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Mr. Otis and the Los Angeles "Times"

Prepared by an Authorized Publicity Committee
of Los Angeles Typographical Union No. 174

INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL

C. 001

H. G. OTIS has hatred in his heart. Unfortunately, both for himself and for the community in which he lives, his mind is incapable of grasping the simple truth that one reaps only that which he sows.

For twenty-five years the owner of the Los Angeles Times, has been at war with his fellow-man.

With a persistency which would have made his name beloved in history had his efforts been worthily directed, he has maligned those of his kind.

For, despite Mr. Otis' endless slanders of union workmen, for years he himself was a union workingman.

Thirty years ago H. G. Otis was working for wages. In those days he had nothing to sell except his labor, and, in order to secure the best obtainable market price, he sensibly joined hands with his fellow-printers and insisted upon the union scale.

"Times change, and men change with them."

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More than a thousand men and women, practically from every city in the United States and Canada, at this writing are on their way to Los Angeles to attend the Sixty-first Convention of the International Typographical Union of North America.

With only one exception, the daily newspapers of this Wonder City of the World will welcome these visitors.

The Times will prove to be the one ungracious paper.

Neither personally nor through the columns of his journal will Mr. Otis give expression to a kindly word. On the contrary, this lonely old man, obsessed by the hallucination that he is carrying on a crusade in which the world is interested, will resort to every trick and device with which he is familiar to misrepresent the mission of the visitors within our gates.

The coming of these upright, self-respecting men and women will revive bitter memories in the mind of Mr. Otis. He has few others.

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Twenty-five years ago this month—in August, 1890—the four daily newspapers then published in Los Angeles

locked out the union printers because the latter would not accept approximately a 33 1-3 per cent. reduction in wages.

The Herald, the Express, and the Tribune (the latter in no respect identified with the present Tribune) soon becoming convinced of the injustice of their arbitrary demand, re-established harmonious relations with the Typographical Union, and throughout all the intervening years have continued to deal justly with the printers.

But not so with Mr. Otis. He hoisted the black flag of industrial piracy and set sail upon an uncharted sea. Outwardly, he may pretend that his prizes have been many, but inwardly there is ever present that sense of desolation which overwhelms every man who is out of tune with his fellow-man.

Instead of "putting the printers' union out of business," as he loudly boasted he would do in years now dead and gone, Mr. Otis is deeply conscious of the fact that no labor organization in the history of the world has made such remarkable progress within a quarter of a century as has the International Typographical Union from the time its members were locked out of his office until the time they are on the eve of meeting in this same city of Los Angeles—coming here, it may seem, to mock and to jeer him with its splendid record of achievement. But it comes with no such purpose.

The union printers of the world have no resentment toward Mr. Otis. True, in 1890 Columbia (Washington, D. C.) Typographical Union expelled him from membership, but the fact should be borne in mind that he had broken his word, and with it the ties that bind.

It matters not to the thousand printers who are about to assemble in Los Angeles that Mr. Otis will have no word of welcome for them. The publishers of all the other Los Angeles daily newspapers are of a different type of mind than that of Mr. Otis.

Mr. Hearst of the Examiner, Mr. Earl of the Express and the Tribune, Mr. Scripps of the Record, and Mr. Barham of the Herald experience no difficulty in dealing equitably with the members of the Typographical Union, notwithstanding Mr. Otis' ancient feud.

While Mr. Otis and the Los Angeles Times do not unduly interest the union printers of the United States and Canada, it may not be a waste of space to give a resume of the utter failure of Mr. Otis to check the onward march of the cause of Unionism.

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There are two ways to write history:

One is to recite at tedious length each incident in the order in which it occurred.

The other is to present in substance the essential facts of the subject.

The latter method will be here employed.

Los Angeles Typographical Union No. 174 was organized in the year 1875.

For several years its history was without special event.

In the early '80's a middle-aged union printer came to town. He had worked in the Government Printing Office at Washington, and, migrating to California, located at Santa Barbara. Thence he moved to Los Angeles. This was H. G. Otis.

Several members of Los Angeles Typographical Union remember the day Mr. Otis came to this city, at that time an adobe town. He purchased an interest in the Times, then published in the old Downey Block, since razed to provide a site for the present Federal Building.

There were three daily papers in Los Angeles—the Times, the Herald, and the Express, the latter an afternoon paper. During the boom period—1885-1888—another paper, the Tribune, was established, but its days were few and full of trouble.

During "the boom," as those days ever after have been referred to, town lots were laid out from the mountains to the sea, and men stood in line all night to get choice locations.

Page and half-page ads were plentiful, all set by the piece, and "bonuses" made a large addition to the night's "string." Sometimes the "bonus" alone would equal the night's work. As much as 11,000 ems had been given each man from the "phat" from ads and "commercial," and a "pickup" of 3,000 to 5,000 ems was a common occurrence.

Then the "boom" burst, advertising fell off, and the cry of "hard times" was raised. This condition, by cutting off almost all of the "bonus," automatically reduced the earnings of all printers very materially.

These were the conditions when the trouble occurred in 1890.

This so often has been referred to as the "Times lockout" that many do not know it was a general lockout in which every newspaper in Los Angeles participated. The fact that the trouble on the other papers soon was adjusted probably is the reason for this misapprehension.

The direct cause of the concerted lockout was a demand made at the August (1890) meeting of the union by a committee of the publishers, visiting the meeting in person. This committee consisted of Colonel Ayres of the Herald, Colonel Osborne of the Express, and Mr. Otis of the Times. This demand was for a reduction in the price of composition from the prevailing rate of 50 cents per thousand ems, with all paid matter set by the piece, to 40 cents per thousand, and paid matter set on time.

The three members of the visiting committee addressed the union, the burden of each address being "hard times." Mr. Otis said he wanted no trouble with the union, was not looking for any, and told how he had been a union man

himself when working at the trade—yet, he demanded a reduction of the scale.

The Tribune, the other morning paper, had no representative on the visiting committee, but stood with the combination.

The union declined to grant the sweeping reduction demanded, with the result that the next day (Monday) found the various offices manned by such "printers" as the publishers had been able to secure overnight.

Within a few days eight members of the "Printers' Protective Fraternity," a "rat" organization, with headquarters in Kansas City, arrived in Los Angeles. Soon afterward these outcasts were followed by others of their kind, nearly all of whom had been expelled from various locals of the International Typographical Union.

The "P. P. F.," as this organization was known, transferred its headquarters to the Los Angeles Times building, where, in the course of time, the malodorous aggregation wilted and died, the foul atmosphere of the surroundings proving too noisome even for the "rats." Thus ended the ignoble existence of the self-styled "Printers' Protective Fraternity."

The Herald, the Tribune, and the Express, failing to secure competent printers, and the publishers of those papers having too much self-respect to surround themselves with "rats," again entered into amicable relations with Los Angeles Typographical Union, re-employing in nearly every instance the printers who had been locked out. And the fact should be remembered that every man and woman (including even apprentices) came out and remained out until ordered back by the union.

But the Times, with the aid of "rats," continued to fight the union.

Los Angeles is in the Southwest, and the International in those days was not so far-reaching in its activities, hence this union was unaided in its battle. Local assessments were levied, sometimes as high as 10 per cent. on earnings, and an active fight was carried on.

At that time there were few unions in Los Angeles. It was hard to interest the public in the fight. This probably was the first time in the history of Southern California that the people had been confronted with a Labor controversy.

The fact becoming apparent that the efforts of the local union were inadequate, the International was appealed to, and in November, 1890, International President E. T. Plank sent M. McGlynn of San Francisco Typographical Union to Los Angeles to direct the fight against the Times.

Instead of negotiating with the Times directly, through the advice of Mr. McGlynn the Council of Labor levied a boycott against the "People's Store," the most liberal advertiser in the Times. The wisdom of this move soon became

apparent, as Mr. Moses Hamburger, the senior partner of the firm conducting the mercantile institution, succeeded in arranging a conference between representatives of the unions and the Times. Finally an agreement was reached, whereby the Times pledged itself to employ immediately four members of the union, this to be followed by a gradual re-employment until the office should be wholly union.

The one condition was that the boycott against the "People's Store" be publicly declared off.

In good faith the union accepted the condition. Immediately the Times employed four union men, and a notice appeared at the head of the editorial columns of the paper stating that a satisfactory agreement had been reached and the boycott against the "People's Store" had been lifted.

For months the union patiently waited for Mr. Otis to fulfill his pledge.

Twenty-five years have elapsed, and Mr. Otis' word continues to be worthless.

Becoming convinced that the Times had no intention of living up to its agreement, early in 1892 the union ordered its four members employed on the Times to quit work. They did so at once.

The boycott again was placed on the "People's Store." More about this later.

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Thus far three facts have been established, each of which is distinctly to the discredit of Mr. Otis:

First—Mr. Otis was expelled from membership in the Typographical Union for treacherous conduct toward his fellow-members.

Second—He locked out the union printers in his employ because they would not accept a 33 1-3 per cent. reduction in wages.

Third—He violated an agreement.

An analysis of this misconduct leaves Mr. Otis in an unfavorable light.

First—Probably no person has so maliciously assailed members of trade unions as has H. G. Otis, yet he was a member of a union when he was a wage-earner, and retained his membership until peremptorily expelled on the ground of being a traitor to the men and women he has since continuously vilified.

Second—The fact that Mr. Otis employed union printers exclusively until they refused to submit to a reduction of one-third of their wages proves that his hostility toward the unions is based upon his opposition to paying living wages.

Third—In repudiating an agreement, Mr. Otis proved that the word of a "rat" publisher in no respect compares

with that of the International Typographical Union. which on several occasions has demonstrated to the entire satisfaction of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association that every agreement entered into by union printers is binding, absolutely and irrevocably.

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McGlynn made a good fight. He effectively boycotted the "People's Store." He succeeded in negotiating an agreement which, had the Times been possessed of honor, would for all time have ended a controversy which now has extended throughout a quarter of a century. But in serving his fellow-men Mr. McGlynn neglected himself. Long hours and incessant application impaired his health. Reluctantly he stepped aside, to permit the battle to be waged by a younger man.

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At the Birmingham Convention of the International Typographical Union, 1901, Delegate C. N. Reed of Los Angeles appeared before the Executive Council, and urged that a representative of the I. T. U. be sent to Los Angeles to protect the union from the continuous assaults of the Times. The request was complied with.

President James M. Lynch, then in his first term as the executive head of the International Typographical Union, deemed it the part of wisdom to select for so important a mission a man with whom he was personally acquainted and in whom he had implicit confidence. Mr. Lynch had been president of Syracuse (N. Y.) Typographical Union, and was well informed as to the personal characteristics of each member of that organization. He appointed Arthur A. Hay as the man best equipped to "place Los Angeles on the map."

That Hay did this very thing no one ever will deny.

Hay took up the work where McGlynn had stopped. Having in mind that the union had been tricked into lifting the boycott from the "People's (Hamburger's) Store," he urged the Council of Labor again to declare that institution unfair.

Hay displayed remarkably good judgment in the manner in which he directed the movement against Hamburger, at that time the leading merchant of Southern California. The town was kept at fever heat. The Merchants & Manufacturers' Association, until then little more than a name, was aroused to action. The employers and merchants realized that the surrender or bankruptcy of Hamburger would give a tremendous impetus to the unions. Day and night Hay carried on the movement against Hamburger. Women were employed to canvass the city. The wives, mothers and sisters of workingmen were asked to help the printers. And they did. So effective was this systematic attack that, for the only time anywhere, newspaper readers

of Los Angeles witnessed the spectacle of department-store advertising containing a defense of the "policy" of the store and appealing to the public for patronage not because of the quality of merchandise offered for sale, nor the prices, but "for the good of the city," and for other tearful reasons.

Had the fight against Hamburger continued, there could have been but one result: He would have ceased to advertise in the Times, and when he quit, other large advertisers would have done likewise, convinced that it was an unprofitable proceeding to match strength with the labor unions of Los Angeles.

But the Examiner came—at the direct request of the International Typographical Union—and the boycott against Hamburger was lifted. This was a step backward, and was so regarded by Hay at the time. But it was one of those instances where a person is called upon to choose between gratitude and judgment. There can be but one choice.

A little later on this incident will be gone into fully.

Not only did Hay prosecute a tireless and effective campaign against the largest advertiser in the Times, but he conceived the idea, and carried it out with skill, of arraying trade unionists and workingmen generally against every public official and every candidate for public office who had the editorial support of the Times.

Several years ago the Chicago Tribune opened up its batteries on Hon. Joseph G. Cannon.

A reporter on a rival newspaper asked the picturesque Speaker of the House of Representatives to "give his honest opinion" of the Tribune.

"Well," drawled "Uncle Joe," "it's a hell of a success."

The same can be said of Hay's plan of action, and it becomes more so with each passing year.

Immediately after he had seized this idea—or it had seized him—to prove its efficacy Hay concluded to "try it on the dog." In those days the most likely subject was one Davenport, a member of the City Council. Not only did he "take orders" from the Times; he would go after them. So Hay went after him. Davenport was chairman of the printing committee of the City Council. The Times, in imminent danger of losing Hamburger's and other department-store ads, for the first time in its history submitted a bid for the city printing. It was a foregone conclusion that Davenport would be for the Times. That paper's bid was not the lowest. Here was the ground upon which Davenport could be attacked. In conjunction with the Los Angeles Record—a paper always unafraid—Hay charged Davenport with conspiring with Mr. Otis to loot the city treasury. The charge was absolutely true.

The outcome of this charge was that Davenport was recalled and the Times did not secure the contract for the city printing.

It will be of interest to the reader to be informed that Davenport, a City Councilman of Los Angeles, was the first public official in the United States of America thus to be ousted by his constituents, just as Los Angeles was the first American municipality to incorporate a recall provision in its city charter.

Davenport's official decapitation was a bitter pill for the Times, especially as that paper was a rabid opponent of the principle of recalling rascals on the public (and other) pay-rolls, and the individual first to be recalled was one eager to do the bidding of Mr. Otis.

From that eventful day the unions have overlooked no opportunity to obstruct the political progress of Otis adherents.

Arthur A. Hay taught the unions this method of warfare, and they are not likely to forget it.

It has been effective from its inception—so much so that the surest way to gain political preferment in the Golden State is to win, by fair means or foul, the opposition of the Los Angeles Times.

Its friendship is fatal; its animosity guarantees success.

The truthfulness of this assertion is amply verified by the unprecedented political success of Governor Johnson.

For many years California was completely dominated by the railroad "machine." Hiram W. Johnson, a San Francisco attorney who never had been a candidate for public office, had the laudable ambition to be Governor. To his credit, he had no "standing" with the political octopus which held the voters in its tentacles. But Hiram is wise in his day and generation. During all the years that he had not been running for office he had been watching Hay's "game." It never had failed. This being true, his "one best bet" was to incur the hatred and to be the recipient of the venom of the Los Angeles Times. So, journeying to the Southland in September of 1910—two months prior to the State election—Mr. Johnson paid his "respects" to Editor Otis in an address which ever will be regarded as a classic in California.

Facing thousands of Mr. Otis' fellow-townsmen, who cheered themselves hoarse in a frenzy of delight, Candidate Johnson said:

In the city from which I have come we have drunk to the very dregs the cup of infamy; we have had vile officials; we have had rotten newspapers; we have had men who have sold their birth-right; we have dipped into every infamy; every form of wickedness has been ours in the past; every debased passion and every sin has flourished. But we have nothing so vile, nothing so debased, nothing so infamous in San Francisco, nor did we ever have, as Harrison Gray Otis. He sits there in senile dementia, with gangrened heart and rotting brain, grimacing at every reform, chattering impotently at all things that are decent, frothing, fuming, violently gibbering, going down to his grave in snarling infamy. This man Otis is the one blot on the banner of Southern California; he is the bar sinister upon your escutcheon. My friends, he is the one thing that all

California looks at when, in looking at Southern California, they see anything that is disgraceful, depraved, corrupt, crooked and putrescent—that is Harrison Gray Otis.

Some description, that.

In reply, the Times vilified Mr. Johnson every day until election. The result was inevitable. He was elected by a tremendous majority, and has been re-elected, being the first Governor of California to succeed himself.

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In 1903 the Washington Convention of the International Typographical Union unanimously adopted a resolution, written by Delegate T. D. Fennessy, requesting Hon. William Randolph Hearst to establish a daily newspaper in Los Angeles in opposition to the Times.

After the convention adjourned, President Lynch sent Arthur A. Hay to New York City to inform Mr. Hearst officially of the unanimous request of the union printers of North America. Hay called upon the world-famed publisher at the latter's residence. He was graciously received, and departed with the assurance that Mr. Hearst's representatives in San Francisco would be communicated with in regard to the matter. Leaving New York, Hay returned direct to Los Angeles. His confreres here advised him to go to San Francisco immediately and interview representatives of Mr. Hearst in that city. This he did, returning within three days accompanied by Mr. Dent H. Robert, publisher of the San Francisco Examiner. Mr. Robert at once set about to establish a daily newspaper in this city. He secured a ten-year lease on a building then nearing completion on Broadway near Fifth street, and within ninety days installed the equipment from which the Los Angeles Examiner was printed for a decade, until the present magnificent edifice at Eleventh and Broadway—the finest newspaper establishment in the world—was erected and occupied.

The first issue of the Los Angeles Examiner appeared on Saturday, December 12, 1903, its advent being heralded by an enthusiastic Labor parade, at the head of which was James A. Gray, past president of the Council of Labor and at that time the most prominent trade unionist in Southern California.

Undoubtedly Mr. Otis fully realized the significance of the coming of the Examiner. By every means available he spread the false report that it was the intention of Mr. Hearst to "array class against class" and to "destroy the prosperity of Southern California." Business men proverbially timid, and fruit-growers became alarmed at the bugaboo created by Mr. Otis. They looked upon the Los Angeles Examiner as an emissary of chaos, and would have none of it. Mr. Otis' misrepresentation of Mr. Hearst was greatly strengthened by the fact that, from its first issue, the Examiner had declined to accept any advertisement from Ham-

burger's, rejecting a yearly contract worth thousands of dollars rather than weaken the attack of the Typographical Union upon the main support of the Times.

After eight months of constant misrepresentation by the Times, Mr. Henry Loewenthal, business manager of the Examiner, requested a conference with Hay. The facts here stated were discussed, in conclusion Mr. Hearst's representative making the statement—undoubtedly true—that the policy of the Examiner relative to Hamburger's was absolutely to the liking of the Times and detrimental to the Examiner, yet so long as Hamburger remained upon Labor's unfair list his advertisements would not be accepted by the Examiner.

Only one inference could be drawn from Mr. Loewenthal's statement.

Hay did the manly thing. With full knowledge that he was abandoning a fight upon the eve of victory, he said that the Typographical Union, rather than impede the progress of the Examiner, would endeavor to have the Council of Labor lift the boycott against Hamburger's.

This was easier said than done.

So persistent and so successful had the Typographical Union been in enlisting the co-operation of the various unions in withdrawing patronage from the leading advertiser in the Times that practically every union member rightfully had come to regard Hamburger's store as the key with which the door of the Times composing-room eventually would be unlocked and thrown open to union printers.

The meeting of the Council of Labor at which the printers made their unexpected request ever will live in the memory of the men and women who were present. Instantly there was an uproar. Never was the fighting spirit of Labor more forcefully demonstrated. The sentiment was overwhelmingly against "surrender," as the request was termed. However, after the storm of protests had subsided, the typographical delegation pointed out the fact that, in accordance with the rules of the Council, a boycott automatically terminated whenever the union at interest withdrew its complaint.

The representatives of Labor could not violate rules which they themselves had made—they never do. But human nature is resentful.

That meeting left wounds which required years to heal. Many delegates resigned, and within a month the attendance had dwindled to such an extent that barely a quorum would be present on meeting nights of the Council.

So rife was the spirit of discontent among the unions that the 1904 Labor Day parade was abandoned. Thirty days prior the Council had arranged the usual details for a street demonstration, but the Hamburger incident had created havoc.

T. D. Fennessy, delegate from the Typographical Union, was chairman of the Labor Day Committee. The parade having collapsed before it had started, and the fact being apparent that the picnic scheduled for Schuetzen Park—an out-of-the-way place—would be worse than a failure unless something unusual were done to revive the interest of union men and women, Fennessy conceived a novel plan, and in so doing unconsciously erected for himself a monument which will withstand the ravages of time. He contributed to the friendly newspapers ideal press-agent accounts of the Labor Temple, the construction of which would be started from the proceeds of the Labor Day picnic. No such project ever had been discussed, nor considered. But the idea won immediate popularity. The picnic was a successful and enjoyable affair. The net profit exceeded \$1,000, which Fennessy himself carried in a sealed handbag to the police station that night and placed in the Chief's safe until next day. This money was used in making the first payment on the lots on which Los Angeles' magnificent Labor edifice stands. And this is why, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifteen, a multitude of happy union printers from every section of North America, assembled in the Angel City in Sixty-first session, will meet in a Labor Temple in the City of Los Angeles, erected and maintained by Labor.

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With the erection of the Labor Temple the unions acquired new life. A number of International bodies sent organizers here, and the American Federation of Labor, seeing the necessity of concerted action in so important a field, selected Arthur A. Hay as its representative in Los Angeles, Hay severing his official connection with the International Typographical Union to assume broader duties.

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President Lynch appointed George Stein of New York City to the position vacated by Hay. Mr. Stein is a firm believer in the efficacy of unity of action. With him it is not sufficient that the various branches of the printing trade be organized into separate unions; they must be imbued with the spirit of "Each for all and all for each." Stein essentially is an organizer, and while in Los Angeles did effective work in the cause of Unionism. Unfortunately, while here his wife was stricken with paralysis. He returned with her to their home in New York, Mrs. Stein's condition necessitating his constant care. George Stein carried with him the sympathy and the friendship of all union men and women of Southern California.

The vacancy caused by the sudden resignation of Mr. Stein was filled, temporarily, by President Ralph L. Criswell, of the local union, until President Lynch succeeded in ob-

taining the consent of Charles T. Scott, of Cleveland Typographical Union, to assume the work in this field.

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There are six daily newspapers in Los Angeles, equally divided between the morning and afternoon fields. Both as to circulation and influence the Times is last—absolutely and positively last.

Before the Examiner came, the Times dominated Southern California. Fearing that Mr. Hearst would purchase the Herald, thus better enabling the Examiner to fight the Times for supremacy in the morning field, Mr. Otis secretly acquired ownership of the Herald. The secret soon leaked, and from that moment the Herald was a financial failure. Being "between the devil and the deep sea" was not a circumstance to the position in which Mr. Otis had succeeded in placing himself. He was afraid to let loose and afraid to hold on. But his troubles had only commenced. There was one morning paper too many in the field. Nobody knew this better than did Mr. Otis, hence his state of mind may be imagined when the announcement was made that Mr. Edwin T. Earl, the militant and successful publisher of the Evening Express, intended to launch another morning paper, and a penny one at that. Mr. Earl kept his word, as he has the reputation always of doing, the initial issue of the Tribune appearing on July 4, 1911.

Mr. Otis could no longer stand the pressure. He sold the Herald on condition that it be converted into an afternoon paper. Free from the taint of its former ownership, the Herald rapidly developed from a frosty fizzle into an influential and prosperous publication.

The five union daily newspapers—Examiner, Tribune, Herald, Express, and Record—maintain the friendliest relations with the Typographical Union, and, as a consequence, enjoy service which it is impossible for the Times to receive from its nondescript aggregation of near-printers, recruited as they have been from livery stables and other places equally inartistic.

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Apparently, nobody pleases Mr. Otis, and, naturally, Mr. Otis pleases nobody.

Once there was a time when he attempted to attack his fellow-editors of the Los Angeles daily press. But he is not doing that now. He discovered, to his surprise, that they could beat him at his own game—that, unlike himself, they did not resort to billingsgate, but, again unlike himself, being educated and clever, impaled him with rhythmic shafts of satire. They hurt him, and he quit!

The town ever will remember the poetical castigation administered Mr. Otis by Mr. Samuel T. Clover, for years editor of the Express, and at present editor of the Graphic.

In a classic entitled "Hic Jacet," scholarly Mr. Clover tuned his lyre and aroused the ire of Br'er Otis thus and to-wit:

Under this slab and as dumb as the stone
Lies one who in lifetime but rarely was known
To utter in kindness a friendly expression
Concerning the ones of his chosen profession;
His pen with a venom abnormal was tipped,
And hatred and malice persistently dripped;
A sneer for the stranger who made no demand,
A snarl and a hiss—but not the glad hand;
A mean little fling, a contemptible word
Was all that the public expected or heard.

Intolerant, arrogant, brutal and vain,
Opinions of others he held in disdain;
Should by any chance his dogmas oppose,
Instantly his choicer and adjectives rose,
Until the poor devil he chanced to be flaying
Cringed low in the dust, his apology paying.

All those of his craft who, on business alert,
Their rights in the premises dared to assert
He bitterly fought, regardless of code,
And over them roughshod he viciously rode.
A fig for amenities! Little he cared
For the rule give and take by gentlefolk shared;
That lesson in life this fellow ill-bred
Neglected to learn to the day he lay dead.
He ruled by a threat, he won by a thrust,
His manners were boorish, his actions unjust;
He lectured the churches, he railed at the preachers,
He carped at the schools, he bedeviled the teachers;
He scolded the council, he harried the mayor—
The county officials came in for their share;
He bullied the merchants—they had to kowtow—
For like it or not it was theirs anyhow.

In politics he'd either ruin or run,
And the man he supported, alas, was undone!
For the voters decided the thing that he wished
In tacit agreement by them should be dishd.
In fact the whole people he set by the ears,
So tired and disgusted were they by his jeers.

Still he whined and he cried, this peculiar man,
For failing to light on a popular plan
That would hold him forever—so weird was his dream—
Ensnared in the people's regard and esteem.

This mixture of vanity, pompousness, gall,
Could not comprehend his shortcomings at all;
He longed for the plaudits, forgetting, alack!
The countless good men he had stabbed in the back.

And so to the end of his wretched career
He bullied the people and ruled them by fear.
For the element love and good-will toward men
Was a factor unknown to his venomous pen.

And a jury of surgeons that sat on his case
Diagnosed his remains Lovingkindness to trace.
They found that his brain was distorted and small,
But the Milk of Humanity found not at all;
Of vanity much, of pomposity more,
Of envy and hatred considerable store;
Of self-esteem, spleen and other things bad
This poor old cadaver enormously had;
But never, alas! though search as they would,
These eminent doctors found anything good.

Then in silence profound they put it away
And there, in Oblivion's tomb, let it stay.

The above poem was reproduced both in the Herald and in the Union Labor News. In commenting thereon, the latter said:

Harrison Gray Otis, editor of the infamous Times, has been attacked, jeered and ridiculed hundreds of times by hundreds of persons, but it is safe to say that never during his entire career has he received such a thorough lashing as was administered by Samuel T. Clover, the brilliant editor of the Express. Mr. Clover "dropped into poetry," and drew blood with every line.

And then there comes to mind that poem by an unknown genius on the editorial staff of the Herald. In those dear old days Mr. Otis had a habit of inserting the exclamation "Huh!" in his editorials whenever he imagined he had scored a point, and this was not infrequent. This explanation enables the reader to enjoy thoroughly the following masterpiece:

HUH!

Who is this contemptible, conceited boor,
Who is loathed by the rich and despised by the poor;
Whose coffers of mercy are empty as air,
And who hasn't a friend on the coast anywhere;
Whose bombast and arrogant manners are hated,
And who never was liked, but was always berated;
A braggart at heart, who stabs honest men
By the venomous flings of his cowardly pen?
Who is it? Huh!!

Go into his presence with trembling and fear,
And have all your questions received with a sneer;
Of courtesy's doctrine this geezer is chary,
It couldn't be found in his whole dictionary.
Who is this insipid and close-fisted freak,
Who never was known e'en a kindness to speak,
But whose voice has a growl like a grizzly bear,
From slumber aroused in his wild mountain lair?
Who is it? Huh!!

Inside his stone castle this meanest of men,
Surrounded by barricades, wields his vile pen;
The doors are kept locked and the windows are frosted,
Lest by some rude stranger he should be accosted;
The sentry on duty is ever alert,
Some shocking catastrophe there to avert—
And who is this rip-roaring bully, who stands
Inside of his sanctum and issues commands?
Who is it? Huh!!

The minions that slave, o'er whose body and soul
This hard, grasping, merciless wretch has control,
Are they given treatment that man should give man,
And shown due respect by the golden-rule plan?
Nay—this harsh Legree simply lashes and scolds,
To the grindstone their noses he viciously holds;
But, who is this gruff, acrimonious Thing
Whose unjust transactions men constantly sing?
Who is it? Huh!!

How long, oh, how long will the gibe and the sneer
That make up this despotic creature's career,

That make for him enemies day after day,
Be spread, like the tares, on life's fertile highway?
Take the finest-toothed comb and then go and scrape hell,
And you ne'er would discover this freak's parallel—
And who is this hair-curling, wild bugaboo?
Alas and alack! echo still answers, "Who?"
Who is it? Huh!!

* * * * *

During the first year that Representative Scott was in the Los Angeles district the United States Commission on Industrial Relations held a session in Los Angeles. Scott was subpoenaed by the Commission to give Labor's side of the contest against the Los Angeles Times, from its beginning, in 1890, down to the present time. Mr. Otis was subpoenaed to appear before the Commission for the purpose, as stated in the Los Angeles Times, of giving the Commission an opportunity "of obtaining additional light on the interesting subject of the 'open shop' in successful operation." It will be shown just how much information the Commission received from Mr. Otis about the "open shop" by giving some of his (Otis') testimony later on.

The Representative of the International Typographical Union dwelt upon the different phases of the struggle which has covered a quarter of a century of time. The principal points brought out by the investigation of the Commission were those of the "open shop" when used in connection with the Times, wages paid by the Los Angeles Times and the manner of settling any differences that might arise between the people employed by the Times and the management of that newspaper. Those points were gone over thoroughly by both Representative Scott and Mr. Otis. They were covered by direct testimony before the Commission and by supplemental statements furnished the Commission, all of which are now parts of the records of the Industrial Commission.

The Los Angeles hearing of the Commission on Industrial Relations has gone into history as "Labor's Hearing." An opportunity was given to Labor at this hearing to tell its own story in its own way of the many industrial disputes that have occurred in days gone by in Los Angeles. It was an absolutely fair hearing, presided over by a fair man, in the person of Hon. Frank P. Walsh. The contest waged by the International Typographical Union against the Los Angeles Times was laid before the Commission.

Throughout the length and breadth of the land, people have been led to believe that the Los Angeles Times stood for the "open shop," as that term is used by various employers' associations. The Times claimed that Mr. Otis had been called before the Commission to give testimony "on the interesting subject of the 'open shop' in successful operation." Representative Scott gave testimony before the Commission that very evidently left that body in doubt as to Mr. Otis' real attitude. Scott claimed that the Times is not an

"open shop," but that the paper is conducted as a strictly non-union shop, as members of the International Typographical Union are not permitted to work in that establishment. In order that the Commission might determine for itself just what kind of a shop the Los Angeles Times conducts, Commissioner O'Connell interrogated Mr. Otis with the following result:

Commissioner O'Connell—Do you employ union men in your plant, members of the Typographical Union?

Mr. Otis—No, we do not.

Commissioner O'Connell—Are they asked the question when seeking employment whether they are members of the Pressmen's Union or the Typographical Union, as the case may be?

Mr. Otis—Yes; asked the question flatly.

Commissioner O'Connell—If they admit they are?

Mr. Otis—We don't employ them.

Commissioner O'Connell—Then you are not running open shop; you are running non-union shop.

General Otis—We are running non-union shop.

Those who heard the testimony of Mr. Otis were somewhat astounded, as most of them supposed that the owner of the Los Angeles Times was in favor of the "open shop" system, as the Times for many years has been the mouth-piece and the organ of the Los Angeles "open shoppers." But it brought forcibly to the minds of those who heard the testimony that the "open shop" is an instituted lie—that it really means "closed to union men."

For many years it has been the policy of the advocates of the so-called "open shop" system in Los Angeles to continually give out the statement that wages are as good, if not better, in Los Angeles, under conditions in which organized labor has no say, than they are under the strictly "union" system. This has been the boast of the Times. In answering a question asked by Mr. Thompson, counsel for the Industrial Commission, Mr. Otis said: "Our workmen are unquestionably better off than in any rival establishment. We can demonstrate that out of their own mouths if need be." But the demonstration was given to the Commission by Mr. Otis himself in the form of a supplemental statement. This supplemental statement was given to the Commission in the nature of the Times payroll. Commissioner Weinstock questioned Mr. Scott very closely on the question of wages paid in the Times. Scott stated that wages are not as good in the Times as in Los Angeles newspaper offices working under the union agreement. Out of this testimony came the opportunity of comparing wages in the Times with those of the union newspapers of Los Angeles.

On the day before the Commission adjourned, Mr. Otis presented to the Commission a typewritten supplemental statement showing the number of employes in his office and wages paid. As the representative of the International Typographical Union had used up his privileges before the

Commission, it was found necessary to draw up a statement and forward it to the Commission's headquarters. Following will be found the supplemental statement and Chairman Walsh's reply:

Mr. Frank P. Walsh,
Chairman U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Walsh—While on the stand before your honorable Commission at one of the hearings in Los Angeles, a question was raised regarding the wages paid by Mr. Otis in the composing rooms of the non-union Los Angeles Times. I believe the question was put to me by Commissioner Weinstock, who, I think, misunderstood a statement by Mr. Otis, while on the stand, that men in his composing room—linotype operators—made more than the union scale.

As Mr. Otis was permitted to present to the Commission a supplemental statement on Monday, September 14, 1914, the day before the adjournment of your hearings in Los Angeles, which contained his payroll, I ask the Industrial Relations Commission, through you, to allow this statement of mine to become a part of the record, also.

In this statement I desire to make a comparison of the wages paid in the non-union Times—a morning paper—and the wages paid in union composing rooms of Los Angeles. I will use Mr. Otis' figures which are on file with your Commission.

I would not ask this indulgence on the part of your Commission if I had had time to prepare a statement before the adjournment of your hearings; that is, after Mr. Otis had made his final statement.

I am using only the figures of the composing room—that branch of the business that my testimony covered.

In Mr. Otis' testimony he refers to the union eight-hour scale. Union printers in Los Angeles—on newspapers—only work seven and one-half hours.

Following is Mr. Otis' statement:

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT

While I was on the stand at that session, the chairman requested me to produce figures showing the different rates paid by the Times to skilled labor in the several mechanical departments at this time. I give the rates herewith:

COMPOSITION ROOM

Weekly Wage Rates.	Number of Workmen Receiving Each Week.
\$46.15	1
39.00	1
35.00	2
30.00	1
25.00	1
24.00	1
21.00	1
20.00	1
15.00	3
<hr/>	
Total employes as listed.....	12
Average weekly wage.....	\$26.68

Hour Rates.	No. of Men Employed at the Hourly Wage of
81 cents.....	2
71 cents.....	1
65 cents.....	2
62½ cents.....	24
60 cents.....	1
56 cents.....	4
50 cents.....	2

Total employes as listed..... 36
Average hourly wage. .62 4-10 cents
Average weekly earnings
based on an eight-hour
day for six days.....\$29.95

Piece Rates.	Number of Workmen Employed.
At 13 cents per 1,000 ems.....	22
At 11½ cents per 1,000 ems.....	5

Total piece employes as listed....27
 Average wage per 1,000 ems.....12 72-100 cents
 Average weekly wage for six days, based on a seven-hour day \$35.10

PROOFREADING ROOM

Hour Rates.	No. of Workmen at the Hourly Wage of	Employed
68 cents.....	1	
62½ cents.....	1	
60 cents.....	2	
56 cents.....	2	
55 cents.....	1	
50 cents.....	1	
45 cents.....	1	
31 cents.....	8	

Total employes as listed.....17
 Average hourly wage...44 7-10 cents
 Average weekly wage (6 days) based on a 7-hour day.....\$18.78

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

HARRISON GRAY OTIS,

President and General Manager The Times-Mirror Co. and Editor Los Angeles Times.

Under "Weekly Wage Rates" 12 employes are listed. Only 4 out of the 12 receive as much as the union scale calls for—\$32 for seven and one-half hours' work. Our scale is strictly a minimum scale—many employes receiving more.

Under "Hour Rates" 36 employes are listed. Only 3 out of the 36 receive as much as the union scale calls for, which is 71 cents an hour for a seven and one-half hour day. All over seven and one-half hours is paid for as overtime—price and one-half.

These 36 men receive single time for overtime. And all of them are not guaranteed a night's work when starting. They are compelled to take what they get.

Under "Piece Rates" 27 employes are listed. The average is given as \$35.10. The minimum wage for linotype operators is \$32. The working day is given as seven hours in the Times. Mr. Otis in his testimony on September 8, 1914, in speaking of the working day of his "piece" employes, said: "Thus the working hours go up as high as from nine to eleven on the latter days and nights of the week, owing to the exigent demands of the large Sunday issues." Union men working as long hours, with their overtime, would make as much and more than do Times employes.

Under Proofreading Room—"Hour Rates"—17 employes are listed. Not one of the 17 receives as much as the union scale calls for. In union offices in Los Angeles proofreaders are members of the union, and receive at least \$5.33 1-3 for a seven and one-half hour day.

The agreement entered into between Los Angeles Newspaper Publishers' Association and Los Angeles Typographical Union No. 174 provides that none but members of the union shall be employed in the composing rooms of the Publishers' Association newspapers. This, of course, does not include apprentices.

This agreement provides that journeymen on morning papers shall receive not less than \$5.33 1-3 per day of seven and one-half hours, the working day being eight hours (including thirty minutes for lunch).

Overtime shall be paid for at the rate of time and one-half.

Members put to work shall be given a full day's work.

If this supplemental statement of mine can be made a part of the record of your honorable body, will you kindly notify me?

As I was questioned very closely while on the stand in regard

to the points contained in this report, I trust that this statement will be placed before your Commission.

Feeling sure that the investigations as conducted by the Industrial Relations Commission will result in much good to the people of the entire country, I am,

Sincerely yours,
 CHARLES T. SCOTT,
 Representative, International Typographical Union.

The following reply was received from Hon. Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the Commission:

Mr. Charles T. Scott,
 Representative, International Typographical Union,
 Los Angeles, California.

My Dear Sir—Your favor of the 24th instant, submitting detailed comparison of wages paid by the Los Angeles Times and the union composing rooms of Los Angeles, was duly received. I shall take pleasure in having the same made a part of the record of the Los Angeles hearing, and will see, also, that it gets its proper weight in the consideration of the whole subject by the Commission as a whole.

Thanking you for your kindly expression, and with personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,
 FRANK P. WALSH, Chairman.

Mr. Otis claimed that his men were unquestionably "better off" than those employed in rival establishments in Los Angeles. His testimony showed that his statement was without any foundation whatever. The figures that he presented to the Commission, and which are now a matter of record, show that his men work longer hours and receive far less pay than men in other Los Angeles newspapers receive. Those men who, by necessity, are compelled from time to time to work overtime, he pays by the hour, in order that he will not be called upon to pay overtime. Mr. Otis hides behind such phrases as "industrial freedom," "the right to work," "free and unhampered labor," etc., in order that he may pay low wages and work his help long hours. He has deceived the public for years, but will not be able to do so any longer. He has convicted himself.

Mr. Otis was forced to admit on the witness stand that at one time he had been a member of the International Typographical Union, and had carried a card in that organization. The spectacle that he made of himself while admitting that he once was a union man was only equaled by a similar display when he was relating the amount of wages paid in the Times office and the long hours worked. He brightened up somewhat when he spoke of his "piece hands." Mr. Otis came through with the information that even his "piece hands" worked long hours—"from nine to eleven on the latter days and nights of the week, owing to the exigent demands of the big Sunday issues." He did not explain to the Commission that linotype operators working the same number of hours under union conditions would make a great deal more than they received in the Times, but

this matter was gone into by the representative of the International Typographical Union, who informed the Commission of the deception practiced by the Times.

Mr. Otis denied that the Times had, in the early part of the contest, entered into any sort of an agreement with the Typographical Union looking to a settlement of the trouble. This denial came in answer to Scott's statement on the stand that about eighteen months after the trouble first started a "peace" meeting was held, at which representatives of the Times and Los Angeles Unions were present. The Commission asked for information on this point, and put it up to the union representative to furnish the proof. This was done by having a statement prepared for the Commission by one of those who was interested in that meeting and who returned to work in the Times under that agreement. The name of the Times representative at that meeting was also furnished to the Commission on the suggestion of the counsel for that body. This statement showed conclusively that an agreement had been entered into whereby a certain number of union men were to return to work in the Times, and that later more were to be employed, to the end that the office would again be a union concern. But after the boycott had been removed from the "People's Store" Mr. Otis no longer saw the necessity of establishing peace with the union and forgot all about his agreement. Later, the union was compelled to take out those union men they had sent into the office.

The Commission was evidently much interested in knowing the manner in which a man who had admitted he once belonged to the International Typographical Union treated that organization after he severed his connection with it. Having held a card in the union while working at the trade, and enjoying the benefits of that membership, it appeared somewhat strange to those who listened to Mr. Otis' testimony that ever since he had graduated from the ranks he had endeavored in every possible way to lower the standard of a trade he had once followed. His entire testimony showed that he had no respect for the rights of others.

In order to get the full humor of the following bit of testimony given by Mr. Otis before the Commission, one must try to imagine, if he can, Mr. Otis' admitting that anyone could have a real grievance against anything that he (Otis) might do. Mr. Otis was being interrogated as to the manner of settling disputes in the Times office. The following question was asked by Mr. Thompson, counsel of the Commission, and answered by Mr. Otis:

Q.—When the committee brings a grievance up to you for adjustment, who finally determines whether or not there is a grievance and what shall be done in the matter?

A.—We discuss it pro and con. If the men make out a fairly good case and have a real grievance, we try to redress it, we do

redress it. If the men haven't a good case, we try to talk them off their feet, and, if they yield, as they do instead of striking, they go back to work. That is the end of it.

Mr. Otis could have saved some of the time of the Commission, and at the same time given a perfectly correct answer, if he had merely said: "If anyone doesn't like the way I run things, he can quit."

* * * * *

At 1 o'clock in the morning of the first day of October, 1910, the Times building was destroyed by fire, caused by the explosion of a dynamite bomb.

In the disaster twenty-one lives were lost.

On learning of the calamity, President Ralph L. Criswell, of Los Angeles Typographical Union No. 174, immediately forwarded to the business manager of the Times the following communication:

Mr. H. G. Chandler,
Business Manager Times,
521 Spring St., City.

My Dear Mr. Chandler:

I take this method of expressing my sincere regret on account of the terrible accident which befell the Times this morning, and by authority of the Board of Directors of Los Angeles Typographical Union No. 174, I hereby tender you our aid in getting out your paper until such time as you may wish to dispense with our services.

(Signed)

Very respectfully,

RALPH L. CRISWELL,
President L. A. T. U. No. 174.

The receipt of this offer, which was made unconditionally, was never acknowledged by the Times management, but advantage was taken of it for many weeks to have advertisements set in every union composing room of the city—and without cost. In addition to this, whole sections of the Sunday Times were set up, stereotyped and the press work done in a union office, by union workmen, until the Times plant was rehabilitated.

At the time of the tragedy and for months thereafter the belief was general that an explosion of gas had destroyed the building, as it was a notoriously insanitary place. But the arrest and confession of the McNamara brothers established the fact that these "criminally insane or insanely criminal" individuals, as they aptly were termed at the time, had attempted to wreak vengeance upon Mr. Otis in a manner as dastardly as the methods employed by Mr. Otis himself.

Violence of abuse had been met by violence of action.

By its blind hatred the Los Angeles Times brought death to twenty-one innocent persons, just as the McNamaras, through bitter resentment, brought injury to a cause which has sweetened the lives of those who toil.

The statement issued by the California State Federation of Labor, which assembled in annual convention in Los An-

ges shortly after the destruction of the Times building, while it cannot be accepted, nor was it intended, as justification of the deed, is of interest as truthfully setting forth in detail incidents preceding a historical event.

The report, in part, follows:

As a publication, the Los Angeles Times is notorious throughout the world as having no rival as a hostile and unscrupulous enemy, not only to Unionism, but to progress generally.

On the subject of "industrial freedom" it is no exaggeration to say that Otis is insane. The dream of his life for the past twenty years has been the extermination of Unionism in Los Angeles, and there has not been a trick so low, a calumny so vile, that he has not resorted to it if he thought it would work toward that end.

Repeatedly, when employers have expressed a willingness to treat with their employes on a basis of equality, Otis has resorted to blackmail to compel them to stand out for the "open shop."

Otis allied himself with the Southern Pacific Railroad "machine" and thus became a power in politics in order that he might use this influence, in all its ramifications, against organized labor.

Otis created the Merchants & Manufacturers' Association, the Citizens' Alliance of Los Angeles, and gained control of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, to use them as weapons against organized labor.

Otis acquired other publications, notably the Daily Herald. He published that paper under other nominal ownership, using it in a pretended fight against his own policies, in order to gain a clientele of readers beyond the reach of the Times, for the purpose of a propaganda among them later for his own ends.

Otis hired spies to join the unions and mingle with union men, in the hope of securing evidence of criminality or other evidence which he might use to their detriment.

Trumpeting abroad the report that unionists were plotting to do him violence, Otis made his editorial rooms an arsenal, then employed every means at his command to goad union men to attack him or to make a demonstration in front of his office, in order to furnish an excuse for a massacre.

Otis gathered about him a body of professional libelers and union-haters, and from first to last carried on a campaign of vilification, lying and libel unique in the history of journalism. This campaign was directed not only against unionism and unionists, but against progressive ideas and progressive persons of every sort. To Otis, every class of reformer, from the advocate of direct legislation to the conservationist, was alike a "red," "anarchist," "crank," or "disturber."

As a result of Otis' bitter hostility, and the uncompromising attitude which his bulldozing tactics compelled the employers to take, it was inevitable that a time should come when there would be a sharp contest between the forces of organized labor and the employers' associations in Los Angeles.

The great humanitarian movement for the association of the workers of the world may be hindered and checked for a time, but as surely as the world is marching forward, so surely will this vast movement extend itself. By his fanatical opposition to Unionism as a principle, Otis was laying up for Los Angeles lockouts, strikes and boycotts, which are the fruit of a misunderstanding and misappreciation of the beneficent ends of labor unionism.

Los Angeles being an "open-shop town," wages here are generally low. The skilled mechanics in the metal trades, for example, have been receiving from \$1 to \$3 a day less money than mechanics of the same standing are receiving in other cities of the United States. The brewery workers also have been receiving a wholly inadequate wage.

In May of this year (1910) the men in these two crafts decided to ask for more wages as a partial offset to the increased cost of living. Making their demands in the most respectful and tactful way, the Brewery Workers' Union asked an increase of from \$2 to \$3 a week. The Metal Trades Council asked for a minimum wage

of \$4 a day. The brewery workers were promptly locked out. The communication of the Metal Trades Council was consigned to the waste-basket, and when it became evident that the mechanics were to get no consideration whatsoever, they went on strike.

At the time of the Times disaster both these struggles seemed on the point of being won by the union men. Despite the exasperating efforts of the police to stir up trouble, the men indulged in no serious acts of violence, and every precaution had been taken to prevent members from resisting the aggressions of the police. There were many arrests, but nearly all of these were of peaceful union pickets, in enforcement of the anti-picketing law which the City Council passed under pressure from the Times and the Merchants & Manufacturers' Association.

But the strikers were on the point of winning. For the first time it appeared that the grip of the Times on the industries of Los Angeles was about to be broken. Wherefore the attacks of the Times upon organized labor became more infuriated, more insane, than ever. During the few days previous to the disaster the Times applied, in its columns, the following epithets to unionism or unionists:

"Sluggers," "Union Rowdies," "Hired Trouble Breeders," "Horde," "Lawless Agitation," "Bullies," "Disturbers of the Industrial Peace," "Organized Ruffianism," "Ruffians," "Brutes," "Mob," "Rabble," "Gas-pipe Ruffians," "Organized Rowdyism," "Bunch," "Local Malcontents," "Union Brutes," "Strong-Arm Union Labor Gang," "Rough-necks," "Lawless Ones," "Union Wolves," "Toughs," "Corpse-Defacers," "Murderers," and "Assassins."

Without the slightest foundation for its statements, during this period the Times charged union men with some of the most heinous crimes, among them several attempted dynamitings. The day previous to the disaster, the Times accused Los Angeles unionists variously with attempting to blow up the Hall of Records, with attempting murder, with conspiring, with mayhem, with attacking a corpse.

During this period, Otis, the Times, the Merchants & Manufacturers' Association and their allies were exerting tremendous efforts to bring about a coalition of employers on the Pacific Coast for the purpose of launching a war of extermination against organized labor from Seattle to San Diego.

Such was the situation just previous to the blowing up of the Times.

* * * * *

Hatred is a terrible thing. It corrodes the heart which harbors it.

When hate enters, love departs. Where there is no love there is nothing really worth while.

Malice and misery are as inseparable as love and laughter.

Through all the ages man has harmed his fellow-man. Every page of history is blotted with the recital of deeds of men who would not forgive and forget, and through it all these deluded beings have pretended—and it may be they really believed—they were battling for Liberty.

But their pretensions have been in vain.

Liberty comes through Justice, and Justice rests upon the imperishable foundation of Right.

Until men learn to think justly they will continue to slander and murder and be miserable, and the innocent will suffer.

Nowhere in all the world will there ever be joy or

health or hope for those who believe as Otis believes and as the McNamaras believe.

No palliation, no defense, can be offered for such as these.

God alone can forgive them.

* * * * *

Mr. Otis' day is drawing to a close. Twilight is upon him. Soon darkness will come. Then—nobody knows.

May there be an awakening in a better and a happier sphere—made so, and kept so, by the absence of narrowness and selfishness and malice; by the presence of tolerance and kindness and self-sacrifice.

May the soul of Harrison Gray Otis find eternal repose in Elysium, and as it takes flight from its earthly habitation may his heart be mellowed by repentance and may his lips murmur Tennyson's immortal lines:

Ring out false pride in place and blood,
The civic slander and the spite;
Ring in the love of truth and right,
Ring in the common love of good.

Ring out the grief that saps the mind
For those that here we see no more.
Ring out the feud of rich and poor,
Ring in redress to all mankind.

