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Labor Age

The National Monthly

The Valiant [Miners] Victorious
Pullman Company Union
Slavery

Written in Blood
[Jim Maurer on the State Police]

The Burial of the "Golden Rule"

Brother Brown and Yaffles

\$2.50 per Year

Labor Age

The National Monthly

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LINCOLN'S SON DENIES HIS FATHER

WITH a salvo of praise, on February 12th, men who would have crucified Lincoln in his day hailed him as the "Great Emancipator." With a similar hypocritical blast, the Pullman Company announced on about the same date that it had increased the wages of its porters and maids—"after a conference with the representatives of these employees."

The so-called wage conference was called merely for the purpose of checkmating the moves of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Under pressure of discharge, with all sorts of cajolery and threats used against them, 25 per cent. of the porters did go in and vote for "representatives" under the company union plan. The farce of the so-called representation is explained in Mr. Dunn's article, written on the eve of the Chicago company union conference.

In terror at the spread of the Brotherhood among the porters, the company has opened its heart with the enormous wage advance of \$1 per week. This, at a time when other railway workers are demanding an increase of \$1 per day. Further, it is provided that in the course of 40 years of service, there will be a gradual automatic increase of \$18, or at the

rate of 40 cents per year. "Ye gods!" comments the Brotherhood officials, "and this is the increase which the company expects will draw members away from the Brotherhood."

The Pullman Company is seeking to keep its black employees in a state of semi-slavery. It has used any barbarous weapon that lay at hand. When signs of rebellion arose on northern roads, it has imported new men from the south. The men now receive the magnificent sum of \$67.50 per month. The accommodations for them away from home are such that decent folks would not avail themselves of them—and porters and maids consequently are forced to board in a liveable place.

It is sad to state that Robert Tod Lincoln, son of "Father Abraham," was the man who more than any other fastened this slave policy on the black employees of the Pullman Company. It is the spirit of Robert Tod Lincoln still fastening the chains upon them—in defiance of the spirit of his father. It is the son of the "Great Emancipator" who, marrying into the riches of the Pullman family, has sold his birthright for a mess of pottage—and said "Thumbs Down" to the children of the slave. We say: "Let the spirit of *Abraham Lincoln* prevail."

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Pullman "Company Union" Slavery

By ROBERT W. DUNN



COURTESY!

Is expected of the employees of the Pullman Company. But courtesy is not what they receive in return. The conditions to which they are forced to submit remind us that the black man is not free—despite the celebrations of last month in honor of the Great Emancipator's birth. Ironical it is that a company with which Lincoln's son has been so prominently connected should be the one to nullify much of Lincoln's work.

LAST month we set forth some of the hypocrisies of company unionism on the Pennsylvania Railroad System. This month we shall examine a near relative of the P. R. R., the company that makes and operates sleeping and chair cars—the infamous Pullman Company. Its financial guardians are Morgan, Vanderbilt, Marshall Field and several banks that also take the exploiter's toll from the Pennsylvania lines.

The Pullman Company has never been in love with labor unions. For evidence on this point look up the records of the Industrial Relations Commission of 1916; examine the story of the great Pullman strike of 1894; consult the officials of the carmen or the sleeping car conductors who have had to deal with this company during the last few years. And finally, take into consideration the present merciless manoeuvres of this rich corporation in fighting off

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the unionizing efforts of its 12,000 train porters. It is with these porters and their union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the relation of that union to the "company union" that this article is chiefly concerned.

First let us examine this "plan of employee representation," which so closely resembles the anti-union schemes adopted by other American companies within the last six years. It is "offered to our employees," says President E. F. Carey of the Pullman Company, "for the purpose of handling expeditiously and settling promptly and fairly all questions which arise as to wages, working conditions, and such other matters as may be important to the welfare of the employees." It is a joint committee type of plan as on the Pennsylvania, with "representatives" speaking for the management, and others supposedly elected freely by the workers. Unlike some other plans, however, the Pullman plan explicitly reserves the right to have the last "say" in every dispute that cannot be settled in the joint councils. All such matters are referred to the Bureau of Industrial Relations "and the decision of the bureau shall be final." This bureau is simply the company's labor or personnel department.

The plan, as is customary, promises no discrimination to any worker by reason of his membership in any union or fraternal order, but "the right to hire and discharge shall be invested exclusively in the company." To be sure the workers' representatives may bring up a discharge as a grievance—but remember the Bureau of Industrial Relations has the final voice. In other words the company can dispose of any worker who may prove troublesome to its plan, and its pursuit of profits.

Totten and Lancaster

In actual operation the plan has proved a fraud and a crooked, hypocritical device to hypnotize the workers and destroy their solidarity. The evidence under this head is overwhelming. Men have been fired out offhand not only for displaying an interest in the trade union, but merely for carrying out their duties as "representatives" in an effort to squeeze what justice they could out of the company scheme.

A. L. Totten was one of those who tried to make the plan work in the interest of the porters. As a properly elected representative he attempted to stand up for the men who had elected him. For handling one or two of their grievances in a manner that showed the company he had courage and backbone, he was handed his discharge papers and dismissed for "insubordination and unsatisfactory service."

Another well-known and highly respected porter, Roy Lancaster, was elected under the plan to represent the men. He tried to get them together for a wage conference last year—the company, it should be noted, has no regular date for calling conferences under its plan—and sent out a letter to other representatives asking them to formulate their demands. As soon as this letter came to the attention of the company he was set down as a "trouble maker" and discharged from the service.

Others like S. E. Grain have been removed without any stated reason for their discharge, but to all who have watched the Pullman Company in the last few months it is obvious that activity in the union has been the sole reason.

Still another porter, with a clean twenty-year service record happened to be in St. Paul on a run and attended an organizing meeting of the new union of which he was not even a member. He was called to the Pullman office the next morning and placed on the "extra list"—a man who had been on the same regular run for fourteen years straight! The order for his virtual discharge came, it was explained, from the general office. The local officials could do nothing to help him. They would not tell him what he had done, why he was being let off. . . . He is still trying to get back on his run.

Other reprisals have been visited on the porters who have had the courage merely to attend meetings of the new union. One man in St. Paul—also a 20-year man—was laid off his run on January 20th. He is still off, although not definitely discharged from the service of the company.

There is nothing unusual about this practice. It is the first weapon of any anti-labor corporation in countering an effort to organize its workers. It is merely interesting to observe the no-discrimination pretensions of the company union plan in contrast with its actual workings.

"Elections?"

The eighteen delegates who attended the company union conference in Chicago in January were hand-picked by the Pullman Company. Of course the usual pretense of "free elections" was made. But the results showed that no delegate who had not been virtually pledged in advance against the porters' union had a chance of getting to Chicago. In the first place many of the organized porters refused to participate in the elections in spite of all the threats and coercion of the company. Of the 1,100 eligible voting porters in the New York Central Terminal district (New York City), less than 500 voted and less than 400 of these votes went to a certain

T. E. Griffin. He was sent to Chicago as a delegate although it requires, under the plan constitution, a majority of the votes of the porters of the whole country to elect a delegate to the conference. On the other hand the same number of eligible voters—some 1,100—at the Pennsylvania Terminal cast 978 votes for a certain porter who was favorable to the labor union. He was *not* sent to Chicago. Then we have Grand Rapids, Michigan, where some five porters voted. Their nominee, Pearson, was elected to the Chicago conference! And a certain Keene who secured the nominating votes of only 15 porters in the Columbus, Ohio agency was also elected. When one remembers that the Pennsylvania Terminal with 1,100 voters had not one delegate at the conference and that none represented the Washington and other large terminals, one begins to appreciate the magnitude of the election frauds put over by the company in the name of “employee representation.” Responsible officials of the porters’ union estimate that of the 18 delegates at the conference only 3 secured the necessary majority required by the constitution to elect them!

The elections in 1924 were equally farcical. Sample ballots were mailed out to the various districts with the names of the company men marked with an “x.” A porter would be going out to make up his car when he would be stopped by a company official. “Hey George! Did you vote yet? No? Can’t go out on your run till you vote. What’s your name and address? All right.” The porter would hurry on to his car. The official would pull a marked ballot out of his side coat pocket and vote for “George.”

Contemptible Tactics

In its campaign to smash the porters’ union and maintain the dictatorship of the company union there is no underhand work to which the Pullman management has not stooped. Intimidation of every sort has been the daily practice of the company. One porter in Jacksonville who had expressed mild sympathy for the new union was told that he would either repudiate this endorsement or get off the cars. He was forced to write an open letter to all porters attacking the porters’ union. In fact it is estimated that 75 per cent. of the delegates to the company union conference in Chicago had proved their loyalty to the company by writing similar letters extolling the plan and slurring the real labor union and its leaders. Moreover the most popular, independent and competent men were “defeated” in the elections to the conference, indicating clearly that

it was a steam-rollered affair solely in the interest of the company.

The company has been clever in its use of propaganda. All the plaudits of the company plan have seemed on the surface to originate spontaneously with persons and papers far removed from company influence. On investigation, however, it has been found that the praise of the company has come from negro papers all over the country in which advertising has been carefully purchased in return for a “correct” editorial policy. The “brass check” has never been so well illustrated as in this systematic pollution of the negro press with company-inspired messages. Then when the newspapers have printed their dirtiest slanders against the porters’ union and run scare heads on the leaders “Escaping with Union Funds,” the company has stepped in and purchased thousands of these papers and distributed them among the porters. It has tacked the items and editorials of the papers on the bulletin boards and walls of waiting rooms, and done everything possible to tell the porter that the world is against him if he bucks the company. In the official house organ of the company nothing has been written about the porters’ union. The company has deliberately sown its seed on the outside where the editorial utterance would appear to come from impartial sources!

“Uncle Tom” Stuff

The advertisements running in these papers have often been in the form of a letter from some “loyal” Uncle Tom, “me-too-boss” porter playing up the glories of the company union or the company benefit association. Samples from these messages bought and paid for by Pullman agents will illustrate the general tone of the anti-labor propaganda:

“Let us not turn over our money to those who will put ropes around our necks and lead us into the corral where we will be put under the yoke and forced into submission to the will of the American Federation of Labor. . . . Let us view with suspicion the baits that are set to trap us into an ignominious position. . . . We do not need the uninvited interference of radical outsiders. . . . Let us remain true to the traditions of our race. . . . Let us maintain the proud record of fidelity that we have built up. . . . Let us stand shoulder to shoulder for our co-operative Employee Representation Plan.”

Every passion, prejudice and fear is thus played upon by the copy writer of the Pullman Company. Another half page spread in several papers raises the spectre of unemployment against those workers who dare to join a union and says frankly:

“You can earn an honest living up here (in the North) as long as the great manufacturers see fit to employ you.”

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Following this threat with the advice:

"The voice of the labor union is the voice of danger, betrayal and destruction. Do not heed it."

So powerful is the whip held over the negro press that out of five such papers in Chicago none dares openly espouse the cause of the porters' union against the intimidation and terrorism of the company union. Indeed, so effective is the choke the Pullman Company can put on the press in general that even the white press, with some exceptions, has been afraid to carry the news of the Pullman porters' battle for trade unionism. Take as an example the debate at which A. Philip Randolph, General Organizer of the Sleeping Car Porters, trimmed Perry W. Howard, a Pullman legal agent. This debate attracted 1,700 people on a Sunday afternoon in Chicago. Invitations and releases were sent to all the Chicago reporters, and they came and "covered" it with care. But not one "stick" of news on this debate appeared in any of the capitalist sheets the following day.

The Case of Perry Howard

This Perry Howard, incidentally, illustrates the Pullman propaganda tactics. Howard is a Republican politician from Mississippi. Although on the payroll of the U. S. Department of Justice as a special assistant to Attorney-General Sargent, he has been released to work for the Pullman Company in heading off union organization and scattering lies about the "red" character of the union. The contribution of this colored Judas to the issues involved in this controversy are summed up in the following expression: "The economic salvation of the race lies in the good-will of the capitalists. Attempts to create ill-will between the colored people and the capitalists are for the purpose of exploitation." He follows this up with the threat that the company will import Filipino workers to man the sleeping cars if the negroes rebel against their wages of \$67.50 per month. And adds that to pay the porters a living wage would bankrupt the Pullman Company—which in its last annual report shows the largest gross revenue in the history of the corporation, amounting to \$84,000,000 with a net income of nearly \$16,000,000 equivalent to nearly \$12 a share on its capital stock.

In addition to the "representation plan," one of the most effective company devices for enslaving the porters is the Pullman Porters' Benefit Association, (organized in 1920), which some of the Pullman advertisements have dealt with in recent months. None of the seven members of the board of this asso-

ciation are porters. Instead they hold attractive jobs as "welfare workers" and their wages are more than double those of a porter. The chief job of the welfare workers seems to be to spy on workers to determine their "loyalty" to the company. The company will inform you solemnly that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the Benefit Association. And yet the chairman of the association is a company agent and not one penny can be paid out of the treasury of the association without the O. K. of A. A. Cummings, Treasurer of the Pullman Company! The money cannot be used for any purpose without the consent of the company management. And stenographers who work for the benefit associations do not even dare to attend meetings of the Sleeping Car Porters' Unions for fear of being fired! The "benefit" of this association all goes to the company. To be sure it writes an insurance policy for the workers at a rate no less than that charged by ordinary insurance companies and much higher than that obtaining in labor union insurance societies. If the porter leaves the service of the company the premium is doubled.

The Cards Are Stacked

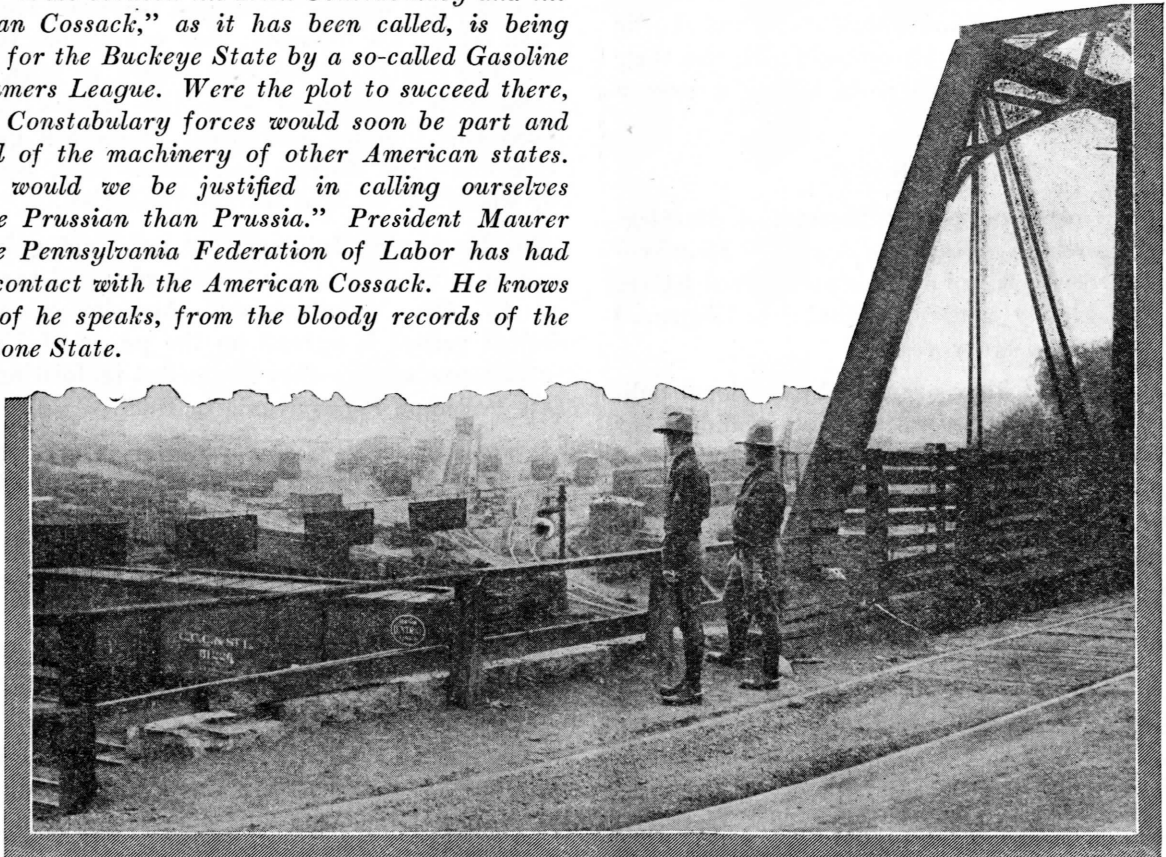
To return to the "plan" itself, it is clear that it is owned body and soul by the Pullman management. All the cards are stacked against the porters. The same local management that recommends the discharge of a porter sits on the local committee as prosecutor, judge and juror in the case. And if the local committee should happen to recommend that the porter be put back on his job the decision is not carried out. The higher, or "zone committees," have no more power. All their decisions are simply referred up to the management in Chicago which decides according to its own whim the fate of a porter. And no matter what the decision in any of the committees, the management is always sustained as a matter of form. Moreover, the committees are not permitted to have persons charged with offenses appear before them to hear the charges. The defendant is never allowed to face the evidence or to be in the room when the charges are made, often by some prejudiced "welfare worker" serving as a company stool-pigeon. In many instances, also, the plan has served as a literal graveyard for grievances, the company dupes stalling and delaying and refusing to take up the case of a worker bringing an appeal. The worker remains on the street while he slowly awakens to the realization that the plan is a farce and a joke.

Written in Blood

The Gruesome, Gory Record of the State Police

By JAMES H. MAURER

OHIO is threatened by the State Police. This "cross between the Irish Constabulary and the Russian Cossack," as it has been called, is being urged for the Buckeye State by a so-called Gasoline Consumers League. Were the plot to succeed there, State Constabulary forces would soon be part and parcel of the machinery of other American states. Then would we be justified in calling ourselves "More Prussian than Prussia." President Maurer of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor has had long contact with the American Cossack. He knows whereof he speaks, from the bloody records of the Keystone State.



STATE CONSTABULARY

Used in the Shopmen's Strike by the State of New York

LET'S look through a few old newspaper clippings. They will provide a picture of the past history of the State Constabulary in Pennsylvania. They are here on my desk in the headquarters of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor in Harrisburg.

Here is one of February 4, 1924. It is taken from the Philadelphia NORTH AMERICAN of that date. "Penna. Discharges 45 Troopers in Year" read the headlines. Thirty-five of these were dropped for bribery or suspicion of bribery in bootlegging cases, and the clean-up was part of the Pinchot administration's program.

Here is another, from the ALTOONA TIMES of

October, 1920. "State Cossacks Knock Eye Out of Aged Man," it says, "Two are convicted—a constabulary officer intercedes for third, who escapes legal desserts." Then follows the account, from Media, Pa., of how the three troopers attacked James W. Kearsley, a 60-year-old man of Boothwyn, knocking out his eye with a jack. A jury convicted them of the charge.

At the same time we read of the arrest of another trooper, Corporal Dixon by name, for running amuck while drunk on duty, threatening a garage keeper at Shippensburg and drawing his gun on a local policeman in Chambersburg. Prior to this rash act, he had terrorized the National Hotel of

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that place, by "shooting it up" in western style.

In Clearfield on September 8, 1921—reports the CLEARFIELD PROGRESS—State Trooper Connreider assaulted a young man, his rival, with a headache stick, and then sought to put the young man under arrest. The only crime that the young man had committed was in courting a girl from a local candy store with whom Connreider was likewise smitten.

From the Lancaster EXAMINER, we note the arrest of State Troopers Frank McMahon and Leslie Parks for an attack on a 13-year-old girl, and their later arrest for manslaughter in killing a woman on the highway.

The Grimy Record

So run the other clippings: "Assault — Bootlegging — Extortion — Rape — Arson — Drunkenness — Murder." All of these stand in red letters against the bloody ruffianism that has disgraced Pennsylvania for twenty years.

At Ashland, Pa., they are used by the local political machine to drag an independent candidate for sheriff, Con Foley, off his speaking platform, and arrest him. The crowd, however, rescued Foley from the police and he went on with his speech. At Washington, they hang a young Russian to the rafters of a barn to compel him to confess to murder. At numerous other places they stir up brawls, while drunk, that almost grow into riots.

That is only a small bit of the indictment against them. They are another curse that has been added to the stripes laid on the shoulders of the workers of Pennsylvania.

In the bloody history of labor in the Keystone State, from Homestead to the present day, we have had to contend with the Pinkertons, the railroad police (established in 1865), the Coal and Iron Police (created in 1866), the Militia and the State Constabulary. These "law and order" makers are in addition to the deputy sheriffs, constables, local police forces and motorcycle police.

The State Police came to be added to this imposing list in this way: It was in the year 1902, it will be recalled, that the great Anthracite Strike took place. The militia were called for by the operators, led by "Divine Right" Baer. They were sent in to maintain order. That is exactly what they did do. They were workmen and sons of workmen. They came out of the mines and mills and factories. They policed the anthracite region, and did it well. There was no disorder anywhere throughout that section, just as there is none today. (Under Gover-

nor Pinchot, by the way, the State Police have not been sent into the coal region during the present conflict.)

Rioting Desired

For six months the miners held out. The country clamored for peace by voluntary arbitration. The miners were willing to grant this. But the operators would hear nothing of peace except at their own terms. Then it was that Theodore Roosevelt stepped in and settled the difficulty, with concessions to the men. The militia, in the coal region so long, had become well acquainted with the miners. They played ball together and cards and other games. There was quiet during their entire stay, because they would not be used for riot-incitation.

The Employing Interests did not want quiet at times of strike. They wanted disorder and turmoil. Led by the Manufacturers Association—whose criminal record is spread on the pages of United States commissions—they succeeded in foisting the State Police on Pennsylvania in 1905.

It was a year of great corruption in our legislature. The State Capitol was erected then, at the cost of \$13,000,000—the graft in connection with which sent many men to jail or to suicide. It was a proper time to put over the American Cossack on the state.

As my friend, Phil Waggaman, former vice-president of our Pennsylvania Federation, wrote of them several years ago:

"The prime object in passing this law was to create a powerful, strike-breaking institution. But this, to state it plainly, was a little too rank even for the corrupted legislature to stomach. The bill cleverly stated that the Constabulary was established to patrol rural districts and to apprehend criminals. But the patrolling is done in the immediate vicinity of the barracks and a small number of real criminals are apprehended. The people, living in the rural sections of Pennsylvania, are as law-abiding as can be found anywhere and do not want the State Police and do not need them. If they were needed, it would require an army of 15,000 men, granting that each policeman could patrol three square miles of the 45,000 square miles of the state.

Arrests Without Warrants

"They are used, principally, to break peaceable strikes, and patrolling the rural districts and catching criminals are only secondary considerations; a sort of pastime when there are no strikes in progress.

They are paid by the state and employed by the corporations and housed by them. Their power is practically unlimited. Only the legislature, while in session, or the Governor, when the legislature is not in session, are their superiors. They make arrests and search houses without warrants. Martial law, or something near it, prevails when they arrive in a community. The civil authorities are powerless to act. They cannot prevent these police from coming and have no legal method of ridding the locality of this band of undesirables. A request from a corporation to the County Sheriff brings them to the scene and they soon start something, that being their stock-in-trade."

Tools of the Manufacturers Association

Through the years that have followed since they have come into Pennsylvania, the State Constabulary have carried their trail of blood through every industrial dispute. Do you remember Bethlehem in 1910? The steel workers in that accursed city tried to free themselves from the iron rule of Schwab. They were met by the State Police—with violence, rape and murder. Do you recall the Great Steel Strike of a later date? There, again, these Cossacks were the chief weapons of the Steel Trust against the men. In the coal revolt in District 2—when the non-union workers to the south of this central Pennsylvania district came out—assault, rape and murder in cold blood were again prominent features of the strike, with the State Police in the Cossack role. These things have been put into books and into official records, and cannot be gone into detail here.

The proof of their servile service to the Employing Interests is to be seen in the zeal with which these interests rush to their defence, if they are attacked. As a sample: In 1914, the Constabulary had become so noxious to the good people of the State that there was a move on foot to abolish them. The Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association immediately cried out, "Murder!" They issued a pamphlet in the shape of their *Monthly Bulletin*, headed "A Plot Against the State Police."

They declared the move against the police to be "startling news," which all "law-abiding citizens" should view with alarm. They then continue: "Yet thinly veiled anarchy, emboldened by its success in Washington, dares to strike it a blow in the dark."

The encouragement at Washington referred to, which "thinly veiled anarchism" had received, was the election of Woodrow Wilson and the favorable action to Labor in his first term. The "anarchism"

itself was the Labor Movement, of course. By such extreme terms did this criminal organization, which investigations at Washington showed ought to be shut up, hope to divert public attention from its own putrid record.

Says the Manufacturers Association further—this arch-enemy of the workers: "Several states are preparing to establish forces similar to the one in Pennsylvania. Every state *should* have one. (Their italics.) Law-abiding people here wonder how we ever got along without the Constabulary." The "law-abiding people," of course, are the anti-union manufacturers, bankers and their ilk. Figures show that crime is increasing in Pennsylvania since the coming of the State Police, and as we have seen, the Police themselves have contributed their share to this increase.

Costly Strike-Breaking Machine

In March, 1922, Lynn C. Adams, Superintendent of the State Police, sent out a questionnaire to coal operators, for the purpose of co-operating with these operators in breaking the impending coal strike. In a note in that questionnaire, the Superintendent was even so kind as to inform the operators how they could secure the help of the State Police, merely by calling on the Sheriff for such service. Among the questions asked is this one: "Have you an understanding with the sheriffs of the counties in which your operations are located?"

To maintain this enormous strike-breaking machine, the people of the State have had an extra burden of taxation placed on them. The appropriations for two years for the Constabulary grew from \$450,000 in 1905, when the department was created, to \$1,889,545 in 1921. The number of men employed increased from 340 to 448. The appropriation in 1923 was cut down to \$1,448,000. But this was because the state was broke, to the tune of some \$35,000,000—and cuts were made in all departments, to help make up the deficiency.

There has been much talk about economy in government going the rounds of late, led off by the White House. One of the best pieces of economy for any state is to abolish the State Police, if it has one, or to kill any attempt to introduce such a system, if the Constabulary does not exist.

As a strike-breaking institution, the State Constabulary is a great success. If the good people of Ohio or of any other states where this idea is being proposed, value their liberties, they will see that the State is never cursed with a State Constabulary.

Brookwood's Pages

American Labor in the War and Post-War Period

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

ATTENTION!

IF you have any questions on this subject, send them to the author at Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y.

III. WAGES AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING

THE failure of wages to keep up with the increased productivity of labor has impressed even the editorial staff of the *New York Times*, so that an editorial of December 13, 1925, urges employers to allow "labor a share in the financial fruits of expanding mechanical power." In this connection it is worth while to note the explanation given by a report of the National Industrial Conference Board (a manufacturers' organ) for the fact that wages did not fall as much as might have been expected during the 1923-4 depression. Several reasons are suggested:

1. Hope that the depression was temporary.
2. Hesitation to provoke labor troubles.
3. Desire to maintain the price level and avoid disruption of market conditions.
4. Existence of union contracts.
5. Feeling that wage reductions would impair general purchasing power.
6. Belief of some employers that workers could not maintain reasonable standards of living with lower wage rates.

If employers are really beginning to realize that there may be general economic damage from a policy of wage depression, a new chapter in American economic life is opening. Labor may well be dubious, however; for the old tendency to regard wage cuts as a sound weapon in periods of price decline still sticks in the minds of employers in general. Would it perhaps be good labor strategy to play up to the limit the necessity of high wages in order that the consuming population might have high buying power and that the workers might have a standard of life that would make possible high productivity of labor?

At any rate, Labor can learn some lessons from what has happened in the period since 1913. For one thing, price fluctuations matter a lot to the workers, because the ordinary battles with the employers are largely an attempt to make wages keep

up with rising prices or to keep them from going down with falling prices. Labor can not afford to neglect price changes, for in times of what is called prosperity, when prices are rising, the buying power of the worker's wage falls. Of course Labor may be better off than before on account of greater regularity of employment, but unless the "high cost of living" is used to the limit as argument for increase of wage rates, one of the main points of labor strategy is missed.

On the other hand, when prices are falling, the buying power of the worker's wage grows and the employer is pretty sure to start a drive for wage cuts. In resisting such attempts, Labor ought to make much of the fact that the depression lessens employment, so that the total purchasing power of the workers is reduced. Under such circumstances, wage reductions could be shown to threaten the welfare of business.

One side of the question has been pretty much neglected, and that is the relation of the workers to the farmers in this whole matter of wages and prices. If the industrial workers and the agricultural workers are ever to get together, a lot of points will have to be straightened out, and this is one. Thus Labor gains at the expense of farmers in periods of falling prices, because farmers continue operations and put their supply on the market, whereas considerable groups of workers are in a position to accept idleness in preference to wage cuts. As Professor Hansen remarks, "It would be interesting to know how low wage rates would have fallen in 1921 if wage-earners had insisted in selling their full labor supply at whatever rates it might fetch" (which is pretty much what the farmers did).

But what happened to the standard of living during the period before the war, when real wages were virtually stationary? The situation was helped by a tendency to smaller families, to more wage-earning by others than the head of the family, to some refinement in quality of living (as for instance in food, in which a reduction in quantity may have been compensated by better selection), to increase of goods or services furnished by the employer as welfare work or by the government as community service, and to an increase of free time due to a slight short-

ening of hours—unless we are to rule out this last gain as being offset by increased intensity of industry. At all events it is fairly certain that the standard of living held its own during the years preceding 1914.

Then how about the period since, during which there has been considerable rise in real wages? Has the standard of living gone up?

It may be that Labor has been saving the increased income and putting it first into liberty bonds, and then industrial stocks. The workers are keen for investment, and the savings of the period have not all been sunk in wild-cat schemes. According to Professor Carver, the number of stockholders in a group of 523 broadly representative corporations increased approximately 50 per cent. between 1918 and 1925. Consider also the following tabulation of total number of corporation stockholders with average number of shares held by each:

1900—	4,000,000,	averaging	140	shares
1910—	7,400,000,	“	86	“
1917—	8,600,000,	“	77	“
1920—	12,000,000,	“	57	“
1923—	14,400,000,	“	50	“

Now you can see how you stand among your fellow citizens. How many shares have you salted away?

The fact that you are a worker is not supposed to matter! Thus of the 3,500,000 new corporate shareholders during 1918-25, one-seventh are employees of the companies in which they hold stock. Of the increase of 1,360,000 shareholders of gas and electric companies, two-thirds are customers. Surely you are one of the customers that have taken out a few shares! Moreover, during the same period, 28 million new accounts were added to savings banks, and deposits increased ten billion dollars. Arthur Williams of the New York Edison Company is authority for the statement that the savings bank depositors possess almost half of the productive investment of the country. Besides there are said to be 50,000,000 owners of insurance policies. If you are not already a capitalist, you will have to ask Professor Carver all about this new social revolution that he is advertising.

When all is said, however, it may be that saving is becoming a part of the standard of living to which workers will become accustomed, so that a wage-cut that would make saving impossible would be resisted with something of the same determination as we would resist an inroad into food or other necessities. The question remains as to whether the mass of the workers, with an income insufficient to pro-

vide a decent living, ought to practice saving. They may incur a present and certain damage in order to ward off a future rainy day, which they might otherwise have the good luck to miss anyway. It is also important to ask whether capital accumulation can be made an asset to Labor as a class, rather than a purely individual advantage to separate workers. It may be that labor banks and labor insurance companies are a natural attempt to deal with a new element in the standard of living.

In respect to housing space, the standard of living has apparently dropped. It remains to be seen what will be accomplished by government regulation, by schemes for co-operative housing, and by the tendency of industry to scatter into smaller places with lower housing costs.

The standard of living has presumably improved in the matter of food. This advance is partly at the expense of the farmer, who has suffered from low prices; but it comes along with extension of trucking industries and the like, making such things as green vegetables fairly cheap in the larger places even in winter.

When we come to recreation, the standard of living seems to have risen, as for instance autos, travel, radio. As for clothing, the auto is alleged to have reduced the demand for dress clothes. Women's garb has improved from the standpoint of health and beauty, and probably with some saving in net cost.

There has probably been some rise in the standard of schooling, as in the increase of high school attendance; though this has been somewhat offset by the congestion of school buildings and by the regimentation of the pupils and teachers. Other forms of what is commonly called "free income" have been increased, but part of the addition has perhaps been met out of the pay envelope through the income tax—an innovation of the period.

All in all, the gains made by Labor during the past generation have been rather trivial. Certainly there is nothing to exult about, especially since the National Industrial Conference Board reports that the volume of production since 1899 has increased 185 per cent., while the number of wage-earners has grown only 90 per cent. That is to say, the average worker produces today half as much again as in 1899. What has become of the excess? Maybe it has in part taken the form of capitalist investments in foreign parts—investments for which we will one of these days be asked to shed our blood. Is foreign investment a part of the American workers' standard of living?

Strange Tale of A. Nash

A Dream

and the Burial of the "Golden Rule"

By LESTER SIMMONS

END OF A COMPANY UNION

WITH the death of the "Golden Rule" in the A. Nash factory, a blow of no small magnitude was struck at Company Unionism. Here is the tale, as told by an Ohio unionist. A further interesting account is given in the SURVEY GRAPHIC of January, by Robert Bruere, who happened to be on the scene of action at the time of the "Golden Rule" burial.

WELL, Jacqueline, it's all over but the shouting. Here, down Cincinnati way, repercussions of the great, big bust-up that shook the city on December 10th are still to be heard every now and then. But the bubble is burst and the "Golden Rule" brand of industrial democracy has taken its place beside the company union, employees' association, and what not as an onion that wouldn't bloom like a narcissus. It took seven years for the well-meaning but short-sighted workers of the A. Nash Company to learn that no rule is "Golden" unless the party of the first part, meaning the employer, and the party of the second part, meaning a real union, sign an iron-clad agreement wherein shop chairmen, grievance committees, wage boards and penalty clauses appear at the top, through the middle and toward the end of the written contract. Even after those seven lean years the workers had to be pushed into a genuine labor organization. But it's done. So the "Golden Rule" was gently laid to rest where dust will gather o'er it until some future historian may dig it up, perhaps.

Which brings us way ahead of the story. Back in 1919 a tall man with a short business was tossing restlessly in his bed. He was at that time running a clothing shop, a small shop with a handful of workers and with small profits. His friends knew him as a good man, a churchman and as a steady provider for his family. But no one could guess what was lurking in the hidden recesses of that man's brain. Least of all did he. But he had dreams and those dreams ran true to one form.

The Apparition

Invariably he saw himself parading through a wide avenue. No raiment hid his nakedness and but for the exception of a plug hat jauntily resting on his leonine head and arch supports underneath his feet he was as Adam without the fig leaf. Before him he carried a large bass drum, without straps to support it and seemingly grown to his body. As he majestically strode forth he swung his arms from one side of the drum to the other, much like a kilted drummer in the band of the Royal Highlanders, but without touching its surface. Yet there came the familiar resonant boom, boom, after every swing. People began to gather from all directions, filling the wide thoroughfare from curbstone to curbstone to witness this strange apparition. They made a lane for him through which to pass. They pointed their fingers at him. And he, looking straight ahead at the noonday sun, felt their stares and smiled.

Suddenly strange noises emerged from the drum. There was a great whirring sound, like the rustling of many sheets of paper brushing against a hard object. Then crash! The face of the drum broke open and sheets upon sheets of paper poured forth. Instead of falling to the ground, however, they took flight, spinning round and round as they rose higher and higher. Awesome to behold, the drum itself was turning into sheets of paper, rising after those that have gone before it. Now the drum entirely disappeared and the man also was being changed. The skin, flesh and bones of his torso, feet and legs turned into flat sheets of paper until there was nothing left but the upper part of his head from his mouth up.

The sheets had now stopped turning and swirling and melted into one gigantic streamer, reaching from the man's mouth to the sky—to the very sun. Gradually the streamer turned a pale, a very pale pink and quite unexpectedly burst into flame. Wonder upon wonder, the long line of flame broke into enormous sections and arranged themselves against the blue of the sky vault to form these letters:

A . N A S H

The man awoke in a cold sweat.

There Comes the "Golden Rule"

Deeply he pondered over the significance of these recurring nightmares. Much thought he gave to methods of burrowing out their hidden meaning. Finally he consulted a seer. What the seer told him no one knows, but the result of the consultation was the "Golden Rule" plan he instituted in his clothing plant. It is evident that the seer was all wise and all knowing for soon sheets after sheets of paper were flying forth from Cincinnati. The country was inundated with their flood and tales of the achievements of the A. Nash Company reached the ears of all and sundry, to wonder at and to admire.

From rostrum and pulpit Mr. Nash, the head of the concern, expounded the manner in which Christianity became wedded to his particular industry. The newspapers and magazines took up the hue and cry. Soon the name of A. Nash blazed in flaming letters upon the horizon of public acclaim. Thus the dream came true. And thus is proved how proper dreams, when properly interpreted, can make for wonderful achievements.

Preachers pointed to the Nash plant with pride. It soon became an open shopper's delight and was used by them as an argument against the need of genuine labor organizations. The company prospered and the little clothing shop flowered forth into a great industry, employing between three and four thousand workers, turning out a million dollars' worth of product each month and capitalized at \$3,000,000.

But, so the story runs, while Mr. Nash was busy travelling around the country with the "Golden Rule" in his pocket, showing it off to Rotary, Kiwanis, Lion and Gander clubs, the executives and straw bosses had forgotten all about it in the plant back home. Profits became the mainspring for all rules and regulations and what happened in other open shop factories occurred in the A. Nash Company, it was alleged. With this exception. Periodically the workers were called in for a session of prayer. From much kneeling on the hard concrete floors they developed corn on their knees. No other open shop employees ever achieved such distinctive attributes.

Rumors of Unrest

In the course of time, while Mr. Nash was showing off his wares in Walla Walla, rumors of another kind were heard in Timbuctoo. It was murmured that the "Golden Rule" brand of industrial democracy had too much rule and very little gold. That the comparatively higher wages were paid only at

the expense of rest and recreation. That while the Nash plant was supposed to have a basic thirty-five hour week the workers were glued to their machines fifty-five and sixty hours with no overtime computed. As a matter of fact, it began to appear that the Nash "Golden Rule" was much like the Rockefeller and Pennsylvania Railroad employees' associations with even less opportunity for workers' representation!

Now the churchmen who hitherto had been unofficial spokesmen for the Nash idea and therefore uncommissioned salesmen for Nash clothing, took heed of these rumors. Doubts as to the genuineness of the scheme entered their minds. At a conference of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, held at Olivet, Mich., in August, 1925, these doubts were loudly and vigorously expressed. And out of the conference emerged an investigating committee to probe thoroughly the whole works. But this committee never had a chance to function. On December 10th Mr. Nash threw his arms around the neck of the affable, kindly and conveniently handy Mr. Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, added J. C. to his name, placed a crown of thorns on his head and in stentorian tones, the words being duly recorded on a stenotype, declared that no man hath greater love for trade unionism than he, Mr. Nash. To which all the four thousand employees, the twelve ministers, the half dozen reporters, the four and one-half social workers and odds and ends of Amalgamated organizers and officers present said, "Amen" and four thousand new names were added to the Amalgamated roles. This, of course, put an end to both "rule" and rumor.

The "Golden Rule" was buried. The only ones who sat on the mourners' bench were a few executives and bosses of the A. Nash Company who shed doubtful tears for the rule, but genuine one for their vanishing privileges.

Other employers, having seen a greater light than was heretofore given them, would have called the union executives into their private offices, discussed the low-down of the situation and after two or three hours of conference, would have emerged with a contract and the plant would have been organized. But not so Mr. Nash. He is of different clay and a man of dreams. Having decided to sneeze, it is his manner to accord the sneeze its proper setting where it could be received with gracious aplomb and where it could be duly recorded. So upon this occasion. Having satisfied himself that only a real labor union could help him out of his Gethsemane, he proceeded

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to hire a hall, the largest in town. There the workers were called together to embrace with him the new doctrine.

Burial Service of the "Golden Rule"

Auspiciously the meeting opened with prayer. Then Mr. Nash, deeply moved and tenderly and carefully drying his eyes, stepped to the front of the platform. In a voice shaking with permissible emotion he unfolded his love for the labor movement which had been suppressed in his most sub of sub-conscious minds, for lo! these seven years. Olivet wasn't mentioned but its spirit was floating around in invisible persistence. It came out in the course of his remarks when for no apparent reason he roundly scored those "meddlesome reformers." One felt that had he been able to put a little "damn" in front of reformers, if only a teeny, weeny one, his relief would have been tremendous. But he just couldn't. There were too many preachers present.

Later in the meeting, when the workers seemed obdurate and were on the point of refusing to relinquish their much cherished "Golden Rule," victory for Mr. Nash was snatched out of the brands by his early and persistent dreams. Holding a folded newspaper aloft in his right hand for all to see, he exclaimed, not in these exact words but in a manner similar:

"Look, I—we got two full columns in the *New York Times* (telling about Nash's conversion to trade unionism), a newspaper that doesn't give more than two inches of space to the choicest and most illustrious murder. What more do you want?"

And so the meeting on that memorable December 10th continued. In the end Mr. Nash and the Amalgamated made an alliance satisfactory to both. Later the employees will wake up to the fact that they were the greatest beneficiaries, and in more ways than one.

Thus, Jacqueline, the tale is told. Another species of open-shop-democracy bubble has been punctured. Another substitute for trade unionism turned green in the light of publicity. Another onion refused to bloom like a narcissus, though they look alike at the beginning to the uninitiated. And the philosophers, and there were many of those, who may have balanced an opinion that perhaps, after all, salvation for the workers may be found in the magnanimity of the good-hearted employer, are again disappointed.

Now that the big thing has been accomplished and another employee representation plan shelved, due credit must be given to the man with dreams. What



"THAT COAL BLACK BABBY OF MINE"

The disease of coal is international, as the article on page 15 reveals. Our situation is merely part of a bigger picture. The helpless attitude of coal owners and Tory government in England is indicated in the above cartoon from the London "Daily Herald."

the committee appointed at Olivet would have found is of no moment. But we do know that Mr. Nash embraced Mr. Hillman's neck and saved his soul together with those of his employees. No other employer and company union exponent voluntarily, or even under pressure, surrendered without a fight. Mr. Nash did.

And Mr. Hillman should be commended for his astuteness in having his neck in a position where it could be embraced.

THUS, as narrated by Brother Simmons, has a "company union" been laid to rest. One of the first acts of the Nash workers, under union control, was to introduce the unemployment insurance plan effective in other cities. They also abolished the Christmas bonus—voting to give it as wages to the lower-paid employees.

AN AMERICAN THERMOPYLAE

Who Will Control the Electrical Age?

ON one point correspondence schools, King Kleagles, Knights of Columbus, B'nai B'riths, Senator Borah, Herbert Hoover, "Mussolini" Dawes, the Bolsheviks, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Federation of Labor, H. L. Mencken, and Wayne B. Wheeler are in agreement. That is, that we are on the eve of a Great Electric Age.

The motive power of the nation—of the world—will lie in that magic force almost unseen and certainly unknown, which has already given Industry such a drive ahead.

From the Russian Steppes to slipping New England, electricity is looked upon as the usherer-in of a new era of Miracles. Electrification is one of the chief objectives of the Soviet economic policy. Through it they hope to bring new methods of production to their backward nation. In New England, the business interests have held a conference and formed a council to put that territory on its feet again. To them came Owen D. Young of the General Electric Company, proposing that the electric power of that section be merged in one unit. (Of course, that unit to be the generous General Electric itself.)

While in the field of transportation the gasoline-fueled motor bus and truck are giving electric and steam railways the tussle of their lives, the gains for electricity in the wider domain of light and power are tremendous. And this is merely the "beginning of the commencement."

Two great methods of generating electricity are looked forward to, to work a complete revolution in American industry and life. One is through the use of water power; the other, the building of huge plants at the coal mines, sending the electricity for hundreds of miles over high power transmission wires.

Grabbing Muscle Shoals

The electric interests centered in the General Electric Co., seem more than confident of grabbing both of these sources of power, particularly the former. Muscle Shoals is their immediate objective. If they can secure this mighty plant, erected by the Government, they will not only put out of business a dangerous competitor but have made a big step toward capturing all American water power.

Whoever wins the Muscle Shoals fight—Senator Norris, the public and the workers, or the Electric combine—will have it that much easier in the next engagement over the ownership and control of our water power sites. Whether we are to repeat the folly of our railroad-mining history, will depend largely on who is victor in this American Thermopylae.

Again, the question is before the Congress. Last session that body could not agree as to whether to hand this largest of American Power Plants over to the G. E. C. (as per the idea of "Hoss-car" Underwood) or to operate it for the benefit of workers and farmers, under the Government itself (as Senator Norris proposed.)

A commission, appointed by the President, was the outcome. Anyone aware remotely of the workings of the mind of Calvin

and his tutors, Herbert and Andrew, was aware from the start that the Commission was a piece of camouflage—put up to sing the praises of a "satisfactory lease." That sort of lease would be an Owen Young lease (Mr. Young being the partner in crime of "Generalissimo" Dawes in putting over the Dawes Plan.)

So, surprisingly, it develops! To make the business look pretty, the Commission presents a majority and minority report. The majority report says that it stands firmly, conscientiously, solemnly, indefinitely, etc., etc. (Fourth-of-July stuff) for the preservation of Muscle Shoals for "our national defense." BUT—Ah, what a word—it "emphasizes the importance of private operation, if such operation can be obtained." Why, how interesting! And here is the President's friend, Mr. Young, with his hat in his hand, just waiting to take the Shoals for the General Electric. That, of course, is the "private operation," exactly, that the Commission is looking for. What headaches those Commission members must have suffered to arrive at such a profound conclusion. Senator Norris has intimated—if not openly charged—that the whole business is a cut-and-dried affair.

"Damn Our National Defense"

The minority are hard-boiled. They don't give a profane "Doggone-It" for even our national defense. Hand it over, that's all; the public were little disturbed by Teapot Dome. The lease recommended is to run for a period not to exceed 50 years. (By that time, the "improvements" put in by the combine will have become so tangled up with the Government property, that the lease will have to be continued. Already is title to one unit confused in that way.)

Senator Norris' Bill challenges these reports in a clear-cut fashion. It provides for Government operation of Muscle Shoals as the beginning of a Great National Super-Power System. As repeatedly stated, the A. F. of L. and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers are behind this measure. Not only because they want us all to have the cheap rates of Ontario's public system; but also, because the G. E. C. is one of the chief of the anti-union group. Its aim and interests are anti-public and anti-worker.

At the Greek Thermopylae, Leonidas and his 300 held the Persian host at bay and defeated them. The activity of local unions and central bodies in acquainting their local newspapers and their representatives and senators with the public view of Muscle Shoals will help to achieve a like result, against the threatening economic power of the combine.

But action must be speedy. Mr. Young and his fellow-bandits are on the job 365 days in the year. They are hard at work, through the Republican leaders in New York, attempting to steal that State's water-power. Governor Smith thus far has held them at bay. But—how long can he battle at Albany, or Senator Norris at Washington, without vigorous aid from us?



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Courtesy of Survey Graphic, Lewis Hine and Workers' Health Bureau Calendar

BACK TO THE MINES!

The Valiant Victorious

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

BRIEF extracts from a coal-strike diary:
"OLD FORGE, August 31.—Goose Alley is filled with the afternoon's sunshine. Bare-legged children wait for their fathers, in three languages. The men come up from the colliery, smiles wreathing their smudged faces. They have been laughing at my haste to join them, which almost hurled me over the edge of the ragged hill, overlooking river and colliery and ending in the green alley. They take it for a great joke that I had come so near to breaking my neck, their own necks being in grave danger every day; but that's not to my way of thinking. There is a holiday spirit about them, for the "long vacation" has begun. This is the last shift at the Blue Goose colliery until the strike will be over. The spirit of the men—and of their women!—is high.

(So ran the picture on that last day of work all through the Land of Anthracite.)

"HAZLETON, September 15th.—The men, coatless, are playing cards. They are doing that everywhere—in the green fields, huddled against their stockade-like fences, sitting Turk-fashion in the doorways of their shacks. It is great fun, even though the last pay-day is now a thing of the past. The women share in that feeling, too. A gray-haired, motherly looking woman comes to the well to draw water, and stops to smile at the group of card-players. "They need the rest," she comments. The spirit of men and women is calm, and certain of victory.

"TAMAQUA, February 12th.—The snow is knee-deep, both on hills and in the valley. A bitter wind sweeps down upon the miners' houses. It has been at that for days, beating at the resistance of the miners' households. Five months is a long time to be out, especially in this winter of winters. There is the pinch of food and the pinch of fuel. But the spirit of the men and women is undaunted."

The Winning Spirit

There you are. The last entry quoted was on the last day of the strike, but nobody knew it—yet. The chorus was nevertheless the same. The spirit of the men and women in the Anthracite ran like a refrain through the long song of the Great Strike.

That spirit, despite the adverse judgment of the capitalist press, brought victory. It is no wonder that the business-controlled newspapers wished to create the impression that the outcome was a miners' defeat. On the strength of that determined line of 160,000 men in the Anthracite hung the fate, in large part, of Organized Labor everywhere in

America. And its results even reached across the seas, to the miners of other lands.

Such a judgment as that of the press was either perverse lying or perverse stupidity. Anyone who had walked among the miners for weeks and talked with them; anyone who had followed the business step by step, from the demand of the operators for a wage cut in the Spring to the final conference on Lincoln's birthday, knew that it was lying or stupidity.

As I stated months ago, this engagement in the Anthracite was not for a wage increase on the miners' part so much as against a proposed wage decrease and for the union check-off. Those who are unfamiliar with the mining industry do not appreciate what the winning of this latter demand meant to the men who dig coal, at this particular time. It was the vital point in the contest.

Value of the Check-off

The winning of the union check-off meant this: that the operators would automatically take out of the miner's pay on pay-day his union dues and turn them over to the union's officers. This would relieve the loyal union men of the burden of bearing the loss of time and money of the "button" strikes—the curse of the Anthracite industry. In any mass of thousands of men, there is bound to be a small per cent. negligent in their group obligations. Under the old system, this insignificant minority could penalize the overwhelming majority of loyal union men. Coming to the mine without his union button one man at a colliery could hold up the work of 40, 50 or 100 others.

For, so deep is the love of the union imprinted in the hard coal miners, that they will walk out in a body if any "black sheep" indicates by the absence of his button that he has been remiss in the payment of his union dues.

The check-off will, further, relieve the union of the cost of 160,000 receipts and buttons. It will do this, without adding on an extra cent to the cost of a ton of coal. The operators already have the machinery set up for this work, having checked off for dynamite, household goods, Red Cross pledges, beneficial society dues, etc., etc., since the beginning of the industry.

But most important of all: the check-off establishes the union firmly in the Anthracite. With one foot in the operators' offices, the union cannot so easily be budged from its strong position. Thus buttressed in hard coal, the United Mine Workers

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can turn their attention to the soft coal fields, in such state of utter confusion at the present hour.

The Issue and the Outcome

Here, then, we stood at the beginning of the strike: Wall Street openly gloated, through its organs, that the hour for the death of the union had struck. "We welcome the show-down" was its challenge. The operators had begun the offensive by a demand for a 10 per cent. wage reduction. The union had countered, at Scranton, with a 10 per cent. wage increase proposal. Here, by way of mathematics, a compromise at present wages would be a union victory. But the union went further and insisted upon the setting up of the union check-off.

The operators immediately played their trump card: "Arbitration." They hoped thus, to get the "public" on their side. But the "public" in the beginning was largely indifferent, although newspaper pressure slightly inclined it to favor the operators. As time wore on, the persistent refusal of the corporations to show their profits, or to listen to the Pinchot or Scranton TIMES peace proposals, swung "public" sentiment partially to the men. There were murmurings that this was merely a fight to smash the union. Although it is to be doubted that these murmurings had anything to do with the net result, the "public" being too stupid to be effective in such a crisis.

With the strongest combination of financial—railroad—mining powers against them that any body of men have faced, the miners went through starvation and freezing, to win their chief demands. When the smoke of conflict had blown away, the union could point to these achievements:

1. The wage cut had been beaten.
2. The union check-off was established.
3. "Arbitration" was erased and a conciliation system set up, somewhat similar to the rail union's Parker-Watson bill.
4. The union was not merely intact, but more firmly rooted in the industry.

Had there been any less to report today, then it would likewise be a report of disaster to the hard-pressed soft coal men. It would be a report of coming onslaught to American Labor in general. It would be a report that the union miners abroad—hemmed in by bad economic conditions on every side—were lost in the hopeless shambles of defeat. But, thanks to the steel courage of the valiant victorious, there is this other thing to announce: That the hard coal miners have held their lines, that there is no reduction, that there has been no union smashing in Anthracite, that international mining co-op-

WHO SETTLED THE STRIKE?

Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 16, 1926.

Dear Jim:

My mind is upset and unsettled, I'm weary, discouraged and blue,
I need information quite badly, so I'm passing the buck on to you.

No matter wherever I'm traveling, on railroad, on steamer, or pike,
There comes the question eternal, "Who settled the Anthracite strike?"

Was it Pinchot, that dreamer of "dryness," whose cellar always is bare?
Or was it the Joiner Jim Davis, who covets the Governor's chair?

It couldn't have been Billy Sproul, for Billy is quite out of date,
He's over the masses, this friend of the classes, and seems to be sleeping of late.

You don't mean to say it was Coolidge? Sure, Cal had declared, "All hands off!"
Yet, now that the strike is all settled, all undeserved credit is soft.

Then Vare, as the tool of the Interests, stands up and says, as you like,
The dream of a beautiful morrow, "It was I who settled the strike."

And the head of the Pennsylvania, a railroad decrepit and worn,
Cries out for a dole of the credit, like a tiny, young baby, just born.

I almost forgot friend, to mention, Mister Grant from O-H-I-O way;
A Grant freed the negroes at Richmond, did a Grant free the Miners today?

So you see, I'm in all sorts of trouble; everyone's taking credit alike,
Can't you help me in finding the answer? Who in hell, Jim, did settle the strike?

BILL.

Harrisburg, Pa., Feb. 17, 1926.

Friend Bill:

I was sitting, last night, by the fireside,
In the glow of a mellow flame,
When out of the night, fast aging,
This answer to you, old friend, came.

The financial backing of Labor,
And credit of merchants, alike,
The unbroken ranks of the workers, the miners—
That was what settled the strike.

JIM,
Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

eration can be carried through to some successful fruition.

That, with due regard to the capitalist press, is victory for the men—to whom American Labor in general must forever be grateful.

Headed Forward, But Going Backward

About Wine, Women, Work and Other Pleasant Topics

By **BILL BROWN, Boomer**

SAYS my old pal Sandy Hook to me the other day: "It ain't only where a thing's headed fer, that you got to look fer; it's where it's going to."

Now, there's some sense to that. "Fer instance," says he, "I got a sort of weak spot fer red-headed women. But then, look what that there red-headed lady did to that Prince Carol of Roumania. It's awful, I'm a-telling you."

And it is awful. You take prohibition. It's not that I'm against discussing that there subject on principle. But it's against my health. This here business of measuring morality by percentages has darn near give me apoplexy. No joke, neither. Not to mention what would happen if I took to bootleg "mule."

One guy declares up and down, he does, that all we got to do is make beer one and a fourth per cent. and we'll all be happy. Then, another one says, no siree, it must be two per cent. And another says it must be strong as booze, or it will never compete with bootleg white mule—and save the younger generation from a Dodge Brothers death. (Not from a Dodge Brothers car, you understand; the blame things couldn't go fast enough to kill you. But from the dose those there Dodges got up in New York, that shook off their mortal coil, or uncoiled them mortally or whatever you call it).

Anyway, I wouldn't be having these here thoughts at all, or mentioning the matter, except that I go through Westerville, Ohio, near Columbus, the other day. That there burg is the headquarters of the Anti-Saloon League and the home of Wayne B. Wheeler. A quieter place you never did see, and a quieter little house than that Anti-Saloon League is in was never built. It is just a big mansion with a lawn in front, innocent-like, and you'd never think all the noise that fills the nation could have-a come from there. No, sir.

And then, when I arrive in Ohio's capital a few minutes later, I find they're raising an awful mess because some poor professor has been caught bootlegging—or they say so, anyway. He's a disgrace to the profession, of course, though that there Stuart Sherman, what was a professor once, says they're all no good anyway. So the hallaballoo goes on.

And then, they say that he isn't only a bootlegger but a "red." And then, the Governor, he puts on his tintype face and gets mighty solemn. And he says, "No reds can disgrace our fair university—except Red Grange of Illinois, when he brings in a lot of dough fer it." And so they start an investigation. And while the investigation is going on, we learn that this here professor what was bootlegging, only made \$1,800 a year as a university professor. And I want to say, if I was a professor and only got that, I'd go bootlegging too; because there's many a bum professor that would make a mighty fine bootlegger, if "mother hadn't wanted him to be in a dignified calling."

And these universities are so set on business training now anyway, that it's only a short time till some peppy Rotarian will start a chair in Bootlegging, granting the title of B. V. D. for the Doctorate of Bottled Vinegar, as Sandy Hook says.

But to get back to what I was saying: One guy tells me that prohibition is a capitalistic invention, to keep the workers sober and efficient, so they will deliver the goods. Another, that it is bolshevistic, because they had it over in Moscow until Russia became a regular nation again, and because it will kill off all the rich men gradually, they being the only ones what can get a regular supply. It's all mixed up, I'm saying. And maybe prohibition is one of those there things that are headed forward but going backward.

Then, there is those ladies what is so set on getting their wrongs righted. They're all het up because some middle-class ladies can't do everything their husbands can. So they set out, by the funniest way of thinking I've run into, to demand that working women work long hours and do dirty work, just to show they're as good as men!

Well, that reminds me of a forward looking lady of my acquaintance, who also said she was going forward, who believed in suffrage strongly, but wouldn't smoke cigarettes. "How come?" I ask smartly. "Thought you wanted to be like men." "Avaunt," answered she, speaking haughtily. "When we ask for the rights, we don't intend to imitate the vices of men." Which was mighty pert, I'm saying. And those there ladies what wants to make

THE PEACE PRIZE WINNERS

THE judges in the contest among young folks for the Peace Prizes offered by Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram of the Peace House, New York, have read the manuscripts submitted and given their decisions. The prizes were won by the following: HIGHER AGE GROUP: First Prize—Isidore Ostrowsky, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Second Prize—Doris Krotulinsky, Mt. Carmel, Pa. LOWER AGE GROUP: First Prize—Lillian Seider, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Second Prize—Rose Wilenken, Brooklyn, N. Y. Other prize winners were: Pearl Crystal, Clara Hirshkowitz, Eleanor Reece, Wm. H. Lewis, Irving Marder, Helen Hoffman, Evelyn Goldberg, Evelyn Estrin, Rose Slipyan, Carrie Glasser, Max Posnick, Mildred Novick, Selma Herskowitz, May Desind, Fanny Cohen, Benedict Ohlan, Gertrude Gerstenzang, Clara Welenken, Rosalind Goldstein, Eleanor Bernstein, Emanuel Maxwell, Clarissa Feuer, Mildred Wilenken.

workingwomen as low as workingmen might think it over, too.

It looks mighty funny to see any women that is fighting for rights, lined up with the Manufacturers' Association. But then—I guess they're headed forward, but going backward, too.

Don't know, but seems to me those ladies would help a little on the Child Labor Amendment first, before starting out with their ideas. Now, you take that there amendment. The Manufacturers' Association cries aloud that it will ruin the children of the nation. Think of it! Having them go to school and not to work for the manufacturers. The country would be ruined, right off.

Then, they point to the Prohibition Amendment, and say: "Look what it brought us to." Though, search me, I can't make out what stopping drink by law has got to do with children's labor. And they keep this "bad" Prohibition Amendment on the books, or in the Constitution, in order that they may holler about it from now to Doomsday, I guess. But anyway, I can't make heads or tails out of it. Maybe that's why I'm a workingman and not a statesman.

So that's looking forward, but going backward, too.

Then, comes along our old friend Professor Carver, and says a lot about that there revolution that he sees going on in the United States. It's making all workers capitalists, says he. That's darn nice, I'm thinking, because I like the fleshpots, too. And I'm all excited, and think of going out and give three cheers for Judge Gary. But then, up I picks another book by another professor, Paul Douglass, and he says that we can't all be capitalists. Much less than that, we can't even hope to get a living wage for every one. If you count in the need for profits and for interest, there's not enough income in this bloated prosperous country to give us all a living wage. Which is blamed hard on all of us, except the profit and interest takers. And that looks forward but goes backward, too.

So I agree with Sandy Hook. I'm not only looking where a thing is looking at, but where it's going. It's movement that counts, not wishes. Action, not words make progress. Take it from me.

(And to show just what I mean, look at that there below picture. Uncle Sam's wondering: "Is Prohibition Saint or Devil?" Maybe you can answer.)



Judging the Judges

Wise Words on the Cause of Crime

By YAFFLES

IN England they have caught the habit rather prevalent in America among those Who-have-till-it-hurts. All things progressive have suddenly become "red." All evils that flesh is heir to spring from "Communism." Nobody knows what is meant thereby, but the aristocrats mumble it as though it meant something. Herewith Yaffles, British labor writer, pokes fun at a learned judge who was guilty of such folly just the other day.

A WORD needs to be said about the causes of crime. Mr. Justice Avory, in opening the Sussex recently, suggested two alternative causes for the recent recrudescence of crime, namely, the lessened fear of prison, and "Communism."

This opinion, coming as it does from the highly trained and, of course, absolutely unbiased mind of one of our most learned judges, must give us pause. Not that I mind pausing, it is one of my favorite pastimes.

This profound theory is the latest and, many will think, the most interesting of the contributions to the science of criminology. It has the additional interest in that it shows the detached and impartial mind of a great jurist, who is, after all, but a man beneath his ermine, and, as few judges wear nothing but ermine, beneath his suit, shirt and underwear as well.

We have, then, this conception of criminals being divided into two classes: (a) Those who err because they are not afraid of prison, and (b) those who fall from grace after reading Marx. It is of course undoubtedly true that crime is regarded by an enormous number of people as the only means of introduction to prison. Prisons nowadays are so pleasant that they are hard to resist. The allurements of the average "pen" cause the downfall of thousands of people annually and are often regarded as the answer to the question of why girls leave home. Some like the food, others the chaplain; while many do not specialize, but remember it only as a place of pleasant occupations and gentle companionships.

There are, however, necessarily more criminals made by "Communism." Few men have sufficient imagination to know how pleasant prison is until

the have been there. The question therefore arises—why did they go in the first place? We are left with only the other alternative—"Communism."

Theosophists, of course, do claim that when a man, who has apparently not been to prison before, wants to go, it is because he subconsciously remembers going in his previous incarnation. They cite, as an instance, the well-known case of the woman who, having been committed for the first time in her life, said to the driver of the van which was to take her to Holloway, "Home, John." Why, they say, did she speak so familiarly of prison if, as far as she knew, she had not been before? Clearly because in her last incarnation she had spent most of her time there.

However, these opinions are not very widely held, and I am definitely in favor of the view (a) that as a rule the reason why a man is not afraid of prison is because he has been there before; (b) that the cause which sent him to prison in the first instance was generally "Communism."

Let us now examine the power of "Communism" as an incentive to law-breaking. The best way to do this is to glance at some recent crimes and determine their cause.

Take, for instance, the case of Horatio Topley, the notorious swindler, who threw fifty thousand families into destitution by his bogus bank and then ran off with the proceeds. Did he not, in his confession, admit that the whole idea of the scheme came to him after reading an article by a Red propagandist on "Financial Credit the Cause of Poverty?"

Then there was Charlie Oldstiff, who was sentenced to seven years for breaking his wife's jaw with a coal-hammer. It was brought out that he had been a model husband until he read the chapter in a "red" book about the necessity of perfect sex equality in the home; "So I just dotted her one same like she was a man," he said.

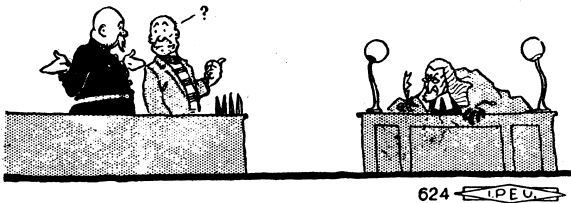
Equally significant was the excuse of a man who was charged with stealing safety razors from a factory and selling them at a small sum. He said he had heard a "Red" say that owing to the cost of competitive advertising the retail price was four

PASSAIC!

IT'S New Jersey again. When it's not moronic judges or atrocious sex crimes, it's the police that put that morbid state on the front page of the newspapers. God, in his infinite wisdom, must have corralled all the fools and put them into public office in New Jersey. At Passaic the textile workers are on strike against impossible conditions. In the bitter winter, they have put up a plucky fight. At Garfield, they have been met by a cordon of police and beaten, many of them, into insensibility. The human side of the Passaic strike will be told in our next issue by Mr. Budenz, who has been there.

times the cost of production, and he wanted to save the public unnecessary expense.

But one of the most flagrant cases was that of a man who had kicked his crippled grandmother down

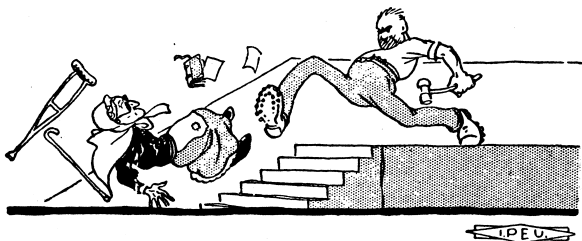


A judge is, after all, but a man.

a flight of steps. He made no defence, but the judge, in his summing up, said he did not want to influence the jury, but he would say that if they thought that the accused behaved as he did to the old woman because he had read in a "radical" paper that there was no place in society for the non-producer, then not only was it their duty to find him guilty, but they would also know how to vote at the next election. If, he added, they did not think the man had been so influenced, he still hoped they would know how to vote.

These, however, are clear cases of "Red" influence. The Judge's theory has yet to be tested by others which are not so clear.

The Wives in the Washtub Case, for instance, may offer some difficulty, even to the learned Judge himself. How did "Red" ideas cause a man to drown five consecutive wives in their own washtubs? This, however, is revealed the moment one remembers the "radical" argument about over-population, which also explains the motive of the notorious Mrs.



He had read there was no place for the non-producers.

Bloggs, the Baby Farmer, in drowning ten of her charges.

I have so far mentioned only the more common kind of offences—those which create little stir because they are lapses which anybody might commit. Let us consider the really serious crimes—those which shock society to the basis of its moral sense and in face of which the law seems impotent and the church stands idly by, affecting not to notice. I refer to such things as wearing a cigarette behind the ear and drinking tea out of the saucer.

Murder, after all, and the deliberate maiming of old women, are things any gentleman may be called upon to do for the sake of his country and in defence of his women-folk, while theft not only runs in some of the best families, but is the foundation of most of them. But incorrect behavior at meals and



The shocking affair at the Blenkinsop's.

errors in dress—such crimes are simply not in the same category. And yet can anyone doubt that the "Reds" are seeking to give power to the people who do these things?

There can be no doubt that their propaganda was the cause of the shocking affair at the Blenkinsop's the other night, when Professor Blimp, absent-mindedly forgetting where he was, remarked, "Really, my dear, you must speak to the butcher. This meat is getting worse and worse."

Finally, it will be remembered that Mr. Justice Avory made his profound observation when he was about to hear the case of Hayley Morrison, charged with the abduction of a number of young women. And if you cannot see the hidden hand of "Red propaganda" in this case, I shall not waste any more time on you.

Correspondence Lessons

Furnished by Workers' Education Bureau

By C. J. HENDLEY

LESSON IX.

The Effect of the World War on American Labor

The War a Stimulus to Organization

THE World War was a stimulus to the organization of labor. There were several reasons for this. The strong demand for labor gave organized workingmen greater opportunity to win their demands; and the rising cost of living compelled them to make demands. Then, after this country entered the war our government by its labor policies encouraged organization. At the very beginning of our participation in the war, urgent appeals were made to organized labor for its support in the war, and promises were made by the government that the union standards of wages, hours, and working conditions would be maintained.

The Government's Labor Policy

In June, 1917, Secretary of War Baker and Samuel Gompers signed an agreement that a commission should be appointed for the purpose of adjusting and controlling wages, hours, and conditions of work in the construction of the cantonments; and that the union scale of wages, hours, and the conditions of labor in force on June 1, 1917 in the locality where the cantonment was situated should be maintained.

In August, 1917, a conference was held, which consisted of representatives of shipowners, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, the U. S. Shipping Board, and the seamen's union; and a memorandum of understanding was drawn up, which contained a scale of wages and bonuses.

In November, 1917, the Chief of Ordnance issued General Orders No. 13, which were suggestions to arsenal commanders and manufacturers, and contained the following:

"In view of the urgent necessity for a prompt increase in the volume of production . . . vigilance is demanded of all those in any way associated with the industry lest the safeguards with which the people of this country have sought to protect labor should be unwisely and unnecessarily broken down. . . . Industrial history proves that reasonable hours,

fair working conditions, and a proper wage scale are essential to high production. . . .

"Ten hours is declared to be the maximum which should be required of an adult workman, and that the drift in industry is toward an eight-hour day as an efficiency measure. . . .

"As to wages it is stated that standards already established in an industry in a locality should not be lowered. . . .

"The need of preserving and creating methods of joint negotiations between employers and employees is especially great. . . . Existing channels (the unions) should be preserved and new ones opened."

Thus in the early part of the American phase of the war, our government was encouraging the maintenance of union standards and bargaining with organized workingmen. The quotations given above are examples of many such declarations of policy by representatives of the government. And it may not be out of order at this point to suggest that if such policies are good in war time, they ought to be good in times of peace.

The National War Labor Board

A short time before the armistice was arranged the National War Labor Board was organized, whose purpose was to serve as a sort of Supreme Court to which industrial disputes might be referred. This Board established certain principles to guide it in its deliberations. Among these were the following:

"The right of workers to organize into trade unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by employers in any manner whatsoever.

"In establishments where the union shop exists the same shall continue, and the union standards as to wages, hours, and other conditions of employment shall be maintained.

"If it shall become necessary to employ women to do work ordinarily performed by men, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work.

"The right of all workers, including common laborers, to a living wage is hereby declared. In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be estab-

LABOR AGE

lished which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort."

This declaration of policy was a powerful stimulus to organization. Trade union membership grew rapidly. Wherever there was a group of workers who had a grievance and wanted to get them before the War Labor Board, there was a strong incentive to organize and secure experienced union men to present their grievances in a business-like way. Paid-up membership in the A. F. of L. increased from about 2,000,000 in 1916 to over 4,000,000 in 1920. And the unions outside the A. F. of L. flourished, too.

The Government's Railroad Labor Policy

The government took over the administration of the railroads at a time when most of the employees were very much dissatisfied with their wages. Railroad wages had not followed the upward trend of the cost of living as well as had the wages of other workers. Hence, one of the first matters of importance confronting the government was the adjustment of wages. A railroad wage commission was appointed for this purpose; and it is said to have adjusted the grievances of over a million employees, whose interests had never before been protected by agreements with the companies. In May, 1918, the Director-General of Railroads issued a general order advancing the wages of all railroad employees receiving less than \$250 per month. The increase ran as high as 43 per cent. for those receiving the lowest pay. During the year supplementary orders were issued making further advances for certain classes of employees. In April, 1919, a further increase was granted train crews. Then in 1920 another general order was issued making considerable increases in pay, which were justified by the further increase in the cost of living that had occurred by that time.

During the government's operation of the railroads, the leading principles governing its labor policy were: (1) The basic eight-hour day; (2) adjustment of wages in accordance with the changes in the cost of living; and (3) recognition of the unions. The issue of the closed shop did not arise.

The labor policies of the Wilson Administration are more responsible, perhaps, than anything else for Wilson's and McAdoo's unpopularity with the interests. Certain newspapers have waged a ceaseless and insidious campaign to discredit these two men; and, if the truth were known, we would perhaps find that the encouragement that they gave to organized labor has inspired this propaganda more than Wilson's foreign policy or anything else that

he or McAdoo did. Their labor policy was extremely hateful to the big employers.

Labor's Prosperity During War Time

Labor enjoyed great prosperity during the war and for some time afterwards; but this was due, in general, not to the increase in wages (for they did not keep pace with the rising cost of living), but to the increase in the number of jobs and the amount of overtime. A few highly skilled men did receive big, fabulous wages, but most of the big pay envelopes were due to many hours of overtime. It often happened that the worker's entire family found steady employment plus a great deal of overtime. The result was a great increase in the prosperity of the family as a whole, even after allowance is made for the enormous increase in the cost of living. Some workingmen's families bought flivvers or second-hand cars. In normal times workingmen have to reckon with unemployment, which ranges from 10 per cent. to 30 per cent. of the number of working days. It was full-time employment plus many hours of overtime that accounted for labor's prosperity from 1916 to 1920.

The return to normalcy we will mention in another lesson. Unemployment, drastic cuts in wages, abolition of union conditions of work, lengthening of hours, and abolition of collective bargaining, were the main features of what President Harding had the nerve to call a return to normalcy.

One result of the war was an enormous increase in our wealth-producing power. We have no exact measurement of the amount of this increase, but the engineers say it certainly has been very great. During the war we undertook enterprises on a bigger scale than we had dreamed of before, and found means of speeding up production to surprising limits. At the present time production is quite as great as it was at any time during the war, yet there is no great strain on the producing capacity of our factories and other industries. In the manufacture of shoes, clothing, furniture, the production of food stuffs, the mining of coal, the manufacture of automobiles and trucks, and in many other lines of production there has been an enormous increase in capacity. This is the result of great improvements in machinery, in chemical processes, and in the organization and management of work.

This tremendous increase in the capacity to produce has led to greater accumulations of capital. This in turn makes still greater production possible. So it has come about that the great problem in business is, not how to produce more, but how to

keep production in control so as not to flood the markets. This means that the control over business is becoming more highly centralized into the hands of a few big corporations. The key industries, that is, the fundamental industries, like coal, iron, oil, transportation, packing, textiles, telephones and telegraphs, building supplies, power, etc., are all being organized by billion dollar corporations. The Interstate Commerce Commission has a plan for combining all the railroads in the country in a few super-corporations.

Banking and the power of the bankers have been expanding in the same way. Refined methods in the use of credit and in controlling it have come into use. The Federal Reserve System is a highly centralized control over credit and is being used to prevent business from getting beyond the control of the big corporations.

The Effects Upon Labor

These developments are of the greatest importance to labor. They mean that those who own and control working people's jobs are organizing and concentrating their power. This explains why it is increasingly harder for labor to win its demands either by bargaining with employers or by strikes. The railroad shopmen, the steel workers, the textile workers, the coal miners, have each in turn found themselves opposed by powerful interests that extended far beyond their immediate employers. For example, the shopmen in 1922 discovered that New York bankers were dictating to railroad managers in the matter of settling the strike. In whatever direction labor turns, it finds itself confronted by a powerful and solid front.

Labor Learning Its Lessons

The results of this movement in business have been: First, some of the worst defeats that labor has suffered, as, for example, the steel strike of 1919, the coal strike of 1919, and the railroad shopmen's strike of 1922. Second, it has forced labor to move toward more compact and stronger organization. Just as the big national and international unions began to be organized about the time of the Civil War because of the powerful forces of the big business corporations that began to develop then; so at present the power of the billion dollar corporations and the highly centralized banking power are forcing labor to increase the power of its organizations.

But whatever changes of policy there are taking place in the labor movement, they are coming about

through force of circumstances rather than as the result of anybody's agitation. This has been true of all great changes in the movement. New practical situations give rise to new policies and new tactics. Mr. Gompers in an editorial in the *American Federationist* of February, 1923, describes the ability of labor to adapt itself to the new circumstances in the following words:

"The American trade union movement has developed along certain lines because practice and experience have shown the practicability and the wisdom of these lines. The trade union movement is not as it is because of any pattern laid down by any individual or by a group of individuals. The trade union movement, in other words, is not a thing that has been made. It is something that has grown. The trade union movement is life itself, and life takes its form from its environment and inheritance. . . . Because of inherited knowledge and because of experiences through which it has passed and the conditions with which it has been surrounded, the trade union movement has taken the form in which we know it. . . ."

"The history of the American Federation of Labor and of the whole organized labor movement since the first struggling local union was formed in our country has been a history of change and progress. There have been many amalgamations of organizations and there doubtless will be many more. These amalgamations, however, have been in response to the clear necessities of the workers themselves and not in response to the propaganda of a would-be dictator. Not only have there been amalgamations and unifications of organizations, but there has been a constantly increasing degree of federation throughout the whole movement. As a result of experience the idea of federation has become the dominant idea in the American labor movement for the development of unity and strength."

SUGGESTION FOR FURTHER STUDY

The readers of this series of lessons, who have Mary Beard's "Short History of the American Labor Movement" at hand, should read carefully the last chapter of her revised edition, pp. 172-201, on Recent Labor Developments. It is a good brief account of the present day labor problems.

Labor History in the Making

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

IN THE U. S. A.

YOUR SHARE OF PRODUCTION

WHILE British Labor talks in terms of a Living Wage, American Labor has stepped on a little further in its wage demands. With wages falling, as they are in Britain, it is of grave importance that the organized workers see to it that all men get enough to live and raise a family.

America is in a different position. "We" are the Lord of the World, temporarily. The tribute from every corner of the globe flows in upon us—largely to our Wall Street bankers. But the American worker does get some of the crumbs from Wall Street's table, as the small advance in real wages indicates.

He gets that, but not enough. He is short-changed on the fruits of his increased production. At Atlantic City, therefore, the A. F. of L.—following the lead of John Frey—adopted a resolution which marks a decided advance in the thinking of American Labor toward the wage problem and toward industry in general.

This resolution read: "Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wage, the pur-

chasing power of their wages, is increased in proportion to man's increasing powers of production."

As Brother Frey says, in the January AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, this is a "sound basis for wages." How can workers consume that which is produced, if they do not share equitably in the division of the fruits of production? It is a principle that industry will be forced to recognize. Beyond it lies still a deeper principle—which will be discussed in these pages when Dr. Paul Douglas's recently issued book on wages is discussed—the relation of the worker to the control of industry itself.

But for the present, in future wage disputes and debates, the demand of Organized Labor will be: "A wage proportioned to the increasing powers of production!" In other words: "We, the workers, make for increased production—even by such demands as the eight-hour day—and we demand a return in proportion to the increase." And even beyond that: "Social unrest must increase of necessity, unless this rise in our real wage is forthcoming!"

MR. WARD BECOMES A GOD

AT our Sunday breakfasts, on the last day of January, we unsuspecting Americans were treated to a beautiful surprise. A new Lady Bountiful had come into our midst. The NEW YORK TIMES told us all about it. "Huge baking merger, with Ward as head, to be philanthropic" ran the headlines. "Papers filed at Baltimore for the Ward Food Products Corporation—Billion Dollar Company—Charter directs that provisions be made out of profits for employes' hospitals—Benefits for children—To have \$20,000,000 No Par Shares, each with a vote—Maryland's Greater Corporation."

Thus did the big Baking Combine, which will hereafter control our daily bread, make its entrance on the scene. Those headlines told the story. In the incorporation papers, it is stated that when the dividends on the preferred stock are paid, sums of

money shall be set aside for a welfare fund—to see that children are born well, that they grow into maturity, and that the health and welfare of the American people are amply protected.

The next day Mr. Ward himself unfolds to the papers the Godlike mission which he has assigned himself. He will breathe a "soul" into a corporation. God did that to man; Mr. Ward will do it for corporate persons. The biblical tithing plan is the basis for his company's welfare program, he says in an interview.

With all due respect to Mr. Ward's "divine" ideas, we wish to state from the records that this is all bunk and hypocrisy. It was in the name of a "Corporation with a Soul" that the U. S. Steel Corporation unleashed its Reign of Terror. It was in that name that it prevented meetings in steel towns, attacked Father Kazinsky, murdered men and

women, and maintained those conditions which the Interchurch World Movement condemned. It was in the name of the Bible and Christianity that John the Baptist Rockefeller bled and bled his workers in Colorado and now breaks his solemn contract in West Virginia.

Mr. Ward's corporation to date has a record of robbery against farmers, workers and consumers that stands out in the history of this new Roman Empire of ours, America. Its dividends have run into the hundreds of per cents, while its workers have been denied the right of organization and the right to a just wage. It is justice that the workers want; not charity. One of the most powerful speaking arguments for unionization is to be found in the Ward case—where the money earned by the bakery workers is diverted to all sorts of high-faluting ventures for publicity's sake, without those workers being consulted about it.

The American people do not need Mr. Ward's fatherly care. It is time that they demand an end to the extortion which he is practicing in his blasphemous way—throwing about it the mantle of divinity. Mr. Ward should get in touch with Mr. Nash of Cincinnati!

WHAT RAIL WORKERS WANT

OF late the following events have occurred in the Railroad World of America:

Consolidation has been speeded up. Right under the noses of Wall Street, the Frisco Railroad got control of the Rock Island. This forecasts the building of a huge new system in the Southwest, for the Frisco will not be satisfied with its new acquisition alone. It follows hard upon the heels of the Nickel Plate's big merger scheme and that proposed by L. F. Loree of the Delaware and Hudson.

Something has been granted the railroad workers, in the recent act of the majority of the railroad magnates in agreeing to what is known as the Parker-Watson Bill. This is largely a re-draft of the Howell-Barclay Bill, which almost passed the last Congress and which abolishes the Railway Labor Board and provides for committees of workers and companies to determine wages.

The National Association of Manufacturers, through its counsel, James Emery, attacks the Parker-Watson bill. The Association wishes to retain the Labor Board.

L. F. Loree follows the lead of the Manufacturers and expresses dissatisfaction with the Parker-Watson bill. He announces that at least a minority of railroad magnates support him in this stand. This forecasts a fight in Congress on the measure.

THE LORELEI



Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Journal

Siren which has tempted many tyrants to destruction.

It was railroad consolidation, originally, which led to organization among railroad workers. The new era of massive mergers makes it imperative that the workers on the rails are freed from the Railroad Labor Board, already controlled in the main by the corporations.

The new agitation for the Plumb Plan, beginning to be evident among certain rail workers, has forced the railroad officials to try to stem the tide by this concession of the Parker-Watson Bill. The time is therefore, ripe to strike home for it. All central bodies and local labor unions should bring pressure on their Congressmen and Senators to put the bill upon our statute books.

THE RIGHT IDEA

NOT every bright idea is a right idea. Numerous gentlemen who have burnt their fingers can tell you that.

But the Labor Movement of Portland, Ore., seems to have hit upon an idea which, fortunately, is both. That city was one of the very first to boast of a labor college. It is therefore with much interest that central bodies everywhere must read of this

LABOR AGE

item from the OREGON LABOR ADVOCATE, headed "College to take Mountain to Mohamet."

In part the item says:

"New methods being tried by the Labor college may completely revolutionize the labor education movement in this state, according to H. Aaron Director, the head of the college. Labor failing to come to the college in numbers satisfactory, the college is now to be taken to labor. The plan is to take the college into the local unions by providing speakers who will address the unions and permit a discussion of the subjects handled.

"Four unions, so far, have agreed to give the plan a trial. The Building Laborers, Steam Engineers, Molders, and Painters Union No. 10 are the organizations that will set aside one meeting night each month and make the lecture a special order of business.

"If the unions respond sufficiently, the scheme will be extended and a greater number of speakers secured as well as a greater variety of subjects offered.

"The lecture plan will not supplant the class work in the college hall but will be used as a complementary activity and to stimulate a greater enrollment in the classes."

Now, that sounds more like the sort of education that will link up economic (and other) facts and figures with the struggle of the workers. It is the sort of education which will be increasingly adopted in America, as the experimental stage comes to a close. Workers Education, LABOR AGE has insisted, while it must be wide enough to fill all the needs of the workers as members of Organized Labor, must essentially be directed to the question: "How can we win higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions and a real approach to control of industry?"

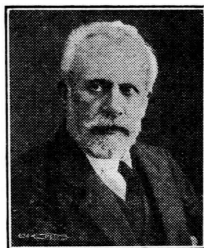
In that education, LABOR AGE itself will play no mean part. As has been suggested, the discussion of the various articles that appear in these pages at central body or local union meetings are the very basis of successful local education. Our pages are prepared with that in mind. It is surprising how little organized workers know of the achievements of their own movement, or of the things it has done for the unorganized. It is sometimes surprising how little we know of the underlying economic conditions, or of the manner of control of the industry in which we work. It's the first job of Workers Education to get over that message.

Portland is to be congratulated on undertaking this important step—which goes hand in hand with the splendid work in Philadelphia and the pragmatic education in District 2 of the Miners. Both of these ventures are equipping the workers to carry out their organized fight more effectively.

FIFTEEN YEARS OF "HEALTH-FARE"

It is a decade and a half of years ago since the great strike in the ladies' garment industry. Almost overnight, a slum-ridden, heavily sweated group of workers became overwhelmingly union—

SPAIN LOSES LEADER



*I*N the death of Pablo Iglesias, the Spanish workers have lost their outstanding leader. An orphan, he was placed in a foundling asylum when a child. Escaping from the institution, he wandered

the streets of Madrid, looking for work and finally became a printer, a leading spirit in the organization of the typographical men, their President, and the chief spokesman of industrial and political working class movements in Spain. Although insurgents frequently expressed impatience with Iglesias' practical attitude toward progress, he lived to see the day when trade unions were officially recognized by the Government. The demonstration on the day of his burial was one of the greatest that Spain has ever seen.

and struck thereby a fatal blow at the sweatshop evil that had disgraced the city of New York.

Out of that strike came another splendid help to the workers—the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. On this board representatives of union and employers combined to stamp out the evils in the industry. Voluntary inspection was set up for workshops. Later, there came the Union Health Center, to prevent illnesses which arise among the garment workers, and finally the Dental Clinic on Fourth Avenue, which is the "baby" in the "health-fare" work of this industry.

It was in 1919 that the unions of the I. L. G. W. U. decided to take over the control of the Union Health Center and run it by themselves, without the assistance of the employers. Health information and health education are important phases of its work. A drug store at which prescriptions can be filled at the low price of 25 and 35 cents, X-Rays and Laboratory, a Life Extension department, and general and special clinics, are features of the Health Center. Under the able direction of Dr. George Price, the work has gone on, driving spikes in the coffin of insanitary conditions, crowned by the establishment recently of the sanitary label.

Here is a fine example of constructive unionism, a fruit of strong union organization. What unionism brought to the harassed ladies garment workers, it can bring to the textile workers and other heavily sweated trades. It is a fine message to deliver to the unorganized.

IN OTHER LANDS

AROUND THE GLOBE

Italian dictatorship continues to challenge the world. Having beaten down the trade unions for the time being, Mussolini levels new attacks upon all leaders who raise their voices in favor of a more liberal Italy. Decrees of confiscation have been issued against Professor Salvemini, the distinguished historian; Francesco Nitti, former Premier; and Don Sturzo, the priest-leader of the Catholic Popular party. The official organ of the Fascisti calls for a "holy madman" to assassinate Professor Salvemini, now in exile in London.

Mussolini methods are being copied in Central and South America, according to Santiago Iglesias, Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Five so-called "republics" are at present under control of dictators, who deny every right to the workers. The "republic" of Cuba—in reality a province of the Sugar Trust—threatens to dissolve the unions which have been making excellent progress.

Across the seas, the agitation among Chinese workers has died down for the present, though it may flare up at any moment, again. The contest has settled down into a political one, with Japan backing the War Lord of Manchuria and South China under radical or near-Bolshevist influences.

France continues to wrestle with her financial problems, with no nearer an approach to a solution than several months ago. After rejecting J. H. Thomas' acceptance of the Railway Wage Board decision, the representatives of the British rail workers, by a margin of six votes, agreed to go along with Thomas and the Board. A strike was thereby averted at the eleventh hour.

The British Parliament opened on February 2nd, with a show of peace. But below the surface the government is preparing widespread strike-breaking machinery. The Coal Commission, which has held prolonged sessions, is already certain to bring in an unsatisfactory report—and Premier Baldwin, in anticipation of that outcome, has called for a meeting of miners and operators for an early date. In the Spring, a coal strike is a likely incident, with the new National Alliance in the background to assist the Miners.

COAL BLAZES UP AGAIN

COAL is the key to Britain's future welfare. It is the largest natural resource that that "snug little island" has. With it in an unhealthy state—as it is at present—Britain can never expect to recover economically.

The Miners Union and the Labor Party presented a joint report to the National Coal Commission,

again suggesting nationalization of the mines. Coal was to be linked up to electric power, now the concern of every nation. The mines were to be bought out and a National Coal and Power Production Council formed to run them. This council was to be composed of equal representation from executive and working departments of the industry, elected by their respective organization, and by a lesser representation from the nation.

We have used "was" and "were" in reference to the workers' proposals, because it is clear that the Coal Commission will not accept these suggestions. Events are moving toward Nationalization, however. The coal operators have shown themselves to be what a Liberal Party paper calls, "Stone Age Men." The Liberal proposals themselves are for state purchase of the mines, but with the mine-owners remaining in control—an impossible condition. But it is a sign of the times that that Party has made such a proposal.

The coal crisis again comes to a head in the Spring, when the present working agreement hit on last Summer comes to a close. "The Mines for the Nation" will be the Miners' cry. The Tories will demand armed forces to put this idea down. A rather hot time is likely to result—unless Baldwin finds another compromise.

INSECT POWDER



"Nationalization" is the insect powder which will drive mine owners and profit system away, says the British "New Leader."

OTHER NEWS FROM BRITAIN

FROM Anglo-Saxon Land comes other news of moment and some of inspiration. Here are the high-lights from it:

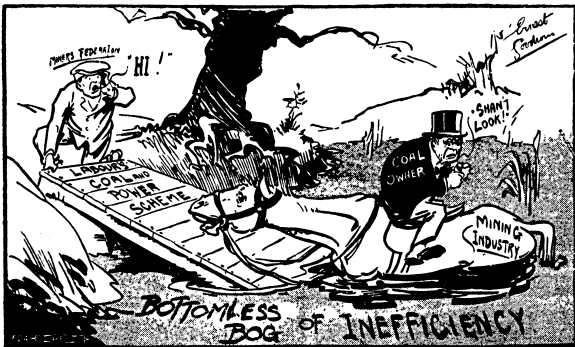
The widespread Cooperative Movement enters 1926, with even larger prospects of usefulness. Already 220,000 tons of grain and seed have been purchased from the Russian Cooperative Society, of what will be an annual order of 500,000 tons. The quarterly meetings of the Cooperative Wholesale Society in various parts of the country was evidence of the strength of the movement. The chief problem before the cooperatives seems still to be the question of the proper handling of their trade union employees.

The Liberal Party, hopelessly cut down in numbers by recent elections, is facing even worse division. In the organs of the party there has been much talk of an alliance with Labor against the Tories. Liberal opinion is divided, as usual, but the Labor Party will hear nothing of such an arrangement. Sir Alfred Mond, a large manufacturer and leading member of the Liberal Party, has deserted it because of Lloyd George's land policy, and has joined Baldwin and the Tories. It seems to be only a question of time until the Liberal Party shall have disappeared.

The situation of the unemployed has been made worse by the action of the Tory Government in cutting down the public grants for public works. In this way, Baldwin hopes to "balance the national budget" at the expense of the needy poor!

The Independent Labor Party—the Socialist wing of the general Labor Party—decided on a somewhat new policy in agitating its principles. It will put forward the Living Wage, as the first demand of its group, rather than talking of Nationalization itself, without relation to the workers' immediate struggle. After the "frontal attack on poverty" is disposed of, the Party will go on to agitate for general Nationalization. A minority group, headed by Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., opposed the new policy.

COAL!



As the London "Daily Herald," Labor paper, sees the situation.

WONDERS IN DENMARK

THAT wee country of the Skagerrack and Catte-gat has long been the occasion for cheer on the part of the producers of the world—farmers and workers.

It is good to know that it is still "carrying on". Long the "land of cooperators," Denmark is continuing its fine record. We were all thrilled last year to note the remarkable victory of the General Laborers Union of that land. Equally thrilling is the progress of cooperation.

When we recall how widespread is tenant farming in the U. S. A. today, it is startling to learn that only 2 per cent of the farm land of Denmark is leased or hired. The Danish farmers own their land, and they have purchased it through no private banker. The Government has made them the loans on which they have secured the land. Back of that lie their cooperatives—dairies, pig slaughteries, cattle breeding societies, egg collecting societies, organizations for the purchase of manure, farm machinery, seeds, etc., etc.

Hand in hand with these things has gone the program of disarmament, in which the Danes now lead the world. The Social Democratic Secretary of State, Laust Rasmussen, has introduced the Government's bill, calling for the end of conscription. Further, all fortification works are to be demolished. The Army and Navy are to cease to exist as such. They are to become a small force, known respectively as the "coastguard force" and the "state marine."

In this small way, in this little land, wonders are being worked right under our own eyes.

Compulsory

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At the Library Table

AN ANNOUNCEMENT AND A WARNING

AS indicated in the title, this statement has a double purpose. We announce herewith the opening of a new book department. In addition to shorter notices, it will review at least one book a month of special current interest to workers and students of labor problems.

The warning is, to look before you leap in the matter of stock buying. This last month Dr. W. Z. Ripley has raised a grave doubt about the value of the stocks being peddled by corporations to workers, because of their usual non-voting status. The President has even asked Prof. Ripley to a conference at the White House on the subject. At the same time, as noted below, Prof. Carver—leading champion of stock peddling, gives his view in the book reviewed here and published by Little, Brown and Co.

STOCK-SELLING REVOLUTIONS

Poor Prof. Carver and his "Kingdom of God"

WE give you our word of honor, we wanted to be serious about it. There has been such a furore of late, throughout this Land of Milk and Honey, concerning the selling of corporation stock to the workers and consumers. Every large combination of capital has turned to it as the means to get more capital, and to issue in an era of eternal peace.

Firstly, we heard all the good things that were to come of it. The lion was to lie down with the lamb. The workers were to become "co-workers" with the employers. It was to be a Year of Jubilee—all but the dividing up part.

Then, treasonable doubts were whispered here and there. Professor William Z. Ripley, the economist, was bold enough to herald them to the nation. Those workers who had hypnotized themselves into believing that they "owned" something or "controlled" something when they bought these stocks rubbed their eyes in surprise. They found themselves in the embarrassing position of the Emperor of China of whom Hans Anderson wrote, years ago. He had been persuaded that he had clothes on. But he had no clothes. They had been persuaded that they had "control" of something. Professor Ripley tells them that they control nothing. Worse than that, they have given their money to these corporations without even a wee voice in the matter of control.

So there has been much talk in the press about it. So, Wall Street has been interviewed, and has agreed something must be done. The bunco game has been exposed. They must think up another one. Now that the "democracy" of the thing has been shown a sham, they are over-heated on "voting power" and "control."

While wrought up on these themes, we discovered on our library table the very book we had been looking for—Professor Thomas Nixon Carver's *THE PRESENT ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES*. We knew that Professor Carver was "sold" on the idea of all workers becoming capitalists through the buying of corporation stocks. We knew that he considered this a great "revolution," in which Capitalist America was leading the world. From his watch-tower at Harvard—far from the battle of life—he must have seen a vision. Even though we could not agree with him, we could read with interest and delight his comments thereon.

Alas, poor Carver, we know him now too well! He gives us heat, but little light. He has the blind belief in Capitalism that many Socialists have in Socialism. Any one who criticises it, is a "blatant demagogue" or a "socialist agitator,"

He will not admit that the Profit System can be overthrown, just as it overthrew Feudalism and as Feudalism overthrew the Slave State.

"Sanity reigns and the government at Washington still lives!" he cries. And in that cry is summed up his whole philosophy. Apparently, he did not even think of the criticism of his stock-peddling revolution that Prof. Ripley has come along and voiced—and thereby knocked it, temporarily, into a cocked hat.

In his eyes, we are prosperous—not because of our immense natural resources, not because we are not at present the Bankers of the World, as England used to be—but because we "are seeking the Kingdom of God." Read his words and weep: "All these things are added unto us precisely because we are seeking the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, as they are always added and must of logical necessity always be added unto any nation that seeks whole-heartedly those ideals of justice that are the very essence of the Kingdom of God."

Prefaced by these words and much more along the same line, the worthy professor then proceeds to show us the work of the princes of the Kingdom of God. A few quotations will suffice. "In 1911 there were 6,078 stockholders of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, whereas in 1924 there were 300,000. Armour and Co. was formerly largely a family affair; in 1924 there were 77,000 shareholders. There are 46,751 stockholders of Swift and Co. Of the total of 123,751 owners of these companies, 55,000, or nearly half, were reported to be employees. . . . The Bethlehem Steel Co. reports 49,497 stockholders with 14,000 employees subscribing for shares under the present plan." So on with the Western Union, the A. T. and T. (that noble work of the Lord), the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Co., etc., etc.

The professor must be near-sighted. He has persuaded himself that these stockholders actually have something to say about these corporations. He believes the thing ought to go on, in the way it is going. We have a kindlier view of the "Kingdom of God." To us it means something in terms of concrete justice. We are making a study of these corporations, one by one, and mean to find out just how much "control" the workers are enjoying in them. We will present the facts in *LABOR AGE*, just as Mr. Dunn is presenting the facts about the company unions. We will try to go even further, and show how this transitional period in America—largely the result of our being for the time the richest country in the world—may or may not dovetail in with real Industrial Democracy and a check on Profit Taking. We hope to give serious thought to this—for it is an important problem for all workers—and not rival the fevered superficiality of the Harvard Prof.



Tell Your Neighbor!

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THE SPOKEN WORD AS WELL**

POLITICAL LEADERS CAN TELL YOU THAT

**It's Up to You to Spread the Facts About the Employers'
Schemes and Labor's Accomplishments**

DOES YOUR NEIGHBOR KNOW:

(For Example)

- ❑ That the anti-union Pennsylvania is establishing a world's record for rail accidents?
 - ❑ That its "Company Union" is a fake — the Company dealing with its men merely as individuals?
 - ❑ That the Rockefeller "Employees' Representation" Plan has been declared a failure by an impartial agency?
 - ❑ Of the thousand and one deeds of Organized Labor for the unorganized?
-

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