

The Economic Club of New York

42nd Meeting

Labor and the War

January 29, 1918

Hotel Astor
New York, New York

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Before the meeting was called to order, Dr. Ely made the following statement:

You are asked to decide whether the next meeting of the Economic Club, at which Mr. Hoover has been asked to speak, shall be held on a Sunday night. That would mean having our third dinner on a Sunday night in March. Mr. Hoover has said that the requirements of his work are much that with him it is Sunday or not at all if he comes to New York to make a speech for us. Now, would you be kind enough to enlighten our Committee by expressing an opinion on that point: Shall we have our next dinner on a Sunday night, in order that we may hear Mr. Hoover, that being the only time that we can hear him? Will those who favor a Sunday night dinner be kind enough to standup?

(A majority of the members present arise)

Now the second point is this: Just once we had a dinner when ladies could come as guests to the dinner itself on equal terms with men. Mr. Hoover thinks it important to speak to women as well as to men. Would it not be desirable to depart a second time in 11 years from our usual custom and to have the Hoover dinner a ladies' night?

(Cries of "Yes", "Yes")

In order that proper respect may be shown for everybody's convictions, it is suggested that everybody who is opposed to have it a ladies' night, raise their hands. (Laughter)

(One or two hands were raised.)

The opposition is highly respectable for quality but not for numbers.

A VOICE: Where are you going to put the ladies?

That question seems to be a rather right pertinent one. The question is asked where will you put them? The answer I suppose will have to be this: That first of all, members must be assured a place and after that only such number of guests, even if they are ladies, can be admitted as we have place for. That will mean shutting out a good many, undoubtedly, but we shall have to do it.

Introduction

The Honorable Henry Morgenthau, Presiding

Ladies and Gentlemen: I have no intention to make any lengthy remarks, but Mr. Colby has a very good cigar and he has asked me not to call on him until he has about finished it. (Laughter) As he is instrumental of my being a member of this club -- he came to my office 11 years ago and asked me to join it -- I have to obey him to that extent and inflict you with a few words.

These are momentous times and I think that the Club ought to feel highly gratified that we are permitted to listen to such important speakers as are with us tonight and were with us at the last meeting and are in prospect for the next meeting.

We believe that there is no other subject but the War that should be discussed. We have had an illustration here lately, all of us, the entire country has listened to one of the finest addresses that could have been delivered on this war -- the examination of Secretary Baker. (Applause)

It seems to an outside observer that this country has undertaken the greatest task ever given to anyone. We have promised our Allies to create the greatest power plant that has ever existed. We have agreed to produce at this plant the greatest force that has ever been created in the world. We have promised to conduct this force, to transmit it across this country, we have promised to mobilize it, we have promised to transmit it to Europe, we have promised and we intend to put it in effect there, no matter what might happen, this great force, these billions and trillions of kilowatts of force that are needed to destroy the German machine are going to be forthcoming by this country. (Applause)

The last part of it is the creation of this force, but we have seen the difficulties that confront this government to build the machinery, the central power that has to produce it, and think of the difficulties that exist to transship it across the ocean and think of the further difficulties that will face us when we land in France and reach the front. We are confronted with all sorts of impediments. To get across the ocean, we have to pass the submarines. In France we have to create almost as big a plant as we have to create in this country and to think that the people in this country should be impatient at some little mistake, it seems simple a shame that they do not grasp this tremendous problem and to think that when one man has arisen who is ready to be the engineer of this wonderful transmission force, who is ready to coordinate everything, who is

prepared to look at all of the 48 squares of the checkerboard at onetime and to think that people arrogate to themselves the right to criticize for some little mishap, is astonishing to me, and it is more astonishing that the community has been as patient with them as they have been.

(Applause) It is utterly impossible to have divided responsibility in this matter. There isn't any one set of men who can grasp the entire situation unless they have been at it for months and years and had the wonderful capacity of absorbing all that has been going on all over the world.

I am not going to elaborate long upon this subject. It seems to me it is so self-evident that we all ought to make up our mind to be helpful to create this great force. The greatest danger is, my friend, our underestimating the forces that are opposed to us. (Applause) We are allowing, and I am one of you, hope to influence our judgment. We have got to steel ourselves for the greatest struggle that has ever been fought in history. No matter how German may be curtailed by her partners, she will fight on. She will fight on until she has met with a severe military defeat and we must sympathize with and realize the conditions of France. France is standing up and taking the blows while we are building this tremendous force that we are going to send over thee and it is going to be a continuous force, a resistless force and it is going to be a force that leads to victory. (Applause)

It reminds me of the saying: "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again, while error woundeth shall rise in pain." My friends, righteousness, truth, is going to conquer and right now, while error is

beginning to feel its first pains. This is no time for us to consider or think of peace. Trust must prevail and I think it is going to. (Great Applause)

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have special pleasure in introducing to you the next speaker. He has just returned from abroad, where he has been in an official capacity. He has had opportunities to see things and study things there as have been allotted to very few Americans. He went there representing the Shipping Board, so that he can tell us many things about the conditions out there and also the activities of one, if not the most important element at the present moment in the conduct of the war. I take great pleasure in presenting Mr. Bainbridge Colby. (Great Applause)

First Speaker

Mr. Bainbridge Colby

Member of the Recent Commission to Europe

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I feel that the only noise which the public expects or indeed will tolerate from a member of the Shipping Board is the noise of rushing waters as its new fleet leaves the ways and glides down into deep anchorage. In other words, that this is a time for men identified with so grave and responsible a task as ours, that this is a time for, if you will permit the pun, for caulking and not talking. (Laughter)

I like what Mr. Morgenthau said about these billions and trillions of new developed energies that are soon to be released and he spoke of them in denominations that strike me as exactly proper -- these kilowatts. (Laughter) I like the first syllable, (Laughter), and I am impressed with the propriety of the last syllable, (Laughter), because such a demoniacal form of national lunacy, such purblind folly, such ghastly organ, such rancid conceit as the term “Germany” now cognates to the senses of a disgusted world never was presented before, (Applause), and if we are a momentary loss for a predicate of the verb “kill”, I do not think of anything better than “what” for that predicate. (Laughter)

The Chairman has intimated that he expects me to say a few words about the very thrilling, the very interesting, the very instructive and the very profitable mission for which I have just returned.

Oh, let my first words be words of praise and tribute to our gallant allies. (Applause) I come back from that atmosphere of devotion and of heroism and I feel a little rush of conscious mortification to my cheeks as I look into the countenances of my countrymen and see the sleek, the well-fed, the self-centered, the querulous, the narrow interest reflected upon their faces. My friends, America may be the greatest country in the world, and I believe that to be true, but there are other places in the world that are giving impulse, occasion and opportunity to the greatest flights and manifestations of that rarest quality in human nature, the spirit of an exalted manhood. England and France twine their names together, ancient and honorable names, ancient

and glorious people, they are fighting shoulder to shoulder for the ideals of the heart and the mind. They are fighting for justice and for liberty and for that gentle and heavenly philosophy that was preached by Christ upon the hills of Judea in the olden time. No Might, but right; not Force, but Justice; not God that speaks a broken English with a strong tincture of a German dialect; but a God that is the exclusive prerogative of the fool of illusion, the Emperor of Germany, but The God of even Justice, the God of the lowly, the God of the pagan, the God of mercy, and the God who has sent his message into the world through his begotten son of Forgiveness, of Gentleness, of Peace – England and French, oh, mention their names with a little hush in your breath, they are blazing our trail, they are leading the van, they are out there, fighting, waiting for us, confidently, with straining eyes. Let us hurry up, we are overdue, let us go! (Great Applause)

We had a busy time in Europe. We were a working mission. The head of our mission was not addicted to garrulity or interviews, but rather glorious in the appellation of a silent man. We promptly got in touch with the specialists in every field in England and France. I, particularly, with my somewhat recognized propensity for shooting off my mouth within the city limits, (Laughter), was a source of concern and solicitude to my colleagues, but with one single exception when I strayed off the reservation at the Thanksgiving Day Dinner at the American Club in Paris, not even Colonia House was more glued with reticence than I. (Laughter)

It was a very interesting thing to observe the contrast between the atmosphere of England and of France. England with that fortitude, that stoicism, which is one of the glories of our common race, darkens her lights, conserves her energy, girds her loins for the struggle in which she will persevere until the victorious end. Has no doubts, indulges in no exalted fancies as to the gravity of the situation or the dangers of her plight, with no thought of defeat, with no thought of anything but the eventual victory, promptly visualizing future shortages she imposes now as a measure of self-regulation, which were she differently constituted, she might postpone until tomorrow.

Her men, modest and self-deprecatory, hardly willing to admit their glorious part in this struggle, giving their all without stint and without hesitation, her soldiers, swinging along with a fine, gay, nonchalance, as if they were going to an afternoon's pastime, hard as nails, brown as berries, as fine a type of fighting men as the world has ever seen. (Great Applause)

Her great fleet ready for battle at an instant's notice, her indefatigable destroyers, patrolling the seven seas, and I am proud to say, patrolling the seas now in conjunction with our own destroyers and under the command of our own gallant Sims, recognizing the great reinforcements that American ships and American seamen have been able to bring to the war zone. (Great Applause) And it is no measure of pride in which I indulge which anyone will quarrel with, when I call your attention, my friends, while we are waiting eagerly for the full cup of triumph and personal credit which will be ours inevitably; I think it is with no pardonable

pride that I may recall to you that the rate of weekly sinking's by the submarines have shown since America's advent upon the war zone a distinct falling off has been steadily maintained.

(Applause)

When you go over to France, you step into another region of gallantry. France is England played in a little livelier key. All the rugged virtues of the Anglo-Saxon race are owned and possessed by this glorious offshoot of the Celtic race. They dress not in somber grey but in lively blue. They go the front with a sort of exaltation, as if to a supreme sacrifice.

The finest men I saw in Europe were not in the chancellories, were not in the Chambers of the Legislatures, were not in the council rooms, where perplexity and hesitation and doubt creep over the intellectual examination of the problem, the finest and the most invigorating and the most inspiring men were the men I saw at the French front. (Great Applause) they have no doubt that what they do is worth doing. They have no qualms as to the measure of their sacrifice or their devotion. All that life has been to them all that life has made out of them, all that life holds in store for them, they have wrapped in the uniform of country, and they have tossed their lives, their strength, their power, themselves, upon the alter of country and freedom. It is a 100% without rebate or discount or deduction. (Great Applause) they know that it is worth doing. They are out in the open. They have felt the metal of the German; they have no fear of him. They have met in the mysterious collision of man to man and they have established the victorious co-

efficient which will never desert them no matter how great the odds may be against them. (Great Applause)

I went to the great scene of havoc and visitation that lies upon the cathedral at Rheims. I might say that I left that day with General Gaslini of the 5th Army, which guards a sector of the French line. It was a little town about ten miles behind the actual front and I met the General and his staff. He is a very impressive man. He is an intellectual soldier. He has not the thick beefy neck of the brute, but quick and wiry and angular. He has the broad brow of the thinker, the man with vision and with quick feeling of sensibility, and we talked of the country's problem and we examined his war map and he discussed the relative strength of the forces engaged upon the Western Front and he showed me how each German cannon had been located by the aerial photographer, how intimately they were acquainted with this impenetrable region that lay behind the enemy's line and then we parted and the automobile drove up to his modest little chateau; we ere on our way to the front. I did ask to go to the front, and the General said, with a significance that I did not at the moment appreciate, "I hope you will have a rather quiet time this afternoon. (Laughter) They dropped 300 shells in Rheims yesterday." Well, of course, it was too late to turn back. (Laughter) I confess to you I was a little gun shy as we came into Rheims, a city of 180,000 people, one of the most beautiful of French cities before the war, the population of which is a scant 4000 people, who are still struggling to supply the American appetite for Pommery champagne. I never saw such a scene of ruin, never could conceive it possible. There is not a house with a ceiling or floor. There is not a window pane in this important city. Every

wall stands like a jagged fragment perforated by shot and hell and this cathedra, still recognizable in its general contour, its dimension still dominating the scene, pierced in a thousand places by the enemy's projectiles, the ceiling perforated and open to the sky, the beautiful apex demolished and ragged and yet I could not but think as I gazed up at the gashes and the wounds of this perfect edifice and shrine in the grateful recollection of every devout man in Christendom, I could not but think, more beautiful with your wounds and gashes than any architect ever dreamed you would be, you will stand forever a monument to the fortitude and the constancy of immemorial France, a monument to the dastardly brutality, to the incomparable and unspeakable villain of all times. (Great Applause)

I cannot tell you, my friends, in view of the fact that my mission was diplomatic and sealed with secrecy, some of it merely trivial, much of it unnecessary, a considerable portion of it foolish that attends a diplomatic mission, I cannot tell you of all the arrangements that we made. Our immediate purpose was to coordinate our activities with those of our Allies, to see what measure of waste motion could be cut out and eliminated, to see what savings could be brought about and I may say to you that some very definite steps forward were taken.

To begin with, England and America have recognized that there is not more trade and commerce as such in the world. The only business of the world today is to beat Germany, (Great Applause) and no British ship, nor an American vessel will carry a cargo or sail upon a single voyage that

has not for its primary object the promotion of the Allied cause. Not a single cargo will be carried save only those that are strictly cognate to this main and only purpose of winning the war.

There is no rivalry between England and America on the sea today. There is not a square foot of cargo carrying space upon a British Carrying vessel that is not equally at the disposal of an American shipper, just as well as a British merchant in South America or Australia. (Great Applause) And there will be no discrimination in ocean rates between the British Nationals and the American Citizen. It makes no difference whether the British have ten times the cargo than the American merchant in Valparaiso may have, American in lieu of herself and by virtue of England's generous concession will be able to command upon a British vessel 50% of all the space that is available for general cargo. (Applause)

So far as the neutral tonnage of the world is concerned, there is no attempt on the part of England to get the Norwegian tonnage so that we don't get it and there is not attempt on our part to effectuate a peaceful or summary arrangement with regard to the Dutch tonnage in order that England shall not get it, because we have agreed that whatever we get or whatever England gets, shall be used, ship and ship alike, in the discharge of this common trust which we sustain to the world, in the most adroit and circumspect way so that it can perform the highest measure of worth service in this day of need. (Great Applause)

I want to say just a word about our shipbuilding program and in that connection I want to bring forcibly and intimately to your realization the exact plight in which our country is today.

Do you realize my friends, that we are fighting for our lives? I wish I had words that were so burning, I wish I had the power that was so arresting and so penetrating that I could carry that simple and bare fact into your innermost consciousness. I was at a dinner at London at which Ambassador page remarked upon the apparent insensibility of Americans to the reality of the war as a danger to America itself and he said that “the trouble with our countrymen is that they are suffering from a disease which I call Three Thousand Miles.” I said a little later that it seemed to me that America and England were suffering from dissimilar but not unrelated diseases; that England was suffering from the malady of thinking that nothing could beat her, while my country was still in the throes of a disorder which allowed her to think that nothing could touch her. (Laughter)

My friends, this struggle is to eventuate into a duel between German and America. We are on the Kaiser’s list. We lie athwart of the militarist task and their ambitions of world dominion. They hate you, they hate our country, they hate its institutions, they hate our national purposes. We are the negation and the challenge of all that they stand for. They say that their institutions are derived from Heaven and their God’s own private, personal and confidential message whispered in the Kaiser’s ear.

Well, if that be true, America must be horribly wrong and in order to make their illusion true, they propose to wipe us off the map. They look upon us as a degenerate people, they look upon our philosophy as a sort of philosophy of consolation for conscious failure, they look upon Christianity as a woman's creed, they look upon equal suffrage as a collapse of government. Never was there an antithesis so sharply drawn. Never was there a cleavage so wide and so impressive; never was there a war so logical, so inevitable, so necessary. (Applause)

I look upon the future as destined to bring America and German into closer and more deadly grips. France -- I question whether she possesses at this time the power of lunging and sustaining an offensive. England -- the unconquerable and indomitable is America's most potential ally today.

Our Strength may be immeasurable, our resources may be boundless, our wealth may be beyond calculation, but, my friends, latent wealth, immobilized resources, unexercised, unexercised power, is just the same thing as poverty on the one hand, lack of resources on the other and the deficiency of power on the other. If we cannot grip ourselves into the efficient exercise of our strength, we might as well not possess it.

We have got to go to war. That is the important message from the front. We have got to get haggard and drawn with intentness, with concentration, with labor, with effort. We have got to give up things. We have got to submit to economic sacrifice and by that I mean the elimination

of the energy and wealth of the nation that goes into the production on non-essentials. (Applause)

We have got to think twice before we do anything and to be sure that that thing we decide to do is not a waste of the nation's war making power.

I care nothing about little rankles criticisms are being leveled at the faithful men whom the President has summoned to his side to assist in the performance of his almost unsupportable responsibility, I rejoice in the splendid and unaided vindication of himself that the Secretary of War has just given. (Great Applause)

Who am I that I should take up the cudgels of this faithful patriot. Who ma I that I should say to you what everyone who knows him knows that he is a man of scholarly attainment, of great and inexhaustible energy and of a pluck that has never met its master. They say he is a pacifist. Well, so am I, and so is every soldier at the front, but he is the right kind of a pacifist, when the President said in reply to the wrong kind of a pacifist sometime ago, that his heart was with them, only he knew how to get peace and they didn't. That illustrates the distinction between the true and genuine pacifist who is willing to fight for peace and the pacifist who is willing to clog the efforts of the army and the navy to win an honorable peace. There is no pacifism today in the world until the truculent and pretentious Germany is humbled and her fighting gone. (Applause)

My friends, the submarine peril is a very appalling and a startling one. It affects you all. The wheatless and the meatless days in America are the result of the submarine. I am not privileged

to tell you, although I can conceive of no hurtful result from imparting the facts to you, how great the destruction of the submarine has been. When you see that 18 British ships and 7 French ships have been sunk in a week and that they are over 1600 gross tons, I wonder if it means much to you. But when I tell you that the ships average 4000 gross tons, in other words, 6500 deadweight tons, as we measure tonnage, and you multiply 15 by 6000, you have got in a week and you haven't taken into account the Allied and neutral shipping that has been sunk other than France and England, you have got in a week one-fourth of the tonnage that this country, the general carrying tonnage, which this country turned out in the course of an entire year prior to the outbreak of the war. And you multiply 150,000 or 160,000 tons by 52 weeks and you have got the aggregate tonnage of about 8,000,000 tons. When a ship of five or ten or fifteen thousand tons sinks, it is not only to two or three or four millions which the vessel is worth that goes down, but a cargo worth may be from a million and a half to four and a half millions that has gone also. Millions of wheat, millions of flesh food, millions of machinery, millions of resulting toils of the energies of the factories and the mills of the world. No wonder there is a shortage. No wonder we have got to tighten up a little bit and deny ourselves some of the superfluities of life, in order that we may go on discharging this essential and highly creditable roll of purveyor to our fighting Allies of the things they need.

How are we going to catch the submarine? How are we going to defeat Germany's sharpest weapon? Until we have a decisive victory on land, until we are able to clutch the German throat and choke the air out of it. We have got to build ships, build them fast and furiously and

frenziedly. Why, I can't conceive of any man having any interest in any activity at all today but building ships. What is the good of your factories turning out your commodities? They will stack up at the railroad station, stack up on the pier, they will rot, they will deteriorate, they can't arrive at their eventual market without ships. What good does it do the Treasury to lend the Allies 20 billions of dollars to purchase the wheat crop of some remote producer if he can't deliver the grain? The credit won't feed the hungry.

Now we have the material, we have the ways; we have the executive and managerial ability. The limiting factor today is labor. I said to Mr. Gompers tonight, sitting at the table that I considered the Allied strength consisted of England, France and Italy and Mr. Gompers. (Applause)

We have got to have the labor. Labor is short. Labor is hanging back. The workingmen are not in the shipyards; they have got to go. A rivet in driving shipbuilding today is a more effective blow than a bullet in an enemy, and my friends, the Shipping Board has inaugurated yesterday a countrywide appeal to the labor of the country. We are organizing a great reserve army of 250,000 men. We only ask them to enroll. It is going to be done under the auspices of the various State Councils of Defense. Enrollment places will be readily found.

We want every employer to encourage his men to put their names down upon this honorable roll. We do not intend to take them off their jobs at present. We only want to know their names and where they are, so that when it becomes necessary to multiply one ship into three, when it

becomes necessary to replenish vagrant and slacker labor, we will know where the real men are and can get them to do the work of country. (Applause)

I am told, and this only applies, I am thankful to say to a fraction of the shipyard labor, that there are some men today, I do not know under what direction or by what authority, they have been in the custom of driving 350 to 400 rivets a day that are only doing 130. Well, a man who can drive 400 rivets a day and is content to drive only 130, is a slacker by the book. (Applause) he should bear branded upon his forehead the infamous designation of “slacker”, and from this great reserve army will be drawn patriotic brawn and muscle that will sweep him away and replace those unworthy men with true Americanism.

The Labor leaders of the country have been patriotic in the extreme. Their judgment and their voices have been expended in the most helpful and in the most courageous way. What we would have done without them, God only knows. Let us search out those spoiled spots, these meshy places in our industrial system, and you, employers, don't you be afraid of a shutdown or a shortage of output. Let your men go. Encourage them to go. The pay is good, the work is safe, they do not go over the top and expose themselves to the enemy's fire, they do not have to leave their families, it is safe, it is wholesome, it is worth and it is patriotic.

You can't build ships without laborers; you can't drive the 600,000 rivers that go into the ordinary cargo boat without labor. The country wants men, brawn and muscle, men who will

work from early to late, men who will work feverishly, without thought of themselves, just as they want soldiers by the millions who lay down their lives.

What measures we may be forced to take I will not at this moment indulge in speculating about, but let me merely say that the United States will not see its institutions perish, it will not see the liberties which it cherishes lost to it, it will not see the cause of liberty engulfed and lost to the world because of the indolence and the slacking of an American workman. (Applause)

The workmen are ready. I am going to speak to them tomorrow night in Philadelphia, a great assembly of workmen from the American Clyde, I am going to ask them to ferret out the unworthy, I am going to ask them to emphasize the consciousness of the devotion of the great mass of American workmen, I appeal to the right-hearted workmen, to the patriotic employers to join with the federal authorities, to join with the President in an endeavor to mobilize that great industrial army of riveters, mechanics, erectors and carpenters, and let us build this fleet and not explain in a year why we did not build it. (Great Applause)

HENRY MORGENTHAU: Ladies and Gentlemen: We have been interested so much in the railway problem lately, that it is fitting that we should hear from one of the men who speaks for the men that are responsible for the proper conduct of the railroads. I take great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Sheppard, who for 17 years has been connected in an official capacity and is now the Senior Vice President of the Railway Conductors.

Second Speaker

L.E. Sheppard,

Senior Vice-President Order of Railway Conductors

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a far cry from the top of a box car to a place where I can address an assembly of this character. When men are timid in the railroad world, they are accused of having cold feet. I am fearful that I would have cold feet on this occasion, was it not due to the fact that I have stood on the lid of industrial contest so long that my feet are warm, (Laughter), and you can readily see that I am not built for speed, therefore, I must answer it.

(Laughter)

To properly define the attitude of any man or set of men in their relations to this Great War now upon us, it is well and proper that we should take into consideration the situation which labor found itself in just prior to this great conflict. Consider the attitude of labor towards strife and warfare from a general standpoint, make a careful analysis of all that is involved, and if possible, take the same viewpoint as the labor men must take, thereby we may be enabled to form a more intelligent and a conscientious opinion as to the duties of labor men at this time.

Labor men, like most men, are imitators, few originators. For years labor has only been able to obtain that which it could obtain through concession or by the power or organization. There was

a time, I am ashamed to say, that in enlightened and civilized England, men who simply asked for increased compensation or better conditions, could be imprisoned. Employers of labor even to this day glibly talk about supply and demand as the measure of compensation for labor. The economic value of the labor is not affected; the only measure for many years was that which was necessary to give to obtain the labor.

Organization was inaugurated through collective bargaining. Men have been enabled recently to obtain a nearer approach to that to which they have long felt they were entitled than ever before.

When the war in foreign countries began, immigration was shut off, the subjects of other nations were returning home to fight the battles of their country. It was then for the first time in the history of American laboring men that there were many jobs, as we say, as there were men. What was more natural than at a time like this that laboring men should feel at last that the day has come and we will partake of more of these worldly goods. We will obtain that to which we are justly entitled, if some of them, through ignorance or zeal, overstepped the bounds of fairness and decency, if they committed any cruel error, than he who employs labor, who perhaps by foresight or opportunity, has thousands of men under his control and in his employ, who deals out to them only that which is necessary to keep body and soul together, and in spite of the efforts of labor, through organization, through scarcity, they have not been able to keep place with the increased cost of living.

Within the past year, a corporation capitalized at One Hundred Millions of Dollars, made a profit of Twenty-one Millions of Dollars, every dollar made in the product that was necessary to sustain life.

These are things that laboring men have to think of and things which every man who is interested in the welfare of his country should let sink deeply into his heart. What of the individual slacker as compared with the wholesale slacker like that?

But notwithstanding all this, I am not here to offer an apology for labor because it needs no apology at my hands or at the hands of anyone else. It is doing its full share. (Applause) It will do its share while men with surplus wealth are giving up some of that surplus; labor is giving all, its very life.

We understand from good authority a statement made by an eminent English statesman, that the war in England forestalled industrial crisis and revolution by a few months.

Our hated foe, the German Empire, is not bad in its paternalism to labor. Commercialism is the hand-maiden of militarism in that country, and labor is protected and cared for just like the average farmer cares for his stock that they may in times of war be taken from the arts of trade to fulfill the mission of the military power.

The spirit as exhibited in Russia is rampant throughout the civilized world. It permeates every channel of life. Every man who works is up against it. He breathes some of it, and is it any wonder then that in the ignorance and the environment of the average workingman that some of these ideas grasp him and he acts thereon. I say to you gentlemen, without a fear of successful contradiction, that you have your choice in this country between conservative organized labor properly recognized and to take its share of participate in government, or you can have what has come in Russia -- social and political revolution.

But a few days ago on a business errand I called at a typical American home. I found a widowed mother with three sons, two of age, whose age would permit them to enter the service, one a mere boy. Up to a few months ago, the two boys were the only support of the widowed mother and they lived in comfort as an American working people are apt to do. One son had enlisted and gone to give up his life, if need be, while the other son remained at home in peaceful pursuits for the purpose of maintaining that mother and that home. They lived in what would be generally termed a very nice home for American working people, a house of seven rooms, but on this occasion, due to the income being reduced by the absence of one son, together with the high price of coal and the difficulty in obtaining the same, they were living in but two rooms, the rest of the house being shut up.

In talking over the situation, the American mother with a tear in her eye for the son that was gone, but with a smile on her lips to think that they were doing their duty said, "K know we must

submit, I know it is our duty to do all this,” and like the Spartan mother of old she was doing her full duty.

That picture, my friends, can be duplicated in many, many homes in this beloved land of ours and I say that such spirit as that is bound to bring success to our Allies and ourselves in this Great War undertaking.

Insofar as Railway Labor is concerned, which I have been trying to serve for 17 years, I wish to say that it fell to my lot, as Acting President of the Order of Railway Conductors last March, when the crisis between the owners of the railroads and the four great brotherhoods developed, to assure the representatives of Government that no matter what commotion, no matter what issue took place or how great a strife was brought about by the railway men endeavoring to obtain what they believed as their just desserts, that the interests of the Government would not suffer. (Great Applause) Every soldier, every bit of food-stuff, every bit of supplies, everything that was required for the support of the government, would be moved and with dispatch.

At the present time the four great Brotherhoods, and who by the way, are the last of all the great laboring organizations to receive consideration at the hands of their employers in some respects, are awaiting the action of a Government board to say to them what they shall receive to offset this enormous cost of living.

These four organizations if you will permit me with pardonable pride to say, have their membership sufficiently organized and disciplined that it is no longer a question of what they can do; the sole question is what they should do. (Applause)

And what have they done? They have proven their interest in humanity, they have proven their loyalty to the flag by saying at this time there are only two things that will justify a strike of any magnitude. One is, general and great injustice and the other is, oppression. Surely the fact that wages have not increased in proportion to the advance cost of living does not constitute oppression, much that it may constitute injustice to a degree, but they are prepared to make that sacrifice and have made it and will continue to make it until the battle is over and the victory won. (Applause)

For two years our Canadian brothers worked under anti-war wages and conditions, because their country was at war. Everyone of these four great Brotherhoods have large numbers of men in the ranks and in the trenches, everyone of them buy life and accident insurance and each and every organization is paying claim after claim, making great inroads on their treasure without any thought of ceasing to do so or stopping that great benefit. It will be done as long as there is a dollar in the treasury of any of these organizations. (Applause)

Labor fully appreciates what it has to contend with. There is a passage in the greatest textbook of all which runs much like this: “As ye sow, so shall ye reap.” Labor appreciates that fact very

fully and I will say to every man that is empowered with responsibility and power, I say to every man that wants to do his country good and to bring about a proper state of affairs, that they at this time will do likewise and they will forget their desire for enormous profits and they will get in touch with their labor, they will not hold it at a distance.

The average laboring man is most respectful to proper advice, always glad to be approached on any subject on which he is called upon to act and a little consideration given at a proper time and in a proper way will influence his action to a much greater degree than men with greater power and perhaps with more responsibility.

A few months ago the newspapers emblazoned all over this country the fact that there were to be no more strikes. What was the results? Many unfair employers read that with a great degree of satisfaction. They were to be free in the pursuit of their traffic. Such was not the case, however. No such intent was ever expressed by the National Council of Defense. All that was asked that was every consideration be given to peaceful purposes at a time like this before any differences of a serious character should things come to pass.

Time will not permit a great or extended talk in this direction. It is my only purpose on this occasion to try and assure to you gentlemen, who with your superior intellect, intelligence, ability, opportunity and responsibility that go with power and much of the world's goods, that

upon your shoulders, in my belief, rests to a greater degree than ever on labor the successful prosecution of this war. (Applause)

Labor will meet you more than half way. Labor will do its part, and if need be, when the war is over, then it will be time enough for us to have serious differences. (Laughter) I presume we will have the same old trouble, I do not think the millennium has arrived. I expect to face some of it just as I did a few years ago. I expect labor will be confronted with the same thing, but we will do it at a time when the price of freedom is not at stake, when we are blazing the way for industrial peace for the years that will come to this fair land of ours. Labor will do its part, my friends. It is prepared to do it.

A story which perhaps is apropos at this time comes to mind: the story of the preacher who was apt to talk to great length and put his congregation to sleep and who had considerable trouble in keeping them awake, spoke to his boy, an urchin of a few years. He said, "Alright, Pop, I will fix it. You get up in the pulpit and hand out the stuff and I will go down in the congregation with a lot of acorns or something of that kind, and I will keep them awake." I say to you, my friends, if you will see the way to do your part, Labor will keep our common enemy awake. (Great Applause)

The average laboring man is largely a creature of circumstances. He cannot escape his environment; he is hemmed in by it on every side. I echo the sentiments of the eloquent

gentleman who preceded me when I say that laboring man who fails to do his full duty at a time like this in a necessary and proper production which will go to help end this war, is a slacker.

(Applause) No man who has the interest of labor at heart will do so. Therefore, we have a common duty. All men who labor by brain or with brawn, all men who direct or supply the channels of labor, ought to remember that we are made in the same mould, the same responsibilities rest upon us that we should not cease our efforts. We must work together whether we like it or not. We should work together and if we work together awhile, we are very apt to like one another much better. (Applause)

A prominent gentleman said to me a few years ago: “Mr. Sheppard, how can the employers of labor keep in touch with labor and yet retain control?” I said to him, “You must have in mind the old adage that familiarity breeds contempt.” “Yes,” he said, “I guess that’s right.” I said, “My dear Sir, I don’t think you’ll ever get contaminated, get close enough to form any contempt.”

Get closer together, if need be, differ. No laboring or set of laboring men who has got any record, who hasn’t the courage of his convictions. They are square men, they want nothing but what is right. They will not take advantage of this opportunity when the Government is crippled, when it is hemmed in on all sides by great difficulties, to permit their desires and their ambitions to bring down the whole structure on themselves. They are not Samsons, they are builders.

Therefore, I can say in behalf of labor from my knowledge for the past 30 years, as a man who knows nothing else but labor, I can say to you, that the heart of labor beats strong, with every man that is in favor of abolishing this tyrant, of bringing about a state of affairs where Freedom and Liberty shall forever obtain, let us work together for the common good. Fear not for the Bolsheviki, or whatever you may term them – (Laughter and Applause)

This government under which we live is a most beneficent and liberal government that workingmen have ever lived under. They appreciate their privileges; they are not going to tear them down. They are going to build them up and they will cooperate with you to the last drop of their blood and the last penny that they can raise. (Great Applause)

HENRY MORGENTHAU: We will have no intermissions. Mr. Sheppard, we accept the armistice between Capital and Labor. (Laughter) We hope you limit it during the war. We hope Mr. Gompers is going to assure us an armistice during the re-construction period, because we will need it then. (Laughter and Applause)

We have sandwiched in between the two labor leaders a gentleman who has for years devoted much of his time to conciliating the differences between Capital and Labor. You have noticed on your programs that Mr. Cohen is at present Secretary and Counsel to the War Board for the Port of New York, that he is also the author of the book, “Law and Order in Industry.” Besides that he

has rendered great service to all of us and I take great pleasure in introducing Mr. Julius Henry Cohen.

Third Speaker

Julius Henry Cohen,

Secretary and Counsel to the War Board

For the Port of New York

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is characteristic of discussions at the Economic Club that the speeches have some relation to the topic of the evening. You will notice a very unusual arrangement this evening. The topic with which we have become long familiar has usually be “Capital and Labor.” Tonight it is: “Labor and the War” and there are no representatives of Capital on the platform.

The toastmaster of the evening might have been a representative of Capital before he was annexed to the National Democratic part, (Laughter) and his petty cash taken over for the last Fusion campaign. (Laughter)

I am sorry that my friend Colby has left the room, because I wanted to remind him of the days when he was the envy of his professional brethren in representing the progressive though idle rich. Today, he is laboring in Washington more than eighteen hours a day.

I suppose that if Mr. Ely combed this audience, he might find one or two who would be willing to admit that they still are capitalists, but I guess these are people whom the Fuel Administrator or the War Revenue Tax Collector has not yet reached. (Laughter) the truth of the matter is that we are all laborers today. These are the days when the idle rich are not popular. (Applause)

In the questionnaire or classification for drafted men, married men dependent on their wives for support (Laughter) and married men who have habitually failed to support their wives and married men whose wives support them are put in the first line for the trenches. (Laughter) And by way of progress, they passed a statute in Maryland, that all able bodied male persons between the age of 18 and 50 are required to go to work, (Laughter) and in order that there may be no mistake about it the law provided that “all persons able to support themselves by reason of ownership of property or income, and those supported by others shall be included among those required to register under the act.”

That was a significant phrase that Mr. Sheppard used about “the worker with the brain as well as with brawn.” This is a very epoch-making time in England today. Sidney Webb states there that the British Labor Party, “which has never been formally restricted to manual-working wage earners, is now to be publicly thrown open to all workers “by hand or by brain.” Its declared object is to be, not merely the improvement of the conditions of the wage-earner, but “to secure for the producers, by and of by brain, the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable

distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.” The only persons to be excluded (and that, of course, only by inference) are the unoccupied and unproductive recipients of rents and dividends – the so called “idle rich.”

So that under this new reorganization we may all become trade unionists. Now while the idle rich are receiving the respects of the multitude of bran and brawn workers, there is going to be a new attitude towards that type of worker who imagines and constructs and pushes forward industry.

That was rather an indicative remark of Dr. Anna Ingerman, a Socialist, who has been even months in Russia. She said, “I feel that only the genius of capitalism can build up Russia economically and make it strong and virile and healthy. After Capitalism has done its work, Russia will be prepared for Socialism.” (Laughter and Applause)

That means that there is going to be recognized as in the military organization a place for the Captain and the Colonel and the General, so in the industrial organization the place for the man who thinks and plans and pushes forward.

As Berton Braley put it in “The Thinker”

Back of the motors humming,

Back of the belts that sing,

Back of the hammers drumming,

Back of the cranes that swing.

There is the eye that scans them

Watching through stress and strain.

There is the Mind which plans them –

Back of the brawn, the Brain!

Might of the roaring boiler,

Force of the engine's thrust,

Strength of the sweating toiler,

Greatly in these we trust.

But back of them stands the Schemer,

The Thinker who drives things through;

Back of the Job – the Dreamer

Who's making the dreams come true! (Great Applause)

Now if that is the kind of planning, of executive ability, of organization that makes for success in peace times, how comes it so many college presidents are invited, and so few business men, to Washington? Well, there is an answer and the answer is very simple. The answer is Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson! The answer is that we are re-shaping industry and society today

and it takes a reader and a student and a man who studies social events to understand the shape that society is to take in the future. (Applause) With all the ability of the business man to dream, to think, to construct, he does not read, and that is characteristic of our American people. We make progress in this country cataclysmically. (Laughter) The meter to which we set our thinking is catastrophic. We wait until events rise up before us and smash us in the eye and then we try to find out. No, we don't try to find out, we blame the man on the job and never go back to see what the original causes were, isn't that true? (Applause)

Did we have any program for fire prevention in this state until there was a great disaster? Did we try to get a water supply until we had droughts in this community? Did we try to relieve the congestion? Did we try to plan for the added burden upon our Port until we had real congestion? And, gentlemen, the same is true with regard to our industrial problem.

These are nice words that Mr. Sheppard speaks, but underneath it all is the clear recognition that after the wave of patriotism is spent, after the war is over, something is going to happen and what are we doing about it? All our political, all our social ideals forged into a cauldron, the shape of the molten mass to be determined by the mould in which it is going to be poured and we haven't yet got the blueprints for the dies that are to make the moulds!

They are doing some thinking in Great Britain. The stolid Englishman isn't as stupid as he looks. (Laughter)

In the Journal of Commerce for October 21, 1917, appeared this heading: “English planning to rebuild trace – Movement on for Industrial Reconstruction – backed by businessmen, University Professors and Trade Journals,” and these are the recommendations – these gentlemen, including businessmen, organizing for England’s competition with America after the war is over:

- (a) That a national organization, on lines such as those suggested by the Whitley report, should be established, which will retain all the sterling qualities of our present individualistic system and add to them the necessary ordered force to ensure greater activity.
- (b) That such an organization will need to provide for the representation of all classes of persons engaged in a given industry.
- (c) That industry should, therefore, be enfranchised, and every man and woman, employer and employed, given a vocational or trade vote by means of which this representative would be effectively realized.
- (d) That every citizen should have the right to register with some approved trade association or trade union, and thus an industrial or vocational register properly classified would be produced,
- (e) That trade councils should be elected in each industry from the trade associations and the trade unions. Such councils, elected upon a truly representative basis would be able to speak in the names of the whole of their respective industries.

(f) That all questions as between the Government and a given trade should be delegated to the council of that trade, who would have power to deal with them.

(g) That questions of output, education, trade schools, scientific research, export, wages, profits, markets, tariffs, etc., should be settled in each trade by the council of that trade, and national funds spent upon these matters dispensed through the trade councils.

Now, I shall not embarrass by asking this audience how many businessmen read this article, how many cut it out and took it home for reflection. The fact is we haven't begun to think of our reconstruction problem. The fact is that we are content with the era of patriotism, with the spirit of patriotism that is sitting on the lid. That was the meaning of what Mr. Sheppard said to us.

There has recently been published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Volume No. 237, which contains the Reports of the Inquiry in Great Britain on the matter of Industrial Unrest. I just want to read you one or two paragraphs. I haven't any desire tonight to make any point at all. I want to bring to the attention of this audience the fact that there is something to think about.

When the patriotic motive is removed -- and understand this is the report of conservative British manufacturers, labor trade unionists appointed by Parliament to investigate into the conditions of Industrial Unrest and to attempt to find a solution not merely for the war but after the war --

“When the patriotic motive is removed, however, and the ordinary economic forces are again allowed full sway, serious trouble is to be anticipated unless measures are taken without delay to

establish better relations between capital and labor. We do not think that pre-war conditions can be restored and labor be induced to resume its old relations to capital. There is good reason to believe that labor will demand after the war a larger place in industry and we strongly urge that efforts be made without delay to bring about a readjustment of relations by peaceful means rather than to subject the nation to internal strife at a time when all her energies should be concentrated on the important work of reconstruction.”

Commenting upon that report, there appeared this editorial”

“The conviction is deep-seated among those who are giving serious thought to the subject that the task of rebuilding the social and economic fabric on a broader and surer foundation will be rendered much easier if in the organized trades there exists representative bodies to which questions of difficulty can be referred for consideration and advice as they arise.”

This wasn't the utterance of that radical Socialist, Charles M. Schwab, but is appeared as the conclusion of an editorial in the conservative Journal of Commerce, of Friday, November 23, 1917, headed, “Future Organization of Industry.”

Now we have tried some experiments in the way of organizing industry, with counsel and with recognition of the place which organized workers should take and the place which the organized employers should take, and we have failed, and why have we failed? It is impossible, of course, in the limitation of time for an address of this sort, to explain all the reasons, but the most

important reason why we have failed, is because we have lacked just the discipline that was necessary to observe collective agreements, and that is true of both sides of the controversy.

(Applause)

Now, you businessmen know what I am talking about, and you know that I am telling you the truth. You know that there is not greater evil than cancellations in business today, and cancellations mean merely treating your contract as though it were a scrap of paper. (Applause)

You know the most difficult thing that a trade organization has to do, a trade organization of businessmen, is to keep its own members in the observance of the obligations that they honorable assume towards their own competitors, and we all know the breaches that have occurred through strikes that have been called in violation of trade agreements. The truth of the matter is that we have all been educated to such an individualistic competitive method of thinking, that we have used the collective method, the organized method, as a mere excuse of trying to take advantage of the other fellow.

There is just one way that we are going to secure the kind of organization of industry that will make for progress after this war and that is going to be by putting just such kind of an organization as the Whitely Report contemplates, put it on the basis of law, where everybody, the employers as well as the members of the trade unions, are responsible to the law.

It is inconceivable that we shall develop any kind of international compact, international law, which means the enforcement of the obligations between nations, and at the same time permit anarchy to run in industry. (Applause) The real problem today and tomorrow and the day after the war, is not Capital versus labor, or Labor versus Capital, the real question is Anarchy versus Order. (Great Applause)

I want to remind you of what Lloyd George said the other day to the group of trade unions who approached him and took a more or less menacing attitude: “Democracy, put in plain terms, is government by a majority of the people. If one profession, one trade, one section, or one class in a community claims to be immune from obligations which are imposed upon the rest that is a fundamental travesty of the principles of democracy; that is the setting up of a new autocracy. You and I in the past have been fighting against privilege. I hope we shall be fighting on the same side again. We are fighting now against privilege claimed by a military caste. Democracy, if it means anything, must mean that the people of all classes, all sections, all trades and all professions, must merge their privileges and their rights in common stock.” (Great Applause)

It has been a most fortunate thing for us in this country here that the working people have been officially represented by a man who has believed in the constructive and progressive method of accomplishing results for the working people rather than in the destructive method and the disorderly method. (Applause) Not the least of the elements that go to make up the strength of Woodrow Wilson is his understanding of just that fact, and the alliance between Woodrow

Wilson and Samuel Gompers has made it possible to us to feel secure in the conviction that our ships will be built, our railroads will be run and that we won't have the kind of conditions that gave such grave concern to the leaders of England.

But, remember, that unless we are prepared and take time by the forelock, all this motion that is now restrained, all of this controversy that is now checked by the patriotic impulse, will rush forth at once and if we haven't taken the time to sit down with the men whose motives we have to lean to trust and plan out some for of industrial organization that is to follow this war, we are not only going to have a sham democracy and a possible revolution in this country, but we won't be ready to meet the competition of those countries who have had the foresight to look ahead and plan such an industrial organization. (Applause)

In this report, Bulletin No. 237, which I commend to you businessmen -- the Department of Economics in the Public Library is issuing appeals to businessmen to come and use the library -- telephone any time on any of these subjects and ask them to get together for you a group of books that you can read in an afternoon. Why not take advantage of these opportunities now, when some of you are not as busy as you might be, (Laughter) -- on Mondays. (Laughter)

“What is wanted in industry,” says this report, based upon the careful study of British businessmen, solid British businessmen, “is a reconstruction of ideas, and both capital and labor have got to meet together and carry on the machinery of industry on the principle that they must

be ready to reject all prospects of gain which involve loss to others. That this ideal can be reached in the immediate future is not doubt something of a dream, but practical steps, are, we believe, being taken by the Government toward this ideal.”

If it be true that in the future reorganization or reconstruction of industry every man will have to justify his right to compensation, yes, even the right of existence itself, upon the broad basis of his work, his contribution in actual service to the community, whether he be a private, a corporal, a captain, or a general – we shall have all to take orders; we shall all have to observe the rules and regulations, and, as in the National Army today there is not class distinction between money power and man power, - all are in the ranks of service and selected on the basis of qualifications for the position – so we shall have to have discipline and order and service in industry. We may not do this through a system of legalized restraint – we may not call the thing “law”, but if, as the outcome of the war, we secure international law, and international order, we shall inevitable strive to secure industrial law and industrial order. Without something of this sort we shall be a sham democracy. We may not break down as Russia has broken down but we shall not be a safe democracy. We have a selective service law operative during the war for conscripting an army – we shall have nothing of this sort after the war. No Democracy will permit a system of state conscription to be applied in peace times, but we shall have a different viewpoint – we shall have more democracy in industry. It is inconceivable that we shall secure for the masses of men grater political participation in government without educating them to claim greater participation in

industry. It is inconceivable that we shall secure the discipline of international law without educating all the people to the necessity for industrial discipline.

The time has come to recognize that the workers of brain as well as brawn are enrolled in industry. Society needs the brains and experience of the Dreamers and Tinkers in industry as well as the physical strength and technical skill of the minor and mechanic. The time has come for us to sit down with men like Mr. Gompers and plan out a system of organization, that industry that will save us from a state system of organization of industry. The principle underlying these underlying these recommendations by the British Reconstruction Committee is that industry shall govern itself, not that the State shall govern the industry, that is, those men competent in the industry shall govern that industry. There is more hope in that, to my mind, than in any system of State Socialism that has yet been suggested.

These are hard times. They are testing the metal of every one of us. They are testing the capacity, the intelligence, the conscience and the patriotism of every man, no matter what his profession, what his vocation may be, but if there is any lesson that this war teaches us, it is this: We had better look ahead and better be prepared, that we had better begin to shape our ideas now!

There is no greater danger to us than to underestimate the strength of our enemy and the one strength that Germany possesses, the one virtue that we can afford to copy, in Germany's ability

to think collectively, her ability to organize, the ability of her businessmen to plan ahead, and we have got to plan ahead if we want to stay in the International game. (Great Applause)

HENRY MORGENTHAU: Mr. Cohen has referred to the fact I used my small change for the Fusion movement. I am willing to use the rest of what I have if we can bring about a National fusion of all the good elements and I believe that Woodrow Wilson has made all to create that Fusion. He has fused, or at least, the labor movement, organized labor movement has fused with Democracy and we are ready to cross upon Democracy all factions, all parties, -- I do not mean Democracy in a narrow sense, all parties that are ready to fuse in order to fight the wrong and stand up for the right, and I think there is no fine champion of that Fusion than the next speaker, Mr. Samuel Gompers. (Applause)

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have not put my watch upon the desk; I want Mr. Gompers to speak as long as you are willing to listen to him. (Great Applause)

Fourth Speaker

Samuel Gompers

President of the American Federation of Labor

I wonder whether that is an indication for a motion to adjourn within five minutes. (Laughter)

The difficulty, Ladies and Gentlemen, in approaching a subject of this character -- Labor and the War -- without having committed your thoughts to paper, is to know just exactly where to begin. I doubt that in any great gathering within the recent past have we had the great advantage of such wonderful elocution and oratory and such speeches brimful of thought.

So far as I am concerned and the words of commendation of my course, I have but this to say, for if I passed it by without notice at all, I might with some degree of justification be accused of a species of vanity. To me it is the simple performance of duty and is simply the development of a consciousness on the part of our people of Democratic thought and the idealism for Justice.

(Applause)

Some people have made commendations of my utterances and of my work and of my actions and I can say to you, my friends, that I haven't changed one jot. The fact of the matter is you have.

(Laughter and Applause) the course which the men and the women in the American Labor Movement are pursuing is the course that they have outlined from the beginning of their movement. No movement, no cause has ever been judged by the worst. You may take your business organizations, you may take the professional organization, you may take the churches, and all of them are judged by the best of their standards.

In the past it has been quite fashionable to take the worst representative of the American Labor Movement and hold him up as the type of the men in the American Labor Movement. We have

asked, as we ask now, nothing more than that we be judged by the work we have done, by that which we are aiming to do, and that you may give us some fair credit for having done what has already been done.

In America we have had to contend against conditions prevailing in no other country. We now speak derisively or offensively in regard to men who are here owing allegiance to the countries with which we are now at war and their dependencies. We speak with bitterness of men who are opposed to us and our Government and our war, when as a matter of fact these men, aye, many of these men were lured here and brought here in droves, in thousands, and the channels of the ocean kept beaten in bringing them over to our country and put into the industries.

Advertisements were put into the newspapers for workingmen in some of our large industries and expressing a preference for men from Southern Europe, men who are not Americans or English speaking.

In some of our great industrial plants today, there are men who are in a position of tyranny, of injustice, far exceeding that exercised over them in their own countries. These men don't know of our Democratic country; these men don't know of our Republic, they don't know anything about the ideals of America, and we have answered your criticism of wrong doing on the part of the workers by saying that if these men were brought over to the United States into our country, with all the sins of omission and commission upon their head, with all their ignorance, with all their failure to understand, if they were good enough to be brought to the United States to labor

for your profit, they were good enough for us to try and organize them and make better Americans of them. (Great Applause)

Our movement and our men have made mistakes. Perhaps there are some who are infallible, but we are not. In the sum total of our work it is to bring light into the lives and the work of the toilers, to ask, aye, to insist upon equal-handed justice and an opportunity to live the life of American men and of American woman and for an American childhood that shall mean so much for the future of our Republic. (Applause)

Of all the agencies in our civic and our political life, to whom can you point as the instrumentality to secure the lives of the children from exploitation? To the much misunderstood and misrepresented American Labor Movement!

Our friend, Mr. Cohen, the last speaker, referred to the Whitely Report. I am not a businessman, but I do read, (Laughter), and the reports based upon that Whitely Report as to constructive policies inaugurated in and by the Government of England, the recommendations for voluntary institutions, so that Industry shall be governed in the best interests of the Industry and of the community.

To speak of trade unionism or trade union agreement to a very large group of employers, even in our time in the United States, is like waving a red flag to an infuriated bull.

I am afraid that if I indulge myself with the inferential latitude given me by our friend, Mr. Morgenthau, the Chairman, I should tire your patience of presenting this speech in anything like printed form, but I cannot avoid taking advantage of the opportunity to tell you that in nine-tenths of the industrial disputes that have been going on within the past six months, they are more largely due to the fact that employers, either individual, or organized, or in groups or corporations, refused to set down and hear the representatives of the working people, who desired to present to the employers a condition which was unbearable and intolerable, and when an investigation by the representatives of the Government of the United States, through mediation, employers, brought before these mediators, admitted frankly that had they known the conditions which existed, they would have met the employees to hear of them and to have remedied them.

I shall not go on with that lead, for it would bring me too far afield from the discussion of the question of “Labor and the War” which, from the program, I see, is the one set for discussion.

I think it is necessary to make one statement, for I want to be corrected, or, if I speak that which is true, I would wish that the statement be not repeated, a statement made this evening.

I think there is no man or woman in this great audience tonight who was more deeply touched with the magnificent address of Mr. Colby than I was. It touched me to the very core. About the

last part of his address, he made a statement that the men, the workers, must get to the shipyards and build ships.

I have read in the record of the hearing before a Committee of Congress, within this past few days, that Admiral Bowles, in his testimony before that Committee, declared that there is no shortage of labor in the shipyards, but on the contrary, they have as many men as they can give work to or find work for, and If Admiral Bowles' statement is true, the appellation of "slackers" to the shipyard workers does not apply.

The men in the American Labor Movement, and the women, have made their declaration, and not only the leaders, but from the rank and file come the response "that we will do our full duty." (Applause)

Since we are rather indulging in suggestion, or thought inspiring statements, we might give some little attention to those who were called upon by the Director General of the Railroads to see and learn how much they are doing to make the Government operation successful.

It may be a suggestive thought to find out how much the mine owners are doing to make fuel conservation successful. (Applause) And when we are so ready to apply the term "slacker" to workers who are giving their all, it is not entirely inappropriate, at least, to think of the other side. (Laughter and Applause)

I am afraid if we undertake to remedy industrial and political and social unrest, we will have undertaken a rather good-sized job.

Unrest? What is it after all? It is the economic and social leaven for the uplift of man. Unrest is not undesirable -- the question in which direction that Unrest shall make itself manifest. You can't put men in straight jackets and...

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I don't want to take any credit for myself, for I simply was given the opportunity and to do less would have been neglect or lack of understanding or lack of devotion to my people and to my country, and it was due more, aye, primarily and almost alone to the American Labor Movement, which organized as it is, brought into existence another body of workers, the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, and the test was: Loyalty to the American Government. (Great Applause) That movement silenced and rove under cover the so called People's Council, that so called pacifist movement, which Mr. Colby so excellently described, which is pacifist because it is unreasoning and fails to understand how peace can be attained.

Probably there is no better encouragement, no better legislative thing ever done in this or any other country than the declaration adopted by the Congress of the United States and which is now law.

Our friend, Mr. Sheppard, referred to the fact that employers have too often regarded the workers as a commodity and treated them like a commodity and bought and treated them according to their concept of the law of supply and demand. The Congress of the United States adopted a law and in that law the specific statement was made that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. (Applause) It was the recognition for the first time in the history of the world that in addition to being a worker, a worker was a man or woman, (Applause), a human being, and there has been...

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...permitted to remain at peace or whether we were dragged into the war, and on March 12, 1917, one of the greatest conferences of representative labor men ever assembled in America met in Washington.

I want to take a few moments to read two or three paragraphs of the closing of that declaration. Bear this in mind, my friends, that this was nearly a month before the President of the United States appeared before Congress and delivered his wonderful message and nearly four weeks

before the Congress of the United States declared that we were in a state of war against the Imperial German Government. This is the declaration adopted by a unanimous vote:

“The present war discloses a struggle between the institutions of Democracy and those of Autocracy. As a nation, we should profit from the experiences of other nations. Democracy cannot be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of Democracy and scientific principles of human welfare, then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism, a structure that will stand the test of the necessities of peace or war.

“We, the Officers of the National and International Trade Unions of America, in national conference assembled in the Capitol of our Nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of Liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic.

In this solemn hour in our Nation’s Life, it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace, that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war, that they may have the opportunity to develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization, but despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of life, liberty and justice herein declared as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity, to defend, safeguard and preserve the Republic

of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow-workers and fellow-citizens, in the high name of Labor, Justice, Freedom and Democracy to devotedly and patriotically give like services.” (Tremendous Applause)

I may say this in addition to that declaration, that after the war, after we entered into the war, the men of labor declared as they did, supported it, and when the matter came up fully before the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Buffalo, the entire proposition and declaration was adopted by a practically unanimous vote. (Great Applause)

The President of the United States, that leader, that spokesman for Liberty and Democracy of the world, (Great Applause) the Honorable Woodrow Wilson came to our convention and especially gave the message of the country’s hope and confidence of absolute unity of purpose and service to win this war. (Great Applause) And may I suggest to our businessmen here and elsewhere, who are employers of labor, not to regard the President’s declaration in an academic sense. It is being practically worked out, and if he can come to the men and women of labor in their great international convention, it is not going to soil your skirts if you will meet the representatives of the workers in your employ. (Great Applause)

Our movement is to build up, to try and make life the better worth living today, and try to make tomorrow and tomorrow’s tomorrow each a better day than the one that has gone before. It is to deal with us in such a constructive movement when the ordinary natural and rational

development of better life shall come to the workers, - to deal with an irresponsible gang. It is your choice.

Labor and the War – we are going to have a better time. England is not and will never go back to the old conditions before the war. During the Boer War, when England called upon her workers for military and naval service, she found that the large mass of her workers were below size and the Government had to lower its standards in order to get men to fight. Someone has said that if the war in England had been set over three months later, there would have been a social revolution there. I don't believe it, it isn't true. The fact of the matter was that the working people, a large mass of the working people of England had become so submerged, physically and mentally and industrially, that they were not fit to make an industrial revolution.

The war, in spite of all the sacrifices which have been made, is the rejuvenation of England.

(Applause) The narrow-chested, bent-back of so large a proportion of the British workers has gone and gone forever. Under the training and the nutritious food given and the open air life afforded them, has made of the British workers, the British soldiers, the men standing erect, and no longer will they be typified like the man with the hoe with bent back. They stand erect and after this war, don't let any of us fool ourselves that these men are going back to England, or France, or to America, crestfallen and broken-hearted. They are going home with new ideas, with new ideals and new purposes and new concepts.

Thousands and thousands of years ago we read that the question was asked of a very conspicuous biblical character: “Am I my brother’s keeper?” and that question is in the answering of the near future and this war will answer the question in the affirmative. (Applause) New concepts of rights, of duty, of service, and the relations between man and man in industry, in the social aspect, in our political life, in our international life, and there are not going to be any scraps of paper torn up when this war is over and Democracy triumphant over the whole world. (Great Applause) And I hold, much as we may regret it, that the people of Germany have not performed what we believe to be their duty in this crucial hour, in the crucial time. Democracy must be brought to Germany. If the German people fail to crush militarism, autocracy and militarism, then it is the duty of the Democracies of the world to rid Germany and the German people from that system. (Applause)

You see in the newspapers the statement that possibly Austria may make a separate peace. Of course, it may be farfetched for me to discuss these international questions but I cannot restrain myself from expressing it. Now and since the war and for years before, Austria-Hungary has been the vassal and the tool of the German autocracy. The opportunity is Austria now to break away from Germany in this hour and to make common cause with the democracies of the world. Austria will win her independence from Germany. (Applause)

Even though it be scarcely as a logical sequence of my statements, I want to call attention to an incident which I witnessed last week, when in attendance at the convention of the Coal Miners of

America, at Indianapolis, hung along the ceiling of that great hall -- Tomlinson Hall, in which the convention was held -- there was a service flag and on it were 19,600 stars, members of the United Mine Workers of America. (Applause)

The pledged themselves, as have every other bon fide labor movement of America, to absolute loyal service to our country and to our allies. And we are not talking peace, either, (Applause) with the present military situation. Much as I abhor war, if I could stop this war by the turn of my hand, the hand wouldn't be turned, (Great Applause) not now, not now. (Great Applause) To end the war now would be the triumph of Kaiserism and Militarism. (Applause) To end the war now and the hope for a desirable and a permanent peace will have been wasted for generations. To end the war now will give to the historian of this time the justification to write that Militarism and Autocracy has triumphed over Democracy. Such a position where Injustice and Tyranny shall be triumphant, no man with red blood in his veins, who loves his fellows, will ever give his assent. Either Kaiserism must surrender or be crushed. (Applause) When the military hordes of Germany and Austria are back from Serbia, back from Romania, back from Belgium, back from France on their own territory then when they want to talk peace we will talk peace to them. (Great Applause)

I want to, if I can, impress upon the minds of the men and the women with whom I come in contact of the need for service and of sacrifice. Now is the time that tries men's souls. Now is the time in the world's history as compared, as never before in the world's history, is the demand

that men shall be willing to dare and to do, so that you and you and you and I and the thousands and the millions of the men and women of our time shall not only be permitted to live their own lives and work out their own salvation, but the children, and the children's children, the millions yet unborn to them, must be left a heritage of a darkened age, of beclouded conditions, of horror, of tyranny, of injustice, or un-freedom, or that they shall feel that we have done our duty in our time and given them the opportunity to carry on this mission and this work of human justice and human liberty.

It devolves upon us now, every man to his post and every man giving the service of which he is capable. Work, yes, work.

History, investigation, statistics, experience, all show that a normal work day for the toilers will produce the very best results in production, in quantity as well as quality. In the event of any great emergency, we will not only work even hours or eight hours, but any old hours to save the ideals of our country. (Great Applause) Let me add we will do that for our country and for its ideals and its principles, everything for America, nothing for private profiteering. (Great Applause)

I think I am going to inflict something upon you that I intended. It always struck me as being one of the finest expressions of heroism that I have yet seen in print and rhyme. I can imagine the Belgian soldier in the plight as described in this brief poem: "The Battle Cry" by John Neihardt:

More than half beaten, but fearless,
Facing the storm and the night;
Breathless and reeling, but tearless,
More in the lull of the fight,
I who bow not but before Thee,
God of the fighting clan,
Lifting my fists I implore Thee,
Give me the heart of a Man!
What though I live with the winners,
Or perish with those who fall,
Only the cowards are sinners,
Fighting the fight is all.
Strong is my foe -- he advances,
Snapt is my blade, O Lord,
See the proud banners and lances
Oh, spare me this stub of a sword!
Give my no pity, nor spare me,
Calm not the wrath of my foe,
See where he beckons to dare me,
Bleeding, half beaten, -- I go.

Not for the glory of winning,
But for the fear of the night,
Shunning the battle in sinning --
Oh, spare me the heart to fight!
Red is the mist about me,
Deep is the wound in my side;
“Coward” thou cries to flout me,
O terrible foes, thou hast lied!
Here with my battle before me,
God of the fighting clan,
Grant that the woman who bore me
Suffered to suckle a man!
(Great Applause)

We are neither half beaten nor have we had more pain thus far scarcely than having our nails
manicured. (Laughter)

We are going to get into it, and Oh, that every man and every woman in all this Republic of ours
come to the rescue of the gallant, heroic men and women of Britain, France, Belgium, Serbia and
Italy and help in this great human struggle and with all the hope and the confidence of our

triumph in this great cause, it may be that the sun shall shine upon a people of the whole world in peace and justice and living in human brotherhood. (Tremendous applause)