

# The Outlook

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## SELF-CONTROLLED STRIKERS

FOR nearly twenty weeks there has been a state of industrial war in the Pawtuxet Valley of Rhode Island. The combatants are, on the one side, the textile workers and, on the other side, the managers of the textile mills. Neither side has been willing as yet to admit defeat, or willing apparently to reach a "peace without victory." Yet the country at large has virtually forgotten—if it ever knew—that such a great strike was in existence.

It is not merely in one State that this state of industrial war now exists. It has been extended into Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and affects practically the whole cotton-manufacturing industry of New England. That the Nation has not been aroused by this strike is due, not to the fact that it is local—for it is not—but to the way in which it has been carried on.

Mr. J. H. Hayes, assistant to The Outlook's Industrial Correspondent, Mr. Sherman Rogers, has been observing conditions in the Pawtuxet Valley. "It is difficult for the casual observer," he writes to The Outlook, "to realize that there is a strike in progress. Unless one attends a meeting of the strikers, or happens to pass by one of the 'soup kitchens' or 'restaurants' at meal time, or chance to glance toward a mill and notice the entire absence of noise which usually attends its operation—for there are only three mills in the valley which are operating, and they have reduced forces—there is no outward evidence discernible of a strike. Since the first two weeks of the strike there has been no violence."

Though they are without ready cash, the strikers, Mr. Hayes reports, do not seem to be worrying a great deal as to when they will return to work. In the villages of the valley there are thirteen restaurants maintained by the unions, and there the strikers can get good, wholesome food twice daily. Besides the restaurants there are shoe repair shops for the benefit of the strikers. Both the restaurants and the cobbleries are the product of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America. This is the more radical of the two general unions in the textile industry of America. The more conservative union is the United Textile Workers. The Amalgamated "covers" the Pawtuxet Valley, while the United "covers" the Blackstone Valley. The United is affiliated

with the American Federation of Labor, while the Amalgamated is independent.

As in the cobbleries and in other activities of the union for the benefit of the strikers, the attendants in the eating-places are themselves strikers who volunteer their services.

## CO-OPERATION IN AND AFTER THE STRIKE

"I HAD lunch in one of the 'kitchens,'" writes Mr. Hayes, "and I was served with a generous helping of probably the most wholesome and nourishing food obtainable—Boston baked beans, with plenty of good bread and butter, hot coffee, and a pickle relish—and what I had was simply a regular order; nothing fancy, to be sure, and no unnecessary expenditure of money for cake and pastry, but all the good solid food a person could eat. And I was merely one among six hundred who had their meal at this particular restaurant that day."

From 11:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. five thousand men, women, and children are fed, and again from 4:30 to 6:00 P.M., at a daily cost, according to the General Relief Chairman, of approximately 7½ cents per person.

In the evenings the strikers hold a dance in a large hall leased for the purpose as well as for use as general strike headquarters. It is situated in the village of Arctic, about as central a location as it is possible to find. "The music," says Mr. Hayes, "is not rendered by Paul Whiteman's Jazz Orchestra, but it answers very well for those who have never heard the Broadway 'musical' celebrity."

The money with which to carry on the strike is raised by collections made by strikers, chiefly girls, who visit the various mills in the territory contiguous to the valley. The most consistent and stable source of supply is found in Fall River, Massachusetts, to which as many as fifty or sixty girls journey each week to make their collections. Here also has been established a restaurant for the feeding of the collectors. By this means is saved the additional expense which would otherwise be necessarily incident to patronizing the local restaurants.

What most impressed Mr. Hayes on his visit was apparently the spirit of co-operation among the strikers. "Whether it is a question of collecting, feeding, entertaining, or what not—and there is much of that to be done—each one," writes Mr. Hayes, "seems to know the

part he plays and appears on the stage at the proper time, taking his cue and going ahead without further prompting." The organizers, sent into the territory by their New York office, merely address the mass-meeting and furnish such counsel as they are called upon to furnish; but the effectiveness of the organization, in Mr. Hayes's opinion, is due to the fact that the strikers have united in a common cause and realize the value of working together.

Walking through the valley and considering its peaceful condition, Mr. Hayes was led to marvel, he tells us, at the fact that here was under way a strike involving six thousand of its inhabitants directly, and indirectly approximately twenty thousand. In conclusion he writes to us:

"The strike has, naturally, been hard for all sides to bear, but when it is over and the workers have returned to the looms, I believe, both sides will appreciate the lessons it has taught. I imagine the manufacturers will recognize the fact that they have lost the contact which breeds confidence between the workers and the management, and they will endeavor to establish this most important requisite to efficient, one hundred per cent production. Without good contact between the workers and the management there can be no confidence between these two; without confidence there can be no understanding; and without understanding there can be no stabilized prosperity in industry; and so, I believe, the manufacturers will endeavor to establish this confidence which has long since been lost. On the other hand, I believe that the workers will remember the value of co-operation, of pulling together, and will pull together, not only among themselves, but with the management; realizing that good wages can only be paid them when they put the money with which to pay those good wages into the hands of the manufacturers through efficient, co-operative effort."

## ACQUITTED OF TREASON

THE acquittal of William Blizard, indicted for treason against the State of West Virginia, was based on two grounds; one is rather technical, the other relates to the larger question of what treason is. It is necessary under the State Constitution in charges of treason to prove by the testimony of two witnesses that the accused committed an

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overt act; now, the only overt act charged against Blizzard was that he was with the armed forces of the so-called invading union miners in Logan County, the only part of the State under the jurisdiction of the Court which tried Blizzard; the prosecution failed to show this; in fact, the only acts committed by Blizzard in Logan County seem to have been successful attempts to induce the marching miners to surrender to the Federal troops or disperse.

But it also seems certain that the State failed to show that treason had been committed. It is in this matter that the people of the country at large are most interested. Judge Wood, who presided at this trial, remarked:

Treason is an offense that differs from all other offenses in that it is an offense against the sovereignty of the State itself. It is a direct injury, or an attempt to commit a direct injury, to the Government of the State. In no sense is it an offense against an individual. I think the chief character of treason is that it is designed to subvert the government, either wholly or in part. And under our Constitution treason consists only in levying war against the State and in giving aid and comfort to its enemies.

This is undoubtedly sound modern legal doctrine. There was a time, under the old English practice, when charges of treason were sustained for absurdly minor offenses; thus it is said that in the reign of Edward IV an innkeeper whose sign was a crown and who jokingly remarked that he would make his own "heir to the crown" was drawn and quartered for treason. Such absurdities as this led to proper restriction of the legal definition of treason. In this country treason against the State is defined by State constitutions exactly as treason against the United States is defined in the Federal Constitution; that is, treason against the State consists of levying war against the State, adhering to its enemies or giving them aid and comfort. The only cases of trial for treason against a State, so far as we know, have been the prosecution of those engaged in the Shays rebellion in Massachusetts (1786) and the cases that resulted from the Dorr rebellion in Rhode Island (1844). In recent times the only attempt of this sort, we believe, was the indictment, after the Homestead riots of 1892, of men belonging to the miners' Advisory Board on a charge of treason. If we remember rightly, these indictments were never tried. At the time *The Outlook* pointed out: "The Homestead riot, while a palpable violation of law, did not aim at the overthrow of the sovereignty of the State, and therefore lacked the 'treasonable intent' necessary to constitute treason."

Evidently the same general condition

was held to exist in the West Virginia prosecution. There may possibly be another attempt to sustain the charge of treason in the trial of some of the other men who have been indicted.

#### NO GOVERNMENT BY PRIVATE INTERESTS

SINCE the charge of treason fell through, the decision cannot be regarded as either upholding or refuting the contention of the defense that the activity of the union coal miners was not only not aimed against the State, but was designed to remedy a state of things in the non-union coal district which amounted to a subversion of the sovereignty of the State by the coal operators, aided by paid guards, hired gunmen, and deputy sheriffs who drew pay from the operators, as was admitted by the operators before and during the trial. What legal value such a contention would have is not certain. That it had some impression on the public is shown by the comments brought out by this trial. The New York "Tribune," for instance, quotes the testimony of Captain Wilson, a Federal officer who commanded the United States troops called out; he said that the so-called invading miners "were obsessed with the thought that the thugs from Logan were bent on destroying their homes and killing their women and children," and that they welcomed the coming of the Federal troops. Another New York journal, the "World," after discussing the acquittal, declares: "It is difficult to blame the union men who attempted to cross the line and restore the right of free speech and assembly in the community. Somebody ought to march on Logan; not a group of miners but the State authorities with power to remove unfit officials and put an end to oligarchy supported by gunmen."

Another, the "Herald," says:

The leaders of the union miners who marched against Logan and Mingo Counties were manifestly trying to take the law into their own hands. But the group of non-union coal operators, controlling the local government in the two counties, had already taken the law into their hands. They had established an embargo on the activities of union organizers and had denied workers in their mines the rights of free speech and free assembly guaranteed to all citizens by the State Constitution.

Apart from the legal aspects of the trial, the general impression made by the whole situation in West Virginia as thus brought out is that, while the mine-owners have the legal right to refuse to employ union men, the conditions of the mining industry in that section of the country are such that the authorities of

the State of West Virginia and of the counties in which the mines are situated should carry on government and enforce the law with respect to the right of free speech as well as the right of contract, and that, beyond all, they should not depute or allow to be deputed legal governmental functions to men paid by one of the parties to the labor controversy.

#### "THE LAST OF THE GOOD BANDITS"

THE phrase printed above is the title of a practical appraisal of the late Boies Penrose, Republican leader and United States Senator from Pennsylvania, which appeared from the pen of William Hard in a recent number of the "International." This practical estimate attributes the lack of certain moral standards in Penrose to the atmosphere of his time, but gives him credit for powerful virtues and a rugged strength. He took the psychology of his period as it was and adjusted himself to the mental habit of his generation. When he came out of Harvard and chose a career within the organized politics of his day, one of the first things he did was to learn to spit as far and as accurately as any ward heeler with whom he came in contact. He had no use for a professional lobbyist. He knew instinctively that a too influential lobby in legislative halls means a weak party organization. Where party leadership is failing, there the lobbyists drive a coach and four through party orderliness and dominance. Penrose believed in political support for particular business interests, but he wished it to be offered in line with what he regarded as sound party policy. He wanted the party organization to be the ruling force and not to be driven on by the lobby of the special interest. When a change in the charter of Philadelphia was contemplated in 1919, he gave utterance to a political maxim which party leadership everywhere would do well to ponder. He said that party efficiency increases in the exact ratio in which it disentangles itself from municipal affairs. This is an unwelcome view to the long line of political bosses who have made the spoils of the cities the rootage of their rule. But it is a sound view. The political party which in any State depends upon the control of the patronage and the contracts and the perquisites of the cities for its vitality soon falls into unstable equilibrium and ultimately into popular disrepute.

When he was twenty-six years old, Penrose laid down a principle of political philosophy which the country has not yet outgrown. "In formulating a government," said he, "we must calculate on the indifferent watchfulness of