

lowing morning and six men were shot and killed at the mill gates by deputy sheriffs. The Industrial Secretary endeavored to secure a prominent southern minister to participate in the funeral of these workers, and being unable to do so made an address at the funeral himself on the invitation of the union committee. He then continued efforts toward mediation. A preliminary meeting of union leaders and a representative of the Governor was held in his room at the hotel. He then accompanied union leaders for an interview with the Governor at Raleigh, asking investigation and further efforts toward a constructive settlement.

The Industrial Secretary returned to Marion and made a survey of actual relief needs by a large number of personal interviews with the strikers and their families. He then endeavored to form a committee of southern church people to supply relief to meet what were extreme conditions of suffering. Failing in this, the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) were approached and, on invitation of the Federal Council of Churches, undertook relief work in Marion. The burden of raising funds fell principally upon the Federal Council. One thousand people were fed through the winter months and most of them were enabled to find work either in other mills or on farms in the spring.

The Industrial Secretary prepared from a large number of personal interviews a factual statement on the causes of the strikes in Marion and their conduct, the relief needs and the relation of the churches to the strike. This was printed on December 28, 1929, as a special issue of Information Service, which included also a section on the economic status of the cotton-textile industry prepared by Dr. Arthur E. Sufferin of the staff of the Research Department of the Federal Council. It included also a joint statement on the southern-textile situation by the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Commission on Social Justice of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. This special issue of Information Service was widely used in the churches and universities and elsewhere. A copy was sent to each of the contributors to the relief fund asking that the report be made the subject of study and discussion in the Bible classes and young people's societies of the churches, many of which had contributed either clothing or money for relief, thus

relating an educational process to the actual project of relief.

**VII. The Joint Study of the Centralia Case—1929-30**  
 Rabbi Sidney F. Goldstein,  
 Central Conference of American Rabbis

A study of the "Centralia Case" was made jointly by the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches, and the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in response to urgent requests from the Washington Conference of Congregational Churches and the Pacific Northwest Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

On Armistice Day, 1919, at Centralia, Washington, a violent clash between parading ex-soldiers and members of the Industrial Workers of the World, before whose hall the parade halted, resulted in the death of four legionnaires, the wrecking of the hall and the lynching of one member of the Industrial Workers of the World. Prior events and current rumors had convinced the Industrial Workers of the World that they were warranted in preparing for violence, but the facts regarding the responsibility for actual initiative in attack are clouded. The trial which followed resulted in the conviction of seven Industrial Workers of the World of second-degree murder with sentences of from twenty-five to forty years. Accusations of injustice and uncertainty regarding the fairness of the trial had kept the community restless, and finally interested church groups requested investigation by a disinterested agency.

A committee appointed by the church groups in Washington co-operated in the work. A legal representative, Mr. Wyckoff, was sent to Centralia to make an extensive study covering the entire court record, newspaper files and much other documentary material. Personal interviews were obtained with the Governor, the trial judge, the present chief justice of the State Supreme Court, who wrote the opinion of that Court in the case, members of the prosecution staff, ministers, American Legion members, Industrial Workers of the World members and sympathizers, nine of the jurors, and all the prisoners. All the evidence was thoroughly examined and carefully weighed. While no attempt was made to pass final judgment on the guilt or innocence of the prisoners, an attempt was made to throw new light on the question, "Was justice done?" The decision was, that while the men were guilty of conspiracy in that they had used unlawful means of

defending their hall—some of the fatal shooting was done at considerable distance from the hall—they had not conspired to murder and their sentences were unduly harsh. The report was used widely by the Washington Committee in an educational effort, but there is no evidence that the report has had a decisive influence. Incidentally, it was criticized by the Industrial Workers of the World as well as by their enemies.

**VIII. Inter-religious Conference on Permanent Preventives of Unemployment—1931**

Arthur E. Sufferin, Research Department, Federal Council

Although churches of all faiths throughout the country responded generously to the call for relief in the unemployment situation, it was thought to be highly important that the conscience of the nation should be awakened to the moral necessity of permanently eliminating the tragedy of unemployment, with the consequent suffering and loss. Therefore, the three national religious organizations before referred to jointly sponsored a national conference on Permanent Preventives of Unemployment in Washington, January 26-27, 1931. Over four hundred delegates from twenty-three states and seventy-five towns and cities attended. These included, besides church representatives, personal representatives of the governors of a number of states, federal government officials from the Department of Labor and Commerce and the President's Emergency Committee on Employment, editors, research students, social workers, representatives of city and state commissions on unemployment, officials of labor unions, business men, and professors of sociology and economics. The addresses made by employers, economists, government officials, labor representatives, and church leaders covered practically every aspect of the unemployment question, technical as well as moral. According to the philosophy of some people, this was an *irreligious* conference because it considered a problem with which the churches are not supposed to be concerned. A feature of the program was the announcement by an economist that he welcomed the effort of church groups to do what he despaired of getting economists to do. The proceedings of the conference were published and have been used for educational purposes.

Anybody who has taken the trouble to explore the reports of welfare agencies and to consider the evidence which they disclose of the suffering from lack of food, clothing and shelter can hardly be content to accept the advice of a leading business man that good

Christians, when they kneel down to say their prayers, should place the Bible under one arm, a copy of the Constitution under the other and expect God to rectify conditions created by the way human beings conduct their economic affairs. That advice, however, was seriously presented at the conference. Churchmen were warned that God and the church would "lose caste" with the people if the powers of government were used to cope with conditions created by poor management of the economic system. If such a philosophy prevails among business men to any great extent, or among churchmen, obviously there is need for increased emphasis on the moral and ethical necessity of taking steps to eliminate the tragedy of unemployment with its consequent suffering and loss.

During this depression the reduction in the standard of living among moderate- and low-income groups, the disastrous physical and psychological effects on the unemployed and their families, the burden on society of the increasing number of dependents, the inadequacy of work-relief or other forms of relief compared to an opportunity for steady work, the increase in the number of professional beggars, the handicaps to children in making use of their educational opportunities, and the increase in crime are symptoms of an economic and social disease which can be neglected only at the peril of all elements in society.

The conference centered its attention on ways and means of introducing greater stabilization in the economic system. To the attainment of this end employers and the government can make basic contributions. Within each plant and within each industry much can be done which will contribute to better co-ordination between industries. Government can help to balance production and consumption by planning and speeding up public works.

If a steady job cannot be given to all at all times, unemployment insurance is quite as necessary a reserve for workers as surpluses are for stockholders and bondholders. If unemployment reserves prove inadequate, society will have to provide relief in some form or other. The attempt to confuse people by calling unemployment insurance a dole will prove absurd, in the long run, in view of the extent to which we are dispensing doles in various forms of relief. If we want to provide for unemployment over greatly extended periods, it can be done out of reserves built up for the purpose. The inadequate funds which we are now collecting come from somebody's reserves in the form of gifts and taxes. Many people are becoming