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# Labor Age

The National Monthly

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## "General" Atterbury's Company Union

Mrs. Morton's Story  
[About the State Police]

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# Labor Age

The National Monthly

25 Cents per Copy

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



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## "YOU'RE A LIAR, MR. AMERICAN PLANNER"

FROM the silver-lapping tongues of the paid panhandlers of the "American Plan" comes a stream of slime that would make old Ananias shudder (of course) with indignation. Leonard Kip Rhineland, a stammering hero of White Plains court house of white-black slavery fame, is as fit to become a professor in moral theology and oratory as these gentlemen to be unloosed upon American citizenry.

We present as Exhibit A the Right Honorable Frew Long, alarmist extraordinary for the Cleveland Open Shoppers. Frew is an adept at making the old cash register ring—for Frew.

Whenever the zeal of his employers runs low, he trots out sundry alarms, terrors, ghosts, goblins, gnomes, gargoyles—to give said employers delirium tremens, locomotor ataxia and St. Vitas Dance all at one and the same time.

Running short of ammunition Frew has gone far afield in his latest report, recently given to the world. He announces startling discoveries. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, is an apostle of violence and disorder. He will continue the revolutionary activities of the late Samuel Gompers!

"Jim" Maurer, Norman Thomas, Albert Coyle, Roger Baldwin and the L. I. D. in toto are "Communist Agitators." This eminent organization

changed its name, we are informed, at the instigation of Moscow. (Oh, Frew, how can you!) We are carried by this Great Lakes Sinbad across the Buckeye, Hoosier and Sucker Steppes, to Herrin, to view again the mangled, massacred—and see what will happen in Cleveland, if you don't look out!

Sitting in his palatial, velvet-carpeted, latest-manored home, with the numerous lights flickering soft and low, what shudders must beset the "tired business man" as he reads these sad, sadistic pages. His temperature jumps clean over the century mark and Frew's salary jumps with it.

In childhood days we would call the honorable author of this tommy-rot by a short and simple word. But bless you!—we know today that this is merely the striving of a hold-up man to camouflage his immoral job by a show of "service."

What has the "American Plan" in it that it can be called American? What is the high and holy purpose that it serves that makes it an agency of moral righteousness? What wide betterment has it created among the American masses? What child slave has it freed? What wages has it raised, except under fear of the International union? The facts answer: *None.*

Forget the organized workers for a moment. Take the unorganized. When did the "American Planners"

(Continued on page 29)

# Labor Age

The National Monthly

## “General” Atterbury’s Company Union

By ROBERT W. DUNN



International News Service

### “WRECK, WRECK, WRECK”

The “Break, Break, Break” of the poem on the sea, should be changed to “Wreck, Wreck, Wreck” on the Pennsylvania—as rail accidents are a regular occurrence of the “Road of Death.” The loss of union mechanics has led to a loss of efficiency on “General” Atterbury’s slaughter-house.

*“The Pennsylvania Railroad Plan is an accomplished fact. It is no longer an experiment. . . . It is not necessary for Pennsylvania Railroad employees to resort to a strike in order to get a square deal.”*

**T**HUS speaks the P. R. R. in the foreword to its latest booklet on its Employee Representation Plan. The management does not use the phrase “company union.” That would be “bad

psychology” and a breach of the tested principles of modern propaganda advertising. But the workers, at least a considerable number of tens of thousands of them, who work in the shops and offices and signal towers prefer to call a spade a spade. They call it the “company union plan.” Let us save words and call it simply the “plan.”

The company in its frequent pamphleteering broadsides attempts to tell us “What it is, what it is not, and how it works.” The present article will

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not attempt to summarize the information under these headings, but will confine itself to telling the reader how the plan was introduced and used to crush the labor unions of the workers and destroy the protective conditions built up by these unions. It will also, by way of introduction, present Mr. W. W. Atterbury, now President of the road.

### Mr. Atterbury—Himself

Mr. Atterbury is the man you read about in the employers' journals. Pennsylvania Railroad journalists have made quite a lion out of him. Like a number of others representing the Morgan-Standard Oil financial ring he helped Mr. Wilson win the war—some distance behind the lines. After this little service for democracy he returned to America and threw himself into the "return to normalcy" movement, which in his field meant the destruction of all national labor agreements on the railroads and the demoralization of the unions. As the head of the Railway Executives Association he contributed more than any other man to the causes of the disastrous shop crafts strike of 1922. And as a director and vice-president of the Pennsylvania he carried out effectively the anti-labor policy of the banker-controlled Association of Railway Executives.

It was only a year before this that Mr. Atterbury had released a story through the National Industrial Conference Board in which he said:

"I have no fight with organized labor so long as it does not bring about the "Closed Shop," advocate or practice sympathetic strikes, act to limit production, nor undermine discipline. I have every desire to see its existence healthy and normal. Within reasonable limits it is a healthy spur to bring about fair conditions as between employer and employee."

However, it was not long after this that he made a statement in New York City that he would give the American Federation of Labor one year to exist on the Pennsylvania Lines. He also claimed at the same time that the workers of the P. R. R. had no chosen representatives to act for them when actually 90 per cent. of the shop crafts, for example, were organized in the regular trade unions.

On another occasion, addressing the Association of Railway Executives, he advised: "Make no contracts whatever with the labor organizations." In other words, Mr. Atterbury wishes the unions to be "healthy," but they must not perform the chief function for which they were created—to represent the workers in negotiations with the employers.

In 1923 in an address before the Rotary Club of Philadelphia, Mr. Atterbury stated that "He Profits Most Who Serves Best," the Rotarian motto, was the principle underlying the P. R. R. plan. He

asserted that the road had become one "happy family" in its relations with its employees.

### Putting Over the Plan Among the Shop Crafts

To trace the Atterbury tactics in treating with the shop crafts unions is to discover what Mr. Atterbury means by "healthy and normal" unions, and a "happy family."

During the war the shop crafts workers on the P. R. R. were organized, thanks to the orders issued by the United States Railroad Administration and the activity of System Federation No. 90, affiliated with the Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L. Full recognition was granted in negotiations carried on between the unions and the governmental authorities then managing the road. National agreements were made and the unions thrived.

The war ended, federal operation was discontinued, the Transportation Act of 1920 was passed, the Railroad Labor Board was created and—Mr. Atterbury refused to believe that System Federation No. 90 represented the majority of his shop craft employees. At the same time he prepared a ballot of his own with which he proposed to take a vote for employees who should represent the shop craft workers in negotiations with the management. Thus entered the "plan." Mr. Atterbury in May, 1921, proposed it as a substitute for negotiations with the regular labor unions.

The unions proposed that the name of System Federation No. 90 be placed on the ballot so that the workers could designate it to represent them if they so desired. But the Brigadier-General refused to consider the proposal. He would deal with *his* men directly and not through any *outsider*. His notion of a "healthy and normal labor union" was one not represented in dealings with the employer—a sort of glorified coffin society or fraternal order!

The dispute resulted in Atterbury holding one election and the shop crafts another. In Atterbury's election 3,480 votes were cast for various individuals; the shop crafts union ballot was participated in by 37,245 workers, all of whom but 7 voted for System Federation No. 90 to represent them.

But Mr. Atterbury being a Brigadier-General and not a democrat, was fully satisfied that his one-tenth representation spoke for the workers, at least the "loyal" type—the only kind with which a respectable railroad executive would stoop to deal. So he entered into agreements with the representatives of his chosen 3,000 and entirely ignored the protests of the 37,000. The "plan" was in operation!

However, the 37,000 were unconvinced! System Federation No. 90 filed a complaint with the Labor

Board which decided that both ballots, the company's and the union's, were invalid and ordered a new election, prescribing the form of ballot to be used and specifying clearly that labor unions, as well as individuals, might be chosen as representatives. But Mr. Atterbury, being as lawless as Brigadier-Generals usually are, declined to accept the Board's decision or to declare his own election invalid. He went further and secured a court injunction to prevent the Board from publishing officially the fact that the company had violated the Board's decision. But when this injunction was carried to the higher courts it was vacated and Mr. Atterbury was left without a legal leg to support him.

But a powerful railroad is not dependent on legal support. It can with impunity defy a decision of the Railroad Board, an act of Congress and a decree of the Supreme Court. Mr. Atterbury did all of these—and got away with it. This is not the first time the Morgan Railroad has thumbed its nose at all the "constituted authorities," and of course there is no "public opinion" to call it to account, as certain works by Mr. Upton Sinclair and Mr. Walter Lippman will explain. A public opinion that expresses itself so approvingly of an oil-stained and corrupt political party as that presided over by Calvin Coolidge is not likely to howl for the scalp of Mr. Atterbury. Of course if a labor union should dare to violate a mandate of the Labor Board, let alone the Supreme Court—that is quite another matter calling for the intervention of the army, the navy, the state police and the American Defense Society. But Mr. Atterbury and his friends in the publicity department of the Pennsylvania Railroad see to it that public opinion does not get "out of hand."

In the Supreme Court decision which was a severe condemnation of the company, we learn something about the workings of the "plan." Said Chief Justice Taft himself:

"The company paid the expenses of the organizations (the company union committees—R. W. D.) and such permanent officers as they had were put upon the payroll of the company. It instituted a trade organization with which the company proposed to deal and has dealt, although the evidence conclusively showed that it did not at the time of the election certainly represent a majority of the employees."

Which is putting that part of it mildly enough.

#### The Shopmen Strike Against the "Plan"

In October 1921, while the case concerning the Pennsylvania's violation of the Labor Board's decision was still pending before the Board, System Federation No. 90 submitted a strike ballot to the

men. The ballot called for a "yes" or "no" answer on two propositions: First—Do you select System Federation No. 90 . . . as the organization . . . to represent you? Second—In the event the P. R. R. refuses to comply with Decision No. 218 of the U. S. Railroad Board, shall a strike be authorized on a date to be later set?

Both questions were answered overwhelmingly in the affirmative. The date for this strike against the "plan" had not yet been set when the shop craft workers of the other roads voted to strike July 1, 1922 in protest against low wages, unbearable working conditions, and the anti-union practice of farming out repair work. System Federation No. 90 thereupon decided to strike for its demands on the same date as the nation-wide shopman's strike. Consequently on July 1st some 32,000 men struck on the P. R. R. or, according to labor officials, over 75 per cent. of the men then employed in the shop crafts department of the road. This was the answer of the workers to Mr. Atterbury's "plan."

How this strike was broken on the Pennsylvania and on other roads, is not within the scope of this discussion. Jay Lovestone's "The Government Strikebreaker" will bring back the picture vividly to any worker who wishes to refresh his memory concerning the role of the capitalist state in this labor dispute. It is sufficient to note that the Brigadier-General and his Wall Street collaborators used every device known to the art of strike-breaking to demoralize the union ranks and drive the workers back under the open shop conditions. The "plan" served this purpose effectively. Its bait, plus starvation, drove some of the workers to scabbing.

The shop crafts workers belonging to System Federation No. 90, nearly 30,000 strong, are still officially on strike, though many have secured jobs with settled roads and are no longer dependent on strike relief. The unions are determined they will never yield in their fight for recognition and honest collective bargaining. Their members refuse to return to the Pennsylvania so long as the Atterbury plan continues to chloroform the workers. Some of the men on strike have had as high as 39 years service for the company and have much to lose. Yet they refuse to give up their struggle against enslavement by this company-controlled plan.

Of course the P. R. R. officials boast of their victory over the shop craft employees. Elisha Lee, Vice-President, before the American Mining Congress declared that "the labor troubles (meaning the strike—R. W. D.) subjected the effectiveness of the plan to a supreme test. The result has established

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the workability of the plan and has substantially confirmed our hope that in it we have laid down a permanent basis of mutual understanding and sympathy between men and management." Mr. Atterbury, as we have seen, can be no less unctious and hypocritical.

### The Clerks Also Company-Unionized

The shop crafts were not the only unions to catch the cold blasts of Atterburian "industrial democracy." They attacked the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees. The substitute offered was the Pennsylvania Railroad Clerks Association.

Again as in the case of the shop crafts, the clerks, after the termination of Federal control of the railroads, notified the P. R. R. officials that they were ready to proceed with negotiations. The road came forward with its proposal for the "plan," and a ballot to determine what *individuals* should represent the workers in negotiations. The clerks union stood on its right to continue to speak for its constituency on the road. Whereupon the P. R. R. without further ado balloted its employees with the same grotesque results as in the case of the shopmen. The workers voted by a great majority (see Decision No. 1833 of the U. S. R. Labor Board) for the union and when the road threw out these ballots the union appealed to the Labor Board which declared the organization illegal and in violation of the rights of the workers. As in the case of the shop craft employees the P. R. R. refused to abide by the decision and brought suit to prevent the Board from publishing it. The Supreme Court finally sustained the Board, but the road openly defied the decision and does to this day. The decision of the Board brought out clearly what it termed the "lawless" conduct of the road. The first paragraph ran:

"The position of the Pennsylvania System in this matter is devoid of intrinsic merit, violative of the will of Congress, and destructive of the rights of the employees. The employees were not seeking any advantage over the carrier and the Railroad Labor Board had not presumed to encroach on the prerogatives of the management in any sense. The public should also understand that no question of wages, rules, discipline or management were involved. The mooted question of the open or closed shop was at issue. There was no proposal to arbitrarily require the carrier to deal with any particular labor organization. . . . The issue is tersely stated, stripped of all surplusage, in the following question and answer quoted from the record of the statement at the hearing, of a Vice-President representing the Pennsylvania System:

"QUESTION: Simply drawing this distinction, that if they will agree to deal with you as individuals, you will deal with them; but if they deal with you as officials representing employees' organizations, you will not deal with them?"

"ANSWER: You have stated it correctly."

In this statement we have the gist and principle of the P. R. R. plan. That company desires to deal with its employees as *individuals*. All its elaborately organized, bought and paid for "plans" are devised as but steps to that goal. These plans would be scrapped as soon as trade unions had been crushed and there was no longer need of a company union to serve as a weapon against them.

We have also in this decision of the Labor Board in the clerks case a reference to a practice which is employed by the P. R. R. in introducing its plan among all classes of weakly organized workers on its lines. The Labor Board called attention to the fact that the employees "had been harassed by officials of the carrier and coerced into an attitude of silent submission or discharged from the service." Contrast with this practice the oily and assuring "no discrimination" promises of the plan, and you begin to understand the true significance of "the increasing realization that interests are mutual," "mutual trust, joint facts and fair play," "the voice in the management," "the spirit of co-operation" and the other Atterbury slogans. The Railroad Labor Board was unable to swallow this Y. M. C. A.-Rotarian mixture of hypocritical nonsense. Certainly the Railway Clerks Union has had too much experience with the ruthless Pennsylvania Company to have any faith in this cant of the Atterburian uplifters.

### The Telegraphers' Tactics

The Order of Railway Telegraphers on the Pennsylvania have also been the victims of the company-cooked "representation" stew, though they showed at least a preliminary willingness to sample the stuff or at least to "go along" with the plan as far as they could. In four separate elections, three of them held under the plan, the telegraphers instead of boycotting the ballot turned out to elect members of their union as "representatives" under the plan. And on each occasion the P. R. R. blocked the efforts of the men to represent those who had voted for them. And the Labor Board, as in the case of the shop crafts and the clerks, upheld the union in no uncertain terms. It said:

"The employees had the right to select their organization, the Order of Railroad Telegraphers to represent them in all negotiations with the carrier, but the carrier by absolute compulsion prevented the exercise of this right."

The Board's decision also told how the company had "assumed charge of the employees' election, formulated the ballot and the accompanying instructions over the protest of the employees' representatives, and proceeded to hold the election in accordance with its own arbitrary policy."



“Plebs,” the British Labor Monthly, gives us this cartoon. Employing interests, backed by the police, try with all the strength of their power to destroy the truth of the Workers’ Cause. But history and progress are against them.

Company Unionism, plus the State Police and Military, are the hopes of those who seek to strangle truth in America. Well, that’s been attempted before in similar ways—by kings and slave-drivers. The graves of their broken thrones and shattered chains dot man’s story.

The Board ordered a new election “in which the employees will be given the fullest opportunity to vote either for organizations or individuals.” The management, however, ignored this order, held another election and, as usual, and in spite of the repeated coercion and intimidation of members of the union, O. R. T. men were again elected as “representatives.” This committee was checkmated by the company at every turn and in desperation was about to call a strike when the Labor Board stepped in again and held an election under its own auspices. The majority of the workers, 4,258, voted for the Order of Railroad Telegraphers to represent them; there were scattering votes for individuals and only 318 voted for the “employees representation plan.”

Again the company refused to accept the results. It began immediately to coerce the elected representatives to give up their union and accept the plan in toto. The committees were called into the offices of the company superintendents and asked to sign away their union rights on the dotted line. Refusing to do this they were immediately discharged from

the committees or their “resignations” announced by the company!

Following this flagrant violation of the Transportation Act and the Labor Board’s decision, the Atterbury agents announced a new election which the union telegraphers, comprising some 75 per cent. of the men, this time decided to boycott. The company dupes comprising a minority of the telegraphers participated, however, and from their number “representatives” acceptable to the road were chosen. “The Association of Telegraph Department Employees of the Pennsylvania System” was then called into conference in Philadelphia along with some 50 officials of the road. The puppet representatives were hospitably entertained as the “guests of the company” and the cut-and-dried “plan” was adopted with practically no discussion.

#### Company Association Sells Out

Later in the year the company announced through its publicity department—the rump committee, of course, having nothing to say except “me too” to the newspapers—that it had reached a satisfactory settlement with its telegraphers. Practically all the important demands formerly made by the O. of R. T. were surrendered by the company “representatives” in return for a slight increase in wages followed by the laying off of men from many positions on each division. Almost simultaneous with this sell-out the Labor Board (June 17, 1925) again rebuked the road holding that it had again violated its decisions:

“From the evidence submitted, the Pennsylvania Railroad System has violated Decisions 2781 and 3003 and is knowingly and wilfully persisting in such violations in contempt of the provisions thereof and in contravention of the public welfare.”

But as we have noted in the case of the clerks and the shop crafts the company has lost little sleep over a mere stinging rebuke. Lacking the authority to enforce any of its decisions the Railroad Labor Board is no defense for the unions. Their only defence is in their own strength, already seriously impaired by the Atterbury “plan.”

We have seen by what methods and under what conditions the plan was introduced among certain classes of workers. Next month we shall examine it further to see how it has been used to betray the workers and to set up a camouflaged anti-labor dictatorship.

#### MORE COMING

More about the Pennsylvania is to follow from Mr. Dunn’s pen. And more about other slave factories disguised as “Unions” and “Industrial Democracy.” Show these to your unorganized neighbor.

# Mrs. Morton's Story

## *A Chapter of Loot and Lust from the Annals of the State Police*

ON May 13, 1919, the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor Convention, meeting at Harrisburg, was deeply stirred by the speech of Mrs. George H. Morton against the State Police.

It was in no industrial dispute that Mrs. Morton had come in contact with the State Constabulary. A saleswoman, who later married the owner of the Morton House at Berwick, Pa., she met the Cossacks in an entirely different capacity than have the clubbed and beaten workers of the "Keystone State." It was in a no different light, however, that she came to view them. Lustful, looting all too weak to resist them, boozing and seduction their pastimes—Mrs. Morton came to hate them with the hatred of a free American for such vile enemies of civil liberty.

Her own story, taken from the convention record, deserves wipspread circulation in states like Ohio, where the attempt to set up a constabulary system is again being made. We give it here, in part, just as she made it over six years ago.

THE beginning of my history with the State Constabulary of Pennsylvania was September 27, 1917. When I was sent to Berwick by the Educators' Association of New York City to represent them in Pennsylvania territory, there was stationed at the Morton House, Sergeant Tipton, Private Allquist and Private Hientize. My attention was first attracted when this great army of the State Constabulary increased by about thirty members, all from Troop B, Wyoming, arrived at Berwick. I asked Mr. Morton what it meant. He said, "There is to be a raid tonight." I asked what they were going to raid and he said, "The speakeasies in West Berwick." At that time Berwick was dry, had been dry for three years. They raided the speakeasies and brought the booze to the barroom of the Morton House. I, myself, went down and saw it. You could scarcely walk; there were barrels, kegs, bottles and jugs everywhere, every known brand and every conceivable kind of stuff. The State Constabulary, after this glorious work in the interests of law and order, began to get busy and drink all the booze they could and take home all they could. Mr. Morton took Sergeant Tipton and myself to Sergeant Tipton's home, in Wyoming, where the barracks of Troop B are stationed, and Sergeant Tipton took home two kegs of wine and several jugs of whiskey on this one particular trip. He took home considerable more at a little later date. He must have had a good supply, because one year later he still served booze from the

speakeasies raid to Mr. Morton in my presence at his home in Wyoming, stating it came from the speakeasies.

### **Corporal Remaley Appears**

Shortly after I went to visit Berwick, Sergeant Tipton was transferred to Milton and Corporal Remaley sent in his place. Remaley was one of the vilest creatures known in the annals of criminal history. He and Private Hientize insisted upon two of the dining-room girls of the hotel accompanying them to Bloomsburg, to have what they styled "a party." The girls told me later "the party" meant getting drunk and staying in a rooming-house all night with the State Troopers. One girl that Remaley first approached declined his invitation. He told her, "If you don't go, I will see that you are discharged from the Morton House." I happened to be in the writing-room of the lobby of the hotel on a quiet Sunday afternoon making out reports when the girl came to me with tears in her eyes and told me what Remaley had said. (My attorneys hold the sworn affidavit, substantiating the above statements, sworn to by the girl herself.) I said "No, you won't be discharged; the State Police are not running this hotel, and Mr. Morton is engaged to me, and I shall tell him that you are not to be discharged." I went into the office and told Mr. Morton about it. He said, "Now, you let the State Police fight their own battles and let the help fight their battles, too." But, engagement, or no engagement, I intended to see that justice was done and I called Remaley to the parlor and showed him my press notices from the leading newspapers of the country as a lecturer and asked him how he would like to have me write the Governor about his conduct.

I had faith in Governors those days, gentlemen, I had not yet written to a Governor. Since then I have written to Governor Sproul and made these charges against the State Police. After a lapse of six weeks instead of being written to from the Governor's office, I received a very curt letter from Acting Superintendent Lumb telling me "His Excellency, the Governor, had referred my letter to him, but," he said, "that the Department had already been advised of my statement and etc.," and thanked me for my courtesy, so you see that I didn't know much about Governors when I told Remaley I would write to the Governor.

I called the girl in question in, and when she confronted Remaley, he sprang at her like a tiger and said, "I'll put you in jail for this." I said, "You



sit down and shut up, you'll put nobody in jail unless you have a warrant to do so." Mr. Morton was a witness to part of this discussion, while Remaley pleaded with me for two hours not to prosecute him. I told him it wasn't pleasant for white slavers in this country in plain clothes, let alone in officer's garb. The good Lord has since taken pity on suffering humanity and called Remaley to the "Great Unknown," so I won't go further in the charges against him, but leave him to a higher judge than we, but I will say, when Remaley was dying in the barracks at Wyoming, Sergeant Tipton told me that he raved continuously in his delirium of an obnoxious disease which Sergeant Tipton said really caused his death, instead of influenza, but the newspapers came out and said, "Remaley made the supreme sacrifice while aiding influenza victims."

Corporal Stevenson replaced Corporal Remaley at Berwick during the summer of 1918 and conducted himself even in a more disgraceful manner and as a more dangerous criminal than those who had preceded him. I became so disgusted with conditions in Berwick and conditions at the Morton House because of the actions of the State Constabulary that I refused to go to the Morton House for six months. Of course, during this time, Mr. Morton was coming regularly to Wilkes-Barre to see me and I kept in touch with the activities of the State Police. Corporal Stevenson was an inveterate gambler, playing poker frequently all night, both at the Morton House and in various gambling dens and was always indebted to Mr. Morton and even turned over his Liberty Bonds to Mr. Morton to liquidate his poker debts. Invariably his monthly check paid by funds financed by the good people of Pennsylvania was turned over entirely for poker debts. He had married women come to his room and stay all night; he confiscated property from people whom he arrested; he did worse things than the most hardened criminal. Privates Hochstien and Hientize were not as bold as Stevenson, though just as immoral. In November, 1918, Mr. Morton had a complete and serious nervous breakdown and was confined to the City Hospital in Wilkes-Barre, thus giving the State Police full sway at the Morton House to practice their damnable tactics. At the solicitation of Mr. Morton and his physician, Dr. McClinck at Wilkes-Barre, I went to Berwick with power of attorney to handle Mr. Morton's business.

This so incensed the State Police that the three of them waited upon me together and told me, "If you don't leave the Morton House immediately and turn Mr. Morton's business over to us, Mr. Morton will not secure his liquor license," Stevenson saying, "People hate you so they won't sign it." It was the State Constabulary who hated me because I stood for decency and justice. I said, "Mr. Stevenson,

when I want legal advice I won't call on the State Constabulary, I will consult my attorneys." Shortly after this I married Mr. Morton and came to the Morton House to live and these three State Policemen, Stevenson, Hochstien and Hientize, made life so hideous that I could scarcely remain in the hotel. They made a regular sporting house out of the hotel. The night before I put them out, I found Stevenson practically disrobed in the room of a young lady guest, early in the evening, and later at night in a still more compromising situation with one of my maids. Private Hochstien ruined a girl in my employ who said she was not seventeen years of age. Later, Hochstien and Stevenson persuaded her to leave the hotel at night, telling her she must never talk to me again or they would put her in jail.

We have in Berwick a squire whom I openly charged in my remarks before the City Council with being the "crooks' attorney." And God help the laborer or the mine worker or any one else who has not social standing or money that comes under his clutches and his Black Cossacks, the State Police. This is Squire Carey, who has reigned supreme for a number of years; and he and the State Police, together with the district attorney, had terrorized the laboring elements of Columbia county.

#### Loot Added to Lust

I went down to see a poor Italian; the police had found some liquor in his home when they raided the speakeasies and they put the man in jail and kept him there eight months. They went to his wife and said if she didn't sign a deed, signing away the lot they had bought to build a house on and give up the two automobiles she had there, they would keep her husband in jail for fifteen years. He only had a trial before Squire Carey. She signed the deed and had her husband sign it. By signing that paper she gave away their car. I asked her why she did it and she said, "Me 'fraid Sharpless, him look at me like the debil, me give shirt off back to get husband out of trouble." Some of the people in Berwick would like to know who got the automobile, lot, etc. Another man, arrested on a serious charge, charged with murder when he was arrested by Corporal Stevenson, Hochstien and Heintze, and taken before Squire Carey, had in his possession a one-hundred-dollar Liberty Bond and fifty dollars in War Saving Stamps, and a twenty-dollar gold piece, and his attorneys are still wondering and still trying to find out what has become of Carmine De Lalleri's Liberty Bond, etc. These are facts, gentlemen, no one can dispute them and yet we sit perfectly helpless at such deplorable justice.

Three weeks previous to the time I told the State Constabulary to get out of the hotel, I had W. A.

## LABOR AGE

Valentine of Wilkes-Barre write to Captain Smith at the barracks, at Wyoming, asking the State Constabulary to leave my hotel. I had no idea of being in the limelight; I had no idea of the notoriety that would follow, any more than I had a week ago of coming here to address this audience. I only wanted to run a clean, decent hotel and I wanted my husband to get well. His physicians said he needed rest and I could not keep him quiet for Corporal Stevenson would insist on playing poker or taking some other man's wife out in my husband's car. It was a constant fight, day and night, to simply endure the pressure and live. Captain Smith ignored W. A. Valentine's letter and things went on for several weeks, I enduring things that you could scarcely believe could take place in a civilized community. Finally, I called Captain Smith up and said, "I can't endure your men here any longer; they are doing everything on God's earth that is vile; they keep my guests from sleeping with the oaths and obscene language; they defy me; they play poker in the parlor, instead of going to their rooms, etc." Captain Smith said, over the telephone, "I don't give a damn what you do." This is what I was told by an officer of the law when I complained about his subordinates. What would you do if I were to appeal to you or to any ordinary citizen, as woman and a mother, desiring to run her place of business and her home decently and clean, and to rid herself of such vermin as these? I wanted a hotel where you could send your wives and daughters and know they were safe. I said, "Captain Smith, you will regret what you have said to the longest day you live, for I will tell the rest of this State my experience with the State Constabulary." I can't tell you, for you are an audience of men and I can't go on record, publicly, in this place and tell you all I found the State Constabulary doing in my establishment. It is too vile to print, it is too obscene for me to quote.

### Evicting the State Police!

After talking with Captain Smith over the telephone, I went to see Burgess Kitchen and I must tell you here, gentlemen, that Burgess Kitchen has stood by me most loyally; he has worked for law and decency all these years in Columbia county against this gang who have defied him and always stood for right and championed the poor and oppressed, but Burgess Kitchen said "he scarcely knew what action to take." My husband was in the hospital at Wilkes-Barre, and, for a time, I did seem helpless. If my education with the police had not been so sadly neglected, I would have sworn out a warrant immediately and had them arrested. But I went back to the Burgess and called W. A. Valentine's office in Wilkes-Barre and found he was in court. I then

called Evan Jones. At first he said, "Don't you think it is rather a critical time to start anything with the State Constabulary, license time is coming on?" But I said, "If there is nothing left of the Morton House but the walls and myself, the State Constabulary are going out, and I am going to run a clean, decent house." He said, "If you want them out, take a borough policeman back to the house with you and order them out. If they raise a disturbance, swear out a warrant for them and charge them with disorderly conduct. If they are not out in an hour, let me know and, in the meantime, I will get in touch with Captain Smith." Chief of Police Basin came. He is a mighty fine man but has been handicapped greatly in his work by the State Constabulary giving their protection to dens of vice. We went to Stevenson's room in the hotel, and the chief told him he had to get out. Stevenson asked, "By whose order?" Chief Basin replied, "By orders from the Burgess." Then Corporal Stevenson said, "Have you got that in writing?"

At this juncture I stepped in and said, "We don't need it in writing. I am George Morton's wife and thereby mistress here, furthermore, my husband has given me power of attorney, the entire management of the Morton House is turned over to me." Stevenson walked over to me and was going to crush me in the door, when Chief of Police Basin intervened. I called up two of my employees and instructed them to put Stevenson's stuff in the hall, as my attorney had so advised, and Stevenson said to them, "Don't you dare touch my stuff, you'll get in trouble if you do." I said, "Boys, you are working for me, my money is paying you, you either put the stuff in the hall, or go to the office and get your time and get out yourselves." They finally began, gingerly, to take the stuff out, first a shoe and then a necktie.

Meanwhile Stevenson was raving continually, and it took nearly three hours before his stuff was out. I don't know why in the world I didn't get a warrant out for him. My only thought was getting him out of the hotel. Later Evan Jones called from Wilkes-Barre and said he had gotten in touch with Captain Smith and that Captain Smith would phone them to go to the other hotel. Captain Smith telephoned them, you will note, only after he had been advised by my attorney that I was taking legal measures to put them out. I have been told by an able newspaper man that a certain attorney in Wilkes-Barre told him that if Captain Smith ever got fresh with his newspaper, to mention a certain drinking and shooting escapade and that Captain Smith would run. Also, that these policemen under him had him (Captain Smith) by the throat and that he did not dare take issue with them.

Well, finally, they went to the other hotel, which kept them over night. I heard that some of the

merchants of the town told them if they kept them the hotel would be boycotted. They finally went to the Y. M. C. A. the next day. What a shame for the Y. M. C. A. So now when the good citizens of Berwick want the State Constabulary they have to call the Y. M. C. A. The only redeeming feature in this arrangement is that no women live at the Y. M. C. A. and these bums will have to behave themselves while there in that respect at least.

**Arrest for Criminal Libel**

The night after I put them out of the hotel, I was asked to go before the City Council and tell them the story of the State Police and local conditions. The newspapers published it, gave me big headlines, but they never could have arrested me for criminal libel if it had not been that the editor of *The Enterprize* sold me out to the State cops, I was told, for the munificent sum of ten dollars. Paul Trescott, the editor of *The Enterprize*, came to me the day after I had addressed the council and told me that the newspapers, *The Morning Press* and *The Enterprize* had been advised by a public official that they were to be sued for criminal libel and said if I would give them a statement, a signed statement, that I had made the statements they published, it would protect them. (There was a witness present at this conversation.)

I said to Mr. Trescott, "If I were to consult my attorneys, they would tell me to give no statement, but inasmuch as I only told the truth and not one-half of what I could have told, and you could not print all I did say, and you want my statement purely for the protection of *The Morning Press* and *The Enterprize*, I will give you a statement. But, gentlemen, that statement was not given with malice, as they charge in their suit for criminal libel; it was given purely to protect the newspapers.

I told Mr. Trescott to bring Burgess Kitchen over at seven o'clock that evening and I would give him a sworn statement before Burgess Kitchen, who is also a notary public and a man who I could rely upon to the utmost to be fair and square. Burgess Kitchen was also another witness to the fact that my statement was given purely for the protection of the newspapers. Mr. Trescott had scarcely left our hotel when he met one of the State Constabulary and sold him a copy of that statment for ten dollars, and the next day Mr. Trescott himself told me that he went with the State Consabulary when they went to see Mr. Dewey and Mr. Ikeler, Bloomsburg lawyers, and showed them the sworn statement. I understand that Fred Ikeler was given a retaining fee of five hundred dollars by them, to prosecute me. However, the State Constabulary were not anxious

to prosecute me and they fussed around for three or four weeks, the papers would come out one day saying there were a dozen warrants out for my arrest, etc., but with all their agitation, before I was arrested, Captain Smith conferred with my attorney and said they didn't want to prosecute and asked my attorneys to arrange a conference with me, which they did. The conference was duly arranged and Captain Smith wanted me, through my counsel, to retract the statements I had made against the State Constabulary and they would call it off. I said to my attorneys, "Gentlemen, I am paying you to tell me what to do, but I would go to the penitentiary before I would retract one statement I made against the State Constabulary." And that is my stand, gentlemen.

Captain Smith said, "that he had known my husband for years and had never known him to do anything really terrible except to marry me. In fact Captain Smith said to him, "George, how in hell did you ever come to marry any one like this?" My friends, I begin to think, with the late Colonel Roosevelt, that the only redress to be had is through the American people, and through the sentiment of the American people, and the only organization that I know of that has dared to take the stand for right and justice and gone on record against what I consider the greatest menace in this State, has been Organized Labor of Pennsylvania. The only newspaper that dared to print what I said against the State Constabulary is *The Scrantonian*, of Scranton. I am here at my own expense, gentlemen; I am here as an American citizen. I have talked to men and women in Columbia county who have had everything practically belonging to them taken away, men who have laid in jail for months without a trial. One woman told me she had given all the money she had to the district attorney to get her husband out of jail and he told her he must have fifty dollars more and she sold her bracelet and wrist-watch to help secure the fifty. She said, "I am afraid to tell you these things for fear they will arrest my man again." I said, "No they won't, and if they try it, call on me and I will come to your rescue with bail."

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# Brookwood's Pages

*American Labor in the War and Post-War Period*

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

**T**HIS Department is to be conducted regularly by the staff of Brookwood Labor College. The material will be in the nature of short lessons and topics of urgent interest. The first six issues will be devoted to a survey of American Labor interests of the period since 1913. Any reader desiring to ask questions about the matter presented may write to Arthur W. Calhoun, Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y.

## I. THE TREND OF WAGES

**P**RESIDENT COOLIDGE thinks American workers are well off, better off than they were ten years or fifty years ago. "American Industries" (the organ of the National Association of Manufacturers) thinks so too. In its issue for March 1925, it stated that while the cost of living is only 71 per cent. higher than in 1913, weekly union wage rates have increased 114 per cent. since 1913. How about it? Are the real wages of American workers going up or down?

By real wages we mean what you can buy for the money you get in your pay envelope. For example, if your pay in dollars and cents remains the same but prices of food, clothing and rent go down, your real wages have gone up; you can buy more for what you get in your pay envelope. If the amount of money in your pay envelope is doubled but prices of the things you buy also double, your real wages have not changed a particle; you can buy just as much for what you get in your pay envelope as you could before and not a bit more.

Professor Hanson of the University of Minnesota a short time ago made a study of the trend of wages from 1865 to 1924.\* What does the Professor report?

1. A decided upward trend in real wages from 1865 to 1897.
2. A slight downward trend from 1897 to 1913, on the eve of the Great War.
3. A sharp increase in real wages from 1915 to date.

On the other hand, Professor Paul Douglas of the University of Chicago† has recently made a study

of the movement of real wages from 1890 to 1924 and he concludes: "For all branches of industry as a whole it seems probable that the American worker can purchase less for a standard week's work today than during the nineties."

According to Professor Douglas, the average American worker in 1919 was getting in real wages only 83 cents for every dollar that he got in 1890 and in 1923 was still getting only 95 cents for every dollar that he got in 1890.

Some of the difference between Professor Hanson's findings and Professor Douglas's may be due to the fact that Douglas is including more classes of wage-earners, as for example, federal employees. He shows that the Post Office employee of today can buy only about half as much for his pay as he could for the pay he got in 1890.

Do you know what are the facts about real wages in the industry and the locality in which you work?

### Why Do Wages Rise and Fall?

During the period from the close of the Civil War to 1897 there seems to have been a fairly steady increase in real wages in spite of the not infrequent "hard times" that the workers experienced during this period. Railroads were being built, rapid improvements were made in machinery, larger industrial concerns (trusts) were organized, and by all these means production was rapidly increased. At the same time millions of acres of land were opened up to agriculture, resulting in a plentiful supply of farm products, with consequent low food cost of living.

Then in the next period (1897 to 1913) real wages tended to go down. Good free land disappeared in this country and so food products became relatively scarce and expensive. The movement of population from the farms into industry had the same effect. The gold supply increased, thus sending up the prices of goods but as usual wages lagged behind prices. Millions of people were admitted into the country who, on the other side, had been peasants with no industrial training. Their labor was at first of relatively low efficiency and tended to lower production.

Insofar as real wages have gone up in the period since 1914, this has been due in part to war-time demand for production, with government interven-

\* See "American Economic Review" for March, 1925.

† See "Proceedings of the Academy of Political Sciences," Vol. XI, No. 2.

tion to protect unionism and union standards. After the war foreign demand for American agricultural products went down and consequently food prices were again relatively low. The industrial worker benefited from the troubles of the farmer. The increase in union membership, together with recent restriction of immigration, has tended to increase the bargaining power of labor and so has made it possible at least in some industries to maintain the wage level. Perhaps also some importance is to be attached to the idea of certain progressive employers that high wages mean low labor costs.

It is clear from the foregoing that the two main factors upon which labor must rely in order to increase real wages are first, increased production, since it is impossible for a people to prosper if goods are scarce, and, secondly, increased bargaining power, since increased production will probably not mean better conditions for workers unless they develop the organized power to get their fullest share of what they produce.

#### What is the Relation Between Production and Wages?

In the same article to which we have already referred, Professor Hanson shows that the worker by no means always gets the full benefit from increased production. During the period between 1880 and 1920 production in this country went up at the rate of 1.29 per cent. per year, but real wages increased at the rate of only 1.04 per cent. per year. In other words, the rate of increase of production was about one-fourth greater than the rate of increase of real wages. How does this happen?

For one thing, under our competitive system where there is practically always a surplus of labor, wages tend to be set not by what the average worker produces, but by what the surplus worker, the last man taken on, may be worth to the boss. Insofar as increased production is due to increased use of machinery, a larger share of the product tends to go to those who own the machines.

If, on the other hand, production is increased because the worker works harder and more efficiently, if piece rates remain the same, his wages will register an increase. But, at the same time, the cost to the employer will be lower because with the same equipment he is turning out a larger output. With his capital cost lowered, but his labor cost remaining the same, the boss will probably substitute machinery for labor. With more workers on the labor market wages will suffer again. So the worker has nicely cheated himself by his increase of production.

### BRUTHAH ALLEN

**T**HE colored preacher arose in his pulpit. "It's funny about ouh coal," he announced. "The clapboahds are all on the shed, the shingles on roof are all theah, the doah hasn't been touched—and Bruthah Allen carries the key. But that coal keeps on goin'."

\* \* \*

The Employing Bruthah Allens also carry the key—to industry. And the workers' share in increased production "keeps on goin'," also.

Sometimes increase in production takes place in the field of machinery and equipment rather than in goods that the ordinary consumer buys. Such an increase will not immediately register any benefit for the worker. Frequently also production is turned into the making of luxuries for the rich, which become more abundant and cheap while the ordinary commodities that the worker and his family buy remain as scarce and dear as ever.

We might mention one consideration that to some extent offsets the above. There is a tendency for an increasing proportion of the total production of industry to be turned into the provision of high schools, playgrounds, libraries, public health service and the like. This may mean that the worker and his family is getting a certain amount of "free income," at least if he is not cheated by unjust taxation out of what the community furnishes him along these lines.

#### The Moral

The foregoing points make it clear that if labor is not going to be cheated out of the benefits that may come from the tremendous production turned out by modern industry, it must (1) constantly increase its bargaining power; (2) see to it that production is turned into channels that meet the workers' needs and not into luxuries for the rich; and (3) get control of capital and machinery, the owners of which are constantly diverting the benefits of increased production into profits for themselves instead of into wages for the workers.

The utmost importance attaches therefore to the timely declaration of the A. F. of L. convention, held in Atlantic City last October, on the subject of wages: "Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power of their wages, coupled with the continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day, are progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production."

# New Years for Old

*Youth, Anvils, Hammers and the Good Old Days*

By **BILL BROWN**, Boomer

**S**INCE, friends, Columbus discovered America, it was no more than fair, I say, that America turn around and discover Columbus. That there is just exactly what occurred on a day this past November. "Red" Grange blew into the city on the Scioto, and the representatives of "all that's worth while in America" blew in with him.

Before that, when you asked one of these college boys: "What's the capital of Ohio?" they'd stutter around and say: "Well—ah—let me see, Marion—or is it Cincinnati?" They'd thought "Columbus" was some sort of a moving vehicle; a sort of cousin to the "omnibus" or the "Peter Witt Street Car." Their education, you understand, don't go back any farther than to the beginning of the reign of Harding; they're all studying to be "Business Executives" now. It pays doggone better than being a college professor of the old oaken bucket type, who thought of Paris as the capital of France rather than the name of a brand of garters, and of Ruth as a book of the Bible instead of the name of a fat guy what plays baseball.

Those old professors are no more. And "Red" Grange is passing fast, too—for that matter. He'll play a couple of "pro" games and then will be heard from no longer. Unless he marries an heiress and tries to get a divorce from her.

All things pass, making way for the new. That almost sounds like a sermon; but when you get near the first of the year, you always feel sermon-ial. (At least, any one who stumped for Bryan in the good old days of '96 feels that way. We were all "boy orators" then, erecting our "crosses of gold"—and the habit's stuck). Even those college boys, violating the 18th Commandment, will fade out. That's the way of the world, you understand. It's cruel, but true.

These here reveries are all induced, produced and deduced from my companions here in this \$1-a-night hotel on Long Street, Columbus. One of them is a bus boy, aged 39, with the dumb stare of a ether fiend. He says, says he, that he's a cousin of Bryan, but admires Dawes a whole lot more. Thinks he can shout louder, I suppose. Showed me the top of his head, to prove it was just like Bryan's, which proved the cousinship.

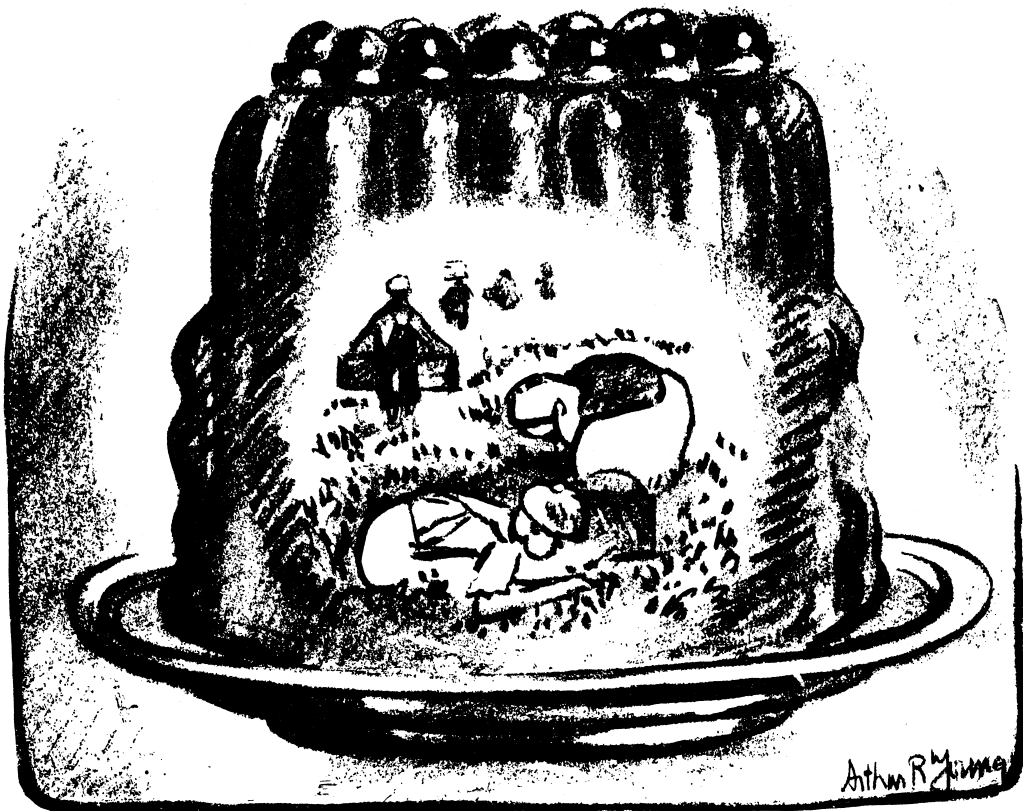
The other fellow is a one-armed Irish-New Yorker, aged 63—with a smile that makes you cry; it's so sad. He's dreaming of the good, old days; of the "Red Onion" and "The Slide," and the other good saloons and eating places in Manhattan, back before Plymouth Rock hit America on the bean and made us all Volsteadians, preachers or bootleggers.

Gee, he goes on at such a rate that I finally ups and asks him: "Can't you say a thing good about the present? Isn't there something to be said for plumbing and free libraries and bobbed hair?" He only sadly shakes his head, and answers: "The only blessing for this here country today is that a brave, smart man like Calvin Coolidge is President." After recovering from my faint, I say no more. That man's dead and he don't know it. He forgot to drink of the fountain of youth, which is hope and faith in the progress of mankind.

This old life will do that to you, if you don't watch out. Now that 1926 is coming along, it's best to check up and see if you're holding on to the spirit of youth. You only hold it by fighting for something you know is worth while—like Bob La Follette or Sam Gompers, or Gene Debs. There was a fellow named Timothy Titcomb, who said a long time ago that a man that wants to amount to anything has got to be as good an anvil as a hammer. You got to be able to "take punishment," to use a box-fighting term, as well as give it. And there's no better way to be prepared for that, take it from me, than to keep that youthful spirit of belief in progress. Don't only see the obstacles in the road, you understand; see that they can be overcome. There was never a tyranny that couldn't be overthrown; never a bad condition that couldn't be changed.

Gosh, that's a lot to say. But a movement that's right is bound to go ahead. The new years bring the changes; they bring progress. Why, a guy I knew out in Kalamazoo thought he was an author. Sent in a lot of stuff to magazines, but none of the editors had time to read it. They were all too busy writing for other magazines. Well, one day he comes in all lit up. "Hurray!" he says, "Got ten dollars for my last story." "What magazine?" I asked, feeling happy. "None," he answers, "It's from the

## THE HOLIDAY CRANBERRY PUDDING



Courtesy National Child Labor Committee

**A**T the holiday table the cranberry pudding is one of the royal viands served, to the joy of the household. The winter holidays are cranberry days.

The cost of this delicious fruit is the fatigue of the child workers—in the bogs of New Jersey and the South. Cranberries are red with reason—from the blood sapped away from these workers. In eating our cranberries this New Year's Day, we can have plenty of food for meditation.

New Year's is a time for resolutions. Cranberries might be the subject of one of them. Make the red in the berry something different from that for which it stands today. "Child freedom for 1926!" is a suggestion. Do your bit for the Child Labor Amendment, and to down that death rattling "voice of industry"—the leader of the National Manufacturers Association, living off his child slaves at Lebanon, Tennessee.

express company. They lost it." Now, believe me, that's the spirit that will win. And we workers got to have a lot of it.

We win when we lose I tell you, because we're going to kill wage slavery just like chattel slavery was

knocked out. Anybody who says anything else is a mummy, living (or dying) back with King Tut. But we can't even stay mummies much longer. The scientists, they do say, are trying to find a way to revive them.

## HANDS ACROSS THE SEA

*American Unions and International Co-operation*

IS the world growing smaller? Well, we may take it for granted that all races of men are coming into closer contact, physically. It is a thing of small moment. Now, to travel from state to state, if you have the leisure—or even, if you haven't it. The winter roads see plenty of the Genus Homo bound for Florida. The spring sees their return. The airplane, the cable, the radio, are linking us equally close with lands beyond the seas.

Whether international thought and morals be mellowed by these events, prophets or sons of prophets alone will be quite certain. But those who believe that man is making progress will have great hopes that such is the course of developments.

To the workers, internationalism has always been sweet. They raised their voices for it at the very birth of their protest against things as they were. They have always held to it in some form. The American Federation of Labor expressed this feeling, rightly or wrongly, in supporting America's entry into the League of Nations. It is somewhat surprising that it has not made greater headway toward affiliation with International Labor than has been the case, in view of this favorable attitude toward governmental international action.

Of course, America is today the strongest hold of capitalism. And American Labor has problems and tactics because it somewhat different from European Labor. The fear of the A. F. of L. has been written in its various resolutions—that "Old Country" unionism would declare for general policies with which it could not agree. There is, prominent among these policies, the matter of a general strike in wartime, to which Amsterdam is committed, more or less theoretically.

Economic pressure is gradually changing this viewpoint, where international industrial relationships pure and simple come into consideration. The United Mine Workers are definitely and prominently affiliated with the Miners' International. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have just joined the Wood Workers' International. Thus, do our two largest unions lead the way toward joint international action.

At Atlantic City, this whole problem again came to the fore. A. A. Purcell, the British fraternal delegate, put it right up in front by talking co-operation with Russia, instead of affiliation with Amsterdam. It was a frank speech, frankly answered by President Green. The action of the delegates made certain where the rank and file stand at present on Russian unionism.

"I want to be frank and kindly," said President Green, "in all I say; but we in America know something about the

teachings of communism, and the control the Communist Party exercises over the so-called Russian Internationale.

"We know here in America that influence emanating from Moscow is seeking, as it has always sought, not to co-operate with us, but to capture and control us.

"They are frank in their declarations, they call the officers and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, fakers, crooks, and scabs.

"They declare frankly that they do not believe in collective bargaining; they call collective bargaining class collaboration.

"They do not see in any strike an opportunity to increase wages, to shorten hours, to improve the conditions of employment of the workers; but they see in every strike an opportunity to promote revolution. They assert that revolution is the only way the dictatorship of the proletariat can be established and our republic overthrown. . . .

"There is no revolution in sight, and if the working men here were compelled to wait until a revolution occurred in America, we would starve to death and be buried so deep they would never know we had lived."

Without much doubt, Purcell's address—which the Amsterdam news sheet characterizes as "foolish"—did give impetus to a declaration against international affiliation, except on the A. F. of L.'s terms. Likewise, it opened the way for the re-assertion of the "Monroe Doctrine" of labor. The Pan-American Federation of Labor was declared to be "the recognized international labor movement of Americas."

In comment on this, the International Federation of Trade Unions says:

"This resolution of the A. F. of L. Convention may contain news for Moscow, but there is nothing new in it for Amsterdam. The autonomy of the A. F. of L. cannot be demanded in clearer terms than by formulating a new Monroe Doctrine of Labor. Against the United States watchword of 'America for the Americans' stands the Bolshevik cry: 'The whole world for the Russians,' (i.e. the Communists). But above both these slogans stands that of the Amsterdam International: '*The International Federation of Trade Unions for the whole world!*' Because that is our watchword, we can go with our negotiations with the American Federation of Labor or the Pan-American Federation of Labor undisturbed. For, in accordance with our rules, we recognize the national autonomy of all affiliated centres. Russia for the Russians, the A. F. of L. for the United States, Britain for the British."

In that spirit much can be accomplished. Despite the decisive language of the Pan-American resolution, Amsterdam and the A. F. of L. understand each other better than ever heretofore. A union for industrial counsel and action, on a basis of fairness to all, is becoming more imperative. The strongest humane argument for restriction of immigration was that the immigrant should stay at home and fight for better industrial condition there. He would thus win higher standards for all his national brothers. To enable him to do this in his less developed country, the aid of the labor forces of the larger nations are needed.



# Workers' Education for Workers' Children

By FANNIA M. COHN



**"IN SYMPATHY WITH THEIR PARENTS' IDEALS"**  
Pioneer Youth offers influence to Workers' Children friendly to the Labor Movement.

**I**N a country where universal education exists, it is natural that workers' education, when it first comes, should confine its activities to adults. It is the workers who need more knowledge of the economic and social conditions surrounding them, a wider understanding of the labor movement, its aims, principles and problems, and of the industry in which they are engaged, as well as further training to develop character and personality. But the American labor movement adopted workers' education as an integral part of its activities, not only to give the workers greater usefulness for the labor movement, but also to enable them better to change existing social and economic conditions, so that our world may be a happier place for all to live in.

It was thus inevitable that in the development of the workers' education movement, the children should be next included. They had to be embraced by its educational scheme, once helping the workers in their efforts to rebuild the world on a juster basis was recognized as the objective of the movement. A group of men and women, representatives of the labor movement and educators consequently joined together in 1924 to form the Pioneer Youth of America.

Its founders wanted the movement to offer the children of the workers an opportunity to comprehend the aspirations of trade unionism. The executive board of Pioneer Youth expressed this hope in the statement of their aims:

"In a world of plenty there is no excuse for social ills such as poverty, child labor, etc., which afflict and ravage mankind.

Yet our children are in no way prepared to help in adult life to eradicate these conditions. They are either kept in ignorance of these evils and the social-economic laws which govern them, or are taught to accept them as a permanent phase of life. Personal pecuniary success and charity to the "unfortunate" is urged as the way out.

"We believe that the application of scientific principles to social and economic and political problems will help eradicate most of the evils and will make possible social progress as remarkable as that which men have made mechanically. We believe, further, that education inspired by a social conscience will help bring about a happier, more equitable and peaceful society.

"We, therefore, propose to create an organization for our children and youth that will afford them an opportunity through free time club and recreational activities, for self-development and the gaining of knowledge under wholesome influences; that will liberate their minds from dogma and fear, develop their critical and creative faculties, and give them a thorough knowledge of conditions of life.

"We hope through our efforts to help our children grow into men and women with a capacity for creative thinking and a readiness to give of their energies for the betterment of society as a whole."

It has been a sorrow to many an ardent trade unionist to see his children, brought up under influences alien to the labor movement, when grown, devoted to money-making and self-advancement, rather than to helping to eradicate the evils in our social system. The founders of the movement hoped that it, by offering influences friendly to the labor movement could bring more children to an understanding of and sympathy with the ideals of their parents, who fought for the organization of the American trade union movement.

In addition, they considered present-day educa-

## LABOR AGE

tional methods inadequate for the development of well-rounded individuals. The training given in the public schools tends to make the children passive, uncritical conformists, uncreative plodders. They hoped, through the Pioneer Youth movement, to help their children to become critical, independent, creative.

Of course, the Pioneer Youth movement had no intention of burdening the children with dogma. While it aimed to give the children a better comprehension of the labor movement and to prepare them to take their place as workers for a change in our social structure, it was always cautious not to pour propaganda into their youthful minds. It distinctly aimed to keep the children open-minded and critical, rather than clogged with ready-made social philosophies. But realizing that the influences surrounding children help to form their adult points of view and social ideals, besides moulding their characters and developing their personalities, they wished these influences to be socially advanced.

The movement, planned for after-school hours, had, of course, to be largely recreational.

### Leadership Training

It is a delicate task to lead the minds of children to a philosophy. The founders of Pioneer Youth were well aware of their great responsibilities. They realized that the most important factor in the success of their work was the group of men and women who would lead the children. They hoped that these persons would themselves have a social philosophy, an understanding of social, economic and labor conditions and with the problems with which the labor movement is confronted, so that they might guide the minds of the children in the proper direction, without dogma.

But to secure such persons was not easy. Most of those who can direct children in some recreation field are familiar with it alone. To secure the well-rounded leaders who were absolutely essential to the success of the movement, it was found necessary to establish a training school for leaders of Pioneer Youth with a qualified professional person as director. The training course offered men and women dissatisfied with old methods of leading children's groups, the opportunity to develop a new approach. The response to the call for leaders was gratifying. A large number of young men and young women, many with experience in leading boys' and girls' groups, all well informed on the labor movement and

social questions, sympathetically disposed towards the aims of the workers, and possessed of the experimental attitude toward life, offered their services to the Pioneer Youth movement.

The movement is now in its second year of existence. It has already made successful experiments in summer camping and city clubs. It has conducted a summer camp at Pawling, N. Y., on the grounds of the Manumit School for two summers. It accommodated there, at a minimum price, in the most modern surroundings, hundreds of children—boys and girls—who came to spend a few weeks under the healthiest natural and spiritual conditions. Most of those who came were children of trade unionists who could not afford to go to private camps of a similar high standing.

### Camp Program Educational

The camp program proved of great social and educational value. Both boys and girls were included in all the activities and the camp directors felt that a more normal and less self-conscious sex attitude was the definite result. As a democratic activity, the camp offered great scope for the children. They were given real responsibility, they decided on their own daily activities, formulated their own rules of conduct, considered the problems that arose to confront the community. An attempt was made to encourage creative activity as far as possible. All the facilities of the camp served as educational material; the children used the farm with which most of them were fascinated because of its novelty to them as a schoolhouse; a printing press they discovered as a laboratory, both in printing and in magazine editing.

Most important of all, perhaps, was the attitude that the counsellors, men and women equipped not only for camp activities but also for imparting a spirit of social idealism to the children, took towards the campers. A highly successful effort was made to foster the co-operative rather than the competitive spirit. At the campfire meetings, the children were encouraged to discuss current vital, social and economic problems. An incident in the camp kitchen, for instance, where a white kitchen-man showed race prejudice led to a full discussion of that pressing question.

With a staff interested in the organized labor movement and all socially progressive activities, it was inevitable that the camp should bring to the children, in addition to all the other worth-while things of camping, a broadening of their social vision, which will help them to realize the aims of the

Pioneer Youth movement, "the preparation of youth for participation in the work of bettering society."

**City Clubs**

The activities of the city clubs, of which seventeen have already been formed, are aimed in the same direction as the camping work. The two hundred children from nine to seventeen years who have been reached through the clubs in almost every section of New York City are developing an understanding of the labor movement and a creative spirit to meet its problems. They are directed in their work by a group of earnest inspiring men and women.

Boys and girls are members of the same club in most cases. Club activities vary according to the background and interests of the children. Many are interested in dramatics, some in hikes, athletics, games, handicraft work, reading, discussions or



getting up a club journal. One group is carrying on an investigation of fire-traps in its neighborhood. One club is preparing a play with knights and giants, another one with pacifism as its central theme. But both plays are being written and produced by the children themselves. All the clubs co-operate to produce a bulletin.

The organization is maintained on a national basis with its central offices at 70 Fifth Avenue, in New York City. Joshua Leiberman, the executive secretary is in active charge of the work. In each city, the activities are carried on through a local organization which takes charge of the city clubs. Adults may become members of these clubs on payment of a fee of \$2.50. The movement has two phases and interests two groups—the Pioneer Youth clubs bring in the young people; the local organizations provide a means for parents and sympathizers with the movement to participate in its work. These



local organizations have as an additional object the acquainting of their membership with the aims, problems, policies and tactics of the trade union movement. To that end, speakers are invited to attend the business meeting to discuss before them the problems with which the movement is confronted, and general discussions by the membership of these problems.

Although the Pioneer Youth movement was started in New York City, and most of the clubs are organized there, it has a national scope. It is supported by a large group of international unions, central labor bodies, and local unions, with a membership in all parts of the country. A movement is already on foot to start an organization in Pennsylvania. In addition, requests have been coming in from many parts of the country for the organization of city clubs and the establishment of summer camps.

The Pioneer Youth movement has undoubtedly significantly influenced the children who have already become a part of it. It has had a tremendous influence upon another group, also hitherto neglected by the labor movement, despite the important part they play. The workers' wives are usually so con-



## LABOR AGE

fined to their homes by drudgery that they have little opportunity to come in touch with the problems of the labor movement. They nevertheless are a very significant factor in labor's struggles—they stand behind the men in all the strikes, they rear the future workers. Any means to bring them to a greater understanding of the labor movement must be of great value.

The Pioneer Youth movement offers such a means. The participation of their children in the movement necessarily attracts them to it. Through the local organization they are given an opportunity to participate actively in the work. The number of women who are taking an interest in these local organizations, and their learning about the labor movement, is gratifyingly large and steadily increasing.

### Manumit School

Another experiment in the field of workers' education for children was entered into by the labor movement when the Manumit School was founded. This school is a residential school for workers' children between nine and fourteen, maintained at Pawling, New York, by an association and operated on a non-profit basis. It is a new departure in two aspects: besides being a school of high standing maintained for workers' children, it represents a new spirit in education.

While those who organized the school were aware of the fact that the existing public schools are the schools for workers' children, they realized that like other public institutions, they change but slowly in response to the demands of progress. They were aware of the fact that society always needs experimental stations wherein new ideas are tried out, and which pass on successful experiments to the general public, which in turn introduces it into its institutions. They established Manumit as one of these experimental stations, as they said most clearly in the school's announcement:

"A world order based upon justice and co-operation, in which the individual may find freedom, is the end for which many labor groups are working; and for which certain research groups, philosophers and idealists hope. Fundamental changes in our social and industrial order must be made before this goal is reached. Education is one of the most potent forces in reshaping social conditions. Hence the necessity for education which will develop men and women with the knowledge, staying power, and inspiration to rebuild institutions and alter conditions which cramp the lives of workers today. With this end in view, Manumit School takes its place among the educational laboratories here and abroad that foster the growth of individuals freed from inherited errors of the past."

The school is, like the Pioneer Youth ventures, democratically managed. Students and teachers share in the work necessary for the upkeep of the school and the farm. The teachers aim to develop a critical and creative spirit in the children instead of the passive "learning" attitude brought about in our schools. It includes work in the natural sciences, in the social sciences, in literature and writing, in arts and crafts and in mathematics. It does not yet prepare for college entrance, but it hopes soon to continue its courses so that its students will leave the school equipped to go on with higher education or to enter their life work with well-rounded personalities.

The school is managed by an executive board composed of men and women, representatives of the labor movement and educators of broad general vision. It is directed by Mr. and Mrs. William Fincke.

### Art Education for Workers

The problems of the children of the workers who need general training are being met in the Pioneer Youth movement and through the Manumit School. The needs for special training of those endowed with artistic talent has also been considered by the labor movement. With proper training many of these children could be led to express themselves through art, and could serve the labor movement as artists.

To achieve this end, there was formed the Workers' Art Scholarship Committee. This Committee consists of representatives of many trade unions. It aims to select talented and deserving workers or their children who have had preliminary training, and enable them to pursue their studies abroad free.

The trade union movement has as its aim the elimination of the monstrous injustices and inequalities of today and the transformation of society on a basis of justice and happiness for all.

Through the manifold activities of the trade union workers give playful consideration to problems not only of their own group and industry, but to society as a whole.

To millions of workers, their union is not only the organization that protects them in the economic field, but also the organization that gives them an opportunity to develop character and personality. It gives them dignity, self-confidence and self-respect as citizens and as human beings. The trade union movement has now reached the point where the trade-unionist wants new activities to be developed to embrace the interest of his children.

# Something New Under the Sun

*The Working Faculty of Commonwealth College*

By COVINGTON HALL

## WORK AND STUDY

*UNIQUE indeed is this educational effort in the heart of the Ozarks. Faculty and students are at work as well as at study. Although not officially linked up with the Labor Movement, Commonwealth is carrying on a pioneering experiment that will be watched with interest.*

ONCE upon a time I had a friend who was an ardent member of the Socialist party. He left New Orleans and went to Chicago. There, as everywhere, he took an active interest in party affairs. Among his converts was a young Negro from Dixie. This young Negro himself became a proselyter. One night he gathered a group of friends at his home and asked my friend to address them. After the lecture was finished, questions were asked for. A Negro preacher arose and said:

"Brothers en' sisters, we thanks dese here white folks fo' taking all dis trouble ter come out here and gibe us dis talk, but hit can't be, hit can't be."

At this the young Negro recruit jumped up excitedly and said: "Wharfo' you say dat, suh? Wharfo' you say dat? Why can't hit be?"

At this the parson was considerably taken aback, but, after fumbling around a little, answered: "Be-kaze de Bible say 'dey ain' nuthin' new under de sun,' en dis here Socialism am somethin' new."

"Whar de Bible say dat, man, whar de Bible say dat?" emphatically queried his opponent.

"Um, ah, um," floundered the parson, "er, een de twelveth uv Ecclesisticus."

"Ah thought so, ah thought so!" came the triumphant rejoinder. "Dat's de ol' testemunt. But you turn ober de leaves uv dat book, turn 'em ober, turn 'em ober twel you gits ter de new testemunt, ter whut Jesus Christ say. Dat's de man fo' you! Whut he say? He say, 'Ah gibe unter you a *new* com-man'munt! Ah ha, smarty, ain' dat somethin' new?'"

Just so Commonwealth answers all objectors who come to it saying, "It won't work. It can't be done."

\* \* \* \* \*

"More shingles! More shingles!!"

"Coming! Coming!!" a well modulated but apologetic voice replied and a few seconds later the professor of psychology appeared at the edge of the

roof, with a bundle of shingles on his shoulder, where the impatient student foreman was awaiting him.

"Well, Dr. George! You will have to be a little faster getting those shingles up here. You are holding up the job."

"I just stepped over to the office for a minute," said the professor with a smile, "to see whether my manuscript was going to get off in the afternoon's mail."

"There is a time for all things," one of the students began quoting from one of the favorite homilies of the Doctor, and they all laughed and all, including the Doctor, set to to make up lost time.

Incidents like that are not out of the ordinary at Commonwealth College, hence it comes that the executives govern the college community, not by compulsion, but by character and example—and they govern together with a council elected by and from the student body.

## "The Faculty Should Worry"

Another actual occurrence that will give some idea of how the "Commoners" do things:

"Say, Ivy"—Ivy is a girl student—"will you tell the other members when you see them that there is to be a meeting of the Students Council tonight at seven."

"Is there anything of importance up, Folke?"

"Well, yes. The faculty has asked us to take up Gene's case. The foremen of the industrial jobs claim he is a disruptive force on the job wherever they put him. The faculty members claim he is not doing worth-while work. We have to decide what is to be done with him."

"Do you know, Folke," said Ivy, "I don't much fancy this putting of such decisions to the Student Council. If we have to decide that a student must go we have to bear the responsibility for our decision also. That is carrying student control a bit too far, I think. Looks to me like the faculty is just passing the buck, but I'll be there and I'll tell all the others I see to be sure to be on hand, but I don't like the faculty's way of putting it up to us."

"Well, Ivy, we have it to do and the faculty should worry."

Then they went on their way, but that night Gene, who was at the bottom a fine boy, was given to under-

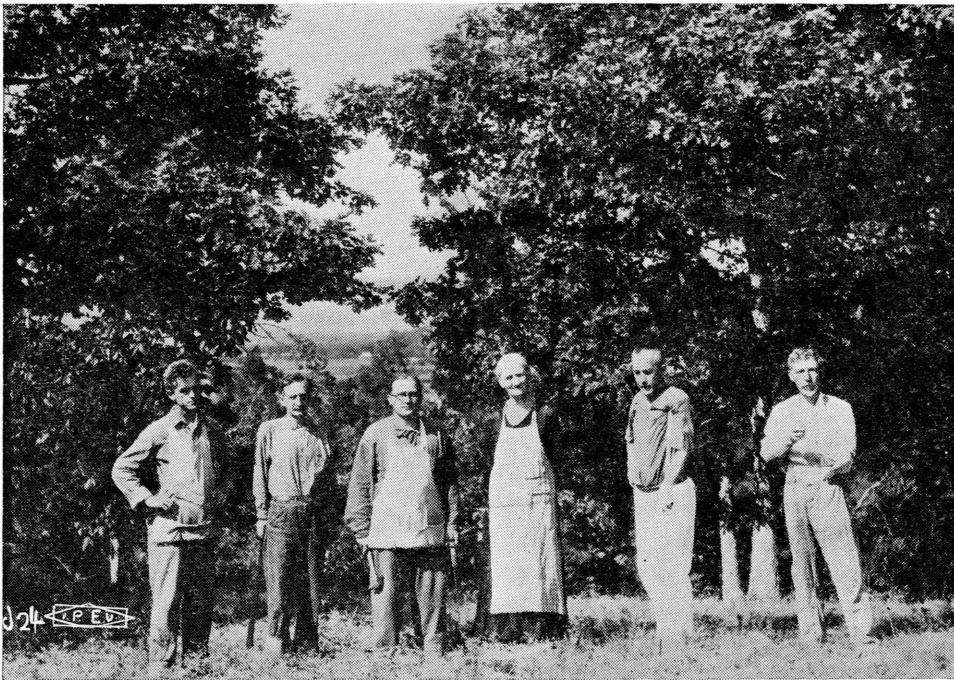
## LABOR AGE

stand "where he got off at," and "that was all there was to it."

Nothing can show the spirit prevailing at Commonwealth better than these two incidents. The students fear the disapprobation of their Council far more than the displeasure of their professors. This is probably due to the fact that tolerance is the iron-clad, if unwritten, law of the community and, hence, no student is ever called "on the carpet" by the Council unless it is pretty well established that he or she has deliberately and knowingly stepped beyond the bounds of good behavior, has violated the code set up for Commoners by Commoners.

"Why, since Labor creates and maintains all things else on earth, can it not also create and maintain its own schools, colleges and universities?"

Having asked themselves this question, the more they thought over it the more they became convinced that it could be done—that an institution devoted to higher education for workers could be established on a basis of self-maintenance. Once they were convinced of the feasibility of the idea, Commonwealth College began to take shape and form. It was launched on its career two years ago in a co-operative colony in Louisiana. Experience, however, disclosing that self-government was essential to the



**TEACHERS ON THE INDUSTRIAL JOB**

(From left to right)—Howard Buck, mathematics; W. C. Benton, history and law; William Edward Zeuch, economic theory; Alice A. Chown, English composition; Covington Hall, labor economics; F. M. Goodhue, science and statistics.

### **A Free Community**

In every way Commonwealth seeks to be a free community devoted to free and scientific education.

To achieve this end its founders conceived a plan that, so far as I am aware, has never before been tried out anywhere—that is "something new under the sun" in the realm of education.

Believing that education and propaganda are not synonymous but mutually exclusive terms, the founders of Commonwealth College cast about for ways and means to establish an institution where education would not be at the mercy of propaganda. In casting about, they finally asked themselves this question:

success of the experiment, the school was moved to Mena, Arkansas, in the autumn of 1924, and to its present and permanent site in the spring of 1925. It is now "on its own," free to carry out unhampered its plans and ideas.

### **Four Hours at Farm or Workshop**

The idea of the self-maintenance of faculty and student body has probably attracted more attention to Commonwealth than all the rest of its experiments put together. Yet the idea is a very simple one, resting, as it does, on the all creativeness of Labor. Boiled down, self-maintenance means simply this: Each student (and teacher) at Commonwealth per-

## BRITISH UNIONISTS' LEADER

**E**VERY year the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain changes its chairman.

This time the honor has fallen upon Arthur Pugh, secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. For over 35 years he has been a union leader; and now, at the age of 55, attains the leadership of all the British Unions.

Not as an orator, but as a business official, has Pugh built up the reputation which is his. Says the *LABOUR MAGAZINE*, in commenting on his selection: "More picturesque personalities than Mr. Pugh's have focussed the spotlight upon themselves in the past, but it is certain that no wiser or cooler intelligence than his has been brought to bear upon the tasks of the presidency."

forms, outside of his or her academic work, a maximum of four hours labor daily, on the farms, in the workshops, or at communal services, in return for which each receives food, shelter, laundry, and ordinary medical attention. The idea is to cut expenditures to a minimum, to bind all the realities of life, to exalt and dignify Labor, and to make the group a democratic unit, thus serving an economic, an educational and a social purpose. So far, in spite of formidable handicaps, the scheme has worked out well, and the school entered its third academic year on the twenty-first of September stronger and more hopeful of final success than at any time since its foundation.

In this way—by self-maintenance—Commonwealth seeks, as it were, to condition its own "Law of Economic Determinism"—it seeks educational independence by striving to determine the determiner of all mundane things.

Educationally Commonwealth holds that mass education is no education at all. Hence its whole educational program is so shaped as to bring out and develop the individual capacities of the student, his personality and power. It seeks, not to train automatons capable of serving only as valets to machines, but to graduate men and women capable

of thinking and acting for themselves and of rendering executive and leadership service to their fellow workers when they take part in the great struggle for existence.

## The Job—In the Heart of the Ozarks

Holding to this purpose, it maintains, first, that the student should know himself, his psychic and physical functioning, if he is to conserve his health and lead a happy and useful life; second, that he should have a good general knowledge of the physical universe in which he finds himself, in order to function intelligently for his own and the common good; third, that he should understand group behavior if he is to vision labor problems clearly and serve himself and his fellow workers efficiently. The entire curriculum of Commonwealth is planned with these ends in view. To achieve them, and to make it possible to give individual attention to the student, it is the purpose of the faculty always to keep the student body small; only fifty will be admitted this year and it is the intention never to admit more than one hundred and fifty to the school. The hope of Commonwealth is to prove the practicability of self-maintaining higher education for workers and thus serve as a model on which other Labor schools can be built in this and other lands. All that at present stands in the way of the early and complete success of the experiment is the capital necessary for equipment, which it is hoped will soon be forthcoming from far-seeing individuals and organizations interested in giving farmer-worker youth what they have not today—an opportunity for higher education unbiased by propaganda against their class and its economic, social and spiritual interests.

No better environment could have been chosen in which to bring this opportunity about than the country in which Commonwealth is now located. Mena, its postoffice and railway station, is within easy reach of all parts of the continent. The college site is beautiful in every way, situated as it is in the heart of the Ozark mountain country, which is justly famed for the salubrity of its climate, the variety and delightfulness of its scenery and abundance of undeveloped water-power. The soil is fertile, yielding good crops of fruits, melons, berries and vegetables of fine quality and flavor. Here, in this ideal location, the teachers and students, leading a semi-pioneer life, work and plan to make their dream come true—the establishment of an institution devoted to the higher education of workers, an education deeply imbued with the culture of a working world.

# Correspondence Lessons

*Furnished by Workers' Education Bureau*

## LESSON VII.—(Continued)

### *The Case of the Packing House Workers*

Another good example of the kind of conditions that determine the policies and methods of labor is that of the packing house workers. J. R. Commons made a study of their conditions in 1904 at the time of a big strike. He says:

"It would be difficult to find another industry where division of labor has been so ingeniously and microscopically worked out. The animal on which the butchers work has been surveyed and laid off like a map; and men have been classified in over thirty specialties and twenty rates of pay from 16 cents to 50 cents an hour. The 50-cent man is restricted to using the knife on the most delicate parts of the hide or to using the ax in splitting the backbone; and wherever less skilled man can be slipped in at 18 cents, 18½ cents, 20 cents, 21 cents, 22½ cents, 25 cents, and so on, a place is made for him and an occupation mapped out. On working on the hide alone nine positions and eight different rates of pay have been fixed. A 20 cent man pulls off the tail, a 22½-cent man pounds off another part where the hide separates readily, and the knife of the 40-cent man cuts a different texture and has a different feel from the 50-cent man. The skill has been specialized to fit the anatomy of the beef."

He says that among 230 men killing 105 cattle per hour, only 11 received 50 cents an hour, 3 received 45 cents an hour; and 144 of them received less than 20 cents an hour at that time (1904). The United States Bureau of Labor reported that 85 per cent. of the employees received an average wage of 17.46 cents per hour.

The results of this extreme specialization and variation in rates of pay were: first, it enabled the companies to utilize large numbers of unskilled workers, especially newly-arrived immigrants; second, it speeded up the work, the highly skilled men acting as pace-makers for the others. For example, in 1884, a splitter would split the backbones of 160 cattle in a 10-hour day and was paid 45 cents an hour. Ten years later the work had been speeded up so that a splitter handled 300 cattle in a 10-hour day and was paid 40 cents an hour. A third result was that the few highly paid workers tended to side with the companies against the less highly paid

workers. In fact the whole gradation of pay had the psychological effect of dividing the workers by causing them to center their interest on rising from a lower to higher scale of pay.

The first of these workers to organize were the most highly skilled, then the less skilled, and finally many of the unskilled. Then after suffering much oppression by the methods of speeding up the work and reducing the rates of pay, the various crafts were forced to combine as the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America. Here we have an example of an evolution toward an industrial union, which was brought about by the experiences that the rank and file got on the job.

### *The Evolution of Policies and Tactics*

We do not have space to elaborate on the development of labor unions through practical experience. All the leading policies have been debated over and over by practical labor men during their struggles to further the interests of their various organizations, and through process of trial and error policies have been adopted that have gotten results. The larger and more conservative unions have accepted the trade agreement as the best means to secure and retain improvements in the status of labor. The radical minority in the labor movement, of course, criticize the trade agreement as a makeshift and as a dangerous compromise with the employer. But the radical has an entirely different point of view from that of the typical A. F. of L. leader. He is intent on making a fundamental change in the whole economic and political structure of society. He would eliminate the employer entirely and put labor in complete control of industry.

For those who regard the capitalist employer as being necessary to the production and distribution of wealth, at least, in the present age, or who regard him as a more or less permanent institution, collective bargaining and the trade agreement are perfectly logical. So the aim of labor is to organize to force the employer to accept collective bargaining and to strengthen labor's bargaining power in every way possible, in order to get the best possible trade agreement with the employer. We might say that this is a fundamental policy of the American Federation of Labor. And it is perfectly logical for unions and the A. F. of L. to exercise discipline to force



## PROGRESS WITH A CAPITAL "P"

**W**HEN a committee arises and reports "progress," it is generally an indication of nothing done. Progress reported herewith is something entirely different. In the fight against the "American Plan" and the Employers' "Industrial Democracy" schemes, LABOR AGE is making genuine and encouraging steps forward.

This last month the International Furriers Union, in its convention, endorsed this publication and recommended it to its membership. With the many problems facing this organization, this was a distinct tribute.

The New York Building Trades Council, one of the largest and most responsible labor organizations in the country, has endorsed LABOR AGE and recommended it to its members. This was a further compliment, which cannot be over-estimated.

President John T. Halkett and Secretary Roswell Tompkins of the Council have given us their cordial and whole-hearted co-operation, in the carrying out of this endorsement.

Interrupted by three weeks' illness, the campaign of the Managing Editor in the Middle West is being

carried on aggressively and successfully. The following cities have been visited, up to December 15th:

**INDIANA**—Indianapolis, South Bend, Peru, Anderson, Gary.

**OHIO**—Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo (twice), Canton, Niles, Youngstown (three times), Elyria, Steubenville, Dayton, Lorain, Sandusky.

**ILLINOIS**—Chicago, Aurora, Jacksonville, Danville.

**WISCONSIN**—Racine, Sheboygan.

The many requests for speaking engagements in the Middle West have caused a postponement of the campaign in New England and Northern New York. This shall be taken up very shortly. In every community visited, special committees have been created or the Educational Committee has been instructed to push LABOR AGE among the membership. Publicity against the "American Plan" has been secured in every city, and the counter-attack on this piece of fakery has thus been begun.

their members to live up to the agreements that they make with the employers. A trade agreement is a form of contract, and cannot be worth anything unless both parties to it abide by its terms. This explains many cases of expulsion of unions from their internationals or from the A. F. of L.

But notwithstanding the extremely practical and business-like methods and policies of the American labor movement, it is imbued with a spirit of high idealism that must of necessity carry it forward to new victories for working men and women. As Perkins said in his Zurich address, "the toilers of America, struggling under the heavy load of brutalized opposition of the entrenched few, have learned the lesson of organization, solidarity, and united trade union activity." And it has been the function of the A. F. of L. "to arouse a spirit of hope and aspiration in the minds and hearts of workers and to instil in them confidence and a knowledge of their rights and how to achieve them, and finally to establish a purer democracy." To those who can see only its failures and shortcomings, its answer is that the evolution of the American labor movement has been and continues to be a natural process. Its growth has been from the life of the rank and file of workers

and has not been controlled and cannot be controlled by the most powerful leaders.

### *Suggestions for Further Study*

In this season of long evenings, there should be more study groups organized all over the country. If a group did nothing more than to get Mrs. Beard's book on the American labor movement and read it together, the effort would be worth while. It would probably lead to further study. Even if it did not, such a course would widen the vision of even experienced labor unionists and strengthen their faith in the movement.

Write to the Workers' Education Bureau, 476 West 24th Street, New York City, for further information. Or if you have any suggestions for advancing the cause of labor education in any way, the Bureau will be very glad to receive them.

These lessons are of necessity scrappy and incomplete because of the lack of space. They are presented merely as suggestions with the hope that they will stimulate more serious reading and study. The Bureau probably can help any group that wishes to take up the study of any other topic of interest to trade unionists.

# Labor History in the Making

IN THE U. S. A.

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

## FORWARD, HO!

*WHEN in the course of human events, it becomes necessary to take a good step forward, it had better be done. "All that is human," declares the famous Mr. Gibbon, "must retrograde if it does not advance." Of nothing is this more true than of that human, living force that the Labor Movement must be.*

*Conscious of the need for an advance, the central bodies in states like Ohio and Michigan are turning, for a beginning, to Workers' Education. The Educational Committee has become a regular part of their organization. As yet, however, these committees have begun to function in a small way only.*

*There is much uncertainty as to how to proceed. There are many difficulties in the way of the establishment of Labor Colleges. Finances and personnel are lacking, particularly in cities of the second class. The spirit back of the creation of these committees is fine: the beginning of real action toward intelligent progress. Two things will help the committees in their present stage of development more than anything else: 1. The wide dissemination of LABOR AGE with its simple educational courses and its digest of the Movement's various activities. 2. The routing of trained speakers who understand the movement and also have a message of hope based on facts, through the central bodies.*

## KNEELING WITH THE REST

(With a Word to the Unorganized)

**B**ACK in the days of slavery agitation, James Russell Lowell, poet of freedom, prodded New England for its, then, alliance with the slave south—and made a famous phrase.

And there is New England, said he, "kneeling with the rest." Kneeling, he meant, before the cotton power.

Again is the same drama, almost, being played on our national stage. Again does New England kneel before the slave-ridden mills of Georgia, Alabama, the Carolinas and Tennessee.

Mr. Ward Thoron (or is it Moron?), representing the New England textile manufacturers, is the authority for this charge. Mr. Thoron and his mill-owning backers are making a drive to repeal the Massachusetts law protecting women workers. In 1919 this law became effective, providing for the 48-hour work week.

In the south, the work hours range from 54 to 60 hours, while in Black Alabama there are no work limits at all. (And yet there dwell in that savage state Nordic ignoramuses who prate about the "darkness of the Middle Ages," whose guilds had

secured the 48-hour week for certain workers 500 years ago!)

For over 100 years Massachusetts and the other New England states have led the textile industry. This leadership was based on the "sweating" of the workers, through long, inhuman hours, putrid conditions and serf wages. Profits pyramided on profits. Were any of these surplus funds, drained from the tubercular wrecks known as work-people, ever laid aside to meet temporary periods of slashing competition such as this? They were not. The workers took the "risk," which we hear so frequently that capital takes.

Mr. Thoron admits that wages must eventually come up in the south and hours be cut. But he proposes that this be done by the insane method of breaking down the meagre standards of Massachusetts! Nothing is said about the stupid policy of the ingrown mill owners, in trying to go on and on with obsolete machinery. (That has also been taken out of the broken bodies of the men and women of Fall River, Lowell, Lawrence and the other textile towns.)

"Private initiative" has broken down in New England. Mr. Thoron says working women must be exploited or the mills will close. We know that's a

cheap bluff. But if that should be the alternative, we say: Close up and stay closed! The quicker the textile workers realize fully the hard-boiled, mummified outfit they are up against, the better. If New England cuts conditions and wages, the south will only cut lower. And the vicious circle will go on and on.

Meanwhile, organized labor is fighting against the repeal move of the employers. This, in a highly organized industry. We call this to the attention of the unorganized everywhere. Where can you look for protection of your rights except to your organized brothers? Get in and help them. It will give all of you strength to win more and more.

USING THE MOVIES

LARGE audiences over the land are viewing "Labor's Reward," the moving picture being sent through the country by the American Federation of Labor. The showings began in Milwaukee, Minneapolis and Danville, Illinois. By January First, every city in Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Michigan, New York, Oregon, California and Pennsylvania will have been visited.

Thus is inaugurated a new method of spreading the workers' gospel. Unorganized men and women will get a view of some of the things organization has accomplished. Later on, we may see movies of the struggles of the workers in America, presented as a high romance. What mingled thrills and sadness would there be in the tales of the rise of the needle trades, of the picturesque battles and victories of the miners, of the moves of the painters against industrial disease, of the early history of the carpenters with the pioneering P. J. McQuire touring the country for the 8-hour day, of the long Golgotha of the textile toilers at Lowell, Lawrence, Manchester, Paterson and through the southland. We shall see all these things, no doubt, before long on the screen—and it will hearten American work-people to strike ahead for further freedom.

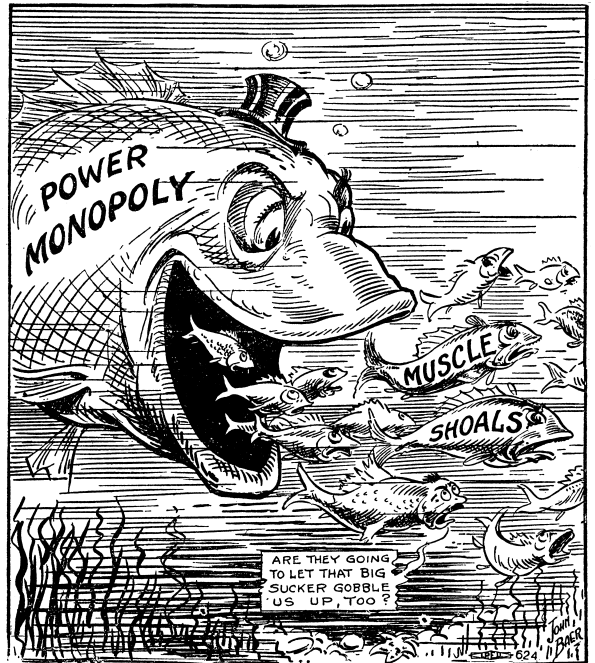
IF YOU WANT A JOB, PAY FOR IT

WONDERFUL working of the Rockefeller "Company Union" plan, as revealed by Salvatore Di Santis, a miner, in a letter reprinted in the ILLINOIS MINER:

"When I saw my partners they told me that we would have to pay \$50 to Mr. Boss or else we would not get any pay for dead work. I told them that I would not do it, so I quit and got a job at Oakview, Colo., where I worked for three months. When work got slack there the company cut down the working force and I was one of those that got laid off. I tried to get work at the mines around Walsenburg, but could find nothing. Being without a cent I was forced to go

back to Berwind and went back to the job that I had quit and had to submit to the graft.

"Where I was working no one ever came near us except the gas inspector and the driver because they had to, and the boss only came the day after pay day to get the \$50, or else he would not come then. This is the reason why they did not want me to get the contract, because there would not be any chance for graft. The superintendent was also in on the graft. Why do I say the superintendent was in accord with the graft along with the boss? Because last year my native countryman Antonio Di Santis, wrote an article that was printed in *Marsica Nuova*, that under the contract of the second left, there was paid to the boss \$1,000. When this article was read by Mr.



Again the question of the ownership and control of our water power sites is before Congress. Who will win, the electric interests or the people?

Salvatore Di Giacomo, who was the miners' representative under the Industrial Representation Plan at the time, he took the question up. When it got to the superintendent it died and nothing further was said or done. That is the evidence. He had two witnesses, and they were afraid to push the case to the higher officials for fear of losing their jobs. This is true that they had paid the \$1,000."

THE HIGHWAY COMES BACK

ANNOUNCEMENT by the "New Haven" Railroad that it plans to go into the bus business in New England on a big scale indicates how much headway the motor-car has made as an agency of transportation.

Railroad reports show that the motor truck has cut deeply into the railroad business. The bus is hitting out in the passenger-carrying field. From

## LABOR AGE

Newark and Los Angeles, where its larger career began, it has spread East and West, through the land. You can be as sure to meet the rickety, second-hand bus in the backwoods as to see its more modern counterpart out of Akron, or Youngstown, Ohio—with its special smoking compartment.

The transportation companies have very slowly come to understand what the inroads of these buses would come to in the long run. First, they merely wailed before the Public Service Commissions; then, they attacked the buses; then, they attempted to establish their own bus lines or to buy out the private bus companies. The Public Service Corporation of New Jersey has gone through all these stages—and is now violently engaged in the motor business all through that state.

Motor bus invasion of transportation has been one of the several factors making for railroad consolidation. It is not merely President Coolidge's support of consolidation that makes it inevitable. It is the way in which all industry is now moving in America.

With consolidation, the power of the railroads will be greatly increased. Already in control of the Railroad Labor Board, they can use this power to the utmost against the workers in the industry. **UNLESS**—the Howell-Barclay Bill changes the present method of adjusting railroad wage contracts. The A. F. of L. has made support of this bill one of its chief legislative items. The coming Congress will be asked to free the railroad workers from the burden of the Labor Board, through the passage of this bill.

It is essential that this measure be adopted.

### THAT MATTER OF CONTROL

**H**AVE you a little share of corporation stock in your home? If you have, don't think it counts for too much. For one thing, it is not making you a "capitalist." For another, it is giving you no economic power.

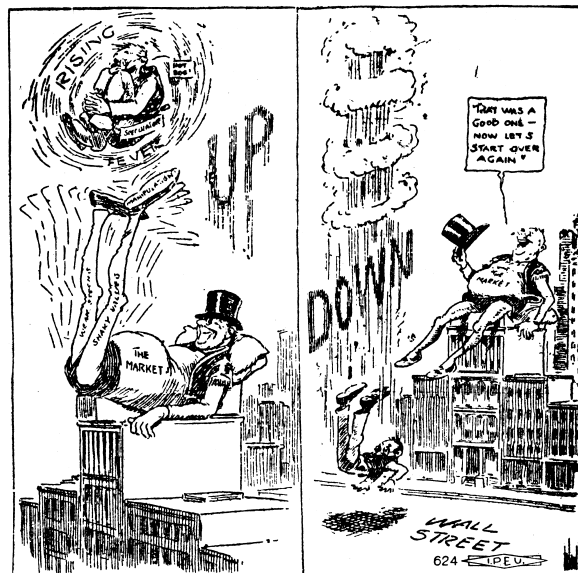
Says Norman Thomas, in quoting Prof. Ripley on this subject:

"Banking interests and other promoters have worked out an extraordinary scheme of selling stock, yet keeping control in their own hands. More and more in great corporations the owners of stock are divorced from responsibility by the simple device of issuing most of the stock without the privilege of voting and leaving the privilege of voting to a handful of insiders who own the common stock.

"In a remarkable address before the Academy of Political Science, Professor W. Z. Ripley of Harvard called attention to the danger of this sort of thing. What he said was so important that we are going to quote part of it.

"The recent Dodge Motors Company is typical. A banking house buys up a private business for, let us say, \$146,000,000. This sum and more they recover, let us say, by the

sale to the public for \$160,000,000 of bonds, preferred stock and 1,500,000 non-voting shares of Class A common stock. But not a single one of the 500,000 Class B voting common shares are thus sold. The promoters have virtually paid themselves a handsome profit for the assumption of the entire directorial power, having mortgaged the property to the full amount



Thus does the "Columbus Dispatch" portray the wild speculation recently witnessed on Wall Street. It is an unhealthy condition under which, not merely the fool "lamb" but also the innocent bystander worker, are penalized.

of its original cost including both assets and capitalized earning power.

"Professor Ripley goes on to show that the sale of stock to consumers and employees carries with it no real power over the corporation whose stock is sold. Again we quote:

"Corporations have always been susceptible to control by concentration of voting power. Far less than half of the capital stock may be as effective for such control as possessed of an actual majority. But it is elemental—requiring no

## Compulsory

- MILITARY TRAINING
- GOOSESTEPPING
- "THINKING"

are the bases of a student revolt which will inevitably affect the relations between the half million college students and the labor movement.

THE NEW STUDENT reports the activities of thinking students throughout the world.

Published every week from October to June  
with a monthly magazine section — \$1.50 a year

**THE NEW STUDENT**  
2929 Broadway New York, N. Y.

proof—that the larger the number of shareholders the more easily may a small concentrated block of minority holders exercise sway over the rest.

“In 1923 there were 250,000 stockholders registered in the electric light and power companies alone. The total number of stockholders in all sorts of concerns has almost doubled since 1900, rising to an aggregate of 14,423,000 in 1923. These shareholders now possess over \$70,000,000,000 worth of stock at par, on the showing of the Federal income tax returns. Such possession used to be confined to the wealthy and the well-to-do class. Now it comprehends the small householder and large numbers of wage earners. The former concentration of wealth is now yielding place to so wide a diffusion as to call for public recognition by way of legislation or oversight.

“But the important point to note is that the wider the diffusion of ownership the more readily does effective control run to the intermediaries, in this case promoters, bankers, or management companies. Until corrected by appropriate revision of our corporation law or practice, this apparently healthful manifestation may contain the seeds of grave abuse.”

“Let the workers be on their guard!”

Rather! Prof. Ripley is one of the leading experts on railroading in the country. He is giving us all fair warning. The stock-peddling, now become such a national pastime, by and large is merely tying the workers to a post, from which they will tear themselves only with the greatest pain and difficulty.

#### OUR LOAF OF BREAD AND THE BRITISH

WITH their cynical insight, the French have manufactured that trite saying—“Search for the Woman!”—to solve all personal embarrassments. In those harassing gymnastics which the ultimate consumer must go through, to make ends meet, a comforting and correct phrase which

would reflect the cause of his troubles, might well be: “Search for the Trust.” In every instance, he will locate the seat of trouble there.

So the All-American Co-operative Commission tells us, in comparing our price of bread with that of the British loaf. But let the Commission speak for itself.

“The British bread consumer,” it says, “secures his loaf made from American wheat for 4½ cents per pound, or just about one-half the average cost in the large cities of this country. This is due to the fact that the powerful co-operative societies of Great Britain have entirely eliminated profit making from the bread industry, giving the consumer the advantage of efficient co-operative production and distribution. Thus the British co-operative societies own thousands of acres of wheat land in Canada and are among the largest buyers of wheat in the United States, transporting the American grain across the Atlantic in co-operatively owned vessels, grinding it in huge co-operative flour mills on the other side—the largest mills in the United Kingdom, baking it in model co-operative bakeries, some of them capable of turning out more than a million loaves a week, and delivering it to the consumer’s door through local co-operative societies, so that not a farthing of private profit enters into the loaf of bread in the whole process.

“While bread prices in the United States have recently been boosted, states the All-American Co-operative Commission, the competition of the British co-operative societies has not only kept bread prices down in Britain, but has recently furnished the government Food Council with figures proving private profiteering in bread, so that the government has just ordered a further reduction in price of one cent a quarter loaf.”

Food for reflection, at least! And we suggest, for action, too.

### IN EUROPE

#### THE BIRD’S EYE VIEW

EUROPE is still in the process of “settling down” to some new era—much like the heated earth after an internal explosion. Soviet Russia’s ninth anniversary has come and gone—and with it the suggestion that Russia as well as Germany be admitted to the League of Nations.

France and Great Britain are now singing the blues. Unemployment continues unabated in the Albion Isle. In France, there has been a frantic effort to balance its budget without a capital levy. Briand, the former Syndicalist, has been thrown into the breach. At last accounts, he was swimming in mid-stream; but with gasping breath. It looks as though it will be a difficult thing to avoid the Socialists’ program of a heavy direct tax on capital.

Mussolini continues to muzzle Italy. All the Fascisti implicated in the murder of Matteoti have been released. The leading newspaper of the country—the “Corriere Della Sera” of Milan—has been added to the list of suppressed papers, and the Catholic paper “Popolo” has suffered a like fate. The first French Fascist organization has just been established in Paris. But it is of little weight, being drawn from the Royalist ranks.

Workers’ organization continue to feel a new spirit as the year comes to a close. The woolen textile and miners’

victories have encouraged the British workers. The British Coal Commission is carrying on its hearings and the Na-

DIGGING UP THE BILL KILLED LAST SESSION



London Daily Herald

Again are the Tories attempting to interfere with the British trade unionists’ payments to the Labor Party—which we have discussed several times during the past few months.

## LABOR AGE

tional Wages Board is also considering the wage demands of the Railway Workers. On the latter, there are rumors that Baldwin may be forced to grant another subsidy—similar to his grant to the mine owners in July.

### THE BRITISH GET TOGETHER

**F**ROM Britain cometh news of new union amalgamations. The challenge of trustified employers is being met in that way.

The National Union of Enginemen, Firemen, Mechanics and Electrical Workers (with a membership of about 25,000) has decided to amalgamate with the Transport and General Workers' Union. The latter union itself amalgamated with the Municipal Workers during the past year.

"This move constitutes another stride forward on the way to the one big union of all the workers engaged in transport and the allied trades," says the International Federation of Trade Unions. "It is reckoned that negotiations now proceeding between the Transport and General Workers' Union and other unions will result in a united transport workers' union representing upwards of 1,000,000 (as against 327,560 at the end of 1924)."

A ballot vote has just been taken by the Transport and General Workers' Union on the question of the Triple Alliance. An overwhelming majority declared in favor of adopting the rules of the union to the proposals laid down for the big industrial coalition.

Other unions which have agreed unreservedly to this far-reaching scheme are: the Miners' Federation, the National Amalgamated Union of Enginemen and Firemen, the National Union of Foundry Workers and the Electrical Trades Union. These unions have also agreed to extend the powers of the General Council of the T. U. C. to give it full authority in the organization of strikes.

The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation and the National Union of Railwaymen are also at present considering proposals for the alteration of their rules to meet the requirements of the Triple Alliance. A stumbling block may be met with in the latter union, but the alliance champions are confident of final success.

### STRIKE BREAKING GANGS IN BRITAIN

**W**HILE we in America are wrestling with state constabulary, department of justice graduates, deputy sheriffs, private detective agencies, company gunmen, Ku Klux Klanners, horse thief detective associations and other voluntary associations for compulsion on the other fellow, Britain is facing its own strike-breaking organizations.

These are all centered around the organization for the maintenance of supplies, which sprang up during

the past year. Headed by no less a person than Lord Hardinge of Penhurst, former Viceroy of India, it has received the official baptismal blessing of the Tory government. Sir Joynson-Hicks, the Home Secretary in the Baldwin cabinet, welcomed the O. M. S. as an auxiliary force to that of the government in the breaking of strikes. The five classes, for which "the well-disposed citizens" of Joynson-Hicks' declaration may well enroll, are, according to the MONTHLY CIRCULAR OF THE LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT:

- (a) For protecting the public services, and, if necessary, enrolling as special constables.
- (b) For voluntary workers on the railways, tubes, trams, the handling of food-stuffs, etc.
- (c) For drivers of vans, lorries, etc.
- (d) For messengers in the event of telephone and postal services being involved.
- (e) For clerical workers.



The land of Dante is producing a real Inferno (or Hell), to match the poet's vision—according to a Dutch paper. It is the regime of Mussolini, despot and enemy of Italian unionism.

A steady flow of volunteers and of cash is reported, as a result of the appeal of the O. M. S. through the press. Grouped around it, in its work, are the National Citizens' Union (formerly the Middle Class Union), the British Empire Union and the British Fascists. In the dock strike, the railway strike of 1919 and in several local walkouts or lockouts, the Middle Class Union acted in the role of strike-breaker. It is the oldest of the anti-union

agencies, as such the British Empire Union arose as an anti-alien organization during the war. Since 1919, it has set up an "industrial peace department." It is closely allied with big manufacturing interests and is designed to throw the mantle of "patriotism" around their anti-worker activities.

The British Fascists are organized along military lines, after the Italian model. They have secured the aid of some local authorities in local recruiting. They are openly getting ready for any industrial trouble that may arise next year, probably with an eye on the coal fields. One of their recent acts of violence was the seizure of a motor truck belonging to the LONDON DAILY HERALD, the labor daily. The government let them go scot free, over the protest of the unions.

Additional to these groups—openly encouraged by the authorities—the government is busy attempting to draft an army supplementary reserve from among the transportation workers themselves; is offering financial inducements for strike-breaking and is seeking to substitute the military for trade unionists in certain essential industries.

It's the old game of trying to rig up a charge that the workers are "not loyal to Caesar." Thus, the employing interests and their Tory and Liberal tools hope to crucify the unions. Looking at British Labor and its spirit of solidarity, we doubt much that the scheme will ever succeed. There are two sides to every battle, you know!

## LABORGRAMS

*From Here and There—And By the Way*

A victory in an injunction case has been won by the upholsterers in Toledo, Secretary John J. Quinlivan of the central body of that city reports. The judge did the usual stunt in Ohio cities and disqualified himself so that a country judge could come in and soak the workers. But the facts were too strong, and the imported gentleman "Portia" could see no reason for action against the union.

\* \* \*

Michigan's Federation is beginning a state-wide organization and education drive, under the direction of Secretary John J. Scannell. E. E. Linton, Secretary of the Ann Arbor central body, states that this drive has already had good effects locally, particularly among the women. Regular meetings of women workers and wives of workers are being held at Ann Arbor and in other parts of the state.

\* \* \*

Youngstown's United Labor Congress is about to start workers' classes in the public schools. General education is to be the beginning. No trade problems

will be taken up first. Public speaking seems to be the most popular subject among those contemplated, according to information so far secured.

\* \* \*

The negro in industry has received the particular attention of the Youngstown Building Laborers' Union. It has been exceptionally successful in its organization work among them. Fully two-thirds of the union men are negroes. Both the organizer, Harry Murray and the secretary, C. B. Green are members of that race.

### "YOU'RE A LIAR, MR. AMERICAN PLANNER"

*(Continued from page ii)*

ever go in a body to state or national legislative halls, to plead for the aged (that they be provided with pensions in their twilight years) or for the child-workers (that they receive education and opportunity) or for the women in industry (that they have time for motherhood and the uprearing of their children)? The facts answer: *Never*.

It is the organized workers—with all their limitations as human beings and toilers—who must do these things, even for the unorganized. When, occasionally, they slip in their methods, it is at least a slip in the right direction.

This glorious mirage of the "American Plan" must be shown up, in all its fakery and frumpery. That is just what we propose to do. We continue in this issue the series of articles on "Company Unionism"—this time devoting attention to the Pennsylvania System.

The men on Atterbury's "Slaughter House" are denied a just consideration of their most simple demands. The "dear public," who are foolhardy enough to trust their lives to the murderous machine, gamble with death. The record of accidents on the Pennsylvania continue unabated. The Cleveland-Pittsburg flyer goes off the track. An entire train crew is blown to pieces near Columbus. The Pittsburg-New York route kills a goodly number of simple souls, near New Brunswick, who took Atterbury's advertisements as the real thing. "Wreck, wreck, wreck," is the song on the so-called "Standard Railroad of the World." This is not our accusation, but the record as kept by the United States Government.

Atterbury's slogan is as false as hell—but no more false than the whole hypocritical lingo of the "American Plan" gang. Step by step, we mean to dissect this putrid growth—and show that it is as "American" as its companion "Employers' Industrial Democracy" schemes are "Democratic." It is a piece of knavery and a lie. And—we must say it—in having the gall to put it before the citizenry, "You, Mr. American Planner, are a liar!"

# DYNAMITE !!

That will blow the "American Plan" to smithereens—

That will expose the camouflage hiding the real stuff in  
the Employers' "Industrial Democracy"  
schemes—

That will wreck the "Company Union"—

is contained in the

## PLAIN, UNVARNISHED TRUTH ABOUT THESE INSTRUMENTS OF INDUSTRIAL AUTOCRACY

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This publication is making it its business to collect and  
publish these facts.

### IS YOUR LOCAL STAGNANT ?

If it is, or if it is not, the facts in LABOR AGE will add  
to its morale and give it the old, fighting spirit—based on  
intelligent knowledge of the movement.

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