What is the Matter with Los Angeles?

And Will the Women, Who Hold the Balance of Voting Power, Be Able to Discover and Remedy It?

N DECEMBER 5 the city of Los Angeles will hold its biennial municipal election. At the primaries on October 31 a plurality of several thousand votes was received by the Socialist candidate for Mayor.

candidate for Mayor.

Why?

The Socialist, Job Harriman, has been identified with radical movements, if memory does not lie, since the days of Populism. Moreover, he is an ardent labor unionist, and sits among the counsel for the defense at the trial of the McNamaras, who are charged with the blowing up of the Los Angeles Times Building and the murder of the twenty-one persons who lost their lives in that disaster.

Does a plurality vote for him at the primaries, and its optimistic promise at the December polls, mean an indorsement of pronounced radicalism on the part of a majority of the people of Los Angeles? Does it mean an indorsement of labor unionism in a city where a singularly potent alliance of commercial powers has made the most desperate battle against the incoming or upgrowing of labor organizations that any American city has ever witnessed?

Does it mean that the fight is lost? That

organizations that any American city has ever witnessed?

Does it mean that the fight is lost? That the famous antipicketing ordinance will be repealed, and that the unions are to be victorious as against the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, which godfathers the employers' side of all strikes in Los Angeles, affecting its members or their interests, through sheer weight of suffrages? Does it mean that the electors of Los Angeles, by indorsing an attorney for the McNamara defense, have thereby indorsed the McNamara defense. And will the issue of that trial in any wise be affected thereby, since juries, like supreme courts, are sometimes influenced by election returns?

The situation fairly bristles with interrogatories.

Mayor Alexander, the principal opponent of the Socialist, has been a conspicuously good mayor. Is this majority for his opponent a tweak, then, at the nose of goodness? Or has Los Angeles turned Socialist overnight? What would Socialism spell in a city like Los Angeles—militant, thoroughgoing Socialism—for that is what they are talking about out there? It makes one pause to think. First, there is the city itself to consider, one of the most enterprising and prosperous in America, which in two decades has multiplied itself six times, and to-day numbers more than three hundred thousand inhabitants. Its citizenship averages high. Its charter is modern, equipped with recall clauses and the right of direct legislation. The city appears to be on the eve of still greater material progress. What can it mean, then, when through its streets from ten to twenty thousand men—ten to twenty, according to whose figures one takes—parade the streets, burning red fire, waving red flags, cheering to the echo the sentiments of Socialist speakers, and when thereafter at the primary polls the plurality vote goes to the Socialist candidate?

A review of the situation becomes intensely interesting. It is only two or three years since the good citizens of Los Angeles were holding their noses over an administrati

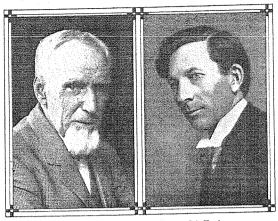
of the recall clause in their charter. It worked beautifully. The head of the administration resigned in the face of the rising tide of condemnation, and George Alexander, a farmer and orchardist, became the recall and orchardist, became the recall
mayor. At the ensuing regular election a non-partisan
body, calling itself
the Good Government Organization,
trimmulantly rement Organization, triumphantly re-elected Mayor Alex-ander and put in with him nine coun-cilmen of their choosing, or the er-tire Legislative body. Seldon if body. Seldom u ever has the legis-

body. Sendom u ever has the legis-lative branch of any city government in America of the same size death with larger projects. To the outside eye it has death wisely. To be sure, there have been dissatisfactions, and criticisms of one kind or another have been made, but, judged by contemporary standards, it has been a good government, this of Los Angeles—one of the best. Conscious of this good record, the Good Government Organization entered the present campaign behind Mayor Alexander with every confidence of electing him definitely at the primaries by giving him an actual majority of the votes cast, which may be done according to the primary law of California.

But the candidacy of Job Harriman, Socialist, began to loom dangerously. The newspaper headlines grew black with warnings of the evils that would come from the election of a Socialist.

E. T. Earl

By PETER CLARK MACFARLANE



Mayor George Alexander The present Good Government Mayor of Los Angeles, and his Socialist opponent who outran him at the primaries; they are contenders now for election

Upon this much the papers were agreed. Beyond this they differed. Since the newspapers have much to answer for in connection with the present situation it is necessary to take them into account now. The "Express," an evening paper owned by E. T. Earl, had been a consistent supporter of Alexander from the days of his first election by the recall. The "Tribune," started a few months ago by Mr. Earl as a morning daily at one cent,

THE WOMEN WILL DECIDE

Old registration (all men)	80,000
New registration for election of Dec. 5:	
Women	82,905
	190,631
Proportionate power of the women . Ab	out 43 %
Socialist vote at primary, October 31 .	20,157
Good Covernment vote for Mayor	
Alexander	16,790
	8,554
	45,501
	Old registration (all men)

competing with the "Times" and "Examiner" at five cents, also espoused the cause of Mayor Alexander. Incidentally, too, Mr. Earl and his publication interests had been allied with all progressive movements for some years; had supported the graft prosecution in San Francisco, that great divider of sheep from goats; had supported the campaign of Hiram Johnson for Governor, and latterly the recall, woman suffrage, and other amend-





Harrison Grey Otis

Mrs. Caroline Severance Two newspaper proprietors whose feud injured the cause of Mayor Alexander; a counselor of the woman suffragists, and a citizen leader of the Good Government forces, who also is Progressive Republican

ments to the State Constitution embodying various kinds of advanced legislation in the amendment campaign just closed in that State. The "Times" had opposed all these things. Also it had opposed Alexander with its characteristic fashion from the beginning of his first or recall campaign. However, when it saw the onmarch of militant Socialism, it promptly and publicly offered its support to Mayor Alexander. The Mayor, perhaps in resentful mood, or perhaps remembering that candidates indorsed by the "Times" had of late been unfortunate at the polls, just as promptly and just as publicly declined the offer. In the meantime, the "Examiner" was in an extremely critical attitude toward Mayor Alexander and gave large news space to the candidacy of W. What made the vitality of the Socialist campaignees are supported to the candidacy of W. What made the vitality of the Socialist campaignees are supported to the candidacy of the socialist campaignees are supported to the socialist campaignees are supported to the candidacy of W.

time, the "Examiner" was in an extremely critical attitude toward Mayor Alexander and gave large news space to the candidacy of W. C. Mushet.

What made the vitality of the Socialist campaign a matter of such grave moment was its probable effect on the bond-selling transactions in which the city was engaging. Bond selling just now is of vital importance to the city of Los Angeles, which has on hand that series of great projects previously hinted at. The first of these is the Owens River enterprise, a plan to replenish the city's water supply from the Owens River by bringing the precious fluid two hundred miles across deserts and under mountain ranges. To do this bonds have been authorized to the extent of twenty-three millions of which have been sold. This water from the Owens River call power. Three and one-half million dollars' worth of bonds were authorized for the erection of a power plant, all of which are unsold. And that is not all. Los Angeles has reached southward twenty miles to the ocean and annexed the towns of Wilmington and San Pedro and a site for an inner deep-sea harbor, which she proposes to develop at an expenditure of ten millions of dollars. Bonds for three millions of these ten have been authorized, but remain unsold. To get from this inner harbor to the spur tracks of her merchants the freight which will come by the Panama route from the marts of the world, Los Angeles is preparing to build an eight-track municipal railway. Here, again, bonda-and again unsold. Moreover, the traction problem within the city is a distressingly serious one. Bion J. Arnold is "experting" the situation for them and the projected plans call for subways and "L" ways, and more municipal building and more municipal bonds.

These are pot merely pet projects of Los Angeles. They are vital to her life, and to the embracing of her commercial opportunities; for, be it known, to overlook the main chance is a phrase not found in the bright lexicon of the City of the Angels.

"Can Los Angeles sell seventeen million dollar

union continued to fight the "Times" and enlisted other unions in a boycott unions in a boycott which drove away the advertising merchants from its columns. The "Times" retaliated with a campaign against all unionism, which has gained in bitterness and ferocity of spirit with the years. The Merchants and Manufacturers' Associative Association of the columns of the columns of the columns and manufacturers' Associations.



Meyer Lissner

defaults and Manufacturers' Association, which from the employers' side is the greatest closed-shop organization this country knows anything about, has raised the slogan: "Los Angeles an Open-Shop Town." The merchants and manufacturers believe that a large portion of the city's prosperity is due to the fact that Los Angeles is an open-shop town. In close proximity they have always San Francisco, conceded to be the most thoroughly unionized city in America, and pointing to that as from their standpoint a horrible example, they fight the unions relentlessly.

On the other hand, practically all international organizations of labor regard Los Angeles as missionary territory.

The International Typographical Union for years appropriated money with which to "fight the "Times'" in Los Angeles, and may be doing so yet.

(Continued on page 30)





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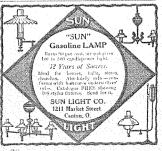
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angurated among the metal workers of Los Angeles, asking for more pay and a shorter day. This strike has progressed doggedly for seventeen months, and the unions will one. Line strike has progressed doggedly for seventeen months, and the unions will tell you it is still going on, while the representatives of the employers will tell you it has been beaten. This strike has been fought with even greater bitterness than Los Angeles had known before. A drastic antipocketing ordinance was passed by the City Council and approved by the Mayor, and as a result of this the jails were for a time literally filled with strikers arrested for accosting men who were going to or from work. It needs to imagination to see where a man's allegiance who spent a night or a week or a month in jail under these circumstances will be when an issue arises between that will be when an issue arises between that Mayor and Conneil and some other can-didates for their positions on election day. As this strike dragged on its weary day. As this strike dragged on its weary way the outside labor organizations poured in thousands of dollars to keep up the light. During twelve months of the seventeen since the men left work, nearly half a million dollars in relief funds was sent in from the outside.

The "Times" Disaster

WillLE this strike was at its height came the destruction of the Times Building with its appalling loss of life; and immediately thereafter responsibility and immediately thereafter responsibility for this crime was laid, by open accusation, at the doors of the labor unions. Whether the men so charged are guilty or not is to be passed upon by a jury, but in any event that disaster, with its chain of succeeding events, has made the industrial situation there incredibly delicate. Nor does it have a cooling effect on the passions aroused by this conflict that the mutterings of the McNamara trial are daily echoing through the city.

With elements such as these adding momentum to the Socialist cause, Harriman and his cohorts closed their campaign with a demonstration of parades and mass meetings at once so monstrous and so impressive that even the "Times" was awed by it, as its news accounts show.

But even when the results of the pri-

so impressive that even the "Times" was awed by it, as its news accounts show.

But even when the results of the primary poll were known and the gravity of the crisis confirmed, the newspapers were unable to rise entirely above their prejudices. The "Times" insisted that it would support Mayor Alexander whether he wished it to or not, and called on all loyal citizens to do the same, but it spoke spleenfully of the Good Government Organization, and suggested a reorganized management for the Mayor's campaign. The "Examiner" also pledged its support to Mayor Alexander, but called for a new organization to direct the fight, and declared that the present crisis was due to "Earlism." It carried on one of its pages a conspienous headline from an interview published beneath, reading: "Fari Must Be Cast Out." The "Express" retorted by calling the "Examiner" "slimy," and says: "Away with the treacherous, lying thine." by varying the "Examiner" "stimy," and says: "Away with the treacherous, lying thing!"

What Mayor Alexander, by this time thoroughly alarmed thinks of all this red-fanged jealousy among his supporters is not in the headlines, but the news in is not in the headlines, but the news indicates that he is fostering "get-together" conferences, while a growing temperateness in the expression of the papers, even toward their Socialist opponents, is noticeable, and indicative, too, of the deepening gravity with which the situation is regarded.

regarded.

But the most novel feature of the situation remains to be stated. As in Seattleso in Los Angeles the women will decide who is to be the next Mayor. When this was first realized it struck gloom to the hearts of the Alexandrians, for they believed that the women of the conservative classes would be indifferent, while the Socialist women would all register and all vote, since it was generally conceded that "the female of their species is deadlier than the male."

Women Will Decide!

Momen Will Decide!

INSTANTLY a campaign to register the women of the middle upper classes, so-cathed, was inaugurated, "Women Will Decide," headlined the "Express." Even the "Times," which had opposed woman suffrage, wrote: "In the last analysis, Los Angeles must depend upon her women."
The Socialists were already busy registering their women. The Woman's Progressive League assumed charge of the work for the Alexandrians. There were registration booths for women at the newspaper offices, in the shops, and at the clubs and churches. Lists were made and compared, absentees were hunted up; the telephone and the automobile were requisitioned. In a few days word went out that thirty thousand women had registered. This was assumding, but the figures climbed to forty, to fifty thousand, and limitly, when the registration closed,

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it was reported that 82,905 women were on the rolls, together with 107,726 men, or an increase in men of 27,000 voters in or an increase in men of 27,000 voters in round numbers, while the entirely abso-lately new vote had reached the amazing total of 110,000 as against a previous registration of approximately 80,000, of whom but 40,000 expressed a preference at the primaries. With a line on but 40,000 voters out of 190,000, how difficult is a forceast!

is a forceast:

There is no denying the fact that the immense registration has brought great comfort to the Alexandrians. But in the neantime Harriman, promising a clean Socialist rule, a single telephone system, a graduated system of taxation which will "take the burden off the home" and state the system of the state of the sta will "take the hurden off the home" and put it on the land, municipal ownership of all public utilities, including ice and laundries: the completion of the deep water harbor, the municipal railways, and the Owens River canal, wages his campaign with the active cooperation of one small daily newspaper against the heavy journalistic battalions of the conservatives, but enjoying the active participation of hordes of personal workers, who are almost fanatical so far as their entursiasm and devotion are concerned. thusiasm and devotion are concerned.

Alexander's Claims

AGAINST the platform of promises advanced by Harriman, Mayor Alexander stands on his record as the reason for his reelection, and points to a long list of achievements claimed for his advanced to the standard of the standard for his advanced to the standard for hi ministration.

ministration.
In the meantine the anti-Socialist papers—"Times," "Examiner," "Herald," "Tribune," and "Express"—are picturing day after day in scarcheads, boxed editorials, in the news, in published interviews, letters from "Pro Bono Publico," views, letters from the body to do do. and reports from cities now under Socialist rule their most crushing arguments against Socialist rule. Here is a sample from the "Times":

"The election of Harriman would result in an orgy of ceil, in a season of stagna-tion in business, in the legalizing of picket-ings and boycott, in the curtailment of building, in the withdrawal of capital, in hunger in the homes and rioting in the higherans."

A certain block of one million dollars in bonds, which, having been offered, has found no takers, is made the text for more thunders. To this the "Record," the Sothunders. To this the "Record," the So-cialist evening paper referred to above, re-plies with a list of interviews with New York brokers, including those who are handling the Los Angeles bonds, saying in effect that they don't care who is elected, that it will have no effect on the bond

A Bombardment

A Bombardment

The great coast defense guns of journalism boom out their charge that business will be hurt; and the little monitor of Socialism barks back that the only kind of business that will be burt is the business of taking too much from the wage-earner's share. The "Times" publishes a story of Socialist failures in Milwankee, and the "Record" retorts that it is a lie. In the meantime the scarcheads grow thicker, "Vote for your homes," "Save Los Angeles," are a hint of their character. The "Times" even points an editorial straight at union laborers without a single disrespectful connotation ont a single disrespectful connotation therein, and caps it with "Vote for Your

Mighty is the power of the printing press, and with words of ominous warning thundered through three hundred thousand daily papers—a warning based on an appeal to the dinner bucket to the property interest, to the commercial destiny of Los Angeles, an argument that has always had great weight with the Los Angeles mind—it must be apparent that if Socialism wins this battle, there are in its appeal and the soil in which it has fallen elements of growth more powerful than any observation at this distance can discover.

can discover.

However, there is no prognosticating

An Unknown Quantity

An Unknown Quantity
The women will decide. Those eighty thousand feminine votes constitute the unknown and the unknowable quantity. There is a conviction among publicists that woman is naturally conservative in things political. She is supposed to be timid about money matters, and one would anticipate that all this talk of impending calamity would influence the minds of female voters very quiekly: but who among us knows the mind of one woman, the nearest and dearest, even as little ahead as the 5th of December? What man, therefore, would be bold enough to forceast the minds of \$9.000 women upon that date when four thousand miles away from the scene of decision?



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