

THE TIMES

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A FEARLESS EXPONENT OF INDUSTRIAL PEACE, THE "OPEN SHOP" AND THE RIGHTS OF INDEPENDENT LABOR.

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Each man should have the right to earn his way,
And each should have for fair day's work a fair day's pay,
Each man should be governed by Justice's right
And gain his ends by peaceful means—not dynamite.

UNIONISM FACING A CRISIS.

NOW THAT the smoke of battle has blown away, now that the first shock incident to the confession and pleas of guilty in the Los Angeles Times and Llewellyn Iron Works cases, by the McNamaras, has become known, public opinion is adjusting itself. From far and near, in the public press, in the union organs, even, there is practically but one note—that of denunciation. It could not be otherwise.

It is safe to assume that the element of criminality in the labor unions has had its day, and that, for the good of unionism itself, dynamiting tactics will no longer be countenanced. It is reassuring to know that prominent labor leaders, the country over, repudiate the McNamaras, and are more severe than anyone else in their bitter denunciation. No more shall we hear of this pretty pair of infamous villains heralded as labor's martyrs, for they are already branded as traitors to all that the unions consider as good.

Cruel and dreadful as have been the crimes of the McNamaras, the outcome of so much evil may work lasting good. The cause of unionism has received a solar plexus blow. Pure as its primal principles may have been, distrust has been awakened in the public mind because the crimes of the McNamaras were committed in its name. Now that the dust has been wiped from its eyes, unionism sees that it has been duped and deceived. Had it not been blind to what was apparent all along to others, it might have known that acts of violence would never establish unionism upon a stable foundation. THE TIMES has never believed that the great majority of unionists knew that its master minds planned the great number of catastrophes that have from time to time shocked the country, taking their frightful toll of human life and destroying millions of dollars in property. There has been a secret circle in which these sinister and damnable crimes were carefully planned, into which it never has been admitted. It is doubtful if it was even aware of its existence. The entire fabric of unionism is permeated with this blighting parasite which means total disorganization unless new men, clean men, of high ideals, shall be chosen as leaders. To these unionism must look for a Moses to lead them out of the present Egypt.

When unionism shall have expelled all its dangerous leaders; when it shall have admitted that a non-union man has the right to toil wherever he can; when it shall learn that might and crime and intimidation do not make right; when it shall learn that it must respect the personal rights of all men and the property rights even of the man who stands back of the payroll, then it will re-establish for itself confidence in the public mind. Organized labor can never make permanent progress until it amends its policy in line with the principles of true American citizenship. Any institution based upon ex parte views, advocating boycotts, denying another the same rights it claims for itself, insolently and arbitrarily seeking to dictate and dominate over others, is doomed to ultimate failure. It is based upon wrong premises. It is unequitable, for "Equity delights in doing justice, and that not by halves."

When organized labor shall have weeded out these fallacies it will advance. So long as it follows these practices it is hugging to its heart the canker that will one day consume its life and leave behind it only the ashes of death. Perhaps the conservative unionists in attendance upon this Belshazzar feast of lawlessness, this saturnalia of crime, see the mystic and portentous handwriting on the wall. If they can stem the current, if they can establish reason and common sense, unionism along conservative lines may advance. If not, it will go down into the darkness of utter dissolution, as it deserves to go.

MEN OF BRAUN AND BRAIN.

The hardened, calloused hands of honest labor, ever deserve the highest respect of mankind. In their noble ranks we find the fellers of forests; the toilers on desolate seas. From this vast army there comes the men who break through the treasure boxes of nature. Deep down in mother earth, at roots of mountains, beneath verdant valleys, they sweat and toil. By their sinewy arms are laid bare the secrets of the ages. By their toil vast stores of coal and iron, of copper, gold and silver and many more of this old earth's wealth resources are brought to light, and made to serve the purposes of humanity. Amid the glare of great furnaces they fashion the rails of steel that gridiron continents. Men of brawn are they who throw across wide rivers and mountain gorges the bridges of steel, over which roll the iron horse and the chariots of commerce. Titans and Vulcans, they forge the beams of steel that form the framework of cloud-kissing structures.

In myriads of factories they watch the shooting shuttles that weave the garments of mankind. Under blue skies, on Western plains, calloused hands guide the plow, or reap the golden grain that goes to make the flour that feeds the children of men. All honor, then, to the men of brawn!

But what about the men who sit in great factories directing the hosts that toil? What of those men, whom nature has not given muscles of iron, but who toil with tireless brains for the good of all men? What of those whose keenness of vision husbands the wealth of the nations and keep on pouring out the shower of gold that purchases life's necessities? What of the great army of workers of mind, who seek to alleviate the sufferings of humanity, the noble surgeons and physicians, the white-gowned nurses? What of that glorious band of God-like men, who soothe the aching hearts and the troubled souls of humanity, pointing to peace and rest and the glorious hereafter? What of the horde who teach the young the facts of knowledge? Of those who pen the glowing words that give hope to the hopeless, that shed the sunlight of mind upon the darkened thoughts of those who toil with muscle? All honor to these, as well!

The world needs both the toilers of brawn and the toilers of brain. Each is a part and parcel of the great machine of civilization that makes for human advancement. Each should appreciate the other; each should seek to co-operate with the other. The world needs men, earnest men, men who labor with hand and brain. One day they will learn to appreciate each other.

HOW UNIONISM MAY ADVANCE.

TO A HIGHLY reputable citizen of Portland, who has made a careful and intelligent study of labor problems for many years, THE TIMES is indebted for certain practical ideas. In substance, he said:

"If organized labor desires to become a permanent institution in human society, it must amend many of its ways. I would suggest, for one thing, that before it admits any man as a member to a union, it shall absolutely insist that he is a master workman; that he thoroughly understands his trade and is an expert in all matters relating thereto. At the present time the unions, it appears to me, seek quantity in membership, rather than quality. Any man professing to know a trade, if he has the price to pay his dues, is readily admitted. No examination is made as to his fitness, his character or his reputation. In this way membership has been largely increased, it

is true, but at the same time a most undesirable element has been introduced.

"It appears to me," said this gentleman, "that if the unions would all adopt this rigorous plan (amending their policy, of course, of all other undesirable elements), that they would establish themselves.

"Once should it be known that in the union could be found only expert workers, it would not be long before the employers would of themselves seek the unions for employees. It seems to me that this plan would bring about harmony in many instances where now only friction exists.

"Unionism, if it is to advance, must keep strictly within the law. It must not be led by extremists—fire-eaters. It must not countenance crimes nor acts of violence. It must allow the man who chooses to work independently the privilege of doing so."

In another column we reprint an article touching upon the vile mouthings of an undesirable and shallow-pated crowd that infest and block up our streets. We are informed that there is no specific city ordinance covering this class of offenders. If there is not, there is ample time for the City Council to enact one. With such a measure the police could readily and forcibly put a stop to further offenses by this class of malefactors.

Captain of Police Bailey says: "Under the city charter the police are powerless to put a stop to these street meetings so long as the crowds do not blockade the streets. There is serious need for an ordinance that will insure one or two things. In the first place these street speakers should be ousted entirely from the congested downtown business district. If that is not done an ordinance should be passed which would deny to these agitators the use of the street for their meetings entirely, with the possible exception of one month preceding an election."

The merger of The Pacific Monthly and The Sunset Magazine into one publication, should make a monthly more than twice as good as either were before. Each has always been creditable and each has done much to advance the interests of the West. United, they should prove invincible. We regret that Portland must lose The Pacific Monthly, inasmuch as San Francisco will be the place of publication. We desire to express our admiration and sincere good will for Lute Pease, who has done so much to advance the standing of The Pacific Monthly. We trust his future may lie in pleasant places.

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, said, when informed that there would be a Federal investigation into the dynamiting cases at Indianapolis: "Let them go ahead; let them go as far as they like. If there are other men above or below in this case the Federal investigation ought to disclose them. Let the Federal investigation go on. If there is anybody behind these men their identity ought to be known. Personally, I cannot conceive where they got their money to perpetrate their outrages. I cannot dream who was behind them."

David Starr Jordan asked the Socialists of Milwaukee if they really called the Stars and Stripes a 10-cent rag and they said they did. Moreover, they said they are proud of what they said.—Los Angeles Times.

This is the kind of riff-raff that we have in Portland as well. They are not only anarchistic in sentiment, but traitorous in utterance.

Attorney Darrow intimates that labor leaders expected that much of the McNamara defense fund would be returned. This he declared was impossible, because much of it has already been spent. Members of organized labor, honest enough in their belief in the defendants' innocence, were thus buccinated out of their hard-earned dollars. Had they not been entangled in the union mesh there would have been no call upon them.

The Oregon Journal pertinently inquires: "Why is it always a 'soap-box,' never any other kind of a box on which a street orator mounts?"

To which THE TIMES would respond, that "soap-box" suggests soap; soap suggests cleanliness, and most street orators belong to the "great unwashed," so the term is quite apropos.

It appears that the women suffragist vote had much to do with the defeat of Job Harriman, the Socialist candidate for mayor of Los Angeles. This will do much to advance the suffragist cause, and perhaps by the women's vote the solution of the defeat of Socialism lies.

As if there was not already a sufficient stench arising into the nostrils of an offended public, still more has come. Charges of bribery and attempted jury fixing are among the side issues in the McNamara case. The entire matter reeks with betrayed trust and treachery, and is rotten throughout.

Detective Burns promises the arrest of David M. Kaplan and Milto A. Schmidt, co-conspirators of the McNamaras. All connected with these dynamite affairs should stretch hemp and be strung up higher than Haman.

Something like \$500,000 was subscribed by organized labor to the McNamara defense fund. Portland unions were bilked out of about \$3000 for this purpose.

McNamara buttons can be purchased now for 4 cents a million, with no offers.

A new synonym should be added to the English language for perfidy—McNamara.

USEFULNESS.

What's the good o' lettin' malice
Get the better of good cheer?
What's the good of sacrificin'
Honest friendship to a sneer?
What's the good of apprehensions,
Grief arrives when it is due?
What's the good of huntin' trouble
When it's on the hunt for you?

What's the good of overturnin'
Some one's house of cards so frail?
You yourself have cherished fancies
That hard luck may soon assail.
Why keep addin' to the sorrows
So abundantly arrayed?
What's the use o' makin' trouble
When there's trouble ready-made?
—Washington Post.

USELESS WAITING.

He has a longing to reach success,
He wishes to be supreme;
He worries because of his littleness,
But he is inclined to dream.

He yearns to be "the talk of the town,"
To loom o'er the common crowd;
He is longing for money and for renown
And for the right to be proud.

He wishes to reach success, to feel
Serene in a lofty seat—
But he's waiting to get in an automobile
That will take him up Easy Street.
—Chicago Record-Herald.

SELF-INTEREST, HIGH AND LOW.

Self-interest at its worst is so hideous that its effects overshadow any good that might be credited to this natural instinct or impulse. There is a great difference between a self-interest which stimulates a man to make the most of himself and that which fastens itself like a leech on society.

The self-interest of a few individuals undoubtedly cost a nation a continent. The old fur companies did not want the great west, the home of the beaver, settled, for it would destroy their business. The owners of the great cattle ranges tried to keep the small farmer out, yet they had in time to give way and great territories are now divided into small divisions, supporting millions of men instead of thousands of cattle. Self-interest must finally yield before the pressure of society and no man's life is usually so short that he does not feel this pressure before he dies. Self-interest of the worst sort is so sure to overreach itself that its overthrow cannot be delayed.

McNAMARA SYMPOSIUM

Comments by the Press and Prominent Leaders of Organized Labor

Below will be found editorial comments and the views of leading organized labor officials concerning the McNamara brothers, which show the trend of public opinion:

The McNamaras.

There has been fair play for the McNamaras. They are guilty of murder, and they confess. They would undoubtedly have continued their career of violence, intimidation and bloodshed by dynamite if they had not been pruned by the bulldogs of the law, arrested, jailed and tried. They manifest no contrition for the many crimes they have committed, no sorrow for the impoverished widows and starving orphans they have made, no regrets for the valuable property they have destroyed. The meshes of the law had slowly and certainly entangled them, and they saw their sure fate. They made a bargain to save their precious necks. They were cowards to the last.

We shall have no more parades of sympathizers of the McNamaras. There will be no more resolutions of confidence in their innocence. The campaign for a vast fund to be used for their defense will end. The inspired outcry that good men, because they were staunch champions of labor, were being railroaded to the gallows by the unscrupulous servitors of "capitalism" has been ignominiously dumbed. The motives of the prosecution, which unflinchingly sought to convict the guilty because they were guilty, and was not dismayed by clamor or threats or influence, have been vindicated. The reign of terror inaugurated by the McNamaras, false friends and faithless knights of labor, is at an end.

If the labor organizations of the United States shall discover that they have been injured by the result of the McNamara trials, they will not have far to go for the reason. They sought to make the cause of the McNamaras the cause of labor.—The Oregonian.

Good May Come Out of Evil.

The end of the McNamara case is the most fortunate of outcomes. It literally clears the whole atmosphere. It makes plain, beyond the shadow of doubt, through the confessions of the guilty ones, that for six years they have been engaged in a campaign of destruction necessarily involving murder, and that they have pursued it relentlessly and with the coolest calculation. Unless it had been presented in that way, if the outcome of a trial had left the shadow of doubt or suspicion, there would have been those who could not bring themselves to believe that American citizens could have been guilty of such crimes.

But now the country is face to face with the naked facts. The rank and file of the labor unions have found that there are many things done by their leaders which they wot not of, and that their sympathies and prejudices have been aroused when, instead, as in this case, their indignation should have been excited. There is one thing certain, and that is that lawlessness hereafter will not be tolerated by any shade of public opinion. Strikes and labor troubles must be fought out on their merits. Indeed, it is possible that the question of strikes may even be affected and that hereafter there may be fewer of them. There was never a legitimate reason for a strike, except that one or both sides to the controversy demanded something it was not entitled to. If such parties to the controversy were fair and asked for nothing but simple justice, each giving the other's point of view a little consideration, we would have fewer strikes and on the whole more happiness.

As out of evil comes good, so out of this dreadful McNamara case will likewise come good. The great benefit will come from an enlightened public opinion formed by those who are participants upon neither side of a labor controversy, but who are the innocent sufferers instead. They will most likely demand their rights in the future and through the active public opinion thus created the world will take another long forward step in the direction of better things for everybody.—The Evening Telegram.

Will H. Daly, president of the Oregon State Federation of Labor, and also president of the Central Labor Council of Portland, had this to say—and every word rings true:

"Now that the reported confessions of the McNamara brothers have been positively confirmed, bona fide members of organized labor have decided to wash their hands of the case of the self-confessed dynamiters. By their confessions they have stamped themselves as criminals and pronounced enemies of the cause of trades unionists. Organized labor takes the position that it now remains for them to be dealt with as criminals and insists that the law shall take its course.

"Unless the local organization of structural iron workers takes the initiative and goes on record as officially repudiating the two McNamaras, organized labor of Portland, as it is represented by the Central Labor Council, will probably not take that action. For the same reason those labor organizations that contributed to the fund for the defense of the men who have admitted their guilt in the Los Angeles dynamiting cases will not make any demand for an explanation of what was done with their subscriptions, neither will they ask that any unexpended portion of their donations be refunded.

"The money was contributed in good faith when we believed the men were the victims of a conspiracy and when we had every reason to believe in their professed innocence. Now that they have admitted their guilt, we have no desire to have anything further to do with the case and we shall expect the law to take its course against them in the same manner as we expect it to in the case of all criminals."

Opinions of other labor leaders follow:

"The McNamaras are traitors to humanity. Beside them Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold shrink into insignificance. I do not believe in capital punishment, but if I did I would gladly pull the rope about the McNamaras myself. I hope they get the limit of the legal penalty," said Calvin Wyatt, general organizer of the American Federation of Labor, in New York.

"If the McNamara brothers were sentenced to be strapped to the muzzles of cannons and blown to pieces, they would not be paying too dearly for the atrocious murders which by their own admissions have been laid at their doors," said Edward A. Hirsh, president of the Federation of Labor and editor of the Labor Leader, of Baltimore.

"The McNamaras took human life and, just as in any other case, the penalty should be life for life," was the view of Frank Duffy, national secretary of the Carpenters' and Joiners' Union, Indianapolis. "They cannot hang too high to suit me," said J. W. Dougherty, international secretary of the Bookbinders' Union, Indianapolis.

"Hanging is none too good for anarchists such as the McNamaras are. It is a crime against unionism as well as humanity. They deserve the extreme penalty," said D. J. Speiers, secretary to James M. Lynch, president of the International Typographical Union, Indianapolis.

"As trade unionists, we ask only the same justice for the McNamaras now as we did when we believed them innocent. If they are guilty, as is evident from their confessions, every laboring man wants the proper punishment meted out to them," said William H. Daly, president of the Federation of Labor, Portland.

"The McNamara brothers, if guilty, should be hanged. If they were here they would be hanged by the labor men." This was the declaration of J. L. Sheppard, counsel for the Kansas State Federation, Fort Scott, Kan.

"Though not condoned by the men of organized labor, the offense against society committed by the McNamara brothers will act as a blighting course on the organized labor movement for many

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