

President Kirby's Address

(Continued From Last Issue.)

Merchant Marine.

In my address last year I told you of the activity of the Association in relation to its policy on the subject of Merchant Marine. During the year now closing this line of activity has been extended to limits considerably beyond those of any previous year. Messrs. Ewell and Long, who are connected with the export department of "American Industries," have delivered addresses before Chautauquas and commercial organizations in various parts of the country, on the needs of an American Merchant Marine and its relation to our export trade. In many cases these addresses were published in full in the local papers, and in practically all cases lengthy excerpts were quoted, accompanied by favorable editorial comment. Thus wide publicity has been given to the subject and much interest thereby created through the aid of our Association.

In January last a Merchant Marine Congress, of two days' duration, was held at Washington under the auspices of this Association and its Special Committee of One Hundred, of which Mr. D. A. Tompkins, the chairman of your Committee on Merchant Marine, is the president. The purpose of the Congress was to arouse an interest in the Federal Congress in the hope of securing legislation on the subject, during the session then pending.

Able and enthusiastic addresses were made by a number of Congressmen and others. The delegates were received by President Taft at the White House, who, in response to a brief address by the Hon. John Temple Graves, in behalf of the delegates, gave an interesting talk strongly favorable to the proposition.

Expansion of Foreign Trade.

The export trade department of this Association has adopted the plan of holding regular monthly meetings at our general offices to discuss ways and means for promoting our export trade, and these meetings, I am informed, are well attended by members and are growing in interest. But of this you will doubtless learn more through the reports of your executive officers having the matter in charge.

At this point I may add that at a meeting of your Directors, in October, 1910, a Special Committee was appointed to co-operate with other organizations and with the Secretary of Commerce and Labor in a movement to establish a national organization of which the Department of Commerce and Labor shall be a component part, looking to the advancement of our export trade. I understand that the movement is progressing favorably and that plans are being laid for the formation of an organization based upon the successful method of Germany to bring the products of that country to the markets of the world through organized effort.

One of the aims of your executive officers has been to improve and bring to a high degree of efficiency our official publication, "American Industries," and in this endeavor I believe they have been fairly successful. The magazine continues to be published in three editions. The domestic edition being freely circulated extensively in channels where it is believed its influence upon industrial questions will be productive of greatest good, and the extent to which other publications quote from its columns signifies that it is a recognized authority upon matters pertaining to industry. The English export edition circulates in all English speaking countries outside of the United States, and the Spanish edition reaches the buyers of Latin-American countries.

Members of the Association can aid the management very materially by interesting themselves in increasing the circulation of the magazine and extending its usefulness. This is one way in which they can be of service to the Association in educating the public to a better understanding of the industrial question and I strongly urge upon our members the importance of their co-operation in this direction.

Educational.

From a necessarily brief summary of some of the current industrial problems of the day, let me now address myself to the part our Association has played during the past year, in various other forms of activity.

Our membership is made up of

substantial manufacturing concerns, representing nearly every state in the Union and practically all standard manufacturing crafts.

This great mass of combined power carries with it heavy responsibilities to the members constituting it. In general we have two agencies by which we spread the gospel—one through our printed literature and the other by public addresses.

I am informed by our executive office that last year we printed and distributed nearly three-quarters of a million pieces of industrial literature. This includes over 330,000 copies of "American Industries," in its three editions, 12,000 copies of American Trade Index, and the balance represents the distribution of printed pamphlets on the various policies and principles which we advocate.

The demand for our literature is constantly increasing, numerically and geographically. It is a peculiar pleasure to note that we are asked for our printed matter more and more from schools, colleges and universities. This is a tribute of which we should well be proud.

Essentially our work is education, and if we can inculcate the true principles of industrialism into the young men of the country, we shall be laying the foundation for future generations. In the matter of public appearances, it is roughly estimated that your President and his associates and colleagues have, during the past year, spoken to a quarter of a million persons. So that through our printed literature and combined public appearances and addresses it may be said that we have directly reached a million of persons. If we should add the countless columns of press notices given to our official utterances and our attitude on public questions, I am advised, and I think the assumption is fair, that through our various activities during the past year fully fifteen million people have heard and read of the objects and purposes of our Association.

General Reports.

I leave to the report of our Secretary a more detailed statement of the various departments of our executive offices at 30 Church street, New York City.

I also leave to the chairmen of the various standing committees, whose reports will be submitted to you during the Convention, the work which such committees have been doing in their respective fields of research.

As my remarks today fall naturally into a review of industrial conditions throughout the country, on the one hand, and a sketch of the work of the Association on the other, and, as I have told you something about the latter, I would indeed be remiss in my message to you were I to fail to speak of the former. Therefore, I ask your indulgence while I refer, in plain, unmistakable terms, to a Federation that has grown upon our land and which proposes to deprive men of the right to exercise their own will in a lawful manner in their own affairs. A Federation so tyrannical that it proposes, when its mighty ruler shall touch the button, the wheels of industry shall stop turning and the channels of commerce stand still. A Federation representing a system which the great body of the American people have recently had occasion to become dumb-founded and paralyzed at the thought of its existence.

Will the many who have made obeisance and bowed respect to the chief promoters of that system, continue to extend their influence in its behalf? They tell us they believe in conciliation and compromise, but that they will fight when their principles are assailed. But, will they ever be called up to fight if bit by bit they compromise away their principles, if they have any and know what they are, until all is gone and there is nothing left to fight for?

Experience has taught, beyond question, that such a haphazard, wobbling policy counts for nothing except to help along the dawn of the system which would compel every business man, every professional man and every laboring man, woman and child to do its bidding or get off the earth, and which in its last analysis, means a grand leveling up and leveling down of brains and muscle, ignorance and intelligence, horizontally controlled by the bosses of that system.

A system which insists upon managing its affairs without accountability to government of any kind other than its own, and which places a premium upon

crime committed in its name.

The greatest capitalistic organization extant is not permitted, nor does it attempt, to exercise on one-hundredth part the defiance of civil government that this irresponsible Federation has taken unto itself the right to do.

And while so much is being said about the high cost of living, why is it that so many causes are assigned to it other than the primary cause of labor unionism, which, in its battle with the law of supply and demand, merely causes one strike to beget another and keeps our industrial question in a never-ending state of chaos and uncertainty?

The Los Angeles Crime.

As I glance over the preceding twelve months, I see on our country's fair name a spot so blackened by crime that I almost hesitate to speak of it.

Gentlemen, the destruction of the Los Angeles Times building was more than an individual act of revenge. Were it that alone, we might dismiss it as we would a criminal act of an ordinary felon. That disaster was a tragedy conceived, planned and executed by agents of others.

I need not go into details. At one moment men and women working cheerfully at their daily task; the wheels of an honorable business doing their mechanical duty; a splendid investment standing intact. A moment later twenty-one persons are mangled corpses; the smooth running machinery a heap of debris; and the plant a disfigured ruin.

In the arrest of the Secretary-Treasurer of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, the authorities may or they may not have seized the fiend who personally committed this horrible crime; but, however that may be, arrest and conviction of the criminals is in a sense relatively unimportant to a clear understanding of the causes that produced the crime. I assert soberly, seriously and deliberately that the destruction of life and property at Los Angeles, at a few minutes past one o'clock, on the morning of October 1st, 1910, was the product of accumulated revenge and sinister hatred on the part of criminal labor unionism.

That its highest officials understand it to be so, I think, fairly well demonstrated by the protests they have registered against the arrest of one of their brother officers against whom the evidence is so strong as to warrant the taking of no chances on his escape, and because the arresting officers gave him no opportunity to do this, the whole gang of criminals concertedly shouted "kidnaped!" and in the face of the damaging facts positively declared his innocence without a trial by a jury of his peers.

The only crime which these men, including Gompers and the saintly Mitchell, seem to recognize in the premises is the arresting of union men and giving them no chance to evade their captors.

At the Norfolk Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in November, 1908, a resolution was adopted providing for the levying of a special assessment, on members of unions affiliated with that organization, which should yield about \$200,000, to be placed at the disposal of its executive board to be used in fighting General Harrison Gray Otis, in his efforts to preserve Los Angeles free from the type of unionism that has made the name of San Francisco smell unto Heaven.

At the St. Louis Convention, November, 1910, the amount reported as remaining in that fund was \$89,000, which makes pertinent the query, were the villains who perpetrated that awful crime paid from that fund, and, if so, how much?

I make bold the assertion that many men who coddle and encourage the principal heads of the organization which alone is responsible for that crime will not escape just condemnation for the helping hand they have extended to them in the promotion of the carnival of crime in which the organization's agents are constantly engaged and to continue which it is now trying to raise another huge sum.

I Have Been Criticized.

We are living in a supposedly Christian era, in a civilized commonwealth, under a Constitution guaranteeing us life and liberty. But when I see the continuity of organized crime, the prevalence of violence and warfare on life and property inspired by those associated with labor unionism, I sometimes wonder if our guarantees in fact do protect us after all, and whether a supine public even faintly realizes what these criminal disorders mean.

If our commonwealth is to endure, and our institutions mean what we believe them to mean, can there be any question as to our stern duty to stand flintlike against these violations of law, order, society and sacred guarantees of liberty and property? And, if in defense of these principles, and in defiance of their violation, I have been criticized for an undue severity of position, gladly do I plead guilty to such criticism.

Needed Legislation.

The use of dynamite by the agents of organized labor as a means of terrifying employers into submission to the demands made upon them by labor organizations is of such common occurrence and often so horrifying as to cause the whole world to shudder and to look askance upon the safety of life and property in this country.

This is a matter in which every citizen who stands for law and order should become especially interested, to the end that there shall be enacted in every state in the Union drastic legislation, such as has recently been adopted in California, so as to place the strongest possible safeguards around the sale and purchase of high explosives, so that they cannot be purchased like so much meat or sugar by any and every person having the price to pay for them.

We get from our lawmakers all sorts of foolish and radical legislation, much of which is useless and unjust. Then why not let us have legislation that will at least make more difficult the perpetration of such outrages as are being practiced by the hirelings of an organization in whose name and behalf these diabolical plots are planned and executed?

It would therefore seem fitting that this Association, at this Convention, put itself on record, by the adoption of a forceful resolution recommending such uniform legislation.

Trials of Lincoln.

I think it is safe to say there is not a man in this room who does not believe that many of the demands of labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are wrong; that the methods they employ to enforce those demands are worse than wrong; that they are cruel and out of all harmony with modern civilization; that they are a menace to the welfare and happiness of our people and ought not to be tolerated, and that they are the natural result of the principles upon which the parent organization is constructed.

I believe, too, that most of you at least will agree with me that if the class of citizens who disapprove of the kind of unionism that indulges in such wrongs as means to its ends, would unqualifiedly place their stamp of disapproval not only upon the organization itself, but also upon its responsible heads, instead of treating them with the respect and dignity due to men engaged in honorable calling, the battle for righteous industrial freedom would be so minimized as to make it of little consequence, because, an organized two per cent of our population, standing alone, without the sympathy and encouragement of any portion of the other ninety-eight per cent could not long endure on lines of insurrection and anarchy.

The struggle is bound to be in just such proportion as there shall be found men of intelligence and standing, imbued with the notion that the best way to treat with treason and anarchy, with riot and lawlessness, is by conciliation and compromise, by dignifying its leaders through affiliation and association with them on executive boards and committees and by otherwise emphasizing their importance and respectability and temporizing with the great principles of truth and righteousness which lie at the bottom of our very civilization, and which the American Federation of Labor, including every one of its officials from its president down to its last walking delegate, is doing its level best to overthrow and destroy.

The situation with respect to the so-called labor problem is not unlike the greatest and most trying of the problems with which Abraham Lincoln had to contend. It was not by any means the Civil War in itself that troubled him most, but it was the temporizers, the compromisers and the cowards in the North that concerned him greatest and by whom he was necessarily surrounded to such an extent that he was afraid to place his confidence in his closest friends and advisors. That war would have been, comparatively, of short duration had its opposing forces been divided, absolutely, one side against the other, which they were not.

National Council For Industrial

Defense.

In connection with my remarks upon the labor problem it is pertinent that I should speak of the work of the National Council for Industrial Defense, which is under the direction of your legislative committee, the report of which will give you a more comprehensive idea of the scope and character of its work.

But as this branch of the work of our Association is perhaps of most importance and of greatest concern to all of us, and with no desire to anticipate what the report may contain, I feel that I should make special reference to this extremely important link in the chain of our endeavors to hold the nation in industrial balance.

Dynamite and bludgeons are not the only weapons that are employed by the American Federation of Labor to accomplish its purposes. Notwithstanding its oft-repeated failures, it is today no less active in the matter of legislation than it is in the destruction of life and property and in its policy of "Man's Inhumanity to Man."

The persistency and energy with which it operates in Congress and in our state legislatures, in its frequent attempts to enforce its policies through legislation, would reflect credit upon a more worthy cause. These efforts were clearly exemplified in the Hughes Amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill, last summer, which provided that no part of the money appropriated to the Department of Justice for the prosecution of alleged violators of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law should be used in the prosecution of labor unions.

When we consider that notwithstanding the tremendous pressure which was brought to bear in opposition to this drastic piece of proposed class legislation it was defeated in the House by only eight votes out of 238 votes cast on the measure, and in the Senate by a vote of 34 to 16, some idea can be formed of the danger that lurks in the Federal Congress with respect to these questions. In this particular case we are indebted to President Taft for the courageous manner in which he placed his stamp of disapproval upon the proposed amendment.

The "Council" now authoritatively represents more than 250 national, state and local industrial and commercial organizations for which it speaks, and upon which it can call for protests against class labor legislation. This powerful influence was used effectively during the Republican National Convention, in 1908, when, after planks had been inserted in the Republican platform pledging the party to notice and hearing injunction legislation and to an amendment to the Sherman Law which would exclude organized labor from its criminal provisions, in response to request made by the "Council" of its affiliated organizations, it was estimated that from 30,000 to 40,000 telegrams poured in on the resolutions committee in one day, protesting against the party putting itself on record as approving of such measures; and as a result of such a flood of protests, backed by the forceful argument of Mr. Emery, the objectionable planks were stricken from the platform after they had been adopted by the resolutions committee.

I mention this particular activity of the "Council" because first, of its importance and second because not many of our members know about it.

In my address to you last year I referred, at some length, to the Moon Injunction Bill then pending in Congress, with the endorsement of the President to strengthen its chances for passage. I am now pleased to be able to say that the measure failed to reach the House Calendar and it died in the last Congress, along with numerous class legislation bills.

But there are danger signs ahead of us in the 62nd Congress, and we shall be fortunate indeed if at its final adjournment we are as free from vicious class legislation as we are at present.

With these briefly stated facts in mind, I ask that you respond when you are requested to assist, and which, you may depend upon it, will not be unless there is real need of your assistance.

National Civic Federation.

I have repeatedly declined even to participate in any measure inspired by the National Civic Federation, so long as its representatives officially flitted about with fanciful remedies and refrained from adhering to elementary principles of free American industrialism.

If the doctrines of industrial freedom, for which the National Association of Manufacturers and

cognate organizations stand, are right, then the makeshift expedients for which the National Civic Federation purports to stand must logically be wrong. On this point my position is perfectly clear. Criticism of my attitude towards the National Civic Federation is well known, but often misunderstood.

I harbor no antagonism against the Civic Federation, as such, nor against many of the distinguished gentlemen who constitute its executive committee and membership. My opposition to it has been relentless, however, and will be relentless, because of its close alignment with the dominating influences of labor unionism. By which I do not mean labor unionism, per se, but because in the recurrent acts of violence, crime and murder committed in our country by the agencies of criminal labor unionism, these representative labor leaders stand mute, have done absolutely nothing to clean their ranks of their fellowship in crime, or to rebuild their organization upon a foundation of justice.

On the other hand, all their energies are invariably employed in defense of the men who commit such crimes.

It is folly to discuss compromise expedients and benevolent assimilation, when a mob is destroying your factory; it is useless for any organization to fraternize with representatives of any other organization, when within the ranks of the latter there are men determined to destroy life and property, regardless of law and order, in the doing of which their leaders silently acquiesce.

The American Federation of Labor is engaged in an open warfare against Jesus Christ and his cause. Analyze it as you may you can make nothing else out of it, and those who profess Christ, yet hobnob with the leaders of that wicked conspiracy and give them encouragement by eating and drinking and smoking and holding social relations with them, cannot segregate themselves from the responsibility that attaches to such affiliation.

On this issue, therefore, I challenge the National Civic Federation to disprove my charges, and if my conservatism is denounced as radicalism, then my mind goes back to Los Angeles, and I take refuge in the stand of Martin Luther: "Here I stand; I can do nothing else; God help me!"

My Sentiments.

All that is needed properly to balance the industrial scales in this country and prevent its drifting into the quicksands of socialism and anarchy is a clean-cut division of right and wrong. Let the American Federation of Labor and all those who are for it stand as a unit by themselves, and let all those who are against it stand as a unit by themselves, then right will be pitted against wrong, the right will prevail and every man will get that which is his—a square deal.

Now, I am aware that these plain, unvarnished statements from me will touch some sore spots, but they are my sentiments and I am sure you will pardon me for uttering the mbebecause I am constrained to do so in deference to the great interests represented in this Association, and in behalf of the welfare of this nation I believe they cannot be successfully assailed and as God gives me strength and courage to do my duty I shall not shrink it.

The Public Press.

While the cowardly attitude of many of the newspapers and magazines of the country with respect to the labor question, signified either by their silence when their plain duty is to speak out, or by their speaking in a manner that is plainly contrary to their convictions, is lamentable, yet it must be admitted that the public press is today much more courageous in its condemnation of union outrages than it has been in the past and that it is growing more so all the time.

The bold and fearless manner in which many newspapers have given expression to the facts in connection with the Los Angeles affair is both commendable and encouraging, and if all reputable newspapers would pursue the same policy they would not only perform a patriotic service to the country, but their managers would the sooner be relieved from the smart of the lash which is laid upon their own backs.

(Continued in Next Issue.)

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