

ENEMY ON DEFENSIVE

LABOR'S MAGNIFICENT PROTEST FORCES INJUNCTION ADVOCATES TO REALIZE THEY HAVE MADE A MESS OF THINGS

The Assault on Constitution and Law and the Blow Dealt to Government By the Judge's Edict Have Never Been Equalled

The federal injunction against railroad shop men is another proof—if one were wanted—that the most deadly attack against the constitution always comes from professed friends.

Representing the administration, the attorney general secretly journeyed to Chicago and with no previous announcement appeared before Federal Judge Wilkerson, who listened to his weird tale of law defiance and conspiracy.

The judge did not question the statements, one of the most important of which has been proven a tissue of falsehoods by an eastern paper.

No one of the 400,000 shop men was cited to appear. No one was permitted to challenge the attorney general's story.

He even announced that he will use his office to protect the anti-union shop, and this injunction judge did not tell him to keep within his sworn duties and not publicly volunteer to act as a "capper" for union-smashing employers.

To complete the picture the judge issued a general and all-inclusive "thou-shalt-not" edict that sweeps away every constitutional guarantee from half a million citizens and all others who would aid or sympathize with them.

This assault on constitution and law has never been equalled. A mob would be incapable of dealing such a blow to government.

To say that 400,000 strikers can not communicate with each other or their friends; that they cannot distribute money to feed their wives and babes, and that they can do no other thing that would tend to encourage and solidify their ranks is to bring the judiciary and the federal administration into a contempt that will be hard to efface from the memory of a large section of the American people.

Because they refuse to accept a wage reduction by the railroad labor board, the attorney general says the shop men are "attacking government." The attorney general and his friends should read the platform of the political party that placed them in their present positions. That platform says the board should depend on moral suasion to enforce its decisions.

Recently the federal trade commission ruled that the proposed steel merger is contrary to law. Attorneys for the steel merger announce that the decision will not affect their plans. Has any one heard the attorney general denounce the steel men's "attack on government?"

The reception the administration injunction is given by trade unionists

is judged by the fact that in not a single instance have workers urged that it be obeyed.

Everywhere is heard the cry of defiance. The storm has alarmed the injunction advocates, who realize they have made a mess of things. With the agitation for a general strike the injunctionites fear to enforce their order. They see they have gone too far and are sending out inspired stories to their friendly press that "the government will permit the injunction to be modified."

Even though it be modified the injunction remains the same hated process that destroys government by law and elevates a judge to the three-in-one position of lawmaker, law enforcer and executioner.

The trade union movement does not accept this anarchy. Workers insist on rights under the constitution and the law. They object to placing themselves in the power of one individual, to be subject to his prejudices and his moods, rather than to law.

The workers protest against government by injunction.

WHERE ARE THEY?

Have the Detectives Jumped Their Job?

Washington.—One of the administration's pet publicity agents states in a local newspaper that the shop men's injunction "has had a stabilizing effect throughout the country."

This means that the detectives and spies in the union ranks are not being used as vigorously to develop a public opinion with wild yarns of murder, conspiracy and riot. These stories were intended to be the background for the injunction, but the attorney general overreached himself.

With labor's continuous challenge to the injunction, the attorney general and his political associates are now insisting that "it's all a mistake," and that there was never any intention of interfering with the rights of workers.

But the injunction stands as mute evidence that an attempt was made to interfere with the workers' rights, and the one and only reason why the scheme failed was because of labor's quick reply to the agents of reaction.

If labor bowed its head when this injunction was issued, does any one believe the federal administration and its publicity agents would now be issuing alibis and excuses?

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From Producer to Consumer



CHURCH'S LABOR DAY MESSAGE

DECLARES RAILWAY SHOPMEN'S STRIKE HAS TAKEN FORM OF BATTLE FOR PREVENTION OF THE UNION AGAINST HOSTILITY OF POWERFUL ROADS

Gospel That Does Not Embrace Life in Its Entirety is Not Sufficient To Save Men or Express Full Meaning of Religion Says Federal Council

A year ago the commission on the church and social service issued a Labor Sunday message on the responsibility of the church in industry. That message explained the necessity for increasing exercise of the church's influence in industrial controversy and summarized the teaching of Christianity with reference to industrial problems.

The church has a message applicable to human conduct in all its phases and to every variety of human relationships. Industrial relations are but one form of human relations, and industrial problems are very largely human problems.

A gospel that does not embrace life in its entirety is not sufficient to save men or to express the full meaning of religion.

Not only so, but the industrial and economic factors in the life of our people condition to a very great extent their religious interests and activities. Health and happiness are, generally speaking, necessary to the attainment of the higher life. The church can not be indifferent to the physical well-being of its people.

The Federal Council of Churches represents 34 evangelical denominations, practically all Protestant communions in the United States. It sent to every clergyman in the country a "Labor Sunday message," which was expected to be the basis of sermons preached on the eve of labor's annual celebration. This year's message reviews the industrial activities of the year and calls upon all Christians to work for human brotherhood in industry.

Christian teachings as applied to industry include three cardinal principles: The worth of personality, brotherhood as between all those engaged in industry, and the motive of service. The first principle requires that every person shall be treated as a spiritual end in himself. Christianity aims at the progressive liberation of human life so that every individual may have a share in the life abundant.

Spiritual Content of Industry

Brotherhood in industry expresses itself in co-operation between workers and employers as between human beings who possess immeasurable spiritual worth. It is the spiritual content of democracy. The supremacy of the service motive relegates competition for gain to an inferior place in human endeavor. From the Christian point of view industrial power and privilege are justified only on the basis of the service that they render to those who participate in the industry and to the entire community.

We are still in the period where the dominant note in the industrial world is one of strife and controversy. There probably never was a time when there was more bitterness and conflict, some of it due to misunderstanding between employers and workers, and some of it unfortunately due to a very clear understanding of hostile aims and purposes. Employers and workers have too commonly arrayed themselves in hostile camps and have been inclined to fight out their differences by sheer economic force. This has been manifest especially during the last twelve months.

Local controversies for the most part relate themselves to a country-wide struggle in which labor is seeking to retain or advance its position of power and influence and employers are endeavoring, with equal determination, effectually to limit the power of labor. The public in general is more conscious of the unpleasant and often disastrous results of this conflict than of the moral quality of the issues involved, although these issues inevitably tend to disrupt community life.

Church is Moral Interpreter

The church has a very patent opportunity to study and interpret the moral issues of industrial controversy to interpret each group to the other and to the public at large, and to teach the principles of sound human relationships in industry. It is prob-

ably safe to say that the majority of our people have an ill-informed attitude of hostility to one or the other, or to both, of the parties in any industrial conflict which interferes with the public's convenience.

Much is made of the practice of labor organizations, some of them reprehensible, which seem to be dictated by class interest and by a disregard of the welfare of the entire community. The labor movement itself is but little understood.

Likewise, there is a tendency on the part of many people to attribute, sometimes with reason and justice, predatory self-interest to the employing class. Not only is public opinion, which should be the most potent factor in the settlement of industrial disputes, often ignorant of the major facts, but the judgment by considerations of self-interest rather than of justice and right.

The large number of strikes which have occurred during the period of business depression have, of course, resulted from the tendency to "deflate" labor.

It cannot be too often repeated that high wages during the war were by no means so general as believed, and that the demand for a reduction of wages in proportion to the reduction in living costs has been made without reference to the fact that wages, prior to the war, were too low and can not fairly be taken as a basis of wage determination. Some employers freely recognize this.

Great Strikes Are Justified
The two outstanding industrial crimes of the year—the coal strike and the railway strike—have grown in the main out of inadequacy of earnings. The plight of the coal miners, due to scant employment, is at last receiving public recognition. The reductions in the earnings of railway workers have placed many of them in almost a desperate situation. This is especially true of the maintenance of way workers. That the finances of certain of the roads may have made such reductions appear desirable only adds to the seriousness of the problem.

One of the most significant developments of the year has been the publication of statistics by eminently competent and impartial authority which show that our industries as at present managed are not producing enough wealth to raise this income of the working people to the level of health and comfort. This is a challenge to our entire industrial regime.

It is most unfortunate that no more general effort has been made to approach a settlement of disputes in a co-operative spirit and to appeal to justice and to fair play rather than to trial by economic combat. In a moral world force can settle nothing permanently. The conferences by which most disputes end would contribute much more to the stability of industrial relations if they were held at the beginning rather than at the end of the controversy.

The railway shopmen's strike has taken the form of a battle for the preservation of the union against the hostility of powerful roads. For a

"INDUSTRIAL ANGELS"

IS TERM WORKERS MIGHT POSSIBLY BE PERMITTED TO APPLY TO STRIKEBREAKERS UNDER INJUNCTION, BUT NOT SCABS, SAYS GOMPERS

Shade of Lincoln Hovers Restlessly Over Nation as Former Anti-Slavery Party Comes to Aid of Compulsory Labor

Washington.—In terms of ridicule, invective and defiance, President Gompers talked for one and one-half hours to newspaper correspondents at A. F. of L. headquarters on the injunction against striking railroad shop men.

"It is indeed strange," said the unionist, "that in a republic founded on the principle of freedom and justice, and a recognition of the rights of man, that the political party of Lincoln, Phillips, Beecher and Garrison, under whose leadership slavery was abolished, should now be engaged in the restoration of compulsory labor. I belong to no political party, and I, therefore, do not speak as a partisan, but the whole procedure bears out Thomas Jefferson's warning of usurpation of power by the courts. And in this case it has been spurred on by the federal administration."

"I do not wish to appear facetious but I note radio is about the only means of communication restrained in the injunction. I wonder if the ether is to be enjoined by the court."

Referring to the restraining clause against taunting, President Gompers said: "It may be a new crime to taunt. However, I never heard of it being a violation of the law. If men

policy of extermination there can be only ultimate moral defeat.

Since the beginning of the open shop campaign many employers have sought to take advantage of technicalities in order to set aside agreements and substitute an arbitrary regime for the method of joint agreement in the settlement of labor questions. In not a few cases agreements have been set aside by employers on very slight pretext.

Lack of Fundamental Integrity

The present coal strike involved the violation of a pledge to enter into conference for the negotiation of a new agreement. In few, if any, of these cases can it be said that the blame falls exclusively on one side. But the tendency to regard an agreement as sacred and binding when it is advantageous to do so, and to seek every means of repudiating it when the greatest economic advantage is to be secured by such a course, indicates a lack of fundamental integrity which is all too prominent in the industrial world, and which augurs ill for the future.

Another serious aspect of the labor situation is the growing hostility of organized labor to the courts. A large number of injunctions of the most contrary character against strike activities have been issued in the past year, which have been strong resented by labor as aimed at depriving the unions of their chief method of defense. The strike is in its nature so drastic a weapon and its grave possibilities are so far-reaching that it is difficult to secure on the part of the public or of the courts a balanced judgment in time of crisis.

Labor finds its position rendered insecure by the unpredictable attitude of the lower courts in particular controversies. The protests of the labor unions against "government by injunction" which are often intemperate and sometimes unjust, are not without ground and call for careful and sympathetic consideration.

Blight of Twelve-Hour Day

The nation still carries the moral burden of the 12-hour day in the steel industry, affecting large numbers of workers. The officials of the United States steel corporation have given the public reason to hope that a serious effort will yet be made to eradicate this acknowledged evil, as has already been accomplished by some of the independent companies. Apparently it will require the continued moral pressure of the churches to complete the reformation of the industry.

There are, however, distinct signs of hope and progress in the industrial situation in America. There are earnest and courageous employers at work on constructive experiments. There are employers' organizations and labor unions that are conquering the old psychology of fear and force and are seeking more social ends by much more social means. The workers' education movement and the new interest of labor unions in scientific research give much promise.

The press, sharply criticized, and often justly so, for partisanship in labor disputes, shows signs of greater fairness and discrimination and in some instances of moral leadership. The new role that is being played by the religious press in this connection is especially gratifying. And, withal, the voice of the church is being heard with unquestionably greater respect and influence.

cannot call the strikebreakers 'scabs' possibly they might be permitted to call them industrial angels.

"The word 'conspiracy' used in the injunction is one of those legalistic terms intended to confuse the situation. There has been no conspiracy on the part of the shop men. They merely counseled to prevent invasion of their rights and reduction of their wages. If it were not so tragic it would be farcical to say that 500,000 men had entered into a conspiracy."

President Gompers said that on the night before the conference report on the Cummins-Esch act was submitted to congress he read at a meeting of trade union officials and members of both houses of congress a telegram sent by a railroad lobbyist to a railroad executive. This message showed the difference between an anti-strike clause then contained in the bill and the conference report. The railway executive was advised that the conference report was preferable from the railroad viewpoint, as the injunction method could be followed under it, while the anti-strike clause called for trial by jury, and convictions of labor officials by juries were declared to be difficult.

"Here we see it," declared President Gompers. "The railroad executives required no lawyer to bring this injunction against the shop men. United States Attorney General Daugherty became the attorney of the railroads."

"This is an injunction in which every power is brought into play to coerce the men to surrender their rights with not a move made against the 104 railroads which have violated 194 decisions of the railroad labor board."

STRIKERS SUSTAINED

New York.—In a statement to the churches of the country the research department of the federal council of the churches of Christ in America uphold charges by striking shop men that "railroad equipment has been slowly deteriorating."

"There has been an effort to discredit reports to this effect," the statement added, "but information given directly by the chairman of the interstate commerce commission to the president, and now supported by a detailed report submitted by the interstate commerce commission in response to a senate resolution indicates the growing seriousness of the situation."

Referring to the failure of efforts to settle the strike the statement declared that the proposal of the railway executives to reinstate the strikers without seniority would have "heavily penalized the strikers."

PEACE IN RAILWAY STRIKE

Men Return to Work With Rank Held June 30

The long strike of the nation's railway shopmen was broken and practically ended on Wednesday of this week when executive heads representing about 60 Class A railroads meeting in Chicago agreed to accept the workmen's proposal to return to work providing their seniority rights, as held on July 1st, the date of the beginning of the strike, should prevail. Under the agreement reached Wednesday all men are to return to work in positions of the class they originally held June 30, and at the same point. As many of such men as possible are to be put to work immediately at the present rate of pay, and all such employees who have been on strike are to be put to work or under pay not later than 30 days from the date of signing the agreement.

There are 202 Class A roads involved in the strike, 60 of these, or perhaps 65, were ready to accept peace and sign the agreement Wednesday. Since then other roads have signified their intention of accepting the Chicago verdict.

It is believed that all railroads of the country with the possible exception of a very few die-hard union-smashing heads will accept the agreement within the next week or two.

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