

HISTORY OF ACTIVITIES OF SEATTLE

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SEATTLE LABOR MOVEMENT AND
CONSPIRACY OF EMPLOYERS...

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HISTORY OF ACTIVITIES OF SEATTLE LABOR MOVEMENT AND CONSPIRACY OF EMPLOYERS TO DESTROY IT AND ATTEMPTED SUPPRESSION OF LABOR'S DAILY NEWSPAPER, THE SEATTLE UNION RECORD.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 28, 1919.

The war of extermination that has been launched against the Seattle Labor movement would seem to necessitate a statement briefly setting out the circumstances which have surrounded the work of the movement and which have been, in large measure, responsible for what has occurred.

In order that you may get some idea of the difficulties that confronted the organization on the ground, it is only necessary to call your attention to the fact that four years ago there were approximately 15,000 unionists in the city of Seattle. In the course of the following eighteen months these numbers had increased to 40,000, and the next year saw an additional 20,000 members added, a grand total of 60,000 workers enlisted under the banner of trades unionism. Thus it will be seen that during the short space of two and a half years there was an approximate increase in membership of 300 per cent—a staggering and almost unbelievable addition.

Most of this membership came into being owing to the establishment of shipbuilding and other war industries and the workers engaged therein were recruited from every section of the country and from almost every walk in life, most of whom had had no previous trade union training and experience.

The enormous task of assimilating these thousands of inexperienced men and welding them into an effective organization both for the carrying on of the work that was demanded by the war emergency and at the same time conserving and building up the conditions under which the work was carried on presented problems that tested to the utmost the ingenuity and the patience of the limited number of experienced workers in the movement. This work of organization and assimilation was further complicated and made more difficult by the absorption on the part of the government itself of a large portion of our most experienced and ablest leaders into the employment service and other war emergency services. In addition to the inroads made on the experienced leadership as outlined above, the old organization lost many of its most experienced members and leaders through the operation of

the selective service act, due to the fact that they were engaged in what was regarded as non-essential industries, while the new membership was absorbed into what were denominated as "war industries" and for that reason were in large measure declared to be exempt from military duty.

ACTIVE I. W. W. PROPAGANDA.

It would seem that the difficulties presented by the facts as outlined above were enough to engage the most earnest and persistent efforts of the experienced trades unionists. However, these were not the only obstacles with which the trades union movement had to contend, great though they were, but the situation was further aggravated by the fact that the Pacific Northwest had for years been the scene of the most aggressive and penetrating propaganda of the I. W. W.

As we have pointed out, the great majority of the new members were inexperienced, and it was found that in many cases any organization experience that they might have had was impregnated with the I. W. W. doctrine. The well-known hostility of the I. W. W. toward military duty led many of its followers to deliberately enter these new war industries because of the exemption that followed work in that line.

It will thus be seen that the Seattle A. F. of L. trades unions had to overcome three big obstacles:

First—Assimilation of 300 per cent. increase in membership in two and a half years.

Second—Drafting of the older men in the labor movement into the service of the government in its various war activities; and

Third—The well-known fact that the Pacific Northwest, with Seattle as its base, was the scene of the most effective I. W. W. propaganda.

Every war activity of our government was carried to a successful conclusion under the banner of the A. F. of L. and the international unions and their affiliated locals in Seattle. When all of the extraordinary circumstances that surrounded the Seattle movement during the last two and a half years are given fair consideration, the natural conclusion that must be arrived at is that it is a wonder that greater mistakes than those which have occurred were not made.

THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITIES.

The government should assume its share of the responsibility for the situation thus created, for it was carrying on

the war work demanded by the government that developed the combination of circumstances that has resulted in making such mistakes as have been made.

The trades union movement had almost completed the work of assimilating all such forces with the most remarkable success and was in a fair way to bring about complete stabilization of the abnormal industrial situation that had confronted the Pacific Northwest for the past year when it is suddenly confronted with a well-organized group whose apparent and sole purpose is to bring about destruction of the trades unions of the Pacific Northwest and negative in every way possible the work that has so laboriously been done during the past several years.

This campaign of destruction, if persisted in, can result in nothing but industrial chaos, not only to Seattle and the Pacific Northwest but must finally penetrate every section of the country.

A NATIONAL PROBLEM.

It is seen, then, that this is not a local problem. It is national in its scope. It will not be seriously contended that industrial chaos and the breaking down of the organized labor movement will work good to the country as a whole. It would hardly seem necessary to call attention to the demoralizing effect of such a campaign of destruction, even though it be only partially successful. It is our belief that it would add fuel to the flame of "direct action" propaganda that already is all too insistent. This result is so obviously apparent that it should call the immediate attention of the government, the A. F. of L. and all of its affiliated unions the necessity for the utmost co-operation in preventing the consummation of the short-sighted and wholly destructive program that seems to have been launched in Seattle and which, if permitted to go unchecked, must spread until finally the entire nation is engulfed in the depths of industrial confusion and despair.

The labor movement finds, after several years of conscientious and painstaking effort along the line of educating toward a constructive and sane program of industrial progress that just at the time when it could lay some claim to having worked out of a difficult problem that it is confronted with another "wobbly" group—this time in the ranks of the employers. This group is, like the I. W. W., preaching the doctrine of "direct action" and has as little regard for contracts, collective bargaining and other parts of the A. F. of L.

program as have the I. W. W. For months past there has been carried on a campaign of misrepresentation of the true attitude of the A. F. of L. unions until finally there has been brought about a state of hysteria, which, if not checked, must inevitably result in industrial conflict with its resultant checking of production. It need not be emphasized that such a state of affairs, when every energy should be bent towards increasing production, can only result disastrously to the peace and prosperity of our country.

COURSE OF SEATTLE UNIONS MISREPRESENTED.

We are conscious of the fact that for months past there has been carried on in the press of the country a campaign of misrepresentation of the true attitude of the Seattle labor movement toward the program and policies of the A. F. of L. and its affiliated international unions. This campaign has been supplemented by admitted mistakes made by the local labor movement and as a result there has grown up in the minds of government officials, the general public and officials of the A. F. of L. unions a misapprehension of the true position of the Seattle labor movement. It is with the hope of dispelling this misunderstanding and making clear the position of the Seattle labor unions that we are going to here briefly sketch the happenings of the past two years and show by so doing that there has been an earnest effort made to work out of difficult position with the least possible violence to the laws of the international unions and at the same time control and weld into an effective and efficient producing machine the many diverse and conflicting conceptions held by the numbers who were so suddenly made a part of the movement in Seattle. We are not going to attempt an apology for mistakes made, realizing that mistakes must be made in the conduct of human affairs, but we are simply going to explain the situation and let the bald recital of occurrences as they have transpired be the excuse for errors made.

THE SHIPYARD CONTROVERSY.

All during the war local grievances were submerged in the uniform desire to carry on without interruption the war work. For several months before the signing of the armistice negotiations had been going forward looking to an adjustment of wage scales so as to make those scales conform, in some measure, to the ever-mounting cost of the necessities of life. The Macy board had announced a policy of making wage increases that would absorb the increased cost of living, and

the negotiations were entered into on the part of Seattle unionists in the firm belief that this announced program was made in good faith and that the result of the negotiations would bring added returns to the workers of Seattle.

Wage standards in Seattle for many years had been higher than prevailed in other sections of the country. There had always been a greater percentage of the workers organized than was the case in other communities, and established wage standards were accepted when the government assumed control in the war emergency. It will thus be seen that the Seattle workers had every reason to believe and hope that the result of any wage negotiations would result in increases based on established standards.

After months of consideration and following the signing of the armistice the Macy board rendered its decision in the matter of the wage demands of the Seattle unions, making the decision retroactive to the first of October and granting increases in wages to practically every section of the ship-building industry other than the Puget Sound district, which not only did not receive an increase but in some classes of employment suffered a reduction. The reason given by the Macy board for such a course was a desire to bring about a more uniform wage standard in the industry generally.

The wave of dissatisfaction that swept the ranks of the workers of Seattle and Tacoma can be readily understood when the foregoing facts are considered. For months every news story carried in the papers was of a tone tending to create the impression that the award, when finally rendered, would give fair consideration to the workers' requests and that a substantial increase in pay would be the result.

It is not difficult, then, to understand the resentment and dissatisfaction of the workers when the award was announced. This feeling was not confined to the workers directly involved but spread to the entire community, with the result that joint meetings of commercial, religious, shipyard owners and labor organizations were held with the idea that some way could be found that would result in amending this award so as to work out a more equitable wage scale for the Puget Sound workers.

A COMMUNITY RECOMMENDATION.

The result of these meetings held was a recommendation from practically the entire community to Mr. Piez, then head of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, that the Macy award be amended to provide for an increase that would more nearly

conform to the previously announced policy of the board and make for an increase in the wages paid. These recommendations made to Mr. Piez were concurred in by the shipyard owners and it is thus seen that there was apparently no good reason for a denial of the request. The road seemed to be open to an immediate and satisfactory settlement as there could nowhere be found anyone who even dreamed that in the light of such unanimity of opinion in support of the workers' demands that a government board entrusted with adjusting industrial disputes would act in direct opposition to such a recommendation from what amounted to practically the entire community.

The negotiations were long drawn out and each day saw the cost of the necessities of life go higher and higher. The workers were restive under the delay in rendering a decision, feeling each day the increased pressure that resulted from the added cost of living. However, so long as the war was on there was little, if any, talk of strike, the workers generally feeling that the need for ships was great and also believing that finally an adjustment would be reached that would work out substantial justice.

In the meantime, following the signing of the armistice and the rendering of the Macy award above referred to, the shipyard workers were finally driven to the conclusion that nothing could be gained by further negotiations and a strike was called.

FIRST TALK OF GENERAL STRIKE.

The strike had been in progress several weeks and every resource that human ingenuity could devise had been exhausted before the first suggestion was made that all of the workers of Seattle join with their fellows of the shipyards in protesting an award that seemed to them to be devoid of anything that approximated justice. This suggestion took form in an agitation for a general strike, and it can truthfully be asserted that this was the first time that the use of such a weapon had been seriously considered by the workers of Seattle. Even then it required weeks of discussion to bring the general movement to a point where such a strike could be called, despite the fact that everyone—whether employed in the shipyards or not—was convinced that the shipyard workers had been unfairly dealt with.

The charge that has so often been made that the sponsors of the general strike were seeking to make an opportunity for overturning the government or that the general strike

was in any way a "revolutionary" program has no foundation in fact. The general strike as exemplified in Seattle was but a spontaneous and unanimous protest on the part of all of the workers of the city against what they believed to be a most unfair and arbitrary award. It is true that occasionally there could be heard the mouthings of individuals, preaching "revolution," but these individuals and even small groups, if groups there were, were without influence in the general labor movement and were in every instance speaking without authority from any local union affiliated with the A. F. of L. We have no desire to create the impression in the minds of the reader that the A. F. of L. unions did not comprise in their membership men who held opinions that were not in accord with the expressed and working policy of the A. F. of L. We do insist, however, that these persons were of negligible influence in directing the course of the labor movement and we must persist in restating our firm conviction that the general strike was the spontaneous and indignant protest of an entire community of workers who sought, through the use of the general strike, to make their voices heard as they had never been heard before in that community. There was a feeling that the very strangeness of the weapon used—the general strike—would in itself do more to make their protest heard than any other single thing that they might do.

WHY WAS THE GENERAL STRIKE USED?

Why was the general strike used? That is a query that naturally springs to the mind of anyone at all conversant with the labor situation. In explanation we submit that for months prior to the date of the calling of this general strike there had been more or less agitation looking to the calling of a general strike to the end that justice might be had in the case of Thomas Mooney, whose conviction on the preparedness day outrage charges had been brought about through the use of what was subsequently proved to be perjured testimony. The case was a national and international one. Much talk had been indulged in as to the method to be used to bring about a new trial for Mooney and the greater part of this discussion had finally resolved itself down to the calling of a general strike. Having heard the virtues of the general strike expounded as a means of making loud the protest of labor in the Mooney case, it seems a most natural sequence that when Seattle labor was casting about for some means of making its voice heard throughout the land it should light on this means.

We know that there has been a consistent effort made to make out of this strike a revolutionary happening. While we are prepared to admit that if all the workers in all of the industries of this country were to lay down their tools at a given moment that such action might very well have revolutionary result, we must refuse to subscribe to any impression that the mere quitting of work on the part of the organized workers of Seattle would result in overturning the government—or even jarring it. Delightful though it might be to be considered so important, the workers of Seattle have not now, nor have they ever had, any such exaggerated notion of their importance in the present scheme of things. Those who are even yet attempting to give to the Seattle general strike any revolutionary significance are exhibiting a nervousness that is either the result of imperfect digestion or an overwrought imagination.

CAMPAIGN OF MISREPRESENTATION.

We are conscious of the fact that a great deal of misinformation has been spread about the strike and the aims of its promoters. A large part of this deliberate untruth had its source in the penchant for exaggeration and desire for the lime-light of the then mayor of Seattle. It was largely owing to the statements sent broadcast by this person that the impression was created that Seattle unionists were a bunch of revolutionists with the single aim in life of overturning the government and setting up some new order. The most commonplace occurrences and ordinary conversations and statements were reported and then translated into revolutionary pronouncements. The mayor, through every device that is usually used by the cleverest of press agents, was able to create the impression that but for the strength of character shown by him the whole nation would even now be in the welter of forcible change. Aside from the mischief that these misstatements have caused by creating an erroneous impression as to what the Seattle unions really stood for, it is a fact that the bombastic and flamboyant proclamations of the mayor did result in continuing the strike at least three days after it would have logically and naturally been brought to an end had he not indulged in these senseless and baseless frothings.

In concluding discussion of the general strike, it may not be amiss to call attention to the fact that during the five days of the general strike there were less arrests for any reason than was the case for any like period in the history of Seattle,

and not a single arrest made during the strike was traceable to that strike. The advice of the leaders to the strikers was "stay at home and keep cool." Is that the advice of those seeking revolutionary change by violent means? If leaders of a revolution were to give such advice, is there any one so simple as to believe that it would be followed by revolutionists thirsting for change? The police records for the five days of the general strike bear the most eloquent testimony to the law-abiding character of the strikers and must completely refute every assertion that the strike was intended to be or was in fact revolutionary in its character.

MOONEY GENERAL STRIKE.

It might be well at this point to discuss briefly the several attempts that have been made during the past year to call general strikes in behalf of the movement for a new trial for Thomas Mooney. Each one of these calls for a general strike have been met by a refusal to quit work—not because of any lack of sympathy for the cause of Mooney, but largely because of the lessons learned in the general strike of last January. The workers of Seattle do not believe, apparently, that a general strike would benefit Mooney and they have no desire to needlessly and without point disturb industry in the city. The action of the Seattle unionists in staying on the job despite the agitation to get them off—supplemented as it has been by abuse and misrepresentation of "open shop" advocates—is a conclusive answer to all of the charges that have been made against the Seattle movement as to its revolutionary constituency and its disposition to destroy.

We will next discuss three strikes now pending in Seattle—the building trades, the job branch of the printing trades and the tailors.

BUILDING TRADES STRIKE.

The building trades strike came about through wage demands of the carpenters, which finally involved the other building trades. Negotiations developed that most strenuous opposition on the part of the master builders, who contended that the demands of the carpenters were extortionate. This later led to a modification of the demands of the building trades so as to meet what had been indicated as terms which the master builders would meet. However, by this time the Associated Industries, an employers' organization of which we will speak more at length later, broke into the negotiations and without doubt influenced the master builders in

arriving at a decision not to treat with the building trades unions and in declaring for the "open shop." It might be said here that numerous instances could be cited where building material was refused to fair jobs and there is little doubt but what the Associated Industries were able to prevent contractors from getting the material they needed to carry on their work. The net result was that finally the carpenters were beaten and went back to work on the "open shop" plan, followed by other building trades.

PRINTING TRADES STRIKE.

The printing trades strike originated with a strike to enforce wage demands made by the pressmen and bookbinders. The printers, acting under a law of their organization, forbidding members to execute any work coming from or destined to unfair hands, refused to work on work that would ultimately be finished by non-union pressmen or bookbinders. This resulted in a lockout of the printers. Negotiations were conducted and it appeared for a time that there was some prospect of success, when again Seattle unionists were treated to Associated Industries methods. When the employees had reached the point that employers had previously indicated they would meet, the offer was suddenly withdrawn and again came the announcement that the shops would open only on the so-called "American" or "open shop" plan. Here again fair employers were subjected to boycott on the part of material houses and the instances are numerous where fair printers were refused stock while unfair printers could get all the stock they needed. This strike has been characterized by the absolute solidarity of the strikers and the ability shown by the strikers in persuading strikebreakers, numbers of whom had been imported, to leave the struck offices. International unions were not supporting any of the unions involved, but despite this lack of support the local unions, assisted by other printing trades unions on the Coast as well as other crafts unions, were able to carry on the work of the strike and it seems to the writer of this brief that if these printing trades unions in Seattle are given the least encouragement or support from their international unions that finally—and that in the near future—they will win better wages, working conditions and retain what they have always had in Seattle, the closed shop.

THE TAILORS' STRIKE.

We are not as fully advised in reference to what took place in the early stages of the tailors' strike, which has now

been on for the past several months. Federal mediators have taken an active part in the effort put forth to settle this dispute. The efforts of the federal mediator were directed toward securing a settlement of the dispute that raged in all of the cities of the Pacific Coast. So far as the Seattle situation is concerned, there have been several very important defections from the ranks of the employers and there is little doubt that but for the interference and support of the Associated Industries that a large number of master tailors would sign the closed shop union agreement. The demands of the journeymen tailors have been considerably modified since the original demands were made and there are many master tailors who have indicated that they would be willing to accept the modified demands but for other obligations assumed by them since the submission of the original demands. The Associated Industries support consists largely in paying the rent of the larger and higher class tailors, in order that these tailors may not sustain too severe a financial loss owing to the lessened business that has followed the attempt to operate under the "open shop" non-union plan.

ASSOCIATED INDUSTRIES OF SEATTLE.

Mention has been made in preceding paragraphs of the Associated Industries and some of the activities of that organization in recent strikes in Seattle. It may be well to here tell of the organization of the Associated Industries, what it was supposed to stand for in the early stages of its organization and finally show from the record what the organization really stood for and what line of activity it followed in the disputes that have arisen recently in Seattle.

Immediately following the general strike of a year ago, the Associated Industries was formed. The old open shop Employers' Association had decayed and, for all practical purposes, was dead. Only a few of the most rabid anti-union employers could be found to take an active part in the work of the organization, this group being largely recruited from the lumbering industry. The general strike evidently developed in the minds of some of the employers of union labor the necessity for some sort of an organization to deal with matters of a general character, if they should arise, and at the same time be available for use in mediating and conciliating differences that might arise between employers and employees of individual crafts.

At the close of the general strike there apparently was no thought in the minds of the great majority of the employ-

ers to declare for the "open shop." Nor was there any intention on the part of the organizers of the Associated Industries to declare for the "open shop." Proof of this is to be found in the warning carried in editorial utterances in the Seattle Times, Seattle Star and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, every one of which newspapers carried editorials calling on the employers not to institute a fight for the "open shop." These editorials were strong pronouncements in favor of the union shop in industry and called attention to the peace that had prevailed in industrial affairs in Seattle under the union shop plan, a peace that had resulted in the Seattle shipbuilding industry setting a world's record for efficiency during the war emergency.

The editorial utterances of the papers above referred to were echoed by the organizers of the Associated Industries and the original organizing propaganda carried no hint of any other purpose than the one of making possible a continuance of the peaceful and generally satisfactory relations that had characterized industrial life in Seattle under the closed or union shop plan.

WORK OF ORZANIZATION EASY.

With this sort of a program it was comparatively easy for organizers of the Associated Industries to enlist in its membership many of the leading employers of Seattle. The campaign of organization was carried on largely through expensive paid advertisements in the newspapers of the city, supplemented by a corps of solicitors who made a house to house canvass in the business and industrial sections of the city.

As the organization grew and began to number among its members many of the leading industrial and commercial figures of the community, its tone of friendly co-operation with the labor organizations was changed to one of antagonism, culminating finally in an open declaration in favor of the so-called "American" plan, which is but a thin camouflage for the well-known and oft-times discredited "open shop" pronouncements of the old Employers' Association.

LETTERS DEFINE POSITION.

Feeling that the hitherto expressed purpose of the Associated Industries were not the real purpose and in order that the air might be cleared of conflicting opinions, President W. M. Short of the Wshington State Federation of Labor addressed a communication to Mr. Frank Waterhouse, president of the Associated Industries. The letter from Mr. Short

to Mr. Waterhouse, the reply of Mr. Waterhouse and another letter from Mr. Short is given below:

Mr. Short's Letter.

"Seattle, Wash., Oct. 27. 1919.

"Mr. Frank Waterhouse,
"Central Building, Seattle.

"Dear Friend Frank:

"In order that you can have on file at your office, for reference, a record of the position I discussed with you the other day, I am submitting it briefly in writing.

"Our committee, after a thorough consideration of the strike situation that now confronts Seattle, decided to ask, through you, the representatives of the Associated Industries, for a joint conference with us, and to submit to them the following plan for adjudication of all disputes existing now, and that may arise in the future.

"That a board of mediation and conciliation be established, to be composed of equal numbers of representatives of employers and labor. Each side to select its representatives in any manner suitable to them. No cases to be submitted to the board until all local agencies and machinery have been exhausted in an effort at settlement. All decisions agreed upon by the mediation and conciliation board to be submitted to both sides for ratification, and no decision to become effective until ratified by both sides.

"The above is merely a skeleton outline of the plan, the details of which would have to be worked out in conference. The plan embodies the principles of collective bargaining in a practical form. The moral influence of decisions rendered by such a tribunal would be so great that neither side could well afford to not ratify and accept them without standing to lose the moral support of the general public.

Indorsed by Committee.

"Yet, the plan is elastic enough to permit rejection by either side of any unfair decision that might be rendered by a biased tribunal.

"Of course, the plan is merely suggestive of an equitable method through which existing differ-

ences, and any that may face us in the future, might be fairly adjudicated, and is subject to any amendment or change and improvement that the conference herein suggested might agree to. The plan has been indorsed by the entire committee of fifteen, and was unanimously indorsed yesterday (October 26) by a committee of all presidents, secretaries and business agents of all local unions and trades councils of Seattle.

"I am sure that the broad, equitable basis for the adjustment of industrial disputes herein outlined will not be ignored, by either yourself or your associates in the Associated Industries. I am sure that you will agree that a refusal to meet the representatives of labor on some such an equitable basis would be equivalent to challenging the organized labor movement of this city to a life-and-death struggle. I am sure that you will also agree that such a combat would militate to the serious detriment of all employers, of all labor, of the public and the entire community, something labor is very anxious to avoid, and something, I am sure, you and your associates would not wish brought about.

"The labor movement of this city is anxious to meet the representatives of your organization on any reasonable basis that would bring justice to both sides, and I sincerely trust you will give the matter herein outlined the consideration it deserves and arrange for a conference at the earliest date possible. Kindly favor me with an early reply.

"Very sincerely yours,

"(Signed) W. M. SHORT,

"President Washington State Federation of Labor."

Mr. Waterhouse's Reply.

"Mr. William Short, Seattle, Wash.

"My Dear Mr. Short:

"Your letter to me as a representative of the Associated Industries of Seattle, dated October 27, 1919, received on the 28th following the publication in The Union Record on the 27th of the substance of the letter. You request a conference between a committee of this association and a committee of organized labor in the city of Seattle to discuss mat-

ters affecting the relationship of the employer and organized labor in and about this city.

"You have suggested, as one means of accomplishing industrial peace in this community, a method of mediation and conciliation of disputes, whereby the matters in dispute are to be submitted to arbitrators, an equal number chosen by each side, with a neutral person presiding, and that when an award is made, such award be then submitted to the parties interested for their acceptance or rejection.

"The association has instructed me to submit to you the following answer:

"Such a method of conciliation as you suggest would serve no useful purpose in our judgment, but would tend only to endless debate. There is now in existence a method of composing controversies by submitting them to the courts. Suppose that after a controversy had been submitted to the court, the facts and the law and argument presented, and the court had rendered its decision, that the decision of the court would then be referred back to each party interested and leave it to them to say whether they would be bound by it or not; such a course, you must readily see, would be worse than endless—the prevailing party would probably accept the arbitration or decision; the losing party would reject it. No controversies require a more prompt decision, in our judgment, to be satisfactory than the disputes of labor and employer. The method you propose tends to aggravate by delays rather than compose the dispute.

"This situation demands the plainest and frankest expression of the parties and we shall endeavor to give it such.

"The industrial situation in this city at the present time does not present an honest claim on the part of organized labor for better wages, better hours or better working conditions so much as a settled purpose to unsettle, harass and injure industry to the point that organized labor may take over the industry upon its own terms.

"This latter was the evident and the openly avowed purpose of organized labor in the general strike which was heralded as leading "to no one

knows where." This strike was defeated by public opinion. The labor leaders have recognized that such will be the fate of any general strike in this community, and so, commencing about three months ago, organized labor fixed upon another method of campaign, also intended to lead 'to no one knows where,' by conducting a series in individual industries following close upon one another and with the same cumulative effect as a general strike.

"Commencing last May the Master Builders' Association and the building trades industry, through a committee of equal representation, formulated a code for the regulation of the relationship between the two parties, and for the more or less permanent mediation and conciliation of disputes. This code was unanimously recommended by the committee, adopted by the Master Builders' Association but rejected by labor unless labor in this trade was paid at the outset, a wage higher than in any other community in the country, or than ever before paid. The Master Builders' Association proposed that the wage be settled under this code of procedure and the finding be retroactive; but no, labor would have its demands granted first and then consider the code, the very purpose of which was to adjust such matters.

Arbitration Denied by Labor.

"Then came the printers' strike and the tailors' strike, in both of which not only were demands made for wages higher than in any other community and for a decrease in working hours, but a demand in both trades that the shop foreman could be only a union man and in the case of the tailors that the employees should have the right of veto over the employer's suggestion of foreman. The owners of the print shops and the owners of the tailor shops pleaded with every argument possible for arbitration, but this was peremptorily denied by labor, although in similar disputes in the same trades at this time throughout the Pacific Coast arbitration was prevailing.

"What has happened to change the efficiency or desirability of arbitration as a matter of settlement? The unanswerable answer to our minds is that organized labor, under its radical leadership,

was induced to believe it had the power to terrorize and autocratically force the industries to a settlement on labor's own terms, and it did not propose to fix by arbitration what it thought it could take by force, constructive if not actual.

"The International Longshoremen's Union made a closed shop contract with the Seattle Waterfront Employers' Association on the 23rd day of August, 1919. In the early part of October there was shipped to this city by rail, some fifty carloads of rifles sold by the Remington Arms Company to the Kolchak government in Russia. The United States government, through its shipping board, contracted with the Russian agency to furnish a ship, the S. S. Delight, to transport these arms and other material from Seattle to Vladivostok.

Refused to Load Rifles.

"The Arlington dock owners were called upon by the U. S. shipping board, through Mr. Rossiter and by Mr. Burchard, the resident representative, to attend to the trans-shipment of these rifles. The owners of the Arlington dock were notified by the International Longshoremen's Union that not only would they not assist in the trans-shipment of these rifles from rail to steamship, but that any dock that permitted such trans-shipment would be permanently boycotted.

"The Arlington Dock Company and Employers' Union had nothing more to do with the United States government making this contract with a part of the Russian government than organized labor had, nor had the owner of the Arlington dock, but certainly none of these, nor any citizen of the United States has a right to impede the federal government in the execution of its policies with foreign government, and much less with the execution of its solemn contracts.

"It has been for some time past the perfectly apparent and consistent policy of labor to practice and to encourage by inefficient service decreased production. When one of the officers of the International Longshoremen's Union recently was charged by a member of this association with the fact that it had cost \$1.13 1-3 per ton to unload a

cargo on this waterfront from ship's tackle to place of first rest, whereas it formerly cost but from 47 to 57 cents per ton, he met this by the assertion that there were twice as many laborers as are needed, and that slowing down on the job was the only way to distribute the work and make it go around.

Case of "Striking on Job."

"In the early spring the Renton coal mine, working two shifts, was putting out each day 600 tons of coal; a little later this dropped down to 450 tons per day, with the same men on the shifts, and the same working conditions. In order to speed up production, the operators put on three shifts instead of two, with the result that the daily output dropped to less than 350 tons a day. This reduced production increased cost of all coal at the mine mouth to \$6.64 per ton, \$2.70 more than the selling price. Labor has been complaining about the high cost of living, and at the same time increasing the cost of all articles by its system of 'striking on the job.'

"At the conclusion of the general strike it was urged by many of the citizens that the open shop was the only remedy against the attempted autocracy of labor unionism in this community. This association at that time opposed, and successfully, this movement in the hope and belief that organized labor here would throw off the yoke of the radical, and it was given full warning to do so.

"The foregoing are but some of the reasons and occurrences which have convinced the Associated Industries, and we believe the public at large in this community, that union labor is just as much under the domination of bad leaders today as it was last February; that organized labor in the city of Seattle cannot rid itself of the control and leadership of the most extreme radicals, whose purpose is not the betterment of labor conditions or wages, but the overthrow and the confiscation of industry, without which there can be no wages, high or low, and no commercial life.

"Moreover, we are equally convinced that the open shop is the remedy of this situation, both for the relief of industry and for the freedom of the

conservative unions. We believe the open shop to represent true freedom in industrial service. No man should be refused a job because he carries a union card, and no man should be refused a job or discharged because he does not carry a union card, but, as organized labor itself says, every man should be entitled to sell his labor as he will and not compelled to serve or to sell at a price or terms fixed by others. That's Americanism plain and simple, and that's what this organization proposes to stand for, except that all existing contracts with the unions shall be religiously carried out.

Opposed to Closed Shop.

"Understand, the Associated Industries of Seattle is by no means opposed to trade or labor unionism or to organized labor; but it is unalterably opposed to the closed shop, which system means that a workman cannot seek a job unless he belongs to some particular union, and an employer cannot employ. We are for the open shop, the fair, square American plan of industry which permits the union man, as well as a non-union man, to find a job.

"In proof of our position we call your attention to the fact that when a few days prior to the first day of October, the United States Emergency Fleet Corporation proposed to force the shipyards in this district to refuse your labor unions the increase of wages agreed upon for the next period of six months, this association, of its own motion, and without any solicitation on the part of labor, took the matter up, and believing, upon full investigation, that the merits in this controversy were with labor, flooded Washington with telegrams and induced the federal government to recede from its position.

"Knowing the temper of organized labor as now controlled in the city of Seattle, with respect to the principle of open shop, we know well that it would be utterly useless to take up any conference or discussion about it with a committee of the Central Labor Council of Seattle.

"Now, Mr. Short, we say this with sincere regret, for we believe that there is no one in our association personally acquainted with you, and these are many, who does not admire and respect you.

Moreover, we know that there are hundreds of others in the labor organizations of Seattle today, who are not responsible for the course of those organizations during the past eight or nine months, and who of those organizations during the past eight or nine months, and who are entitled and who receive our sympathy rather than our criticism—these and you we do not wish to offend; but we have no doubt that you will find that the adoption of the open shop by this association, backed, as we are confident it will be, by public opinion generally, will gain for the conservatives of labor, as well as for the industries of Seattle, that freedom, justice and friendly co-operation which your yourself have not been able to bring about in your own order.

“Yours truly,
“(Signed) FRANK WATERHOUSE.”

Mr. Short's Reply.

“Mr. Frank Waterhouse,
“President Associated Industries,
“Central Building, Seattle.

“Dear Sir:

“Your letter of recent date, replying to our proposal for a conference between the representatives of the Associated Industries and our committee representing the labor movement of this city, has been given full consideration by us.

“We regret exceedingly the positive refusal of the Associated Industries to meet labor's committee, as set forth in your letter. We have noted, with interest, the many reasons set forth in your letter to justify such action, but must again draw your attention to the fact that our letter asked for a conference to discuss all phases of the present situation, and which would have included a full discussion and proper consideration of all such matters; this your organization is evidently not ready to do.

Plan Was Suggestive.

“We also draw your attention to our proposal for a conciliation board and our clear statement that the plan outlined in our letter was merely suggestive of a method by which the situation might be dealt with, but with the additional statement that the confer-

ence suggested would have to formulate and mutually agree on the proper plan. In view of such a statement on our part, your objections to the suggested plan seem trivial, and render further reply in that connection unnecessary.

"We would fully answer every objection contained in your letter, were there any hope left of meeting on a mutual basis to consider the situation, but your positive refusal to meet has settled that phase of the question. The miners are preparing proof now that the lowered production of the Renton mine was brought about by mismanagement on the part of the company, and that it will reopen again in the very near future. Proof of lack of responsibility on the part of labor for the other matters complained of in your letter will be produced at the proper time.

CALLS ATTENTION TO AD.

"We would like to draw your attention, however, to the expensive full-page advertisements appearing daily in the press of our city, presenting to the public a so-called 'American plan' which includes as its second provision that its purpose is: 'To establish proper relations between employer and employee.' We would like to ask how can a proper relation be established, if your organization refuses to meet the accredited representatives of labor? Is the Associated Industries going to determine this for both themselves and labor? If so, what relation does your position in this respect bear to anything American?

"We regret that you have made such a grievous mistake. No such autocratic dictatorship has ever long survived in America, and the red-blooded Americanism of Seattle will effectively dispose of this unfortunate relic of feudalism that your organization has adopted. It is entirely out of keeping with any policy that can be accepted anywhere in a nation of free men and women.

"Very truly yours,

"W. M. SHORT,

"On behalf of the Industrial Committee of Organized Labor of Seattle."

FINAL BREAK WITH ASSOCIATED INDUSTRIES

The final break with the original program of the Associated Industries as carried in their organizing propaganda came with the announcement of Judge Gary of the Steel Trust refusing to treat with his organized employes and declaring himself as unalterably opposed to collective bargaining or any other recognition of any workers' organization.

Simultaneously, with every earmark that it was a well-thought-out conspiracy, the tone of the daily newspapers changed and their guns were turned loose on everything that they had formerly declared to be desirable. Every trick that could be played was used to create in the mind of the average reader the impression that the labor movement had become I. W. W. in its character and that nothing less than a complete house-cleaning would reinstate the union movement in the good graces of the public.

At first these utterances were not violent nor too apparent in their hostility, but finally, following the Centralia Armistice day parade riot, both the Seattle Times and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer made a direct effort to connect up this happening with the activities of the labor movement in Seattle.

OTHER UNION ACTIVITIES

In order that the reader may get an accurate idea of the situation in Seattle it will be necessary at this point to sketch briefly the activities of the trades union movement outside the work it carried on in organizing the workers of the city. From time to time co-operative ventures were made, these projects taking shape as Labor Temple Association, an organization for building a home for the unions of the city; a Mutual Laundry Company, to build and operate a union laundry; various co-operative stores and food products associations, a mutual savings and loan bank and a newspaper. These activities had met with uniform success and are today monuments to the desire for co-operation which is at the root of trades union efforts.

For twenty years there had been published by the Seattle Central Labor Council the Seattle Weekly Union Record. Finally, about a year and a half ago, the trades unionists of the city determined to make of the weekly a daily. Funds were subscribed by the unions of the city and individual members and a plant secured. Control was vested in a board of directors selected by the Central Labor Council and the editor was elected by that body.

Starting out with about 25,000 paid-in-advance subscribers, the Union Record has steadily grown in influence and prestige until it has an average paid circulation of nearly 60,000. From the outset, as was expected, the Union Record was subjected to the violent attacks of its contemporaries. These attacks grew in ratio as the subscription lists of its contemporaries shrunk.

Every editorial utterance that could, by any possible stretch of imagination, be twisted into a discreditable utterance was seized upon and used as the basis of an attack. Despite every effort so made, however, the Union Record continued to grow.

BOYCOTT OF UNION RECORD

Immediately following the general strike a concerted effort was made by the large department store heads, the banks and other big business heads to destroy the Union Record by instituting a boycott of its advertising columns. This work was carried on by personal solicitation by committees from the same group that has since been active in organizing the Associated Industries. This boycott did not have the result hoped for by its promoters and the Union Record continued to grow.

The Union Record, speaking for the A. F. of L. trades unions of Seattle and the Pacific Northwest, lent every energy it had to the loyal support of every war activity. It gave freely of its news space for war uses, urged its readers to support every drive for funds for war purposes and was, without doubt, in large measure responsible for the enviable record made by Seattle in support of the war.

The Union Record was owned, in large part, by the ship-building unions—the very men who established world's records for speed in turning out ships to carry our boys across the sea to battle for democracy. The record of its owners and the paper needs no defense from the standpoint of loyalty when the editorial utterances and its news policy is considered by unbiased minds.

However, it transpired that its newspaper contemporaries were not to be balked simply because of the general policy of the Union Record, but occasion was found to quote fragmentary sections of news and editorial matter and then, by innuendo and inference, twist and distort that utterance into something which it was not and was never intended to be.

UNION RECORD DEFENDS WORKERS

Throughout the past year the Union Record, as was to be expected, defended the actions of the trades unions and sought by every legitimate means to build a sentiment in the community favorable to the work of organized labor.

As the real purpose of the Associated Industries' organizers became apparent, the Union Record began to warn the community against the activities of this open-shop group and did everything it could do to discourage and make impossible the further organization of the Associated Industries. This action on the part of the Union Record was met by an intensified campaign of misrepresentation on the part of the other newspapers of the community. It was apparent to even a layman that the Associated Industries' organizers were convinced that so long as the A. F. of L. unions had a spokesman which could daily refute the arguments put forth by them in their propaganda of destruction of trades unions it was impossible for them to succeed in their work.

So the campaign against the Union Record and the men and women it spoke for became more violent and each day saw some fresh evidence, either in editorial utterance or news story, of the plan to connect the Union Record with so-called "red" activities and to make it appear to stand for everything that it in fact did not stand for.

This campaign saw its culmination in the editorial comment that immediately followed the Centralia tragedy, where four ex-service men were shot by alleged I. W. W. members and one I. W. W. was lynched by a mob.

In order that there may be a clear understanding of the attitude of the Union Record on the Centralia affair and the attempt made to connect the Union Record with that happening it is necessary to know something of the history of Centralia in recent months.

A BIT OF CENTRALIA HISTORY

Last summer reports came to the office of the Union Record that certain elements in Centralia were using "direct action" against a group of I. W. W. in that city, the action taking the form of assaults and threats to clean out their place of meeting and places of abode. It subsequently transpired that the newsboy handling the Union Record was driven out of town and given orders by the group that drove him out that he was not to handle the paper any more. As soon as this report reached the office of the Union Record, a

special correspondent was dispatched to Centralia for the purpose of ascertaining just what had happened and get an understanding of the situation.

The result of the visit of the correspondent was the printing of news stories detailing what had occurred. One of these news stories was subsequently used in an attempt to connect the Union Record with the Centralia Armistice Day outrage. We quote this news story as it was subsequently reprinted in the Post-Intelligencer at another point in this statement.

From this train of circumstances the Union Record was aware of the presence of two hostile groups in Centralia and it was with that knowledge that it insisted that final judgment in the Armistice Day affair be withheld until all of the facts were brought to the surface, as they would be through regular legal channels.

The first reports of the Centralia affair to reach the office of the Union Record resulted in the immediate dispatch of two reporters to the scene. No editorial comment was made on the affair, the editorial management believing that no judgment except that of general condemnation of violence in any form should be made until the facts were ascertained.

ARMISTICE DAY RIOT REPORTS

The first reports indicated that the Armistice Day parade marchers had been fired on from ambush and that the killing of the ex-service men was unprovoked and wholly indefensible. That report had hardly reached the Union Record office when it was followed by an entirely different version. This version is best told in a news story handled in the morning edition of the Post-Intelligencer the following day, which is here quoted in full:

"WITNESSES SAY MEN IN PARADE ATTACKED HALL

**Testimony at Inquest Over Centralia Shooting
Influences Jury's Verdict**

DOORS BROKEN DOWN

First Shots Declared to Have Been Almost Simultaneous With Rush of Men

By Associated Press.

CENTRALIA, Nov. 13.—Testimony tending to show that the marching ex-service men started to

ward the I. W. W. hall before shots were fired from the building or from the Avalon hotel opposite, featured the coroner's inquest over the bodies of the four former soldiers killed here last Tuesday and is said to have been responsible for the failure of the jury in rendering its verdict to fix the responsibility for the shooting.

Dr. Frank Bickford, one of the marchers, testified that the door of the I. W. W. hall was forced open by participants in the parade before the shooting began through the doorway or from the Avalon hotel opposite. Dr. Bickford said he was immediately in front of the I. W. W. hall at the time and that during a temporary halt some one suggested a raid on the hall.

Ready to Lead.

"I spoke up and said I would lead if enough would follow," he stated, "but before I could take the lead there were many ahead of me. Some one next to me put his foot against the door and forced it open, after which a shower of bullets poured through the opening about me."

Dr. Bickford told how he had stopped to avoid being hit and had crawled along in front of the hall to the place where Arthur McElfresh had fallen. He loosened McElfresh's coat collar, he said, and hurriedly searched for wounds, discovering blood flowing from both ears.

"After the first volley I heard over this way (pointing to the back of the room and indicating the location of the Avalon hotel), a report which I recognized as coming from a rifle." From this stage of the affair Dr. Bickford's testimony dealt with his efforts to get McElfresh to a hospital. McElfresh died before the hospital was reached.

Shots at Same Moment.

Dr. Herbert Bell, also a marcher, testified that he heard a shout from the ranks ahead while the paraders were standing at rest. He saw the ranks in front of him break, he said, and move toward the I. W. W. hall.

"It seemed to me that it was at the same moment that I heard shots," Dr. Bell said. "The shoot-

ing and the movement of the men was as nearly simultaneous as any human acts could be."

A. F. Cormier, who served as a lieutenant in the army and who was adjutant of the parade, testified he was positive the first shot was fired from the window of the Avalon hotel when he was on horseback a half block away from the hotel. He also saw, he testified, a man shooting from behind an automobile and another from behind a building. He said he saw flashes from the guns fired from a window of the Avalon hotel, and that one of them whistled past him and killed Lieut. Warren Q. Grimm.

Before the Union Record had given expression to any editorial opinion on the Centralia affair there appeared in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer an editorial that plainly tried to place the blame for this occurrence at the doors of the Union Record, the Central Labor Councils of Seattle and Tacoma and the State Federation of Labor. We quote the editorial in question:

Back to the Sources.

The blood of our service men assassinated in Centralia demands some plain speaking. The Centralia outrage is the culmination of a long series of events, in which several agencies have played a disloyal, a discreditable and a hypocritical part.

Frankly we charge:

That organized labor in Seattle and in the state of Washington has given aid and comfort to the I. W. W. and to every anarchistic organization and influence within the state;

That the Seattle Union Record, the official organ of organized labor, has given every encouragement to the I. W. W.; has used every artifice of propaganda to incite them to violence in peace and to sedition in war;

That the Seattle Star, before the Union Record crowded it from the field, without the sincerity or convictions of the Union Record, but solely as a matter of business, exploited every discontent and utilized every means to create that class consciousness the logical conclusion of which is assassination.

Spread on the records of the Seattle Central La-

bor Council, of the State Federation of Labor, of the Tacoma Central Labor Council and of other subsidiary organizations of the State Federation, are resolutions of comfort for the I. W. W., Mooney resolutions and the like, all tending to condone and justify such outrages as that perpetrated in Centralia. Organized labor has insisted with full voice that every I. W. W. should have the fullest protection of the last letter of the law in their attempts to destroy the law. Organized labor has contributed its funds, hired its lawyers, paraded, preached and pamphleteered in defense of every assassin bearing an I. W. W. card who has been brought to the bar of justice. Free speech for every sedition, for every disloyalty, for every advocacy of violence, sabotage, syndicalism, for all the "we-know-not-where" hallucinations, has been demanded time and time again by organized labor by resolutions and in the columns of labor's official organs.

We will not deny nor seek to evade the counter-charge that exasperated citizens in various communities have taken the law into their own hands; raided I. W. W. halls, destroyed their furniture and burned their literature. That, we freely admit, is wrong, illegal and undemocratic, no matter how great the provocation. This newspaper has never approved of it, frequently deplored it, and has consistently pleaded for law and order, even in behalf of the I. W. W., who would destroy law and order.

Even now we denounce and deplore the lynching of the Centralia murderers, as we have denounced every lynching. We do this with a clear conscience and challenge the Union Record to do likewise.

Organized labor in session and in its press has never missed an opportunity to call attention to these "capitalistic" infractions of the law, to exaggerate them, and to realize the greatest possible return of hate on them.

But never has organized labor gone on record as deploring the activities of the I. W. W.; never has there been one official word of discouragement or disapproval. Organized labor has officially stood in silence before every revolutionary activity of the I. W. W. and other Reds, and has only spoken in their

defense. That is the basis of our accusation against organized labor.

The reason for this is that organized labor in this city and in this state is controlled by the so-called radicals, who are I. W. W. at heart, whether they carry that organization's card or not.

We make these assertions with the full knowledge that there are in the ranks of organized labor in Seattle and in the state, men whose Americanism can stand every test, even to the battlefield. We know that there are union labor men, hundreds, thousands of them, whose blood boils with American indignation over the Centralia outrage; union men who wouldn't touch the Union Record with a pair of tongs, union men who have despised the Star.

But in all friendly candor we say to these men that they can no longer consider themselves as representatives of organized labor in this city and this state. They are in the minority, either numerically or potentially. They are unable or unwilling to take control. The best proof of this is that here in Seattle the result of their long years of effort and self-denial has been destroyed by the reds, radicals and revolutionists within their unions.

The Union Record, with its stomach weak, is now protesting its advocacy of law and order for rich and poor alike, and calls upon its twenty years of existence to prove it. As long as the Union Record was conducted by union men, instead of revolutionists of the "we-know-not-where" type, it was a loyal newspaper, a credit to labor and a credit to the community. It fought the battles of labor well and fairly, and it won them. This newspaper does not hesitate to pay a tribute of respect to the old decent Union Record, the American Union Record—but that is not the Bolshevik Union Record of today. When the reds, radicals and revolutionaries took control of the Union Record, and the Union Record stands today the outward symbol of Russianized radical control. And it cannot now, in the hour of its panic, call up the honest history of the old Union Record and attempt to hide behind it.

At this moment the Union Record is trying to

condone the Centralia outrage by speaking of it as a riot, when it was assassination pure and simple. It is seeking to convey the impression, in so many words, that the I. W. W. were attacked, that they shot in self-defense against an organized assault. All this in the face of the obvious fact that had it been a riot there would not be seventeen I. W. W. alive in the Centralia jail today, protected by men wearing the uniforms of their victims.

The Union Record today is an I. W. W. organ, and every union man in this city and in this state knows it. It stands for revolution, soviets, proletarian dictatorships; and by every art of suggestion, innuendo and falsehood it seeks to bring these things to pass. During the war it was just as disloyal as it dared to be, and now it is just as anarchistic as it dares to be. Every union man likewise knows this to be true, whether he applauds it or deplores it.

The Seattle Star tilled the field for the Union Record; worked hard at it for years, leaving it to the Union Record to reap "the harvest." The Union Record simply ousted the Star as the official organ of class hate, being able to excel the Star in its chosen field by reason of the subsidies paid into its treasury by the various unions of the city. For years the Star attacked every institution, public and private, in the city and in the state; it proclaimed that our courts were corrupt; that the poor could have no justice; that the business men of this community were rascals; every man with two dollars in his pocket was a scoundrel. With cold-blooded cynical hypocrisy, it carried out the avowed Scripps policy of "appealing to the low-brows." But at the critical moment, after its preaching were put into practical effect, it invariably left the poor "low-brows" in the lurch and came forth vociferously for law and order. And when the excitement died down, it resumed its rabble-rousing policy.

The I. W. W. naval invasion of Everett is a case in point. The Star was properly horrified over this tragic affair; its sense of propriety was shocked, but it was carefully neutral in the business—there was

then no Union Record as a class organ. But when Gill, as mayor of Seattle, expressed his I. W. W. sympathies, the Star was quite calm about it. Later when a body of American citizens assembled in Seattle to protest against the attitude of Seattle's mayor, the Star poured derision on them, scoffed at them and did everything in its power to nullify and belittle their action.

There was then no competition in the Star's "low-brow" field; no other newspaper was seeking to find excuses, to devise extenuations for the I. W. W. and their deeds; no other newspaper was capitalizing hypocrisy and drawing dividends out of class hate, or creating a proletariat consciousness for circulation purposes.

This is blunt talk and to the point. Every word of it is meant to stand, without explanation or equivocation. The purpose of it is to bring squarely home to every decent American a clear understanding of the forces of evil that are working and have been working in our midst. The logical result of these forces is the Centralia massacre.

We have before appealed to the better judgment, to the patriotism, to the decent instincts of organized labor. Again we make this appeal. For the thousandth time we assert that we are friendly to organized labor. Why should we be? There is no institution in the city or state that has dealt with organized labor for so many years as this newspaper. But today this newspaper cannot make any defense of organized labor in this community, except to assert that there is a minority, an apparently helpless minority, of law-abiding American citizens within labor's ranks.

For the official actions of organized labor, for the official attitude of organized labor as expressed in its official organ, the Union Record, what is there for a newspaper or for any individual, believing in democracy in American institutions, in constitutional and not revolutionary reform, to say?

Nothing, except what we have said above.—
From the Post-Intelligencer of November 13, 1919.

COUNSELS WITHHOLDING JUDGMENT.

The morning that this editorial appeared the information

contained in the news story reporting the testimony of Dr. Bickford before the coroner's jury was in the office of the Union Record, in the light of that information and in the light of the known strained relations between the contending groups in Centralia that was in the hands of the Union Record news editor, the editor conceived it to be the part of good citizenship to counsel withholding judgment until the facts could be ascertained, as they no doubt would be when the regular legal machinery was put in motion. The Union Record believed that any other course could lead nowhere except to more outbursts of violence—and above everything else it did not want violence, no matter by whom it was resorted to. With that idea in mind the following editorial was written, in the hope that it would put a stop to the apparent attempts to incite to further violence. The editorial follows:

"Don't Shoot in the Dark!"

"Violence begets violence.

"Anarchy calls forth anarchy.

"That is the answer to the Centralia outrage.

"And the reason for it is found in the constant stream of laudation in the kept press of un-American, illegal and violent physical attacks upon the persons of those who disagree with the powers that be.

"The rioting which culminated in the deaths of three of our returned service men at Centralia last night was the result of a long series of illegal acts by these men themselves—acts which no paper in the state was American enough to criticize except the Union Record.

"The attempt of the Post-Intelligencer in this morning's editorial to make the Union Record responsible for the trouble and to incite an attack upon this paper by the vicious element of this city is merely another indication of the depths of the depravity to which that paper has fallen.

The Union Record points to a career of more than 20 years in which it has consistently and insistently fought for the preservation of the liberties of the American people, for the strictest observance of the laws of this country, BOTH BY THE RICH AND THE POOR. It is because the Union Record has insisted upon the observance of the law by the rich that it is now being assailed.

"The Union Record, unlike its competitors, has

never printed a line advocating that anyone be 'stood up against a stone wall and shot,' it has never advocated nor countenanced physical violence for the redress of grievances. On the contrary, the Union Record has, during its entire lifetime, pointed out the legal, orderly American way of bringing order out of our present chaotic industrial system, and has set human life above any and every other consideration.

"Organized labor has had no connection with nor had it any sympathy for the perpetrators of the violence at Centralia, NO MATTER WHOM THEY MAY BE, and from the facts at hand both sides have earned the severest condemnation of lawabiding people.

"We advise all to await with us the development of the truth about the whole affair."

The following day the Seattle Times, ably seconding the inflammatory tactics of its morning contemporary, printed the following attack on the Central Labor Council, the Union Record and all of the forces against whom the Times and the Associated Industries had been waging a fight for months past. The editorial follows:

A TIMES EDITORIAL.

"Labor Council and Union Record Nest of I. W. W. Traitors."

"Violence begets violence.

"Anarchy calls forth anarchy.

"That is the answer to the Centralia outrage.

"And the reason for it is found in the constant stream of laudation in the kept press of un-American, illegal and violent physical attacks upon the persons of those who disagree with the powers that be.

"The rioting which culminated in the deaths of three of our returned service men at Centralia last night was the result of a long series of illegal acts by these men themselves—acts which no paper in the state was American enough to criticize except the Union Record."

"The FRANKENSTEIN MONSTER of I. W. W. anarchy, which the Central Labor Council has created by its treasonable acts and utterances, last night stalked into the Labor Temple.

"And those who had created the monster shrank from it—shrank from its gibbering face—from its bloody hand!

"Confronted by the foulest crime of its kind in the history of this state or this county, perpetrated by those who it had encouraged and supported in the past, the Central Labor Council, in panic fear, hastened to mouth denunciations.

"But the training—the thought—of years was not to be overcome in a moment of fear!

"In its feverishly-written denunciation of lawlessness, it included this astounding declaration:

"The Central Labor Council of Seattle * * * squarely denounces any resort to violence * * * so long as legal and orderly methods remain for these purposes."

"So long as legal and orderly methods remain!"

"What THEN?"

"Centralia FURNISHES THE ANSWER!"

The WAY WAS BLAZED for last night's resolutions of the Central Labor Council by the editorial in the Union Record headed: "Don't Shoot in the Dark!"

From first to last word, that editorial contains nothing denunciatory of the I. W. W. assassins.

It says "Both sides have earned the severest condemnation of law-abiding people."

BOTH sides! The skulkers who shot from ambush and their victims declared EQUALLY GUILTY!

And again, in another paragraph, this damning, lying declaration:

"The RIOTING which culminated in the death of three of our (?) returned service men at Centralia last night was the result of a long series of illegal acts by these men themselves."

Muddying the waters already—as the I. W. W. always does!

Preparing for a specious lying defense of an act that is indefensible!

If there was one American on the Union Record—one man believing in decency and right—one whose heart responded to the ordinary appeals of humanity—there would have been somewhere in

that abominable screed a word of condemnation for the ambushed assassins, a word of sympathy for the bereaved, a word of command to the representatives of law and order that they must spare no effort to bring the assassins to justice.

But, **INSTEAD**, there was **THIS**:

"We advise all to await with us the development of the **TRUTH** about the whole affair."

It matters nothing to the Union Record that discharged service men, veterans of the great war, were shot down in cold blood!

In its secret heart, the Union Record probably **GLORIED** in this evidence of murderous determination on the part of the "proletariat."

THAT is the **WAY** in which the things long advocated by the Union Record is to be brought about!

Speaking for the I. W. W., it contemplates with joy the coming of the day when the American Bolsheviks will wade through blood to control of this country!

AND THE CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL—speaking for a large part of organized labor in Seattle—last night adopted a resolution Penned by the Very Man who sponsored that editorial.

For months, the peace of Seattle has been menaced by these two—the Bolshevik Labor Council and the I. W. W. Record.

Every patriotic effort put forth by the community has been derided, where it has not been viciously opposed.

The Central Labor Council would not even raise the American flag over the Labor Temple during the war.

Finally, a group of patriotic union painters climbed to the roof, hoisted Old Glory and **DEFIED** all the Bolsheviks and I. W. W. in the Labor Council to **HAUL IT DOWN!**

This is the body which made hysterical defense of Hulet Wells and his associates.

It is the body that sent congratulations to Lenine and Trotzky.

It indorsed the Mooney movements—and then had the fact rammed down its throat by the presi-

dent of the State Federation of Labor that grafters had stolen the money raised ostensibly for Mooney's defense.

It planned the general strike in Seattle and enthusiastically indorsed the "We Know Not Whither" policy of the Union Record by continuing in charge of that paper the persons who penned and published that declaration.

The action of the Labor Council and the editorial comment in the Union Record yesterday constituted a declaration of war on decency, law, right and humanity in this city and in this state.

The Times, here and now, denounces violence, past, present and future.

That is the I. W. W. WAY, not the AMERICAN WAY of ending an intolerable situation.

But union labor has been warned long enough to CLEAN HOUSE in the Central Labor Council and the Union Record.

If there is not enough MANHOOD in union labor to do this, it becomes the COMMUNITY'S DUTY to perform that act.

Seattle no longer can or will tolerate a trades union movement that is MORE THAN HALF I. W. W. and MUCH LESS THAN HALF American!

NO PROVOCATION NEEDED.

Preceding the publication of the foregoing editorials and indicative of the fact that no editorial provocation on the part of labor's daily paper was necessary to incite utterances such as quoted above, there appeared in the Seattle Times on Nov. 12, 1919, the following editorial. It might be well to here explain that the Triple Alliance referred to here was a political organization embracing in its membership the members of the railroad brotherhoods, the A. F. of L. trades unions and the organized farmers of the state, which came into being at Bellingham, convention of the State Federation of Labor. The editorial in the Times reads as follows:

America Must Clean House!

Seattle has double reason to be appalled by the slaughter of discharged service men by I. W. W., assassins at Centralia.

The murder of these returned soldiers—"Uncle Sam's Cossacks," one of the leaders among the an-

archists is reported to have called them!—was the most dreadful crime of its kind in the history of the Pacific Northwest.

Nor is that ALL!

The American Bolsheviks there acted precisely as the planners of the Seattle general strike would have been pleased to act had the forces of law and order in this community ALSO BEEN UNARMED!

VIOLENCE is the first principle of the creed to which these men subscribe.

The violence they practice finds expression in union halls, where speakers are howled down for presuming to speak their minds as American citizens.

It enforces "the strike on the job" by menacing denunciations of ambitious, conscientious workers as "scissorbills."

It is the theme of every pamphlet put into circulation for the purpose of inciting the ignorant to strike and to riot.

It is the secret hope of the men who have organized the so-called Triple Alliance, but which they dared not put into language for fear of affronting even the patient public of the state of Washington.

It is the doctrine the reds intend teaching our children if they gain control of the city schools at the election on December 2.

Wherever the enemies of law, order, government, and morality meet to plot—in Centralia, in Seattle, in Winnipeg, in New York, or in Chicago—it is the one thing ever in their thoughts and ever on their tongues.

And that is what they mean when they talk of "REVOLUTION."

Between the American Bolsheviks and the triumph they crave stands no body of patriotic citizens more effectively organized than the American Legion.

In the eyes of the reds, there could be but one solution of this problem—the solution attempted yesterday at Centralia.

TERRORIZE THE OPPOSITION!

They had practised this system successfully in labor halls.

By threats of violence they had silenced decent men and forced them to stand up and be counted as

favoring strikes these men really opposed.

By similar threats they had compelled strikers—men of family, who felt they could not afford to “take a chance at being beaten up”—to remain away from work when the loss of pay imposed suffering upon wife and family.

But the veterans were NOT TERRORIZED!

Unarmed, barehanded, they stormed the stronghold of the murderers, disarmed them and then proved their Americanism by standing watch over them until the civil authorities assumed responsibility for guarding the prisoners.

But it needs more than a demonstration of the law-abiding character of the legion and of the great mass of the people to impress upon these blood-thirsty outlaws the lesson they must learn if there is not to be a repetition at some time in the future of the Centralia massacre.

There is but one effective answer to the methods employed by the I. W. W.

TERRORIZE THE AMERICAN BOLSHEVIKI!

There is no need, reason or justification using the lawless methods employed by the enemies of society.

THE LAW IS SUFFICIENT—IF ENFORCED!

Backed by PUBLIC OPINION, it will suffice.

Organized labor must be made to understand that unless it CLEANS HOUSE there will not be, anywhere in this section, any of organized labor left!

The state of Washington must CLEAN HOUSE. This must be a lawabiding commonwealth, even if it be necessary to WEED OUT EVERY RED and every SUSPECTED RED resident in it!

The United States of America must CLEAN HOUSE. Deportation must be resorted to, not to get rid of a handful of anarchists, but EVERY ALIEN FOUND CONSPIRING AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

Anything less than this in Centralia, in Seattle, or elsewhere throughout the country, will directly incite to violence.

The law is sufficient—BUT IT MUST BE ENFORCED.

POST-INTELLIGENCER ATTEMPTS INDICTMENT.

On the same day that the foregoing editorial appeared in the Seattle Times there was printed on the first page of the Post-Intelligencer the editorial, quoted below. With the sentiments of regret and indignation there expressed no one will disagree. However, when it is read with the quotations of a news article taken from the Seattle Union Record under date of Oct. 24, 1918, it is apparent that the real purpose of the editorial is to lash into fury the opinion of P-I. readers against the Seattle Union Record. The editorial follows:

Not to Be Forgotten

The impersonal ferocity displayed in the Centralia outrage is without equal in the long calendar of anarchistic crime. We have had outrages which, judged by the number of lives lost, were more appalling, such as the Los Angeles dynamiting, the San Francisco Preparedness day parade. We have had presidents assassinated, and governors. In all these was some sense of grievance against the victims or some bloodthirsty, fanatical opposition to something done or something about to be done. But the assassination of the returned soldiers in Centralia must be put in a hideous category by itself.

The rifles were aimed at the heart of democracy; the men who fell in Centralia are martyrs all the more glorious, because their assassins are vile beyond words. And their fellow service men, gathered around the jail and doing their best to restrain the frenzied crowd—they, too, are heroes of democracy, who under the greatest stress to which mortal man could be put, still restrained themselves and did their best to preserve the essence of democracy—law and order.

Their example will be wasted on the I. W. W. and the various reds who just now will deplore with their lips the Centralia outrage while rejoicing in their hearts and in their secret councils. This effort of the service men to uphold the law is no more than bourgeois mortality, a thing for scoffs, when the reds begin to collect funds for the release of their new "class prisoners." But none the less it still will stand as a triumph of democracy, the visible fact that the democracy cannot be made to destroy itself

and that all the hellish provocations of Bolshevism shall not prevail against it.

Returned service men, men who offered their hearts' blood for their country, men not even soldiers, but plain citizens met for no more sinister purpose than to celebrate the ending of a four-year battle, shot down in the streets of a peaceable town. The very thought of it makes honest men see red—yet honest men must be calm.

These men were shot down for one offense. Their offense was that they were loyal American citizens. The evidence against them was their service uniforms.

What doctrine is this that can breed crime as hideous as it is futile? Were the murderers of these service men ignorant, harebrained, misled? Who, then filled their minds with this madness. Who harped on every misfortune of life; who magnified every irritation of existence; who distorted every truth and mutilated every half truth, to the end that American citizens, who sealed their citizenship on the hell-swept fields of battle cannot assemble on the streets of their own communities except in peril of assassination.

As dispassionately as we may, we warn the fomenters of sedition, or anarchy, of direct action to cease. The American people will not soon forget the Centralia dead or the manner of their dying.

The news story reprinted from the Union Record, which appeared on the fourth page of the P. I. reads as follows:

SYMPATHETIC ACCOUNT OF RECENT PHASES OF THE I. W. W. ACTIVITIES IN CENTRALIA.

(From Seattle Union Record, Friday, Oct. 24, 1919.)

ANARCHY URGED BY CENTRALIA BUSINESS REDS.

Prepare to Ignore Law in Hysterical Plan of Direct Action.

CENTRALIA.—The "business reds" of this city are again preparing to drive out the "wobblies" and at a recent meeting organized a secret committee of ten who are said to be pledged to drive every member of the organization and every citizen who sympathizes with it out of the district.

The alleged action was taken at a meeting of the Centralia Citizens' Protective league, held in the Elks' hall and presided over by William Scales, a grocer who was accused of playing a leading part in the kidnaping of Thomas Lassiter, Union Record agent, last June. F. B. Hubbard, the so-called "busted lumber baron of Southwest Washington," is said to have taken an active part in the meeting and to have clashed with the members of the city council and the chief of police over methods to be employed in forcing the I. W. W. out of town.

Hubbard, it is said, declared if he were chief he would rid the town of "wobblies" in 24 hours. This statement is alleged to have been made after the chief of police had declared there was no law under which he could drive the organization out of the city. Scale is reported to have advocated direct action, declaring he did not believe any jury would be obtained that would find those taking part in a raid on the I. W. W. hall guilty of violating the law.

Every "wobbler" is to be listed, business men themselves to refuse to employ any man known to be a member or suspected of sympathizing with the organization. The gathering of these lists has already started.

STATEMENT OF UNION RECORD.

Realizing that the position of the Union Record had been misunderstood and believing that its words had been given a meaning entirely foreign to anything that was intended, the Union Record put in type on the morning of Thursday, Nov. 13th, the following editorial:

Where We Stand.

Ever since the Union Record came into being as a daily, the other dailies of the city have carried out a well-thought-out campaign of misrepresentation of its attitude on public questions.

This campaign has grown in its intensity and deliberate distortion in exact ratio as the circulation and prestige of the "kept press" dwindled and the influence of the Union Record has grown.

At the beginning, the "special interest" pleaders attempted to camouflage their attacks.

Now comes this Centralia affair and a deliber-

ate attempt is made by the Post-Intelligencer and the Times to make the labor movement and its spokesman, the Union Record, accessories before the fact to this unspeakable and absolutely indefensible occurrence. Every trick known to unscrupulous and accomplished liars is turned in order to convey the impression that the Union Record and the movement speaks for, condones violence in any form and advocates the forcible overthrow of our government.

The central labor bodies of Washington cities, the State Federation of Labor and the Triple Alliance are charged with aiding and abetting those who preach violence and comforting those who are enmeshed in the toils of the law for indulging in such futile, senseless and immoral acts.

In carrying on this campaign of distortion and misrepresentation these papers have run the gamut from printing fragmentary quotations which, taken from their text, give a totally false understanding of the article itself to printing deliberately distorted "news" stories alleging to set out the attitude of the labor movement.

No rule of conduct supposed to govern honest and truth-telling newspapermen has been permitted stand in the way of the moral perverts who have deliberately set out to destroy the labor movement and, if occasion arises, put into jeopardy the property and lives of the trades union membership of this community.

Never in the history of local newspaperdom has there been staged such a deliberate and brazen attempt to discredit and slander a large section of the community.

In the long and honorable record of achievement that lies back of the A. F. of L. movement in this city, state and nation there can be found no single instance where any organization has advocated violence in any form.

On the other hand, the labor movement has, in season and out, advocated that only peaceable and orderly methods be pursued in correcting evils in our industrial and political life. No provocation, no abuse, no use of violence, on the part of the opponents of organized labor has been sufficient to make

that movement deviate from its program of strict compliance to lawful means to accomplish its aims.

The Union Record has only one plain duty in the Centralia affair, and that is to TELL THE WHOLE TRUTH about the occurrence and then lend what influence it may have toward making possible the fair and impartial administration of justice.

It is because the Union Record has an abiding faith in the sense of fair play of the average man or woman that it is willing and anxious to submit the cause of the workers to the judgment of the people in the press and on the public platform. Given a FAIR presentation of the facts, the labor movement has no fear of the verdict.

Despite the despicable and cowardly slandering of the members of the labor movement of the state; despite the desperate effort on the part of the "kept" dailies to provoke the Union Record into an open or tacit defense of violence, either at Centralia or any other place, the Union Record is going to persevere in its course of denouncing violence, no matter who uses it.

If the Post-Intelligencer and the Times want to continue their present desperate and unlawful inciting to violence that is a question for their managements to determine.

Let it be understood now and here that if the Post-Intelligencer and the Times by their treatment in a news and editorial way of the Centralia affair succeed in inflaming public opinion so that violence to person or destruction of property results, that violence can be charged to those newspapers—and to them alone.

The labor movement and the Union Record stand squarely against violence of any sort.

We have faith in American institutions and know that there is only one sane and reasonable way of settling differences and curing evils that may arise in our industrial and political life. That method is full and free discussion and a final submission to the judgment of the people, expressed in an orderly fashion and unmarred by the flame of passion or heat of prejudice.

The Union Record, as distinguished from its contemporaries, believes in the RULE OF REASON.

The Union Record will denounce, as it has in the past, anything that remotely resembles violence.

DIFFERENCES CANNOT BE ADJUSTED OR SOLUTIONS ARRIVED AT THROUGH USE OF PHYSICAL FORCE. FINALLY AND INEVITABLY THE RULE OF REASON SUPPLEMENTED BY A SINCERE DESIRE TO WORK OUT JUSTICE, MUST BE BROUGHT INTO PLAY.

CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL REPORT.

There was also put in type for publication in this same issue of the Union Record the following story of the Central Labor Council proceedings of the night before. This summarizes all of the facts that had so far developed in the Centralia affair. The news story reads as follows:

Labor Council Square Against Physical Force.

Organized labor, speaking through the Central Labor council Wednesday night, and without a dissenting vote, squarely denounced any resort to violence and refused to be held responsible for the ravings of those who, inflamed by ignorance and intolerable industrial conditions, preach the overthrow by force of the present order.

Seeing the inflammatory articles and editorials of the kept press an attempt to connect the bona-fide trade union movement with the Centralia tragedy in order to arouse prejudice and hatred, the labor council unanimously passed the following resolution:

All Violence Denounced.

The Central Labor Council of Seattle, speaking for organized labor of this city, facing the tragedy at Centralia, Tuesday, squarely denounces any resort to violence for the adjustment of industrial differences or the preservation of constitutional rights, so long as legal and orderly methods remain for those purposes.

Organized labor has never countenanced and refuses to be held responsible for the ravings of those who, inflamed by ignorance and suffering under intolerable industrial conditions, preach the overthrow by force of the present order. We recognize evils in our present system and we move to secure their eradication by action within the law, and are accountable to society for our actions as organizations.

A Series of Outrages.

In consideration of the tragedy at Centralia we desire to point out the following facts:

The Centralia correspondent of the Post-Intelligencer, in its issue of November 12, on page 10, confesses that the tragedy was the culmination of a series of outrages perpetrated by lawless bands of Centralia business men.

The Centralia correspondent of the Seattle Daily Times, on page 3 of its noon edition of November 12, admits that the parade on Armistice day halted in front of the I. W. W. hall, where the more hot-headed members of the column were urged to maintain their ranks and not invade the hall, and that a window was smashed before any shots were fired.

For Wholesale Hangings.

The Centralia correspondent of the Times, in the language of the correspondent, further declares that "out of the ravings of a man about to be lynched, the prattlings of a boy just turned 16, and the vituperations of an aged woman" whose furniture had just been destroyed by a mob, the prosecuting attorneys intends to build a conspiracy which will send every man in the hall to the gallows.

In view of these facts and the further facts that every effort is being made by the kept press of this city—the Times, the Star and the Post-Intelligencer—to mislead and inflame the public mind and use the incident to arouse the mob spirit everywhere, we call upon all true Americans to arouse themselves to combat the suggested violation of the law and to see to it that every principle of our constitution be upheld and kept inviolate.

The resolution was presented with the signatures of E. B. Ault, editor of the Union Record; J. A. McCorkle, Triple Alliance candidate for the port commission; A. B. Callahan, of the shipyard laborers' union, and F. C. Millington, first aid and industrial insurance expert of the labor council.

UNION RECORD PLANT SEIZED.

Just as the type forms containing the above quoted articles were being sent to the stereotyping room in preparation for the printing that would follow, the plant of the Union Record was seized by agents of the Department of Justice.

The story of that raid and seizure was told in an early morning edition of the following day as follows:

Labor Daily Gets Out All Editions Despite Troubles.

The Union Record is publishing its three regular editions following a raid by government agents Thursday afternoon when the proper distribution of the night edition was prevented and the final green edition was kept from the presses entirely.

Publication is resumed on the old basis without any qualifications. E. B. Ault, editor-in-chief and manager, is in charge, being at liberty on \$6,000 bail following his arrest Thursday afternoon on charges of sedition and criminal libel, growing out of editorials printed in this paper calling on the workers to elect their own candidates at the school and port elections, and urging that judgment be withheld on the Centralia killing until the entire facts were disclosed.

Frank A. Rust, secretary-treasurer, and George P. Listman, president of the Union Record board of trustees, are at liberty on \$5,000 bail each. They are slated to face charges of sedition together with Ault.

Barrels of newspapers, magazines and correspondence were seized by the government men.

U. S. District Attorney Robert C. Saunders himself visited the Union Record office Thursday evening and with an-apologetic air explained that there was no desire on the part of the government to suppress the paper.

Twenty-five thousand extra copies of the Union Record issued from the presses at 9 p. m. were sold throughout the city and were rushed to the outlying districts in autos.

This was the first news carried to the public that the Union Record was not suppressed. In many cases entire families crowded from their homes in pajamas and nightdresses to obtain copies of the extra.

The 25,000 copies sold by the Union Record constitute a record sale. No newspaper in the history of Seattle ever sold that number of extras.

When uncertainty was at its height late Thursday and the exact situation concerning the possibility of

resuming publication was indefinite, organized labor's committee of 15 issued thousands of dodgers, as follows:

ATTENTION, WORKERS!

The Union Record has been closed. We are passing through a dangerous situation.

The public mind is inflamed and fuel is being daily added to the flames by irresponsibles.

Prove the capacity of organized labor for good sense and calm judgment by keeping a cool head in this crisis.

Don't start anything. Go home when your work is over and stay home.

Your representatives will take care of every contingency in a lawful and orderly manner.

KEEP COOL.

WILLIAM SHORT,

Pres. State Federation of Labor.

ANOTHER UNION RECORD EDITORIAL.

In the same issue that carried the story of the seizure of the Union Record plant as above quoted, there appears the following editorial:

REASON WILL TRIUMPH

"Terrorize the Reds," they say, and describe all who venture to hold different opinions from themselves as "Reds."

From news reports of latest events in Centralia it appears that the I. W. W. hall was attacked before the fatal shots were fired. The coroner's jury, because of the testimony of competent witnesses, has failed to fix the blame for the shooting.

These developments do not justify the shooting. They do justify the stand taken by the Union Record, when the first reports of the tragedy arrived. We told the truth then and we will continue to do so always.

Just as long as the "kept" press of the city incites to riot, just as long as they continue to lie, there will be little social and industrial peace here.

Let us all, with open minds, await developments, confident that at last right will prevail and reason triumph.

To the families of the four ex-service men murdered in Centralia, we of the Union Record extend all sympathy.

To the family of the man murdered by a Centralia mob we also, in all sincerity, offer what solace we may.

All five, the ex-service men and the wobbly, if he was a Wobbly, were victims of the class hatred, of the doctrines of violence stirred up by such newspapers as the Seattle Times and Post-Intelligencer.

We submit that this editorial, written when the management firmly believed they had been the victims of an unlawful seizure, shows better than anything else could that it was the purpose of the editors to do nothing that would inflame its readers by a detailed recital of its wrongs, either fancied or real, but rather rested its case on an appeal to reason and was content to await vindication of its position at a time when public sentiment was not warped or twisted by the passion that has been the inevitable sequence to the brutal killings in Centralia and the subsequent frenzied attempts of the Seattle papers to fasten responsibility for this occurrence on the labor movement and its official spokesman, the Union Record.

UNION RECORD PLANT AGAIN SEIZED

Subsequently there was a second seizure of the Union Record plant, and the property under this seizure was withheld from the use of its owners for a period of seven days, or until a hearing was had before the U. S. commissioner on Friday, November 21. We quote herewith the news story of that hearing that appeared in the issue following the return of the property to the Union Record management. It follows:

UNION LABOR GIVEN ITS OWN PROPERTY BY U. S. OFFICIALS.

The plant and property of the Seattle Union Record, wrongfully seized by local employes of Uncle Sam, were restored at 2:30 p. m. Friday to their rightful owners, the 60,000 union working men and women of this city.

United States Commissioner R. W. McClelland, after a hearing Friday morning, granted a motion of Union Record attorneys to quash the search warrant under which the paper was seized.

Warrant Claimed Faulty

It was shown during the hearing that the warrant was legally faulty and of no effect. It was under the authority supposed to be conveyed by this warrant that two successive raids upon the paper were made—one on November 13 and one on the following day.

Seizure Not Authorized

As a result of this decision it is shown that the holding of the plant of the paper was without any authorization and in violation of law. Just what action will be taken in the premises is not yet definitely announced.

All property seized was offered to owners of the paper Friday.

Although, in restoring the property of the Union Record, the government officials here seemingly ended the prosecution of the newspaper, they still refuse to accord it full mailing privileges.

Awaits Washington Order

Postmaster Edgar Battle, asked by a Union Record reporter if he would now restore mailing privileges to the paper, replied that the matter is entirely out of his hands and that he is awaiting word from Washington.

"I couldn't act now if I wanted to," Battle said. "Word from Washington will come through any time and I will get into touch with the Union Record as soon as that happens."

Battle says he is sending a copy of each day's issue of the Union Record to Washington, to be passed upon by the authorities there.

Barred November 15

The decision of Postmaster Battle to bar the Union Record from the mails came on November 15, before he had seen the edition he threatened to bar. He has been "in doubt" concerning the character of the Union Record ever since and, as he says, must await word from Washington.

All morning, on November 13, reporters from local newspapers camped in the vicinity of the Union Record office. Word went out over the Associated Press wires that the Union Record had been sup-

pressed. Meanwhile work of preparing a paper went on in the Union Record offices.

An Imposing Array

At 2 p. m. five deput U. S. marshals, under orders from U. S. District Attorney Robert C. Saunders, and accompanied by a moving picture man, cameramen and staff correspondent, entered the office of the Union Record, stopped the presses, evicted all save two or three of the staff and proceeded to search the place.

Desks were "gutted." Checks, bills, receipts, money orders, drafts, mailing lists, files, old copies of papers, all manner of material were seized. None of these could aid the government in any possible prosecution, but they were seized nevertheless.

"Evidence" Is Collected

At 7 p. m. after having collected two truckloads of evidence, the Union Record plant was restored to its management and by 9 p. m. an extra was on the streets detailing the events of the day.

E. B. Ault, editor-manager of the paper; Frank A. Rust and George P. Listman, directors, who had been arrested following the raid, were later released on bail. These men were accused of violation of the espionage act. Ault was accused, in addition, of criminal libel.

One Edition Issued

Publication of the paper was resumed as usual the following day, Friday, November 14. One edition was printed and circulated without interference. Just as the second edition of the day was about to go to press Deputy Marshal Tobey and deputies arrived, announced that they would give everybody 30 minutes to "clear out," and seized the plant. Tobey declared that they were using the same warrant under which they had acted the day before. This use of the same warrant a second time has since been declared illegal.

Suspended "Indefinitely"

According to Tobey, the paper was "indefinitely suspended." Counsel for the Union Record, however, advised that publication might be resumed if

printing facilities could be obtained. The plant of the Fremont Colleague—the only one not tied up by prejudice or threats—was immediately secured and a limited edition was prepared Saturday, for circulation on the streets Sunday. Up to Friday, the flat-bed press of the Fremont Colleague was used to publish the paper, the press being run day and night to supply the demand for copies.

The "street corner owners," who control, to a large extent the sales of papers on Seattle streets, decided to betray labor's paper at this critical juncture. Spurred on by the rival newspapers, they refused to handle the Union Record.

Hundreds of loyal union men, mostly long-shoremen, sprang to the assistance of the Union Record. The loyal "newsies" found that selling the paper was highly profitable, to say nothing of the efforts to boost labor's own mouthpiece.

Sold for Five Cents.

Copies sold on the streets for five cents. They were sold to the newsboys for two and one-half cents.

Meanwhile attorneys for the paper had set the machinery of the law in motion. On Monday a motion to quash the search warrant was filed with U. S. Commissioner W. R. McClelland. At the same time a copy of the motion was served upon District Attorney Saunders.

Saunders assigned Assistant U. S. Attorney Ben L. Moore to handle the case. The first hearing was held Tuesday morning before Commissioner McClelland. No one from the office of the district attorney was present. It became necessary for the commissioner to call up Saunders. The commissioner was told that the "government's case was not ready" and that the office of the district attorney was not able to rebut the contention of Union Record attorneys that the affidavit upon which the search warrant was based was insufficient under the terms of the espionage act.

Hearing Laid Over.

Hearing of the motion to quash the search warrant was thereupon laid over to Thursday, Novem-

ber 20. Preliminary hearing of the charge against Rust, Listman and Ault was laid over for 10 days on the ground that the grand jury is in session and could be expected to handle the case. Ebenezer Shorrock, member of the school board and a reactionary whose policies have often been assailed by the Union Record, was chosen foreman of the grand jury.

On Tuesday afternoon, following an order issued Monday by Federal Judge Cushman, Postmaster Edgar Battle appeared in court through the representation of Ben L. Moore of the district attorney's office, and asserted that he was not able to show cause at that time why the Union Record should not be accorded the use of the mails. Moore asked for a delay until the end of the week. Hearing was set for 2 p. m. Thursday.

At this hearing evidence was submitted on both sides and a decision is expected Tuesday morning.

Attorneys for the Union Record are John F. Dore and Mark M. Litchman. M. M. Lyter is attorney for George P. Listman and Wilson R. Gay is attorney for Frank A. Rust.

UNION RECORD DEFINES ITS POSITION.

In this same issue there appeared the editorial quoted below, under the caption of "Our Position":

Our Position

The Union Record again greets its thousands of loyal readers and supporters by means of a paper printed from its own plant.

As was confidently expected by the management of the paper and by every believer in the permanency and reality of American institutions, the plant temporarily held from the use of its owners was returned just as soon as an opportunity was afforded to test the seizure in court.

There never was the slightest excuse for its seizure and events will prove there was absolutely no warrant in law for such a course. What transpired was but the sequence of hysteria fanned into flame by continued misrepresentation and misconstruction of our every editorial utterance by those with whom we disagree.

Unfounded charges were hurled at the Union

Record morning, noon and night, until finally the hysteria crept into the district attorney's office with the result that the plant was seized, the editor arrested and, for a few days, the movement for which the Union Record spoke stood inarticulate in this community.

The charge has been made that we advocate "direct action" and endorse and condone violence. **THAT CHARGE IS A LIE.** The Union Record stands squarely **AGAINST** violence in any form. Never has it advocated its use. On the other hand, we know that resort to violent means will never settle any question. An appeal to **REASON** is the only course that will result in a **JUST** settlement of any dispute or difference. The Union Record will always, no matter how violent or unlawful its enemies may become, place its reliance in the law of the land with confidence that ultimately justice will triumph.

The Union Record has been charged with being a supporter of the I. W. W. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Union Record, speaking for the A. F. of L. trades unions, has always looked upon the I. W. W. as a dual labor organization. It firmly believes that its organizers hope to destroy the A. F. of L. We believe that its activities so far have been directed more against the A. F. of L. than they have been against the exploiters of labor. The Union Record and the labor organizations it speaks for are **AGAINST** the I. W. W. now and always have been. The Union Record believes, however, that violence against the I. W. W. is no more justifiable than is violence used against any other group in society. Violence is violence, no matter who resorts to its use. It is senseless and worse than futile.

It has been charged that the Union Record is "Bolshevik" and would institute the soviet form of government in this country if it could. That charge as with the others, is wholly untrue. The Union Record has earnestly tried to learn just what the soviet government was doing in Russia. Such information as it could get it has given its readers. We have all along recognized the difficulty of getting really accurate information covering Russian affairs. The Union Record has had only one pur-

pose—to learn the truth about Russia, tell that truth and then let Russia alone. If the Russians want the soviet or any other form of government, that is a matter for them to settle. It is none of our business. Our only definite policy in reference to Russia is that we ought to get out of the country and let the Russians work out their own governmental problems. If there is any virtue in President Wilson's declaration in favor of "self-determination"—and we believe there is virtue in it—it ought to be tried in Russia as well as elsewhere. We have no more RIGHT to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian people than the Russian government has to interfere with our government. We want the Russians to mind their own business. Conversely, we believe we ought to do the same.

The charge has been made that we are disloyal. In reply to this charge we point to the fact that every war activity of our government received the unqualified support of this paper and every such activity in this community was brought to a successful conclusion largely through the efforts of the Union Record stockholders. The Union Record was represented by doughboys in the French trenches, by workers in field, factory, woods and mills. The ships that were built in Seattle to carry our boys across the seas and win the war were built by Union Record stockholders. For every service man from the ranks of those who would destroy the Union Record we will match them, ten to one, with service men from the ranks of labor. Our boys were "over there," and the Union Record and the movement it speaks for lent every energy to see to it that they were supported in their valiant fight.

We have criticised the administration whenever we felt that the authorities were committing an error in carrying on the work of the war, or, since the war's close, when it has erred in handling the problems of everyday administration. Any criticism that has been launched against the administration has been with the single purpose of working out a more equitable settlement of any present question that seemed possible if announced programs were carried out.

The Union Record believes, and has always so

declared, that the machinery is at hand for the correction of any evil that may temporarily beset our people in our body politic. The instrument that it has advocated using is the ballot, preceded by open and free discussion. We firmly believe that if that course is honestly followed a solution can be had of every difficulty that now confronts our people.

The Union Record will preserve in its course of open and frank criticism of what appears to be inequalities or injustice, but that criticism will be coupled with a suggestion as to the way in which we may cure our afflictions in an orderly, sane and reasonable fashion, without violence to either person or property.

The Union Record never has had any illusions as to the tactics that would be used to destroy its influence and in that way weaken the cause of labor in this community. History tells us that the forces of greed and oppression never have been over-nice in the methods used to destroy its opponents. While they usually decry violence when used by the other fellow, they are not so squeamish about using it themselves when occasion seems to point that they can get away with it. About every trick has been played to destroy the Union Record that could be played, and yet we have a feeling that the Union Record has come out of the fire a better instrument for the work that it has to do—that of assisting in working out a scheme of things that will make possible a larger and better life for an ever-increasing number of peoples of this earth.

The Union Record is not going to return to its work with soul filled with malice or thoughts of vengeance. Contrary-wise, it is going to its work with a determination that every act and word shall be constructive and not destructive. It hopes to lend what influence it has to make this city, state and nation a better place for ALL to live in.

WE HAVE FAITH IN AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. Because we have faith, we are going to set ourselves to the work of helping others to a larger share of the fruits of their toil than has so far been their portion, firm in our conviction that the man has not yet been

born that is good enough to live out of the sweat of another's toil.

So we conclude by saying that we bear malice toward no one. The Union Record has an important work to do and cannot afford to warp its judgment or distort its vision by the blinding flashes that follow display of passion.

WE WANT TO HELP—WE WILL NOT DESTROY.

IS THIS ANARCHISTIC PREACHMENT?

Is this the preachment of a "red" seeking to overthrow our government or the doctrine of a "direct actionist?" We submit that it is not. Nowhere is there to be found a single sentence that would incite supporters of the Union Record against those who had, under the decision of the court, been guilty of error in seizing the Union Record. Instead, it is an earnest appeal for fair play and sane, orderly action. We must insist that these words, written when the management was smarting under what appeared to it as persecution, are the words of men whose moving and controlling motive is a desire that legal and orderly methods be used to work out any needed changes in our industrial, social or political life.

MAILING PRIVILEGES ARE REVOKED.

Even after the return of the plant and equipment of the Union Record to its owners and at the time that this editorial was printed the Union Record was still under the disability of having had its mailing privileges revoked and it was impossible for it to use the mails to reach its mail subscribers. It would seem to the lay mind that if there was no legal justification for the seizure of the plant—and it was so held on hearing—there could be no reason or excuse for withholding the mailing privileges. Nevertheless, that is just what had been done and that prohibition was still in effect at the time when the editorial last quoted was printed.

Before dismissing the subject of the seizure of the Union Record it seems to us that attention should be called to two features of the case:

First—That the warrant of seizure was predicated on "Belief" and was unsupported by affidavits, as is the rule in issuing warrants of this kind. This is a question that came before the commissioner on hearing and so is a mat-

ter of record. The warrant itself speaks loudly on this point.

Second—The warrant was used once. Any force it had was spent by that use. Subsequently, however, the same deficient warrant was used to again seize the plant and withhold it from its rightful owners for a period of seven days. The financial loss that was thus put upon the owners was, at a conservative estimate, not less than \$1,000 per day. No account is taken in this estimate of the loss of prestige that must follow any such seizure, even though finally it is found on hearing that there was no warrant in law for the acts of the department officials.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY ACTED WITHOUT LEGAL WARRANT.

It seems quite apparent from the foregoing that the district attorney's office permitted itself to be led into the doing of an extra-legal act in the seizure of this plant and withholding it from the use of its owners. May we not here suggest that the doing of such acts can have no other result than that of breaking down faith in the fairness of the administration of law and must inevitably react against not only the particular official who indulges in this practice but against the entire department of justice as well?

In a later paragraph it will be shown that this treatment of the Union Record was in marked contrast to the treatment meted out to the Seattle Star and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer when those papers, too, came under the displeasure of the department of justice. We call attention to the fact that the Union Record management was aware of that apparent discrimination, but that even such a flagrant case as that could not provoke it into doing or saying anything the might inflame its supporters toward any agent of the government or the other newspapers.

AN APPEAL TO VIOLENCE.

Following the seizure of the Union Record plant the second time a full page advertisement appeared in the earlier editions of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, the character of which was so violent that it was suppressed in the later editions of the paper after it had been called to the attention of the management that the composing room employes were about to take action through their shop organization denouncing this advertisement and those responsible for giving it publicity.

In part it reads:

NOV. 18-19.

The Seattle Star.

This is the paid advertisement that the Post-Intelligencer suppressed in its regular city editions today, after it ran through that paper's two early editions.—Edwin Selvin.

(This advertisement paid for by Edwin Selvin.)

THE THING—THE CAUSE—THE CURE.

By Edwin Selvin.

What we Americans need just now is plain talk, clear thinking, and decisive action.

The Armistice day massacre at Centralia is neither a sporadic nor a localized outbreak.

The same thing, or worse, may happen any day in any community—or in all communities.

Right now the United States is in greater actual danger from the enemy within, grown powerful and defiant on coddling, than it ever was from the Hun without.

Warnings there have been aplenty—for the most part unheeded.

The crack of doom is even now reverberating across the valleys of our fatuousness and re-echoing from the hills of our fancied security.

There is just one chance left—and by the Eternal God, we must take it or we are lost.

Real Americans must rise as one man in the righteous wrath of outraged patriotism. First, invoke such legal machinery as we have, and if that is not sufficient, then hastily construct something fool-proof. We must smash every un-American and anti-American organization in the land. We must put to death the leaders in this gigantic conspiracy of murder, pillage and revolution. We must imprison for life all its aiders and abettors of native birth. We must deport the aliens.

The I. W. W., the Nonpartisan League, the so-called Triple Alliance in the state of Washington, the pro-German Socialists, the Closed Shop Labor Unions, the agitators, malcontents, anarchists, syndicalists, seditionists, traitors—the whole motley crew of Bolsheviks and near-Bolsheviks—must be outlawed by Public Opinion and hunted down and

hounded until driven beyond the horizon of civic decency.

We are facing elementals now—it is the life of Bolshevism or the life of Americanism. One or the other is to be destroyed.

Plain talk? It is time for plain talk. Here is more beginning at the top and going right down the line to the bottom:

The Administration at Washington has made a mess alike of the affairs of the world and of the affairs of the American people. With no motive of partisan bias and specifically disclaiming any political animus, it is simple truth to state that the Federal Government, in the hands of the present Administration, is responsible, in greater degree than any other single agency, for the present chaotic and menacing conditions.

Whether President Wilson in overweening egotism, led by insatiable desire to play the role of a dictator, or a Messiah, as one chooses to view it, has (as has been charged by others) sacrificed the American people on the altar of personal ambition; or whether, lost in a haze of rhetoric and wandering aimlessly in the mists of idealism, he has sincerely believed in his own enunciated theories found to be but empty dreams in the test of applied experiment—these are things upon which posterity will pronounce accurate and unerring judgment.

The fact that now most concerns the American people is that their Chief Executive, given unrestrained power, created in his academic seclusion a Frankenstein which has turned to rend them.

Had a Roosevelt instead of a Wilson been president during the critical years now culminating in the greatest crisis the Nation has known, there would be no Bolshevik-I. W. W. Closed Shop conspiracy strong enough to challenge the supremacy of government itself. The name of a president of the United States would not appear as the author of such a book as the "New Freedom," which the I. W. W. testified at the Chicago trial they found to be their most effective piece of literature, and which the convicted seditionist, Townley, has his organizers use in gaining converts to the notoriously pro-German and traitorous Unpartisan League with

the implied approval of the president of the United States.

America's present ills, in a labor way, had their beginning when the Railroad Brotherhoods, holding a pistol to the Government's head, walked off unmolested with the loot of the Adamson law. From that time on Organized Labor's demands have become increasingly insolent, and always the Administration has been acquiescent—until American citizenship hangs its head in shame at the spectacle of a rebellious minority led by aliens coercing the Government and intimidating the public, with at best but a show of passive resistance from the Administration and with open connivance of many government officials.

And it must not be forgotten that the Bolshevik conspiracy, which is now sweeping the earth and leaving ruin in its wake, was hatched in America; that President Wilson, against the united protests of the Allied Governments, permitted Lenine and Trotzky and their fellow conspirators to leave the United States for Russia, via Germany, there to set in motion their diabolical plot against civilization.

Through the war period Samuel Gompers sat at the President's right hand; it has long been common gossip at the National Capital that Gompers, head of the un-American Federation of Labor, who for 20 years has preached to his following contempt for the courts and instigated resistance to court orders, had access to the President when the leaders of the Nation's thought and activities were denied admittance. The Government's Department of Labor early became a tool in the hands of the radicals who, before our participation in the war got beyond the planning stage, broke a solemn compact with the Government to make no attempt to change, until the war ended, existing status of industry as to Closed Shop, Open Shop or non-Union Shop. Time after time the strength of the Federal Government was used to force compliance of employers with the increasingly impossible demands of the labor leaders. First Assistant Secretary of Labor Louis F. Post came through the Pacific Northwest on a speaking tour inflaming the masses and inciting to resistance to law by his preachments of Sovietism

and Bolshevism. And because BUSINESS CHRONICLE at that time had the courage to brand this assistant cabinet officer for what he was, the same Government's Department of Labor made an effort to have this publication suppressed by formal application to the Postoffice Department to bar BUSINESS CHRONICLE from the mails. Postmaster General Burleson dismissed the application without hearing (other than the placing in the hands of the department of a file of this publication) with the tense statement that the Postoffice Department could not be made use of to suppress a loyal newspaper that told the truth.

The logical outcome of the Administration's attitude toward economic heresies, organized discontent and propaganda for changing the established order—an attitude at times tolerant, then passive, and again openly encouraging—has been the dung-hill crop of Plumb plans, schemes for nationalization of industry, steel and coal strikes led by I. W. W. and revolutionaries with the full indorsement of Samuel Gompers' un-American Federation of Labor, and all the damnable agitation for the sovietizing of America, and the destruction of the Republic. The prostituting of a Government Department, under the direct control of a cabinet officer, to the Mooney myth, with its unwarranted efforts in behalf of this convicted dynamiting labor leader and murderer, could not but help be an inciting cause to still more desperate methods by the alien-controlled Labor Movement that is now openly and brazenly on record as having for its main objective the downfall of Constituted Government in the United States.

Mr. Wilson is still the president. As good citizens we all respect him as holder of that office. He yet has many months to serve—months during which in all probability the question of whether the Government of the United States is to survive this concerted attack from within will be definitely decided. And as good citizens let us implore the Almighty that Woodrow Wilson will emulate the example of that distinguished Democrat that preceded him in the White House, Grover Cleveland, and stand by the Constitution as did Mr. Cleveland in an

earlier labor crisis, and wholly regardless of what Mr. Wilson's views and opinions may be as a common citizens like any of the rest of us.

Let the force of an aroused and united Public Sentiment make itself felt at the National Capital, at every State Capital, in every Mayor's office, and in every Prosecuting Attorney's office throughout the length and breadth of the Nation. Let that Public Sentiment carry the message of the American people to our elected servants that they must, regardless of all things else, enforce the law, preserve Constitutional guarantees, and protect our lives and property from the onslaught of radicalism whose hot breath now blows in our very faces. Let this Public Sentiment further reach into the chambers of the Judges of our Courts so that they ~~may be~~ relieved from the spirit of intimidation ~~which~~ has permeated even those high places.

The Department of Justice long has been familiar with the ramifications of the Bolshevist plot to overthrow the Government; it has been fairly advised of the peril daily growing larger and drawing nearer.

What has been the malign influence that stayed its arm?

Why has not the Department of Labor deported the alien revolutionists against whom it had all sufficient evidence?

Why are convicted plotters released on bail and permitted to immediately resume their plotting?

The American people demand to know.

There is something else they should demand. That is that Congress forthwith repeal all the discriminative class legislation that gives Organized Labor immunity for its economic crimes against society. This should be immediately followed by a comprehensive plan to make Labor Unions amenable to government control, including incorporation to insure contractual responsibility and liability.

As to general causes of the intolerable situation now confronting us, the Closed Shop Labor Unions—after considering the impotence and apathy the Federal Government has displayed until now—must bear full opprobrium and responsibility. For two decades the Labor Unions, taking advantage of the

demagogic tendencies of the countless politicians in public office, have defied law and order with impunity. Dynamiting, arson, assault and murder, coupled with coercion and intimidation, have been the favorite weapons in the class warfare they have conducted. This thing must come to an immediate end. The whole Labor Movement is putrid, its rottenness taints the atmosphere of every industrial center. Every employer of labor is justified in refusing to renew agreements with existing Closed Shop Labor Unions. America wants no more of Labor Unions as they now exist and function. The Closed Shop must be forever crushed in America!

Coming down now to matters pertaining to our home situation. The Washington State Federation of Labor went on record at its recent Bellingham convention with a cabled message of sympathy and support to Lenine and Trotzky in Russia. It endorsed the efforts made by Canadian Reds to overthrow the Dominion Government, after the president of the British Columbia Federation of Labor (affiliated with the un-American Federation of Labor) had in person explained that the then general strike in Canada was not a strike against the employers but against the Government. At the same convention was born the Triple Alliance, which is a political organization formed of Organized Labor, the Grange and a new anarchistic aggregation of steam and electric railway employees. Its avowed purpose is to accomplish by the ballot what the Seattle Central Labor Council failed to accomplish by its revolution last February. It has set out to capture every state office at the next election and it is now bending every effort through daily and nightly precinct meetings to elect the representatives of anarchy to the Seattle School Board and the Seattle Port Commission.

The chief exponent of anarchy in this community is the Union Record, a daily newspaper which is owned jointly by the Central Labor Council and by the various Closed Shop Unions of which the Central Labor Council is over-lord. It is a journalistic sewer into which flows all the slime of moral perverts. It has not only scoffed at the marriage relation, but has extolled the men and women who

lead in "advanced" labor thought for living together without the formality of wedding ceremonies and changing partners as often as fancy dictates. During the war it was as seditious and as pro-German as it dared to be. Since the Armistice it has continuously encouraged all forms of defiance of law, sought to undermine Americanism by every possible means, advocating Bolshevism and egged on all the diverse elements that are working for the overthrow of the Government. The Union Record is the official organ of the Central Labor Council and its 137 affiliated unions and of the State Federation of Labor. It is Organized Labor's official voice in the Pacific Northwest. The seizure by the Government Thursday of the Union Record is a step that should have been taken long ago, for which there was then as much reason as now.

Public policy requires that the mouthpiece of applied anarchy cease to exist.

Self respect should dictate that every good American citizen having the misfortune to be identified with Labor Unions now tear up his card, cease paying dues and declare himself to be a free man and a loyal citizen.

Is there any doubt in the public mind that the Centralia massacre was planned by the higher-ups of Organized Labor?

The above editorial is well illustrative of the fearless and consistent efforts continuing over a period of four years to expose the growing menace to our American institutions and to awaken the people to their danger before it is too late, being made by BUSINESS CHRONICLE OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST. It appeared in the issue of November 15. I invite all red-blooded Americans who approve of my stand and feel the need of bringing to an end the days of pussy-footing and standing squarely up to the enemy of our country and annihilating him, to support us in our campaign to create a public sentiment that will wage a war of extermination. We are carrying on an educational propaganda work that is tremendously expensive.

BUSINESS CHRONICLE is a weekly publication,
subscription \$6 per annum.

EDWIN SELVIN,
Editor of Business Chronicle,
1504 Alaska Bldg., Seattle, Wash.

AN APPEAL TO ATTORNEY GENERAL PALMER.

Immediately following the appearance of this advertisement in the Post-Intelligencer early edition, the president of the Washington State Federation of Labor called the attention of Attorney General Palmer to the vicious character of the advertisement and asked that some action be taken to prevent further publication of like material and asking that the offender be punished. To this telegram the attorney general replied suggesting that President Short take the matter up with District Attorney Saunders. This was done the following morning, when Mr. Short, accompanied by a committee from the Central Labor Council, appeared before Mr. Saunders and urged that action be taken to prevent the publication of such matter and punish the offender.

District Attorney Saunders promised to act immediately, but his failure to at once arrest Mr. Selvin resulted in the author of this sereed remaining at liberty and permitted him to arrange for the publication in the Seattle Star, in which paper it appeared in all editions. The committee waited on Mr. Saunders at 9:30 a. m. and the advertisement appeared in the evening edition of the Star of the same day.

Finally, however, Mr. Saunders moved in the matter of arrest and, acting through the postoffice department, a warrant was issued charging Mr. Selvin with mailing unmailable matter. He was arrested and bail set at \$1,000.

FEELING OF RESENTMENT GENERATED.

The feeling of resentment that this advertisement generated in the minds of the organized workers of the community is best shown by a set of resolutions adopted at a meeting of the employes of the Post-Intelligencer. It might be here said that the employes of the Post-Intelligencer embrace in their number many of the oldest and most conservative members of organized labor in the city. That there was no difference of opinion as to the attitude of the workers is shown by the fact that the resolutions quoted below were adopted unanimously and the management was asked to publish the resolution, a request which the management complied with. The resolutions read:

A Set of Resolutions.

A committee of employes of the unionized mechanical departments of the Post-Intelligencer on Wednesday presented the management of this newspaper a set of resolutions adopted by viva voce vote at a meeting held in the Post-Intelligencer composing room at 10:30 o'clock Tuesday night, November 18. The committee asked for publication of the resolutions—a request with which the Post-Intelligencer willingly complies. The resolutions follow:

“As members of the several trades unions employed in the production of your newspaper, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, we make the following representations:

“We have been patient under misrepresentation, faithful in the face of slander, long suffering under insult; we have upheld our agreements and produced your paper, even though in so doing we were braiding the rope with which you propose to hang us; day after day we have put in type, stereotyped, printed and mailed calumny after calumny, lie after lie, insult after insult.

“Little by little, as our patience seemed to be unbounded, your editorial and business policy has encroached upon and further and further overstepped the bounds, not only of fairness and truth, but decency and Americanism itself. We have even meekly witnessed your unfair and reprehensible campaign of falsehood and ruin result in the suppression of the last medium of honest expression for our cause in Seattle, not only denying our brothers the means of livelihood, but denying us a far greater boon—the American right of a free press.

“So long as these things appeared to be a part of your unfair fight against organization—our organizations and others—we have been able to endure them in the hope that at last truth must prevail.

“But there must be a limit to all things.

“In the page advertisement in the Post-Intelligencer of November 18, 1919, purporting to have been written and paid for by one Selvin, but which had as well have occupied the position in your paper usually taken up by your editorial page, your utter depravity as a newspaper, your shameless disregard

of the laws of the land, your hatred of opposition, your reckless policy of appeal to the passions of citizenry, reached depths of malice and malignancy hitherto unbelievable. It is nothing less than excitation to violence, stark and naked invitation to anarchy.

"Therefore, be it resolved, by the whole committee of your organized employed in meeting assembled, That if your business management cannot demonstrate its capacity and sagacity, if your editorial directing heads must remain blind to the thing they are bringing us to; if together you cannot see the abyss to which you are leading us—all of us; if you have no more love for our common country than is manifested in your efforts to plunge it into anarchy, then as loyal American citizens—many of us ex-service men who very clearly proved our faith in America and its institutions—we must, not because we are unionists but because we are Americans, find means to protect ourselves from the stigma of having aided and abetted your campaign of destruction.

(Signed) "J. M. HERSHEY, Chairman.

"JOHN J. WENNER,

"E. A. GRABER,

"M. OLNEY,

"ALVARO C. SHOEMAKER,

"Committee."

NO ARGUMENT IS INTENDED.

It is not the purpose of the writer of this brief to argue this case. The single purpose is to accurately report what has taken place, leaving it to the sense of fair play and the intelligence of the reader to draw conclusions. It does seem, though, that it would not be amiss to briefly summarize the actions of the district attorney in the matter of the three newspapers, the Union Record the Post-Intelligencer and the Star.

The plant of the Union Record was seized and withheld from the use of its owners on the theory that it had been used in the commission of a felony, a seizure which was subsequently found to be without warrant in law. This action followed the arrest of its editor and officers of the board of directors on a charge of violating the espionage act.

Mr. Selvin was arrested on a charge of violating the law through mailing unmailable matter. The plants of the Post-Intelligencer and the Star were used in the furtherance of this act in that the offending article was published from those offices. Neither of the plants were seized. It would seem that the application of the same theory to the cases of the Post-Intelligencer and the Star would have resulted in the seizing of these plants.

The mailing privileges of the Union Record were indefinitely suspended and have not yet been restored. In the case of the Star and the Post-Intelligencer only the offending issues were denied the mails.

Comment on our part is unnecessary.

In conclusion let us say that the incomparable record established by the workers of Seattle (who are the owners of the Union Record) during the war in establishing a world's record for ship construction and subscription to all war loans floated by our government, should leave little doubt as to their loyalty as citizens of our republic. It should, at least, command a fair and equitable administration of the law by any department of our government in anything that affects their rights as citizens under our constitution and laws.

It is because of our confidence that full justice will be done when all of the facts are made clear that has prompted us to compile this lengthy brief and journey to Washington to present it in person, supported by an oral statement, and prepared to answer any questions that may be considered necessary to further clarify the case.

We offer no defense for mistakes made. The labor

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movement is a human institution and subject to error. We only ask a fair and impartial consideration and adjudication of our case in the light of ALL the facts as herein set forth. Respectfully submitted,

W. M. SHORT,

President Washington State Federation of Labor.

Note: The facts herein set forth covering the case of the Union Record have been compiled by a responsible representative of that paper. Confirmation of any portion of such statement can be secured immediately by addressing Seattle Union Record, 600 Union street, Seattle, Wash.

ADDENDA.

Since the foregoing brief was prepared a federal grand jury, formanized by a political opponent of one of the arrested Union Record officials, has returned indictments against the Union Record officials and also against Anna Louise Strong, a writer, charging violation of the espionage act. This grand jury could find no wrong in the editorial by Edwin Selvin, reprinted in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer and the Seattle Star and quoted in this brief. Comment on our part is superfluous. A reading of the record herein set out should convince any fair-minded reader that the same rule of construction is not used in measuring the utterances of the Union Record, the spokesman for labor, as is used in measuring the utterances of the opponents of labor.

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