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GERMANY'S REASON FOR BLOCKADE

Places Responsibility For Act on England. Declares British Have Practical Blockade.

Waters Surrounding British Isles and Entire English Channel Area of War.

The complete text of the German memorandum concerning the retaliatory measures to be taken against England, made public in Berlin Saturday night, places responsibility for the measure on England. It is as follows:

"Since the beginning of the present war, Great Britain has carried on a mercantile war against Germany in a way that defies all the principles of international law. It is true the British government has announced in a number of decrees that the declaration of London, concerning naval warfare, is binding on her naval force, but in reality she has renounced the declaration in its most important particulars. Although her own delegates to the London conference on naval warfare and recognized its conclusions to be valid as international law, the British government has put a number of articles in the list of contraband which are not, or at most are only indirectly, useful for military purposes, and therefore, according to the London declaration, as well as according to the universally recognized rules of international law, may not be designated as contraband.

London Declaration Violated. "Inasmuch as she has declared subject to capture all articles of relative contraband intended for Germany, without reference to the harbor in which they are to be unloaded or to the hostile or peaceful use to which they are to be put, she does not hesitate to violate the London declaration, as her naval forces have seized on neutral shores German property that was not contraband, in violation of her own decrees.

"She has further, through her naval forces, taken from neutral ships numerous Germans liable to military service and has made of them prisoners of war. Finally, she has declared the entire North sea to be an area of war, and, if she has not made impossible the passage of neutral shipping through the sea between Scotland and Norway, she has rendered it so difficult and so dangerous that she has to a certain extent effected a blockade of neutral coasts and neutral ports in violation of international law.

Would Starve German Nation. "These measures have the obvious purpose, through the illegal paralysis of neutral commerce, not only to strike at the German military strength but also at the economic life of Germany, and, finally, through starvation, upon the entire population of Germany to destruction.

"The neutral powers have generally acquiesced in the steps taken by the British government, or at least they have not succeeded in inducing the British government to restore the German individuals and property seized in violation of international law. In certain directions they have also aided the British measures which are irreconcilable with the freedom of the sea, in that they have, obviously, under the pressure of England, hindered by export and transit embargoes, the transit of wares for peaceful purposes to Germany. The German government has in vain called the attention of neutral powers to the fact that it must face the question of whether it can longer persevere in its strict observance of the rules of the declaration of London if Great Britain is to continue its present course and the neutral powers are to continue to acquiesce in the violation of neutrality to the detriment of Germany.

Germany Must Retaliate. "For her violations of international law, Great Britain pleads the vital in-

JOHN D. A HYPOCRITE SAYS MOTHER JONES

Declares His Plan for Meeting Colorado Miners Is Dishonest and Absurd.

NEW YORK, Feb. 12.—That the life of philanthropic foundations should be restricted by law is the opinion of the majority of the members of the federal commission on industrial relations.

The evidence already adduced is declared by some of the members to emphasize the need of such action, and it is expected such a recommendation will be made to congress.

This, and compulsory reports to congress with governmental representation upon the boards, is about as far as the majority of the commission believe it will be advisable to go in suggesting curbing legislation.

Hears Strike Story. The commission read into its records the story of the Colorado strike from the standpoint of the miners as presented to the congressional committee on labor and also heard representatives from the United Mine Workers who detailed the causes leading up to the outbreak.

Mother Jones Speaks. "Mr. Rockefeller has made his promises—now we are going to give him a chance to show he means them."

So declared "Mother" Jones, veteran labor agitator, in discussing her conference with John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

Calls Him Fraud. "I want him to go to Colorado right now—while the ashes of Ludlow are still hot," she continued. "There is no use going out next summer or fall. The new scheme for meeting his men in Colorado is a sham and fraud. The workers have no organization. They are powerless to enforce any just demands.

"But you can't fool my boys. They know this kind of a scheme is hypocritical and dishonest pretense. I don't believe that Mr. Rockefeller understands this."

"The company was against them, when they tried to help themselves they were blacklisted and beaten or shot down, and nobody back here in the east cared. It was worse than what I read about in Russia."

"I want Mr. Rockefeller to go out there and see. Nothing is settled. The strike is over and unionism was ground under the heel of tyranny."

MUNICIPAL RESTAURANT IN DETROIT FOR JOBLESS

DETROIT, Feb. 12.—Hunger will be the only ticket necessary to obtain a meal of clean wholesome food at a new municipal restaurant to be opened at Detroit, tomorrow. The restaurant will be municipally owned but privately supported.

At a meeting in Mayor Marx' office this afternoon 40 citizens pledged \$1,000, for three months support of the restaurant.

It will be conducted as an adjunct to the city welfare bureau.

"We shall not have to wait for a general election before prosperity returns, and the only danger is that the prosperity may become so great before the means of keeping the Democratic party in power," says the Wall Street Journal. "Prosperity would not have been so long delayed had not so many parties privately but it would lead encouragement to the party in power. It may be good policy but it is a good citizenship to keep alive any tendencies towards business depression.—Minneapolis Tribune.

THE POWER OF UNIONISM WHAT UNIONS HAVE GAINED

By ROBERT HUNTER. Let him who questions the value of unionism pause and consider for a moment just one thing that unionism has accomplished.

It is well known that in the early days of the present factory system the day's work extended usually to fourteen or sixteen hours.

This long day existed for all workers, the skilled and the unskilled, the children as well as the men and women.

The workers had not yet learned to organize, and as individuals they were utterly helpless to effect a change in the hours of their labor or in the scale of their wages.

There were, of course, no laws to protect them, and so they were entirely at the mercy of their employers.

The moral conditions that existed in the factory system little more than half a century ago in England and elsewhere throughout the world are equaled today only in certain plague spots.

When one reads this story of the misery and oppression, the long hours and low wages of those days, one wonders how the workers managed to live at all.

How much the condition of the workers generally has been improved it is by no means easy to say, but we do know that the condition of the workers has vastly improved wherever they have learned to value unity.

In those trades where the men have known enough to fight for their rights and to stand together there has arisen what some scoffers like to call an "aristocracy of labor."

And if in certain trades there are indeed aristocrats of labor, it is simply because they have had intelligence enough to fight together, to pay dues to one organization, and to battle with unity and solidarity.

And what they have done all other workers can do.

The "aristocrats" hold no patent on their method of action, and by acting in the same manner all other toilers can win all the "aristocrats" have won.

Now it is difficult to ascertain just how much union workers have benefited by higher wages.

In that matter there is always the question as to the increased cost of living, which makes difficult any comparison of wages here and abroad or of wages now with those of forty years ago.

The best one can do is to compare wages and hours today in one trade that is organized with the wages and hours in another trade that is unorganized.

This has been well done by the Department of Labor at Washington, and the figures gathered by that department show beyond dispute the enormous benefits that have come to labor as a result of organization.

Consider for one moment the following facts:

We all know that the workers in the iron and steel trade are poorly organized, and we find that the hours of labor in this trade are eighty-four hours per week.

On the other hand, we know that the stone and granite cutters are well organized.

When we look up the figures of their hours we find that they work about forty-eight hours per week.

The bricklayers, the carpenters, the hodcarriers, the painters, the paperhangers and the plumbers are highly organized trades, and when we inquire into the hours worked by these, we find that they rarely average more than fifty hours per week.

These workers, then, are the "aristocrats" of labor simply because they are well united in their trade, are loyal to their organization, pay their dues and fight a common battle.

It would be difficult to find an argument in support of unionism so potent as this one.

To find one set of workers like the stonecutters working 48 hours per week and another set of workers in the iron and steel trade working 84 hours per week should alone be enough to convince every toiler in this wide land of the value of unionism.

But this is not all. The hot-blast men, who work an average of 80 hours a week, obtain only about 16 cents per hour for their labor.

The stonecutters, who work on an average of 48 hours per week, receive an average of 41 cents per hour.

In other words, the stonecutters, working about half the time of the hot-blast men, receive at the end of the week much larger wages.

To look at it in another way, a hot-blast man during his life sells to his boss an amount of labor equal to that sold by two stonecutters during their lives.

The hot-blast worker gives in one life what one stonecutter would need two lives to give, and he gives the labor of two lives for less money than a stonecutter receives for the labor of his one life.

Think of this and then consider how tragic it is that one must actually persuade workmen to believe in industrial unity.

It is almost impossible to believe that any class of the workers should be blind to the value of unionism or loath to suffer almost anything to achieve it.

And what astounding evidence of working class stupidity it would be if the workers of this country should without a fight allow their unions to be crushed and their right or organization taken away by the capitalist legislatures and courts.

The value of unity is so clear, the gains for those who have united are so evident, and the necessity of organization for all workers is so great, that it would seem that men, if they have intelligence to fight for anything, would surely fight for this.

MINERS ANSWER "COSSACK" OF STATE

Leader of Constabulary Is Shown Up By Labor Organization.

HAZELTON, Pa., Feb. 12.—Officials of the United Mine Workers have issued a statement in answer to the claim of John C. Grooms, head of the state police, known as "Cossacks," that his troopers acted within the law during strike troubles in this region.

The miners say: "It is not necessary to go into details in order to answer the unblushing falsehoods of Grooms, as the verbatim records of the Hazelton hearing will speak for themselves.

Grooms Falls Down. "Mr. Grooms makes no attempt to contradict the testimony adduced at the Hazelton hearing, and in his answer follows the usual course of those whose methods cannot stand the light of day, by evading the real facts, and by making false counter statements of a nonsensical nature, calculated to divert attention from the terrible indictment made against him and his troopers."

"Grooms denies that the state police mixed with crowds, in their citizen's clothes. The records show city policemen and borough officers testifying that they did mix with the crowds in their citizen's clothes. We will therefore accept the sworn testimony of these men in preference to that of Grooms.

Self Convicted. "In brief, the weak defense of Grooms but further entangles the troopers in the web of unlawful abuse of authority, and we are perfectly willing to measure steel with Grooms or his captains before the legislature, or any of the committees, and prove that every word of testimony was correct."

MUNICIPAL WATERWORKS REPORT SHOWS PROFITS

OSHKOSH, Wis., Feb. 12.—The benefit of municipal ownership is shown by the semi-annual report of the Oshkosh city water department.

The net income of the plant for the six months ending Dec. 31 was \$14,504.70. From this is deducted \$2,679.05 for extensions and \$700.55 for acquisition expenses, leaving a net surplus of \$11,125.10. Adding the net surplus, \$10,728.52, of the previous six months gave the city on Dec. 31, a total net surplus of \$21,853.62 available for improvements.

The total assets of the property and plant on December 31 totaled \$789,005.09.

PENNSYLVANIA TO GIVE WOMEN EQUAL SUFFRAGE

HARRISBURG, Pa., Feb. 12.—By a vote of 130 to 71, the house of representatives today passed the resolution proposing an amendment to the constitution of Pennsylvania to give women the ballot.

The vote was almost identical to that of two years ago, when the measure was introduced 131 to 70.

The resolution now only requires the favorable consideration of the senate to insure its being submitted to the voters next November.

left a passenger train and cheered when they found there were no strikebreakers brought to this place. When the cheers had subsided the deputies, who were concealed opposite the unarmored strikers, fired into their ranks. The workers fled, but they were fired upon as they ran.

EDISON PLANT MAY BE CONDEMNED

Rumor that Council Condemns Such Action. No Denial of Verity of Rumor.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12.—The house found itself in the midst of the naval "plucking board" controversy last week in connection with consideration of the naval appropriation bill.

Representative Lenroot attacked a proviso making it necessary for the naval affairs committee to ratify the president's action in restoring to the service men "plucked" in the past.

This, Lenroot said, was unprecedented interference with the president's powers.

"We have all known for two years," said Lenroot, "that the majority of the Democrats in the house have been nothing but rubber stamps for the president. I wonder if now they are seeking to assert their independence?"

"My recollection," replied Henry, Texas, "is that our legislation has been so good that the gentleman from Wisconsin has voted for practically all of our bills. He must be one of the rubber stamps."

council to institute condemnation proceedings.

"I have not heard anything about it," said the executive.

If condemnation proceedings are instituted the city will go to the courts with the Rittenhouse valuation as a basis for argument, it is stated.

LENROOT GETS HOT SHOT IN CONGRESS

Calls the Democrats "Rubber Stamps" and is Told Handle Fit Him.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12.—Twenty-eight deputy sheriffs who figured in the strike riot at the fertilizer plant of Williams & Clark, resulting in the death of two strikers and the wounding of a score of others, have been lodged in the New Brunswick county jail, charged with murder in the first degree.

Fact Revealed. Investigations show that the gunmen were paid \$7 a day and were furnished by a Newark, N. J., detective agency. A. F. of L. organizers are assisting the strikers and demanding that every effort be made by the proper authorities to punish the assailants.

The United States industrial relations commission has assigned representatives to inquire into every feature of this strike and the part imported gunmen have played.

Detestable Cause Trouble. President Gompers told the commission that more than four-fifths of all labor disturbances were fomented by detective agencies. "The only remedy," he declared, "lies in guaranteeing labor the full right to organize, in detective agencies and armed guards, and in stopping the flood of immigrants under contract with the steamship companies."

The fertilizer workers struck on Jan. 4 and have their old rate of \$2 a day restored, which was reduced to \$1.60 on Oct. 6 by the companies. The assault by deputies was entirely unprovoked, as the strikers had just

COUNTY OPTION PASSES SENATE

Advocates of Measure Are Confident of Victory in Lower House.

County Option was victorious in the senate a week ago last Thursday, the vote being taken as The Labor World was going to press. After a heated debate lasting four hours a vote was taken which showed that the bill had 35 votes in favor and 21 opposed.

Thirty-four votes were all that were needed to pass the measure. All the senators were present to cast their votes.

Adams, Griggs and Jones of St. Louis county are recorded as in favor of the bill while Healy and Peterson are against it.

Practically every amendment offered by the opposition was voted down. Minor amendments were accepted by the introducer of the measure among which was one allowing a larger opportunity for voters to cast their ballot at a special election.

After the first set-to over an amendment there was no doubt as to the final outcome of the bill.

Show Enthusiasm. When the Lieutenant Governor announced that the bill had passed there was a brief but spirited demonstration from the county option forces.

Senator Lende of Yellow Medicine was the most effective speaker for the county option people and with forceful oratory answered the objections of those opposed to the measure. In answer to the argument that one corner of the county should not vote to force the opposite side of the county dry against the will of the desires of the people of the community Lende said, "Whatever the distance, these people anywhere in a county have a moral right and a civil right to determine whether the county shall be wet or dry. It is a question of character (Senator Sullivan of Stearns had declared that the evil of liquor rested in proportion as a person was able to govern himself in its use). Mr. President, and it is a question of character in this way. Suppose there is a community in which there is a saloon. A man living some distance from that community has occasion to go into that community often on business. That saloon is a temptation and in time becomes confirmed in the use of liquor it marks the doom of his family. Shall it be said then that those people who though not right in the community, but who are jeopardized by this saloon in a place where they often gather, have no right to vote upon whether the county as a whole shall be wet or dry?"

Respects Some Liquor Sellers. Senator Lende stated that there were many saloon keepers in his county (Yellow Medicine) for whom he had a hundred times more respect "than for certain temperance men."

To Refund License Fees. After some discussion Senator Peterson of Clay county consented to an amendment to the bill offered by Senator Duxbury which made it obligatory upon governing bodies within the county to refund license money covering a period beyond that in which the saloons may operate. The bill gives the saloon keeper 60 days within which to dispose of his stock but no provision is made to care for those who temporarily at least will be forced out of employment. It provides that 25 per cent of the electors of a county may petition for a special election on the question and that names once appended to the petitions cannot be removed.

County optionists are jubilant over the outcome of the vote in the senate and have high hopes that the bill will carry in the house by a safe majority.

THE STRIKE BREAKER A CURSE TO THE NATION

(By Walter Lippman, in the Metropolitan.)

When employers talk about the freedom of labor, it may be that some of them are really worried over the hostility of most unions to exceptional rewards for exceptional workers. But in the main that isn't what worries them. They are worried about their own freedom, not the freedom of wage-earners. They dislike the union because it challenges their supremacy. And they fight unions as monarchs fight constitutions, as aristocrats fight the vote. When an employer tells about his own virtues, he dilates upon his kindness, his fairness and all the good things he has done for his men. That is just what benevolent autocrats do: they try to justify their autocracy by their benevolence. Indeed, the highest vision of those who oppose unions is that the employer will develop the virtues of a good aristocrat—a sense of noblesse oblige.

Not All Henry Fords. But, of course, wage-earners are not dealing with men inspired even by such a vision. Henry Ford is a sensational rarity among employers. No doubt there are some others, not so conspicuous. Now, if workers of conservative and public-spirited

citizens ever formed in any country of the world. I don't think the problem would be solved, but it would take on a very different complexion. It is, however, an academic question, for the great mass of employers show no desire to make big concessions.

Employers are organized for obstruction. There is, for example, the National Association of Manufacturers, embracing four thousand individual employers who represent a capital of about ten billion dollars. Its constructive program consists of such attractive items as "unalterable antagonism to the closed shop," opposition to eight hours' bills, and with mild emphasis hostility "to any and all anti-injunction bills of whatever kind." American civilization is also assisted by the National Council for Industrial Defense, an unincorporated body which employs a lobbyist at the rate of a thousand dollars a month. According to the proud words of its late president, this council, "in the number of members, in the capital which they control, and in the social, industrial and political influence which they exert... is by far the largest and most powerful league Coercive Measures. There are also a number of nation-

al associations in various trades endeavoring to prevent wage-earners from submerging their individuality in unions. They have been known to refuse advertising to papers which were friendly to organized labor—on the highest grounds, of course, "such high grounds being a refusal 'to pay tribute to the unthrifty class.' They have been known to use the blacklist, though, of course, they do not approve of it. They have been known to protect workers against themselves. They have been known to use what revolutionists call the "provocateur," in Cleveland, during the garment strike, there was a glib, plausible person who talked dynamite in an effort to discredit the union. There has been some actual "planting" of dynamite, as at Lawrence; a little beating up, as at Calumet; kidnapping, private armies, galling guns and armored trains, as at West Virginia and Colorado.

It is well known, of course, that newspapers make every effort to enable workmen to reach public opinion, and make their appeal not to force, but to the national conscience. All civil rights are carefully guarded for workers, as in Paterson, Lawrence and the Southern lumber

camp. Employers are precise in their desire to secure judges who have no bias whatever. And the voters are an active, intelligent body of imaginative democrats fighting at every step to see that justice is done. Unions the Way Out.

The fact is that nothing is so stubbornly resisted as the attempt to organize labor into effective unions. Yet it is labor organized that alone can stand between America and the creation of a permanent, servile class. Unless labor is powerful enough to be respected, it is doomed to a degrading servitude. Without unions no such power is possible. Without unions industrial democracy has no meaning. Without democracy in industry—that is where it counts most—there is no such thing as democracy in America. For only through the union can the wage-earner participate in the control of industry, and only through the union can be obtained the principle needed for self-government. Those who fight the union may think they are fighting its obvious errors, but what they are really against is just this encroachment of democracy upon business. Now men don't agitate for democracy because it is a fine theory. They come to desire it because they have to; because absolutism does not

work out any longer to civilized ends. Employers are not wise enough to govern their men with unlimited power, and not generous enough to be trusted with autocracy. That is the plain fact of the situation; the essential reason why private industry has got to prepare itself for democratic control.

Unions May Err. I don't pretend for one moment that labor unions are far-seeing, intelligent, or wise in their tactics. I have never seen a political democracy that aroused uncritical enthusiasm. It seems to me simply that the effort to build up unions is as much the work of pioneers as the extension of civilization into the wilderness. The unions are the first feeble effort to conquer the industrial jungle for democratic life. They may not succeed, but if they don't their failure will be a tragedy for civilization, a loss of co-operative effort, a balking of energy and the fixing in American life of a class structure. The unions are struggling where life is nakedly brutal, where the dealings of men have not been raised even to the level of discussion, which we find in politics. There is almost a little civil procedure in industry as there is in Mexico, or as there was on the American frontier. To expect

unionists then to talk with velvet language, and act with the deliberation of a college faculty, is to be a tenderfoot, a victim of your class tradition. The virtues of labor today are frontier virtues; its struggles are for rights and privileges that the rest of us inherited from our unrefined ancestors.

Men are fighting for the beginnings of industrial self-government. If the world were wise that fight would be made easier for them. Few of us care for ten minutes in a month about these beginnings or what they promise. And so the burden falls entirely upon the workers, who are directly concerned. They have got to win civilization; they have got to take up the task of fastening a worker's control upon business. The Scab's Traitor. No wonder they despise the scab. He is justly despised. Far from being the independent, liberty-loving soul he is sometimes painted, the scab is a traitor to the economic foundations of democracy. He makes the basic associations of men difficult. He is an indigestible lump in the common life, and it is he who generates nine-tenths of the violence in labor disputes. Demagogues of workingmen have to fight him out of sheer self-protection, as a Nation has to fight a

mutiny, his doctors have to fight a quack. The clubbing of scabs is not a pretty thing; the importation of scabs is an uglier one. It is, perhaps, true that there is, as ex-President Eliot said, no such thing as peaceful picketing. There is no such thing as peaceful coast defense or a gentlemanly border patrol. The picket-line is to these little economic democracies the guardian of their integrity, their chief protection from foreign invasion.

Without that security no internal growth is possible. As long as the unions have to fight for mere existence, their immense constructive possibilities will be obscured in the desperation of the struggle. The strikebreaker, then, is not only a peril to the union; he is a peril to the larger interests of the nation. He keeps workmen from their natural organization, deprives them of the strength that union brings and thwarts all attempts to train men for industrial democracy. Instead of discipline and preparation for the task of the future, instead of deep-grounded experience in co-operative effort, we shall get, if strikebreakers, and blind legislators, and brutal policemen, and prejudiced judges, and vicious employers prevail, despair and hate and servile rebellions.