

The "Independent" Workman.

It is quite the fad nowadays for "open shoppers" to refer to the non-union and unorganized wage earners as "independent workmen," as if their non-membership in a labor union preserved for them that independence of which every American is proud to be possessed.

But it does not do any such thing. It is true they are free to work for as little wages as may be handed to them and for as long hours as may be forced upon them. It is also true if they do not like the wages and hours fixed for them by the employers they are free to quit singly or in numbers, that is unless they reside in the state of Kansas where so much of their freedom has lately been taken away from both the organized and unorganized workers.

The "independence" of the non-union workman stops at the door of the shop and is restored to him only when he leaves his employment. Then he is free to tramp, starve or perish. His independence within the shop is gained only when he is given a voice with his fellow workmen in determining with the employer the wages he is to receive, the hours of labor he is to work and the rules under which he is to be governed.

The independent workers on the job are the union men when they work under a trade agreement. Workers employed without such an agreement and under implied individual contracts are as servile while they are working as were the slaves of other days. In the larger non-union concerns the servility of the workers even extends outside the works, to their social activities and family life.

Trade unionism is the spirit of Americanism carried into industry. The independence of the individual in the factory or workshop is protected by the liberty of the group. The autocrat of industry is more absolute in his realm than was his predecessor, the autocrat of government. Trade unionism is the avowed foe of autocracy in every form. It would introduce and sustain democracy in industry in order to give to and hold for the workers that freedom and independence which mean all and everything to them for the achievement of the material things of life.

Fooling Ex-Service Men.

The Building Employers' council of Duluth is attempting to get some cheap advertising and to win popular favor by offering employment to ex-service men who are out of work.

The former commander of David Wisted post, American Legion, is quoted as having given his endorsement to the offer of the "open shoppers," for their magnanimity in tendering seab jobs to the boys who went to France to fight for freedom and democracy.

Ex-service men will not knowingly work at home to repudiate the principles for which they fought during the war. The Building Employers' association of Duluth is an agency of the anti-unionists to drive democracy from every local industry and to supplant in its place a form of autocracy as despicable and tyrannical as that which obtained in Germany and to the destruction of which American soldiers pledged their lives and their fortunes.

No ex-service man who denied himself in that great conflict can consistently refuse to make another sacrifice now in order that the ideals for which he contended as a soldier may be applied to his life as a worker. The so-called open shop gives the employer all the say as to wages, hours and working conditions. The employe has no voice in their making. That is a return to autocracy.

Under the union shop for which the building workers are contending, the employes collectively have an equal voice with the employers in determining the terms and conditions of employment. That is democracy in industry. If ex-service men should accept the offer of the Building Employers' council of Duluth they will but serve as Prussian soldiers in industry to drive the forces of democracy back.

They, when they know it, will do no such fool thing. We expect to hear of the American Legion spurning such a selfish offer as was made to ex-service men by the anti-unionists.

Why Do Workmen Organize?

Why do workmen not maintain their individuality instead of organizing?

What chance has the worker for relief from wrong, or the acknowledgement of a right against concentrated organized wealth, without organization?

These questions were propounded recently by President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, in a speech before the "Marquette Club," of New York City, and answered by him in his usual lucid manner.

With all its riches, natural resources and men of genius, he continued, the toilers are asking, Why should nearly FIVE MILLION people be unable to secure employment?

Answering the charge when concluding his address that we admit foreigners, radicals, and many who espouse the cause of revolution into our labor unions, he said:

"If they are good enough for the modern trust and profit-mongers, THEY ARE GOOD ENOUGH FOR US TO ORGANIZE. The material with which we have to work is not of our own choosing. There is no royal road to the solution of the problems of life. It is the duty of every man to solve them day by day. The labor movement cannot be crushed out of existence, no matter what the program, or what the methods of those who would destroy it."

Merchants and Labor Unions.

How's business, Mr. Merchant? What's wrong with trade? Why is it that storehouses are filled with food, elevators with grain, the banks with money and there are more than 6,000,000 workers in the United States idle, and many of them actually hungry?

Aren't those mighty pertinent questions to ask you? Many of you have been induced to join with the cheap labor employers to reduce the wages of the workers. Those of you who did not join were threatened and you were forced in against your will. But what is this wage-cutting campaign doing to you and your business? It is needless for us to tell you, for you know. You are doing a lot of worrying, while the big fellows are sitting tight with plenty of reserve in their coffers to tide them over their made-to-order panic.

Once you were hard-working, plain-living individuals, your necessities governed by your business and your stock of goods by the demand of your trade. Then wage-earners were earning small wages for an extremely long workday; their demands governed by a small pay envelope; their amusement practically limited to conversation, except to attend a funeral, marriage, or church, wearing their tri-yearly Sunday best.

The demands of the wage workers, who constituted the great majority of consumers, limited the turn over and profits to the merchant, hence the status of the merchant was little if any better than the wage worker. Long hours and a small income was the rule.

With the rise of the labor unions came better wages and a shorter work day. This was followed by an early closing movement by the merchants. Higher wages created a bigger demand for necessities and so-called luxuries. The profits were greater and the variety of stock greatly extended. By rapid disposal of his own stock he now has quantity, quality and variety; and above all, some leisure to enjoy life. The labor unions have raised the standard of living of all layers of society, the merchant being no exception to the rule.

What, then, does a strong labor movement mean to the merchant? Just this: It means that the wage worker has enough to spend for the necessities and some luxuries in life; a \$25 suit instead of a \$10 one; a \$3 hat instead of a 50-cent one; better furniture at home with other comforts; good seats at theaters, with a little saved against future debt accumulation.

A poorly paid non-union worker is brother to a pauper, that is, he is a poor customer at best—even if he can remain honest and pay his debts. The non-union worker would be still worse off if it were not that the labor unions were the means of his getting more money—when union scales increase—the non-union worker can get a little more money, can creep a little closer to the union scale—getting something which he did not help to acquire.

It is seldom you see a union worker begging; he is too proud, too self-respecting to do so. The union worker lives from 10 to 50 per cent better than the non-union worker. The union worker is the merchant's one best friend.

There Are No "Open Shops."

There are no "open shops" except in the propaganda of the profiteers; but there are two kinds of "closed" shops, in which both union and non-union men are employed. "Collective" bargaining prevails in one of them and "individual" bargaining in the other. "Individual" bargaining means that the owner or employer will name the rate of pay and conditions of work, and if this does not suit the employe he has no redress.

In the "closed shop" where "collective" bargaining obtains, as is the case in the legitimate organizations representing the crafts employed therein, the employe becomes a party to the working agreement under which all, union or non-union, must work. This shop is "closed" to individual bargaining sure enough.

Every man, woman or child who has ever "hired out" practiced individual bargaining, perhaps unknowingly, as there was but one party to the bargain—the boss.

In a collective bargaining "closed" shop the non-union workers share in the same benefits as those who made the agreement a reality, but if that can be construed to their disadvantage, then throwing a life-preserver to a drowning man would be a similar wrong.

A concrete example of the working of this principle is seen in the decision of the United States Railroad Labor Board in dismissing the application of the Pullman company for authority to reduce the wages of its employes.

The company claimed to have called a meeting of its ten thousand employes for the purpose of voting upon the acceptance or rejection of a wage cut. Of the six thousand who attended 2,246 voted to accept and 2,220 to reject, some 1,700 not voting. Then the company served notice on all its employes that the cut would be effective July 1st.

The board, however, interpreted the transportation act to mean that a conference should have been held with the "duly elected representatives" of the employes, and so ruled. To comply with the law, the Pullman company will have to deal with these representatives, who, they may be assured, will be the representatives of the unions having jurisdiction.

The first thing that should be done if the disarmament conference is to have popular acclaim is to disarm the suspicion that it is not in good faith inspired by the selection of our delegation.

History of Labor Day.

Labor Day, 1921, is the twenty-seventh annual celebration of Labor Day as a legal national holiday.

The history of Labor Day is significant of the increasing strength and progress of organized labor.

Labor Day evolved from the aspiration of the labor movement; it was not handed down as a present. Its recognition as a legal holiday was won by labor; it was not given to labor.

The united voluntary efforts of the workers themselves established Labor Day as a national holiday long before any state legislature or the national legislature enacted the custom into statute law.

But the history of the statute law is in itself significant; it indicates the ever-increasing influence of the economic organizations of labor over the deliberations of law-makers.

The Labor Day idea was originated by P. J. McGuire, for many years first vice-president of the American Federation of Labor.

At a meeting of the New York City central labor union, held on May 8, 1882, McGuire urged the propriety of setting aside one day in the year as a general holiday for the laboring people. He suggested that it be called "Labor Day."

The idea was adopted by the central labor union, and it staged a Labor Day parade and festival on the first Monday in September, 1882.

The A. F. of L. endorsed the national Labor Day holiday at its 1884 convention, held at Chicago. The convention unanimously adopted the following resolution, introduced by A. C. Cameron, delegate from the Chicago trades and labor alliance:

"Resolved, That the first Monday in September of each year be set apart as a laborers' national holiday, and that we recommend its observance by all wage workers, irrespective of sex, calling, or nationality."

Through the activity of the state federations of labor and the central labor bodies the Labor Day demand spread from city to city and state to state.

Many municipal councils and state legislatures made it a legal holiday.

Oregon was the first state to accede to labor's demand that Labor Day be made a state holiday. The Oregon Labor Day law was signed by the governor on February 21, 1887.

The legislatures of Colorado, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York also made Labor Day a state holiday in 1887. Connecticut, Nebraska and Pennsylvania followed in 1889; Iowa and Ohio in 1890; Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Montana, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Tennessee and Washington in 1891; Alabama, Louisiana, Utah and Virginia, in 1892, and California, Delaware, Florida, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Texas and Wisconsin in 1893.

In the meantime A. F. of L. officials sought congressional legislation to make Labor Day a legal holiday, in conformity with the resolution of the 1884 convention. The bill became a law ten years later. It passed congress on June 28, 1894.

On June 29, 1893, President Cleveland signed the Labor Day law in the presence of Amos J. Cummings, representative in congress from New York city. Mr. Cummings presented the pen and penholder used by President Cleveland to President Gompers.

In his annual report to the 1894 A. F. of L. convention President Gompers said: "National Labor Day—It affords me pleasure to be able to report that the demand by the A. F. of L. for making the first Monday in September of each year a legal holiday passed congress and was made a law on June 29, 1894."

Go to Fairmont Park.

Go to Fairmont park next Monday afternoon. Be one of the 15,000 who will attend. Here Congressman Thos. D. Schall will speak on present day political and industrial problems. Listen to Mr. Towne relate the inside workings of the Citizens' Alliance and other "open shoppers," in their desperate attempt to destroy the Typographical union and thus defeat the 44-hour work week.

There will be good music at the park. The best orchestra in the Northwest will render a select program and the superb Normanna singing society will give several selections. Then there will be sports and games to please the young, middle aged and old. The day will be topped off with dancing at union labor's own pavilion adjoining the park.

But best of all go to the park and get acquainted with the workers and their families. Get their point of view on the industrial and political issues. They will give you first hand information on the present cost of living. The good wives will tell you whether or not prices have come down. They know.

It will be a day well spent if you join with labor in the observance of Labor Day, and besides it will do us all good to touch elbows with the men and women of labor. We will feel better for it, and we may see things in an altogether different light. So it's all aboard for Fairmont park. We'll be pleased to greet you there next Monday.

Predictions that coal prices will hit the sky next winter have a tendency to reconcile a perspiring populace to the worst that summer can do to it.

Uncle Sam is going to invest his money in railroad bonds, and if he is not watched some smart chap will be around selling him an oil well or a gold mine.

Tragedy of Labor Day, 1921.

By FRANK MORRISON.
Secretary American Federation of Labor.

Labor day, 1921, sees the most gigantic and widespread lockout of wage earners in the history of this country. Approximately 5,000,000 men and women, anxious to labor, are without employment, and at least 20,000,000 persons, or about one-fifth of our population, are directly affected by a tragedy that we hope may not be intensified the coming winter.

The failure of a large element of our citizenship to awaken to this grim situation is in contrast to their attitude whenever a considerable group of wage earners voluntarily suspend work to enforce better living conditions. Then stern demand is made that "industry function." All other questions are subordinated to that of breaking the strike, regardless of method or cost.

The causes for present conditions are associated with every great war, and are as inevitable as the laws of mathematics. Wage earners must accept this fact and reject the propaganda of those who profit by war and whose excuses for present conditions take every conceivable form.

Back of the world war were imperialistic and monarchial forces that are disappointed with the outcome, but their principles still exist among a comparatively small but powerful group in every land, including our own. To make this group powerless should be the purpose of every patriot.

I have no illusions on the end of war, but wars can be minimized if there were no profit in these upheavals that pauperize the many and enrich the few.

There is no moral reason why the government should conscript its soldiers and not apply this theory to dollars and machinery. If the soldier is injured he is given a dole. If he is killed, his dependents are given a small pension.

The dollar, however, is assured full return, with every resource of the nation behind that pledge. Machinery and all the processes of production are used with the guarantee that the owners will be given a return equal to their highest profits and their plants returned in as good condition as when commandeered.

Agitation to end war or even minimize war will be fruitless while we conscript soldiers and permit profiteers to set their own price on the government's need in its hour of distress. It should be a national characteristic that the men who stay at home shall make no more profit than do the men who risk their lives on the battle front. If we conscript the flower of our youth to fill our armies, nothing should be considered too sacred to support these armies.

Another after-effect of war is the control of credit by private financiers. The American Federation of Labor has declared that credit is "inherently social," and that it should be a government function, operated for the benefit of the people. As now administered it permits financial agencies to levy a toll upon the people "as high as the traffic will bear."

With profit taken out of war, with dollars and machinery conscripted, and with the credit of the people taken from private financiers and administered by the government, future wars should be less attractive to those who increase their power at the cost of their country.

To Labor.

Shall you complain who feed the world?
Who clothe the world?
Who house the world?
Shall you complain who are the world,
Of what the world may do?
As from this hour
You use your power,
The world must follow you!

The world's life hangs on your right hand!
Your strong right hand,
Your skilled right hand,
You hold the whole world in your hand,
See to it what you do!
Or dark or light,
Or wrong or right,
The world is made by you!

Then rise as you never rose before!
Nor hoped before!
Nor dared before!
And show as was never shown before,
The power that lies in you!
Stand all as one!
See justice done!
Believe, and Dare, and Do!
—Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

The open shop movement—falsely styled the "American plan"—is a blow at the very heart of labor organization. It seeks to render the worker helpless to resist the heavy burden that unfair employers would put upon him.

The public will be reconciled when congress knocks off the job by the knowledge that it won't then be voting millions of the public funds into the pockets of privileged beggars.

By all means, give relief to starving Russia, but don't fail to drop a few pennies in the kettles for the starving right here at home.

Why hasn't it occurred to some of our "best minds" that giving the worker a look-in will improve the outlook?

The open shop seeks to disrupt labor organization. Why? To make it easier to exploit labor.

Now For Five Million.

By SAMUEL GOMPERS
President American Federation of Labor.
March on! Men and women of labor, march on!

Carry forward the banner of human freedom and progress.

Carry forward the banner of liberty. Labor day is a day upon which to celebrate the growth and progress of our movement, a day upon which to fix our determination to continue the struggle.

The organized labor movement is the protector and defender of the wage earners of our country. It is the power that stands between the workers and exploitation by those who never willingly yield to the curtailment of their power.

The organized labor movement is necessary because it is the only agency through which wage earners can secure justice; the only agency through which they can develop democracy in industry; the only agency through which they can bring more of light into the life and work.

The organized labor movement is the champion of all wage earners, fighting their battle everywhere, striving to promote their interests on every field. The place of every wage earner is within the union of his trade or calling.

This Labor day should be the mark from which all move forward in a great campaign, bringing into the organization of labor all who have not yet joined in our great, humanitarian progressive work.

This Labor day, 1921, should be a day upon which to bring a great forward movement of labor. From this day forward let every man and woman of labor be a volunteer organizer, carrying the message of organization everywhere, flying the inspiring banner of trade unionism everywhere, knitting the fabric of labor everywhere, closing up the ranks everywhere, bringing solidarity and determination of our movement everywhere.

Trade union progress rests upon organization. Progress for wage earners, wherever they may be, rests upon organization.

The unorganized are unheard. The unorganized are unheeded.

The unorganized are unknown to the organized powers of greed and exploitation.

The unorganized are unprotected from assaults and injustices of industrial tyranny.

The unorganized are helpless before the merciless forces of united employers seeking get from labor the last ounce of effort in return for the least possible wage.

The unorganized have no relief except organization; no strength except in unity. Organize the unorganized.

Unite and federate the organized. Build for progress, for humanity, for freedom and for justice.

Build for a better world, a nobler humanity, a better concept of industry and a full broader opportunity for all to live and to partake of the happiness of living.

Begin this Labor day. Organize, unite, federate.

Now for the five million mark!

What Labor Day Means.

By JOHN L. LEWIS.

Labor day this year undoubtedly has deeper significance for the members of the organized labor movement than in any other year since Labor Day was instituted. We are painfully aware of the terrible business and industrial depression through which not only the people of American but of the world are now passing.

We know that labor has carried more than its just share of the burden of the depression that followed the closing of the most gigantic and destructive war in the history of the world.

We know that labor has paid and is still paying more than its just share of the price which the safety of civilization was purchased in that war. Not only are we fully cognizant of all of these outstanding facts, but we poise with unbounded pride to the splendid record of labor in these trying years.

Without the benefit of a compact body of organized workers in America, fully determined to do their patriotic duty, the war could not have been won, for it was only through combined, steady, sustained efforts of labor that fuel, food and war supplies were produced with which to wage and win the combat.

Let us, therefore, on this Labor Day turn our thoughts to what it all means to America as a world. Let each workman tell him the story of labor's record. It will make him a better and stronger union man than he ever was before.

Let each man and woman in the Labor movement recall to mind the fundamental principle upon which the labor union movement was founded, for those principles are as sound as the rocks of the mountains and as fundamental as the air we breathe.

The labor movement stands for all that is good and just and fair in industry. Because it stands for these supreme ideals it should have the heartiest support of every man and woman who works.

Fortunate, indeed, are we, the millions who are members of labor unions, that we are on this Labor Day to boast our membership.

On this, labor's holiday, we show to the world that the trade union movement retains its virility, its strength, its aspirations and sense of eternal justice.