2/26/74

In 1939 Heywood Broun was invited to be a guest at the Thursday night me meeting of the Neiman Fellows at Harvard University. These evenings, like the Black Cat dinners at the San Francisco Press Club are off the record, but Heywood has been dead long enough so that I feel that I am not violating the confidence of the Neiman Fellows to report what happened on the memorable evening.

Louis Lyons, a former member of the Guild on the Boston Globe, had been named Curator of the Neiman Foundation. When he invited Broun I briefed him how not to invade Broun's privacy on the fact that he was taking instructions to become a Catholic. Ed Leahy, who had been in the first year of the Neiman Fellows was one of the guests, and had been involved in the three-way correspondence between Rev. Edward Dowing, S.J., in St. Louis - a former delegate to a Guild convention - and Leahy and myself. I told Louie that if he asked a certain question and that if Broun responded affirmatively, it would be alright to ask the second question.

Brown apparently was anxious to tell us about his conversion which occurred at a time when the Socialist Party in New York had denounced Brown for playing ball with the Communists and when the Communists regarded him

as nearly a Fellow of their own. The facts were then that the Monseigneur	19
Sheehan (later Bishop Fulton Sheehan) was giving Broun instructions partly	20
as a result of his conversations with the second wife, Connie, who was the widow	21
of Ray Dooley.	22
We loaded the dinner with our guests from the faculty who we regarded as	23
Communists. One of the prominent ones was Granville Hicks, the historian	24
who had been accused and, I guess had been a Communist, although he later	25
publicly denounced the Party. This was before Ed Leahy went on the wagon, and he	26
was just a trifle high. At one point in the proceedings he pointed an accusing	27
finger at President Conant of Harvard and said, "You're a bunch of APA bastards."	28
I m sure that no president of Harvard had ever been so accused by a member of	29
the faculty before.	30
Granville Hicks who may have been an authority on certain aspects of	31
American history, betrayed his total ignorance of the theological and	3
religious origins of the United States in his remarks.	3:
After the dinner Broun and I went to the Stag Club which is a late	3
night drinking spot.	3.
The most memorable thing which eccurred that night was Prounts account	٦,

of his converstation with Arthur Brisbane who was the correspondent on the

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left side of the front page of the Hearst Newspapers. Brisbane invited Broun as an old friend to dinner at his house. After dinner he took Broun into the living room and told him, "Mr. Hearst wants you to come to work for King Features. He suggested that you hold up Ray Howard for the biggest raise you can get because he is prepared to double whatever Scripps-Howard pays you." Over the mantelpiece of the firplace was a portrait of Arthur Brisbane's father who was a well-known Socialist philosopher in those days. Broun looked at Arthur and said, "What if I went to your old man and asked him if I should accept this offer from Hearst?" Brisbane said, "That's not fair, I have an assignment to get you to sign a contract." Broun said, "As an old friend and a guest in your house I insist on an answer, what would your father say?" Brisbane shrugges, looked at Broun, lifted another drink and said "He'd tell you to tell him to stick it up his ass."

When the time came to say goodnight Heywood asked me to call him a cab.

I said, "I'm afraid you're out of luck, the taxi drivers are on strike in

Cambridge and the cabs are being driven by supervisors and scabs." Although

he was in bad health, Brown walked to the subway kiosk at Harvard Square.

During the trip he pulled out his famous flask for one more drink.

Ι	said,	"Has	Connie	given	you	back	the	flask?"	He	said,	"That	was	part	of
th	ne deal	L."												

No one who didn't know Broun personally would understand what went on his mind but, more especially, in his heart. Connie told him about the troubles that were plaguing the chorus girls on browdway due to the depression which was still an element in 1939 in the theatre business.

Broun helped to organize a broadway musical, "Shoot the Works" in which there was a double chorus line to give as many jobs as possible and in which the principles took only the Actors Equity minimum. One of the principles was Broun himself who performed six nights and two maminees a week and never missed a performance and never was late for a rehersal or for a performance. What this must have done to Broun's insides can only be imagined. He came off the stage sweating and in real agony. He did a little dance and carried a sign advertising his candidacy for Alderman on the Socialist Party ticket.

The show was a success for many weeks but finally the time came when it should have been closed. Instead the tickets were sent to Joe LeBlang for sale as half-price tickets and Broun put in enough of his own money to keep the show going an additional two weeks.

His sacrifice of money, however, was slight compared to the enormous problem of getting to all those performance; and rehersals on time and sweating through a two-hour performance.

A boo-boo by Heywood Broun was the real reason why greater Boston local is Local #32 instead of Local #6 or &. The Boston Guild could not afford a Hall and so we had our meetings in the Boston School Committee rooms.

Broun accompanied by Jonathon Eddy tried his best to explain to us the difference between a professional guild and a trade union. He supposed that the newspaper men in Boston were conservative. What he didn't know and what Professor Daniel Leib (who wrote the admirable book, TH3 UNION OF INDIVIDUALS) did not know was that the Newswriter's Local #1 - a Federally chartered local of the AFL - was very much alive and that there were 17 paid up cards in the room when Broun and Eddy spoke.

After the meeting the Newswriters held a caucus and decided that we would hold on to our charter a little longer until the Guild learned that it had to be a trade union.

Mr. Leib in his book refers several times to the efforts of the Boston Newswriters to obtain a contract in 1919. Since there was no record of what really happened, Mr. Leib can be forgiven for not being aware

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that the Boston Newswriters held what may have been the first successful strike by newswriters in history.in 1919. We didn't call it a strike they called it a continuous meeting and it was held in Fennell Hall until William O. Taylor, publisher of the Boston Globe and who was supposed to be on a vaction trip, finally was brought out and agreed to negotiate a Since most of the copyreaders and reporters at that time were receiving in the vi cinity of \$28 - \$30 a week, and since the settlement resulted in a minimum wage for copyreaders and reporters of \$42 a week, many of the people received a raise of \$14. Unfortunately the Newswriters had no professional assistance in their bargaining. They sold out newsmen with less than three year's experience, they sold out the photographers. and they sold out office boys, clerks, and librarians with the result that when it came time to negotiate another settlement, they no longer had the clout necessary. Some of the cubs had become journeymen and hated the Newswriters for that reason. Mr. Leib in his book also referred to organization of newsmen in the International the Typographical Union as having died out quickly. Actually the Boston Newswriter's Local #1 did not stop paying dues to Local #13 of the Typographical Union until the 44hour strike in Connecticut. This was called by printers working six days

a week and who wanted to have a half day off - 44 hours a week. The

Typographical Union slapped an assessment of 10% of wages on its members.

Someone started a campaign of no taxation without representation for newsmen.

Newsmen were not journalists and had no vote in the international elections

of the ITE, but only a vote for their own elected officers. That was the

time when the newsmen seceded from the ITU and subsequently obtained a

charter as a Federally chartered local of the AFL.

One of the difficulties which Professor Leib encountered in writing his book was obtaining access to the files of the locals. At the beginning the officers of the locals carried their papers in their hat because they had no offices. Boston was one such local. And some of the records of the Boston local and all of the records of the Newswriters were blown away during one of the hurricanes that plagued New England every few years. I had them stored in a shed when I was in Eurppe. Everything in the shed was blown way.

Actually Boston had some kind of union organization for many years. I think that I was Vice President of the Boston Central Labor Union before we got our charter, or certainly before our first contract. In any event the Boston Guild marched proudly at the head of the Labor Day parade of

of the Boston Central Labor Union with a 32 foot banner which proclaimed us as the "baby" union of the AFL. We were placed at the head of the procession because many of us had to take pictures or report the parade and we fell out at the parade terminus and did out job. Governor James Michael Curley, hero of the LAST HURRAH, appeared on the reviewing stand with his top hat. When he saw the newspaper men march by, he climbed down from the stand, took off his hat, and made a deep bow. None of the papers saw fit to run that picture. The only casualty of the parade was Stewart French a reporter on the Christian Science Monitor. The Monitor fired him for keeping such bad company.

When the Guild got its charter as Local #32, we telephone SecretaryTreasurer Randolph of the AFL for permission to surrender the Newswriter's charter to the Guild. Mr. Randolph was a member of the ITU and refused.

I surrendered it anyway with the result that since the death of Joe Walch in Wilkes-Barre, PA, I believe I am the only surviving member of the Federally chartered locals in Wilkes-Barre, Lynn, Waterbury, CT, Boston,

I think Scranton and some others. The so-called Federally chartered local Record at the Boston/American covering the editorial department came into being as a new Federal local organized by Mike Flynn former reporter on the

Boston Herald and for many years a labor lobbyist in Washington. Joe Walch
joined the Newswriters in 1925 and listed me as having joined in 1926.
Actually I held a day-to-day card as a copyreader in the "big 6" Typographical
local in New York City in 1926 and 1927 due to the intercession of a member
of the executive board of the New York Typographical named Schubert. I was
classified as a copyreader. At that time I was Managing Editor of the
Long Island News and Richmand Hill Record - two small newspapers in Queens
County.

Professor Leib in writing his well-researched book had no way of knowing from the files of the Guild that the Woensocket local had been organized by what is known in Rhode Island as the ITU - the Independent Textile Union - an industrial Union which organized nearly everybody in Wonsocket and had already bargained for the newswriters on the Wonsocket Call before the Guild came along and accepted them into membership.

Mr. Leib also refers on several occasions to the Jewish Writer's Club
which was very helpful to the Guild in the beginning. The Jewish Writer's
Club on the Jewish and Jewish Day in New York was a Federally
chartered local of the AFL and subsequently during the Milton Koffman
era accused the Guild of dual unionism when it tried to organize cubs,

office boys and others and took them out on strike.

I remember very vividly at one convention the New York Local presented a resulution denouncing Frank Rosenbloom as Vice President of The Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Fiorella LaGuardia as union busters because they had friends in the Jewish Writer's Club and supported them. I took the floor to complain that if we denounced LaGuardia as a union buster at our convention it would look pretty bad when the time came to support him for re-election against Bill O'Dwyer. I thought I had made a point, but when the votes were counted only Boston and Rochester, New York (scene of a great many plants organized in Amalgamated Clothing Workers) voted against denouncing Mr. Rosenbloom and Mr. LaGuardia as union busters.

The late Bill Davey told me on several occations that Cleveland became Local #1 because it was nurtured into being by the stereotypers and our obligations in those days to other unions and preceeding unions is rather more than I think Mr. Leib in his book realized. For instance, the Lynn Newswriters had something like \$30,000 in their treasury at a time when the National was happy to have \$500. The reason for this is that Clement Kennedy, then the owner of the New Ocean House in Swampscot was the son of a City Editor of the Waterbury Republican and very found of helping

newspapermen. And he have the Lynn Newswriters the New OceanHouse for their annual time. When they joined the Guild the money was deposited in a trust to provide a death or retirement benefit for the people who owned it. And I believe that that money has now all been expended.

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Toby Lyons, later International Vice President of the International Typographical Union was extremely helpful and went with me to Salem while I tried to organize the newsmen on the Salem News, he tried to organize the printers. Salem was a "no-no" town on unions having only a few union barbers and a few motion picture operators, but Mr. Lyons was successful and the people on the Salem News got what they wanted. They only trouble with the Salem local was that I oversold them on the importance of the strike weapon as the ultimate tool of trade unions and they seemed to feel that it was necessary to strike in order to prove they had a union. Warren Rockwell, who later became Managing Editor and Negotiator for the company, but who at that time was President of the Salem Guild, was the Salem Correspondent of the Boston Herald. Frank Reynolds, the secretary was the Salem correspondent of the Globe. After our first contract was signed they called me and said that the company had employed a sort of union-buster in the accounting department and he tells us we have to give

op our correspondence, now may we go on strike?" I said, "No, you can't	20
have a strike until you have exhausted your efforts to arbitrate under	21
the contract and to grieve under the contract. Why don't you send a	21
committee over the the office of the trustee, Mr. Jackson, and remind him	21:
that this was all megotiated; that you couldn't be correspondents for the	21
Beverly Times or the Lynn Item, but that you could be correpondents for	517
the Boston newspapers." I heard no more for about a week. Than I called	215
and asked what happened about the grievance. They said "Oh that was	216
settled, we followed your advice and sent a committee." I said, "Who	217
was on the committee?" They said, "What do you mean?" I said, "Who was	218
on the committee that went to see Mr. Jackson?" They said, "We all	219
were." I said, "The entire staff?" He said, "Yes." I said, "What time	220
of day was that?" He said, "Around ten o'clock in the morning." I said,	221
"And the Salem News is an evening newspaper?" He said, 'Tes, we stayed	22 2
there until he settled." I said, "You didn't go out on strike, you	223
just all knocked off work and went over and saw the trustee?" He said,	224
"That's tright." It was that kind of spirit. When I bargained with the	225
Salem Evening News I had to have caucuses every so often to tell the boys	226
to put away their picket signs and stop massing up to strike.	227

It was that kind of spirit that provided us with the first 35-hour week in New England on the Salem Evening News.

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Corrections from Mr. Allen

In referring to Arthur Brisbane's column text should read. "left side of the <u>front</u> page" (page 3, this trans. line 38)

Relating to our membership in ITU delete the word <u>rump</u>. (Page 6, line 110)

This was, of course, a geniune membersip. We started somewhere around 1892 at about the same time that the first local of the ITU Mailer's was formed in Boston.

The strike called by the Jewish Writer's Club was on Jewish Day. (page 9, starting with line 166)

What Became of Early Guild Leaders

Recorded by Ed Allen - December, 1973

Professor Daniel Leab, in his book A UNION OF INDIVIDUALS quotes an unidentified Boston reporter as saying, "If the publishers had said boo during the initial stages, every newspaper man in Boston would have quit."

Let's see how much merit there was to that accusation of timidity in Boston.

Edmond Noble, active in the organization of the Newspaper Guild, had been Moscow correspondent of the Times of London; he was chased out of Russia by the Cheka - the Czar's secret police-and became the London correspondent of the New York Times. He was art critic of the Boston Transcript until it got in trouble and went to the Boston Herald as art critic. Mr. Noble was over 90 years of age when he attended the first meeting and said in his small squeaky voice, "Fellows I have been waiting all my life for this Newspaper Guild to happen and I hope you will not be so stupid as to let it pass."

Hearst, Sr.
"Would you like to hear what William Randolph/said to me when he came to
Boston?" He said, "John, how can we get the other newspaper men in Boston
in the Newswriter's Union so that I can start to pay Hearst wages in Boston?
The pay on these other papers is making it impossible for me to pay the kind

John McHugh, a senior copyreader on the Boston Merald......

of salaries	I	would	like	to	pay.	**
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Geoffrey Parsons, Jr., later editor of the Paris/edition of the Herald Tribune was taken to a Gridiron Club
dinner in Washington by some of the supervisors on the Boston Globe and
returned and returned quite shaken up. He said, "There are newspaper men
in Boston who have no future if they remain active in the Guild." We asked
Parson's whether he intended to resign as secretary and he said, "No, I'll
finish my term but I don't want to run for re-election."

John Barry of the Boston Globe, who later became Vice President of
the Shoremont National Bank in Boston, was extremely active in bargaining
and in grievance sessions particularly at the Boston Herald Traveller where
his pet peeve was Robert Bernard Choate who later became publisher.

Louis M. Lyons of the Boston Globe Unit later became Curator of the Neiman Foundation of Marvard University and is still reading the news at night on the educational channel.

David M. Frederick, the first president elected to affiliate with the Newspaper Guild, went on to become Wice President of Columbia Broadcasting System television news.

Wesley Faller who was in the first group of Neiman Fellows at Harvard
University in 1938 and 39 becames the voice of the Bell Telephone Laboratories.

I am sure that none of these individuals was afraid of losing his job at any time.

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I remember very distinctly when a prominent Boston attorney who stuttered called Leonard Ware, an editorial writer on the Boston Herald, and said, "Beanie (Mr. Choate's nickname) Choate is down here at the Harvard Club squashed and he says he is going to use this Newspaper Guild contract as a way of getting rid of a bunch of troublemakers." We called an emergency meeting of the negotiating committee which had just reached a tentative agreement with the Herald and asked each other "Do you feel afraid of being discharged as a troublemaker?" No one seemed afraid. We said, "Well I guess we have to reopen the contract negotiations for the purpose of getting a better severance pay clause." We notified Mr. Choate that we had hit a snag in getting approval of the contract and wanted a meeting. We told him that we had made a mistake on the severance pay clause which at that time provided six weeks severance. He asked why. We said, "Well there's a rumor all around the shop that you were down at the Harvard Club last night and said you were going to use this severance pay clause to get rid of a bunch of troublemakers. We had a meeting and decided that we weren't the ones affected. The people who were affected were the frightened people on the fringes and although we know that you never said any such thing, 56 and we believe implicitly that the story is propaganda nevertheless it has become so widespread in the shop that we want to change the severance pay clause." After a long argument Mr. Choate agreed to put in twelve week's severance pay instead of six.

The first Guild grievance in New England involved Henry Erlich whose father owned Muvvey's Department Store and who was working without salary. The publisher of the Boston Herald was Robert Preston. We approached Mr. Preston with our grievance and he said, "Well what do you want me to do, fire him or give him \$10 a week." We said that neither proposal was satisfactory and by the time the meeting ended we had gotten Mr. Erlich \$25 a week. Mr. Erlich went on to become articles editor and managing editor of Look magazine.

After several unsuccessful attempts to get Mr. Preston to bargain in good faith we finally came to a meeting loaded for bear. Mr. Preston opened with his usual happy family speech indicating if we would trust him he saw no reason why we needed a union. We then said, "Mr. Preston the last time we were in here you said you would be darned if you would be the first publisher in New England to sign a contract with the Newspaper Guild. The sole and only purpose of this meeting is to find out if you have changed

your mind." There was a long silence, at the end of which Mr. Preston said,
"Yes I think I have changed my mind." We did not achieve a contract with
Mr. Preston at that time, but we did achieve a bulletin board notice initialed
by both parties. Our first contract was negotiated with Mr. Choate, Mr.

Preston's successor.

This report would not be complete if I did not metion Charles Leveroni, for many years treasurer of the Boston Guild, and delegate to a great many national conventions.

When Ralph Harper, a president of the local, blew his top while trying to cover a murder investigation in Providence, Rhode Island, he was taken by the Rhode Island State Police to a mental institution. The Guild grieved and Mr. Choate agreed to transfer him to the McLean Sanitorium, a private institution. When Mr. Harper was released he asked for a convalescent trip to Florida. Mr. Choate, after a great deal of hemming and hawing, agreed.

Unfortunately for us and for Mr. Harper thereafter, the company was unable to get into communication with him. All letters and telegrams and telephone calls were ignored with the result that Mr. Harper was separated from the payroll.

For nearly a year Charlie Leveroni, sometimes assisted by me, took up the collection to take care of a benefit for Mr. Harper - since the Guild didn't

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have enough money in its treasury to do anything.

The most amusing event that happened with Mr. Harper was that he was one of the copyreaders layed off when the Philadelphia Evening News was in trouble. We had to find a job for him again and put him on the copy desk of the Lynn Item in Lynn, MA, where he proceeded to write letters to the publisher criticizing the decisions of the managing editor. And he was again separated. There was very nearly a strike on the Lynn Item over this discharge. recollection is that Mr. Harper went back to work for a while. In any event he was anemployed when the Mailers went on strike in Boston and he promptly, although a member of the Lynn Guild, applied for a benefit since the Guild was honoring the Mailer's picket line. I complained to John Court, then administrative officer of the Lynn Guild, that Mr. Harper was not a member of the Boston Local and therefore not entitled to a benefit. But somehow the Boston Guild suceeded in providing him the equivalent of a benefit.

One of the early dropouts from the Guild was Joseph Baneen a columnist for the Boston Globe who wrote such best sellers as WARD EIGHT, a book about a ward healer named Martin Lemazni, THE KENEEDY'S OF MASSACHUSETTS, and TWELVE BRIDGE TO CROSS, a novel based on the famous Brinks robbery.

Mr. Daneen saw a chance to sell an article to the Saturday Evening Post

entitled "Goodbye Boys, I'm Through." He criticized the Guild and suggested 113 that it was Communist dominated. The men on the Boston Globe refused to talk 114 to him, so I as president of the Boston Guild went to the Globe office and 115 invited him to lunch. I said that under the constitution of the Guild -116 a paragraph which I helped write at the first Cleveland convention - he could 117 not be disciplined for anything which he wrote for publication. I said, however 118 that I could not protect him from the fact that he had not paid his dues. He 119 agreed to give me a check for his dues if I would defend him and at the hearing 120 (I believe it was the whole local). I pointed out that much as I disliked the 121 article he had a right to write the article and he was reinstated. Mr. Daneen 122 later paid me for my help by later going with me to Providence, Rhode Island 123 124 to help organize the editorial depattments of the Providence newspapers. 125 He made a speech in which he said, "Fellows don't make the mistake which I 126 made in 1939, Get into the Guild and get in with both feet."

Few people are aware of the immense sacrifices made by John Court during his period as administrative officer of the Guild. I think it is now time that they be told. Mr. Court had 10 children. Yet for months on end he worked a 4-day week in order to conserve the general fund assets of the Boston local. He could hardly have supported his family if he had worked a 5-day week on the

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kind of pay that the Boston Guild was able to provide. Nevertheless whenever the Boston Guild got into financial difficulty Court put himself on a 4-day week. During the short time that I was administrative officer I did the same thing but without sacrifice, since there was always work for me to do in other cities the fifth or even the sixth day.

If I am sure of anything, I am sure that those early leaders in Boston benefitted greatly from their Guild activity. This was true of other cities.

Norman Corwin who was a very successful radio writer before television and who has since had a television show was the first chairman of the New England District Council. I take that back, I'm not sure whether he or I was the first chairman. Norman Corwin at that time worked on one of the papers in Springfield, MA and I am sure that he benefitted greatly from his Guild experience.

In Salem all of the top brass in management are former Guild activists.

Warren Rockwell, for many years managing editor and negotiator for the company,

was the first president of the Salem Guild. The publisher, treasurer, and

advertising manager are all former Guild members. Jim Shea, the present

editor, and sometime negotiator for the company, was for many years a delegate

to the New England District Council and former president of the Salem local.

In Providence, Rhode Island Wilbur Doctor, who complained in one meeting that he had had four \$8 raises in six months and who was indignant at the attempt - as he saw it - to bribe him is now on the faculty of the University of Rhode Island or it may be, on leave of absence as a member of the faculty.

Wyam Parks in Providence want on to become one of the top photographers for National Geographic and his seascapes and sea scenes are one of the most beautiful parts of that magazine.

Redwood Wright - I think he was the first president of the Providence Guild - one of the early presidents - joined the Oceanographic Institute at Woodshole, MA as public relations officer, became so interested that he went back to the university for a degree in pure science, and is still at Woodshole.

William McNamara, another early president, went into politics and is, last time I heard from him, chairman of a commission.

Joseph Ungaro, managing editor in Providence, was chairman of the Guild Drafting Committee that drafted the first Guild proposal on the Providence Journal and Bulletin.

In Lynn, MA, the sale of the Lynn Telegram News to the Lynn Item
was delayed nearly a year while the publisher tried to solve the problem of

a half-million dollars in severance pay. Toby Lyons, Vice President of
the International Typographical Union had negotiated the same severance
pay clause for the Typographical Union as the Guild enjoyed in its
urisdiction. The company was unable to find a way to avoid paying severance
pay to the union printers and Guildsmen and Fred Bohler, a good many times
president of the Lynn Guild swiped the Sunday mailing list of the Sunday
Telegram News and started a new paper called the Lynn Sunday Post financed
entirely by severance pay of printers and Guildsmen. This paper is still
in existence although I don't believe it is any great shakes as a profit
maker.

In Waterbury, CT, Gene Martin, who was president of the Guild at the time it was decertified in 1957, had become city editor of The Republican when I was approached by a group of new employees who wanted to revive the Guild. The Waterbury local might be surprised to know that as soon as I received the request I telephoned Gene Martin to ask whether the old timers would also like to see the Guild come back. Gene put me in touch with a reporter named Greg Chillson who agreed that the men did want the Guild.

I went to Waterbury on a rainy night, got enough cards filled out in the city room to file for an election, informed Mr. Chillson that if they did

189 as well on the American the next forenoon I would file for an election. They telephoned me to tell me how many eards they had, we did file and did 190 191 win the election. Game Martin is now editor-in-chief of both papers. Greg Chillson has the title of Managing Editor and is in charge of all the bureaus 192 and correspondents. 193

Like many Guilds, the Waterbury Guild made the mistake of organizing only 195 the editorial department, and its weakness in bargaining is the result. 196 Many of the early Guilds that died a-borning or soon after they were born suffered from the same trouble - Meridan, CT, Nashua, NH, where we had one 197 198 of our first strikes in New England.

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The Guild although set up to be an industrial union, did not take full advantage of its opportunity at the beginning. There was a certain snobbishness among some of the editorial waiters as is well described by Professor Leib in his book. The Boston Guild, however, had no such qualms. We already had 34 maintenance department employees in our editorial unit before the Guild constitution was modified to extend our jurisdiction over other departments. The Boston Guild's anxiety to form an industrial union was evidenced at the first Cleveland convention because we didn't want to be in the position of having to drop our 34 maintenance department members. We nearly had a strike one year when the

publisher wrote us a letter to the effect that SameBlacker, one of the janitor guards, could not have a raise because due to the annual increase he was probably the highest paid janitor in the United States. It came during a period when the Guild was in the doldrums. A mass meeting of the unit was called and voted overwhemingly to strike the paper rather than settle a contract without a raise for Sam.

I well remember when a sociologist from Simmons College came to investigate what was happening at the Boston Meral Traveller. He asked me about the Guild. I said, "Why don't you ask the man who is polishing the brass on the elevator." Sam Blacker turned around and said, "It's a miracle. Before the Guild I had one day off every two weeks. I worked 84 hours one week and 72 hours the next for \$23 a week. Now Ihave the Guild minimum and a six-day, 40-hour week."

At the beginning of the NRA we worked six short days totaling 40 hours a week but overtime was frowned upon and those who had to work it were apt not p to put in a claim for their overtime.

Professor Leib in his book refers on several occasions to the NRA proposal as a five-day, 40-hour week. It was a 40-hour week, but the publisher could stretch it out to six short days. Professor Leib also was unaware that I was

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Union on the Newspaper Industrial Board of the NRA.	228

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"The Pro-Guild Caucus" Recorded by Ed Allen #3

I have never told anyone until now, not even members of the Boston Guild, why I was so active in the "pro-Guild" caucus. During the Chicago 2 American strike I telephone Victor Pasche who, at that time, was secretarytreasurer of the Guild, to find out what assets would be available to Boston if we used our strike vote against the Boston Herald Traveler. Pasche 5 . replied, "You will have to finance the strike yourself for a few weeks because all of our money is tied up with the Chicago strike" I felt at least let down, but next day I persuaded the negotiating committee to visit the publisher and to get the best settlement available - backed by a strike 10 vote of 218 - 22. At any rate it was overwhelming. We succeeded in getting some improvements in management's counter offer and settled. 11

Sam Eubanks was chairman of the pro-Guild caucus at the 1941 convention If memory is correct I served on the Constitution Committee. In any event our purpose was to obtain a referendum election of officers instead of having the officers elected by the convention. Sam Eubanks was rather quick to lose his temper and called me to task before the caucus for playing ball with what he called the enemy. I had a clear choice of explaining to the caucus what I was doing in the constitution committee thereby informing the administration of my

purpose, or of pretending to be stupid. I chose the latter course and apologized to Eubanks for doing something of which I was proud.

Nat Einhorn who was conceited enough to think that the administration could win a national vote by the membership. I had traded some contract language desired by the New York local for New York's crucial 34 votes for national feferendum election of officers. Without New York's vote the referendum election might have been delayed another year. The highlight of the campaign which followed was a meeting in Manhattan Center arranged by the New York local. New Yorkers challenged the pro-Guild caucus ticket for what they called a debate. Wilbur Bade and I divided expenses of nearly \$800 to make sure that meaning every single candidate on the pro-Guild ticket was there.

The one who made the biggest sacrifice was Jim Farmer who came from Seattle.

At a caucus before the meeting started I pointed out that the administration had no intention of debate. I said, "Let's go in there and attack, attack. Do not try to make a debate out of it. Just Attack them."

Joe Walsh from Wilkes-barre, PA, and Bade from Twin Cities backed my position.

Zubanks finally relented and assigned me to go first.

Donal M. Sullivan, President of the Newspaper Guild and administration candidate for reelection, was employed on the Boston Globe. I read to the meeting

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a note from Henry Marris, Chairman of the Globe unit, in which he said,
"Dear Ed: Because he is my friend and because we have worked together for
so many years I have to support Don Sullivan for reelection, but will you
please go down to New York and explain to that meeting that due to the
stupidity of Milton Kauf man and the New York local we have lost two
National Labor Relations Board elections on the Boston Globe".

The Globe lost one election by 19 votes. I can count on my two hands enough Globe members who voted (strike preceeding)

I told the meeting we had lost one election by 19 votes and I could count on my two hands enough votes to have overturned the result from Globe members disgusted because the New York local had telegraphed the strikers at the North American Aviation Company urging them to stay on strike after their union, The United Automobile Workers, had ordered them to return to work and after President Roosevelt had pleaded with them to return to work.

The meeting was leaded jaming—packed with the denies of Union Square, many of whom were not newspapermen at all, and many of whom read only the Daily Worker. They started to boo me, but I had the microphone. And That gave me the chance to say, "Look, I have been so many years following the corkscrew curves and the Communist Party line that I am no longer impressed,

and if I have to have even one Communist vote to get elected to the IEB, do me a favor and elect somebody else. A good many Guild members are not present at this meeting tonight because they are back in their city rooms getting out tomorrow momning's edition of the New York Times, The Daily News, and The Herald Tribune. I am not speaking for those people here who are not Guild members and who have no vote, but only addressing myself to those people who will carry back word to the newspapers of New York City what is going on here."

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I said, "I don't think so. I think enough serious newspaper men will carry back the word so that we will win even in New York City." I felt sure there was a silent majority of newspapermen in New York who would get the message and vote for us. The proof of the pudding is in the eating.

William Rodgers, Guild candidate for secretary-treasurer, and I carried New York City. Rodgers was unopposed. As the only opposed candidate who carried New York I received more votes than Milton Kauffman our national executive vice president.

Sam Eubanks may have been the leader of the pro-Guild caucus, but Wilbur Bade was the strategist. At the first meeting of the new IEB after

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the election, Bade assigned me to make several motions to fire international representatives. Bade asked me to make the motion to fire Fred Myers, Editor of the Guild Reporter. I rebelled Myers had been a taxi driver in Kansas City who became the protege of one of his passengers, a newspaper The newspaper editor later became a Hearst executive and brought Fred to Boston when he was transferred to the Boston Record American. Fred promptly joined the Guild and became so active that he was picked as the first executive secretary of the Boston Guild. | Somebody else made the motion to fire Fred. Milton Kauffman came to the meeting accompanied by counsel and demanded proof that the people we were firing were Communists. Eubanks and others got into an argument with Kauffman. I intervened to protest. I said, "We weren't elected to prove anything. We were elected to fire them." I urged that we be generous to a fault in the matter of moving expenses, severance pay, vacation time, etc., but that we proceed to fire them. I have since wondered many times if there had been a federation of Guild representatives then.

A year later when I was on active duty with the War Department I was assigned to recruit six newspapermen with the grade of Captain in the United States Army. I telephoned Sam Eubanks at Guild headquarters to inform him of

the openings. Within a week I had received requests from a half dozen of Milton Kauffman's followers. One even bragged that he had a dishonorable discharge from the Coast Artillery. I don't quite understand why he regarded that as a recommendation. Sam Eubanks investigated the leak and discovered that it came from a telephone operator he inherited from Milton Kauffman. The previous administration.

Note: Please check the proceedings of the 1941 convention. I'm

not at all sure on second thought that I was chairman of the constitution

committee. I was chairman of the constitution committee at the Detroit

convention. Was that the 1941 convention?

Guild conventions today are pretty tame affairs compared with some of the bloody meetings in the early days.

Charles Whipple who is now editor of the editorial page of the boston Globe was secretary of the Boston local when he wrote a letter to the Guild Reporter accusing me of taking a dive on the strike at the Lynn Item. The Lynn Guild demanded space in the Guild Reporter for a reply in my defense. They knew better than Charlie that I had to be there early in the morning, before he or any Globe pickets arrived, because it was a forty mile detour to Lynn on my way to classes at Harvard University where I was

a Neiman Fellow.

At the Detroit convention a year earlier Milton Kauffman demanded what amounted to a "rump" trial on charges of Communism. He said that people were whispering in the corridors that he was a Communist and he cemanded that they produce their evidence. As chairman of the constitution committee I raised a point of order. I said that the new constitution, as amended, set up trial procedures. And in order to help Wilbur Bade have time to round up delegates I ran a sort of fillibuster. I began to read the new constitution almost from the preamble so that Bade could run around the hotel reunaing up delegates. Although the trial was never held the meeting lasted nearly all night.

Note: If the 1941 convention was held in Hetroit, this tape is now in the clear. If not it needs revision.

The pro-Guild caucus really had its beginnings at the Toronto convention in 1938. That was the time when proportional representation was being advocated as a way to correct municipal abuses and the mayor of New York was elected by proportional representation.

The New York local succeeded in changing the Guild constitution so that the five members at large would be elected one-by-one in separate

elections. Heywood Broun saw a parliamentary problem developing and asked me to take the chair.

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One of the issues was the election of Harry Martin of Memphis who later became President of the Guild. Martin was nominated by the Southern district caucus. The New York local and its allies nominated Quentin Gore of Chattanooga, brother of former Senator Harley Gore, as the Southern candidate. The Chicago local voted for Martin, thinking that the Southern district caucus nomination put him in the bag. After the votes were the delegates counted and Chicago discovered that their vote could change the result, they tried to change it. | I ruled that since the votes had been counted and since their opportunity to change their vote had passed, Martin was elected. A big hassle developed, whereupon I ruled arbitrarily that Martin had been elected and that the first motion I would recognize would be a motion to overrule the chair. The left-wingers fell for my bait and moved to overrule the chair. Whereapon I ruled that the motion was not debatable and I spent fiften or twenty minutes trying to explain to the convention what was happening. My thoroughly objective explanation attracted enough votes so that Martin won anyway, without the Chicago vote.

In fairness to the left-wingers I think it should be pointed out

They were the ones who walked the picket lines and did the drudgery and made the sacrifices necessary to win the strikes.

The pro-Guild caucus included several people who had formerly been Communists or fellow Travellers.

One was Arthur Riordan of Philadelphia who later became a member of the staff of the AFL-CIO News. Quite a few on both sides were not Communists but rather Norman Thomas Socialists. Neither Broun for Jonathon Eddy ever was a Communist or even a fellow traveller. Many of us who opposed the France Regime in Spain, thereby earning the hostility of our more conservative brothers, were Catholics but didn't like dictators.

The Daily News unit of the New York Guild became so angry by the interference by the Daily Worker unit that it brought charges against the Daily Worker unit of being a company-dominated union. There was a free-lance unit and book and magazine unit that fell by the wayside because of their political inclinations.

Sullivan whose father was a democratic Congressman from South Boston never was a Communist although he played ball with them and was their candidate.

What annoyed the pro-Guild caucus was the way in which the leftwingers diligently followed the party line without regard to its effect on the Guild or on Guild Prospects.

One of the most interesting left-wingers in the Boston Guild was

Richard O. Boyer, a cousin of Cardinal O'Connell and the best writer on

the Boston Merald. Boyer had a habit of getting soused and then going to

the New England Communist Party headquarters to apply for membership.

They always threw him out, and he would command cry on my shoulder

because he wasn't good enough to become a Communist. He later wrote a letter

to the Kerald Tribune identifying himself as a member of the Central

Executive Committee of the Community.

Charles Francis Adams, Boston banker. Somehow or another he got in an argument with Mr. Adams when he was a guest at Adams' house and continued the discussion the following night at a dinner of the United Fund where Mr. Adams was presiding. He got up from the press table and shouted, "Mr. Charles Francis Adams - You pink-faced s.o.b." Then noticing that there were other people at the banquet he turned around and said, "And you - you pink-faced s.o.b's. all. I hate you all. You rob the poor 365 days

a year and then come here and try to buy them off for eleven bucks."
. I was at home, but Mrs. Boyer asked me to come to the hotel and try
to clean up what was happening. When I arrived someone had succeeded in
pulling off Boyer's shoes, but he had fastened himself in a telephone
booth and wouldn't come out. I finally talked him out and took him
shoeless through the snow and slush to a restaurant for some black coffee.
He asked me what he should do. I said, "I can't tell you what Dick Boyer
would do, but I can tell you what Ed Allen would do. I would resign from
the paper." Boyer went to the New Yorker and later on a short-lived
magazine called Friday.

The Guild may well be proud of one policy on which the old administration and the pro-Guild new administration were in complete agreement.

From its earliest days the Guild fought racial pegragation. Newsmen on several Southern papers tried to form lily-white locals. They were ordered to refuse discriminatory conditions and wages for black members and they were ordered to admit all employees into their locals on an equal basis. This, of course, meant that several locals died before they had received a charter.

During my tour of duty at the Bentagon I had several intersting

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experiences at meetings of the Washington Guild. I. F. Stone (Ingred Frenk) and Len DeCaux offered a resolution one night denouncing the United States Army for requiring the desegregation of Negro Blood. I asked to see their evidence that the United States required such segregation believing that it was the American Red Cross Waich was to blame. Len DeCaux leaped to his feet and said. "I accept Colonel Allen's amendment." May Craig, the Washington correspondent of the Portland Press Herald -- the lady with the famous hats --robjected to my voting on the resolution. She said, "They're a bunch of Communists." I said, "May, my mother would turn in her grave if I took a dive on racial Segregation." The resolution, as amended, denounced the Army as well as the Red Cross if in fact the Army was equally to blame.

One night when our member in the White House came to a meeting,

Gordon Cole, Editor of The Machinist, took a seat on one side of Eleanor

Roosevelt and I on the other to create a sort of buffer against the importunities of the left-wingers.

Columbia Pictures gave the Washington local a print of the Raymond

Massey film, "The Invaders" to be shown at the National Press Club for

the benefit of the strike fund. Mrs. Roosevelt and I were on the

said he had missed the last bus and was AWOL. I persuaded Mrs. Roosevelt to write a little note for him informing "To Whom it May Concern" that she had detained him in conversation and was responsible for his being late.

I told him, "Don't let the guard take that note away from you, because this is probably the first time that a private has been excuse for Conmandchin - Chlofontardiness by the wife of the Prasident of the United States."

The group in the Guild most vocal in their attacks on the Communists and fellow travellers were the Norman Thomas Socialists; perhaps because they knew the Communists more intimately. After all the Communists had been the left wing of the Socialist Party prior to the split and the formation of the Third International.

I can remember when William Laurence, highly respected science editor of the New York Times, wore an Earl Browder button to work in the office. Laurence who had been chairman of the New York Times unit later tried to form a new union of editorial employees on the times. I think at one time they had as many as 13 members.

People are apt to forget that in those days the Red Army and the United States Army were attacking Hitler from two sides. Afteriall this

may help to explain why persons holding such lofty jobs as Senior Editor	248
of Time Magazine had a brief daliance with the left wing during the war.	249
People forget that the test case establishing the constitutionality	250
of the Wagner Labor Relations Act was a Guild case and that the case	251
involved the firing of Morris Watson, an Associated Press reporter, who	252
was suspected of being a Communist; or that the lawyer who won his spurs	253
by winning that case was neme other than David A. Morse, later Birector General	254
of the International Labor Organization in Geneva, Switzerland.	255
People forget that Harry Reade was Executive City Editor of the	256
Chicago City American when the Guild struck that paper. Reade voted against	257
the strike and no one expected to see the boss show up at strike headquarters	258
the next morning. He carried a galvanized bucket, some mops and brooms and	259
detergents and said, "One of the things which always, disgusted me about	260
strike headquarters was their filthiness. The Guild strike headquarters	261
is going to be clean, and anyone who drops a cigarette on the floor is going	262
to hear from me." Reade later went to Washington as speech writer for	263

One of the most difficult pieces of political juggling I ever had

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Jim Carey, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO and remained in the labor movement

until he retired.

occurred at the Boston Evening Transcript. The Transcript in 77B 267 bankruptcy proceedings imported William Himes, a Hearst editor on the 268 West Coast in California, to be the new business manager. Moses Smith, 269 a violin teacher, was music critic of the Boston Transcript and chairman 270 Himes saw an opportunity to weaken the Guild by 271 of the Guild unit. demoting Smith to hetel reporter and importing Redfern Mason, a Guild 272 martyr in California, to succeed him. The word went around that Mason 273 was a left-winger because he had run for public office in California on 274 a Labor Party ticket. The unit virtually voted not to talk to Mason. 275 I persuaded the unit that Mason was not to blame for Hynes chicanery. 276 and eventually we found a job on Etude for Moses Smith. 277 278

Boston newspapers employ a group of people called Canidal points."

I don't know where the word originated, but they are boss newsboys stationed at strategic doorways and corners in the suburbs. In Boston the Canida points were members of the Newspaper Wagon Drivers Union with the exception of the Boston Evening Transcript, whose Canida points were not organized. Somehow or whother the New England Communist Party headquarters got hold of some Guild application cards and organized the Transcripts Canida points.

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The business agent of the Newspaper Wagon Drivers, now called the Distributors, had been very helpful to the Guild and had sat on our negotiating committee. We informed the New England Communist Party we were grateful for their interests but could not accept the Canida points who belonged to another jurisdiction. Victor Pasche, our national secretary-treasurer, came to Boston and ordered us to take the enployes.

Transcript Canica points. He argued that men holding similar jobs were members of the Guild in Seattle, Washington. We replied that Dave Beck, at that time President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and Helpers and neipers , Stablemen/of North America, had surrendered them to the Chauffeurs, Seattle Guild. I invited him to ask Mr. Beck to do likewise in Boston. Pasche called a caucus in the Mayflower donut shop to see what could be done about getting rid of Ed Allen. He didn't seem to get much encouragement. His action did recruit more supporters for the pro-Guild caucus.

When the Guild went on strike at the Lynn Daily Item, the largest union in Lynn was the United Electrical Workers at General Electric.

United Electrical Workers was accused of being left wing. Left wing or not, they gave two refrigerators to the Guild to be raffled off and they marched in a parade of several thousand strong to support the Guild strike.

The chairman of the Boston Herald Traveller unit, Joseph Rosenau, and I went to Lynn and organized with the help of the Electrical Workers, the distribution of some 30 or 10 thousand copies of a strike newspaper.

Ed Myers (described above) and his wife bore the main brunt of the Boston the larger part of Guild participation however, recruiting pickets and doing a great dear of the negotiating.

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The Guild was more fortunate than many others unions in that period because we had seasoned labor reporters to advise us wen like Joe Loftus and A. H. Raskin of the New York Times. We were able even in our first constitutions to avoid some of the mistakes which had been made by older The attempt by left-wingers to establish minority control of the union by requiring 2/3 vote to rule was easily defeated in favor of $1/\mathcal{C}$ majority rule which prevails today. This made it difficult for our administrative officers to become "business agents" with dictatorial powers. It made it impossible for the international executive board to appoint administrators to take over dissident locals. Most important of all we wrote into our constitution a clause protecting Westbrook Pegler or anyone else who tried to criticize or denounce the Guild in any in it of written for publication. Few if any charges of interferfing with the freedom of the press have ever been leveled against the Guild or any of its locals.