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Labor Age

The National Monthly

The Company Union Unmasked

Where Are We Heading For?

A Temple – and a Paper

Again: The State Police

Open the Doors!

Brother Brown on "Good People"

\$2.50 per Year.

Labor Age

The National Monthly

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A WORD TO THE WISE

Concerning the Workers' Education Bureau of America

THROUGH the daily press of the country a story is running, which goes something like this:

A book agent came to a farmer, whose children had just started to school. Said the book agent: "Now that your children are in school, you should buy them an encyclopedia."

"Naw," replied the farmer of the story, "I wouldn't get them any such thing. They can walk."

Confusing an "encyclopedia" with a vehicle of transportation is no worse than confusing the bogus "Industrial Democracy" of the Employing Interests with the real "Industrial Democracy" based on Labor Unionism. The facts on this great issue must be gotten over to the unorganized. Confusion about the financial situation and other backgrounds of the industry in which one works is also just as bad for the union worker, handicapping him in his united action with his brothers for a better deal.

Workers' Education is the powerful aid, "the educational arm of American Labor," devised for the purpose of equipping the rank and file of the Movement with the ammunition to convince the unorganized and to make themselves more efficient as a group in handling their own problems. It will do the trick, if supported and participated in by the workers. Before the Workers' Education Movement there is

the biggest era of service, perhaps, of any arm of the American Federation.

Matthew Wohl, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Workers' Education Bureau, has just sent out an appeal to all central bodies to affiliate with the Bureau. Already, he reports, 225 central bodies have established educational committees. The closer co-operation with the Bureau which affiliation can give is now desired.

It is an appeal which all the central bodies, no doubt, affected by the swing upward of the labor pendulum, will act upon favorably. The welfare of the central agency for promoting this new educational effort is a first consideration. With the Workers' Education Bureau well established and in close touch with the central bodies throughout the country, the work of the local educational committees will receive new impetus and life.

It can be said, very considerably, that this is an imperative job at the present time. The Employers' attack on Unionism has gone into the new camouflage stage of trying to steal the unions' thunder. It is being backed up by carefully devised card index and blacklist systems, designed to kill forever the "agitators" who see through these false schemes and mean to be free. Any man who imagines, how-

(Continued on page 28)

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The National Monthly

Tactics of Company Unions

By ROBERT W. DUNN



"GEORGE F." DAY

Company Union Members Kow-towing to Employer at Endicott-Johnson Co., by Parading in his Honor. Are these "Free-Born Americans?"

MANY employers want to isolate their men from the American Federation of Labor." This is the frank sub-heading appearing in a chapter called "Shop Committees and Profit-sharing" in a book named "Economics for Citizenship," recently issued by a Professor of Economics and Business Administration at the University of Washington. His name is W. D. Moriarity and for all we know he is a very conservative citizen and probably a member in good standing of the Knights of Columbus. In any event what he says concerning company unions is worth quotation:

"One of their (the employers) favorite methods is to organize some form of union with hospital service and other benefits given for a slight fee and much stress placed on the social features. And with this, or even in case no form of union is organized, they institute in one form or another shop committees."

The result, says the professor is:

"It gets rid of outside representatives of the national union and isolates the men in each shop from organized consultation, or at least from representatives at the conferences of such outside forces."

Does this company union give the workers any control of the shop? Moriarity answers:

"The shop committee may share or only appear to share control. . . . It is one of the triumphs of the employers' unions—that is, associations confined to one concern or one line of business and fostered by the employers as a way of getting their men out of control of the American Federation of Labor—that they have been able to use the shop committee which was designed to enable labor to get more and more control over industry, and use it to get more and more control over their labor."

As to the functions of the shop committee the professor is equally specific:

" . . . The shop committee is often made into a 'rubber

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stamp' committee to meet and listen to suggestions of a smooth welfare worker or some efficiency expert who must get the seeming co-operation of the men to put through plans that have essentially been determined on. Sometimes, too, it is just a 'rubber stamp' to satisfy the men that they are having something to say about things and a way of meeting their employers to present grievances or requests."

Moriarity is one among many professors and students who after looking into the company union business have reached like conclusions.

The employers themselves in introducing these spineless substitutes for labor unions have made some singular confessions, which suggest clearly the motives behind their manoeuvres. The head of the Standard Gas Engine Company of San Francisco who installed a modified John Leitch "industrial democracy" plan in his plant after a strike, the charter members having all been strike-breakers, has this to say:

"The shop is now being operated under the American Plan, manned by clean cut and loyal members of a high order of intelligence."

"Disloyalty" Defined

The introduction to the fancy constitution of this company plan reads in part:

"Disloyalty to our America, her ideals and institutions is not tolerated, whether it be hidden under the guise of organized labor or more openly flaunted as Communism, Bolshevism, I. W. Wism or any of the many vehicles for radicalism or disloyalty."

In the mind of this class-conscious employer all workers who do not walk on their bellies look alike. So long as they challenge his authority to run his own shop, and his own union, they are all in the same category—enemies of his (our America) ideals and institutions, whatever they happen to be.

Another employer lets the cat out of the bag. He speaks for the Oliver Continuous Filter Company of Oakland, California:

"We have had a works council in operation in our plant for some time past. This form of representation was introduced at the time we declared for the 'open shop' and unshackled ourselves from union domination."

There are hundreds of employers who have used the works council as one of their "moves" or "steps" or "plays" in an open shop game. The evidence on this point is overwhelming.

The employers are loud in their condemnation of the closed shop except when they are the initiators of this institution. The company unions, it should be clear to all thinking workers, are, in effect, closed shops to all workers who betray the slightest trace of activity in the labor movement. And some of these company associations for example in the public utilities field make non-membership in a real trade union

an express provision of membership in the company union. The Brooklyn Manhattan Company and the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York are examples of this type. Both use the "yellow dog" form of employment contract. In other companies, though no formal individual contract is signed by the worker, the first move he makes to stir his fellows to organize in a real union, that moment he is discharged and frequently blacklisted by firms in the same industry.

One may ask: Why it is that over a million workers in this country have been recruited by company unions, and why have these comic committees and work councils gained as many members as the American Federation of Labor has lost in the last few years? Why does the worker "go along" with the company association?

"Heaven on Earth"

A number of reasons may be given and these by no means exhaust the sources of explanation. In the first place the novelty of the company association has been a strong factor. The corporation, with an adequate budget for "welfare" (and money spent for welfare is exempt from taxation) has been able to dress up the democratic dummy in very alluring raiment. The worker has been promised a veritable Heaven on Earth as a reward for accepting the regime of the works councils. Opportunities to "meet and discuss," to take several hours off at company expense, occasional visits to other shops, hotel expenses when on the road, new contacts and associations, the illusion of co-operation with a capital C—all this has been dangled before the "loyal" worker and his interest has been actively stimulated. Furthermore the management has in many cases been able to confuse the company union with more distinct welfare "features" such as noon-time movies and jazz dancing, free tennis courts, hospital advantages and a hundred other hand-outs "included in any well-rounded employee relations program." The worker has been asked to believe that these tender benevolences, which are a part of the normal maintenance charges of modern industry and which the boss tells the Chamber of Commerce he institutes for no "sentimental reasons," are the direct result of the company union.

Along with this belief that "the boss has been good to us since the committee was organized" goes a certain form of subtle pressure and intimidation. Once the company union is started "every one must join." It is "the thing to do." "Ain't you joined yet, Mary?" Social pressure produces conformity. The 100 per cent. drive is on. Who can resist? And

so it is not difficult, once the director of personnel has inaugurated the movement, to line up the shop and announce in the papers that: "The 7,000 employees of the Peck and Punch Powder Company have instituted an employees' representation plan. The company officials expressed themselves as highly gratified with this move which started among the workers themselves some weeks ago—"

And Then—The "House Organ"

Supporting these developments with an overwhelming barrage of propaganda is usually the "house organ," the company paper, issued weekly or monthly, and distributed free to all. These organs are edited by realists who know what tickles the fancy of the American factory hand with his bourgeois standards of dress and deportment absorbed from the LADIES' HOME JOURNAL and the SATURDAY EVENING POST. Pages of pictures, photographs of babies, sport clubs, bathing beauties, bobbed-haired bobbin girls, personal chit chat and gossip, a page devoted to "Feminine Fancies" and one to "Athletics" with possibly a sober column editorially clipped from the service of the National Industrial Conference Board—mix this dose well and apply it weekly to wage earners and you produce the perfect type of company unionist. And that type predominates among the 24,000,000 unorganized workers in the United States today. With the weapon of a "free press" at the disposal of the company and with a liberal amount used to purchase pages of advertisements in the local newspapers the propaganda stream for company unions and against real labor unions is strong and unceasing, particularly among the large corporations.

And once the company association is introduced it is difficult to get out from under it. The worker who becomes disillusioned and puts up a fight is likely to find himself on the "outside looking in." And the worker who stays to play the game may very well, if the occasion demands it, be "reached" by the management. Leaders of the A. F. of L. have made this charge and some evidence exists to support it. The use of money outright as a bribe, advancement on the job, an increase of wages to a few, immunity from certain fines and regulations, generous expense accounts when attending to company union business—all these have been used and are being used by the companies—we do not say *all* companies—in their campaigns to make company unions succeed—success being determined by the extent to which real labor unions are warded off or in some instances, destroyed. And as we have noted there are other "rewards" short of discharge, for

the worker who sees through the bunk and tries to turn the company union into a trade union branch. For him there are many subtle and technical means of intimidation—fines, demotion, failures to advance, discrimination in the distribution of tools or materials, all these may be used against the worker—(or his relatives)—who does not "play ball."

Of course the company protects itself before the public by pointing to the clause in the constitution of the "plan" guaranteeing no discrimination against a member for membership in a union. Mere membership, it is true, is often permitted, but *activity* on behalf of a union with the object of making the union the effective representative of the will of the workers in the shop—that is another story and one to which considerable illustrative material has recently been contributed by the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Pullman Company, the General Electric Company, to mention only three corporations which brook no union activity within the fabric of their company associations and promptly discharge those who are found guilty of it.

A Declaration for Dictatorship

The logic of the company union were it applied by the workers to the company would work out in some such declaration of principle as the following:

"Mr. Boss. We refuse to deal with you as a corporation but only as an individual. We will not recognize your board of directors or your executives or the decisions of your stockholders' meetings. If any one of you care to address us you may do so by electing a 'representative' to speak for you providing you conform to the rules of election for these 'representatives,' a copy of which is herewith enclosed. Under no conditions will we confer with anyone from the 'outside,' particularly those who claim to represent your so-called National Manufacturers' Association. Such outside organizations, attempting to interfere in the policy of our plant, will be dealt with by the police. We will talk only with our own boss or his 'representative' elected under the rules enclosed and with no outside talent no matter under what name it may be disguised, be it lawyer, personnel expert, labor councillor or statistician. We also demand that the election of the representative who will deal with us be chosen by you through the legal and civilized method of the Australian ballot," etc., etc.

The declaration might be continued almost indefinitely working in all the shades of paternalism which we find in the "plans" now used in this country. It is obvious that if such a letter were drawn up by workers it could only be within the boundaries of that one-sixth of the earth's surface known as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. And yet the employers who play with "industrial democracy" in the United States would be grieved if you told them they were demonstrating the validity of the arguments of those who call the present economic order a capitalist dictatorship. Nor could they be brought

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to understand that with all the best intentions in the world—and some of them are thoroughly well meaning—they are at best but gilding the chains of economic servitude.

The question then arises—what can the workers who are now organized in unions do to combat the forces of company unionism?

There is no *one* way to do it. Tactics will differ from union to union and industry to industry. In railroading, for example, where some unions are recognized on some roads while others are shut out from the bargaining tables, the only strategy seems to be a head-on battle with the company associations which function from the executive offices of the road. Where some unions, notably the Order of Railway Telegraphers, have attempted to capture the company associations on the Pennsylvania, they have failed. After three attempts and in spite of overwhelming votes electing representatives of the Telegraphers, “under the plan,” the road has refused to deal with them. The Shop Craft Unions and the Clerks have also failed to win recognition and have been forced in spite of decisions of the Railroad Labor Board and the Supreme Court, condemning the anti-union policy of the Pennsylvania to keep hammering from the outside. On other roads the Signalmen, for example, have been able to save themselves from defeat by waging an open struggle against the company association and forcing the Labor Board to hold impartial elections at which the brotherhood has won in the balloting and thus secured recognition which the road was not in a position to dispute.

“Boring From Within”—To Smash

In other industries a policy of “boring from within” is the only one imaginable. The President of the A. F. of L. advises it and experience has proved it upon occasions quite effective. The policy, however, is worth considering only if the object is to smash the company union—eventually if not now. To attempt to “control” it for any length of time is futile. Some such thought must have been in the mind of President Wm. H. Johnston of the Machinists when in touching on the growth of company unions he said to the 1924 convention of this union:

“As there is only one way to obtain control of this evil, we will have to accept that avenue, even if it means resorting to questionable methods to obtain our objective. It is not our choosing that we are forced to resort to subtlety, but the unscrupulous program of high finance that drives us to this end.”

The language of Wilson and the strategy of Lenin—and the strategy a very good one and with but one objective—the destruction of the capitalist

unions from within. One cannot “control” company unions forever. There comes a time when the slogan, “all power to the trade union,” must be raised even by the most cautious trade union leader. When that time comes the open and complete destruction of the pet company association is within sighting distance.

Finally a word to the “tired radical” leader of the union who tells you he sees in the “works council” the germ of the future industrial society. The craft union form is broken down by the factory solidarity developed under the employers “works council.” Consequently when the time is ripe and a sufficient number of crises arise to drive the workers to action, they will have learned much in the “company committees” organized on plant rather than on trade or craft lines. This Messianic approach to the problem has within it a kernel of truth. The company unions, although very sectional in their makeup within any plant, can be considered more general industrial in form than any one of the craft unions, although it must be remembered that the company unions keep under one roof and do not amalgamate throughout a whole industry. But in any event the employer has a hundred devices to keep the workers “contented” and divided that will more than offset any theoretical *form* which some radicals consider the “works council” to possess. Besides it is a good deal to expect unions created by employers in 1925 to serve the purposes of workers in the Labor Kingdom. Come some decades hence.

The conservative professor of economics was a good deal nearer the truth when he observed that the employers “have been able to use the shop committee which was designed to enable labor to get more and more control over industry, and use it to get more and more control over labor.” To contest this control and break the company associations is the immediate task of the bona fide American labor unions.

FURTHER EXPOSES

☞ MR. DUNN will provide LABOR AGE readers with further exposes of Company Unionism and its workings. He will give, in future articles, detailed facts concerning specific “Unions.”

Where Are We Heading For?

How We Do It—And How We Might Do It

By ISRAEL MUFSON

QUO VADIS?

BROTHER MUFSON *points a moral and adorns a tale. He says we must put more of a real message in our Workers' Education drive—an important thought.*

“**T**HE labor classes have done me \$500 worth of good. The classes in public speaking have enabled me to organize my baseball teams better. As an umpire of baseball games I find the public speaking course invaluable.”

This, in effect, was the eloquent testimonial of one student, a vice-president of his local union, to the good work labor education accomplished for him.

Yet in this instance, flat though the result may appear to trade unionists who are interested in labor education for other purposes than for the development of more efficient baseball umpires, education had at least its attraction. Most other trade unionists, not being organizers of baseball teams, refuse to heed the luring call of workers' education altogether. For them there is no need for further enlightenment for they have already encompassed all the knowledge necessary to go groping through life's bleeding vale. Unions, trying in the best possible manner to conform to the request of the A. F. of L. for the extension of workers' education, establish scholarships for six or eight or a dozen students. There is no response. And the cajolry and urgings are wasted upon

Good men and women,—all
Who heed the dance—
And the Ford's honking call.

But upon ripening thought no wheat can be expected where the grains have not been sown. Knowledge is sought after only when something not yet attained is to be achieved. American labor, however, has already within its grasp all that it evidently intends to ask for itself. The only requisite is to keep that which it now possesses. For such purposes the true and tried methods that have functioned more or less successfully for the past half century are adequate enough. Then why learn?

How We Do It

A visit to any meeting of any central labor body will demonstrate effectively the barrenness of labor's future outlook. One can close his eyes and review such a meeting with an accuracy that to a stranger would seem uncanny. And it would fit nearly every meeting, in every locality, past, present and future. The gavel strikes. The meeting will now come to order. The minutes of the previous meeting will be read. Approved. Communications, long winded and seemingly without end, while the delegates talk to each other about their own affairs or compare notes on the fleetest horses. A resolution against the Volstead Act. Great enthusiasm. Reports of committees—progress. Reports of unions. The Acme service company locked out its union workers and hired non-union men instead. Members, please pay attention and do not patronize A, B, and C. “Mr. President, as a loyal trade unionist of umpty years in good standing I want to call attention to the deplorable condition of our own fellow trade unionists who refuse to patronize union made products. I am in the barber business and I personally know of any number of men who call themselves union men who use scab-made safety razors, instead of patronizing union-manned barber shops.” Any other reports? Members, please buy only union labeled goods. Meeting stands adjourned.

It is not with a feeling of derision that the above is hesitatingly portrayed, but because it demonstrates how utterly helpless it is for any new idea to make any headway before such habits of conduct. The germ of a novel venture is suffocated before it is even planted. Education to learn how to do things in a new manner or to learn how to venture forth from the old moorings into strange paths cannot find a responsive chord among a membership which is satisfied to tramp the beaten trail. Pioneering is an American trait but it is labor's forgotten lore.

Not that the American labor movement has not its idealistic moments when far-flung challenges for heroic accomplishments are broadcast from labor's conclaves. The American Federation of Labor, at

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its 1924 convention, declared for the democratization of industry. The bravest heart would be proud to follow a ship on such an inclusive course. Again in 1925 it changed its old slogan of "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay" to a somewhat more modern formula—a wage commensurate with the increased productivity of labor. But the American Federation of Labor meets once a year. Its integral parts disband while the ship it bravely sets at sail is always anchored close to shore where it is found again the year following. Its pronouncements never enter the consciousness of the rank and file. The declarations are never brought home to the membership from the conventions.

The Message in Real Terms

Slogans are permitted to lie fallow in their unassimilated state and are never translated in terms that intimately touch the work-a-day lives of the carpenters and machinists, to arouse them to energetic activity. Workers' education, democracy in industry, compensation commensurate with the increased productivity of labor—all hold within themselves the possibilities for releasing the enthusiasm and the pioneering spirit of the men and women whose forebears braved the dangers of savage wilds; who conquered barren wastes and created thriving cities and rich agricultural districts where only forest and swamp existed. These far-reaching demands, however, will have no practical consequence unless they are made a part of the intimate activities of the union men and women and are woven into the every-day program which labor is to follow. When the local and central union meetings are enlivened by discussions about them; when speakers are sent forth explaining the real significances of these new ventures in the daily lives of the workers; when labor publications carry messages about them, giving them life through visions of a future in which the worker can take an active part in its realization, then the pent-up virility of labor which is at present lying dormant will bloom into action—action which will seek intelligence through education. And the pronouncements of the American Federation of Labor, instead of being moored in the convention harbors, will permeate the whole body of labor. Then there will be such a hustling and bustling nor man had e'er seen.

Comes back a memory of a few years ago. The railroad workers were dissatisfied, as workers usually are. But hitherto there was very little upon which to hang their faith for concerted action

towards a constructive goal. Then suddenly there appeared a new light that swayed all hearts to a single purpose. The Plumb Plan was born. It was democracy in the railroad industry. But it was made plain enough and related to actual life enough for every worker on every railroad to understand its meaning; to hunger for a message about it and to give of himself freely for its realization. From the hostler in the cinder pit to the revision clerk in the general office came an enthusiasm that labor has hardly been successful in arousing before or since. Money, sacrifices of great magnitude from the thin pay envelopes of these workers, poured into the general coffers for the propagation of this plan. Speakers, addressing meetings that crowded to capacity the largest of halls, were given tremendous ovations. It was a new birth in the history of the organized railroad workers. So great was the need for the clerk, the freight handler, the engineer, the trainman, the switchman and the telegrapher to become thoroughly acquainted with the plan—so insistent was the demand for information—that American labor's greatest newspaper, *Labor*, was created. Had someone grasped the idea then of organizing classes pertaining to the railroad industry and the plan for its democratization, there would not have been classrooms enough nor teachers to take care of all who would have desired to enroll.

A Vision Worth Sacrificing For

The vision is yet clear of one meeting from among many. Six hundred hard working railroad employees, most of them freight handlers—all the members the local could lay claim to. They crowded the chairs, pressed together on the piano and hunched on the floor. They were all newcomers in the ranks of organized labor, most of them never having known labor's history nor its struggles upward towards its present station. But all were thrilled by the message of hope the speaker delivered to them. Their faces, hard with unceasing toil and continuous contact with dire need, softened at the image of a future wherein the burdens of living would not be thrust so heavily upon their shoulders. They were carried through their present industrial overlordship to an era, when as men standing proudly on a basis of equality, they would lend their brains in the functioning of the transportation industry and would achieve for themselves and their families a greater share in its productivity. Their minds were with the speaker and their hearts were at his feet. And from that night on they were happy because to them was given a vision they would have sacrificed much to realize.

Workers America over would embrace just as readily and just as wholeheartedly a program of industrial democracy as the railroaders did. Here lies the key to unlock the slumbering pioneering spirit of labor. We have the program, promulgated and endorsed by labor's supreme body. The need now is to imbue it with life by contact with the rank and file, enriching the workers with a promise of a better life fulfilled and in turn being nourished by the workers in their enthusiastic response.

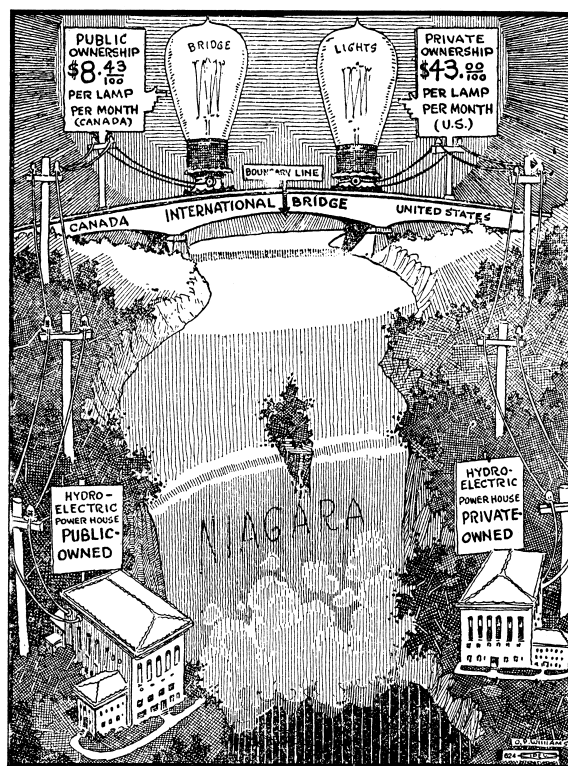
Formal labor education cannot accomplish this immediate need. The spirit of labor must first be aroused to the necessity of doing before it can be made interested in its process. When it is awakened to the urgency of action it will, of its own volition, seek the methods for action. Everywhere the need is for speakers who are able to translate to the multitude labor's wider aims; to make industrial democracy stand out in clear outline as a process by which the miner, the painter or the shop mechanic will no more be a cog in the machine, but a human being whose labor gives him the right to sit in joint judgment over the destiny of the industry and its profits. If this idea be vigorously extended, the gap between declared aims and actual accomplishments would be bridged.

Putting Energy Into Helpful Action

American labor is energetic. Finding no promise in its own ranks it looks for an outlet through extraneous activities which have no relation to labor. The trade union official who seeks education to become better equipped as a baseball umpire would have been happier had labor's program found a place for him for its own purposes. The many who find delight in discussions on the shortcomings of others—the barber who sees in the safety razor user his natural enemy as an instance—would beget more profitable opportunity in the study of labor's constructive policies and attend the labor classes to learn how best to serve in their practical application—and like it much better. The central labor body, instead of being a monotone of recriminations and ineffective complaints, would become a vigorous rostrum enriched with a vision that would draw the energies of labor for useful employment.

American labor was not always static. It had its concepts and philosophies which aroused the pioneering spirit of the ranks to their greatest enthusiasm. They took their flings in transcendentalism and Fourierism; they followed the devious routes of Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley and even cast a longing eye at the sky-rocketing promises of

WHAT A DIFFERENCE



Illinois Miner

A sample of "Industrial Democracy" that the electrical workers would push farther.

George Henry Evans and his new agrarianism. These philosophies were all will-o'-the-wisps which showed labor no practical way out. But at least it demonstrated a determination to do and to try which seems to be a lost art today. Fortunately, with the advance of scientific thinking labor need not waste its energies on impractical delusions. The A. F. of L. has envisaged a program much closer to reality and one which conforms to the actual development of industry. What is necessary is a means of firing the imagination of the ranks, as they have been fired in the past, with a vision of a world in which industrial democracy will be an accomplished fact. And this can only be affected through speeches and articles from labor's platforms and from labor's press.

Give American labor the urge to do and the desire to know better how to do will follow of itself. Scholarships in trade union classes will be greedily accepted. The processes of learning and of acting will become complementary. And the student, forgetting baseball as a major premise, will say:

"Those classes were invaluable to me because I can become a more effective worker in labor's march towards industrial democracy."

Open the Doors!

Do Not Shut Out Potential Union Members

By DAVE EVANS

RAISING A QUESTION

BROTHER EVANS raises an interesting question: "Should Labor Unions close their doors to any potential members?" His answer is, "No, Emphatically No!" Whatever your view, we are sure you will read his comments with attention and interest.

IN some unions there is a tendency to close the books against newcomers. The big idea is to create a little job trust for those who are already on the inside. Trust and monopolies are nice things for the insiders, of course, but there never was a monopoly yet that worked unless it embraced the overwhelming majority of those engaged in a certain industry. This is well recognized by all experienced monopolists, hence they will move heaven and hell to induce all outsiders to become insiders. But not so some of our Labor Union friends. Their idea is that there are only so many union jobs to go around and that the less union men there are to fill them the more union men will be employed. So the next move is to have a snug little union oasis in an open shop desert surrounded by hungry non-union men clamoring to come in.

However, we do not admit them to our sacred circle. There is then nothing left for them but to make the best bargain with the employer they can, and the employer having no other object in mind than to buy labor power cheap and sell its product or service high will prefer the cheaper outsider to the dearer insider.

"Yes" Men Wanted

Of course, Union men are better craftsmen than Non-union men. Any Union man will tell you so. The next thing is to make the boss see with the eyes of Union men. At the present time he doesn't. Indeed there is danger that he never may. What he wants besides a cheap worker is a docile worker, a helpless worker, the kind that saws wood and says nothing but "yes sir." Bosses are just like Union men in that respect. They love freedom of action.

They want to see things done in their own way with speed and without friction.

The boss who has acquired the habit of handling and mishandling unorganized workers is hard to break. He is liable to say with Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death." Some of them even further. They prefer bankruptcy to "Knuckling down to union dictation." No use encouraging this type by giving them non-union workers to practice on.

There is another reason why the union door should be open to all the members of our craft who are willing to fulfill their obligation as union men. All other things being equal, that employer will survive in the competitive struggle who can produce the cheapest and the cost of production depends largely upon the wages, hours and working conditions in a given enterprise. We call an employer fair who recognizes the union, pays decent wages and grants human working conditions. Then we turn around and subject him to the most unfair competition by refusing to organize the workers employed by his open shop competitors. We say you are a fair boss for doing this and that and this for us, now see how you come out in competition with the wolves whom we feed with cheap and docile workers by closing our union doors to them.

One of the clearest demonstrations of what partial organization will do for a trade is furnished by the bituminous coal industry. There are some 600,000 coal miners in this country. About two-thirds of them or 400,000 are members of the United Mine Workers of America. States like Illinois, Indiana and Ohio are a hundred percent. organized. Coal strikes in this state are 100 percent. effective. Moreover, there are no better strikers than the coal miners unless it be their wives. The coal operators in the organized field have learned by long and bitter experience that any attempt to break the miners' union is as costly as it is futile. They have reconciled themselves to the fact that the Union is here to stay and they are willing to deal with it and work with it.

The Case of the Miners

Under such circumstances one would think that the 400,000 organized coal miners are sitting pretty.

Well, they are sitting around all right, but there is nothing pretty about it. Only about one-half of the 400,000 union miners are working at the present time and those that do work are employed only about half time. In fact conditions in the organized coal fields are even worse than in the non-union fields. And if this situation is maintained long enough, there are good prospects of seeing one of the strongest, best disciplined and most militant labor unions wiped out by the simple process of starvation.

Well, what's the trouble with those miners? Just this, brothers. Thanks to their splendid organization they established a minimum day rate of \$7.50 in the organized coal fields. Fine. They were also one of the first unions to secure the eight-hour day. Great. Then by a well worked-out scheme of collective dickering and bargaining they secured for their members some of the benefits derived from the installation of labor-saving devices. Splendid. Then through political pressure brought by their 100 percent. organization, they secured the Workmen's Compensation Laws, which paid tens of millions of dollars to their maimed and crippled members and their heirs. Marvellous.

But, (and heavy on the but) a seven-fifty minimum day wage; the eight-hour day; the machinery of collective bargaining; the division of earnings on labor-saving devices among miners and operators and the tens of millions paid in compensation constitute a burden on the organized coal industry which must and does reflect itself in the selling price of union coal.

Now, the non-union fields are not troubled with such a burden. The day wage in the coal mines of Kentucky and West Virginia is only about half as high as in the 100 percent. organized field of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. The saving derived from newly introduced mining machinery goes all in the pockets of the non-union operators. They have no expensive bargaining machinery to support and if there are any compensation laws in the non-union coal states it has escaped attention. The result of the differential in wages, hours, working conditions and workers' compensation is sufficient to allow the non-union fields to capture the coal market.

Rest and Rust

The laws of competition make no fine distinction between fair and unfair employers. All other things being equal that firm will get the market which can produce the cheapest. Thus, it comes about that the non-union coal fields are expanding while the union fields are shrinking and while the number of non-

RASTUS' EGGS

RASTUS was caught in Mr. Jones' chicken coop with two plump fowls under his arms.

"What does this mean?" demanded the irate Jones.

"No, sah; I ain't no thief," responded Rastus, "I ain't stealing no chickens, I'm only returnin' those eggs I took last Spring; they'se grewed up now."

* * *

That's no worse than the "American Plan" Employers great jesture in handing out "Industrial Democracy" to their workers. Rastus has rivals!

union miners is daily growing, the number of union miners is daily diminishing.

The menace contained in a party organized industry is thoroughly understood by the United Mine Workers. They have spent tens of millions and thousands of lives to bring the unorganized coal diggers into their fold, and it is safe to say that they would gladly make the same sacrifice again if there was a possible chance of removing the terrible menace to their organization which is contained in the vast mass of unorganized miners.

No, brother, you cannot help yourself by keeping others down. Neither can you help your union by keeping others out. The salvation of labor lays in solidarity, in mass action, and not in little labor trusts. Life is growth. Rest and you rust. If restriction of union membership was a solution for the labor question then Judge Gary and his open-shop crew must be regarded as Messiahs of Labor. Union men who would close their doors to new recruits are working hand in hand with the open shoppers even if they do so unconsciously and with the best of intention. An army of stationary or diminishing number is doomed when faced by an enemy whose forces are growing. Open wide the gates to your union. Welcome every new recruit to the army of organized toil. Grasp the hand of every brother who is willing to fight by your side and bear part of your burden. Remember the old slogan, "In Union There is Strength." An injury to one is the concern of all. United we stand, divided we fall. These are not empty phrases. They are the laws of life. They are the laws of the herd. Violate them and the penalty is doom.

Correspondence Lessons

Furnished by Workers' Education Bureau

By C. J. HENDLEY

The Growth of the American Federation of Labor

LESSON VII.

WE learned in our last lesson that the American Federation of Labor came into existence while the Knights of Labor was flourishing, and that it grew in power at the same time that the K. of L. declined in power. In 1886 when a reorganization was made and the present name of the organization adopted, the membership was about 150,000. The increase in membership was slow until about 1898; then a rapid increase began. The following table shows the growth of the organized labor movement in this country since 1898. The figures in the last column are the official statistics of membership of the A. F. of L. Notice that they indicate the paid-up membership only. The membership only. The membership out on strike and consequently excused from paying dues is not included. For example, 1925 there were 500,000 A. F. of L. members on strike. If we add these the total membership is 3,378,297.

For the purpose of comparison, we give in the middle column statistics on the total membership of all labor unions in the United States during the given period. The figures are taken from Leo Wolman's book, "The Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880-1923," published by the National Bureau of Economic Research. They are the most reliable figures we have on this subject. Membership in company unions is not included.

Growth of American Trade Unions

<i>Date</i>	<i>Total Membership of American Trade Unions</i>	<i>Paid-up Membership in A. F. of L.</i>
1898.....	500,700	278,016
1900.....	868,500	548,321
1902.....	1,375,900	1,024,399
1904.....	2,072,700	1,676,200
1910.....	2,184,200	1,562,112
1914.....	2,716,900	2,020,671
1915.....	2,607,700	1,946,347
1916.....	2,808,000	2,072,702
1917.....	3,104,600	2,371,434
1918.....	3,508,400	2,736,478
1919.....	4,169,100	3,260,068
1920.....	5,110,800	4,078,740

1921.....	4,815,000	3,906,528
1922.....	4,059,400	3,195,635
1923.....	3,780,000	2,926,468
1924.....	2,865,979
1925.....	2,878,297

Wolman's study includes a comparison of the numerical strength of the various groups of unions. The following table shows the relative importance of these groups in so far as numbers count:

The Percentage of the Total Trade Union Membership in Each Group of Unions in 1923

	PER CENT.
Transportation	25.1
Building Trades	22.
Mining and Quarrying	11.
Metal, Machinery, Ship Building..	9.5
Clothing	8.
Public Service Employments.....	4.5
Paper, Printing, Bookbinding.....	4.
Theatres	2.8
Preparation of Foods, Tobacco, etc.	2.3
Leather and leather goods.....	1.9
Restaurants and trade.....	1.6
Chemicals, clay, glass, stone.....	1.2
Textiles	1.
Lumber and wood-working3
Miscellaneous	4.3

These figures show that transportation employees, the building tradesmen, and the miners make up more than half the trade union movement. If we add the machinists and clothing workers we have about three-fourths of its numerical strength. Moreover, it is the skilled craftsmen in these five employments that make up the backbone of the labor movement. Wolman's statistics show that the unskilled and the white-collar workers have not organized to any considerable extent. In the four leading organized trades women are not numerous, and, hence, the proportion of women in the total union membership is small.

Structure of the A. F. of L.

From the first table we have given, it appears that the proportion of trade unionists affiliated with the

A. F. of L. has increased since 1898. The percentages are approximately as follows:

1898.....	55 per cent.
1910.....	71 " "
1920.....	79 " "
1923.....	77 " "

The American Federation of Labor is a federation of trade unions. The term federation was deliberately chosen. The autonomy, or the right of self-government, of every affiliated union is fundamental in the organization of the Federation. It has no power to interfere with the internal organization or policies of its constituent members. It does have the power to expel unions from its membership, and has often exercised this authority. This power is of considerable importance, especially for the smaller unions. For the real power of the A. F. of L. lies in its moral influence over the labor movement. After all the strongest bond of union in organization is the force of public opinion among its membership.

The functions of the A. F. of L. are to promote the general interests of labor in so far as this is possible by influencing public opinion; to aid in the organization of new local and international unions; to promote legislation favorable to labor; and to settle trade disputes among unions in so far as this can be done without interfering with the right of each union to manage its own affairs. It is able to wield a powerful influence in carrying on any propaganda to promote labor's interests, as, for example, in combatting the open-shop drive, in agitating for the shorter work day, or in conducting a strike.

The policies of the Federation are determined by annual conventions composed of delegates representing, in 1924, 107 national and international unions, 458 local and federal unions, 49 state federations, 855 city central labor bodies, and four departments. These organizations represented over 32,000 locals.

The A. F. of L. is primarily an economic organization. That is, it is concerned mostly with the wages, hours, and conditions of employment of American workingmen. But it must necessarily deal with all kinds of social and political problems in so far as they affect the economic welfare of its membership. For example, it is much concerned about legislation to regulate child and woman labor, control of immigration, sanitary regulations applying to factories, etc., etc.

Why the A. F. of L. Has Grown in Power

It is more important to understand the reasons for the peculiar development of the A. F. of L. than to know the mere facts of its growth. And it will

help us to understand the organization, if we keep in mind that necessity has been the determining force in bringing about any peculiarity of organization, of policies, or of tactics. The most prominent leaders of the Federation have been very practical men. Their attitude of mind was well expressed by George W. Perkins in 1913 before a Congress of International Federation of Trade Unions at Zurich, Switzerland. Perkins was a delegate there representing the American Federation of Labor, and he was explaining to the Europeans the nature of the American trade union movement. He says:

"I stated that the American trade union movement was perhaps unlike the movement of a similar character in any other country, a movement peculiar unto itself; that we shaped our policies and plans to suit emergencies, environment, and existing conditions . . . that we were primarily and all the time committed to the policy of striving to improve the condition of the toiling masses through first our economic trade union movement, and, secondly, through political action, . . . but that we were not committed to any hard and fast lines economically or politically; that our system of organization economically and plans for advancement and accomplishment readily yield to the changing conditions in our industries; that the industries in America are in a state of transition and constant adjustment; that new inventions displace old methods of production and distribution; and that our movement is elastic and readily bends to meet the marvelous changes constantly taking place in our economic conditions; . . . that our movement and our activities are grounded upon experience rather than upon academic theories of the false doctrines of the past; that we live in the present and strive for a better present and a better future and shape our activities accordingly."

Gompers on the Organic Growth of Trade Unions

In many editorials and speeches Gompers expressed the same point of view. In "Seventy Years of Life and Labor," he expressed it in the following way:

"It is difficult for lawyers to understand that the most important human justice comes through other agencies than the political. Economic justice will come through the organization of economic agencies, the increasing adjustment of economic relationships in accord with principles evolved by experience, the formulation of material scientific standards, and development of the principles and co-ordinating func-

LABOR AGE

tions of management, based upon understanding of human welfare. Just where this sort of endeavor will carry us—who will say? But of this I am certain, it means progress toward a better day. Though frequently impatient with existing wrongs, I am not impatient with what sometimes seems the slow progress of the labor movement.

“My patience has rested upon the realization of facts, not upon lack of idealism or sentiment. I realized that since the labor movement is a living, sentient thing, growth comes from life within. It can be aided, directed, but not forced. Just as a plant may be cultivated and pruned, cared for in every way, still it cannot be compelled to grow or flower, so the labor movement cannot be handled or computed as material quantities.”

On another occasion Gompers said that trade unions are concerned with “improving conditions of working men, women and children to-day, to-morrow and to-morrow’s to-morrow, making each day better than the one which went before.”

The kind of growth that is here described by Perkins and Gompers is what the biologists would call functional growth. Plants and animals develop peculiar characteristics to enable them to live in whatever environment they happen to be. There are plants that manage to thrive in semi-desert regions because they have grown long roots and other means of gathering and conserving what little moisture that they can get. If horses are left to run wild, they will in a few generations develop the hardy natures that will enable them to live in the wilds.

In like manner the labor movement has developed certain forms of organization, certain policies and tactics, to meet the conditions under which working-men live. So we may find the explanation of the American labor movement largely in the peculiar conditions of industry in this country.

Conditions Affecting American Labor

The greatest development of the A. F. of L. has been since 1900; and during that time big business has had a most marvellous growth. The rise of the super-corporation, the centralization of control through the banks; and the increased use of machinery, have made industry more and more impersonal and rendered unorganized workers more helpless in their struggle for existence. Hence, there has been an impelling necessity for organization.

“The 1897 strike formed the beginning of the movement for the regeneration of the miners, and then anthracite fields were affected, but there were so many varieties of nationalities, of politics, of religious antagonisms that concerted action was practically impossible; neither trusted the other and all lost confidence in themselves. The shacks and huts in which the anthracite miners lived and the “pluck me” stores were in full blast. The miners’ families had not only to pay rent to the corporation which owned the shacks but they had to make their purchases of all the necessities of life, meager as they were, from the company stores at double the price at which they could be had at other places. If the full amount earned had not been purchased, they were haled before some overseer and threatened with eviction and discharge. The tools, gunpowder, and clothes, such as they were, all had to be purchased from the company. There was the company doctor for which the men had to pay, the company graveyard, the company parson or preacher, so that it was a common saying that children were brought into the world by the company doctor, lived in a company house or hut, were nurtured by the company store, baptized by the company parson, buried in a company coffin, and laid away in the company graveyard. Boys of ten, eight and six years of age were employed as breaker boys at the mines. The strike of the miners abolished that whole system. They secured the shorter work-day with higher pay, and from then on the miners became not merely human machines to produce coal but men and citizens, taking their place among the fairly well-paid, intelligent men, husbands, and fathers, abreast of all the people not only of their communities but of the republic. The strike was evidence of the effectiveness of trade unions even when contending against trusts.”

Here is described not only a condition of low wages and long hours but also a condition of servitude not any better than the serfdom of the middle ages. Such conditions finally overcame the nationalistic, political, and religious antagonisms that stood in the way of organization. The power of organized labor lies in the common thought and common feelings that prevail among the rank and file. And these grow out of experiences that workers have in common. Out of hard experience has grown the United Mine Workers and the solidarity that makes them perhaps the strongest union in the country. In this case the industrial union and the closed shop proved the best means to the end sought.

(Continued in next issue)

Good People Without Good Sense

A Few Words on Being My Brother's Keeper

By **BILL BROWN**, Boomer

ISN'T it funny, friends, how words can be juggled around? That's what all the lawyers have been doing for a good long time. There was a guy that I know that went in to see a lawyer about being beaten up by some coal company gunmen and having his clothes all torn up. "Well," said the lawyer, "I'll see you get damages." "I don't need damages," said the fellow that was beaten up. "I need repairs."

That's the funny thing about words: They mean so blame many different things at one and the same time. Now you take our President. He's said a mouthful about "free speech" for army and navy officers. Yes sir, he made it strong in that there speech of his at Annapolis. And then—he orders General or Colonel or Mr. Mitchell (it's hard to follow his titles) to be arrested and tried for telling the truth, I guess, about the Army and Navy. Anyway, this man Mitchell ups and says, "there's something wrong when that airship Shenandoah falls from the sky." And then, the Army and Navy high-muck-a-mucks say, "No, sir; it's all right—a little thing like that. Forget about it." And then, Mitchell says he won't forget. So, he's arrested for remembering. And the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, has him arrested—and then, goes off, you understand and makes a plea for "free speech" in the Army and Navy.

(Of course, we needn't lose sleep worrying about the officers in uniform. But that's what I'd call an "illustration.")

So, Mr. Coolidge then goes clean across the country to Omaha and again he uses words—lots of them. He pleads again—this time for "tolerance." But he don't say, you understand, what he's driving at, what or who is intolerant or anything like that. But a few weeks before or after, he and Mr. Butler are playing with an intolerant organization of sheet-buyers and working with them to beat "Bob" La-Follette. And out in that God-forsaken state of Indiana, Mr. Coolidge's party is preaching—and screeching—intolerance; and getting by on it, somehow. The peculiar thing is, history will probably point some of these days to Mr. Coolidge's speech and say what a fine courageous "utterance" it was. Maybe it will and maybe it won't. Anyway, it shows the queerness of words, you understand.

It reminds me, sort-of, of that old joke of William Jennings Bryan. You maybe remember it, but anyway it goes this way: A poor guy was hen-pecked by his wife. (Can you sympathize?) She was always at him. But one day, she surprised the old boy by calling him "a model husband." Gee, he was (what's the word?)—"elated." He stuck out his chest and went around telling his friends about it. Until—well, he ran into a cynical friend, who says: "Why get so puffed up? You better look up the meaning of that word in the dictionary." So, he looked—and there it was: "Model: A little imitation of the real thing." And he never recovered.

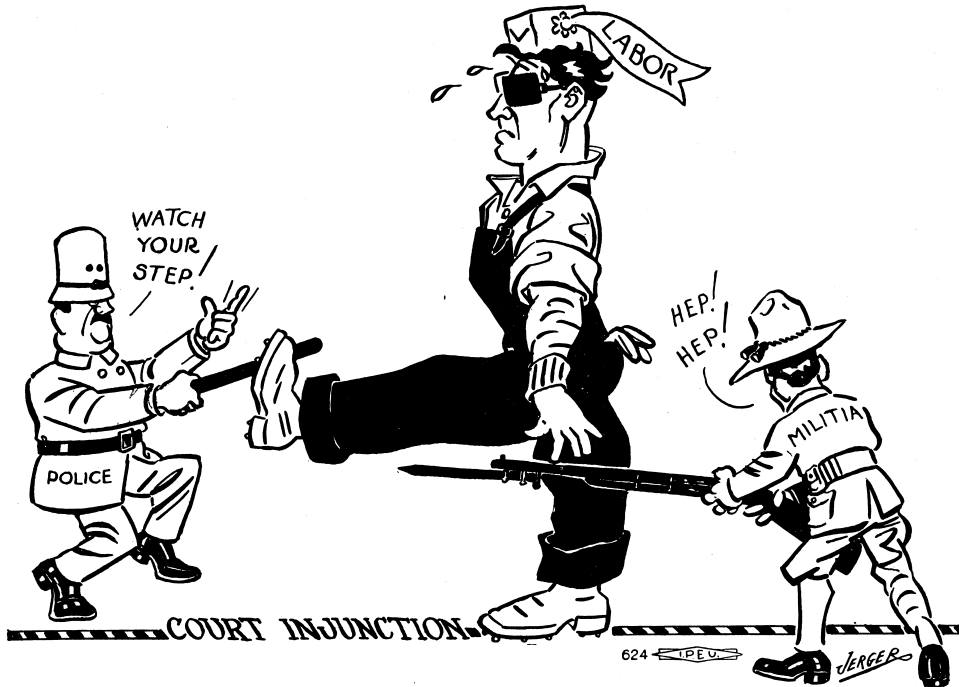
Now, this is a cold, rainy day—and I'm writing this in a dirty little "hotel" (they call it a hotel) in Steubenville, Ohio. I've just been down looking at a statue they've got here to Edwin M. Stanton, who was Secretary of War in Lincoln's cabinet. He was born here: a little man, very short, with a big beard. Well, he's the man a lot of people said ruled Lincoln—and was known, anyway, as the Great War Secretary. But I got to thinking: How many people know about him now? And here's a statue to him in this out-of-the-way place—the only one I ever saw of him. Such is fame, you understand, as they said long ago.

Yes, maybe it is that doggone rain and Stanton's statue and this here dirty scene from this here window that makes me say these things about the use of words. (After all, don't it prove I'm not a "statesman?" Even though I do like a bow-tie?)

Although, there's a lot of nice people who've said the same thing. Why, there was one old moss-back professor, who said: "Good people don't always have good sense." That hits this here nail right on the head. Because a lot of good people use good words, but make them the occasion for doggone poor action.

There seems a whale of a lot of folks today, all anxious to be their brother's keepers. That's an awful fine ambition; but it's likely to make a bushel-full of trouble. The other night I heard an orator praise up our "American liberty and tolerance"; by advising his audience to see that any "foreigner thinking red" be beaten up and deported. It was

AND THEN — THE STATE COSSACKS!



In Ohio, "The Gasoline Consumers League" is seeking to fasten the State Police on Labor. As to what that has meant in Pennsylvania, see page 20.

an awful good idea, but an awful poor suggestion. Wendell Phillips could have told him something worth while about liberty for the enemy of liberty, that would have startled him. That poor guy didn't know what liberty is; yet, he was mumbling about it at a great rate.

He's only one of many—out here in this Muddle West which centers around Indianapolis. Those particular folks are busier than a donkey with a burr under its tail, making the other fellow "100 per cent." And so busy do they get that they run their own percentages down to zero. They're trying so hard to make others "Americans" that they lose out as Americans themselves. They've got all tangled up on words, I tell you; all tangled up. When they find that out, they'll get untangled; (as they're doing now). But it's been an awful snarl.

That's the way with our bosses, too. They're good at "good" words, you know. Saying a lot

about "Industrial Democracy" and such-like; and trying to kill "Industrial Democracy" with those there fair words.

Therefore and beyond a doubt, words have got to be looked at and checked up with acts. There's been too many political and industrial "con-men," selling us Woolworth Buildings for a thousand dollars.

Though, you can say a lot of good things about words, too. It's through words—in speech and print—that progress is made. It's through words that the workers' cause is advanced. And I've got an idea—just think of that!—that group education will help us all: in telling whether words mean anything or not, and in reading between the lines. After all, you understand, I'm an optimist. The sun's come out, anyway, and this hotel looks a heap more cheerful. I guess I'll go out and look at that statue in the sunlight. Wish you could come along.

A Temple—and a Paper

As Told by JOSEPH P. KEATING and W. G. GUNTRUP



THE TEMPLE
With Which This Tale is Concerned.

ATTENTION!

THE heart of every central local labor movement is its paper—if efficiently conducted, union-owned and vigorously devoted to the message of unionism. Toledo has such a paper—perhaps the best weekly under central body control in the country. As it has succeeded, so can the local labor paper succeed in other communities. With the view of showing what can be done along this line, we present this story of the paper and the labor temple on the banks of the Maumee.

HE was talking to a representative of R. G. Dunn and Co. as I came in. "We really have no need for credit. Our business has always been run on a cash basis. When we have made widespread announcement of our financial standing and ability, it has only been a signal for our enemies to attack us to the tune of that amount. One week I published in the paper that our plant and concern as a whole were worth fully \$150,000. The next week we were sued for \$100,000. Although we won, it was inconvenient; and a free, ungagged paper must be ready to face such music."

Thus was I introduced to Joseph P. Keating, editor of the TOLEDO UNION LEADER, the weekly paper owned by the Central Labor Union of that city. The paper has attracted attention all through the country because of its attractive make-up, breezy style and financial success. Today its plant is wholly paid for, and the wolf is as far away from

the door as it can be in the case of a publication delivering a message opposed to the opinions and wishes of those in economic power. The victory of the UNION LEADER over the numerous obstacles which lay in its way was a far-reaching victory for the freedom of the organized workers. In every community the welfare of the movement is closely tied up with the efficiency and virility of its local labor paper. Where the paper is merely a collection of scraps thrown loosely together, the movement is not benefited, to say the least. Where the paper is attractive, appealing to the individual member of the various locals, telling a real story of union problems and progress, then the movement has a great asset on its side. And the local daily press, under those circumstances, is much more willing to grant favorable and widespread publicity to labor's activities. "Nothing succeeds like success," in this field as everywhere else—and thus can the union message

be gotten out, all the time, to a larger and larger group of the unorganized.

The Unfavorable Start

Now, the UNION LEADER'S success was not purchased without some severe sacrifices, battles and losses along the way. The long and short of it, as given in a comparatively few words by Mr. Keating, runs as follows:

"It was in April, 1907, that the paper was launched, under the popular editorship of James P. Egan, now with the American Federation of Labor News Service. Mr. Egan's style attracted many readers, and the organ became an immediate influence in the city. Its business problems, however, were slow in being solved. When I came into the job 10 years later, we could only boast the usual inefficient equipment of the labor paper. A corner room of no size or consequence had been allotted the paper in the building at that time rented by the Central Labor Union. A typewriter, not fully paid for, a table taken from the auditorium and a number of receipts and a checkbook were the sole visible property. Paydays were uncertain, and starvation was always staring the editor and the publication itself in the face."

This was, putting it mildly, not an encouraging situation to confront any man or movement.

"But we immediately began to change our methods. A business way of doing things was inaugurated. Business equipment was introduced. If we were to succeed, I could see we would have to secure our own printing establishment. The war was on, and printers were becoming scarce. We were constantly faced with the possibility of the paper's suspension because of the shop's inability to handle our work. There was but one thing to do: inform the membership that if they wanted a paper that would be permanent, that they would have to buy a plant. While that subject was being discussed, we were compelled to move our printing to the press-room of the German paper, which was being handicapped in its own work by the war. There we were always in danger of being pushed out by the anti-union forces, who have always been vigorously on the job against us in Toledo."

Purchasing a Plant

As a result, this is what took place:

"Organization work at that time, 1917, was then at its height. There was general enthusiasm over the future of the Labor Movement. We took advantage of this spirit to carry our project to the membership of the local unions. We borrowed certain sums from the various well-intrenched unions, at

that time in a prosperous condition. With that, we purchased our printing equipment.

"It was only a short time until we were able to pay back these loans. The paper prospered right from the start. A good advertising man was secured from out of our own ranks—a member of the Machinists' Union—who knew not only how to get advertising but how to discriminate between fair and unfair advertising. In other words, he had the rare quality of knowing how to get ads and how not to get them. That is an essential feature of a local labor paper, because unfair advertising destroys confidence in the paper among the membership, and has a bad effect upon its editorial policy—so much so that it is in danger, under any other conditions, of failing entirely in its objective of serving Labor openly and fearlessly."

That the Toledo paper has served openly and fearlessly there can be no doubt. One of the effects of this loyal service was the \$100,000 law suit to which Mr. Keating referred in his talk to the Dunn man. The incident arose thusly:

"We had plenty of ups and downs, even at that. Just as we were getting well under way, the Armistice was signed. The Open Shop drive immediately began. The Willys-Overland Company was one of those in the van of this drive. Strikebreakers were brought in, to defeat the union men. Many soldiers, quartered in the Armory, were sworn in by Mayor Cornell Schreiber as a 'Citizens Army,' to aid the Overland people. One evening, without valid excuse, this 'army' swooped down on the crowds before the plant, opened fire under the leadership of their 'commander,' a man by the name of Speck, killed a bystander sitting on his front porch, and injured a number of little children. It was an outrage, and we characterized it as such.

The \$100,000 Suit

"We denounced the attack as a Kaiseristic action, by the army of 'General Von Speck, under the control of Schreiber.' The anti-union forces and the jellyfish Mayor answered by a libel suit for \$100,000. Not only did they direct this against the officers of the Union Publishing Co. and of the Central Labor Union but against every member of organized labor affiliated with the latter body. Stories went out that every home would be attached, and open threats were made that any transfers of property would be regarded as fraudulent. The object of such threats was obvious. Fear was to be thrown into the hearts of the labor men and women. In the end, we won the battle in the courts. But for the

time, it was a matter of stress and strain to us all—and tested to the full the fighting qualities of our local movement.”

“What is the basis of the success of the paper?” Mr. Keating was asked. His reply:

“One of the things that has made the paper perhaps more attractive than the general run of labor papers has been that we have been at pains to inject matters of personal and individual appeal to the membership into the paper. We have tried to interest the people in the subscribers’ homes—not one but every member of the family circle. With that in mind, we have just started a woman’s page. We have always made free use of pictures and cartoons—and for that purpose, have subscribed to several feature services. These are not expensive and add immensely to the drawing power of the paper. A column of personal happening and anecdotes of a local character is run regularly.”

Mr. Keating is sold to the importance of his job, and believes “the local labor paper to be one of the most necessary things for any effective local labor movement.”

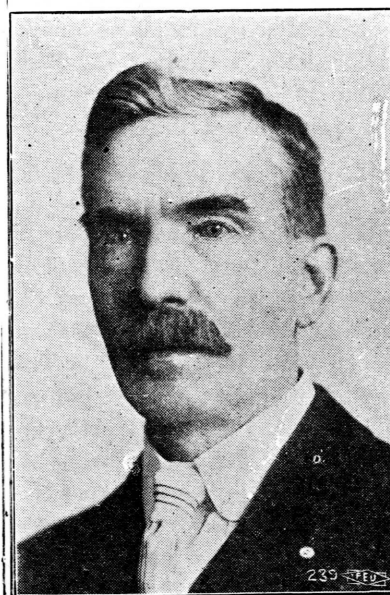
So there you are. Success came, but after intelligent and serious effort. The attractive qualities of the weekly were its great selling point. It has not merely been a duty, but a pleasure for the membership in Toledo to subscribe to it. They have found it personally interesting as well as full of labor information. We recommend all central bodies thinking in terms of a labor paper that will really do the job for them, to get in touch with the editor of this eminently successful undertaking.

A live labor paper has its reflection in the attitude of the daily press, the Toledo example shows. Scarce had the organ of the central body displayed real force and demonstrated that a vigorous message, attractively delivered, would produce a following when the dailies began to expand the space given to the labor cause. There was real anxiety to bolster up labor pages and labor columns. Keating was offered a flattering proposition by one of the big papers, to run a daily labor column and “write his own check.” But his question as to “what would happen if an industrial dispute broke out in the factory or shop of one of the paper’s big advertisers” stumped the proprietor, and stopped any thought of that for all time. As it is, in the city on the Maumee, Labor receives more consideration than in most other cities. This is in marked contrast to the city of Pittsburg, where privately-owned papers have cursed the local movement, and where the local press,

until recently at least, has been decidedly meager in labor news.

Another rallying point of the Toledo unions has been the labor temple—a problem which has caused pain and worry to many a city movement, and to which this particular house of the workers has been no exception. “Although we took the place over in 1919,” President W. C. Guntrup of the Toledo Labor Building Company put it, “we are far from owning it, and at this time we are going through another serious crisis.”

But the temple is there, on the corner of Jefferson and Michigan Streets—an important corner—and



“THE PAPER”

A gentleman with whose work we deal herewith.

its history is of interest and value to other bodies in other cities. As given by Mr. Guntrup, it is something like this:

“The driving motive in starting this temple was the doing away with the saloons. Most of the halls in the city were, in the old days, controlled by saloon keepers. The passage of the saloon, we foresaw, would shut the unions out of the halls. Who would secure them was a matter of doubt—probably the enemies of the movement, as did turn out to be the case. The natural thing to do in the situation was the thing we decided upon—to have the entire union groups housed in a suitable institution for closer co-operation. Six years ago that decision was translated into action, and we acquired the building where our unions now are housed.

Getting the Building

"Seeing the necessity for quick steps, we secured this building, with its frontage of 100 feet on Jefferson Street, also a business street. The option was obtained for \$5,000, which was to be applied to the purchase price if the deal were closed. As a preliminary we had attempted to raise money for the original purchase price by means of a trade stamp, redeemable with local merchants. This was done through the medium of a paper dime process, patented by a private concern. The merchants, with every ten dollar purchase, accepted \$9 in cash and a book of paper dimes, which had been purchased from us by the individual members. This one dollar was rebated to the unions. The scheme did not prove a success, however. The membership raised a number of points in opposition, including the fact that the matter was being handled by this outside company gaining profits from the venture.

"Learning from this, we proceeded after securing the option, to issue bonds. These bore 6 per cent. interest in denominations of ten, twenty, fifty and one hundred dollars. These we started out to sell to the membership. It was thought that there would be a wide response, due to the fact that we had all been educated to bond buying by the Government during the war. We exchanged our bonds for Government bonds that our members held, making the exchange at par value. While this brought us ready money to meet our obligations, it meant a loss to the movement at that time. We were able through this means to make our first payment of \$100,000, and thus acquire title—subject to the mortgage of the original owner.

"The total purchase price, under the agreement, was \$300,000—to be paid at the rate of \$40,000 per year. Our idea was that with every member purchasing at least a \$10 bond, and with some doing even better, we could easily raise \$300,000. With the breaking up of the war industries our chances to make this go went fleeting, after we had obtained \$126,000 in this way. Then, we were confronted with the difficulty of 'moving' more bonds and with the problem of getting up some proposition that would raise funds to meet our payments.

In Danger!

Soon the unions found themselves facing a crisis in regard to their building, as a result of this difficulty. They were in danger of falling into the hands of their anti-union enemies. This is how it came about and how that serious situation was warded off:

"Three years ago, we fell back on our payments. The original owner expressed himself in favor of waiting, because he knew that the depression had affected us badly. To our surprise, only three days after his statement to that effect, we received a letter from the firm of Tracey, Chapman and Wells, declaring that under the terms of the contract we had forfeited all right to make further payments in the old way by defaulting on one, and that therefore there was due and payable immediately the entire remaining amount of \$174,000. If this were not forthcoming within three days, foreclosure proceedings would be instituted. Now, Tom Tracy, the senior member of this firm, is the chief spokesman of the local 'Open Shop' forces; so, we realized that we had to face our most relentless enemies. Inquiry revealed that options had been secured mysteriously on all available halls in the city, and thus we were in a desperate way. Little did our opponents think that we could raise the amount demanded in such a short time.

"We ourselves hardly realized that it could be done. Our first thought was to go to the Locomotive Engineers' Bank in Cleveland, they having suggested at one time that they might be of help in a pinch. Their board gave our case lengthy and sympathetic consideration, but their banking laws prohibited them from assisting us. If we could spar for time, they suggested that they could send a representative to New York to try to arrange the matter with some financial house there.

The "Flints" Help

"But we could not wait for that, as we knew we could not win time from our opponents. On the way back we hit on the thought of going to the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, whose international office is located in Toledo. Frank Mulholland, our attorney, who accompanied the officers of the Labor Building Company to Cleveland, is also attorney for the 'Flints,' and I am an old member of that union. We put the case before President William P. Clarke, and he did the generous and fine thing for us. Consenting to the loan of the entire amount himself, he had to go to Pittsburgh to consult three other members of the Board there—including the Secretary, Charles Shipman. Riding all night to Pittsburgh, he got their favorable answer and then coming back immediately with the secretary, the amount was secured and the payment made. The 'Flints' thereby took over the mortgage held by the original owner. The investment, by the way, was an excellent one, for the building has rapidly increased in value. It is worth something around \$500,000.

"That left us resting easier for a time. But we had given a promise to President Clarke that we would raise the amount through stock-selling. The 'Flints' could not tie their money up indefinitely in our building, and so we faced the task of clearing off that obligation. We therefore added a preferred stock issue to our common stock. The latter, which is the voting stock, can only be held, by our charter, by a trade union, auxiliary, or national organization. We asked the local unions to stimulate the preferred stock sale, to assess themselves 50 cents a month per member, for which they were to be given a preferred stock stamp, to be redeemed in the office of the Labor Building Company when they filled up their folder, holding 20 stamps or \$10 worth. They then were to receive their stock certificate.

"The matter of assessments in many organizations is so hedged in, that this was a difficult and in many cases an impossible matter. In some unions, also, we would attend the meetings and secure favorable action on an assessment, when others, who had not attended and did not understand, immediately showed up at the next meeting and got the action modified or rescinded. That left us, in the main, again relying on individual stock-selling. Only a few unions went along on the assessment feature 100 per cent. The voluntary method of selling stamps meant that only the most dyed-in-the-wool, true-blue, educated organized workers bought the stamps. The others did not understand the value of the temple. We then resorted to automobile raffles, which were not great successes, and to a carnival in the building itself. This was a rather remarkable experience for us, for none of us had any experience with any carnivals of this sort. All the side halls were turned into booths, the big lobbies being used for the promenade. Both the second and third floors were devoted to the carnival. It is interesting to know that we cleared about \$2,500 from this—practically all of it on what was known as the KLONDIKE, where a replica of old Klondike days was staged. The other concessions either lost or broke even. Dances were inaugurated, but not enough money could be realized readily in this way to make them worth while. We have now to go back to the job of getting at the individual members of the local movement, and selling them stock direct, in their homes or work places.

"A force of 225 salesmen from our ranks has been secured thus far. Within a few days these salesmen will go out to meet the workers in their homes and sell the preferred stock to them. If that effort fails, we will face a very serious dilemma.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE "AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST"

IMPROVEMENT is scarcely the word to use in commenting on the new dress and contents of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, the official organ of the A. F. of L. It has grown, rather, into a new costume and into a new way of handling things that is a fine portent of what is to occur to the labor press as whole in the years to come.

More vital is both the message and the presentation of the union gospel in the pages of recent issues of the magazine. The October issue's range of subjects is inviting, the introduction of pictures is helpful and the general advancement in style is quite marked. Long ago LABOR AGE commented: "The union message is not less effective when gotten over in an attractive way. Indeed, that is the soul of its effectiveness." The AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST is a tribute to this fact, now becoming so generally recognized.

"We have to contend with many obstacles, not the least of which has been the attacks upon us, open and covert, of our enemies. They have resorted to every known method to destroy the reputation of the building, to deflect possible renters from us and to injure our progress. Our Labor Club, which occupies the commodious and nicely furnished quarters in the rear, has been our mainstay—but even that has not been let alone. Its reputation has been attacked, while the Toledo Club, the 'home' of the wealthy and business classes of this city, has been allowed to go on its way without the whisper of suspicion."

Thus, we have another tale of labor endeavor. It has many cloudy chapters. But it has a moral for those who are thinking of similar attempts elsewhere. And it is encouraging to note, that in the midst of industrial depression, this persistence in group effort goes on. It is a persistence that can and will do bigger things, when the industrial pendulum swings toward a real "Industrial Democracy," as it is now slowly beginning to swing, and as it will move more rapidly in the future—just as "Political Democracy" came slowly and painfully, but nevertheless surely, in the days that are gone.

Manhandlers in Uniform

Gruesome Tales of Rape and Club Rule

(REPRINTED BY REQUEST)

I. SNOW SHOE

IF you are on a ramble through the Central Pennsylvania hill country, your fancy may take you up through Tyrone, then to Phillipsburg and beyond, up the Moshannon River. With sufficient determination you will hit the little town of Snow Shoe, cut off pretty much from the world around, not to speak of the world in general. Its postoffice is at Clarence, a few miles away.

One evening in 1918 a shout of alarm rang out from one of the small houses of the town. A man toppled over, dead. He had been felled to the floor by the blow of a club. Of those in the house, none could account for the death. All they knew was that several of their number had been drinking heavily. The evidence seemed to point to the guilt of a William Luckasavage and he was tried but found not guilty.

Four years passed by and the murder was almost forgotten. Then, out of a clear sky, it was revived again.

It all centered around Andy Lesko—Andrew W. Lesko, to be exact, a citizen of Slavic descent. Andy had come to Snow Shoe many years before, had married, and was now the father of a family of four children. He was a good workman—but he was a union man. And thereby hung the tale of what happened to Andy.

The big strike of 1922 was looming on the miners' horizon. It was to be a serious business. District 2 intended to pull out non-union as well as union men. As President of the Clarence local, Andy began his missionary work among the non-union brethren. Joining hands with John Soltis, organizer of the district, he went his rounds among the black sheep, urging them to come into the union fold. "Strike" was in the air and he was preparing for it as best he could.

Then his activities were suddenly suspended. Like a bolt out of the blue, the state police stepped into the picture. Lesko was arrested without his attorney being present or notified.

He was taken "up town" to the Reading Hotel in Snow Shoe. They arrived there at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately put him in a room on the second floor. One policeman remained with him.

"You will be killing people, will you?" blurted out the policeman, threateningly.

Andy had done nothing wrong that he knew of and denied having taken part in any murder. When he refused to answer the policeman further, the gentleman in uniform kicked him on the shins.

"Why don't you answer?" he demanded and kicked the miner again and again.

"Ask me a decent question," came back Andy, "that I can answer and I will." Thereupon the "officer" handcuffed the miner to the bed in the room and left him there.

But he was to be at peace for only a short time. In a few minutes the door opened and in came "McHugh," the brute of the coal region. Detectives and plain clothesmen followed. They asked him in detail about the murder, about his possession of dynamite, which every miner has for his work, and harassed him for four hours, trying to force him to a confession. They cursed him and beat him, both there and in the Snow Shoe jail, until his face was swollen and sore.

They took his overcoat away from him and took the blanket off the cot in the jail cell. The night was cold and he was obliged to walk up and down to keep warm. Then they took him to the offices of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company and questioned him again in the presence of a number of policemen. The questioning availed them nothing. Beating seemed a more certain path to results. So they set upon him, knocking him about until his head struck the wall many times.

The scene continued, in his own quaint words:

"McHugh came in and said, 'Sofko told me you did it and you try to tell me you didn't,' and then McHugh got to the right of the big fellow that was holding me and McHugh hit me in the jaw with his fist. It knocked me to my knees, but the big fellow held me. Then the big fellow held my arm straight and McHugh hit me under the arms and on my sides where there were no ribs. They hit me many times. My lip was bleeding and my body was hurting all over where they hit me when they stretched my muscles.

"The blood ran down my face as I was on my knees. McHugh helped lift me up. As I went out the door McHugh tried to kick me, but missed.

"As I went out through another room one policeman said to Sheriff Dukeman, or whatever the sheriff's name is, 'That's the president of the Local Union at Clarence,' and the sheriff said, 'Is that the fellow?'"

"I smelled whiskey on the sheriff's breath and also on the policeman. The sheriff let me loose on the porch for a minute and I stood there until he put the handcuffs on me and then put me in a taxi. Four other men, John Kachik, Andy Soltis, Joe Kachik and Joe Korkas, were arrested. I asked them 'You in too?' They said they were, for quite awhile. They were covered with bruises on their faces and all of them told me they were hurt, too. Soltis' lips were swelled and he looked like he had been given hard beatings.

"They took us to Bellefonte jail. That night I could not sleep. I could not lie down as my body was so sore. I walked most of the time, but sat on the cot some. My face was badly swollen. I was so sore that I suffered for two weeks or over from beating. My right cheek, inside, was cut deep by McHugh's blow. Under my arms and on my sides I was very sore and bruised. The next morning I was so sore that I could not eat."

Finally, his wife was admitted to see him, she got counsel and the help of a priest and the union, his case went to trial and in a few minutes the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty."

Snow Shoe and neighborhood saw many other similar cases of beatings and browbeatings by the state police during that same year. District 2 was the center of their brutalities during the strike that broke out shortly after Andy Lesko's experience.

It is but another chapter of the long White Terror in the Pennsylvania hill country, first exposed by James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, ten years ago. It is the old terror that struck fear into the hearts of the families of the steel strikers in Pittsburgh, Bethlehem, McKees Rock and the other historic bloody battlegrounds of the American Labor Struggle.

II. RAPE

IT is midnight, a May night, May Day itself.

The little mining town of Windber is asleep. It lies, if you will glance at the map of Somerset County, only a hop, skip and jump from smoky, fuming Johnstown. For years it had been one of the centers of non-union coal, produced by the Berwind-White Company.

Now, in 1922, the men are on strike. They have

hearkened to the call of their brothers in District 2, and have marched out to a man. The event has become a great crusade, comparable only to the surging religious movements of the Middle Ages.

In the home of John Rykola, industrious miner and striker, everyone has retired. The little house sits on the outskirts of Windber, where the town runs into the farm country. John's wife, Catherine, is in the house, his three small children, his brother Tom and himself.

Without warning, the peace of the night is broken. The door is forced, with a loud noise. Ten gunmen of the Berwind-White Company, dignified by the name of "special police," enter the miner's home.

Rykola and his brother are awakened from their sleep at the point of a gun. They are forced to go downstairs in their underwear. A pretense of a search is made. Clothes are tossed about and trunks are looked into. Then the policemen demand that Rykola return to work, or they will "jug" him on a moonshine charge. Rykola replies that he will remain loyal to his fellow-strikers.

(What a fine thing that, this man awakened in the dead of night. Threatened with dire threats and yet standing true to the principles of unionism and the Labor Fight. He is a hero as much as the men who suffered through the long winter at Valley Forge for the same ideal of Liberty).

While seven of these thugs—recruited from the vermin of the cities—are questioning the miner, three of them ascend the stairs and prowl around above. One of them enters the bedroom where Mrs. Rykola is nursing her nine-months old child.

An indecent remark brings the woman to her feet in terror. Holding her baby at her breast, she gazes at the fellow in paralyzed fear. With more vile language, much of which Catherine Rykola did not understand, he seized her by the arm. Dazed from the shock of being thus brutally awakened, intimidated by the flashlight and drawn revolver in his hands, the little Polish woman lost her power of speech.

In this brutal fashion, still holding the revolver, he forces her to submit to his attack. She faints. Just as she does so, two other thugs look into the room, attracted by the cries of her baby, which the assailant, one Roy Hedges, had pushed to the floor.

The name of the assailant is known. He struts through the town of Windber all through the strike. The sovereign state of Pennsylvania does nothing to him. To this day he remains unpunished. It was only the wife of a worker who was raped.

III. CLUB RULE

MASONTOWN, near the West Virginia border, and Spring.

In other cities, nice professors are talking ponderously about the law of supply and demand to flapper and flopper students, thinking only of baseball and of "love"; even nicer preachers are breathing sweet scented sentences to tickle the palates of their rich pewholders, in the name of the revolutionary Nazarene; very much nicer bankers, immaculately attired, are bound for the golf links and a little case of Scotch, to babble maudlinly later on about the curse of "Bolshevism" and the glories of the "American Plan."

Out in Fayette County, in Masontown itself, the miners are preparing for a meeting, a strikers' meeting, a great revival meeting in the Movement for Human Brotherhood.

The assemblage is to take place "on the other side of the town," out in the open country. Chief of Police Meegan of Masontown has given them permission to march through the place to their meeting ground.

The day arrives—Monday morning. The miners' march begins, an orderly and quiet walk through the main streets. Chief Meegan is engaged in the task of assisting little children across the street to school, out of harm's way of the machine traffic.

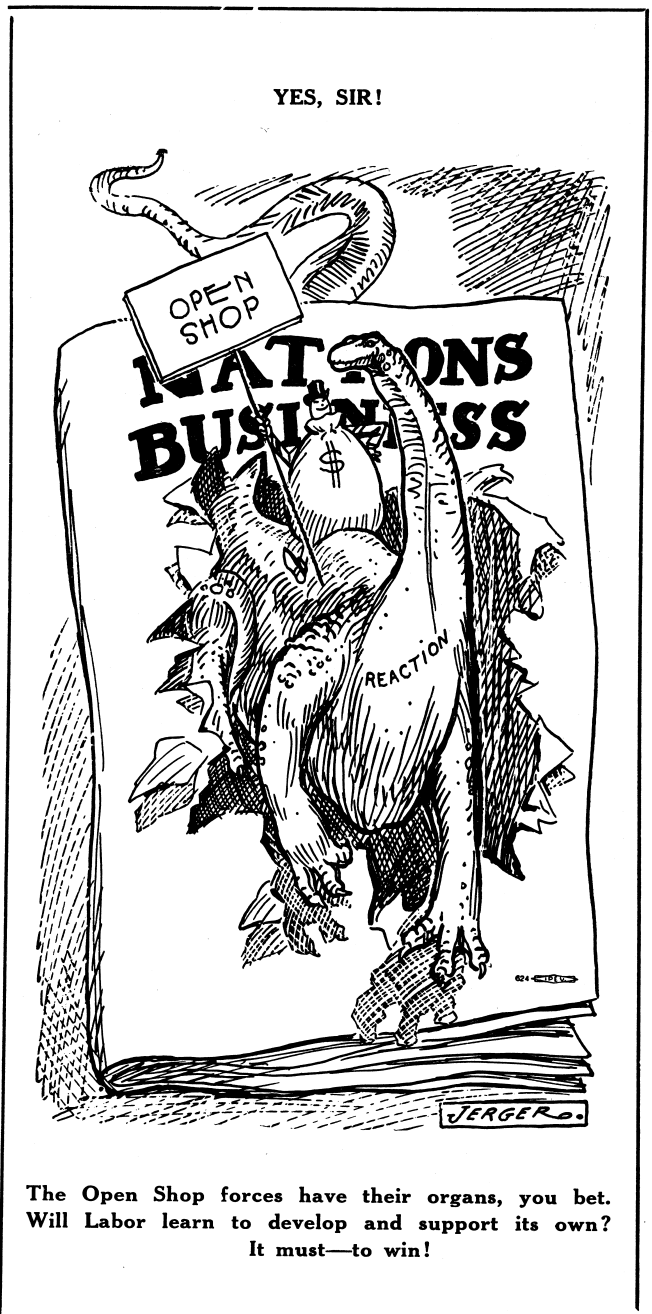
Suddenly, down the streets comes the thud of the state troopers' horses. Seven abreast, they ride into the town, charge down the main street, riding not only on the thoroughfare, but on the sidewalks also. They drive the miners ahead like cattle, without a word of explanation.

In front of Frank Connell's drug store they knock a woman down with one of their horses. The citizens are forced to flee for safety into stores and doorways. The miners are swept along, the troopers cursing them and threatening them as they run.

Chief Meegan says, "I had not asked for them, the burgess had not asked. They were doing the bidding of the coal companies."

Only one of the episodes which kept Masontown in terror all through the 1922 strike! Throughout Fayette County, the thug, slugger and kidnapper were at work, aided and abetted by the state police. Murder of the most cowardly sort blackened the dark record. At New Geneva, at the edge of Fayette, three men were shot down in cold blood in their tents in the miners' tent colony by drunken gunmen of the coal companies. The sons of one of the dead

YES, SIR!



The Open Shop forces have their organs, you bet. Will Labor learn to develop and support its own? It must—to win!

men was in the army at the time of the killing—urged to go by their patriotic father. The murderer, L. C. Lincoln, was arrested and taken to the Union-town Jail—and that was the last of it!

Case after case, one more brutal than the other, runs through the 96-page printed report of John P. Guyer to Governor Gifford Pinchot on the activities of the "Pennsylvania Cossacks." They have transported Czarist Russia to Industrial America, and made our Constitution and Declaration of Independence, hollow mockeries.

LABORGRAMS

Here and There—and By the Way

Toledo's central body has created an educational committee, under the chairmanship of H. L. McCoy of the Printing Pressmen. A labor college is contemplated.

* * *

Ohio is confronted with a fight over the attempted introduction of state constabulary. The so-called Gasoline Consumers League of Columbus is backing the proposal. The Ohio Federation of Labor is leading the fight to squelch it. Moral: Be on the lookout for similar attempts in other states. Pennsylvania and West Virginia experience is enough.

* * *

Cleveland's Trade Union Promotional League is proving one of the secrets of the success of that vigorous central body movement. It is constantly carrying on an educational drive for union products throughout the city, through mass meetings and things of that sort. During the past month, it has been engaged in showing its own film at several local theatres, with advertising of the labor movement accompanying the exhibition. Secretary William Dawson of the Cigar Makers Union 17, who is the active spirit in the Promotional League, reports that interest in union labor and its problems has increased greatly since the coming of the league to the Fourth City.

* * *

"Talk about the union checkoff demanded by the miners and the closed shop," says General Vice-President J. M. Patterson of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. "The checkoff for company union dues exists on the Chicago and Alton and other roads, enforced by the company whether the men wish it or not. The dues are taken out of the paycheck and there is no argument about it. Every man must join. That's all there is to the 'openshopness' of the so-called 'Open Shop.'" Through the courtesy of Brother Patterson, LABOR AGE will soon run an article on this important subject. It will be an eye-opener to union men and unorganized alike.

* * *

President Nigro of District 15 of the United Mine Workers reports that unrest has set in among the Colorado miners working under the Rockefeller "Industrial Democracy" plan. Another move toward unionization is on foot. Of course, that is the inevitable result of the company union idea. It cannot last; for men will not be subject to the fraud upon them that "company unionism" entails.

Signs of the new life in the Labor Movement are seen in the campaign being gotten under way in St. Louis for trade union education and organization. National Organizer J. T. Conboy of the American Federation of Labor is in charge of the campaign. The St. Louis movement already has an aggressive Promotional League on the job, the first of its character in the country.

* * *

The annual report of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America reveals a membership in good standing of 328,668. An additional 20,532 members are in three to six months arrears and therefore not entitled to sick or death benefits. A further honorary membership of 15,973 is enrolled—making a grand total of 365,173 members.

* * *

Municipal ownership still looms up as Labor's only hope in the street railway field. But municipal ownership secured at a proper valuation. San Francisco's unions are opposing the proposed acquisition of the Market Street car line by the city, because the price of \$36,000,000 is too high—and rightly so. Seattle's experience shows that the old phrase "buy them at any price to obtain municipal control" is a false one. In Toledo, as in other cities, the so-called "compromise" scheme known as the Milner plan, has broken down. Even with a 10-cent fare, the company is giving poor service and the workers are in hot water. The local unions are agitating for action by the city, which was promised quite a time ago. City ownership is the only solution on the horizon at present.

* * *

Speeding-up in the Postal System is being fought by the National Federation of Postal Employees. Chicago introduced the system, which has provoked the workers. They contend that it does not add to their efficiency or welfare, but is the occasion for jealousy, discord and disorganization. Representative Schneider of Wisconsin is to introduce a bill in the coming Congress abolishing the system.

* * *

Niles and Steubenville, Ohio, have live Educational Committees—and are looking around for means to start Labor Classes. Youngstown, also.

Labor History in the Making

IN THE U. S. A.

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

IT'S JUST BEGUN!

NO greater reproach faces America today than the continuance of child slavery. The little workers in the Western beet fields, in the cranberry bogs of New Jersey, in the tubercular-breeding textile mills of the South are injuring themselves and destroying the welfare of the fathers and mothers of other children.

American Labor stands in the forefront of the fight to wipe out this great evil. It will not rest until child labor has been completely abolished. At Atlantic City, President Green stated that the A. F. of L. "has just begun its fight" for this urgent reform—through the passage of the amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Heartening us in this struggle is the news that comes from Georgia, citadel in the past of the child-exploiting interests. A new labor law, going into effect on January first, prohibits the employment of children under 14 years of age in manufacturing establishments and forbids their employment in hazardous industries when less than 17. The cotton fields are left untouched—but another nail, nevertheless, has been driven into the coffin of child exploitation.

The news should encourage us to keep up the fight, even against great odds, until it has been won.

THAT OLD FIGHTING SPIRIT

REVIVAL" is the word that expresses the new development in America's Labor Movement.

The slight numerical gain in membership, reported by the A. F. of L. at Atlantic City, is not the only indication of a change from the depressing days of after-war Reaction.

There is a new spirit "down in the grass roots," as the old term runs. The Canton, Ohio, Central Labor Union—to give an example—has been completely reorganized. Its membership is increasing, it has begun a small weekly under its own ownership and control—the STARK COUNTY LABOR NEWS—and has again launched out into public activities. Its secretary, C. R. Kramer, reports that it looks forward to an even bigger year in 1926.

The central bodies in the smaller towns have been encouraged by the action of the A. F. of L. at Atlantic City in insisting upon a revival of interest among local unions in the central organization in their city. This marks the "unionization of union men" that will serve as a solid basis for the "unionization of the unorganized." New locals are again springing up—as the new branch of the International Upholstery Workers in Cleveland, for example—the TRADE UNION PROMOTIONAL LEAGUE is continuing a vigorous educational drive in many

cities, and the whole outlook of many organizations has been changed.

The new spirit of unity is having its effect in this revival. Out through the country, the representatives of the United Hatters of North America and of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers are carrying a message of united action in the headgear industry to the central bodies and local unions. These unions, formerly at loggerheads, are now joined in a campaign for an understanding of their problems and a wider purchase of their products among other union men.

Workers' Education is playing a larger and larger part in this revival. This "educational arm" of the Movement is becoming a set feature of central union activities. It is only a question of time until the "Labor College" will be a regular feature of local labor action in every American city. It will add to the old fighting spirit of the organized workers—which has carried them to so many victories in the past.

BACKWASH OF THE KLAN WAVE

WHITE Protestant supremacy is the issue in this election. Disregard all friendship, lodge, church or union affiliations and vote for this ticket of 100 per cent. Klansmen."

AMERICAN PLAN GLEE—MAYBE

So ran the "clothespin" ticket—composed of the local Republican candidates and the "United Protestant" school slate—distributed in the November Indianapolis election. Despite a light vote the ticket was successful. Largely, throughout Indiana, the result was the same. The Klan, which captured the Governorship a year ago, was pretty effectively victorious in the municipal elections.

In neighboring Ohio events took a different turn. Much of the ground gained by the hooded order was lost. Even Akron registered a turnabout face in the election of the new school board. The Klan wave is clearly receding in the country as a whole.

It is leaving a backwash, however, deserving of attention. Wherever racial and religious prejudice

THE BUSINESS PRESS ON THE COAL STRIKE

WE note that William Frew Long, manager of the American Plan Association of Cleveland, has made a report. In 265 printed pages he has given "an account of his stewardship."

Mr. Frew Long tells his employers that the A. P. A. has been a success. "Public opinion," he states, "has been changing to a position more favorable to the open shop in industry." His association's membership, he announces, has increased 32 per cent. in 1923 and 1924, and is second only to San Francisco and Los Angeles in size in the country.

An analysis of the report, given in the CLEVELAND PLAIN-DEALER, including its emphasis on "card indexing" and "blacklisting," goes on to say:

Succeeding sections discuss publicity and employment activities, methods of strike prevention and opposition, "union organizing schemes," information service to members, answers to open shop criticism, comments on city and radical politics and an explanation of the association's group membership.

The association's groups regularly holding meetings were those composed of employers in dairy products, painting, candy making, ferrous and non-ferrous foundries, electric industries, machine tool building, pattern manufacturing, brass plumbing supplies, auto body building and window cleaning.

Small trade organizations continue to give up their separate identity and merge with the association, Long says, mentioning among such groups the Founders' Association of Cleveland.

The most valuable accomplishment of the executives' and employment managers' group, according to the report, is found in the degree to which it has abolished "labor pirating," or "stealing" of help between plants.

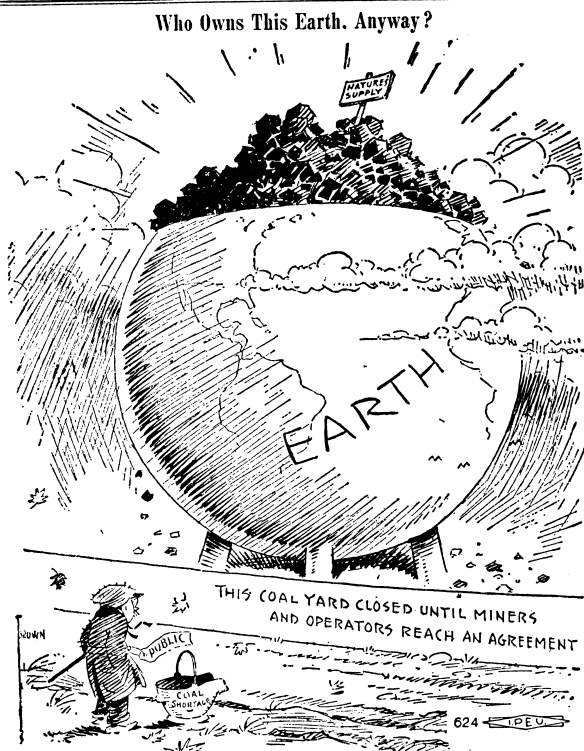
Activities of the employment department included in 1923 a "labor scout" service which obtained help from other cities.

The suggestion is made that the city council require a license fee to reduce the amount of scouting in Cleveland by outside concerns. The employment department aims to become the labor supply center of Cleveland, the report says.

As a means of strike prevention, employers are urged to inquire of prospective employees the names of preceding employers and to telephone the previous employers for a record of the new employee. This, it is suggested, would tend to keep out "agitators and other undesirables."

Mr. Frew Long's outlook is naturally optimistic in his view of the "Open Shop" movement. But he cannot conceal the fact that there are flies in the ointment. The attitude of the National Catholic Welfare Council, the Federal Council of Churches and the Central Council of American Rabbis—all of whom have condemned the "Open Shop" as being merely a "Closed Shop against Union Labor"—has deeply disturbed and annoyed him. He wants something done about it.

His insistence on "blacklisting" schemes indicates that he is not so sure of how long the "Open Shop" can continue. Repression of that sort is always a sure sign of fear. He knows that it is only repression that is maintaining the "American Plan" where it



Cincinnati Enquirer

But we ask—untrue as this picture is in part: "Why not, then, Nationalization?"

has raised its head, Organized Labor has suffered. Division has cut deep. Worker has been set against worker. In Indianapolis this is particularly the case, although some of the wounds of this internal fighting are now being healed. The explicit instruction of the hooded order "to disregard all union affiliations" tells its own story.

With its usual virility, Union Labor has come through the Klan difficulty just as it has pulled through the Open Shop Campaign. But the individual worker has had a lesson in the sorry effects of intolerance on the welfare of the organized masses.

LABOR AGE

does exist and that beneath its surface of oppression there is plenty of dynamite. Mr. Frew Long must know something of American Industrial History—even though the Bourbons employing him may not—and that history shows that Labor crushed to earth, only rises again stronger than ever—with increased power and increased demands.

IN ONE DAY'S NEWS

FROM THE PITTSBURGH PRESS of November 8th, we glean these news items:

FAIRMONT, W. VA.—Congregation to give clothing to the families of striking miners in the Union Barracks. The women and children are suffering from the cold, and Rev. Geo. E. Bevans of the First Presbyterian Church has enlisted the aid of his congregation in the relief work, “regardless of the labor controversy.”

DUBOIS, PA.—The Buffalo and Susquehanna Coal Company issues a bulletin threatening to fine miners \$1 a day for “sympathy strike,” and evict them from company houses. President John Brophy of District 2, U. M. W. of A., declares the union will seek legal redress, if the company takes such “unwarranted” action.

FAIRMONT, W. VA.—Two union miners—Mike Kolish and David Melish—are sentenced to four-year terms in Moundsville State Prison, for alleged assault on “scab,” working under Rockefeller-Bethlehem Steel “American Plan.”

VINTONDALE, PA.—While waiting for his pay, Joseph Tworcha, a miner employed by the Vinton Collieries Co. (non-union) was “accidentally” killed by a company guard. The gun in the guard’s hand discharged into a group of miners standing in line for their pay, killing Tworcha.

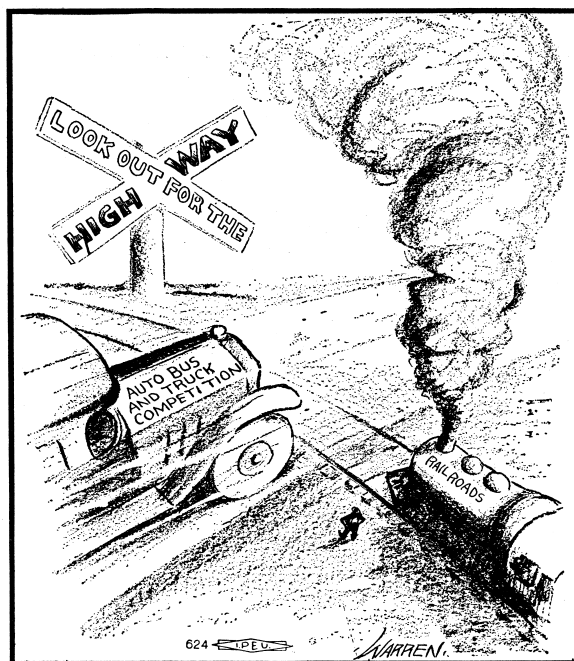
SCRANTON, PA.—General Secretary Thomas Kennedy of the United Mine Workers attacks “absentee ownership” of hard coal companies as cause of the present strike, stating that “those who dictate the policies of the companies now live in New York, the Riviera or Florida.” Chief of Police McHugh, of the Scranton police force testifies to “splendid conduct” of the miners.

DUBOIS, PA.—Operators report that coal produc-

tion for the Central Pennsylvania soft coal field for October, 1925, has increased over October, 1924—due to temporary larger demand for bituminous coal for domestic use.

Who will say that the coal produced or to be produced in the future has not been well paid for by the miners?

The soft coal operators have torn their contracts into “pieces of paper.” From that violation of their written word has arisen the scene in West Virginia, where even men and women “impartial” to the labor



Columbus Dispatch

fight are moved to aid the women and children of the barracked miners. Out of that likewise comes the unemployment and taut conditions in Central Pennsylvania. The hard coal operators live luxuriously on their huge dividends—which go on, production or no production—far away from the coal fields. They cannot grasp the situation out there in North-eastern Pennsylvania, any more than the Bourbons could understand the murmurings of their breadless subjects.

IN EUROPE

Elections and Electioneering

WHILE we are all deeply grieved to learn that the Paris-loving Shah Ahmed Mirza of Persia has lost his crown, events of much more concern to the world are taking place.

In Britain, to mention one such, there has occurred a series of municipal elections. The issue was set

down as Socialism vs. Individualism—or, the Labor Party vs. the Tories and Liberals, working together. If that were the issue, then Socialism won. The Labor Party came back stronger than before its recent parliamentary setback, and took control of many municipal councils, gaining everywhere. The

joint action of Liberals and Conservatives had little effect—now that the bogey of “Bolshevism” has been laid to rest. For three years the new councils will remain in power, administering revenues totaling \$2,500,000,000 each year. Then, the likelihood is that there will be even greater labor gains.

And, speaking of elections. There is Australia. Far across the Pacific, as time goes on, that island-continent will be of growing importance to America. It is turning again to Labor Party control. Whatever may have been the outcome of the general election of November 16th, the Tories and Country Parties had to form a close coalition to outdo Labor. If they have a majority, it is so small as to be unsteady and uncertain.

Before the Great War, Labor was the “Big Boss” in Australia. The conscription issue split the party. Their Premier, Hughes, deserted Labor (not at all surprising!) and became leader of the Tories. Now, the once dominant group is “coming back.” All the provinces (states) are in their control—and the com-

monwealth is bound to follow. Not the least of Premier Bruce’s troubles (if he has won) will be the striking seamen, whose tent-camps are pitched at Melbourne. Bruce has threatened to deport Tom Walsh, accused of Communism—and the seamen talk insurrection if such a course is adopted. All is not quiet, therefore, in the Land of the Southern Cross.

Of course, France has had no election lately, but it may have one. Caillaux has come to America, seen and been turned down. (More than one newspaper is wondering how he met defeat on the debt negotiations while Signor Mussolini got all that he wanted.) But Caillaux’s real Waterloo came with that persistent “Capital Levy.” The French Socialists insist on it as the chief way to solve the country’s financial dilemma. Caillaux would have none of it. Well—he fell. That was all. As to what M. Painleve can do about it, not even a prophet can say. This is certain: Unless he finds some way to work in the Capital Levy, his “goose is cooked.” Then, will come a new election.

Congratulations to the Educational Department of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union

THE Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U. on November 14th celebrated the Eighth Anniversary of its existence. Several thousand members of the union met in the auditorium of Washington Irving High School, New York City, listened to beautiful music and inspiring addresses, and proudly joined in the festivities of the occasion.

And indeed they may be proud! During all these years, their Union had to carry on a bitter struggle for existence. They battled for concessions from employers. They fought to preserve these concessions. They had to live through periods of unemployment and depression. But with all this economic pressure constantly before them they never forgot that Labor lives not by bread alone, and without cessation maintained their splendid educational activities.

We extend our congratulations to the Union and its membership. May they continue their efforts to spread the gospel of Labor organization and Labor Education.

THE following is an extract from the program announced by the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U.:

The Basis

It is imperative to have a definite policy for our educational activities.

We believe that Workers’ Education is worthwhile only if it helps Labor to base its activities on what has been proven to be indisputably true. Of course, unproven theories have a value in all human activities. But effectiveness and success are more probable if action is based on what is known to be true. It is clear, therefore, that to be successful our educational work must concern itself chiefly with

truth rather than opinion. It is true that our work is colored by one bias—that in favor of labor. Apart from that we try to furnish to our students material and facts for sound conclusions, and to develop in them mental habits and skill which will enable them to reach such conclusions. We attempt to satisfy the common needs of all our members as workers and trade unionists.

The Activities

During the earlier years of our educational activities, the work was conducted mainly in classes in Unity Centers, the Workers’ University. Our efforts were bent mainly to induce our members to join these classes.

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During the past few years, however, we realized that we could reach but a small part of those of our members who wish to study and learn, if we had nothing else to offer except the above classes. We therefore began the policy of reaching our members at their local offices, at their meetings, and wherever we could find them in organized groups.

Accordingly, our Extension Department has developed a large number of lecture centers where our members meet in large numbers. A number of courses and lectures have been given at business meetings of our local unions, in offices on Saturdays and Sunday mornings, etc. The success of these activities has been very gratifying. Many of our members who for many reasons did not attend a regular class listened to important lectures and participated in discussions. They have learned a great deal and undoubtedly become better and more effective trade unionists.

It is our aim to devote increased attention to such groups. While we realize the importance and advantages of regular classes, and while we admit their necessity, we plan to spend more energy in the development of so-called extension activities, while retaining those of our regular classes which are of great value to our membership, our organization and the Labor Movement.

Activities of Education Department

During the past eighteen months our Educational Department has increased and improved its activities.

1. Unity Centers

The Unity Centers are evening classes organized for the members of the International, and conducted in evening public schools in the City of New York. Manifold activities are carried on in the Unity Centers. These are of an educational, health and social character.

2. Workers' University

We are continuing our classes in the Workers' University at the Washington Irving High School and the I. L. G. W. U. Building. The courses given there are of an advanced character. Instruction is given in labor, social science and cultural subjects. Those who attend these courses have had preliminary training in the Unity Centers or elsewhere.

Subjects

Our Educational Department offers the following subjects at the Workers' University and Unity Centers:

Trade Union Policies and Tactics; Current Labor Problems; Economic Problems of the Working Woman; Woman's Place in the Labor Movement; Labor Situation in the Basic Industries; The Place of Workers in History; A Social Study in Literature; The Development of Industry and the Trade Union Movement in the United States; Economics and the Labor Movement; Public Speaking; Social Factors in American History; The Making of Industrial America; Recent Social Development in Europe; Economic Basis of Modern Civilization; Psychology and the Labor Movement, and English.

A WORD TO THE WISE

(Continued from page ii)

ever, that this thing can last long doesn't know American labor history. The organized workers throughout the past years of our national life have had ups and downs galore. But they have never gone quite down as far as they had been before the last "up" took place.

Now, despite these extra precautions of the employers, we are facing another "up" move on the part of the wage-earners. The gain of 13,000 members by the A. F. of L. last year is one straw in the wind. The unrest under the "company union" schemes is another. Out in Colorado, the miners are making a move to throw off the yoke of the Rockefellerers and their much-advertised "Industrial Democracy" plan. Dissatisfaction exists in a decided

fashion on the Pennsylvania Railroad, under Atterbury's divine regime.

To meet the new issue thus created, and to seize the new opportunity, Labor must be equipped with the weapons that will prove effective. Men and women must be trained, under trade union auspices, who can carry an intelligent and "selling" message to the unorganized, and who will have such knowledge of their industries that they can meet the Employing Interests at their own game.

To do this: Support of the Workers' Education Bureau—whole-hearted support—is needed. And above and beyond that: a quickening of the support of the local educational committees, so that the challenge of the present turn of events may be met decisively and well.

THE CHALLENGE OF ELECTRICITY

IT'S a matter of every day's news. Radio, Power Mergers, Water Power Site Acquisition; all boiled down to The Challenge of Electricity.

All on the same day we read—that Governor Pinchot has asked the state of Maryland, Ohio and West Virginia to join in controlling electric power transmission; that another merger of consequence has gone through—whereby the National Power and Light Company has acquired the Carolina Light and Power Company; that the California publicly-owned power companies have been a decided financial success, that radio has voluntarily put itself under the control of Secretary Hoover.

These are some few aspects of the Electricity Problem. They give rise to an article running in syndicated form in a number of papers through the country. From it we glean:

"Electricity is the most important mechanical force yet discovered.

"Presently it will develop into a basic factor of trade, industry, production and finance.

"This is power not only in a physical, but in a political sense.

"We are rushing headlong into a new and peculiar situation, a situation that will make what we used to call the railroad problem seem tame and colorless.

"How much have we learned with our experience with monopolies and trust-busting?

"Are we going to plant a new bureau at Wash-

ington and let it go at that, or are we going to set up a commission like that which now regulates the railroads?

"The point is that we shouldn't wait for the crisis and then be stampeded into some makeshift remedy.

"We have done enough blundering of that sort.

"The public interest will have to be safeguarded, of course, but how and by whom?"

These are real questions. Governor Pinchot has secured the beginnings of a tri-state regulatory commission, between New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. He now finds it necessary to go further—and try to interest other states. Past experience with regulation of other utilities seems to justify but little hope for regulation of the much-greater Electric Power.

Why is not the California success the sign-post in the right direction? The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers thinks so—and so does the A. F. of L. They are supporting the Norris Bill for public ownership of water-power sites, including Muscle Shoals. The bill will be up again before the Congress at hand. The whole point is:

Are we to allow water-power (the great future source of electric energy) to pass into the hands of the already powerful Electric Combine. Or, are we to follow the example of California and Ontario and keep it in our own hands—reducing rates and building up a permanent plant for ourselves?

GETTING THE STORY ACROSS

LIVE labor journalism tells. It is the fountain-head of any effective local movement. Here is a sample of the way that the TOLEDO UNION LEADER picks up local events and uses them as union arguments. A bond issue proposal was recently voted on by the citizenry. The great slogan was: "PUT MORE DO (DOUGH) IN TOLEDO." Here is the labor paper's comment thereon:

Put More DO in Toledo

WE can keep right only by putting "More DO in Toledo."

And let's not be sign-minds.

A sign-mind is one that never thinks of anything until sees it on a billboard, and who thinks that because it is there it must mean something, which it quite more than often does.

The best way possible to put more DO (pronounced dough) in Toledo, is to put more of it in the working people's envelopes.

Another way to help a lot is to demand that local manufacturers and other employers give Toledoans preference when employing help.

At present a very large per cent. of those wage-earners employed in Toledo do not live in the city nor anywhere near it. They do not spend their money with our merchants, and their employment or non-employment doesn't mean a thing to Toledo.

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