

CHAPTER IX

LABOR PRESS AND COOPERATIVES

THE larger the community, the greater is the power of the press. It may be said that the power of the press increases as the power of the spoken word decreases. During the period in which the labor organizations of the needle trades developed, the press in America was gaining rapidly in influence. The city population grew enormously, social and industrial relations became steadily more complicated. The links connecting producer and consumer have now so multiplied that the appreciation of the connection has almost disappeared from the mind of the man in the street. With the development of large corporations the relation between the job holder and the power controlling the job has become more impersonal. The intricate development of the money and credit system has still further removed from the people any expert knowledge of their economic environment. With increased transportation facilities, the ties holding together small communities have weakened. The exchange of opinion between neighbors, local gossip and tradition, have declined and lost their effect. Ever increasing specialization narrows the range of personal experience of the wage-worker.

The isolation of man in the modern city is unique. It may be compared with the isolation of the tree-dweller among the ravaging elements. Our social and industrial environment are to the modern city dweller as fetichized, all-powerful and incomprehensible forces as were the powers of nature to the tree-dweller—and they have the same suppressive effect. And the average man must depend upon the press for almost all the information on which his interpretation of life is based. He must depend upon it for his imaginative connection with the world as a whole. The concepts suggested day by day, supported as they are by information supplied, and protected by the withholding of information, influence more and more profoundly the social viewpoint of the reader.

Industrial development not only made it possible for a single newspaper to reach hundreds of thousands of people, but it also brought about the concentration of control of the news. As a result, the selection and treatment of news becomes increasingly uniform. With a few exceptions, the people receive the same information in approximately the same form. A virtual uniformity may be observed also in opinions, both in the news and the editorial columns. For months the entire press suggested the idea that the Russian Soviet government was wicked and unstable. Then for weeks it prepared us, with equal thoroughness, for a recognition of the Soviet government. With the same information supplied in the same form, and with the same suggestions

offered daily to the minds of the people, their views of life must to a great extent become stiff and ready-made. Consideration of the dangers in such artificial uniformity, making life colorless, leveling the people by machine-made ideas, replacing the conflict of thought with the conflict of brute selfishness, lies beyond the scope of this book, though it would make an interesting contribution to a study of the degeneracy of modern industrial society. We are directly concerned, however, with the influence of the capitalized press upon the labor movement.

For the press is now as much a part of business enterprise as is any other great industry. The metropolitan daily or the chain of newspapers and the popular magazine with a national circulation are, if they are making money, financially in exactly the same position as any industrial corporation. A newspaper or magazine publisher depends upon the same sources of credit as do other large proprietors. If the journal is one which is not profitable, it is likely to exist for no other purpose than to express the views of someone with enough money to support it. Frequently the holder of newspaper shares or bonds is also the holder of industrial shares and bonds. Often he is a landowner. He applies the same policies wherever his influence counts. The newspaper and magazine publisher, with almost negligible exceptions, by his social and economic position, by his education, belongs to the class against whose encroachment the labor movement struggles.

The character of the owners and managers of the

press would of itself, without any deliberate intention on their part, give to their publications a tone out of harmony with the inherent aspirations of the labor movement. In selecting from the enormous flow of events what deserves public notice and what does not, what is to be stressed and what minimized, the most candid publisher has little other guide than his own view of life and the prevailing opinions of the social group to which he belongs. Only in those few issues where there is involved the most immediate and obvious interest of the people who read his paper will their opinion be sufficiently crystallized to furnish a check to his normal inclination. By force of mere circumstance, the press gives prominence to such news and opinion as may justify the existing social order, as will suggest that its fundamentals are eternal. The press will naturally support the cause of the employers in most clashes with employees. On the other hand, the press usually avoids any news or opinions which might suggest that the present social order is but a passing and imperfect stage in the history of mankind, or which might exalt the cause of the workers as against that of their employers.

By virtue of the same disposition the press discriminates among different types of labor organization. While the labor movement was establishing itself it was in great measure ignored. Now that the movement as a whole has become an unavoidable evil the press seeks to play one part of it against another, to favor those forms of organization which

are least inimical to the interests of private capital. It rarely favors them as against employers, but it frequently holds them up for the emulation of factions of the labor movement which it seems to consider more dangerous. When Mr. Gompers opposes a political party for labor, he is praised in the highest terms, but when he supports the striking steel workers or miners, the press sadly notes that he is losing his good judgment. The press gives preference to company-welfare unionism as against uplift or friendly unionism, to uplift as against business unionism, to business unionism as against the new or socialist unionism. The natural tendency of the press is to select such news, to couch it in such terms, to introduce it with such headlines, and to cap it with such editorials as to create in the working people an attitude most favorable to those parts of the labor movement towards which employers have least hostility.

These tendencies of the press have lately been much strengthened by a well considered and conscious policy on the part of many large corporations. The development of the newspaper has made it dependent for solvency upon its advertising columns. Selling at a price considerably below the cost of production, the newspaper derives its revenue from the advertisers. The prosperity of business enterprise thus becomes more directly than ever the concern of the publisher. He becomes the defender of advertisers as a class. The employers in any one industry might take a liberal position when

there is a conflict between labor and capital in another industry. A similar division sometimes occurs between local sections of industry, or between different classes of employers in the same industry. As long as the press was guided merely by the personal inclinations of the publisher, it was able to favor the cause of the workers in any strike which did not touch it too closely. In a large number of minor industrial conflicts the press has in the past remained unbiased.

But with the dependence of the press on advertisers, and the rapidly growing mobilization of advertisers through chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, and their innumerable ramifications, any objective attitude towards the labor movement has a tendency to disappear. The advertising and publicity departments of business firms are now closely linked together, and few journals are strong enough to gain the patronage of advertisers if their news and editorials on so vital a subject as labor do not find favor with the "publicity" experts of big business. It would be a mistake to think that this influence often takes so crude a form as threats or bribes. It does not need to. It is good form for American editors to think what the managers of business think, just as in autocratic courts one does not contradict royalty. Moreover, few large corporations rely any longer upon the initiative of the newspaper in gathering industrial news; they interpose their own press agents between the reporter and the facts. From a mere uncon-

scious coloring of news, from a mere natural bias, the press has come to the point of garbling, suppressing, and falsifying news as a result of calculated and aggressive propaganda, not only in favor of the existing social order, but of any condition which the employers of any great industry are bent on continuing.¹ This propaganda misleads not only the general public, but, what is more serious from the labor point of view, the workers themselves.

It was not, however, the anti-labor attitude of the general press so much as its total blindness to the labor movement which first impelled English-speaking unions to found journals for their immediate needs. As soon as the unions became national in scope, the spoken word became insufficient to supply the members with information concerning the activities of their own organization or with the ideas necessary to strengthen their cohesion. Such information was indispensable in time of industrial conflict. The national labor unions were therefore compelled to establish their own organs, for the most part monthlies and weeklies. Up to the early 'seventies over 100 such papers had come into existence. Since

¹ This growing hostility of the press to the labor movement is of course a process which in the end leads to the negation of its own purpose. When it goes far enough it becomes so apparent that it loses its effect. Many working people have now ceased to take news at its face value, and have begun to clamor for a press of their own. Thus the Central Labor Union of Seattle established during the war its own daily paper, the *Seattle Union Record*, which at last accounts had the largest circulation of any daily in the Northwest. Other similar projects are in formation. There is now a special cooperative press service for labor papers. The unreliability of the New York City press on labor matters explains the growing influence of the socialist New York *Call* among anti-socialist elements of labor.

then they have multiplied and have remained an institution of the American labor movement. The journals of the several unions originally could not, and later have not contemplated any competition with the general press. Their scope has remained limited to the immediate trade interests of the respective organizations. As a result, they have been unable to combat effectively the steadily increasing pressure of the general press upon the mind of the worker: upon his attitude toward economic and social conditions, the remedial measures for the most obvious evils from which he suffers, or his half-conscious dreams for the modification of the present structure of society. In this way a division of spheres of influence has come about between the general press and the labor journals, within the mind of the worker. The union member has become accustomed to taking his economics, his politics, his philosophy, his science and art, from the general publication, and his narrow trade interests, discussions concerning his hours and wages, and the politics of his organization, from his union journal.

Thus it happens that the American labor union press, though it is many times larger than the labor press of any other country, has remained until recently without any noticeable influence upon public opinion or upon the broader policies of the community. The general public in this country hardly knows of the existence of this press, while in European countries the comparatively few labor publications are frequently quoted by the general press and

exert a noticeable influence upon the currents of public opinion.

This narrowness of the American union journal has no doubt had its share in the development of the social viewpoint of the old unionism. Man's mind is not after all divided as in water-tight compartments; the sources from which he derives his more fundamental conceptions will rule many of his minor interests. The dependence of the old unionism on the capitalist press can easily be traced in the bitter hostility of the adherents of business unionism towards socialism, in their lack of a conception of solidarity of the labor movement, and especially in the striking identity of the terms with which leaders of the conservative unions and the capitalist editors attack the more radical sections of the labor movement. The method of approach, the arguments used, and the very style are so remarkably similar that some statements of the representatives of business unionism can hardly be distinguished from statements by leaders of the financial world. The theory of a complete mutuality of interest between capital and labor, of round-the-table bargaining as the paramount cause of improvement, and the emphasis on "immediate betterments" as the dominant motive of the labor movement, carry all the earmarks of that interpretation of life which underlies the selection of news and opinion by our business editors. Traces of the same influence are also apparent in the bitter hostility which the old unionism has to all forms of independent political action by labor. Such

identity, not only in basic principles but also in forms of language, would hardly have been possible without the uniform, steady, and powerful mental pressure exerted by the general press, uncorrected by any effective resistance from the union journals.

Many of the labor weeklies are even private enterprises which, though they are recognized as the official organs of city or state central bodies, are just as dependent on big advertisers as are the capitalist papers themselves. With the theories of business unionism firmly established, there was no good reason why labor publications should not seek the support and patronage of business proprietors. Such support, of course, could not remain without influence on the policy of the papers. A flagrant instance of this sort was a journal published in Pittsburgh, which until the late fall of 1919 still had the indorsement of the city central body. It was, nevertheless, attacking the current steel strike and its leaders in terms as virulent as any employed by the capitalist press, and was accepting advertisements from the big business interests of the district. The indorsement was of course withdrawn in this case.

The press serving the needle trades from the time when union organization was first attempted followed an entirely different course of development. The workers in these industries were nearly all immigrants. The general English-language press did not have the slightest influence on them for many years. Even if the workers could have read English,

the mental attitudes and traditions of the immigrants were such that the general press was not adapted to their requirements. They had to depend for their daily stock of information and opinion upon journals of their own.

Catering to the immigrant masses who spoke their native languages and were mostly laborers or poor tradesmen, these papers never developed into substantial capitalist institutions. By their birth and environment, by their social position and economic status, the publishers of the foreign-language papers were little removed from the people they served. Advertising was almost negligible, and the little there was consisted largely of notices of labor meetings, and classified and personal columns. As a result the daily press, as far as the needle trades are concerned, has been for many years a labor press, and became so long before the unions found it either necessary or possible to develop journals of their own. Since the Jews are the prevailing element in the needle trades and it is with them that the labor organizations originated, it will be sufficient here to trace the development of the Jewish press.

In the early 'eighties, when the great flood of Jewish immigration began its flow to New York, there were two small general Jewish papers in the city, the weekly *Yiddishe Gazetten* and the *New Yorker Zeitung*. Both spoke for the orthodox religious elements, and were extremely hostile to all the currents of radical thought that were so stormily struggling for the adherence of the Jewish masses. Their anti-

pathy to the workers was so primitive and crude that it soon deprived them of influence among the garment trades. As early as June, 1886, two worker-intellectuals, Ch. Rayefsky and Abraham Cahan, the present editor of the Jewish daily *Forward*, made an unsuccessful attempt to issue a paper representing the socialist and labor point of view, *Die Naye Zeit*. It existed only a few weeks and disappeared in July of the same year. An indication of the status of the Jewish press at this time is that the "financial" partner in this enterprise, Mr. Rayefsky, was employed in a soap factory at \$6.00 a week.

A more substantial and successful enterprise was the New York *Yiddische Volks Zeitung*, a weekly publication which began to appear at the end of June, 1886, and existed for three and a half years, until 1890. The publishers were two socialists who put several hundred dollars into the business. The paper attempted to maintain an impartial attitude with regard to the socialist factions of the East Side. At the same time, however, it definitely supported the socialist movement as a whole, and was loyal to the United Hebrew Trades. The paper devoted much space to popular articles on natural science, thus indicating the diversity of interest among the Jewish workers of that time. Occasionally serious works on economics were serialized, for example, *Wages and Capital*, by Karl Marx. Thus the pioneer general Yiddish newspaper included both the socialist and educational features which are characteristic of the labor organizations in the needle trades.

In March, 1890, the organized socialists, after a split with the anarchists, founded a weekly, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, which presently was recognized as the official organ of the United Hebrew Trades. In 1894 the same group began the publication also of an evening daily, the *Abendblatt*. Both these papers existed until the middle of 1902. After the division in the Socialist Labor Party in 1897, the *Abendblatt* remained the official organ of the parent body, while the Jewish members of the new Socialist Party established the Jewish daily *Forward*, which was destined to play a large part in the labor movement in the needle trades.

During the first few years of its existence the *Forward* had a precarious footing, its fortunes varying as the Socialist Labor Party or the Socialist Party temporarily gained the upper hand. Only since 1902 has the *Forward* become the universally recognized newspaper of the Yiddish-speaking workers. Its circulation in that year was 18,000 and has since then steadily increased. It reached 72,000 in 1908, and it is now about 200,000.

In a recent issue of the *Forward* (September 14, 1919) Max Pine, who was one of its founders, writes of the initial struggle of this publication:

"The writer remembers an evening when a meeting of the Publishing Society was called and it was explained that there was no money available to start the publication. Almost the entire night was spent on a discussion of funds. It was decided that notwithstanding the fact that there was no money, we proceed at once to issue the

Forward. However impossible it may sound now, that it was decided to publish a newspaper without money, it is nevertheless a fact. Nothing but boundless enthusiasm, wonderful optimism, the aspiration to accomplish a great and noble task, could have made this possible. When finally the decision was reached—it was almost dawn—it was decided to raise at least \$500.00. Considering the impoverished state of the labor movement at that time this was a considerable sum. A motion was passed that everyone should contribute to this \$500.00 fund. Those who had no money on hand hurried home, roused their neighbors, borrowed and returned with their share. The \$500.00 was raised. Two offices were rented, one for the editorial office and the composing room and another for the business office. The editorial office was on Duane Street and the business office was in Debs' place where Seward Park is located at present, just opposite the present *Forward* Building. After the composing room was fitted up with old stands and cases for the type and other typographical materials, there were only a few dollars left with which the publication of a daily paper, the *Forward*, was begun—a paper which at present has a circulation of over 200,000. The first number of the *Forward* appeared on May 20, 1897, and it has since appeared regularly without interruption until the present day."

No other daily in America has for so long a period been so closely knit with the labor movement as the *Forward*. Only recently, with the appearance of the *Seattle Union Record*, has there arisen an English-language daily that can be compared with it in circulation and influence among the unions. The *Forward* is issued by a private corporation, the *Forward Association*, to which only members of the Socialist Party approved by two-thirds majority of

the members of the Association can be elected. While the Association controls the property and business of the *Forward*, its members make no investment and of course receive no dividends. After expenses are paid, the surplus income is used in the enterprise itself. The *Forward Association* also makes frequent contributions to various branches of the labor movement. Besides being a socialist journal, the *Forward* is also a labor paper in the narrower sense of the word. It devotes at least as much space to the trade-union movement, especially in the needle trades, as to the socialist movement. The columns dealing with the clothing unions are fully representative of the spirit and policy of these organizations.

The workers in the needle trades have thus not suffered from any such division between the general and the labor press as that which has so profoundly influenced the English-speaking labor movement. From the beginning their daily newspaper has also been their labor journal, and only after the unions were firmly established and their character definitely formed did separate union journals appear. These are, moreover, kindred in spirit to the daily press read by the members.

From time to time other socialist or radical publications have existed in competition with the *Forward*. In the early days the anarchist factions started a number of journals. The only one of these to survive is the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*—but its express anarchist character has disappeared long since. At present a stronger influence is perhaps exerted

by *Die Naye Welt*, a weekly publication of the Jewish Socialist Federation, and by *Der Yiddisher Kempfer*, the organ of the Poale Zion, a nationalist socialist society of workers favoring the establishment of a Jewish cooperative commonwealth in Palestine. Outside of their special interests, these publications devote their space to articles on questions of the day, as well as on the history, theory, and practice of the labor movement in this country and abroad.²

An English-language socialist press grew up as the English-speaking members of the needle-trades unions increased, through the gradual acclimatization of the immigrant worker and the entry of American-born men and women into the industry. The first English socialist daily which had much influence in the needle trades was the *Daily People* of the Socialist Labor Party, of which the late Daniel DeLeon was the editor. It appeared first on June 28, 1900, and went out of existence on February 21, 1914. Its influence, however, had long been waning by the time of its extinction, with the influence of the party it represented. Ever since 1902 members of the Socialist Party, with the cooperation of the clothing unions, had been making efforts to establish a paper of their own, and as a result the New York

² With the development of a substantial middle class among the Jewish population a general press somewhat similar in nature to the capitalist English-language papers has begun to appear, but the process has not yet gone far. The various bourgeois dailies now existing in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago must still depend for much of their circulation upon the working masses. To exist at all they must remain liberal and at least impartial in industrial disputes. Among their editorial staffs they include numerous socialists, and their policy is indefinite. Their influence among the workers is limited and they may be left out of consideration.

Call appeared on May 30, 1908. This paper has had a steady growth, in spite of many difficulties, especially those put in its way by the Postmaster General during the war. To a degree, it has before for the English-speaking members of the clothing unions—as well as for many others—what the *Forward* is for the Yiddish-speaking membership.

When the labor organizations in the clothing industry grew strong, the general press could no longer satisfy all their needs. Founded as they were on the democratic participation of their membership, it became necessary for them to bring the main problems of their organizations before all their members. The life of the unions became more rich and complicated as they grew, and no general press, even the most sympathetic, could find sufficient space for all their special problems.

The first union in the needle trades to issue its own paper was the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers. The *Cap Makers Journal*, a monthly, first appeared in May, 1903, and lived for three years. It was published both in Yiddish and English. The chief reason for its existence was the controversy in which this international was involved with the I. W. W. To combat the influence and expose the methods of the latter, to make the membership understand the dangers which threatened the disruption of the young international, was its task. After the battle was won, the journal ceased to appear (1906). It was revived in September, 1916, primarily because

of the jurisdictional controversy in which the organization became involved with the United Hatters, which again threatened disruption. The publication was needed, however, on other grounds as well, since the union had become much larger and its problems more numerous. At present the Cap Makers publish two bi-weekly papers, one in English and the other in Yiddish, both called *The Headgear Worker*.

The Cloakmakers made an attempt in August, 1905, to issue a weekly, *The Cloakmaker*. It lived only a few months. It was revived in September, 1910, under the name of *Die Naye Post*. After that it appeared continuously until in 1919 it was merged with all the other publications issued by the various subsidiary unions of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, in the weekly of the International, *Justice*, which has Yiddish and Italian editions called *Gerechtigkeit* and *Giustizia*, respectively. The other needle-trades organizations have now numerous journals in the principal languages spoken by their members. Even so small an organization as the Neckwear Makers published a monthly journal for a time, as did the Fancy Leather Goods Workers. It is unnecessary to enter into the history of each of these publications. In most cases they are distributed free to the entire membership.

Among the more important publications not mentioned above are those of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers: *Advance*, English-language weekly, *Fortschritt*, weekly, *Industrial Democracy* in both Polish and Bohemian, bi-weeklies, *Darbas*, Lithuanian bi-

weekly, and *Rabochy Golos*, Russian monthly. The International Fur Workers Union publishes the *Fur Worker*, a monthly with English and Yiddish editions, and regular departments in Italian, French and Russian.

Two characteristics distinguish most of these journals—the wide range of subjects treated and the effort to deal with these subjects from a broad social viewpoint. Their pages are never devoted to trade matters only. Half or more of their space is given over to events in the labor movement, both in this country and abroad, and to the social, industrial, and political life of America. Virtually every kind of material found in the general magazine, including the short story and literary and dramatic criticism is found at some time or other among their contents. This wide range of subjects results from a habit of thinking of life as an entirety, as a unit of which their particular trade is but a single phase. Of still greater significance is the method of treatment. It is easy to discern a painstaking endeavor to discuss each question on the basis of general principles. The vicissitudes of the several organizations, of the labor movement, and of the entire body politic are scanned, not so much in the light of some immediate interest or policy, as of the enduring interest and ultimate emancipation of the working class. Just as in industrial action the new unionism is inherently hostile to the policy of living only from hand to mouth, of being concerned entirely with immediate betterments as they may be secured, so in the mental

and spiritual sphere the new unionism is hostile to the method of thinking from hand to mouth and disregarding basic principles in each new situation which arises. It rather emphasizes the development of an all-embracing philosophy of life.

Cooperative enterprises on the part of labor are closely akin to its ventures in journalism, since they too are efforts to supply substitutes for the insufficient and often harmful social services offered to the workers by a business civilization. The first cooperative undertakings by the needle-trades unions, however, were for immediate benefit rather than for any far-reaching purpose. The International Ladies' Garment Workers, having established the dental clinic and the sanitarium mentioned in Chapter V, went on to create a place of rest and recuperation for members who did not need medical attention. This project was initiated by Local 25 of New York, the women dress and waistmakers. A vacation resort near the Delaware Water Gap in Pennsylvania, named Forest Park, was provided at a cost of about \$100,000. The park consists of 750 acres of woodland, and includes an 80-acre lake. In it there are twelve houses with capacity for 500 workers. Athletic recreational facilities such as swimming pools, tennis courts, and bowling alleys have been constructed. A pleasant walk leads to the beautiful Bushkill waterfall. Thus, when seeking relief from the noisy shops, the hot pavements, and the crowded tenements, the girls of this union no longer have to compete with women who can

afford expensive resorts, most of which are after all not adapted to those seeking rest and intimacy with nature. The Philadelphia waistmakers, Local 15, have provided for themselves a summer home also, earning the \$50,000 necessary by overtime work. This local has in the city a cooperative lunchroom, which serves good food at low prices.

In the establishment of consumers' cooperative stores the clothing unions have naturally been out-distanced by such unions as the miners, who, living in isolated communities as they do, have found co-operation a more obvious remedy for extortionate prices. In large cities private retail shops are so numerous and expenses like rent and taxes are so high that the cooperative is later of development and finds a less secure footing than in the smaller towns. Nevertheless the Italian local 48 of the Ladies' Garment Workers has established two cooperative groceries in New York, and their example has been followed by a few members of the waistmakers. This movement will develop more rapidly when the union has its own building and can devote space to a wholesale.

The most substantial and far-reaching cooperative plans are those formed at the Chicago conference in February, 1920, in which the Amalgamated Clothing Workers participated, together with railway and other large unions, and various organizations of farmers.³ This is not the place to discuss all the

³ In the absence of President Benjamin Schlesinger in Europe, the International Ladies' Garment Workers were not represented, but they will probably participate in the work.

projects of the conference, which include a wide extension of both consumers' and producers' cooperation and the direct interchange of commodities among the several groups. One of these plans, however, directly and immediately concerns the needle trades. That is the foundation by the clothing unions of a cooperative bank in New York. This bank will be a depository for the funds of the organizations, which taken together are no inconsiderable sum, and also for the savings of their members. The money thus made available will not be used, as it now is in ordinary banking institutions, for the encouragement of private business enterprise, but for building loans to the unions themselves, for loans to cooperatives, and for the financing of other projects, such as newspapers, in which labor has a special interest. Since these great and firmly established unions have at least as good credit as the average business concern, and the aggregate earning power of their members is enormous and can never as a whole be destroyed, the stability of such a bank is beyond question. It is intended, moreover, to be one of a chain scattered throughout the country and serving the unions in many industries. An industrial depression would probably affect it less than a bank dependent on the solvency of business concerns, since it is almost inconceivable to think of the earning power of so many thousand workers being cut off sufficiently to wipe out its resources. Technical legal obstructions may arise in its path, but if they do, this will merely be an additional

argument for labor to mobilize and use more effectively its political power.

In the end such banks will give labor a positive economic leverage it has never before been able to exercise—a partial control of credit. It would be inaccurate to say that in society as at present constituted this power will seriously compete with capitalist credit, but it will be a considerable influence in the struggle to make the working majority, rather than the privileged few, the center of our culture. In the hands of the old narrow unionism such a power would be not only dangerous to society as a whole, but to the labor movement itself. If successfully exercised, it would hopelessly compromise the unions by making them dependent on profitable business enterprise, and so effectively enslave their members. In the hands of adherents of the new unionism, however, the control of credit will be a decided force for beneficent social reconstruction. The possibilities for service which they will derive from such control will be a strong influence in leading the whole labor movement towards the aspirations of the new unionism.