Home Building

The "cooperative construction" to which Brother Burgess refers is that of the Quaker City Construction Cooperative Association. Its moving spirit is Frank McGarigle, secretary of one of the large locals of the carpenters. Of its work he says:

"Early in 1922, encouraged by the organization of the Producers and Consumers Bank, this cooperative tried its hand at constructing a home for one of its members. At the same time, it built a small brick porch addition to a South Philadelphia church.

"These first steps were successful. They encouraged its officers to purchase an improved tract of ground covering nine lots. In September it commenced on this property the construction of nine homes for its members. These were two-story houses, of brick construction, with large porches and terraced fronts. All these efforts were made possible through a loan of \$48,000 from the labor bank.

"Most of the present owners and occupants worked on the construction of the buildings themselves. A number of them are on the Board of Directors of the Association. This board is a combination of bricklayers, carpenters, painters, plasterers, plumbers and a real estate agent, who was a union working man.

Saving \$1,000

"The association works in this way: The members deposit their savings, receiving 5 per cent for use during construction. Then, these savings are transferred, as a first payment on the purchase price. Arrangements are made to finance the balance by two mortgages—the second mortgage being secured by the Producers and Consumers Building and Loan Association, organized by the cooperative's members.

"By having the work done by the Construction Association, its members have saved about \$1,000 on each of their homes. The 'Quaker City' is now planning a larger operation. Its experience shows that cooperative construction has come to Philadelphia to stay."

This is encouraging news from Penn's Woods. The workers there are beginning to understand that business enterprises are no closed mysteries. They can be conducted by group action, for the benefit of the group. To the workers elsewhere, it may well be said: "Go ye and do likewise."

Light Breaks on the Quaker City

The "Cradle Of Liberty" Strikes Out For A New Freedom

By CLINTON S. GOLDEN

“**W**AN of the sthrankest things about life,” says Mr. Dooley,” is that th’ poor who need th’ money th’ most ar-re th’ very wans that niver have it.”

One of the strange things about cities is that those which have the greatest traditions of liberty and independence frequently enjoy the least of these blessings in reality.

Philadelphia is the historic city in which the “Cradle of Liberty” was originally “rocked.” From the venerable walls of Independence Hall echoed the Declaration of Independence, proclaiming all men to be born free and equal. Yet, liberty and independence—for the workers at least—has been an unknown and uncertain quantity, particularly in the more recent years.

“Out of the darkness cometh light.” Out of the very viciousness of the tactics of Labor’s enemies—from within and without our ranks—has come new strength and vigor to the Movement. The Philadelphia labor unions have survived the reaction which followed the armistice. They have lived through the well and skillfully organized “open shop” attacks of recent date, and are going forward to even bigger accomplishments than any of the past. The Movement is casting off the cloak of conservatism. It has ridded itself of the professional labor fakir. It is now rapidly taking its place in the vanguard of progressive forces which are laying the foundations for a new social order.

Black Blot of the “White Elephants”

The story of labor in Philadelphia is a long, long story. Some glimpses are well worth while giving here—for they show interestingly how a movement can throw off corrupt “white elephants” and make real progress. In Philadelphia some of the earliest trade unions in America were organized. The union of shoemakers dates back to 1792. Since that early date, labor organizations have always existed. Their progress in the past, on the whole, has been slow. At times they went forward almost like an ascending skyrocket. At times they seemed more to resemble the falling rocket’s stick, being threatened with extinction. But they always managed to “come back.”

“That fact is a tribute to the workers of the

Quaker City,” as many a student of our problems has remarked. For, the organized opposition to organized labor has perhaps been greater in Philadelphia for a greater length of time than in any other city of the country.

In the year 1889 a group of mechanics, engaged in the construction and repair of elevators, got together in a small local union. Although this work is usually recognized as that of machinists, and is usually performed by machinists, these men decided to remain “independent,” and called themselves the “Elevator Constructors.” Among this group was one Frank Feeney, whose evil influences were in time to give the Philadelphia trade union movement a malodorous name.

Feeney was a rising politician of the type that few cities other than Philadelphia have ever produced. He was of the type which gave the city the name of “Philadelphia, corrupt and contented.” Shortly after the organization of the Elevator Constructors locally, Feeney became its business agent. He held that position until 1901. Then, with the approval of the American Federation of Labor Executive Council, his organization blossomed out into an “international” union. And thus, one more division took place without reason in the ranks of the organized labor movement, as typified by the A. F. of L. Feeney, in the meantime, had secured the confidence of McNichol, notorious political boss of Philadelphia and predecessor of the late lamented (?) Boies Penrose. Largely as a result of the efforts of this “labor leader” the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1908 passed a law creating in cities of the first class, a Bureau of Elevator Inspection. Who should become chief of the Bureau, of course, but Mr. Feeney himself? Likewise he was International President of the International Union of Elevator Constructors. He has been a delegate to all A. F. of L. conventions since 1901, and until 1919 he absolutely controlled the Philadelphia Central Labor Union. In that year, a revolt against his reactionary dictatorship and policies took place. He and his henchmen were swept from power and have never since regained it. From that date, new forces destined to play an important part in the Philadelphia labor movement have been gradually taking shape.

Militant Enemies

The Quaker City has some of the most militant employers' organizations in the country. They reflect the influence of Joseph Grundy, president of the reactionary Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association. Outstanding among these is the Chamber of Commerce and the Metal Manufacturers' Association. The city is known as the "workshop of the world" and this term is not a misnomer. Take the metal industry, for instance. Baldwin's—the greatest locomotive works in the world—is located in the heart of the city. It is the worst exploiter of labor in this country with the possible exception of the Steel Trust, employing 25,000 unorganized slaves. Only recently its president, Samuel Vauclain, declared to the world that the way to handle the problem of unionism was to jail its leaders and representatives.

The Westinghouse Company, with its enormous South Philadelphia machine works (in which are produced some of the largest turbines being built, and employing some 6,000 workers), and the great shipyards along the Delaware, known as the "Clyde of America," are conspicuous examples of Philadelphia's industrialism.

In 1910 the census indicated that there were 51,611 workers in the group classified as metal trades, residing within the city limits. In 1920 this number has grown to 93,474, according to the census of that year. Of this number 30,465 are classified as machinists. And bear in mind that we are living in a Machine Age. This means that Philadelphia must be captured by the American workers if they are to make progress in other communities.

During the war thousands of workers, attracted to Philadelphia by the many war industries, flocked to the unions. Employers professed a change of heart. The workers were assured that a new era in industrial relationship was upon us. "The old pre-war conditions of industrial slavery were gone, never to return." Hardly had the armistice been signed and the 100% patrioteers collected their last dollar on the notorious cost-plus contracts, than plans were developed to "teach the labor movement its place" in the City of Brotherly Love. The textile workers of the Kensington mill district, the shipyard workers employed by the huge Cramp Ship and Engine Building Company, and the building trades workers each in turn were the objects of attack by the united forces of reaction which had been mobilized. Finally, came the broadside against the railroad shopmen, who had secured during the

war a measure of industrial freedom never before experienced on the Pennsylvania Railroad.

This condition called for new policies and new alignments in the local labor movement. The action of the Central Labor Union in ridding itself of Feeneyism made it possible for that body to assume the leadership in the fight against the "open shoppers." When the attack on the textile workers was launched, that body organized a Committee of Twenty-Five—as a sort of a Council of Action to co-ordinate the forces of labor against the onslaught of the destructionists. It decided that instead of meeting the attack of the "open shoppers" with force, it would meet it with knowledge, brains and ideas.

New Weapons

It decided to do an unheard thing, to actually employ experts and research workers from outside the trade union movement to find out just what the conditions actually were from the point of view of ownership and management of the textile industry locally. The Labor Bureau, Inc., was engaged for the job and a survey was made of the textile industry. The Bureau's report, printed in booklet form and brim full of the most startling facts, was gotten out by the Committee of Twenty-Five, and circulated through all the local unions in Philadelphia. The report dissected the industry. It opened to public view for the first time, the profits reaped by the owners, the capitalization, absentee ownership, possibility of continuing the old wage scales that were about to be "deflated." It showed how higher wages could be paid without injuring the industry in the least. As a result, much favorable publicity was secured and public sentiment swung to the workers. A settlement of the textile controversy was eventually obtained that brought order and prosperity to the industry and to the workers.

Workers' Education, a Cooperative and a Bank

In the meantime, the Machinists, realizing that workers' education was the most potential factor for genuine progress in the trade union movement, organized a public speaking class for their members and employed an experienced instructor. Results were obtained—and from this small educational beginning the Trade Union College of Philadelphia developed. The college has recently completed its third successful year of activity. It has given scores of union men and women, a better understanding of the problems with which they have to contend as union workers.

The Carpenters, largest single group in the Building Trades, were the center of attack in the

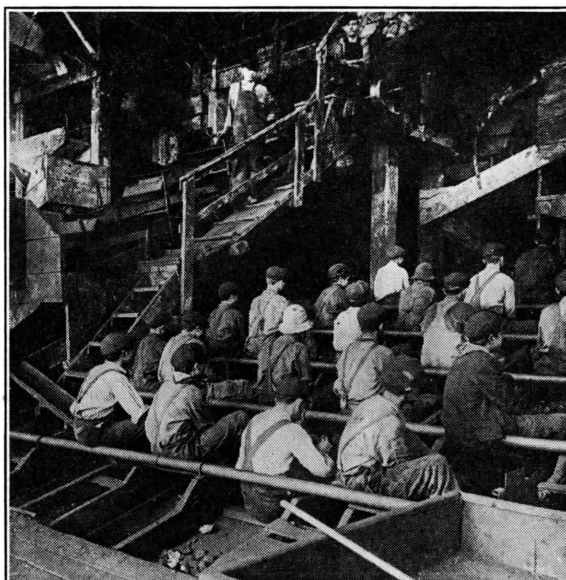
building industry locally. Next came the Painters. The "open shop" forces were determined to annihilate their organizations. Both of these unions, following the example set by the C. L. U. Committee of Twenty-Five and the Textile Workers, employed expert technicians to survey their industry. These experts brought to public light the forces and conditions that provoked the lockout.

Then, ventures were made into the Business Man's own camp. The Central Labor Union established a bank. The Carpenters went in for home building. The story of these answers to the "Open Shop" have already been given.

In the Field of Ideas

In the field of ideas, as well as action, the "open shop" forces have unwittingly bestowed a favor on the Quaker City movement. An indication of the influence of progressive forces at work within the Central Labor Union—something which would never have been dreamed of in the palmy days of Feeney—is the endorsement of the movement for amnesty for political prisoners. Again, a gigantic mass meeting was held in the Academy of Music with Senator Borah as a principal speaker in behalf of recognition of, and trade relations with Soviet Russia. The delegates have raised their voices in protest against police brutalities inflicted on members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, an unaffiliated organization, in a recent strike. It has by investigation and by resolution, exposed and condemned the so-called Mitten Plan of Cooperative Management inaugurated by the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company and forced upon the employes of that company. It has shown that employes of the P. R. T. were forced against their will in many cases to go to Buffalo to scab on employes of the transit system of the latter city, which has recently been acquired by the Mitten interests. Yet Frank Feeney, former boss of the C. L. U., has had the temerity to state in the columns of his so-called **Progressive Labor World** that the Mitten Plan of Management is one of the greatest blessings thus far bestowed upon the workers. Those "liberal" writers who have been extolling the Mitten Plan should take notice!

The purchase of permanent headquarters by many local unions and district councils is another achievement of Philadelphia unionists. The Machinists, Carpenters, Electrical Workers and Structural Iron Workers now own splendid properties on Spring Garden Street, within a stone's throw of Baldwin's Locomotive Works. The



Underwood & Underwood

I. P. E. U. 624

"SCHOOL"

Pennsylvania Labor has fought hard to free these breaker boys from hard and wearing toil.

Typos and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have their own "homes," while the German and Jewish trade unions have their Labor Lyceums. With the development of new ideas, new policies, new methods of administration and the coordination of industrial, educational, social and cooperative activities, these homes owned and controlled by organized labor will become the cultural centers for the workers of Philadelphia.

The momentous question of amalgamation is receiving a great deal of attention by Philadelphia unionists. The Painters, Machinists, Metal Polishers, Needle Trades and Textile Workers are among the strong and influential local organizations that sense the need for more up-to-date forms of organizations along industrial lines. They have placed themselves on record in this respect. The result was seen in the unanimous endorsement of amalgamation at the State Federation Convention.

Philadelphia—citadel of Stotesbury, of the House of Morgan, of General Atterbury, of the Pennsylvania, of Vauclain, arch "treat-'em-rough" reactionary; of crooked and reactionary politicians, and of Feeneyism, is being rejuvenated by progressive forces within the trade union movement. These forces are destined to play an important part in the coming social reconstruction. Who knows but that on some day not far distant a new Declaration of Independence for the Workers will not come forth from this historic city!

“Eleven At One Blow”

Reading Workers Become Printers For Many Other Places

By RAYMOND S. HOFSES

IF fine phrases would make a labor paper successful, there is no doubt that the working class press of the United States would embrace a chain of publications which would make the Hearst organization look small by comparison.

Unfortunately, good words and wishes are not all that are required to make for success. Practical business methods are necessary if a labor paper, usually with a small circulation and an even smaller advertising page, is to exist and prosper. It is because practical methods have been lacking that we read from time to time of this and that labor paper going down to defeat, leaving nothing in its wake but a handful of discouraged workers and a bookful of debts.

The story of the People's Printing Company of Reading, Pennsylvania, is therefore worthy of telling. For the People's Printing Company has made possible the existence of eleven weekly labor newspapers in five different states. Some of these have a subscription list of as low as a few hundred with scarcely any revenue-producing advertising. Yet, by the "People's Method" these small papers are able to pay their bills promptly and continue their agitation for the working class.

The Cooperative Way

To the outsider the People's Printing Company looks like any capitalistic enterprise. It is a stock company, capitalized at \$30,000 and chartered under the laws of the state of Pennsylvania. It does a general job printing business, keeps books and declares dividends. But those who know the facts understand that the People's Printing Company is a practical method which the workers of Reading have adopted whereby the savings of labor can be used to safeguard the life of their own weekly newspaper, the **Reading Labor Advocate**, and to help such other labor papers as find it impossible to continue the struggle alone. For the stockholders are not capitalists at all. They are a group of more than 700 class-conscious workers, most of whom have invested from \$5 to \$25, because they wanted to free their press from the domination of the private printer.

While the "People's Method" is economical it is not merely "cheap." On the contrary, the company's printing bears the union label and its printers have always been paid above the union scale

of wages. The savings which the papers in its organization gain are the result of a cooperative method which eliminates waste, time and labor. They are not the fruits of niggardliness. The newspapers which it prints compare favorably with privately printed papers in news matter, editorials and makeup.

The way in which costs are cut is the cooperative way. There is only one cost of composition, one cost for editorial service, one cost for makeup, one cost for overhead. When it is understood that these single costs can be divided among eleven different publications it will be easy to believe that the weekly printing bill is lower than it would be if eleven editors, eleven typesetters, eleven rents and eleven heat and light bills had to be paid by eleven papers.

Cutting Out Waste

The organizers of the People's Printing Company, like many other people, recognize the fact that there is a huge waste in the publishing business. "News is news," they argued; "why must we have so many different papers to tell us the same thing? Why could not the current events be printed at one central point instead of having the same stories under slightly different headings in hundreds of different publications, all of which reach the public at precisely the same moment?"

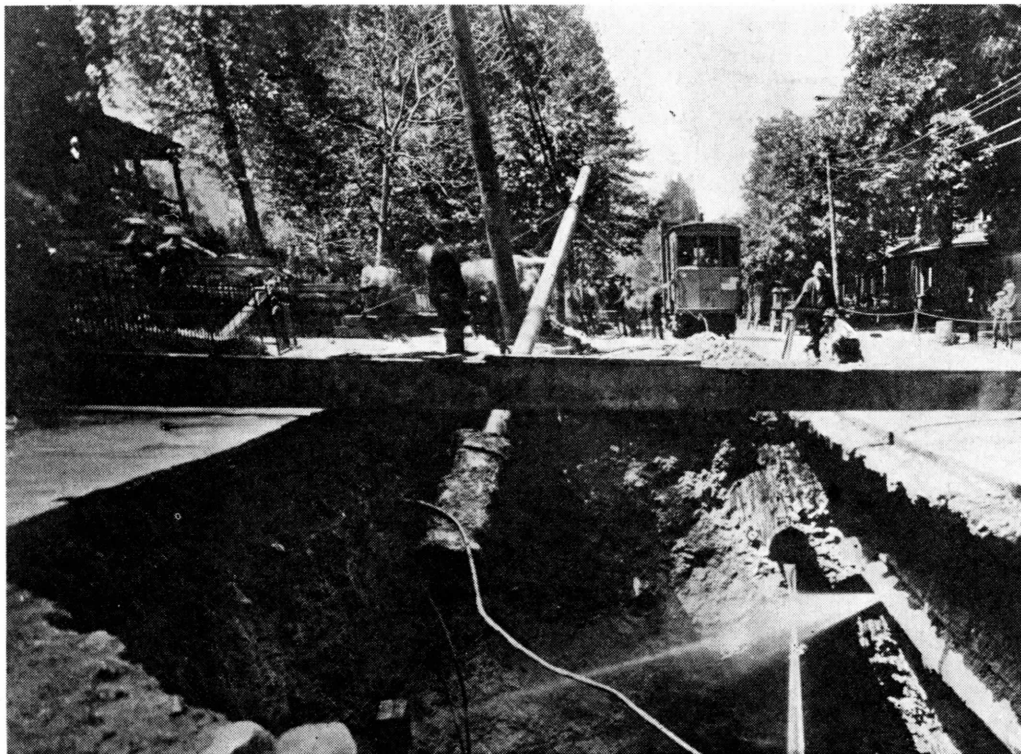
The People's Printing Company acts upon that idea. It sets the type, places the type in newspaper forms, sticks the name of a newspaper at the top of the front page and starts the press to work. The result is a labor paper carrying the week's latest happenings in the labor world. When paper number two is to be printed the nameplate is changed in a few minutes, and the same news type is used to carry labor's message to readers in another town. So, one after the other, the changes are made rapidly. The news is thus printed with one set of type for eleven papers.

Of course, there are some changes to be made in each paper. The advertisements, for example, must be printed in the proper publications. Also, news of interest solely to home folks such as political meetings, local union news, etc. Then, too, some of the papers prefer to use their own matter for editorial comment. Well and good; these changes are made in a systematic manner and the

publication pays for the exact time used in changing. The result is a group of labor papers having all the earmarks of hometown papers. But the news—which is the same the world around—is the same in all of them. **The cost to each, as a result, is sometimes less than they would have to pay in wages for the services of one linotype operator.**

The company also does a job printing business in competition with the other printing concerns of Reading. "Everything from a shipping tag to a newspaper" is their shop slogan. But the safe-

selected, because of its significance to the workers of the world, as the time when the plant and equipment of the old Sentinel Printing Company should be purchased by the workers of Reading. Nor is it an accident that the company has prospered until it outgrew its original quarters in three years and was forced to purchase a four-story office building in which to house its plant. For the founders of the company "hitched its chariot to a star" at the very beginning. Their ultimate goal was and still is a daily working class newspaper in Reading. The progress they have



Keystone Photos

IN COAL KINGS' GRIP

I. P. E. U. 624

Streets of Scranton, Pa., Torn Up to Mine Coal Beneath. This Symbolizes Strong Power of Industrial Kings Over Penn's Cities, Being Broken by Labor's Forces

guarding of the labor press is the business which lies nearest their heart. It is the ideal which impelled them to organize. J. Henry Stump, the president of the company, is also the president of the Federated Trades Council of Reading. Fred W. Goelz, the manager of the plant, is a practical printer and a member of the Typographical Union. Every member of the board of directors is an actual wage worker, who has been tried in the fire of labor union and working class activities.

Founded on May Day

It was by no accident of chance that the People's Printing Company was founded on International Labor Day three years ago. That date was

made marks but a short distance in the climb they are determined to make.

When the old plant was taken over the only new piece of equipment consisted of a Goss newspaper press. There was one early model linotype machine which drew volumes of perspiration and profanity from the operator. There were two cylinder presses, each of which claimed the world's record for old age. There were also four hand-feed platen presses in fairly good condition. For these (together with a paper cutter, sundry fonts of badly worn type, and a supply of paper) the directors of the People's Printing Company agreed to pay \$16,000 and gave promissory notes for the amount.

Then followed a stock-selling campaign which lasted for more than a year. The company had been capitalized at \$30,000. It had a \$16,000 obligation and an enormous ambition. The only thing necessary for success was to raise the capital and, as the circulars stated, "the labor press of Pennsylvania would be safeguarded and the nucleus would be formed for a daily working class newspaper in Reading."

The response of the workers of Reading and of the state was encouraging from the beginning. The first applications were for comparatively large blocks of stock. That brought forth a cheer, until it was discovered that there would not be enough stockholders to raise the needed \$30,000. A campaign of personal visits to prospects brought out the fact that the small investor was holding back, because he believed that the little he could put into the enterprise would be of little help. Everything possible was done to correct that impression. And, finally the small amounts came rolling in. How important these small investors will be understood when it is stated that more than 60 per cent of the stock is held by people who have invested from \$5 to \$25. **This statement affords a lesson to the workers of the importance of combining their power for a common purpose. True, a single \$5 bill did not help the People's Printing Company very much. But many \$5 bills did help a lot.**

Progress

On the first day of April of this year, less than three years after starting business, the People's Printing Company moved into its new home. This is a substantial office building of four floors, costing \$25,000. The poor old linotype machine which caused so much concern in the early days is no more. In its place stand two of the latest model typesetting machines. The cylinder presses which came with the original purchase have been discarded, and an up-to-date press installed in their place. The hand-fed presses are still doing duty. There has been added an automatic job press which does the work of two ordinary presses. Not a letter of the old type remains in the plant. It has gone the way of all junk, and been replaced by new fonts of cleaner and brighter type.

In the first two years of business the company paid annual cash dividends of six per cent to its stockholders. An even larger sum was placed in the surplus fund. This year, when the new building was purchased, the directors felt that the

profits had better be placed in the building fund. They sent questionnaires to every stockholder, and all but four of the more than 700 voted to forego their dividends. As a further vote of confidence, the entire board of directors was re-elected without opposition at the annual stockholders' meeting.

The Goal Ahead

Has the People's Printing Company been a success? The writer, in common with the rest of the directors, does not think so. Not yet. True, it has made remarkable progress. It has demonstrated in a practical way what a few workers can do when they set out to accomplish a purpose. It has made possible the issuing of a weekly labor paper by any group of active workers who can gather together a subscription list of as few as two hundred names. Within the past year it has added two well-established Socialist weeklies to its list which would otherwise have been forced out of business by the burden of overhead expense. That, to be sure, is some accomplishment and spells progress. But it does not spell success.

The directors of the People's Printing Company declare that they will not inscribe "Victory" on their banner until they have gained their goal. That goal is the establishment of a daily newspaper in Reading—which will do for the working class of that city what the "Brass-Check" press does for labor's enemies. It is not enough that Reading hears labor's voice once a week through the **Advocate**. The voice of labor must be heard every day, fighting the battles of the workers, helping them in their struggles and urging them on to new and greater achievements. That is the task to which the stockholders of the People's Printing Company dedicated their efforts and their savings back in 1920.

How soon will the dream of a daily working class newspaper become a reality? President Stump smiles when the question is asked and replies: "Whenever enough workers want it. We have the building and the equipment. Daily we are increasing in experience. The finances will come when the time arrives for the next big advance."

In the meantime, we are carrying on a happy venture in cooperative newspaper-making. One of our friends said jokingly the other day: "It sounds like a fairy story." And like the tailor's story of "Seven at One Blow," this might be called "Eleven at One Blow"!

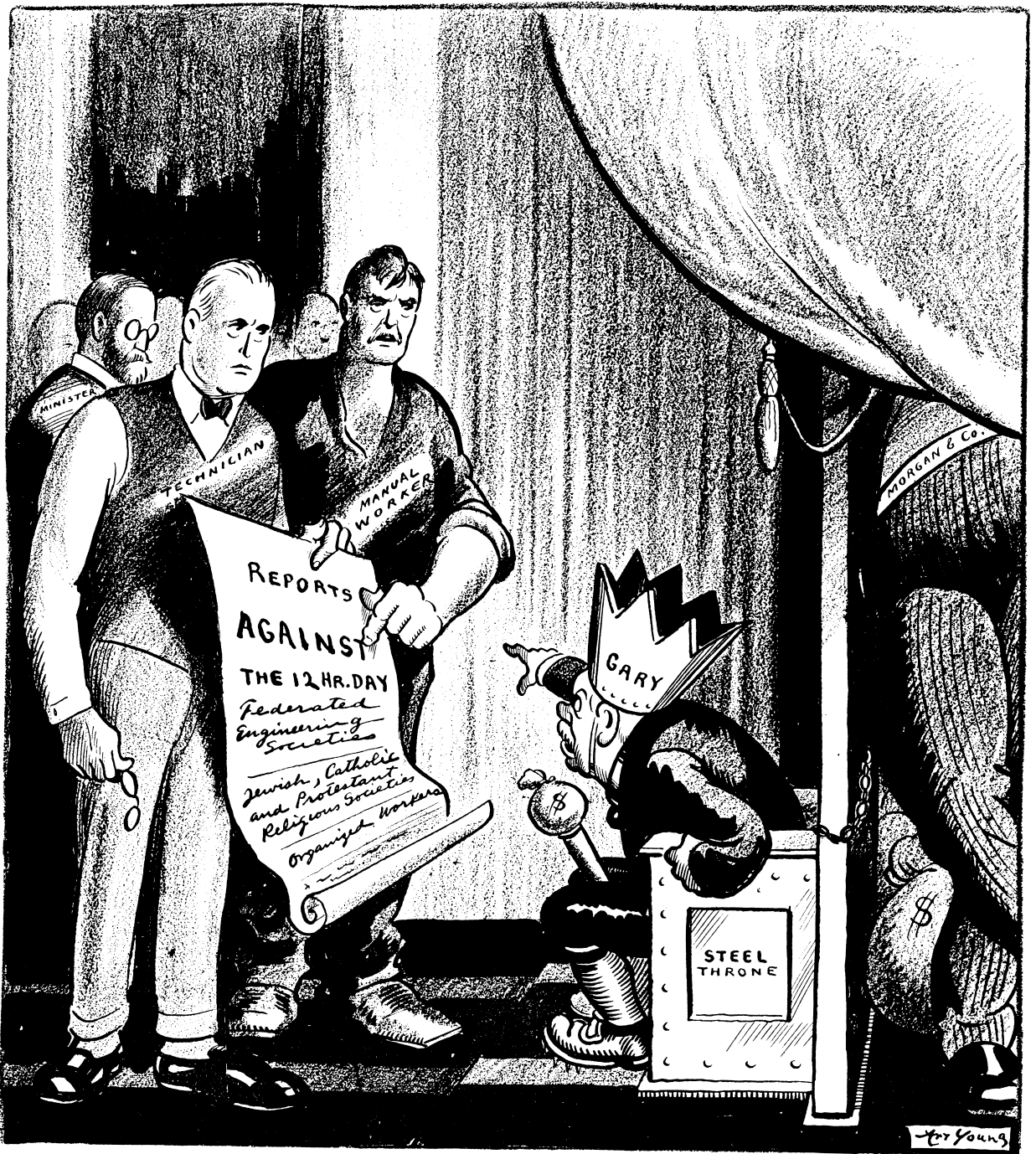


Drawn for LABOR AGE by Chumley

I. P. E. U. 624

"JIM" MAURER—CAPTAIN OF LABOR

LONG have our ears been filled with songs of praise for the Captains of Industry. The exploits of these men, when looked into, consist largely in defrauding the people. It is a forecast of the new era—the Age of Labor—that attention is now being paid to the life story of the leaders of Labor. Jim Maurer's quaint tale has appeared in the May and June issues of the "Atlantic Monthly." It reveals a captain who has fought not for himself, but for the welfare of his fellows.



Drawn for LABOR AGE by Art Young

I. P. E. U. 624

"G'WAN! YOU DON'T KNOW YOUR OWN BUSINESS!"

Gary declares that the 12-hour day must stay—quoting the costs of business, the desire of the workers for long hours, and "Christianity" as the reasons for this decision. Those who are supposed to know most about each one of these factors—the technician, worker, and the minister—have all declared against the 12-hour day. But, of course, the Steel Trust knows what each one of these groups "ought" to think.

The American Revolution of 1923

Gas Attack by "General" Dawes Opens Hostilities—Other News From the Front

"BOOM! BOOM!"

A dull thundering sound comes from off Lake Michigan, rolling over the Great Lakes, and thence throughout the country.

"Boom! Boom!"

It comes again, disturbing the quiet of a beautiful spring day.

The harrassed American citizen starts with terror. He has just won a "War for Democracy," and received as a reward Injunctions, Culm-Coal, and the Ku Klux Klan. He is a bit nervous, and uncertain of what may be coming next.

Well may his soul be troubled. For, the thunder is nothing less than the doughty "General" Dawes "shouting the Battle Cry of Freedom" from his fortress of Evanston. It is an appropriate place for the "General" to be entrenched; Evanston being, as the **New Majority** informs us, "the home of Northwestern University, where the skeleton of Leighton Mount, murdered by hazing less than two years ago, was found last week."

The president of the university, the Chicago paper adds, "is not above stooping to pussy footing and vetoing investigation that might lead to embarrassment for his institution. Even the memory and reputation of an apparently worthy student count for nothing as against permitting the finger of scandal to be pointed at the university"—"particularly when students involved are related to the officials of the big school."

In this "seat of learning" the "General" has chosen to launch the American Revolution of 1923. He began a few weeks ago with a gas attack on Organized Labor, which he denounced as "un-American." Then, he urged his friend Gamaliel, to make the "Open Shop" the issue of the next presidential campaign—as if it were necessary to emphasize the "Open Shop" efforts of the present reactionary group in Washington. To achieve the final victory for the "Open Shop," "Dawes is not satisfied with the regular Fascisti that is being organized in the United States," as the **New Majority** says, but "has organized his own Fascisti movement." It is called the "Minute Men of the Constitution"—or, as the cartoonist-Congressman John M. Baer chooses to name them, "the Minute Men of Money."

"He is going to write 'open shop' into the Constitution, and collect a gang to keep it there."

The first meeting of the Minute Men, according to the **Chicago Tribune**, enrolled 3,000 in their ranks. A platform, "mostly of camouflage," was announced, full of "the patter of the open shoppers"—to quote again the organ of the Farmer-Labor Party. Item No. 4, for example, reads as follows:

"Indorsing the announced position of the government of the United States maintaining that the right of a citizen to work without unlawful interference is as sacred as the right of a citizen to cease work, irrespective of whether he is or is not a member of a labor or other organization."

This, of course, is merely a high-sounding repetition of what the employers' associations through the country, and their Attorney General, Mr. Daugherty, have been harping on for some time. It means, in effect, the wiping out of labor unionism altogether. A few days after "General" Dawes' meeting at Evanston, the National Association of Manufacturers held their annual convention in New York City. This is that veteran association of Enemies of Labor, which has been on the job every day since its organization, to fight Labor with fair means or foul.

Advance, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, gives us this interesting picture of one incident occurring there:

"A steamship owner, with the interesting name of Robert Dollar, told the convention of his experiences with organized workers. Speaking of his employes he said: 'They got some radical leaders and joined the American Federation of Labor and went on strike. . . . They were beaten hands down.' Then a Company Union was formed, with this result: 'Once a month they come to a luncheon of the steamship owners—several of them—and they sit there and discuss any trouble that they have. Do you think that it is possible to have a strike under those conditions It can't be.'"

"Of course not," adds **Advance**. "Workers who belong to no organization at all may and do strike against oppression, but workers who are kept in the chains of the Company Union never strike, however serious their grievances. There is no relief for them. Except at luncheon once a month."

A birdseye view of the whole gathering is furnished by **Justice**, organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

"The organized manufacturers are as they have been in years past, for the open shop today and for all time; they would have the United States Government keep up enforcing coal mining by scabs and gunmen in West

Virginia; they are for a big Army and Navy, ostensibly for patriotic motives—but would not have the Government convert arsenals and navy guards into state-owned manufacturing establishments for fear that it might hurt “private industry”; they, of course, applaud the anti-labor decisions of the Supreme Court and express horror at the impudence of those who would tamper with the sanctity of its pronouncements, or who would even suggest that the Court arrive at its decisions by a greater than a five-four majority. It is needless to add that they are lying prostrate at the feet of the goddess, Tariff.

“The manufacturers’ attitude towards the trade union movement is particularly enlightening, even if it is amusing. They are not, so it seems, at all opposed to labor unions, but are desperately opposed to the leadership the trade unions have been having. One speaker boasted of how ‘San Francisco, formerly the biggest labor union city in America, was converted now into a wide open-shop town.’ Still another bestowed praise on the labor organizations of the Orient—including Java, China and Japan—but naturally drew the line on the United States, probably not entirely uninfluenced by the fact that the labor unions in the United States were somewhat nearer home.”



The Worker I. P. E. U. 624
THE MAN ON HORSEBACK

It is not surprising that the humane-thinking women of the nation have not been spared from attack by these forces. They gathered together during the past month in Washington, D. C., in the Women’s Industrial Conference—to consider what could be done for our woman and child workers, as a result of the Supreme Court decision against the minimum wage and child labor laws. The leader in calling the conference was the National Women’s Trade Union League. We read in the League’s organ, **Life and Labor**, what happened thereafter:

“Just at the time of the Women’s Industrial Conference in Washington, an attack was made, through *Industrial Progress*, published by Henry Harrison Lewis, and “O. S. A.,” the organ of the Open Shop Association of Washington, upon the women conducting the conference, accusing them of misdemeanors various and sundry. Especially were they unpatriotic and even under the

control of Moscow. Mr. Ralph Easley, of the National Civic Federation, presently joined in the hunt, condemning the women’s organizations because of the latter’s participation in the world peace movement, and because of their recommending the outlawry of war.”

So we see the National Civic Federation aiding and abetting the Enemies of Labor in their attack on the women workers and the women workers’ champions. This conference, it must be known, recommended a constitutional amendment allowing minimum wage laws for women, organization of women workers into labor unions, and limitation of the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional. It was this action that brought down on it the wrath of the “Open Shop” forces.

President B. M. Jewell of the Railway Employees’ Department of the A. F. of L. pointed to these attacks on Labor, at the annual convention of the New York Central shopmen, held in Cleveland in May. He referred not only to Dawes’ organization, but also to the fact that “in Omaha the American Fascisti has been organized to fight labor, with the mayor as the leader.” “I’m not sure,” he added, “that Judge Gary didn’t mean what he said when in Italy he declared that he indorsed Mussolini and his black-shirted labor baiters 100 per cent.” The Judge has just returned from Italy, where he got those fair words out of his system, at a banquet to Mussolini.

In Jewell’s opinion, political action is necessary for Labor to meet these attacks and gain economic power. “The time is not far away,” he told the shopmen, “when a union which tries to use only the strike weapon in the fight will lose.” This statement adds interest to the coming convention called by the Farmer-Labor Party for Chicago on July 3d. According to J. G. Brown, national secretary of the party, “invitations to send representatives to this convention have been sent to more than 300 state and national organizations of farmers, industrial workers and political parties and groups. More than 30,000 invitations will go out within the next few days to local bodies of the same organizations. If any local, state or national body has been overlooked in the sending out of invitations, it is because its address was not known.” United political action is the object sought by the convention. “A federation of organizations, a coalition of (labor) parties” is said to be the goal.

In the meantime, the group led by Senator LaFollette is far from inactive. They have their

The "Spiritual Side" of British Labor

Is The Labor Party Striving For "Bread Alone"?

By H. SNELL

RECENTLY 400 ministers of the Church of England presented a memorial to J. Ramsay MacDonald, endorsing the British Labor party as a moral force. This no doubt seems strange to American workers, who read of it in the periodicals or the papers.

The reason for this unusual action is explained by a member of the Labor party, representing it in Parliament. He shows that British Labor is not thinking "of bread alone," but also of higher factors in the lives of the workers.

THE British Labor Party, it is clear, is now on the threshold of a great adventure. Members of the party, who have built it up, often wonder how it appears to those who, in other countries, have other difficulties and other needs. Does the success that it has attained, endow it with a glamor which may hide some of its weaknesses? Or, does its acknowledged lack of a fundamental philosophy, create in their minds an un-spoken distrust?

Those of us who have been privileged to stand by the cradle of the Labor party since its birth, and to play the part of wet nurses to its needs, feel a natural pride in the lusty strength of the young giant we have helped to produce. But perhaps quite as much as those who see it from afar off, we feel the need in its ranks for closer thinking, for more research into the problems with which we are faced, and for more precision in our statements concerning its program and policy.

Having regard to the fact that the party has recently returned no less than 144 members to the House of Commons; that it has become "His Majesty's Opposition" to the Government in power, and that it may itself be called upon to assume the responsibilities of Government, we can imagine members of some labor organizations in America, or elsewhere, as saying: "Yes, the British Labor party has become strong; but this is because success rather than principles has been its aim. Not being definitely socialist in its basis, it does not arouse opposition of a bitter and lasting character. We, for our part, prefer to declare a definite political philosophy and not to trouble too much about success."

There is much to be said for this attitude of mind: but it would not be correct to assume that the British Labor party has no definite ideas. It has persistently refused to tie itself down to

specific creeds, or to bind itself with philosophical red tape. It no more believes in a sociological than in a theological absolute. It has always had a real dislike of preventing those who agree with its immediate program from voting for it, by imposing upon them the test of a theoretical creed. Thus, the British Labor party seeks to apply the practical common sense of the day to the problems of the day, and to get for its proposals all the help that the general public are willing to give. It has never been Marxian or exclusive in its philosophy, and it is safe to prophecy that it never will be. But if it lacks definiteness and completeness in its ideas, it has no doubt whatever about the ideal for which it is striving.

Rebuilding From the Depths

There is in the hearts and minds of its adherents an almost religious passion for a new state of society in which there is order, equity and beauty. With its whole heart and soul and strength, it believes that the present system of social organization is wrong. In its efforts to reconstruct the shattered life of Europe, it will not tinker, or try to patch up the old discredited social order, but aim to rebuild from the depths. It distrusts, I think, all hard and fast logical plans, from which it is held to be disloyal to depart. But it has all the Englishman's faith in his power to take occasion by the hand, and by day-to-day experience, win its way to the end desired.

This lack of a central creed, which seems to many its chief weakness, is, in actual experience, its greatest strength. It offers the public certain proposals, all of which represent a step towards the ideal desired, and it does not confuse or repel them with economic dogmas or theories of the State. Thus, the British Labor party has no theories about religion or about the

institution of marriage. Indeed, it has no theories about anything outside its own special business of promoting, by every constitutional means, a progressive and equitable industrial democracy.

When I say that the British Labor party has no theories about religion, I do not mean that it has no spiritual passion, or that moral idealism forms no part of its outlook. I mean that it is not consciously, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish or Rationalist. Its members come from all sects and creeds and all are equally honored. But if religion increasingly reveals itself in the world in the development of personal character, the promotion of the public good, and the cultivation of a finer sense of brotherhood between man and nations, our party is a religious as any church has ever been. It believes that these ends can be reached only through the organization of the moral forces of the world, and a higher appreciation of spiritual values.

A Real Religious Movement

The Labor movement all over the world is essentially a religious movement in this sense. It is first and last a protest against ugliness and injustice. And, it has never consciously asked for economic goods without believing that the possession of these would open doors of opportunity to millions who are now deprived of their rights in that higher life whose wealth is art, music, literature, cleanliness and beauty. Of necessity, because the Labor movement has been the servant of the disinherited, it has placed abundant emphasis upon the economic injustices which kept them poor and outcast. But the English party at least has never mistaken these added gifts of food, raiment or shelter as ends in themselves.

It has placed these things in the forefront of its program, because they appeared necessary to all the rest. By so doing it sought to place first things first; but it has never forgotten that behind the material goods for which it fights, there are other things of big importance. It does not demand merely that the naked shall be clothed and the hungry filled with bread. Man does not live to eat and drink alone. Behind his physical needs and appetites "a man's a man for all that."

It is this spiritual passion for an improved human type with "sweeter manners and purer laws," that separates the Labor Movement in every country from other organized political

parties. **The political boss thinks of a man as a voting unit in an election, the economist thinks of him as a unit of production; but the Labor Movement thinks of him as a living soul capable of infinite development.**

These thoughts are, however, mostly "understood" in the programs of the Labor Movement, whether it be in England or elsewhere. In no case that I am aware of, do they avail themselves of the strength to be derived from either Ethics or Philosophy. The reason for this neglect is because these subjects have been specially associated with the churches, who have mostly been the dutiful menials of the possessing classes. But has not the time arrived when, apart from all theological meanings, and upon the basis of human need, the Labor Movement should develop a moral philosophy of its own, applying it to its own special work?

In a recent book on "Socialism and Character," published by the Fabian Society, Mr. Henry Sturt declares that "the theoretic foundations of socialism must be got from the mental and moral sciences; from psychology, moral philosophy and political economy and sociology. By the first of these we learn what elements there are in human nature; by the second what good character is, and how its formation may be encouraged; while the third and fourth deal with wealth and the laws of social combination."

"Not Bread Alone"

This is not the occasion either to explain or criticise the idea that all religious or moral theories come from external economic conditions. But it is important to remember that, even admitting that man does automatically react to his social environment, the most influential part of that environment is the personal quality of his fellows. If they have high standards of character and conduct; his environment will be of one kind; if they are cruel and debased, it will be of another. And a vital part of a man's environment is the quality, at any given moment, of his own brain. If he has disciplined his impulses and filled his brain with noble thoughts, his environment will be different from that of the man who has been the slave of appetite and greed. "Between Newton and Newton's dog Diamond, what a pair of universes."

Those who urge the necessity of restricting the attention of the Labor Movement to the question of bread and clothing only, should not forget that this would be followed by certain reactions.

A Play Worth While

"THE DEVIL'S DISCIPLE"

Virtues of Rebellion

NEW ENGLAND is the scene. 1777, the year. Richard Duveen, the hero, is a rebel against God. Revolting against the rigor of the "Divine Law" — as taught by his Puritan mother — he proclaims the Devil his Master. His bravado and "blasphemy" shock his holy and hypocritical relatives. They regard him as one accursed. The American Revolution is on — and "Dick" is a rebel there, also. He is for the Colonies and against the King. So also is the village parson — despite his disagreements with Dick on the subject of religion. But the parson, too, is in disfavor with Dick's mother, because he has married for love!

The upshot of it all is that Dick is arrested as a traitor, being mistaken for the parson. He is about to be hung — when the parson, now captain of the revolting Colonists — rescues him from the British. The story allows Shaw to display his wit, in almost every exchange of words throughout the play. For instance, the bombastic British Captain Swinton — when faced with defeat at the hands of the Americans — exclaims: "But what will history say?" To which General Burgoyne dryly replies: "Lie, as usual, I suppose." Again, the parson's wife — caught by Dick's courage — urges him to save his life by disclosing that he is not the parson. To which Dick answers: "But where then, would the heroism be?"

No matter with what prejudices one enters the theatre, one comes away with the belief that Rebellion is a Virtue. And, to submit to authority, after all, is probably a Vice.



Final Act, "The Devil's Disciple"—Theatre Guild Production

I. P. E. U. 624

There are many types of horses, dogs and pigeons, which are the result of special attention being devoted to the question of breeding. There are thoroughbreds, and mongrels in every race. And, it is true that if the desire to produce a particular type of horse or dog ceased, there would quickly be a return to a lower universal type. It is the same with fruits and flowers, and it would be the same with causes of human betterment.

Take away from them the influence of the will, the enthusiasm for producing a higher type of society and a higher type of man, and they would sink from the heights of enthusiasm to a lower form of stagnation.

Men go into the Labor Movement in any coun-

try because they believe that existing economic conditions deprive man of moral as well as physical growth. And, because, in the words of Mr. Sturt, the social system under which they live "stimulates unwholesomely the grasping and domineering instincts of our nature: it drags the masses down into the condition of semi-slavery, and puffs up the directing classes into petty tyrants; it makes the rich degenerate and the poor coarse and brutal; it degrades social sympathy and public spirit, and makes society full of injustice and hatred; it hardens our hearts to the influences of friendships; it cripples the lives of children and it degrades women; it suffocates the spiritual interests which give dignity and beauty to human life."

Fighting For Free Speech With Upton Sinclair

What Happened In Los Angeles

By PRINCE HOPKINS

“GOING to California? Ah, yes,” said a friend of mine, to whom I spoke of my Western trip. “That is one of the last strongholds of American Reaction. You are likely to get arrested out there.”

I smiled at the statement, for it seemed impossible. Just returning from six months in Europe, I had found freedom of speech almost unlimited in England—and had supposed that we had returned to sanity over here. In Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square I had heard the government not only denounced, but radical proposals made for its overturn. All of these things had been said without any interference whatever on the part of the authorities. I found Arthur Henderson, Labor Party leader, going on the bond of one of an arrested Communist—although he warmly disagreed with the arrested man on principles.

In New York, too, men seemed to be breathing pretty freely. War-time persecution was dead. Governor Smith was releasing all the state political prisoners, and talking about wiping out the Lusk Laws—which has now been done.

But in California the pot still boils. There the “Open Shop” Movement has reached the height of its “achievements.” It has not only bitterly assailed the Labor Movement—from within and without. It has not only bought up the former president of the Building Trades Council. But it has also attempted to destroy the State Immigration and Housing Commission, and has removed one of that Commission’s most useful members—Paul Scharrenburg, of the Seamen’s Union.

It has, of course, had no mercy on the I. W. W.’s. Its criminal syndicalism law has been applied overtime to them. “Two to fourteen” in San Quentin is an expected thing for anyone having anything to do with the so-called “wobblies.”

Despite this Black Reaction, the Wobblies have called a strike at San Pedro, 21 miles from Los Angeles proper, but part of the city. Five hundred of these men were immediately thrown into jail, as a means of breaking the strike. They do not do things half-way in California!

When Upton Sinclair read in the paper about

the arrests he called up a number of his friends. He asked us to go with him to interview the Mayor of Los Angeles, Cryer, and then the chief of police—to tell them that we were going to speak at the harbor, to test whether they would dare to do to well-known people what they had done to unknown workingmen.

“We will get their permission first, if possible,” explained Upton, “but anyway we will speak.”

As a matter of fact, I wasn’t present at the interview with the mayor. But about seven of the party were. They all told me how the mayor had definitely promised to phone to the chief. “I will tell him that you are to be permitted to speak,” he said, “so long as you do not raise a disturbance. You will be protected in all of your constitutional rights.”

Then the crowd of us went down to San Pedro, where the strike is. We first got from the owner of a piece of real estate, known as Freedom Hill, her permission to hold a meeting and speak on that property. Then we went to the chief of police at his headquarters. We told him we had secured this permission, and were going to exercise the rights conferred on us by the constitutions of the U. S. and of the state of California.

“We are going to read the constitution of our country,” we said, “to whoever may wish to hear, and to interpret it to them.”

Chief Oaks told us that “constitution or no constitution,” he would not allow us to speak. “Cut out that constitution stuff,” he snarled, when we began to argue about our rights.

He mentioned something about our going up there to break the law. So I asked him: “What is this law that you say we’d be breaking?”

“We’ll tell you what the law is after we’ve arrested you,” was his only reply.

Later, I again had occasion to put the question: “Will you tell us the section and statute which we’re in danger of breaking?” To this he answered: “Now, I’m not going to argue with you!”

So then we climbed the hill. A cordon of police had been formed at the foot to keep the crowd

off, but they let us pass through. When we got to the top, Upton started to read the American constitution. At once an officer stepped up and arrested him. Then his brother-in-law, Hunter Kimborough, took his place. But hardly had he opened his mouth, ere he also was arrested. Next I got up and said: "We haven't come here to incite to violence, but . . ." "That'll do," said the officer, and led me away. Then a young Englishman, Hugh Hardiman, got up and said: "This is a delightful way to spend the evening!" and was arrested for that.

They spirited us away to the jail at Wilmington, in case any one should attempt a rescue. This jail consists of only one cell, which we had all to ourselves. It had been specially renovated, fumigated, and made as comfortable and clean as it is possible for a jail to be, in order that we should not have anything unpleasant to report about the way Los Angeles jails are kept. (Wilmington, like San Pedro, is a part of the city of Los Angeles.) We spent a day and a night there—and then were released.

Upton is a wonderful cell-mate to have. He fairly luxuriated under the treatment, discussed with pleased anticipation the next moves of the game, and kept us all in good spirits with his talk. Since our release, he had been a dynamo of energy, getting publicity and organizing the defence. It is on account of his activity and first-rate intellect that the prosecution seems to be breaking down. From the start, we have taken the aggressive in the campaign. And Kimborough heard from one of the San Pedro policemen, that Oakes and his assistants, "in spite of their bluff," were nervous as could be over the whole affair from the start, holding consultation after consultation over what was best to do.

On the following Saturday we held a big protest meeting in the Walker auditorium. The hall only held about a thousand—we couldn't get any of the larger halls for our purpose—and the crowd that came was so large that about 1,500 people had to be turned away from the door. This meeting was opened by the singing of "America" by the crowd, and a prayer by Reverend Bromley Oxnam, who is running for the local school board on the progressive ticket. Then Upton spoke, and introduced first me, and then the other "jail birds."

I told them mainly about my experiences in other nations—in none of which anywhere had I found tyranny to equal that "which we have

right here in Los Angeles." Especially I dwelt on the freedom in England, where there are 3 labor M. P.'s in the faculty of the University of London to only one conservative M. P. "There, in Hyde Park, have I also heard a man advocate shooting the prime minister, and no one thought of arresting him for it."

We found the rank and file of the police force very decent fellows, and largely in sympathy with the strikers. Of course, this doesn't apply to the "Dicks," who are the same scum here as anywhere. The newspaper reporters were entirely with us, too, and most of them managed to get their stuff by the editors. Only the Times was vindictive, and a few small-town papers such as the Pasadena Post and (on my account) the Santa Barbara papers.

But victory came swiftly, as we knew that it would. On May 19th, a large delegation of "well-dressed people" cornered the mayor. Before they left him he had given permission for us to hold in San Pedro the meeting which we were to have held a week ago. So we all went down, and gave the same speeches which we started to give on that occasion.

A stand had been erected for us, this time with lights. The hill—really a large city lot—was crowded with several thousand people, who laughed and cheered as Upton told them how the chief of police had said nine-tenths of them were foreigners who wouldn't understand a word we said.

A Dr. Wedge opened the meeting with prayer, after we had sung "America." Upton started off. Then he introduced his wife and several other ladies. Then we "jail birds" came on. After that Judge Ryckman and other lawyers spoke. After the judge, came a minister and a doctor. And then, one of the I. W. W. "by special permission from the police" said a few words of thanks to us on behalf of the strikers. Free speech had won another round!

Our future plans include a series of damage suits against city officers and certain individual business men. Against these latter we have evidence that they plotted this whole conspiracy against free speech. Upton and his brother-in-law were in the office outer-room of one of them, Rice, of Pasadena, when Hammond of the Lumber Trust pounded on the table within and shouted things about what must be done—things that will sound badly when repeated in court.

Labor History in the Making

In the U. S. A.

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

HEALTH FACTS WIN

GLAD TIDINGS of Great Joy have come out of New York City during the past month. Victory has perched upon the banners of the union painters of Gotham. They have made the 5-day work week a fact. They have compelled the creation of a Joint Board, to prevent bad health conditions in the painter's trade for the future. They have killed the bonus system, which was sapping the strength of their union organization.

The bosses signed the agreement, which made these things possible, without the necessity of a strike. The threat of a strike was enough. Back of that threat stood the 10,000 solidly organized painters—determined to stop the waste of life going on in their ranks. Back of it, also, were the FACTS which those painters had in their hands, as a result of the work done during the past year by their own Health Department.

These facts showed that the 5-day week was an absolute necessity for painters, exposed as they are to deadly poisons and other hazards to life and health. They showed that the painter gives up sixteen years of his life because of the nature of his trade. They showed that of 267 New York painters, examined by the clinic of District 9's Health Department, only 14 were in good health.

Armed with these facts, as was reported in the April LABOR AGE, they determined to turn their attention to prevention. That meant the short work-week, to provide time for rest and to gain strength against the attacks of the industrial poisons. It meant the abolition of bad practices—such as the use of the spraying machine. It meant the cutting down of extremely deadly poisons, such as benzole, which are used by the bosses chiefly because they are cheap—with no regard, of course, for the human results. The Joint Board will take care of these practices and poisons, and thus put the painter on his feet, so far as the battle against disease is concerned.

The bosses knew full well that they could not stand up under the "publicity barrage" that would have followed their refusal to grant the just demands of the painters. They knew that the men had these facts, and would use them. Their mere publication would line up all right-thinking people against the employers. These would be placed in the position of standing for their own profits, even to the point of demanding the worker's life. Had the painters not had their Health Department, of course, they could not have spoken with assurance of these things. Their victory shows the great value of "health facts" in the industrial struggle.

Much of the credit for the success of District 9's Health Department is due to the Workers' Health Bureau—which suggested its creation. About the same time that the New York painters were scoring their win, that Bureau announced a series of news releases to the Labor Press. They are appropriately entitled "Health Facts for Union Workers," and are written in a happy, easy style—so that the man in a hurry may read them without difficulty. The latest is entitled "Dusts that Kill"—and gives a good review of the many deadly dusts in different industries. It points to the need for Union Health Departments in every trade exposed to dusts, to insure examination of the workers and to take steps that will win decent health conditions and decent hours of labor.

It is easy to predict that this excellent health service—which is now appearing in a number of labor papers—will shortly appear in all of them. Also, that another year will see the creation of a number of union health departments in trade unions connected with dusty poisonous trades.

SANTA CLARA'S ANSWER

"READERS! Gaze upon the largest building material business in Santa Clara County—and it belongs to the Santa Clara County Building Trades Council."

In these words does Brother J. F. Cambiano, Secretary of that council, begin a statement in *Organized Labor*, official organ of the California Building Trades, on the great fight put up by the workers in Santa Clara County against the "Open Shop" attack. California is the scene of the most brutal and sweeping onslaughts of the "Open Shop" forces, under the leadership of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association and their tool, the Better America Federation. In the recent convention of the National Association of Manufacturers, open boasts were made that organized labor had been wiped out in Frisco and other coast cities.

But in San José, the chief city in Santa Clara County, it has not been wiped out. This is due to the fact, Sec-

retary Cambiano says, that the anti-union fight "taught the Union men of Santa Clara County the imperative necessity of organizing their money as well as themselves." This they did by going into the material business themselves. That was "the answer of the union men of Santa Clara to the threat of the material combine made more than a year and a half ago to the effect that union jobs could not be operated in Santa Clara County because materials for same could not be obtained."

At the present time the workers' material concern is doing three times as much business as all the rest of the material supply houses there put together. During the past sixteen months the volume of their business totaled \$270,000. A nice little present indeed to hand the anti-union forces! They have their own great warehouse in which materials likely to be affected by the weather are kept. They have all the facilities for handling the business rapidly and efficiently.



N. Y. Call

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THE PAINTERS' ANSWER

As a result, Secretary Cambiano reports, "85 per cent of all the work in San José is union, and that same statement applies for this entire section of the state." And he adds: "The proponents of the so-called 'American Plan' tell us that the said plan has done some good, and it has—it has taught the union man that he must use his money in his own interests, rather than leave it in the hands of those who would use it against him."

The business has been built up in spite of the sabotage of the "Open Shop" forces. The materials have been sold in the open market, in competition with the anti-union material concerns. By sheer salesmanship and efficiency the Building Trades Council has captured the trade of the private corporations.

The Council is right in calling this venture an example of "Real Americanism." There is nothing nearer to the pioneering spirit of the real American than this business of going into the territory of the Enemies of Labor, and beating them at their own game. It is in line with the cooperative housing activities of building unions in other cities—such as Philadelphia and Minneapolis. Union labor will more and more learn that it can do, as a group, what the inefficient business man has persuaded us he alone could do. Santa Clara has proved it.

KEEPING UP WITH OUR BANKERS

A COMIC, running with more or less success in the New York *Globe*, along with the "Toonerville Trolley," is called "Keeping up with the Joneses." It depicts the efforts of an old boy and his wife to "keep up" to the pace set by their aristocratic and successful neighbors. (Here we may pause to shed a few crocodile tears at the passing of the *Globe*, a "liberal" business paper, which is now going into the maw of the reactionary Munsey.)

The new moving picture, getting faster and faster in its action, may well be termed "Keeping up with the other union bankers." Every union is trying to follow the example of its fellows in getting into the labor banking game. It seems a far cry from the time when LABOR AGE first called attention to the meaning of the labor banking movement. Yet, that was in June of last year—one year ago.

The opening of the Federation Trust Company in New York City during the past month emphasized the fact that the banking idea has spread from the rail unions—with whom it originated. This new bank is controlled in the main by the State Federation of Labor and the New York city central body. Its manager, in the promotion stages, was W. F. McCaleb, manager of the big Locomotive Engineers Bank at Cleveland. The institution is capitalized for \$500,000. On the day of its opening, such celebrated depositors as Governor Al Smith, United States Senator Copeland, Ethel Barrymore, of the Actors' Equity Association, and Samuel Gompers opened accounts with the bank.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers had thrown open the doors of their New York bank one month before the Federation Trust Company. The Amalgamated Bank, therefore, had the distinction of being the first labor bank in the metropolis. Without apparent effort, its deposits jumped up to over \$1,000,000. Admission to the Federal Reserve System was granted it a short time after its start—thus putting it on a sound basis from the viewpoint of safety and security.

What will be the effect of labor banking on the labor movement, and especially its entry into the Federal Reserve System? Some venture the fear that it will lead to conservatism in the unions. But President Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated thinks that "radicalism" is after all a relative term, and that the union must, regardless of the effect, reach out into constructive efforts. "It is by taking responsibility," he says, "that economic power is secured—and that applies to unions as well as individuals." According to his view, full economic power can never come to the unions until they reach out into all the activities of life, for the benefit of their members.

In the fall another bank will be added to the New York labor banks, when the International Labor Bank is opened. This is under the control of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and has already received the support of many of the other needle trade unions. Among these are the International Fur Workers' Union, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union, and the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union. Pointing to Garment Workers, says:

"The possibilities of the by-developments of labor banking are, indeed, limitless. With sufficient funds assured and the saving resources of the workers concentrated in organized agencies of their own, there is no reason why these labor banks should not serve as a great starting point for huge housing plans for and by the workers; the construction of big, clean and healthy workers' cities surrounding industrial centers; cooperative producing and consumers' enterprises, and last but not least, a great and truly independent labor daily press."

"AGAINST THE RAINY DAY"

IN the needle trades another new departure has been introduced. It is Unemployment Insurance, created by agreement with the employers, and to which employers and union men contribute. The unemployment fund is under the control of a joint committee, representing union and employers.

A plan of this sort was first tried out in Cleveland by the local Joint Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, under the management of Meyer Perlstein.

however. Briefly, they are: Every member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Chicago, who has been at work for a year will be entitled to the benefits. These shall begin to run at the end of the second week of his unemployment. They shall run up to 40 per cent of the full amount of his earnings, but never more than \$20 per week. They will be payable for 5 weeks of the insurance year.

The fund will be contributed, half by the workers, half by the employers. The limit of the contribution is 1 1/2 per cent of the wage bill. The fund will be controlled



Drawn for LABOR AGE by J. F. Anderson of Machinists

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HAS HE EARNED IT?

Now, an unemployment fund will be created on a much bigger scale, as a result of the agreement between the Chicago Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the employers of that city. The plan has resulted from the studies of Dr. Leo Wolman, the foremost authority on unemployment insurance in the United States, who is also economic advisor to the Amalgamated.

The legal agreement under which the fund will be created will not be signed until July 1. A number of the details connected with the plan will not be determined upon until then. The principles have been agreed to,

by a Board of Trustees—on which the employers and union will be equally represented, the two sides to agree on one or two additional natural members. The trustees must invest all the money of the fund—with the exception of current payments—in United States Government securities.

Advance, organ of the Amalgamated, hails the Unemployment Fund as "the greatest single achievement of the American Labor Movement at this moment." All labor can join it in its congratulations to the Clothing Workers on this new venture.

After Thoughts

The 1923 Convention of the Steel Workers

By A. M. JENNINGS

THE steps taken by the organized steel workers are of great present interest. The "labor shortage," as has been pointed out, is being keenly felt in steel. This makes the chances of union progress greater than for many years. How well or ill-equipped the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers is to meet this situation is of much importance. The picture here given of the Association's last convention is, therefore, of interest to all Labor.

DURING the Warren Convention, a certain amendment was ruled out of order on the ground that it was not in line with the original question before the house and was merely an "After Thought." The expression struck me as unusual and has been running through my mind continuously ever since. Today I am fairly bubbling over with "After Thoughts."

Our Association in its 48 years of existence has acquired a reputation which to me is not very enviable. We are known both far and near as one of the most conservative organizations in the American Labor Movement. To my mind, the convention which has just adjourned, has gone far toward shattering that reputation. This year we have considered one of the most constructive programs that has been offered to any deliberative body of organized workers in this country. It is quite true that not all the constructive measures were adopted. But when conventions begin to give serious consideration to constructive measures, there is hope, and especially so when the vote was as close as it was on most of the questions defeated.

In the past years, the great question before our conventions have generally been upon wages and working conditions in the mills. There has generally been a tendency to hurry up all other matters after these two great questions had been definitely settled. Such was not the case this year. At last, we have come to realize that there are other things of real interest to us besides mere wages and working conditions. This year we gave as much or more time to other measures as we did to the major questions. Much time and thought was given to devising ways and means to build up our ranks numerically. The final action of the Association on this great question may not meet with the approval of all, but we have at least laid out a definite line of action to follow and it remains to be seen whether or not we have planned wisely.

The question of a general amalgamation of all organizations who work in metal was also considered at length. It was proposed that we should take the lead in calling upon the other Internationals to come together and to consider ways and means of bringing about such an amalgamation. The proposal was finally defeated, but it is a significant fact to know that the most conservative organization in the A. F. of L. has been considering such a modern question, and that the committee to which the question was referred for consideration, recommended its adoption.

There was another proposition before us along the same line, but much milder in form. It provided only

that we would agree to accept the paid up card of any other bona fide organization in lieu of initiation fee on condition that said organization will also agree to accept the paid up cards of our members in the same manner. This measure was adopted without much opposition. Surely, this is a far step on our part toward final amalgamation. It won't take long for us to learn that the carrying of separate cards is a useless thing, and that the logical thing to do is to amalgamate and carry the same card.

I am glad to say that we as an organization have gone on record as being willing to cooperate with the rest of the Labor Movement in the erection of Labor Colleges so that our young may be taught the ethics of trade unionism, history, and Working Class Economics. This resolution passed without opposition and will be introduced at the next A. F. of L. convention by our delegates. Let us hope it will receive the same earnest consideration it did before our body, and that before another year will have rolled around we will have laid the corner stone of at least one such college.

A resolution to authorize our Executive Board to invest our surplus funds in cooperative enterprises which are conducted and owned solely by Organized Labor which defeated—but perhaps that was because of the absence of the Labor college. I have no fear but that the time is close at hand when the A. A. will see the error of its way and that we will soon turn about face and get into this movement the same as most of the progressive organizations have already done. Of course, it is not to be expected that an organization as conservative as ours could correct all its mistakes in a single convention.

Here is another great question that we as an organization, have at last got right on. We who have always heretofore said that politics have no place in the Labor Union now call upon the entire labor movement of this country to come together and unite into one great political party of our own. The A. A. is at last awakening from its lethargy!

Perhaps the greatest thing that we did was the launching of an auxiliary of our women. Today we have come to realize that we can progress no farther than our women will advance, and so after 48 years of existence we are going back, to pick up the thread that should have been gathered up in the first year of our birth.

Strong resolutions calling for the general amnesty for all political prisoners were passed, and also resolutions urging our entire membership to do all in their power to secure the repeal of the many obnoxious laws already upon the statute books of many States and warn-

THE STEEL WORKERS AND 1923

Some Factors For and Against Immediate Organization

By JOHN R. COPENHAVER

(Brother Copenhaver, vice-president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, was the author of the resolution calling for immediate organization of the Steel Workers—which had also been demanded by President Maurer in his address. Here is the reason for that resolution.)

THERE is considerable danger that the American Federation of Labor will permit another period of industrial activity to start on the decline before taking any steps toward organizing the Steel Workers. This present activity in industry is nearly as great as that of the World War. In the steel mills it is particularly great. There, too, the "labor shortage" is first felt; because workmen will not work the long hours when they can get other means of living.

Suppose, however, that we have guessed wrong, and that a campaign of organization is started during the summer. There remains then an even greater danger. It is that the great mistake of 1919 will be duplicated, by an attempt to organize the men into separate organizations. This seems to be the only obstacle to an immediate organization of the workers into a Steel Union.

However, this one factor—if the history of past strikes is considered—is almost powerful enough to offset the possible success of the following combined factors in favor of organizing, here and now: It is important that every active union man think this thing over, to see what can be done. As was pointed out in the January LABOR AGE, Steel is a danger to every union in every industry in the country.

The factors which may be considered as being favorable to an immediate campaign, and the which may be considered as unfavorable to such a campaign, are as follows:

FOR

1. The present industrial revival which is likely to last two or more years.
2. The undercurrent of reaction among the employes caused by the low wages and unfavorable working conditions in the steel mills during the past three years.
3. The recent announcement, by Gary, of the retention of the twelve-hour day in the Steel Mills.
4. Existing laws restricting immigration, thus making an endless supply of cheap foreign labor impossible.
5. Incoming Congress and Senate considered favorable to progressive ideals, and likely to restrict "Open Shop" moves and labor injunctions fostered by the Harding administration.
6. The election last November of Governors who are friendly to labor in these states in which steel mills are located: Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Colorado and Arizona.

There are many other factors of minor importance but space is too limited to print them all.

AGAINST

1. Absence of any single national organization like the Miners into which all workers in the steel industry could be organized.

ing them to fight against the passage of more of like nature.

Our own laws governing ourselves were given a pretty thorough revision and the changes made are in line with the modern way of conducting business in an up-to-date labor organization.

The question of finances was considered from every angle. While little if any action was taken along this line, the fact remains that at last we are beginning to look about us and to insist that we get value received for the funds we expend. It speaks well for any organization when it begins to take an active interest in the manner in which its funds are disposed of, and to demand that they be spent in the way that will bring the greatest results.

In closing I would say that to my mind, a new element is arising in the A. A. and that they have at last come

to realize that we have a sound and solid foundation to build upon, and that in the near future, there will be a structure erected upon that foundation, which Gary and all his henchmen will not be able to prevail against. I defy any I. W. W. or any advocate of dual organization, to offer a sounder foundation to build upon than we, the A. A. already have. Let them read our constitutional jurisdiction and our principles of solidarity, and show if they can find a single flaw in the plan. Why waste time and energy trying to erect another foundation when we already have one which is built upon bed rock, and which declares that "ALL MEN WHO WORK IN AND AROUND IRON AND STEEL MILLS AND ALL WORKS RUN IN CONNECTION WITH SAME SHOULD BELONG TO ONE ORGANIZATION". WAKE UP, STEEL WORKERS, AND LET US BEGIN TO BUILD WHILE THE DAY IS YET YOUNG!

*With Our European Brothers***"A STATE OF WAR"**

"WE FOUND a state of war in the Ruhr." So reports a delegation appointed by the British Labor party to make a personal investigation of that occupied district.

"An invading army has occupied this region, whose commander issues orders to the civil population and punishes disobedience of them. Motorcars, locomotives, hotels, and public buildings are requisitioned; leading citizens are seized as hostages and individuals considered undesirable by the invaders are expelled together with their families. If this is not war, it is difficult to say what it is; such proceedings would be illegal in time of peace."

"France," the delegation adds, "is spending millions on the Occupation, and getting next to nothing out of it; she is using a whale to catch a sprat." The French steel fist policy has been check-mated by the "non-resistance" of the Germans. There is no alternative for the French but either to retreat, or to face famine and final disorder.

But the Ruhr "state of war" is only an exaggerated picture of what is taking place all over Europe. For a time, Russia and Great Britain almost came to blows; while Fascism is spreading the menace of civil war all over the continent. Lord Curzon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, threatened war on Russia for two reasons: Because the Soviet Government prevented British ships from fishing within a 12-mile limit of the Russian coast; and because Russia "persecuted religion." The "hypocrisy" of this position was pointed out by the Independent Labor party in a statement, which said: "During a similar dispute in 1911 Sir Edward Grey proposed to refer the issue to an International Conference. If that was a proper method for the settlement of a dispute with a Tsar, then there can be no ground for a quarrel with a Republic."

On the "religious persecution" charge, the I. L. P. said: "Did not Britain tolerate the cruel persecution of trade unionists in Hungary? Did she not begin the entente with Tsarist Russia when Jews were being massacred in thousands? Did she not conclude an entente with France when the Religious Orders were being driven out?" This statement was particularly significant, coming as it did from the section of the Labor Party with which Ramsay MacDonald is affiliated. The National Joint Council of the Labor Movement followed this statement with a demand on Curzon to "call a conference or submit the matter to arbitration." "At all costs no breach with Russia!" was their cry. The able Krassin was sent hurriedly by the Soviet to London—and concessions on the part of Russia followed. It could not risk a break in relations at this time—and the die-hard Tories did not get the war they wanted.

The British Ship of State has had many other breakers in its course. Bonar Law ended his vacation by abandoning the helm. He was not only a sick man, but a badly beaten one. The new Premier, Stanley Baldwin, has not only all of the pressing internal problems to contend with but he also has division in his own party. Then, there are such embarrassing questions as the Irish deportations—which may yet cause the ruin of the Cab-

inet. This is the famous "Art O'Brien case"—in which Home Secretary Bridgeman deported 110 Irish men and women to Ireland, though many of them were English citizens. This act is a violation of English law, and carries with it heavy penalties for the officer guilty of the deportation. The first act of the new Premier was to introduce a bill, removing the Home Secretary from the severe punishments of the law. The Labor party vigorously opposed such action. Though the "government" will probably be able to "whitewash" Bridgeman, the case may become as important in English political history as the recent Newberry case in our own.

THE "SOCIALIST WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL"

THE SECOND (Socialist) and Second-and-a-Half (Compromise) Internationals are no more. At their Hamburg Congress in May, they merged into one organization—the "Socialist Workers' International." Over 600 delegates were present, representing the Socialist parties of 30 different countries.

The program agreed upon consists of four main points: 1. Declaring for the substitution of socialistic for capitalistic production. 2. Stating that the unity of the "Socialist workers' movement" is the aim of the International. 3. Announcing that the will of the International is binding on all the parties affiliated with it. 4. Pointing out that the organization must function in war time as well as in peace.

The constitution, containing these points, was adopted amid scenes of enthusiasm. Cheers and cries of "long live the International!" greeted its adoption. Adler of Austria, Chairman of the committee on Constitution, declared that the offer of the Communists for "a united front" had been rejected. He declared that the Socialists were in no position to negotiate with the Third International. "We will never permit talk of a united front," he declared, "to confuse us before it is made clear that those who are ready to form a united front with us recognize the proletariat's right of self-determination and that they do not wish to have within the laboring class the dictatorship of a small clique over the great mass."

Just what strength the new International will muster is still a matter for the future to decide. The most important unit in the unified group is the Socialist divisions of the British Labor party. On the continent the Communist schism has played havoc with the Socialist parties, harassed on the other hand by the forces of Reaction. In Sweden the Socialist Premier Branting has been forced to resign, because of his effort to secure unemployed benefits for the "out-of-works." This lost him the support of the "Liberals," who had previously stood with him. A small minority of the Second-and-a-Half group, led by Ledebour, also, opposed the agreement reached. They felt that it closed the door to "true unity," through final fusion with the Communists.

But one step has been taken, at least, to heal the wounds of the European political movement of the workers. It is the most important news of the month from across the seas. The next logical step will be a rapprochement with the Communist groups. Whether or not that can be accomplished, will be one of the big tests of the European workers' political efforts.

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

LABOR AGE will give further and fuller attention to **THE CONTROL OF WAGES** by Walton Hamilton and Stacy May, just published by George H. Doran Company for the Workers' Education Bureau. (It is another of the Bureau's "Worker's Bookshelf" series.) But the opportunity must not be let go by to say a good word for this fine little book. It treats a most difficult subject in a very interesting way. Each chapter is begun with a quotation from Mr. Dooley. The style all through is clear and simple. The book will be of great value to trade unions, because it deals with a subject in which they are vitally interested, here and now. It will also be a worth-while addition to the bookshelves of students of labor problems. **LABOR AGE** is particularly glad to welcome it, as it gets at the subject in the way it should be gotten at—so that the man in a hurry may read it readily.

THE NATIONS AND WAR

"A WAR TO END WARS" having just been concluded, one would think that the danger of war would be far away. But the books coming out do not point at all in that direction—and with good reason.

A thought-provoking little book is Jackson Ralston's **"Democracy's International Law"** (John Byrne & Co., Washington, D. C.) Mr. Ralston, in addition to being counsel for the American Federation of Labor, has been the representative of the United States on the Pious Fund Case and has been engaged in other international cases. He finds that we need "a fresher and purer International Law"—one that goes back to the reasons why such law was needed at all. Nations, he finds, need a law between themselves for the same reasons that men need civil laws—and for no other purpose. If the International Law writers, he says, "had taken the position that war is ordinarily an outrageous and contemptible thing" and "that the germ (of war) is to be sought with the same careful, painstaking determination which physicians have devoted to the yellow fever or typhoid germ, and that this is one of the proper functions of the International Law student, then some little advancement might have been made."

A clear-cut answer on the way to peace is given by Norman Thomas in **The Challenge of War**, fourth of the series of pamphlets issued by the League for Industrial Democracy. It is called "an economic interpretation," and explains in some detail the economic background of Militarism and of War-making. It shows that warfare is being made more and more terrible—and quotes the statement of Major General Swinton of the British Army that the "final form of human warfare, is germ warfare."

What is the remedy? "There is one way of escape for us. It is the reorganization of our whole social system on the basis of production for use and not for profit, with the needs of the world and not of particular nations in view. That," he finds, "is essentially the ideal of the workers."

GLIMPSES

ALWAYS interesting are the accounts of the fights of men in public life, especially when such fights are for principle. Ex-Senator Pettigrew has re-issued his **Triumphant Plutocracy** under more attractive form, as **Imperial Washington** (C. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago). Although in parts the action is somewhat re-tarted by extensive quotes from public documents, the book gives an instructive insight into the work of the ex-Senator and the forces against which he had to contend. "The American people," says the Senator, "should know the truth about American public life. They have been lied to so much and hoodwinked so often that it would seem fair to have at least one straight-from-the-shoulder statement concerning this government 'of the people, by the people, and for the people,' about whose inner workings the people know almost nothing." Trade unions can well afford to invest in this little book for their libraries.

Another unusual book is **The Parlor Provocateur** (Sinclair, Pasadena, Cal.) by that unusual woman, Kate Crane Gartz. It consists of the indignant letters which Mrs. Gartz has for several years been writing to editors, officials, members of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, etc., in protest against their repressive acts. There is also an introduction by the wife of Upton Sinclair, and several letters to Mrs. Gartz which are almost as interesting as her own,—notably in the case of the letters of her son, Crane, from the trenches.

* * *

"THE one man in France whom you must see," Bertrand Russel said to me three months ago, "is Joseph Caillaux!" Unfortunately, Caillaux was too far away for me to be able to talk with him, but the former premier has now put his political wisdom into a book which is well worth reading. Its title is: **Whither France? Whither Europe?** (Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y.)

"The shrivelling up of France—that is the inevitable end of the present nationalistic and plutocratic policy," he says; and: "Death and destruction and the return of barbarism,—these are inescapable if the peoples of Europe quail before a **revolutionary reconstruction!**"

THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY announces its annual conference, for **Lake Tamiment, Pa., beginning June 20th.** A fine educational program is promised. Those wishing to attend the conference should write **Harry W. Laidler, Director, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.**

CO-OPERATION tells you what the radicals of Europe are doing and what many of them are beginning to do here in laying the ground floor of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Published monthly by The Co-operative League of America, 167 West 12th St., New York City. Subscription price, \$1.00 a year.

ANOTHER CHALLENGE

PRESIDENT MAURER inspires us with his story of the big fight of the Pennsylvania Federation against Labor's Enemies. He rightly calls it "A Challenge to Industrial Autocracy."

LABOR AGE exists to serve the Federation and other labor bodies in their fights. It is also a "challenge" to our Autocrats—arming the unions with Facts. The Pennsylvania Federation, realizing this, has endorsed LABOR AGE as a real vehicle of workers' education.

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